



J. Short sculp.

*John Walden
Tabula merito
perpetuam.*



*Citizen of London
Votiva in
rei memoriam.*

*Cujus in hac humilis confusus imagine pendes,
Et maciem hanc spectas pallidag ora senis:*

*Fudit hunc Bostona parens: Oxonia nativus.
Eradit. Scripsit Martyres occubuit.*



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Acts and Monuments
OF
MATTERS
MOST
Special and Memorable,
Happening in the
CHURCH:
WITH AN
Universal HISTORY
Of the same.

Wherein is set forth at Large, the whole Race and Course of the CHURCH,
from the Primitive Age to these later Times of Ours, with the Bloody Times,
Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions against the true MARTYRS of Christ,

Sought and Wrought as well by Heathen Emperors, as now lately practised by *Romish*
Prelates, especially in this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*.

Now again, as it was Recognized, Perused, and Recommended to the Studious
Reader, by the Author,

M^r. JOHN FOX.

Whereunto are annexed certain Additions of like PERSECUTIONS which
have happened in these Later Times.

To which also is added the LIFE of the AUTHOR both in *Latine* and *English*.

The Ninth Edition.

Apoc. 7. *Salus sedenti super Thronum & Agno.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for the Company of STATIONERS, MDCLXXXIV.

Acts and Monuments

1534

CHURCH

1535

1536

1537

1538

1539

1540

1541

The Kalendar.

January hath 31. days.				February hath 28. days.			
The Moon XXX.				The Moon XXIX.			
			Days of their death.				Days of their death.
3	A	1	Circumcision.		D	1	William Choape, Priest, Confessor.
	b	2	John Wickliff, Preacher, Martyr.				
11	c	3	John Aton, Confessor.	11	e	2	Purification of our Lady.
	d	4	William Sawtry, Priest, martyr.	19	f	3	John Phadon, martyr.
19	e	5	Swinderby a Priest, martyr.	8	g	4	Richard Turmine, martyr.
8	f	6	Epiphany.				Isca, a Confessor.
	g	7	Sir Roger Aton, Knight, Martyr.	A	5	Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Martyr.	
16	A	8	John Brown, Gentleman, martyr.	16	b	6	Richard Hoveden, martyr.
5	b	9	John Beverly, Preacher, martyr.	5	c	7	Thomas Bagley, Priest, martyr.
	c	10	Richard Silbeck, martyr.		d	8	Paul Craves, martyr.
13	d	11	John Castellane, Doctor, martyr.	13	e	9	Thomas Rhedon, martyr.
2	e	12	Thomas Whittle, Minister, martyr.	2	f	10	Rainold Perocke, Bishop, Confessor.
	f	13	Bartlet Green, Gentleman, martyr.		g	11	Sir Roger Oneley, Priest, Martyr.
10	g	14	John Tudson, martyr.	10	A	12	Elenor Cobham, Gentleman, Confessor.
	A	15	Thomas Went, martyr.		b	13	Mother of the Lady Pong, martyr.
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	18	c	14	Thomas Noice, martyr.
7	c	17	Isabel Foster, martyr.	7	d	15	Thomas Eckles, martyr.
	d	18	Joan Warne, alias Lashford, martyr.		e	16	Thomas Bungay, martyr.
15	e	19	John Lomas, martyr.	15	f	17	D. Martin Luther, Confessor.
4	f	20	Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr.	4	g	18	
	g	21	Joan Catmer, martyr.		A	19	Pope of Cay, martyr.
12	A	22	Agnes Snoth, martyr.	12	b	20	Peake, martyr.
	b	23	Joan Sole, martyr.	1	c	21	George Carpenter, martyr.
1	c	24	Will. Waterer, martyr.		d	22	John Rogers, Preacher, Martyr.
9	d	25	Conversion of Paul.	9	e	23	Lawrence Sanders, Preacher, Martyr.
	e	26	Stephen Kemp, martyr.		f	24	John Hooper, Bishop, Martyr.
17	f	27	William Bay, martyr.	17	g	25	Matthias Apostle.
	g	27	Thomas Hudson, martyr.				
	A	27	William Lowicke, martyr.				
	b	28	Will. Proving, martyr.	6	A	26	Rowland Taylor, Doctor, Martyr.
6	A	29	Nicholas Finall, martyr.		b	27	Robert Farrar, Bishop, Martyr.
		29	Matthew Bradbydige, martyr.				Agnes Potten, martyr.
14	b	30	John Philpot, Martyr.				
3	c	31	Thomas Stevens, martyr.	14	c	28	Crunchfields wife, martyr.

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The Kalendar.

March hath 31. days.					April hath 30. days.						
The Moon XXX.					The Moon XXX.						
			Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.				Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.		
3	d	1	William Caylor, marty.	2	1422	g	1	Robert Hatches, marty.	4	1519	
	e	2	John Mesellanus, a Doctor, marty.	1479				Archer, marty.			
			Doctor Meselus, alias Basilus, Confessor.	1490	11	A	2	Howkins, marty.	4	1519	
11	f	3	Henry Sutphen, marty.	1524		b	3	Wriggham, marty.	4	1519	
	g	4	John Hougley, marty.	1526	19	c	4	Lansdale, marty.	4	1519	
19	A	5	Petrus Flettedius, marty.	1528	8	d	5	Pistriss Smith, Widow, marty.	4	1519	
8	b	6	Adolphus Clabachius, marty.	1528	16	e	6	James Bainham, Gentleman, marty.	30	1532	
	c	7	Patrike Hamelton, marty.	1528	5	f	7	Jo. Awocke, Confessor.	2	1555	
16	d	8	Thomas Pitton, marty.	1530		g	8	George Parth, Preacher, marty.	24	1555	
5	e	9	Thomas Bilney, Martyr.	1531	13	A	9	William Flower, Minister, marty.	24	1555	
	f	10	Davy Foster, marty.	1531	2	b	10	Robert Drakes, Minister, marty.	24	1556	
13	g	11	Edward Freese, Confessor.	1531		c	11	Thomas Cymys, marty.	24	1556	
2	A	12	Valentine Freese, and his wife, marty.	1531				Richard Spurge, marty.	24	1556	
	b	13	Father Bate, Confessor.	1555	10	d	12	Thomas Spurge, marty.	24	1556	
			Rawling White, marty.	5	1555		e	13	George Ambrose, marty.	24	1556
10	c	14	Thomas Tomkins, marty.	15	1555	18	f	14	John Harpole, marty.	1	1556
18	d	15	Thomas Higbed, Gentleman, marty.	25	1555		g	15	John Bullier, Minister, marty.	2	1556
	e	16	Thomas Cawton, Gentleman, marty.	25	1555		A	16	Christopher Lister, Minister, marty.	28	1556
7	f	17	William Hunter, marty.	25	1555	15	b	17	John Hare, marty.	28	1556
	g	18	William Pygot, marty.	28	1555				John Spencer, marty.	28	1556
15	A	19	Stephen Knight, marty.	28	1555	4	c	18	Simon Joyne, marty.		
4	b	20	John Laurence, Minister, marty.	29	1555		d	19	Richard Nichol, marty.	28	1556
	c	21	Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr.	21	1556	12	e	20	John Hamond, marty.	28	1556
12	d	22				1	f	21	St. George, Martyr.		
1	e	23	Robert Spicer, marty.	24	1556		g	22	Thomas Loseby, marty.	12	1556
	f	24				9	A	23	Mark Evangelist.		
9	g	25	Annunciation of our Lady.				b	24	Henry Ramsley, marty.	12	1557
	A	26	William Coberley, marty.	24	1556	17	c	25	Thomas Chyrtle, marty.	12	
17	b	27	Paundrell, marty.	24	1556	6	d	26	Margaret Hyde, marty.	12	1557
6	c	28	Richard Crashfield, marty.	15	1557		e	27	Agnes Stanley, marty.	12	1557
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, marty.	28	1558	4	f	28			
14	e	30	Hugh For, marty.	28	1558			29	William Nicholl, marty.		1557
3	f	31	John Devonish, marty.	28	1558		g	30			1557

The Kalendar.

May hath 31. days.				June hath 30. days.			
The Moon XXX.				The Moon XXIX.			
			Days of their death.				Days of their death.
			Year of our Lord.				Year of our Lord.
11	b	1	Philip and Jacob, Apostles.	11	e	1	Hierome of Prague, Martyr.
	c	2	John Hus, Martyr.		f	2	Anne Askew, martyr.
19	d	3	Hieronymus Savonarola, Martyr.	19	f	2	John Lancel, Gent. martyr.
8	e	4	Dominick, Martyr.	8	g	3	Nicholas Belman, martyr.
	f	5	Sylvester, Martyr.		g	3	Thomas Hawkes, martyr.
16	g	6	Frier Roy, Martyr.	16	A	4	Thomas Wats, martyr.
5	A	7	Robert King, Martyr.		A	4	John Simpson, martyr.
	b	8	Robert Debnam, Martyr.		A	4	John Ardley, martyr.
13	c	9	Nicholas Harch, Martyr.		b	5	Rich. Chamberlain, mart.
2	d	10	John Cardmaker, alias Tailor, Preacher, Martyr.	5	b	5	Thomas Holmond, martyr.
	e	11	John Warne, Martyr.		c	6	Will. Bramford, martyr.
10	f	12	Margaret Ellis, Confessor.	13	d	7	Thomas Harland, martyr.
	g	13	Hugh Laverocke, Martyr.		d	7	John Dward, martyr.
18	A	14	John Appice, Martyr.		e	8	Thomas Read, martyr.
7	b	15	Katharine Put, Widow, Martyr.	2	e	8	Thomas Abington, martyr.
	c	16	Elizabeth Chacknel, Martyr.		f	9	Thomas Wood, pinister, martyr.
15	d	17	Joan Pomes, martyr.	10	g	10	Thomas Gilles, martyr.
4	e	18	A blind Boy, and another with him, martyrs.		g	10	William Adherall, pinister, Confessor.
	f	19	Thomas Spicer, martyr.		A	11	John Clement, Confessor.
12	g	20	John Denny, martyr.		A	11	Henry Adlington, martyr.
1	A	21	William Poole, martyr.		A	11	Law. Perman, martyr.
	b	22	John Slesh, Confessor.		b	12	Henry Alice, martyr.
9	c	23	William Nozant, martyr.	18	b	12	William Hallwell, martyr.
	d	24	Stephen Gattwike, martyr.		c	13	Thomas Bowyer, martyr.
17	e	25	John Thurstone, Confessor.	7	c	13	George Serle, martyr.
6	f	26	William Seaman, martyr.		d	14	Edmund Hurst, martyr.
	g	27	Thomas Carman, martyr.		d	14	Lion Catwch.
14	A	28	Thomas Hudson, martyr.	15	e	15	Ralph Jackson, martyr.
3	b	29	William Harris, martyr.		e	15	John Derifall, martyr.
	c	30	Richard Day, martyr.		f	16	John Roth, martyr.
11	d	31	Christian George, martyr.		f	16	Elizabeth Pepper, martyr.
					g	17	Agnes George, martyr.
					g	17	Thomas Parret, Confessor.
					A	18	Hunt and Ambrose, Conf.
					A	18	John Noice, Confessor.
					b	19	Roger Bernard, martyr.
					c	20	Adam Foster, martyr.
					c	20	Robert Lawson, martyr.
					d	21	Walter Apleby, and Petro- nell his wife, martyrs.
					d	21	Edmund Allen, and Katharine his wife, martyrs.
					e	22	John Bradbridge, martyr.
					e	22	John Panning, martyr.
					f	23	Eliz. a blind Maid, martyr.
					f	23	Thomas Noze, martyr.
					g	24	Nichol. White, martyr.
					g	24	Nichol. Pardue, martyr.
					A	25	John Fishcocke, martyr.
					A	25	Barbara Finall, martyr.
					b	26	Bradbridges Wid. martyr.
					b	26	Vendens wife, and Wilsons wife, martyrs.
					c	27	Rich. Woodman, martyr.
					c	27	Nat. of S. John Baptif.
					d	28	G. Stephens, Will. Parnard, martyrs.
					d	28	Margery Noice, James Noice Son, Denny's Burges, Aldownes wife, Groves wife, martyrs.
					e	29	Henry Pond, martyr.
					e	29	Richard Etland, martyr.
					f	30	Robert Southam, martyr.
					f	30	Matthew Ricarby, martyr.
							Peter and Paul.
							John Loyd, martyr.
							John Holiday, martyr.
							Roger Holland, martyr.
							A 3

The Kalendar.

July hath 31. days.				August hath 31. days.							
The Moon XXX.				The Moon XXX.							
			Day of their death.				Day of their death.				
19	G	1	Henry Cloz, Martyr. John Eich, Martyr.	1	1522	8	C	1	Leonard Keyser, martyr.	16	1527
8	A	2	John Frith, Martyr.	4	1523	16	D	2	James Abbes, martyr.		1555
	b	3	Andrew Hewet, Martyr. Anthony Person, Martyr. Robert Cestwood Martyr. Henry Filmore, Martyr.	18	1543	5	E	3	John Denley, Gentleman, martyr.	8	1555
							f	4	John Newman, martyr.	28	1555
16	C	4				13	G	5	Patricke Patingham, mar- tyr.	28	1555
5	D	5	John Bradford, Preacher, Mar- tyr.	1	1555	2	A	6	William Coker, martyr.	23	1555
	e	6	John Leafe, Martyr.				b	7	William Popper, martyr.	23	1555
13	f	7	John Pelley, Martyr.			10	C	8	Henry Laurence, martyr.	23	1555
							D	9	Richard Collier, martyr.	23	1555
2	G	8	William Hing, Minister, Martyr.	2	1555	18	E	10	William Steere, martyr.	23	1555
	A	9	Richard Hook, Martyr.			7	f	11	Richard Wright, martyr.	23	1555
10	b	10	John Bland Preacher, Mar- tyr.	12	1555		G	12	Elizabeth Warne, martyr.		
	C	11	John Frank, Martyr.			15	A	13	George Cankerfield, mar- tyr.	26	1555
18	D	12	Humphrey Middleton, Mar- tyr.	12	1555	4	b	14	Richard Smith, martyr.	8	1555
7	E	13	Nich. Sheterden, Martyr.	12	1555		C	15	Stephen Parwood, martyr.	30	1555
	f	14	William Digbel, martyr.			2	D	16	Thomas Fulle, martyr.	30	1555
15	G	15	Dirike Carber, martyr. John Launder, martyr. Thomas Ivelon, martyr.	12	1555	1	E	17	William Paile, martyr.	31	1555
	A	16	Nicholas Hall, martyr. John Aleworth, Confessor. John Careless, Confessor.	13	1555		f	18	Robert Samuel, Preacher, martyr.	31	1555
	b	17	John Gurn, martyr.	1	1556	9	G	19	Joan Wasse, martyr.	1	1556
12	C	18	Julius Palmer, a School- master, and Askine, mar- tyrs.	16	1556		A	20	William Bongeor, martyr.	2	1557
				1556		17	b	21	Robert Purcas, martyr.	2	1557
1	D	19	Katharine Cauches, and Perotine Hally, with her Child not one hour old, and Guillemme Gilbert, martyrs.	17	1556	6	C	22	Thomas Kennald, martyr.	2	1557
	e	20					D	23	Agnes Silveride, alias Smith, martyr.	2	1557
9	f	21				14	E	24	Bartholomew, Apostle. Ellen Cwying, martyr.	2	1557
	G	22	Thomas Dungate, martyr.			3	f	25	Elizabeth Folks, Maid, martyr.	2	1557
17	A	23	John Foreman, martyr.	18	1556		G	26	William Hunt, martyr.	2	1557
6	b	24	Simon Miller, martyr.			11	A	27	Alice Hunt, martyr.	2	1557
	C	25	Elizabeth Cooper, martyr. Mary Magdalene.	13	1556	19	b	28	Rose Alkn, Maid, martyr.	2	1557
14	D	26	Richard Pepman, Minister, martyr.	10	1558		C	29	John Johnson, martyr.	2	1557
3	E	27	William Pikes, martyr.	14	1558	8	D	30	George Eagles, martyr.	2	1557
			James Apostle.				E	31	One Frier, and the said George Eagles Sister, martyrs.	2	1557
	f	28	Stephen Cotton, martyr. John Slade, martyr.	14	1558						
1	G	29	Stephen Wight, martyr. Robert Wiles, martyr.	14	1558						
	A	30	Robert Dines, martyr.	14	1558						
19	b	31	Thomas Benbick, Gen- tleman, martyr.	14	1558						

The Kalendar.

September hath 30. days.				October hath 31. days.			
The Moon XXIX.				The Moon XXX.			
		Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.			Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
16	f	1	Father Abraham, marty.	6	A	1	Battholet Dillon, marty.
5	g	2	William Wright, Priest, marty.		b	2	John de Burge, a rich Merchant, marty.
			John Maddon, Priest, marty.	3	c	3	The Receiver of Naunts, marty.
	A	3	William Gardiner, marty.	2	d	4	Henry Poile, marty.
13	b	4	William Allen, marty.		e	5	Catelle, a School-Mistris, marty.
			Thomas Cob, marty.				Stephen de la Foarge, a Merchant, marty.
			Thomas Coo, marty.	10	f	6	William Tyndall, Martyr.
2	c	5	William Andrew, Confessor.		g	7	William Leyton, marty.
10	d	6	Thomas King, Confessor.	8	A	8	Puttedew, marty.
18	e	7	Thomas Leis, Confessor.	7	b	9	John Lambert, alias Nicolson, marty.
	f	8	George Catmer, marty.		c	10	Collins, marty.
7	g	9	Robert Streater, marty.				Cowbridge, marty.
	A	10	Anthony Burward, marty.	15	d	11	Peter, a German, marty.
	b	11	George Bradbridge, marty.		e	12	Lancelot, marty.
			James Cutty, marty.	4	f	13	John a Painter, marty.
15	c	12	Thomas Hayward, marty.		g	14	Giles Germane, marty.
			John Gower, marty.	12	A	15	Robert Barnes, marty.
			Robert Glover, marty.		b	16	Thomas Garrard, marty.
4	d	13	Cornelius Bungay, marty.	1	c	17	William Pierome, marty.
	e	14	Edward Sharpe, marty.		d	18	William Wolsey, marty.
			John Hart, marty.	9	e	19	Robert Pygot, marty.
12	f	15	Thomas Rabensole, a Shoemaker or a Currier, marty.		f	20	Luke Evangelist.
	g	16	John Home and another Woman, martyrs.	17	g	21	Nicholas Ridley, Bishop, Martyr.
	A	17	John Kurd, marty.				Hugh Latimer, Bishop, Martyr.
	b	18	Cicelle Dimes, marty.	6	A	22	John Web, Gent. marty.
			Joyce Lewis, marty.		b	23	George Roper, marty.
9	c	17	Ralph Allerton, marty.	14	c	24	Gregory Packe, marty.
					d	25	Adam Wallis, marty.
17	d	20	Richard Roth, marty.	3	e	26	Dark Burges, marty.
6	e	21	Matthew Apostle.		f	27	William Hooker, marty.
			James Austo and Margery his Wife, martyrs.	11	g	28	Simon, Priest, Beberech frier, Keyler black frier, Daby Straton, Gentleman, Norman Goley, Vicar of Dolor, Black Canon, with four other martyrs.
	f	22	Agnes Bongoz, marty.	19	A	29	Simon and Jude.
14	g	23	Par. Churstone, marty.		b	30	Three died in prison at Cicester, Confessors.
3	A	24	John Warne, marty.	16	c	31	Wother Seaman, Confessor.
	b	25	Christian Glover, marty.				Wother Bennet, Confessor.
11	c	26	Thomas Athoth, marty.				
19	d	27	John Ashdone, marty.				
	e	28	Thomas Spurdance, marty.				
8	f	29	Michael Archangel.				
	g	30	John Fortune, marty.				

The Kalendar.

November hath 30. days.				December hath 31. days.			
The Moon XXIX.				The Moon XXX.			
			Days of their death.				Days of their death.
	D	1	The Feast of all Saints.		f	1	William Tracy, Esquire, Confessor.
13	e	2	Richard Bekings, marty.	13	g	2	Peter Sapience, marty.
2	f	3	Richard Spenser, marty.	2	A	3	George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, marty.
	g	4	Andrew Hewet, marty.		b	4	An old man of Bucking- hamshire, marty.
10	A	5	John Potter, Confessor.		c	5	Two grey Friars martyrs.
	b	6	Thomas Bernard, marty.	10	d	6	John Hilton Confessor.
18	c	7	James Porton, marty.		e	7	John Coignes, Confessor.
7	d	8	George Wilehart, Gentle- man, marty.	18	f	8	Robert Ward, Confessor.
	e	9	John Kerby, marty.	7	g	9	A Scholar of Abbeville, mar- ty.
15	f	10	Roger Clarke, marty.		A	10	A Jew, marty.
4	g	11	Richard Bayfield, alias So- merham, marty.		b	11	Richard Hunne, marty.
	A	12	John Clarke, Confessor.	15	c	12	John Tewkesbury, marty.
12	b	13	Dunstane Chittenden, Confessor.	4	d	13	James Gore, Confessor.
1	c	14	William Foster, marty.		e	14	William Wiseman, Con- fessor.
	d	15	Alice Potkins, Confessor.	12	f	15	John Philpot, Preacher, mar- ty.
9	e	16	John Archer, Confessor.		g	16	John Rough, Preacher, marty.
	f	17	John Dooke, marty.	1	A	17	Margaret Pering, marty.
17	g	18	Jo. Hallingdale, marty.		b	18	Thomas Tyler, Confessor.
6	A	19	William Sparrow, mar- ty.	9	c	19	Matthew Withers, Confes- sor.
14	b	20	Richard Gibson, Gentle- man, marty.	17	d	20	Dale Confessor.
	c	21	Sander Gouch, marty.	6	e	21	Thomas Apostle.
3	d	22	Elizabeth Diver, marty.		f	22	William Plaine.
	e	23	Phil. Humphrey, marty.		g	23	Elizabeth Lawson, Confes- sor.
11	f	24	John Davy, marty.	14	A	24	John Glover, Confessor.
19	g	25	Henry Davy, marty.		b	25	Nativity of our Lord.
	A	26	John Cornforth, marty.	3			Stephen, Martyr.
8	b	27	Christopher Brown, mar- ty.	11			John Evangelist. Childermas.
	c	28	John Persk, marty.	19	c	26	Thomas Rhedonensis, an Earl, marty.
10	d	29	Alice Snoth, marty.		d	27	Picus Mirandula, Confes- sor.
5	e	30	Katherine Knight, marty.	8	e	28	Erasmus Roterodamus, Confessor.
			Andrew Apostle.	16	f	29	Martin Bucet, Confessor.
				5	g	30	Paul. Phagius, Confessor.
				5	A	31	Philip Melancthon, Confes- sor.
							Peter Martyr, Confessor.
							King Edward the Sixth, Confessor.

A D
D O M I N U M

Jesum Christum

SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMUM,

Eucharisticon

JOHANNIS FOXI.

Confecto nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auspiciis ac voluntate aggressus (summe & adorande Jesu, idemque Servator clementissime) inchoavi, quodq; demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque absolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: superest itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votiva tabula, gratias, si non quantas debeat (utinam enim id possit) at quantas queat maxime, munificentissimæ tuæ persolvat Majestati; quæ tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemvis *ἀνθρώπου* possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementer suffulserit. Quamquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quæ vix æstimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majestas, hujus, quaecunque sit, negotii confectio, quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigiliis, molestiis constitit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affluisset, ac sese quodam modo admiscuisset operi. Quid ni enim fatear ac testor ingenuè, quod re ipsa experti sumus? Persensimus enim, peneque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excelsæ dextræ tuæ *ἐνεργειαν* non modo in successu negotii provehendo, sed in vita etiam spiritûque inter labores conservando. Tui igitur muneris est (clementissime Jesu) quòd opus tuis susceptum auspiciis huc usque provectum sit. Nos vicissim, quod nostri sit officii, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum nostro privatim, tum publico quodammodo Ecclesiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam Martyrum tuorum æstimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tantâ faveas propensione. Quamquam verò si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inscripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, ut eandem cum gloriæ scœnore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diversum, quod in castris tuis militantes sive vivant, sive moriantur, multò clarescant à funere scœlicius, quàm si vixissent maximè.

*Auxilium
Christum in
concinnando
hoc opere.*

Sic *Cranmerum* videmus, *Ridleyum*, *Latimerum*, *Johannem Hooperum*, *Bradfordum*, cæterosque ejusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuisse cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quàm si, relicta statione in qua erant collocati, salutem ipsi suam causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetustas, quæ hominum posteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis *Wiclevum* unquam, aut *Cobhamum* natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tua in causa tam egissent strenuè? Quanto honori illud *Hussio Bohemensi*, nostròque *Tindalo* fuit, quòd vitam in Evangelii tui causa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diversa parte adversarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adversus tuos, multaq; item occultè & sceleratè ab iisdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam sperabant fore palam: & tamen quid unquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis est designatum tam occultè adversus Ecclesiam, quod non in apicem produxit tua producetque providentia? Atq; ita produxit, ut unde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibiipsis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis *Guisos*, *Boneros*, *Storios*, *Gardineros*, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterebit dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tanta multitudine hostium tuorum recenseo? Cui unquam prosperè cessit tuo rebellare numini, aut hostium se Ecclesiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probrosius? Cardinalitium fastigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multaq; prosequi reverentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum Collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem & credulam. At postquam sprete veritate tua cœperunt grassari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis

*Folius ac
gloriosum
pro Christo
martyrii
perire.*

*Papæ nomen
nunc probro-
sum. Cardi-
nalium Mo-
nachorum,
Nonnarum no-
mina ad ig-
nominiam
nunc relata.*

paucis

Ad Christum Eucharisticon.

paucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua sex nihil aliud jam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominia relicta videatur.

Hæc nimirum (sanctissime Domine ac Deus noster) iustissimi iudicii tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est, in suo ipsorum Regno, tanta accumulēs infamia & dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine meritò à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis & gratiarum tua debetur, simul & habetur, bonitati. Primum, quòd in Ecclesiæ tuæ causa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem spiritum omnibusque tormentis majorem adversus parricidas Papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd & nobis in illorum defudantibus historia propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur & hoc privatum meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, quantum tu solus novisti, laboris immensitate conservatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amoris, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammam & cineres adegerit perversitas, causam & innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiæque Ecclesiæ tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus sit. Et si enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo iudicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum movebuntur, omnis eorum ad amissum excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quoque in Ecclesia tua, causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia constare poterit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid & nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Deploratio
nostrorum
morum &
temporum.

Sed hîc rursus (dulcissime Jesu) opus est benigno favoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filii Martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè majores nostros imitari conveniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine relinquerunt, libertatem: Quia etiam ipsa nimium abutimur intemperanter, ut jam periculum sit, ne non filii modò Martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim inter sit discriminis, quamque prorsus disconvenit ordine toto nostra Consuetudo ab illorum vestigiis & Disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cujus nihil non perspicit Majestas ac intuetur? Quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque, adeoque seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideris flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula undique imminencia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contra verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisque adeo contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur & ambitus? Ac illi quam præclare secum actum putassent, si vel vivere modò licuisset. Ideoque multi fuere eorum, qui *Mariæ* Reginæ facultates & possessiones omnes adusque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec unus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, Sacerdotis, censuique dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non ut vivamus solum, verum ut sublimes vivamus & honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quanta constantia, qua animi alacritate perpeffi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam, omnem Deo remittentes, cui & causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adversariorum dejicere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla consternere, nec delinire blanditiis poterunt.

Quanta de
generatio
nostrorum
nunc homi-
num ab ex-
emplis sapa-
rentum Mar-
tyrum.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipitantes ac transversos rapiat in avaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis objici poterit injuriola, pro qua non cœlum terræ miscemus, mariæque turbamus ab imo? ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, ut mortem simus unquam tua causa subituri, si quando res Martyrum flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare jussu velimus. Quapropter ut Martyrum quidem illorum causa gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto; ita nostra vicissim causa deprecamur, ut qui largitus sit ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires; sicque Ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, nec ubi seducti hujus mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinenda Evangelii tui victoria, quàm illi in comparanda strenui, videamur. Postremò quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in ea re operam studiumque posuimus, quo facta gestaue sanctorum tuorum (sanctissime Jesu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum Ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulque historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui & opus ipsum totumque me ipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima totisq; viribus commendo, dedico, consecroq; cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox & lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes Ecclesias tribuat personetque. Amen.

Necessaria
Precatio.

TO THE
RIGHT VERTUOUS,
Most Excellent and Noble Princess,
Queen ELIZABETH,
OUR

Dread Lady, By the Grace of God, Queen of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of *Christ's* Faith and Gospel, and Principal Governor both of the Realm, and also over the said Church of *England and Ireland*, under *Christ* the Supream Head of the same, &c. JOHN FOX, Her humble Subject, wisheth daily increase of GODS Holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyful Peace to Govern His Flock committed to Her Charge; To the Example of all good Princes, The Comfort of his Church, And Glory of his blessed Name.

CHRISt the Prince of all Princes, who hath placed you in your Throne of Majesty, under Him to Govern the Church and Realm of England, give your Royal Highness long to sit, and many years to Reign over Us, in all flourishing Felicity, to his gracious Pleasure, and long lasting joy of all your Subjects. Amen.

When I first presented these Acts and Monuments unto your Majesty (most dear Sovereign, Queen ELIZABETH our peaceable Salome) which your Majesties rare Clemency received in such gentle part; I well hoped that these my Travels in this kind of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my Studies again to other purposes after mine own desire, more fit than to write Histories, especially in the English-Tongue. But certain evil disposed Persons, of intemperate Tongues, Adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable Exclamations at the first appearing of the Book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new-born again, and that Herod, with all the City of Jerusalem had been in an uproar. Such blustering and striving was then against that poor Book through all Quarters of England, even to the Gates of Lovain, so that no English Papist almost in all the Realm thought himself a perfect Catholick, unless he had cast out some word or other to give that Book a blow.

Whereupon, considering with my self what should move them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to overlook again that I had done. In searching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not so much in the Book it self (to say the truth) as in another certain privy mystery and working of some; of whom Joan. Avent. shall tell us in his own words, and shew us who they be, Quibus (inquit) audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est; nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur, &c. Who, being ashamed belike to hear their worthy stratagems like to come to light, sought by what means they might the stopping of the same. And because they could not work it per brachium seculare, by publick Authority (the Lord of Heaven long preserve your Noble Majesty) they renewed again an old wonted practise of theirs; doing in like sort herein, as they did sometimes with the holy Bible in the days of your renowned Father of famous Memory, King Henry the Eighth; who when they neither by manifest reason could gain-say the matter contained in the Book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then sought they by a subtil devised train to deprave the Translation, Notes, and Prologues thereof, bearing the King in hand, and all the people, that there were in it a thousand lyes, and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it such lyes in very deed; but that the coming of that Book should not bewray their lying falshood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make Exceptions themselves against it; playing in their stage like as Phormio did in the old Comedy, who, being in all the fault himself, began first to quarrel with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heels.

With like facing brags these Catholick Phormiones think now to dash out all good Books, and amongst others also these Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide being alive, so neither can they now suffer their memories to live after their death, lest the Acts of them being known might bring perhaps their wicked Acts and cruel Murthers to detestation; and therefore spurn they so vehemently against this Book of Histories, with all kind of Contumelies and Uproars, railing and wondering upon it; much like as I have heard of a Company of Thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highways-side, when they had found a piece of Gold or two about him more than he would be known of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, marveling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.

Even so these men deal also with me; for when they themselves altogether delight in untruths, and have replenished the whole Church of Christ with feigned Fables, lying Miracles, false Visions, and miserable Errors contained in their Missals, Portuses, Breviars, and Summaries, and almost no true tale in all their Saints Lives and Festivals, as now also no great truths in our Lovanian Books, &c. Yet notwithstanding,

The Epistle Dedicatory to the Queens Majesty.

as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great Verity; and as though there were no Histories else in all the world corrupted, but only this History of A&S and Monuments, with Tragical Voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolical phrases to make it appear as full of lyes as lines, &c. Much after the like sort of impudency as Sophisters use sometimes in their Sophisms to do (and sometimes is used also in Rhetorick) that when an argument cometh against them which they cannot well resolve indeed, they have a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragical admiration, whereby to dash the Opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be answered, but utterly to be hissed out of the Schools.

With like sophistication these also fare with me, who when they neither can abide to bear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the same, which they bear, to be true, for three or four escapes in the Book committed (and yet some of them in the Book amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding that they read, inveigh and malign so perversely the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my Accusers I do not so excuse my self, nor defend my Book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I have taken these pains, and reiterated my Labours in traveling out this story again; doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before: Or as Builders do sometimes, which build and take down again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recognising this History I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any pains taking I might pacifie the stomachs, or to satisfie the judgments of these importune Quarrelers: which nevertheless I fear I shall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will never be cut off, though I were as strong as Hercules. And if Apelles the skilful Painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good Artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without some controuling Tutor, which took upon him ultra crepidam, much more may I look for the like in these controuling days.

Ne futor
ultra cre-
pidam.

Nevertheless committing the success thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this story of the Church, and have spent not only my pains, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did, so again I exhibit and present the same unto your Princely Majesty, blessing my Lord my God with all my heart; first for this liberty of peace and time which through your peaceable Government he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like Books, Treatations and Monuments requisite to the behoof of his Church, which hitherto by iniquity of time could not be contrived in any Kings Reign since the Conquest, before these Halcyon days of yours.

Secondly, As we are all bound with publick Voices to magnifie our God for this happy preservation of your Royal Estate; so privately for my own part, I also acknowledge my self bound to my God and to my Saviour, who so graciously in such weak health hath let me time, both to finish this Work, and also to offer the second Dedication thereof to your Majesty; desiring the same to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthiness of the thing given, yet as a testification of the bounden service and good will of one, which by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.

And though the story being written in the Popular-Tongue serveth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned; yet I shall desire both you and them to consider in it the necessity of the ignorant Flock of Christ committed to your Government in this Realm of England. Who as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindness for lack especially of Gods Word, and partly also for wanting the light of History, I thought pity but that such should be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicity instructed. I considered they were the Flock of Christ, and your Subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and having as dear Souls to the Lord as other. And though they be but simple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore, what inconvenience groweth of ignorance where knowledge lacketh, both I considered and experience daily teacheth.

And therefore hearing of the vertuous Inclination of your Majesty, what a provident zeal full of solititude you have, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all Quarters and Countries of this your Realm with the Voice of Christs Gospel, and faithful preaching of his Word, I thought it also not unprofitable to adjoyn unto this your godly proceedings, and to the Office of the Ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiastical History, which in my mind ought not to be separate from the same; that like as by the one the people may learn the Rules and Precepts of Doctrine, so by the other they may have Examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their Faith, and the edification of Christian life. For as we see what light and profit cometh to the Church by Histories in old times set forth of the Judges, Kings, Macchabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christs time; so likewise may it redound to no small use in the Church, to know the Acts of Christs Martyrs now since the time of the Apostles.

Profit to
be taken
by Exam-
ples of
Christian
Martyrs.
Gods
Works to
be obser-
ved in
Histories.
What use
cometh
by read-
ing of
Histories.

Besides other manifold Examples and Experiments of Gods great Mercies and Judgments in preserving his Church, in overthrowing Tyrants, in confounding Pride, in altering States and Kingdoms, in conserving Religion against Errors and Dissensions, in relieving the Godly, in brideling the Wicked, loosing and tying up again of Satan the Disturber of Common-weals, in punishing Transgressions, as well against the first Table as the second; wherein is to be seen Idolatry punished, Blasphemy plagued, Contempt of Gods holy Name and Religion revenged, Murther with Murther rewarded, Adulterers and Wedlock-breakers destroyed, Perjuries, Extortions, covetous Oppression, and fraudulent Counsels come to nought, with other excellent Works of the Lord: the observing and noting whereof in Histories minister to the Readers thereof wholesome admonitions of life, with experience and wisdom both to know God in his Works, and to work the thing that is godly; especially to seek unto the Son of God for their Salvation, and in his Faith only to find that they seek for, and in no other means. The continuance and constancy of which Faith the Lord of his Grace and goodness grant to your Noble Majesty, and to his whole beloved Church, and all the Members of the same to everlasting life. Amen.

Ad

Ad Doctum Lectorem

JOHANNES FOXUS.

Cogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quam periculosa res alea sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his praesertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum diffidii, tot studii partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, & Criticorum faanis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspice scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profecto felicitate videntur illi, quibus cum vitae cursum tenet licet, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in Theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, ut nihil interim ipsis vel ex actione tedium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me vero nescio quopado, longe diversa quidem hactenus exercuit vitae ratio; quippe cui nec fortunae illam felicitatem, in cuius complexibus tam multos suaviter foveri video, nec otii amenitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quamquam de fortuna parum quero, quia semper contempsi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores illi tantum vel prodesse vel placere ceteris possent hominibus, quantum me privatim arerunt incommodantque. Nunc ad meae infelicitatis curculum accedit in super, quod in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod praeter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, praeter linguae inamoenitatem, praeter tractandi difficultatem, quae vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eo porro Autorem ipsum redigit Angustiae, ut neque falsa narrare sine injuria Historiae, nec verum dicere sine magna sua interdicta odiosque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo Historiae argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modo temporum res gestas atque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam aetatem nostram, nostraeque gentis nunc homines etiamnum praesentes, vivosque sic attingat, sic perficit, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiae genere necessario faciendum fuit: quæro, quid hic mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos perdidierim, senium acciverim, corpus exhauserim deum ut post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, sibilis, invidia ac calumnia exponam? In tot istis asperitatibus cum nihil me tutum praestare poterit, non *Cæsar*, non *Monarchæ*, non *Rex*, non *Regina*, non ulla hujus mundi praesidia, praeter solam Divini munus potentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asylum me recepi, huc me libenter commendavi & commendo. Tum vero insuper in eodem Domino tuum illum candorem (docte pieque Lector) eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis studiisque te scio praeditum, quo nostris his sudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne favoris desit benignitas: cui si approbatum iri hanc Historiae nostrae farraginem senserimus, cæterorum judicia obrectatorum, levius foremus.

Nam alioqui non defuturos sat scio qui variis modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hic *Momus* suos morsus, *Sycophanta* suos sibilos, nec deerit *Calumniatori* sua lingua & aculeus, quem intingat. Hic fidem detrahet *Historia*; ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus judicium deliderabit. Illi forsitan operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita servataque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta Religionis pugna, in tanta judiciorum, capitum, sensuum varietate, ubi suae quisque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam asilabre, aut circumspice enarrari potest, quod placeat universis? Quin & jam nunc misitari etiam audio a nonnullis qui longa sese tenet expectatione, quoad hæc tandem *Legenda nostra*, ut appellant, *Aurea* evulganda sit: qui si nostram primam in eo tarditatem reprehensam velint, ne ego suaves istos homines vicissim rogatos velim, ut ipsi prius in edendis suis se præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde, si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminerit, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam esse festinationem oportere; & hoc dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili nostra; Egimus spero & pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expedire, at egimus certe pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipsorum venia adiacere liceat, egisse nos maturius quam ipsis forsitan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certe maturius egimus quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat, cum a nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiae, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ Historiae, & in ordinem redigendæ, &c. noverint illi qui testes adfuerint, & temporis conscii, & laboris socii. Quod si autem *Aurea sua Aurea* titulum huc ed ac commodant, quod illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent *Historiam*, hincque odioso vocabulo ejus præjudicant veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quam quod ingenuè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus judicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quod ipsos tandem aliquando *Legenda sua legenda* pudeat tam fabulosæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, si qui *Legenda illa*; hoc est, mendacissimis illorum nugis auderent detrudere. Quare nihil magis esse possit impium, quam sacrosanctam Ecclesiae fidem fabulamentis hujusmodi conficere praeter omnem veri fidem deliriis commaculare; tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores, ex suo ingenio ceteros quoque scriptores metientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus aliis fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet suis aureis somniis similia existimantes? Quin apage cum *Aurea tua Legenda*, nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum scimus, nec ipse ignoras prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis & vanissimis undique commentis scatere, ne cum *Homeri* quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abest ut cum verè seriis gravibusque Ecclesiae Historiis quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia *Papistis* illis tuis & impuris *Monachis* sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem Historiae auctoritatem putas in Ecclesia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de *Eusebii* Ecclesiastica, & tripartita *Socrum* & *Socrati* cæterorumque Historiis judicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quadam de sanctis & Divis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut *Legenda illa Papistica* annumerentur, etiam quæ suspensissimæ sunt fidei. Quamquam de scriptoribus cæteris mea nihil interest censuram ferre. Quid ad hanc verò nostram *Aurea*, attinet, testatum id velim universis, datam esse à nobis operam sedulo ne quid usquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut ejusmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legenda illa Aurea* (magis dicam plumbea) non undique foret dissimillimum. Id quod res ipsa & nativa Historiae facies testari poterit, cujus tota textura ex ipsis Episcoporum Archivis atque Registris, partimque ex propriis Martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In qua Historia etsi neque id exigam ut singula hic pro oraculis habeantur; at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut si non plene assequeremur, accederemur tamen quam proximè ad veterem illam Historiae legem, ut duas res, præcipuas Historiae pestes, vitaremur, timorem videlicet & assentationem; quarum altera sepe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit, quam par est, narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam & nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non mucosis naribus lectori, ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, sive aliis circumstantiarum notis deprehendere.

Ad Lectorem.

hendere. Sed vereor ne hic quoque, quemadmodum ceteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbii experientia; Faciunt quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum haec in Martyrologis sanctorum legendis vitisque describendis mendacia, ac nugacissima somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut cetera ejusdem argumenti materia eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicive in Ecclesia cum fide queat. Verum huic malo cum mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos praestitisse. Quod superest, Divina curandum providentia relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatisque Historiae haec haecenus: quae utinam ne tam vera quidem certaque esset, quam isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, consimilique huic, quam dicunt, *Aurea ipsorum Legenda*, aut Vitis patrum, aut Festivals, aut Dormi-secrete, ceterisque Papisticis istis τοῖς τῶν ληρῶν λήγεις foret. Nunc vero Martyrum horum non a nobis ficta, sed inscripta a vobis supplicia, atroxque caedes veriorum hanc comprobant historiam, pluresque suae veritatis testes habent quam vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quae de Calendario fortassis obijciatur. Audio enim & hic mihi obstrepere non tacitas modo sententias, sed apertas Papistarum quorundam voces, quibus inique a me factum videbitur, quod antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris Ecclesiae Divis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, Virginibusque, novos eorum loco Martyres ac Confessores infuciam. Primum, nulli ego veterum Divorum hoc facto praedictum velim. Neque vero ideo inter Divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego Apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumplit *Gregorius* nonus. Porro, neque eo spectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem praescribam Ecclesiae; tum multo minus cultum sancti alicujus instituo. Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo. Ultima Dominicum solum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par est, transigeremus. Habeant per me suum Papistae Calendarium. Habeat & Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iidem ne colantur, modo quam sint vetusti tam verè etiam sancti sint.

Verum enimvero cum non dubitavit sua etiam aetate *Hieronymus* multos existimare eorum gehennae ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis haberent in Ecclesia; quid hic tum diceret *Hieronymus*, si modo superfluis Papisticam hanc sanctorum colluviem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Episcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quoniam a me quidem non Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat, suum cuiusque Martyris mensuram & annum designante, ad privatum Lectoris serviret usum. Et tamen si in Templis etiam fas sit singulorum Mensium dies propriis sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare, qui minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere Martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tanta sibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiserunt? Si non poena, sed causa Martyrem faciat, cur non unum *Cranmerum* sexcentis *Becketis Cantuariensis* non conferam, sed praetulerim? Quid in *Nicolas Ridley* videtur cum quovis divo *Nicolas* non conferendum? Qua in re *Latimerus*, *Hoperus*, *Marsheus*, *Simpsonus*, ceterique Christiani Martyrii Candidati, inferiores summis maximisque illis Papistici Calendarii Divis, imo multis etiam nominibus non praeposendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui verè sanctus sit) causam laedo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in Templis collocari, sed domesticè tantum lectioni preparari.

Sed missis hisce adversariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candidèque Lector (quoniam haec ad te instituta est Epistola) tempus est ut recurrat Oratio, cujus in his rebus iudicium ut pluris aestimo, ita ego magis hic quoque Patrocinio. Scio enim, in vasta hac congerie reperies nonnulla ad quae merito corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facile potuit, praesertim in tanta operis praecipitatione, ut cuncta ad amissum atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret Authori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eveniret, quod cani solet in proverbis nimium praestudio properanti, Caecos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis haec apud te, docte simul & humanissime Lector, ante operis ingressum libuit περιμύθεω, ut si quid inter evolendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad *Cleantis* lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum Theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus alicui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites haec non tuis auribus data esse, sed meis; hoc est, crassioris turbae hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam iudicantur. Aut si ne id quidem gravissimè tuae sententiae fecerit satis, liceat illa mihi uti lege, qua semper permixtum est, opere in magno, scriptori obrepere somnum. Quod si verò tuam hac in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid ceteri obstrepant, Graeci memor Proverbii, cujus & ipsos commeminisse velim, μὴ μόνον τὸ πῶς λέγῃς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τί λέγῃς.

To

To the True and Faithful Congregation of **CHRIST'S** Universal **CHURCH**, with all and singular the Members thereof, wheresoever congregated or dispersed through the Realm of *England*, a Protestation or Petition of the *Author*, wishing to the same abundance of all Peace and Tranquillity, with the speedy coming of **CHRIST** the Spouse, to make an end of all Mortal Misery.

SOLOMON the peaceable Prince of Israel, as we read in the third of Kings, after he had finished the Building of the Lords Temple (which he had seven years in hand) made his Petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the said Temple, or turn their face toward it; and his Request was granted, the Lord answering him, as we read in the said Book, Chap. 6. I have heard (saith he) thy Prayer, and have sanctified this Place, &c. Albeit the infinite Majesty of God is not to be compassed in any material Walls, yet it so pleased his Goodness to respect this Prayer of the King, that not only he promised to hear them which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his own Glory. For so we read again in the Book aforesaid, *Et non poterant ministrare propter nebulam, quia replevit Gloria Domini domum Domini,* 3 Reg. 7.

Upon the like trust in Gods gracious goodness if I sinful Wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but following the zeal of the Builder, might either be so bold to ask, or so happy to speed, after my seven years travel about this Ecclesiastical History, I would most humbly crave of Almighty God to bestow his blessing upon the same; that as the Prayers of them which prayed in the outward Temple were heard, so all true disposed minds which shall resort to the reading of this present History, containing the Acts of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may by example of their Life, Faith, and Doctrine, receive some such spiritual fruit to their Souls, through the operation of his Grace, that it may be to the advancement of his Glory, and profit of his Church, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

But as it happened in that Temple of Solomon, that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see News, other to talk and walk, some to buy and sell, some to carp and find fault, and finally some also at the last to destroy and pull down, as they did indeed; (For what is in this World so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraried? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling Theon will not set in his tooth?) Even so neither do I look for any other in this present History, but that amongst many well disposed Readers, some Wasps Nest or other will be stirred up to buzz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now a days to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the Godly, or by true speaking procure hatred of the Wicked. Of such stinging Wasps and buzzing Drones I had sufficient trial in my former Edition before; who if they had found in my Book any just cause to carp, or upon any true zeal of truth had proceeded against the untruths of my story, and had brought just proofs for the same, I could right well have abide it. For God forbid but that faults, wheresoever they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore Accusers in a Commonwealth, after my mind, do serve to no small stead.

But then such Accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration speaketh, which being sent in Capitolio to stay away Thieves by night, lest the Thieves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not amiss. But to carp where no cause is; to spie in other straws, and leap over their own blocks, to swallow Camels, and to strain at Gnats; to oppress truth with lyes, and to set up lyes for truth; to blaspheme the dear Martyrs of Christ, and to Canonize for Saints, whom Scripture would scarce allow for good Subjects; that is intolerable. Such barking Currs, if they were well served, would be made a while to stoop. But with these brawling spirits I intend not at this time much to wrastle.

Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leisure serve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought in the mean season, by way of Protestation or Petition, to write unto you, both in general and particular, the true Members and faithful Congregation of Christs Church, wheresoever either congregated together, or dispersed through the whole Realm of England, that forsomuch as all the seeking of these Adversaries is to do what they can, by discrediting of this History with slanders and sinister surmises, to withdraw the Readers from it: this therefore shall be in few words to premonish and desire of all and singular of you (all well minded Lovers and Partakers of Christs Gospel) not to suffer your selves to be deceived with the big Brags, and Hyperbolical Speeches of those slandering Tongues, whatsoever they have or shall hereafter exclaim against the same; but indifferently staying your judgment till truth be tried, you will first peruse, and then refuse; measuring the untruths of this History, not by the scoring up of their hundreds and thousands of lyes which they give out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings according as you find, and so to judge of the matter.

To read my Books I allure neither one nor other. Every man as he seeth cause, so let him like as he listeth. If any shall think his labour too much in reading this story, his choice is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof shall recompence the Readers

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travel, then would I wish no man so light eared, to be carried away for any sinister clamor of Adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but therefore find faults because they would deprave. As for me and my History, as my will was to profit all and displease none; so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose been simple, and certes the cause no less urgent also, which moved me to take this Enterprize in hand.

The partial dealing of Story-writers.

For first to see the simple Flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignorance of History, not knowing the course of Times, and true descent of the Church, it pitied me that part of diligence so long to have been unsupplied in this my Country Church of England. Again, considering the multitude of Chronicles and Story-Writers, both in England, and out of England, of whom the most part have been either Monks or Clients to the See of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painful travel albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitful to be known, nor unpleasant to be read; yet it lamented me to see in their Monuments the principal Points, which chiefly concerned the state of Christs Church, and were most necessary of all Christian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honour specially of the Church of Rome, or else to the favour of their own Sect of Religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their Writings no other Church mentioned or magnified, but only that Church which here flourished in this World in riches and jollity, were drawn also to the same persuasion, to think no other Church to have stood in all the Earth but only the Church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of Writers, besides our Monks of England (for every Monastery almost had his Chronicler) I might also recite both Italian and other Country Authors, as Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antonius, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Polyd. Virgilius, with many more, who taking upon them to entermiddle with matters of the Church, although in part they express some truth in matters concerning the Bishops and See of Rome; yet in suppressing another part they play with us, as Ananias and Saphyra did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny, who, painting the one half of Venus coming out of the Sea, left the other half unperfected. So these Writers, while they shew us one half of the Bishop of Rome, the other half of him they leave unperfected, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out on the one part glistening in Wealth and Glory, in shewing what succession the Popes had from the Chair of Saint Peter, when they first began and how long they sate, what Churches, and what famous Buildings they erected, how far their Possessions reached, what Laws they made, what Councils they called, what Honour they received of Kings and Emperors, what Princes and Countries they brought under their Authority, with other like stratagems of great Pomp and Royalty; so on the other side, what Vices these Popes brought with them to their Seat, what Abominations they practised, what Superstition they maintained, what Idolatry they procured, what wicked Doctrine they defended contrary to the express Word of God, to what Heresies they fell, into what division of Sects they cut the unity of Christian Religion, how some practised by Simony, some by Necromancy and Sorcery, some by poisoning, some indenting with the Devil to come by their Papacy, what Hypocrisie was in their Lives, what Corruption in their Doctrine, what Wars they raised, what Bloodshed they caused, what Treachery they traversed against their Lords and Emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other under their Feet, also in beheading some, as they did with Fredericus and Conradinus, the Heirs and Off-spring of the House of Fredericus Barbarossa, in the Year, 1269. Furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath stood against them, how their Wars never prospered against the Turk, how the judgments of the godly learned from time to time have ever repugned against their Errors, &c. Of these and a thousand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under Benedicite, in auricular Confession.

Primum quodque verissimum est. Tertul.

This partial dealing and corrupt handling of Histories when I considered, I thought with my self nothing more lacking in the Church than a full and a compleat story, which, being faithfully collected out of all our Monastical Writers, and written Monuments, should contain neither every vain written Fable, for that would be too much, nor yet leave out any thing necessary, for that would be too little; but with a moderate discretion taking the best of every one should both ease the labour of the Reader from turning over such a number of Writers, and also should open the plain truth of Times lying long hid in obscure darkness of Antiquity. Whereby all studious Readers, beholding as in a Glass the stay, course, and alteration of Religion, decay of Doctrine, and the Controversies of the Church, might discern the better between Antiquity and Novelty. For if the things which be first (after the Rule of Turtullian) are to be preferred before those that be later, then is the reading of Histories much necessary in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cause Historia, in old Authors, is called the Witness of Times, the Light of Verity, the Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, and Shewer of Antiquity, &c. Without the knowledge whereof mans life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error, as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later Times of the Church, when as the Bishops of Rome under colour of Antiquity have turned Truth into Heresie, and brought such new-found Devises of strange Doctrine and Religion, as in the former Age of the Church were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of Times, and for lack of true History.

For to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which wrote Histories had without partiality gone upright between God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well have been found, the most part of all this Catholick corruption intruded into the Church by the Bishops of Rome, as Transubstantiation, Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament, Auricular Confession, forced Vows of Priests not to marry, Veneration of Images, private and satisfactory Masses, the Order of Gregories Mass now used, the usurped Authority and Summa potestas of the See of Rome, with all the rout of

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of their Ceremonies and Weeds of Superstition overgrowing now the Church; all these (I say) to be New-nothings lately coined in the Mint of Rome, without any stamp of Antiquity, as by reading of this present History shall sufficiently (I trust) appear. Which History therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other Story-Writers heretofore have employed their travel to magnifie the Church of Rome, so in this History might appear to all Christian Readers the Image of both Churches, as well of the one as of the other; especially of the poor oppressed and persecuted Church of Christ. Which persecuted Church though it hath been of long season trodden under foot by Enemies, neglected in the World, not regarded in Histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true Church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preserving the same in all extreame Distresses, continually stirring up from time to time faithful Ministers, by whom always have been kept some sparks of his true Doctrine and Religion.

Image of both Churches.

Now forasmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with some other Church or Chappel of the Devil to deface and malign the same, necessary it is therefore the difference between them to be seen, and the descent of the right Church to be described from the Apostles time. Which hitherto in most part of Histories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durst not, partly for ignorance, that men could not discern rightly between the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, so shining in outward beauty, to bear such a Port, to carry such a Train and Multitude, and to stand in such high Authority, supposed the same to be the only right Catholick Mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Christ. Wherein they were far deceived: for although the right Church of God be not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the nature of Truth; so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such only as be the Members and Partakers thereof. And therefore they, which require that Gods holy Church should be evident and visible to the whole World, seem to define the great Synagogue of the World, rather than the true Spiritual Church of God.

The descent of Christs Church from the Apostles time described.

How the true Church of Christ is visible and not visible

In Christs time who would have thought but the Congregations and Councils of the Pharisees had been the right Church? and yet had Christ another Church in Earth besides that; which albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the World, yet was it the only true Church in the sight of God. Of this Church meant Christ, speaking of the Temple which he would raise again the third day. And yet after that the Lord was risen, he shewed not himself to the World, but only to his Elect, which were but few. The same Church after that encreased and multiplied mightily among the Jews, yet had not the Jews eyes to see Gods Church, but did persecute it, till at length all their whole Nation was destroyed.

After the Jews, then came the Heathen Emperors of Rome, who, having the whole Power of the World in their hands, did what the World could do, to extinguish the Name and Church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred years. All which while the true Church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the World, but rather was abhorred every where, and yet notwithstanding the same small silly Flock so despised in the World, the Lord highly regarded and mightily preserved. For although many then of the Christians did suffer death, yet was their death neither loss to them, nor detriment to the Church; but the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.

In the time of these Emperors God raised up then in this Realm of Britain divers worthy Preachers and Witnesses, as Elnanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, and other more. In whose time the Doctrine of Faith without mens traditions was sincerely preached. After their death and Martyrdom it pleased the Lord to provide a general quietness to his Church, whereby the number of his Flock began more to encrease.

The Antiquity of the Church here in England, with the descent of the same.

In this Age then followed here in the said Land of Britain, Fastidius, Nivianus, Patricius, Bacchiarus, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elnodugus, Afaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinodus, Samuel, Nivius, and a great sort more, which governed the Church of Britain by Christian Doctrine a long season; albeit the Civil Governors for the time were then dissolute and careless, as Gildas very sharply doth lay to their Charge, and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while about the space of four hundred years Religion remained in Britain uncorrupt, and the Word of Christ truly preached, till about the coming of Augustine and of his Companions from Rome, many of the said Britain-Preachers were slain by the Saxons. After that began Christian Faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certain Romish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tolerable than were the times which after followed, through the diligent industry of some godly Teachers which then lived amongst them, as Aidanus, Finianus, Coleman Archbishop of York, Beda, John of Beverly, Alcuinus, Noetus, Hucharius, Serlo, Acharus, Ealtesus, Alexander, Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Alfricus, Sygeferthus, and such other; who though they erred in some few things, yet neither so grossly, nor so greatly to be complained of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet all this while the Error of Transubstantiation and Elevation, with Auricular Confession, was not crept in for a publick Doctrine in Christs Church, as by their own Saxon Sermon made by Alfricus, and set out in the second Volume of this present History may appear. During the which mean time, although the Bishops of Rome were had here in some reverence with the Clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making Laws touching matters of the Church of England; but that only appertained to the Kings and Governors of the Land, as is in this story to be seen.

Transubstantiation not yet received for a publick Doctrine. The Church when it began to fall from God.

A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

And thus the Church of Rome, albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet during all this while it remained hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length, after that, the said Bishops began to shoot up in the world through the liberality of good Princes, and especially of Mathilda a noble Dutchesse of Italy, who at her death made the Pope Heir of all her Lands, and endued his See with great Revenues. Then Riches begat Ambition, Ambition destroyed Religion, so that all came to ruine. Out of this Corruption sprang forth here in England (as did in other places more) another Romish kind of Monckery, worse than the other before, being much more drowned in Superstition and Ceremonies, which was about the year of our Lord, 980. Of this Swarm was Egbertus, Aigelbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfrede, Agathon, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunstan, Oswold, Athelwold, Althelwine Duke of Eastangles, Lanfrac, Anselme, and such other.

And yet in this time also, through Gods Providence, the Church lacked not some of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh with the darkness of those days. For although King Edgar with Edward his base Son, being seduced by Dunstan, Oswold, and other Monkish Clerks, was then a great Author and Fautor of much Superstition, erecting as many Monasteries as were Sundays in the year; yet notwithstanding, this continued not long. For eftsoons after the death of Edgar came King Ethelrede and Queen Elthred his Mother, with Alferus Duke of Merceland, and other Peers and Nobles of the Realm, who displaced the Monks again, and restored the married Priests to their old Possessions and Livings. Moreover, after that followed also the Danes, which overthrew those Monkish Foundations as fast as King Edgar had set them up before.

And thus hitherto stood the condition of the true Church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficulty, yet in some mean state of the truth and verity, till the time of Pope Hildebrand called Gregory the Seventh, which was near about the year One thousand and eighty, and of Pope Innocentius the Third, in the year One thousand two hundred and fifteen. By whom all together was turned upside down, all Order broken, Discipline dissolved, true Doctrine defaced, Christian Faith extinguished. In stead whereof was set up preaching of mens Decrees, Dreams and idle Traditions. And whereas before Truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now Liberty was turned into Law, Argument into Authority. Whatsoever the Bishop of Rome denounced, that stood for an Oracle of all men to be received without Opposition or Contradiction; whatsoever was contrary ipso facto it was Heresie, to be punished with Faggot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere Faith of this English Church, which held out so long, to quail. Then was the clear Sunshine of Gods Word overshadowed with Mists and Darknes, appearing like Sackcloth to the people, which neither could understand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable days, as the true Visible Church began now to shrink and keep in for fear: So up start a new sort of Players, to furnish the Stage, as School-Doctors, Canonists, and four Orders of Friers. Besides other Monastical Sects and Fraternities of infinite variety. Which ever since have kept such a stir in the Church, that none for them almost durst rove, neither Cæsar, King, nor Subject. What they defined, stood; what they approved, was Catholick; what they condemned, was Heresie; whomsoever they accused, none almost could save. And thus have these hitherto continued or reigned rather in the Church, the space now of 400 years and odd. During which space the true Church of Christ, although it durst not openly appear in the face of the world, oppressed by Tyranny; yet neither was it so invisible or unknown, even by the Providence of the Lord some Remnant always remained from time to time, which not only shewed secret good affection to sincere Doctrine, but also stood in open defence of Truth against the disordered Church of Rome.

*In which Catalogue, first, to pretermitt Bertramus and Berengarius, which were before Pope Innocent the Third, a learned multitude of sufficient Witnesses here might be produced, whose Names neither are obscure nor Doctrine unknown; as Joachim Abbot of Calabria, Almericus a learned Bishop, who was judged an Heretick for holding against Images in the time of the said Innocentius. Besides the Martyrs of Allatia, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the said Innocentius in one day, as writeth Hermanus Mucius. Add likewise to these the Waldenses or Albingenses, which to a great number segregated themselves from the Church of Rome. To this number also belonged Reymandus Earl of Tholouse, Marfilus Patavius, * Gulielmus de S. Amore, Simon Tornacensis, Arnoldus de nova Villa, Johannes Semeca, besides divers other Preachers in Suevia standing against the Pope, One thousand four hundred and forty. Ex Crantz. Laurentius Anglicus a Master of Paris, Anno One thousand two hundred and sixty. Petrus Johannes a Minorite, who was burned after his death Anno One thousand two hundred and ninety. Robertus Gallus a Dominick Frier, Anno, One thousand two hundred ninety one. Robert Groshead Bishop of Lincoln, which was called Malleus Romæhorum, Anno, One thousand two hundred and fifty. Lord Peter de Cugneris, Anno, One thousand three hundred twenty nine. To these we may add moreover, Gulielmus Ockam, Bongratus Bergomenfis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Ulricus Hangeror Treasurer to the Emperor, Johannes de Ganduno, Anno, One thousand three hundred and thirty mentioned in the Extravagants, Andreas de Castro, Buridianus, Euda, Duke of Burgundy, who counselled the French King not to receive the new-found Constitutions, and Extravagants of the Pope into his Realm, Dantes Alligerius, an Italian, who wrote against the Pope, Monks, and Friers, and against the Donation of Constantine, Anno, Thirteen hundred and thirty. Taulerus a German Preacher, * Conradus Hager, imprisoned for preaching against the Mass, Anno, Thirteen hundred thirty nine, The Author of the Book called Penitentiarius Afini, compiled about the year, Thirteen hundred forty three, Michael Cefenas, a Gray Frier, Petrus de Corbaria, with Johannes de Poliacco, mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the Pope, Johannes de Castilione, with Franciscus de Arcatara, who were burned about the year of our Lord, 1322. † Johannes Rechtaylada, otherwise called Haybalus, with another Frier martyred about the year, 1346. Franciscus Petrarcha, who called Rome the Whore of Babylon, &c.*

Anno,

Enas Sylvius faith, That Mathilda made the Pope Heir of those Lands which are called the Patrimony of Saint Peter.

Ex Avn. lib. 6. Monckery when it began to reign in England.

The true Church when it began first to decay.

The true Church continued in the midst of their Enemities.

** Extravagant. ca. Non sine multa. Ex Nicol. Emerico, lib. Inquisitionum.*

** Ex 30. Avenio, lib. 7. Extravagant cap. Licet infra doctrinam. Ex bullis quibusdam Ordinibus. Herib. lensis. † Extravagant. Joan. 22. Ex Joan. Frofard. Volum. 1. cap. 215.*

A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

Anno, One thousand three hundred and fifty, * Georgius Ariminensis, Anno, One thousand three hundred and fifty, Joannes de Rupe Sciffa, imprisoned for certain Prophecies against the Pope, Anno, One thousand three hundred and forty, Gethardus Ridder, who also wrote against Monks and Friars, a Book called Lacrymæ Ecclesiæ, Anno, One thousand three hundred and fifty, Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Joannes Monachus Cardini, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, Preacher, Anno, One thousand three hundred sixty four, Militzius a Bohemian, who then preached, That Antichrist was come, and was excommunicate for the same, Anno, One thousand three hundred sixty six, Jacobus Misnenfis, * Matthias Parisiensis a Bohemian born, and a Writer against the Pope, Anno, One thousand three hundred and seventy, Joannes Montziger, Rector of the University of Ulm, Anno 1384. Nilus Archbishop of Thessalonica, Henricus de Jota, Henricus de Haffia, &c.

Ex Tri-remlo.
Ex Bulla Gregorii, cap. 11.
Ex Illyri-co.

I do but recite the principal Writers and Preachers in those days. How many thousands there were which never bowed their knees to Baal, that is known to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one * Bruthius, that six and thirty Citizens of Maguntia were burned, Anno, One thousand three hundred and ninety. Who, following the Doctrine of the Waldenses, affirmed the Pope to be the Great Antichrist. Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty, which in the Province of Narbon were put to the fire, for not receiving the Decretals of Rome, besides them that suffered at Paris to the number of four and twenty at one time, Anno 1210. and the next year after were four hundred burnt under the name of Hereticks; besides also a certain good Heremit, an Englishman, of whom mention is made in John Bacon, Dist. 2. Quæst. 1. who was committed for disputing in Pauls Church against certain Sacraments of the Church of Rome, Anno 1306.

Ex Bru-thio. Ex Christiano-Matthæo.
Ex Joan. Bacon. Dist. 2. Quæst. 1.

To descend now somewhat lower in drawing out the Descent of the Church. What a multitude here cometh of faithful Witnesses in the time of John Wickliff, as Ocliff, Wickliff, Anno 1379. William Thorp, White, Purvey, Fathal, Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoin, Will. Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, about the year, 1400. John Badby, Anno 1410. Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an Anchoreffe called Mathilde in the City of Leicester, Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton Knight, John Beverley Preacher, John Huffle, Jerome of Prague, a Schoolmaster, with a number of faithful Bohemians, and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might also adjoyn Laurentius Valla, and Joannes Picus, the learned Earl of Mirandula. But what do I stand upon recital of Names, which almost are infinite?

Wherefore, if any be so far beguiled in his Opinion to think the Doctrine of the Church of Rome (as it now standeth) to be of such Antiquity, and that the same was never impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius now of late, let them read these Histories: or if he think the said History not to be of sufficient credit to alter his Perswasion, let him peruse the Acts and Statutes of Parliaments, passed in this Realm of ancient time, and therein consider and confer the course of times; where he may find and read, Anno 5. Regis Richardi 2. in the year of our Lord, 1380. of a great number (which there be called evil persons) going about from Town to Town in Freeze Gowns, preaching unto the people, &c. Which Preachers although the words of the Statute do term there to be dissembling persons, preaching divers Sermons containing Heresies and notorious Errors, to the emblemment of Christian Faith, and of holy Church, &c. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding every true Christian Reader may conceive of those Preachers to teach no other Doctrine, than now they hear their own Preachers in Pulpits preach against the Bishop of Rome, and the corrupt Heresies of his Church.

Statut. in An. 5. Rich. 2. Anno Dom. 1380

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in Statut. Anno 2 Hen. 4. cap. 15. in the year of our Lord, 1402. another like company of good Preachers and faithful Defenders of true Doctrine against blind Heresie and Error. Whom albeit the words of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsely term to be false and perverse Preachers, under dissembled Holiness, teaching in those days openly and privily new Doctrines and heretical Opinions, contrary to the Faith and determination of holy Church, &c. yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth Histories, and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall understand these to be no false Teachers, but faithful Witnesses of the Truth, not teaching any new Doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church; but rather shall find that Church to be unholy which they preached against, teaching rather it self heretical Opinions, contrary both to Antiquity, and Verity of Christs true Catholick Church.

Ex Stat. in Anno 2 H. 4. cap. 15. Anno Dom. 1402

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful Favourers and Followers of Gods holy Word, we find in the year, 1422. specified in a Letter sent from Henry Chichefly Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Martin the Fifth, in the fifth year of his Popedom, where mention is made of some many here in England infected (as he said) with the Heresies of Wickliff and Huffle, that without force of an Army they could not be suppressed, &c. Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardinals to the Archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the Chamber Apostolik; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of Chalices, Candlesticks, and other Implements of the Church, &c.

Ex literis Archiepisc. Cant. ad Martin. 5. Anno Dom. 1422

What shall need then any more Witnesses to prove this matter, when you see so many years ago whole Armies and Multitudes thus standing against the Pope? who though they be termed here for Hereticks and Schismatics, yet in that which they call Heresie served they the living Lord within the Ark of his true spiritual and visible Church.

And where is then the frivolous brag of the Papists, which make so much of their painted sheath, and would needs bear us down, that this Government of the Church of Rome, which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of mind, even from the Primitive Antiquity, and that never was any other Church demonstrable here in Earth for men to follow, besides the said only Catholick Mother Church of Rome? when as we have sufficiently proved before, by the continual descent of the Church

till

A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

till this present time, that the said Church, after the Doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter, but even the old continued Church, by the providence and promise of Christ still standing, which albeit it hath been of late years repressed by the tyranny of Roman Bishops more than before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his Gospel, against Heresies and Errors of the Church of Rome, as in this History more at full is to be seen.

Bloody Marks of Christs Passion seen on mens garments in Germany, An. 1501.
Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this descent of the Church unto the 1501 year. In which year the Lord began to shew in the parts of Germany wonderful Tokens, and bloody Marks of his Passion, as the bloody-Cross, his Nails, Spear, and Crown of Thornes, which fell from Heaven upon the Garments and Caps of Men, and Rocks of Women, as you may further read in this Book. By the which Tokens Almighty God, no doubt, presignified, what grievous Afflictions and bloody Persecutions should then begin to ensue upon his Church for his Gospels sake, according as in this History is described; wherein is to be seen what Christian-blood hath been spilt, what Persecutions raised, what Tyranny exercised, what Torments devised, what Treachery used against the poor Flock and Church of Christ; in such sort as since Christs time greater hath not been seen.

Seventy years of Captivity well near expired.
And now by revolution of years we are come from that time of 1501, to the year now present 1570. In which the full seventy years of the Babylonish-Captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloody Marks above mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of Luther and his Persecution, then lacketh yet sixteen years. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked World, or what rest he will give to his Church after these long Sorrows, he is our Father in Heaven, his Will be done in Earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty.

Exhortation to the Church of England.
In the mean time let us for our parts with all patient Obedience wait upon his Graces leisure, and glorifie his holy Name, and edifie one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending one against another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good Will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a short time; yet let us strive in the mean while what we can to amend the malice of the time with mutual humanity. They that be in Error let them not disdain to learn. They which have greater Talents of Knowledge committed, instruct in simplicity them that be simple. No man liveth in that Commonwealth where nothing is amiss; but yet because God hath so placed us Englishmen here in one Commonwealth, also in one Church, as in one Ship together; let us not mangle or divide the Ship, which being divided perisheth; but every man serve with diligence and discretion in his Order, wherein he is called. They that sit at the Helm keep well the point of the Needle, to know how the Ship goeth, and whither it should. Whatsoever weather betideth, the Needle well touched with the Stone of Gods Word, will never fail. Such as labour at the Oars start for no Tempest, but do what they can to keep from the Rocks. Likewise they which be in inferior Rooms take heed they move no Sedition nor Disturbance against the Rowers and Mariners. No Storm so dangerous to a Ship on the Sea, as is discord and disorder in a Weal publick. What Countries and Nations, what Kingdoms and Empires, what Cities, Towns and Houses discord hath dissolved, in Stories is manifest; I need not spend time in rehearsing Examples. The God of Peace, who hath Power both of Land and Sea, reach forth his merciful hand to help them up that sink, to keep up them that stand, to still these Winds and surging Seas of Discord and Contention among us; that we professing one Christ, may in one Unity of Doctrine gather our selves into one Ark of the true Church together, where we continuing stedfast in Faith, may at the last luckily be conducted to the joyful Port of our desired landing-place, by his heavenly Grace. To whom both in Heaven and Earth, be all Power and Glory, with his Father and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

The Utility of this STORY.

THe World being replenished with such an infinite multitude of Books of all kind of ^{Multitude of Books} matters, I may seem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand superfluous and needless, at ^{lamented} this present to set out such Volumes, especially of Histories, considering now adays the World is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other Treatises, so that Books now seem rather to lack Readers, than Readers to lack Books. In the which multitude of Books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail this insatiable boldness of many now adays both in Writing and Printing; which, to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man else beside; and would therefore no man should think that unadvisedly or with rashness I have attempted this Enterprize, as one being not only doubtful, but also both bashful and fearful within my self for setting the same abroad. And why? First, I perceived how learned this Age of ours is in reading of Books, neither could I tell what the secret judgments of Readers would conceive, to see so weak a thing to set upon such a weighty Enterprize, not sufficiently furnished with such Ornaments able to satisfy the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serve the Utility of the Studious, and the delight of the Learned. Which ability the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the less I durst be bold to become a Writer.

But again on the other side, when I weighed with my self what memorable Acts and famous Doings this later Age of the Church hath ministred to us by the patient Sufferings of the worthy Martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious Monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registred in Books, should be buried by my default, under darkness of Oblivion. Me thought somewhat was to be said of them for their well deserving, and something again of our parts for benefit by them received. But above all other things, nothing did so stir me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and special regard of the common Utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of those Monuments or Martyrology; which History as I have taken in hand chiefly for the use of the *English Church*, so have I framed it in that Tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now if men commonly delight so much in other Chronicles which entreat only upon matters of Policy, and rejoyce to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the Stratagems of valiant Captains, the terror of foughten Fields, the sacking of Cities, the hurly-burly of Realms and People; And if men think it such a gay thing in a Commonwealth to commit to History such old Antiquities of things prophane, and bestow all their Ornaments of Wit and Eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserve in remembrance the Lives, Acts, and Doings, not of bloody Warriors, but of mild and constant Martyrs of Christ, which serve not so much to delight the ear, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Christian godliness? As first, by reading thereof we may learn a lively testimony of Gods mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of *Atheists*, and all the whole Nest of *Epicures*. For like as one said of *Harpalus* in times past, that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because he being so wicked a man, escaped so long unpunished; so contrariwise in these men we have a much more assured and plain witness of God, both in whose Lives and Deaths appeared such manifest Declarations of Gods divine working, whiles in such sharpness of Torments we behold in them strength so constant above mans reach, such readines to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, chearfulness, so ^{compari-} courageous in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy Ghost, which ^{son between} they in their Lives so plentifully tasted in their Afflictions, as in reading of their Letters evidently we may understand. Over and besides this the mild deaths of the Saints do not a little avail to the stablishing of a good Conscience, to learn the contempt of the World, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm Faith, encrease Godliness, abate Pride in Prosperity, and in Adversity do open an hope of heavenly Comfort. For what man reading the misery of these godly persons may not therein, as in a Glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For if God give Adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And as by reading of prophane stories we are made perhaps more skilful in Watlike affairs; so by reading this we are made better in our livings, and besides are better prepared unto the like Conflicts, (if by Gods permission they shall happen hereafter) more wise by their Doctrine, and more stedfast by their Example.

To be short, they declare to the World what true Christian Fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the Resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, me thinks I have good cause to wish, that like as other Subjects, even so also Kings and Princes, which commonly delight in Heroical Stories, would diligently peruse such Monuments of Martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their Walls, Cups, Rings, and Gates. For doubtless such as these are more worthy of honour than an hundred

The Utility of the Story.

112. 63.

hundred *Alexanders, Hector, Scipio's*, and War-like *Julies*. And though the World judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are to be reputed in deed; not that kill one another with a Weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods Cause do retain an invincible constancy against the Threats of Tyrants, and Violence of Tormentors. Such as these are indeed the true Conquerors of the World, by whom we learn true Manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the World. With this valiantness did that most mild Lamb, and invincible Lion of the Tribe of *Juda* first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable Fortitude we hear this Prophetical admiration, *Who is this (saith he) which walketh so in the multitude of his strength*; Forsooth the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the World, and yet conquering the World after the same manner he was conquered.

The like dance did all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the ancient Antiquity of the Church did attribute so much honour, as never King or Emperor could purchase in this World with all their Images, Pillars, high Spires, Triumphs, Temples, and all their solemn Feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the Memory but also the Reliques of those goods Martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient Christians. We have also for witness the learned Hymns and Songs of *Prudentius* and *Nazianzen*, wherewith *Pindarus* did never so much set out his Triumphs of *Olympia* and *Nemea*. I need not here rehearse the learned Orations of Eloquent *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Jerome*, who never shewed their Eloquence more, than when they fell into the Commendations of the godly Martyrs.

Comparison
between
the Martyrs
of the Pri-
mitive
Church, and
of the later
Church.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to Martyrs; with what Gratulation, Rejoyce, Mirth, and common Joy the Afflictions of those godly, dying in Christs Quarrel, were sometime received and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the Church did well consider how much she was beholding to their benefits, by whose death she understood her Treasures to increase. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our time deserve any less Commendation, than the other in the Primitive Church; which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatness of their Torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of Posterity, and increase of the Gospel. They did water with their Blood the Truth that was newly springing up; so these by their deaths restored it again, being so decayed and fallen down. They standing in the foreward of the battel, did receive the first Incounter and Violence of their Enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such Tyranny; these with like courage again, like old beaten Souldiers, did win the field in the rereward of the battel. They like famous Husbandmen of the World did sow the Fields of the Church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these with fatness of their Blood did cause it to batten and fructifie. Would to God the Fruit might be speedily gathered into the Barn, which only remaineth behind to come.

Now, if we ascribe such Reputation to godly Preachers (and worthily) which diligently Preach the Gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of Persecution; how much more reasonable cause have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their Lives for the defence of the same? All these premisses duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous Martyrs in this our Age, let us not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkind to them, than the Writers of the Primitive Church were unto theirs. And though we repute not their Ashes, Chains, and Swords in stead of Relicks; yet let us yield thus much unto their Commemoration, to glorifie the Lord in his Saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their Lives at the least with like Innocency. They offered their Bodies willingly to the rough handling of the Tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortifie our Flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the Riches and Glory of the World for the love of Christ, but also their Lives; and shall we then keep so great a stir one against another for the transitory trifles of this World? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done to them, and when their very hearts blood gushed out of their Bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor Brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their Persecutors; and therefore ought we, which are now the Posterity and Children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but being admonished, by their Examples, if we cannot express their charity toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any. And if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving and not revenging the same. And let us not only keep our Hands from shedding of Blood, but our Tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, by Martyrdom, or loss of Life, according to their Example, to yield up the same in the defence of the Lords Flock. Which thing if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the World than now is. And thus much touching the Utility and Fruit to be taken of this History.

To all the Professed FRIENDS and FOLLOWERS of the POPE'S Proceedings.

Four Questions Propounded.

TO you all and singular which profess the Doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy Father, and of your Mother-Church of Rome, pretending the Name of Catholics, commonly termed Papists, wheresoever abiding in the Realm of England, these four Questions or Problems hereunder following I would move, desiring you all either to muse upon them, or to answer them at your leisure.

The first Question.

First, Forasmuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Isaiah the Hill of his Holiness) beareth in the Scripture an undoubted Type of the Spiritual Church of Christ; and forasmuch as the said Isaiah, Chapter eleventh, and sixty fifth, prophesying of the said Mount Sion, saith in these words, Non nocent, neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus, &c. That is, They shall not kill nor hurt in all my holy Hill, saith the Lord, &c. And again in the same Chapters thus we read, Habitabit Lupus cum Agno, & Pardus cum Haedo accubabit, Vitulus & Leo & Ovis una commorabuntur, & puellus parvulus ducet eos, &c. That is, The Wolf shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard with the Kid; the Calf, the Lion, and the Sheep shall feed together, and a young Child shall rule them. The Cow also and the Bear shall abide together with their young Ones, and the Lion shall eat Chaff and Fodder like the Ox, &c.

Upon these premises now followeth my question; How the Church of Rome can be answerable to this Hill of Sion, seeing in the same Church of Rome is and hath been now so many years such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning and spilling of Christian blood, such malice and mischief wrought, as in reading these Histories may to all the World appear?

To this if they answer, and expound these words of the Prophet, as pertaining to the Church Triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand, forasmuch as the Prophet in the very same place, where he propheseth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy Mountain without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the Earth, and sheweth also the cause of that godly peace. Because (saith he) the Earth is replenished with Knowledge and Science of the Lord, &c. Ibid. And furthermore the Prophet, speaking of the same day when this shall be, addeth, saying, In that day the Root of Jesse shall stand for a sign to the people, for the Gentiles to be converted, and to seek unto him, &c. Which day in no wise can be applied to the Church in Heaven Triumphant, but only here Militant in Earth.

Touching which place of Isaiah further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the States, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal) is not restrained the publick penalty of good Laws needful to be executed upon publick Malefactors, but here is restrained the fierceness, revenge, cruelty, and violence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly subject by nature, through grace and working of the Gospel they are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition, from stoutness to softness, from violence to sufferance, from fierceness to forbearance, from pride to humility, from cruelty to compassion, from wilfulness to simplicity, from solemn singularity to humanity and meekness. Which virtues, if they had been in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of Saint Paul, Which willet men that be stronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meekness, &c. Rom. 15. Gal. 6.) I should not have needed now at this time to write such a long History as this, of the suffering of so many Martyrs.

The second Question.

My second Question is this, To demand of you Catholick Professors of the Popes Seat, which so deadly you to alledge for this your extreme hatred ye bear unto them, that neither you your selves can abide to live with them, nor yet will suffer them to live amongst you? If they were Jews, Turks, or Infidels, or in their Doctrine were any idolatrous Impiety, or detestable Iniquity in their lives; if they went about any deadly Destruction, or privy Conspiracies to oppress your lives, or by fraudulent dealing to circumvent you; then had you some cause to complain, and also to revenge. Now seeing in their Doctrine ye have neither Blasphemy, Idolatry, Superstition, nor misbelief to object unto them; seeing they are baptized in the same Belief, and believe the same Articles of the Creed as ye do; having the same God, the same Christ and Saviour, the same Baptism, and are ready to confer with you in all kind of Christian Doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture; how then riseth this mortal malice of you against them? If you think them to be Hereticks, then bring forth, if ye can, any one Sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, expounded by the censure of most ancient Doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confess the same? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault find you? They serve God, they walk under his fear, they obey his Law, as men may do; and though they be Transgressors towards him, as other men are, yet toward you what have they done, what have they committed or deserved, why you should be so bitter against them?

What offended the poor Inhabitants of Merindoll and Cabriers, when the Bishop of Aix, the Cardinal of Turon, and other Bishops of France, wresting from Francis the French King a Commission, sent Minervius with his Captain John de Gray, to destroy their Country, Anno 1530. who dividing the poor people there into a Barn full of straw, set the Barn on fire, and burned up Men, Women, and Children? And likewise in a Church exercised the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand Young and Old, Women, Children, and young Infants, besides seven whole Towns, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said Country of Provence.

Also

Four Questions propounded to the Papists.

Malice of
Papists a-
gainst the
Citizens of
Tholouse
in France.
Malice and
cruelty of
Papists a-
gainst the
Protestants
of the Town
of Vassy.
Clemency
and mercy
shewed to
Papists in
the Reign
of Queen
Elizabeth.

Also before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouse and Avinion, when Pope Gregory the Ninth set Lewis the French King to War against them, and against Raymundus their Earl, without cause; where also the said King died at the Siege.

As to speak of later years, what hurt or harm did the poor Protestants in the Town of Vassy, who, being peaceably at a Sermon, were miserably slain and cut, Men, Women, and Children, by the Duke of Guise and his armed Souldiers: Besides other infinite Examples almost not to be numbred of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other Countries more.

But to let other Countries pass, let us turn now to the peaceable Government in this Realm of England, under this our so mild and gracious Queen now presently reigning. Under whom you see how gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you would have, having almost the best Rooms and Offices in all the Realm, not only without any loss of life, but also without any fear of death: And though a few of your Arch-Clerks be in custody, yet in that custody so shewably are they hurt, that many a good Protestant in the Realm would be glad with all their hearts to change Rooms and Diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure have flit over the Seas: if their courage to see Countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them? Yet this is certain, no dread there was of death that drove them. For what Papist have you seen in all this Land to lose either life or limb for Papistry, during all these twelve years hitherto since this Queens Reign? And yet all this notwithstanding, having no cause to complain, so many causes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety, but hope for a day, and fain would have a change. And to prevent your desired day, ye have conspired, and risen up in open Rebellion against your Prince, whom the Lord hath set up to be your Governour.

The trait-
orous, mur-
dering of
the Lord
James Re-
gent of
Scotland,
Martyr.

And as you have since that now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable State of Scotland, in murdering most traiterously the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in sparing the Queens life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his own;) so with like fury, as by your Rebellion appeareth, would you disturb the golden quiet and tranquillity of this Realm of England, if ye might have your wills. Which the merciful Grace of the Almighty, for Christ his Sons sake our Lord, forfend and utterly disap-
point. Amen.

The chief
cause of all
these later
Persecuti-
ons in the
Church, is
only the
private
quarrel of
the Bishop
of Rome.

Wherefore these premises considered, my question is to ask of you and know, what just or reasonable cause ye have of these your unreasonable doings, of this your so mortal and deadly hatred, fury and malice you bear against these your even-Christened, of these your Tumults, Conjurations, Copping and Doping, Rebel-
lions, Putterings, and Murders wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole World: Of all which mischiefs if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtless to be none other but only the private cause of the Bishop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

The Plan-
tation of
the Popes
Supremacy
proved not
to be of
God.

Touching which cause how unreasonable and unjust it is, more shall be said (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shall see their answer, if it shall so please them, or any of them to answer this question. In the mean time, this for a brief note shall suffice: that it standeth not with Scripture, but contrary to Scrip-
ture, that the Bishop of Rome should so revenge his own private cause. If this Title and Plantation be good and of God, why doth he not refer it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintain it though the whole World said No. If it be otherwise, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the World said Yea. Yea the greatest argument to prove this Plantation of the Popes Supremacy not to be of God, is, that the Pope, fighting in his own private cause, by outward and worldly force seeketh his own glory. Christ our Saviour, being here refused himself, yet neither revenged his own cause, nor sought his own Glory, but only the Glory and Will of his Father, thus speaking of himself, Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est, pater meus est qui glorificat me, &c. John 8. What is, if I glorifie my self, my glory is nothing: my Father is he that glorifieth me, &c. Even so I say with Scripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not so wrangle for his glory, as he doth: But forsomuch as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloodshed to exalt himself, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he should be brought low, &c.

John 8.

Luke 18.

Luke 18.

The third Question.

The third
question.
Apoc. 13.
The two
Beasts in the
Book of
Revelation
described.
The second
Beast with
horns like
a Lamb.

My third question I take of the thirteenth Chapter of the Book of Revelation, Which Book as it con-
taineth a Prophetical History of the Church, so likewise it requireth by Histories to be opened. In this History mention is made, first of a certain Beast coming out of the Sea, having seven Heads and ten Horns, with ten Diadems of Blasphemy: Unto the which Beast the Dragon the Devil gave his strength, and great Power to fight against his Saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty two months: of the which Beast one of his heads was wounded at length to death, &c.

After this, immediately in the same Chapter, mention followeth of another Beast rising out of the Land, having two Horns like a Lamb, and spake like a Dragon, and did all the Power of the former Beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the Earth to worship the Beast, whose Head was wounded and lived. Who also had Power to give spirit and life to the said former Beast, to make the Image of the Beast to speak, and to cause all men, from the highest to the lowest, to take the mark of the Beast in their Hands and Fore-
heads; and whosoever worshipped not the Image of the Beast, should be killed, &c.

Upon this description of these two Beasts riseth my question; wherein I desire all Papists, from the highest to the lowest, either to answer, or to consider with themselves, what the spirit of the Prophecie meaneth by the said two Beasts. Neither is the mystery of this Prophecie so obscure, but being Historical by Histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing therefore to the Papists, as men expert in Histories, my question is this, What seeing the Prophecie of these two Beasts must needs presfigure some People or Dominion in the World, of some high estate and power: they will now declare unto us, what people or domination this should be. Which if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and properties of the said two Beasts here set forth, they must needs be driven of force inevitable to grant and confess, the same to agree only to the City and Empire of Rome, and to no other; which by these Reasons following of necessity must needs be concluded.

The mystery
of the first
Beast rising
out of the
Sea, applied.

First, The Beast which came out of the Sea, having the strength, the Seat and Power of the great Dragon (the Devil, called the Prince of this World) committed to him, who also had Power given over all Tribes, Lan-
guages, People and Countries in the Earth, must needs be an Empire or Monarchy of great force, passing all other Monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the Empire of Rome and none other.

The Image
of the Beast
resembled
to the Mo-
narchy of
Rome, Apoc.

Secondly, In that the Beast had seven heads and ten horns, with ten Diadems full of blasphemy upon them; those seven heads being expounded in the same Book, Chap. 17. for seven Hills, notoriously imposed on the City of Rome, whereto were seven hills contained. The like also may be thought of the ten horns, being there ex-
pounded

Four Questions propounded to the Papists.

pounded for ten Kings (signifying belike the ten Provinces and Kingdoms of the world, subdued to the Roman Empire) with ten Crowns of Blasphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree to the City of Rome.

Thirdly, Where the said Beast had Power to make 42 months, and to fight against the Saints, and to overcome them, &c. Whereby most manifestly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the Heathen persecuting Emperors, which had Power given the space of so many months (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, 294 years) to persecute Christ's Church, as in the Table of the Primitive Church hereafter following is discoursed more at large.

Fourthly, Where the Prophet speaketh of one of the heads of the Beast to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured again; by that ye have to understand the decay and subversion of the City of Rome, and of Italy, which, being one of the heads of the Roman Monarchy, was subdued by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and the City of Rome thrice sacked and taken, between the Reigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the time of Justinian Emperour of Constantinople; and so remained this head of Rome wounded a long time under the Dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound was cured again, as the sequel of this Prophecie declareth. For so it followeth in the aforesaid Chapter of the Revelation; And after this I saw (saith he) another Beast rising out of the Land, having two horns like the Lamb, and spake like the Dragon. Who practised all the Power of the first Beast before his face, and caused all the Inhabitants of the Earth to worship the first Beast, whose head was wounded and cured again, &c. And to him it was given to give life to the Image of the Beast, and to make it speak: and also to make all them that will not worship the Image of the Beast, to be slain, and caused all from the most to the least, both rich and poor, free-men and bond-men, to take the mark of the Beast in their right hand and in their foreheads, so that none should buy or sell, unless he had the Beasts mark about him, &c.

The description of this second Beast being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but needs must be applied to the Bishop of Rome, and to none other; as by History, and order of times is evident to be proved. For who else representeth the horns of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World, but only he? Who speaketh with the voice of the Dragon so proudly as he? The voice of the Dragon spake once to Christ, That all the glory of the World was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it, &c. And doth not this false horned Lamb, speaking in the same voice of the Dragon, say by the mouth of P. Greg. 7. That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were his, and that he had Power in Earth to loose, and take away Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where he would, &c. *Ex Plat. in Vit. Gregor. 7.*

Furthermoze, at what time the declining State of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought under subjection of the Lombards, then the Pope stirred up Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part against the Lombards, and to restore again the old glory of that Monarchy to his former State. And therefore who cured the wounded head of this Beast again, but only he? Who gave life and speech to the Image of the Beast, but he? who, after that by the help of the French Kings he had subdued those Lombards with other Aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome into his own hands, he so repaired and advanced the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poor, have been glad to send and seek to Rome, yea Kings, Emperors, Queens and Dukes have been glad to kiss that Bishops feet, and to lead his horse by the bridle. So that the Majesty of Rome, in the old Heathen Emperors days was never moze terrible nor glorious, nor ever had moze power to persecute and overcome Gods Saints, than these Lamb-like Bishops of Rome had, and have exercised these 500 years in Christendom. And therefore who else in all the World hath so much Power to do the Works of the first Beast before his face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive the Seal, and so become loyal to the City and See of Rome; so that whosoever hath not the mark whereby to be known to hold of the Church of Rome, shall have no place to buy and sell, nor to occupy in all Christendom.

Now if any Papists whatsoever, in answering to this my question, can apply this propheticall mystery of these two Beasts otherwise than thus, I would heartily desire him to take so much pains to satisfie this doubt at his good pleasure and leisure. In the mean season, let this stand for a Corollarium, that the Bishop of Rome by this description must be that second Beast prophesied to come in the later time of the Church under a false presented Lamb, to restore again the old Persecutions of Rome, and to disturb the whole Church of Christ; as this day too truly it is come to pass.

The fourth Question.

As touching my fourth question, although I could urge you with another like propheticall place of Scripture, no less evident against the Bishop of Rome, taken out of the second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, where mention is made of the Son of Perdition, sitting in the Temple of God, as God, and advancing himself above all that is called God, &c. Which place ye can by no reasonable evasion avoid; yet notwithstanding to let this pass, I turn my question to ask this of you; Whether the Religion of Christ be meer spiritual, or else corporal? If ye affirm it to be corporal, as was the old Religion of the Jews, consisting in outward Rites, Sacrifices, and Ceremonies of the Law; then shew if ye can, what any one outward action or observation is required in Christian Religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a Christian man for remission of sins and salvation, save only the two Sacramental Ceremonies of outward Baptism, and of the Lords Supper? Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporal; that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sins, nor salvation, but only are visible shews of invisible and spiritual Benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom we serve be spiritual; how can his Religion and Service be Corporal, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, saying, God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worship him must worship in Spirit and Verity, &c. *John 4.*

Now if you grant (as ye must needs) this our Christian Religion to be spiritual, and not a corporal Religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point of all these things, which ye strive for so much with us, to be spiritual, but altogether corporal, and extern matters and Ceremonial Observations, nothing conducing to any spiritual purpose, as your outward succession of Bishops, Garments, Vestures, Gestures, Colours, choice of Seats, difference of days, times and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, tasting, numbing of Beads, gilding and worshipping of Images, building of Monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in Cloisters, abstaing from flesh and white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping Ember-days, hearing Mass and Divine Service, seeing and adoring the Body in form of Bread, receiving holy Water and holy Bread, creeping to the Crosse, carrying Palms, taking Ashes, bearing Candles, Pilgrimage going, censing, kneeling, knocking, Altars, Super-Altars, Censers, vestments, Pardons; In Orders, crossing, anointing, shaving, forswearing Marriage; In Baptism, crossing, taking, spelling, exorcising, washing of hands; at Easter, ear-confession, Penance-doing, satisfaction: And in receiving, with Beards new shaven, to imagine a Body where they see no Body; and though he were there present to be seen, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of it self, without faith conducing no more, than it did to the Jews. At Rogation-days to carry Banners, to follow the Crosse, to walk about the fields. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At Hollomas to watch in the Church, to say a Virge, and Commemorations, and to ring for All-Souls, to pay Wythes truly, to give to the high Altar. And if a man

Of these forty two months, and the exposition thereof read after. The wounded head of the Beast in the Revelation, what it meaneth. The second Beast rising out of the Land, pretending the horns of a Lamb, what it meaneth.

Apoc. 13. The mystery of the thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation, expounded.

Ex Platina in vita Greg. 7. The Image of the old Monarchy revived by the Bishop of Rome.

Power to do the works of the Beast before his sight. Apoc. 13.

Religion of Christ spiritual, and not corporal.

The Pope turneth the spiritual Religion of Christ to a corporal Religion. The whole sum of the Popes Catholick Religion set forth in parts.

Four Considerations propounded to the Protestants.

will be a Priest, to say Mass and Pattens, to serve the Saint of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In sickness to be annealed, to take his Rites; after his death to have Funerals, and Obites said for him, and to be rung for at his Funeral, month mind, and year mind, &c. Add moreover to these the outward Sacrifice of the Mass, with opus operatum sine bono motu utentis, &c.

A man may be a Catholic by the Popes Religion, without any working of the Holy Ghost. The nature of true Christian Religion described.

Salvation of man standeth only in Faith in Christ. Faith in Christ no light matter to flesh and blood. Many things incident to salvation besides Faith; but not as causes thereof. Works of Sanctification, on how they come and follow Faith. Eney 58. Mat. 25.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole summary and effect of all the Popes Catholick Religion; so are they all corporal exercises, consisting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholick Christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of Faith, or of the Holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that which flesh and blood of his strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the Holy Ghost did work?

But now the order of our Religion, and way of salvation, consisteth not in such corporal or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spiritual gifts, which do far exceed the capacity of flesh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefest and only main cause that saveth man, and remitteth sins, is his Faith in Christ. Which Faith I thus define; for a man to believe by the bloodshedding of Jesus the Son of God, his sins to be forgiven, Gods wrath to be pacified, and himself to be justified perfectly from all Accusations that can be laid unto him, &c. And though the Papists make a light matter of this, to believe in Christ; and when they hear us say, That Faith only justifieth, they object to us again, and make it a small matter to be saved, if Faith only justifieth us; yet notwithstanding this Faith, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attain thereto, unless Gods holy Spirit from above do draw him.

Moreover, besides this Faith, many other things are incident also to the Doctrine of our Salvation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as Sacraments and Seals of Faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same. So Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord be as testimonies and proofs, that by our Faith only in Christ we are justified, that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so by the blood of Christ our sins be purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of his body.

Upon the same Faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also as fruits and effects do follow after Faith, as peace of Conscience, joy in the Holy God, Invocation, Patience, Charity, Mercy, Judgment, and Sanctification. For God for our Faith in Christ his Son therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of Peace and Sanctification, whereby mans heart is moved to a godly disposition to fear God, to seek him, to call upon him, to trust unto him, to stick to him in all Adversities and Persecutions, to love him, and for his sake also to love our Brethren, to have mercy and compassion upon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to break Bread to them if they be hungry, and if they be burdened to ease them, to cloath them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseless, Matthew the five and twentieth, with such other spiritual exercises of Piety and Sanctification as these. Which therefore I call spiritual, because they proceed of the holy Spirit and Law of God, which is spiritual.

And thus have ye a Catholick Christian defined, first after the Rules of Rome, and also after the Rule of the Gospel. Now confer these Antitheses together, and see whither of these is the true Christian, the ceremonial man after the Church of Rome, or the spiritual man with his Faith and other spiritual Fruits of piety following after the same. And if ye say that ye mix them both together, spiritual things with your corporal Ceremonies, to that I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sins, and salvation, they ought in no case to be joyned together, because the main causes of all our Salvation and Remission is only spiritual, and consisteth in Faith and in no other.

And therefore upon the same cause I come to my question again, as I began, to ask whether the Religion of Christ be a meer spiritual Religion; and whether in the Religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but only meer corporal things required, to make a Catholick man. And thus I leave you unto your answer.

In turning over the first leaf of this Book, thou shalt find, gentle Reader, the Arguments of Pighius and Hosius, wherein thus they argue, That forsomuch as Christ must needs have a Catholick Church ever continuing here in Earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort; and seeing no other Church hath indured continually from the Apostles, visible here in Earth, but only the Church of Rome; they conclude therefore, the Church of Rome only to be the right Catholick Church of Christ, &c.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said; that forsomuch as the medius terminus of this Argument, both in the Major and Minor consisteth only in the word (visible and unknown) if they mean by this word (visible) in the Major, that Christs Church must be seen here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false. Likewise, if they mean by the same word (visible) in the Minor, that no other Church hath been seen and known to any, but only the Church of Rome, they are likewise deceived. For the true Church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but only they which have spiritual eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet so invisible again, but such as be Gods Elect, and members thereof, do see it, and have seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot do so, &c. Whereof read more in the Protestation above prefixed to the Church of England.

Four Considerations given out to Christian Protestants, Professors of the Gospel, With a brief Exhortation inducing to reformation of Life.

The first Consideration.

AS in the Page before four Questions were moved to the Catholick Papists, to answer them at their leisure; so have I here to the Christian Gospellers four Considerations for them to muse upon with speed convenient.

The first Consideration is this, That every good man well weigh with himself the long Tranquillity, the great Plenty, the peaceable Liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed upon this Land during all the Reign hitherto of this our Sovereign and most happy Queen *Elizabeth*. in such sort as the like example of Gods abundant mercies is not to be seen in any Nation about us; so as we may well sing with the *Psalm* in the Church, *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, & opes gloriae suae non manifestavit eis*; First in having the true Light of Gods Gospel so shining among us, so publicly received, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; having withall a Prince so vertuous, a Queen so gracious given unto us, of our own native Country; bred and born amongst us, so quietly governing us, so long lent unto us, in such Peace defending us against such as would else devour us; briefly, what could we have more at Gods hand, if we would wish? Or what else could we wish in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not Grace to use that well which we have?

The

Four Considerations propounded to the Protestants.

The second Consideration.

AS these things first are to be considered concerning our selves, so secondly let us consider likewise the state and times of other our Countrymen and blessed Martyrs aforepast; what storms of Persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what Enemies they were matched, with what crosses pressed, under what Princes, under what Prelates they lived, or rather died, in the days of King Henry the Fourth, King Henry the Fifth, King Henry the Seventh, King Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, &c. under Bonner Bishop of London, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, Bishop Arundel, Stokesley, Courtney, Warham. At what time Children were caused to set fire to their Fathers; the Father adjured to accuse the Son, the Wife to accuse the Husband, the Husband the Wife, Brother the Sister, Sister the Brother, Examples whereof are plenty in this Book to be seen.

The third Consideration.

THirdly, Let us call to mind, considering thus with our selves, These good men and worthy Martyrs in those dangerous days tasting as they did the heavy hand of Gods sharp Correction, beginning commonly with his own House first; if they were alive now in these Halcyon-days, under the Protection of such a peaceable Prince, O what thanks would they give to God! How happy would they count themselves having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conscience and safety of life? Or if in case we ourselves had been in those times of theirs, so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of Goods, hated of the World, cited in Consistories, pinched in Prisons, sequestred from House, Wife, and Children, looking for nothing but death; what would we say? what would we think? what would we do? Much otherwise doubtless than we do now; God grant we may do better, for worse I think we cannot if we would. John Wickliff, W. Swinburn, Thorpe, Sawtry, with a number of godly men more, being then glad in Friers-Gowns, going bare-foot, to preach where they could; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of these days, what pains would they take, yea, what pains would they not take in preaching the Gospel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor passing for Promotions or Dignities of the Church? Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Aston, with divers worshipful Gentlemen a great number, if they being in our state might enjoy with us their Houses and Lands, with the good favour of their Prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they have contented themselves, though they never raised their Rents and Fines to the undoing of their poor Tenants? Likewise in the time of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, the Nobility and Gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might have had half this Tranquillity which we have, to enjoy the liberty of Gods Word and true use of the Sacraments without molestation of Romish Prelates, what would they have cared how simply they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pomp in pranking up themselves, as we Englishmen in these Reformed-days walk now, more like Players on a Stage, than Gods Children in his Church?

The fourth Consideration.

Wherefore, welbeloved, these things being so, let us call our selves to mind, considering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the favour of God only that doth support us in the midst of so many Enemies, let us beware that in no wise we provoke his Indignation. If it be his Truth and Gospel that we profess, let us walk in the light of his Truth, and keep our selves within the compass of his Gospel. What the Gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? and yet who followeth that he knoweth? If St. Paul willeth every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jesus; and if the Lord Jesus himself testifieth plainly his Kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that Kingdom so Spiritual, and our conditions so worldly, match well together? To rip up all our deformities in particular I mind not here, neither need I, the same being so evident to all mens eyes, that who cannot see our excessive outrage in pompous Apparel, our carnal desires and unchaste demeanors without fear of God, our careless security without conscience, as though there were no judgment to come, our studies so upon this World, as though there were no other Heaven? What pride and idleness of life, double dissimbling in word and deed without simplicity, avarice unsatiable, little regard to hear Gods Word, less to read it, least of all to follow it, every man aspiring to worldly Wealth and Promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of Rents and Fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable? What should I speak of the contentions and unbrotherly divisions amongst us, most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seen which may or is like to follow upon the same. Such were the times once of the Church before the horrible Persecution of Dioclesian; for so we read, such hatred and disdain through much Peace and Prosperity of the Church to creep in amongst the Church-men.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim our selves while time doth serve. If we find the Lord so gracious in sparing us as he doth, let not that make us worse but better. It is a lewd Child that will not learn without beating. A well-minding man will be good, not forced by coercion, but of voluntary office induced. As Adversity if it come, ought not to dismay us; so Prosperity now present ought not to puff us up in security, considering what commonly is wont to follow, as Plato well writeth, *Summa atque effrenata libertatis servitutem plerumq. assequamur esse.* Of immoderate liberty and too much security, followeth most commonly extream servitude. And as Hypocrates saith, *Dispositions of Bodies when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subject to danger of sickness, &c.* Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the Children of light. Otherwise, if we walk like Children of Disobedience, God hath his Rods to scourge us; if we will needs be Rebels, he hath his Pharaohs and Nabuchodonosors to plague us. Or if we will be so inordinate and (with reverence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and curriish one to another, the Lord lacketh not his Dog-strikers to whip us. And would God our lives were such, that the destruction and ruine here of late seen among us may portend nothing against us, as I trust there is no cause for us to fear, but rather to fear the Lord, and walk in his Obedience, and amend that which is amiss amongst us. Amen.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus bleis thee gentle Reader, that long thou maist read, and much thou maist profit. Amen.

Pax Pradicantibus, Gracia Audientibus, Gloria Jesu Christo, Amen.

In Martyrologium *Joan. Foxi, Laurentius Humfredus.*

Tristes Iliadas docti miramur *Homeri*,
Quas scire studuit texere *Virgilius*.
Descentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæc madidis spectant moesta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, sed Vatum formica multa
Fictis intexunt vera, probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ,
Quam stabulum Augæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem sanctorum narrat, ut errat?
Ut pingit, fingit Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, nova, vera Legendæ;
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris historia.
Authorem commendat opus, sic rursus adornat
Author opus; simul hæc utraque felle carent.
Authorem specta; pius est, & tersus, & amplus,
Judicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem consideras, casus, cædesque bonorum
Tractat, & immerite stigmata sæva crucis.
Hudant alii, carpant, at *Zoilus* olim
Dum perit, quid sit rodere, jam docuit.
Hic discas Lector, quam sit furiosa Tyrannis
Romana caule comigerique gregis;
Ut Lupus innocuos semper grassetur in Agnos;
Ut fremit, atque avidis faucibus ossa vorat.
Nonne satis fuerat Christi pia membra cremare?
Et vivos flammis perdere, nonne satis?
Nonne satis damnavit senes, puerosque, virosque,
Formellas, omni ex ordine, nonne satis?
Cur juvat, heu, Manes scriptis lacerare jacentes,
Et Divos *Foxi* dicere stercoreos?
Ah miser, ah Christi teneros compungis ocellos.
Pupillam tangis, quisquis es ergo, sape.
Hæc est progenies cuius stola, lota cruore
Agni, per Christum candida tota nitet.
Illa sub altari querulatur, Christe, quousque?
Christe veni propere, Christe quousque feres?
Extra tela tua est, & prædicat illa Tonantem;
Mors pretiosa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabiose Satan? quid spicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniâque pios?
Frustra carnifices, carcer, tormenta, facisque;
In cælo regnant membra caputque simul.
Corpora sanctorum mundus consumpsit, in altum
Migrarunt animæ, nomina *Foxus* habet.
Nomina *Foxus* habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina jam nullo contumelanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus *Foxus*, cum nomine vivent
Nomina, cumque suo stirps generosa Deo.
Monstra, Christe, tuis portum, compescito fluxus,
Jactatæ navi sit sua, Christe, quies.
Sanguine fraterno posthæc ne terra madefcat;
Ne pergat *Foxus* scribere Martyria.
Perdita decurtes sceleratæ tempora vitæ,
Tandem mortiferus transeat iste calix.
Sit finis, veniatque tuum, pater optime, regnum;
Sit tibi, sit Christo, Spirituique decus.

In Sancti Martyrum historiam, *Abrah. Hartwicus.*

E Loquio, venerande, tuo non *Malsugus* ipsi
Sed nos, non cœlum, *Foxe*, sed orbis eget,
Illorum crevisse malis lathoque putatum est
Quos nunc ipse vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, historia velut ignibus ante
Calhet quod nunc friget Evangelium.
Certabitque ætas veniens millesima, quorum
Fortia facta leget, sortia facta sequi.
Et calamo servata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,
Funera tot, lachrymas, damna, pericla, nece,
Nulla dies tollit, non qui malus intulit hostis;
Non quamvis omni cum Phlegetonte velit.
Non resuente Deo, quondam, qui sævit hostis.
Non, resuente Deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremit; innocuo rapietur cum grege Pastor,
Grege cadet & pastor, spesque futura gregis.

Nullus restabit laceris in ovilibus agnus,
Nulla, Deus, recta simplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus; alma
Simplicitas fuco, perfidieque fides:
Injulto, falso, scelerato, sanguineoque,
Virtutum sacer Evangeliumque chorus.
Quid facient disce ex factis; ventura probantur
Præteritis;
Ni tua de cœlo veniat Clementia, cuius
Tolluntur digito parva, superba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, invictæ, triumphans;
Sic, ut in *Egypto* vel *Babylone*, veni.
Non tanti *Babylone* Draco Belusque fuere,
Cultusque infani, & foeda superstitio.
Et licet *Egypti* crudelia facta legentur,
Egyptus non tam sæva minaxque fuit.
Utraque, nec satis est, monstrum concrevit in usum,
Et si qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, styliue Magister?
Doctræ quid poterunt veripaneque Scholæ?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus sanguisuiusque liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui vivos undique testes,
Factores vivos, & modò gesta, canit?
Scilicet ut monstret sanctorum Ecclesia qualis,
Collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Ut doceat, firmet, soletur corda piorum;
Dedocet, vincat, excrucietque malos.
Ut tibi parva, Deus, stet semper gloria, nati
Ut possit tecum gloria stare tui;
Sanguinis ut sacri non occultanda trophæa,
Utraque posteritas, sancta, maligna, sciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quesita labore,
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exantata tot, & sudata diebus,
Tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos.
Christi, non hominum, laudes sparsura per orbem
Factaque (credo) ætas qualia rara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobisque secundet,
Numinis in laudem perpetuumque decus.
Invideat Satanæ, & *Zoilus* illa rumpat,
Obtrectet mendax cum grege *Roma* suo.

In idem Argumentum, *Rob. R.*

EN iterum in magnos nova commentaria vates;
Auctius & plus est, quam fuit antè, decus.
Sanctorum historias, & nostri perfida sæcli
Tempora lector habes, terrificumque scelus.
Dignum certe opus est, quamvis sit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat, posteritasque probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) majus; numerosa sophorum est
Littera, sed similis pondere & arte stylus.
Crede mihi historiam hanc quondam lectura vetustas
Suspiciet genium (*Faxe* disertè) tuum.
Non tamen infani finit hæc dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patiturque viros.
Histrio, scurra, dicax, parasitus, hypocrita, mimus.
Vappa mage arident, leno, Papista placent.
Nescis adulari, nec verum (*Faxe*) silere;
Scriptaque miraris non placuisse tua?

Ejusdem.

Quifque bonus te (*Faxe*) colit, tua scripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc studii tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornât, doctorum concio laudat,
Unde ergo in libros invidia ista tuos?
Unde Papizantis subita hæc conversio sectæ;
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud puduit.
Unde tot Harpie, nempe *Hardynique*, *Copique*?
Unde hæc *Lovensis* garrula turba Scholæ?
Causa patet; furie mûsas, nec sacra Papismus,
Nec Christe athletas rafa larina probat.
Nec te adeo oderunt puto, sed verumque fidemque;
Heu bene nulla potest lingua maligna loqui.

In acta Martyrum, Carmen Thom. Drant.

Rege.

ERgone sic Papa potuit vox improba jussu
Tam dirum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Contumulasse rogis, cineres sine honore Sepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? Quæve hunc tam barbara
morem,

Permittit gens ulla, pios sine lege necari,
Totque simul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabiesque furorque,
Corpora tam diris sanctorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miscere hominum, tot plectere cives,
Vastare & toto divisos orbe *Britannos*?
Dic quid nostrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima passis
Vix pars ulla manet terræ quæ panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata est frausque dolusque,
Et *πολυπραγµονία* & amor sceleratus habendi?
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem sonat; ergo
Rite putabamus Papam cacodæmone natum?
An quod cum Christo nos conspirare dolebas?
Quod te cum Christo non conspirare videmus?

Bonnerius.

Quod te *Romanam* crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus, ut sceleris magni vitiique ministrum?
Hinc illud quod se versat dirisq; minisque,
Hinc illud quod & hōs facibus fumantibus ussit.

Sis miser & nulli cuiquam miserabilis. Hujus
Tu cladis tantæ pars magna *Bonnerie* fuisti:
Mactator pecudum Christi, disperfor ovilis,
Triste malum stabulis, & nil mihi pessima clades.

Vos quoque, vos omnes Ihovæ tetigisse Prophetas,
Et calcasse pios, numen sprevisse benignum
Quæis loculare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.

Jam satis est (proh) plus satis est, respicite setō,
Sera nimis non ulla dies, nunc discite tandem,
Discite vel tandem moniti non temnere Christum.

*Ad Marty-
res.*

Oscula libertis gnato, ne sæviat ultor,
Et male vos sparfos deturbat tramite vitæ,
At vos qui læti quidvis superastis acerbum,
Coelicolæ, quibus æternum licet esse beatis,

Dulce decusque Dei, Christum quia morte decora
Omastis clari superi, coetusque triumphans,
Non caro, non mundus, non vos Turcæ, Papa, Dæmon,
Non Phoebe pernox vexabit, solvè diurnus.

Et vos ô cuncti, scanse qui culmine coeli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relicta;
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes, tormenta cachiini,
Vultus quid nocere truces? quid tela, quid ignes?

Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum;
Si vos mactarunt spectata holocausta Christo,
Interitas vester Domini pretiosus ocellis.

Horum (*Foxe*) piis dum tu sic nomina scriptis,
Et mortem & mores longum diffundis in ævum.
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipso.

Ergo tu doctis pergis pallefcere chartis,
Nocturna versando manu, versando diurna,
Athlas clarorum gnarusque laborum.

Et studiis dum magna cohors sua commoda captans
(Auspice non Christo) mundi venatur honores,
Vel tu *Romano*, vel tu Sermone *Britanno*

Scribito præteriti vel produe temporis acta,
Patre Deo monstrante viam, data fata secutus;
Omne feres punctum si misces utile dulci.

*Ad deum
inundanti-
bus bellorum
procellis.*

Magne Deus coelique fator, mundique Monarcha,
Quem nos terrarum tempestatumque potentem
Credimus, & solum scimus venerabile numen,
Aspicias infano vexari cuncta tumultu,

Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volvi?
Parce gregi parvo, pacem te poscimus omnes.
Sis bonus (o) Felixque tuis, vel parcito Christo,
Cujus membra nimis jam mundus lædit & odit,

Per tibi dilectam sponsam promissaque pacta,
Per passum Christum, per dulcia pignora passi,
Per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

Contra Papistas Incendarios.

SI fas cædendo coelestia scandere cuique est,
Papicolis coeli maxima porta patet.

J. F.

*In idem argumentum Ægidius Fletcher Canta-
brigienfis.*

JAm tua ter magnum spatii emensa laborem
Æquora lustravit puppis, ter littora vidit,
Foxe.

Dumque fugas, ensesq; canis, consumptaq; flammis
Corpora consumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent
Membra, sed utilior nobis tibi noxia soli

Indefessa manet virtus. Quin otia carpas
Mollia, jam solare tuos (divine) labores.
Non potes, & semper mentem tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparatque novas in pectore vires.

Ergo age, quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorum
Facta canis sacro properans indulge labori.
Jam veniet magni seriem dum colligit ævi
Posteritas, quam longa tenet custodia famæ,

Dumque tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimosque duces, mediosque petita per ignes
Sydera, te ventura simul mirabitur ætas,
Et veterum sacras imitabitur æmula laudes.

Scilicet æthereas ardentia pectora flammæ,
Non ignes alii non ipsa potentia regum,
Nec vis ulla domat ferri, non tela, nec enses.

Qualis ubi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert manus, cineresque; paternos,
Dumq; rogum, flammæq; parat sibi, major ab igne
Egreditur, quaque illa novis volitaverit alis,

Indigenæ volucres læto clamore sequuntur:
Foelices animæ vobis super alta beatis
Sydera calcantur, quicquid mortalia tangit
Pectora, nec jam noster honor, nec præmia curæ;

Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus invida tellus,
Ecce tamen, quales poterit; persolvat honores
Posteritas, dum facta legens ingentia vires
Miratur; plaususq; fidem super astra sequetur

Victricem (hoc siquid debent) mortalibus) ipsi
Sanctorum cineres tibi se debere fatentur,
Foxe.

Tempus erit, cum tu post fata, pioq; labores,
Aucturus superos foelix super alta videbis
Sydera jam quorum transcribis nomina famæ,
Insignes heroas, & ipse videberis illis.

Jamque patres superans mundo labente sequetur
Progenies, coelo seclior exeret alto
Religio, humani generis decus, optima custos
Imperii, quam sancta fides comitatur euntem,

Et circum lætis crescet pax aurea terris:
Tum quoque divini passim monumenta laboris,
Et sacrum florebit opus, fructusque beabit
Et populum, & populi per secula longa nepotes.

*In idem Argumentum Thom. Ridley
Cantabrigienfis.*

Corpora quæ quondam justo caruere Sepulchro
Ossaque per campos undique sparsa pia,
Collegit magna cum sedulitate peritus

Foxe, & in unum conglomeravit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna, Papistæ,
Frustra tam sanctum persequerentur opus:

Auxit, & ex uno idem bina volumina fecit,
Obstruxitque suis hostibus ora pius.
Nec sic contentus, rursus limavit, & auctum
Arctavit, populi commoditate sui:

Nequaquam veritus stolidæ convitia linguae,
Dum vestra ô sancti fortia facta sonet.
O vos foelices animæ, quæ sanguine vestro
Coelstes nobis testificastis opes.

Et tu qui tali decorasti funere sanctas
Reliquias, peragens triste ministerium:

Sed tibi præclarum, nobis nec inutile, ut istis
Exemplis fortes possumus esse fide.

M. M. S.

Perlege, quæ fastis signata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Angligenum & fervida fata virum.
Admiranda tibi gemini spectacula cœtus,
Pugnantisque suo dispare Marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbens lævo ferus impete Satan
Tartareas præfert in sua regna faces.
Illinc rex superum, trans flammæ, transque cruentas
Mille neces, Christus sternit ad astra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lachrymæ, jejunia Templis,
Jussus honos summi jussaque sacra patris.
Concilium hoc Cyclopium rabies, fera corda fatigant
Eumenides, tristi pectora lenta situ.
Missa volat flammis, & sanguinis ebria rivis
Ante, gradum retrò *Roma* maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat *Fœxus* certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit :
Interea veri vis stat fata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato jam Phlegetonte super.
Post alios fœtus, alios post deinde labores
Hæc extrema subit vindicis ira manus ;
Tertiaque ista patri suspendimus arma Quirino,
Parva prius, jam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis jam tum miracula faxi
Prodidit *Assyria* regius exul humo.

Exiguus lapis hic, sed qui se attollere in auras
Jussus Atlantæos æquiparare finus.
Nunc quoque qui implevit sinuoso fragmine mundum
Æthereoque ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipse tonans flagranti distulit axe
Imperia, & vertit regna superba solo.
Sæva Silex quid nam flammantibus incita fundis
Urbium & elatis perniciofa minis ?
Cœstilibus muris *Romana Semiramus* audax,
Prospice, jam *Babylon* jam ruit illa tua.
Saxea jam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas ?
Quas strages miseris horrida Romulidis ?
Ultimus hic labor est montis rapientis avari
Puppicolæque Papas papicolæque popas.
At vos fœlices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Sæcla, pias puro funditis ore preces ;
Aligeræque acies, cives stellantis Olympi,
Plaudite : *Roma* fuit *Babæla*, Papa fuit.

In sanguisugas Papistas, Phil. Stubbes.

Qui sacrum Christi satagit convellere verbum,
Vulnificum contra calcitrat hic stimulum.
Florida quæ nimio compressa est pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta sitis.
Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis exit
Hoc magis, excrevit, floret eoque magis.
Sic *Ευαγγέλιον* quantumvis turba Papalis.
Conspuat, exurat, crescit ubique tamen.

In *Jo. Foxum* Theologum Celeberrimum, cum Christo exultantem.

IN quiet peace thou sleepest now at rest,
O learned Fox, the Phoenix of our age ;
Most happy thou with Crown of Glory blest,
For ever freed from persecuting rage :
With comfort great thou gainedst the shore,
And stormy tempest now needst fear no more.

Thy Life not stain'd with spot of soul defame,
Thy Learning great, who dare the same deny ?
Thy worthy Works abroad do sound thy name,
And shall for ever to Posterity.
So long as Learning, and the Learned live,
Thy Works to thee Immortal Praise will give.

Thy famous Work of those that witness bare
To Christ his Truth, and seal'd it with their Blood,
That with Alcides Labours may compare,
Shall witness still thy Zeal for Churches good :
Shall witness still to Ages yet to come,
Thy hatred just against that Whore of Rome.

Thy hand was always stretched out to give,
Thy eye from Poor was never turn'd aside :
What one of thee might not have learn'd to live ?
Who in thy life so many ways wast tried :
And yet the Fame didst always still endure,
No change thy Heart to change could once procure.

Th' afflicted Soul by thee did comfort find,
The Conscience weak by thee did strength attain ;
Thy Sermons sweet rais'd up the feeble mind,
And many a Soul from Hell to Christ did gain :
Such care thou hadst Gods Mercies still to Preach,
Such Grace thou hadst the Truth of Christ to Teach.

Thy Tongue and Pen the Truth did still defend,
Thou banishment for Christ didst gladly bide ;
In him thou liv'st, in him thou mad'st thy end,
Most happy thou that hadst so good a Guide.
Most happy thou while life thou didst retain,
Most happy now, that dost with Christ remain.

Jo. Hopkins.

THE
L I F E
O F

Mr. John Fox,

Translated out of the Latine.

TO THE
R E A D E R.



Having been often and earnestly requested by many, to gratifie Posterity, with the History of my Fathers life, which I had written above thirty years since; and finding that no new matter had fallen out, for which (though I were silent) I should distrust the judgment of after Ages, concerning a man so well known; but that many things to this Purpose necessary, were now out of my power, by the death of those, upon whose Testimony the truth of each Particular depended; I made no question, but both easily with all men, to find Pardon for my first refusal; and if still I should continue in the same mind, as easily to keep my self in the right I have to use my liberty herein. But when I perceived, that some, who were meer strangers to him, and utterly ignorant of his Conversation, had taken upon them, to write his Life; of which they could learn nothing, but by Hear-says, and flying Reports; whereby it fell out, that many of his actions were amplified above the truth; many things otherwise related than performed; and much passed over, that came not to their knowledge; having my self when I was a young man, been always Conversant with him in his later days, and
when

To the Reader.

when I was absent from him, had better Intelligence of any remarkable passage in his life; I thought it but my duty, to preserve his Memory from wrong; and if I could add nothing to it, at least to place it in its true and proper light. Neither feared I, but that I should be able to justify this to the Readers, that being his Son I published my Fathers life, though in respect of my nearness to him, I may be suspected. For first, that so memorable a man should be unknown to Posterity, even the injury done him, by those who had ill handled his Story, would not suffer: neither was it safe, that any but his own Friends should undertake to right him; and what reason is there, that his Sons credit should be more suspected, than the force of their anger and grief, who desire that no Memory of him might at all remain? Thus long I have forbore, till being in equal danger, of the offence that may be taken, by the adverse Party, and those that desired his Story, I chose at length to satisfy their Minds, who not without some vehemence requested it of me. At whose importunity, I have consented to set forth this Book, written at first to no other intent, than to preserve by me the Image of my Fathers life; and now, in so confirmed a Fame of him, rather thought necessary by others, than so judged by my self.

THE

THE L I F E

O F

Mr. John Fox.

JOH^N FOX was born in *Boston*, an ancient Town in the County of *Lincoln*, Anno 1517. his Father and Mother being of the Commonalty of that Town, well reputed of, and of good state. While he was very young, his Father dying, and his Mother being married again, he came into the Tutelage of his Father in law, with whom he dwelt during his Childhood: which he had scarce passed over, when his Friends well approving his good inclination and towardness to Learning, sent him to study at *Oxford*. The first Nurse of his more serious Studies, was *Brafen-Nose* Colledge, where he was Chamber-Fellow with Doctor *Nowell* so famous a man in this City afterward, and Dean of *Pauls*, That no great marvel it was, if their manners were so like in the course of their lives, whose Education, and Nurture in Youth was the same. The native excellence, and sharpness of his wit, were well seconded by the fitness of the place; where the emulation of Equals was frequent; and where each Students Proficiency was narrowly sought into: Neither was Industry wanting, which as it seldom accompanieth the greatest Wits, so where it is conjoynd is most available. By which Vertues, when in a short space he had won the admiration of all, and the love of many, in reward of his Learning, and good behaviour he was chosen Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*; which being accounted a Principal Honour in the University, and usually due to the Students of that House, was seldom, and not unless in regard of singular Deserts, bestowed upon any others. It should seem he designed the first over-branching of any early wit, to the exercises of Poetry, and wrote divers *Latine Comedies* yet to be seen, in a copious, and graceful Stile, but somewhat lofty, which fault of writing, (in all things else so grave and temperate) he left not altogether in his elder years, though age, and experience did not a little mitigate it. But even then he began to give earnest of what he afterward proved, for that neither those first flourishes of his Youth were spent, but in holy Histories of the *Bible*: nor followed he that vein long. He betook himself to the study of Divinity with somewhat more fervency, than circumspection, and discovered himself in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to them that maintained the Cause, or were of ability to protect the Maintainers of it: whence grew his first Troubles. This was the time when King *Henry* the Eighth uncertain what course to take, being at Variance with the Pope, and unresolved in himself, thinking the affairs of the Church (then grown to an infinite height of Power and Pride) neither in all respects tolerable, nor that it was necessary wholly to alter them, while he desired to shew moderation in both, prevailed in neither, obscuring an Act, than which none was of more Glory since the World began, by an unprofitable indifferency. Never before were the people in more distraction, or less security of their Lives, and Estates, there being in the Laws such contrarieties, as no man could tell what to take to with safety, or what to avoid. For although the Popes Supremacy had been renounced, yet was Doctrine still retained. The first News of the abolishing the Popes Supremacy was as prosperous as welcome to the Reformers; and divers joyned themselves to them out of love to the Truth, being further assured of the Kings Intentions, by the punishment taken on some of the contrary part, and especially when the Abbies were dissolved; nor was their hope a little increased, when they perceived the Noblemen more or less to rise in the good Opinion and Favour of the King, as any of them most opposed the Popes Dominion. In the mean while the Act of the six Articles was still in force, and if any were found guilty of the breach thereof, they were sure of punishment. So that as long as the King held the middle way between his own Genius, and the advice of his Counsellors, feeding them with Favours, upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity, fear and hope, equally prevailed.

But when the Protectors themselves, and Pillars of the Reformed Religion, were taken away. The Duke of *Suffolk* by untimely death, the Lord *Cromwel* by the Sword, the Archbishop *Cranmer* and his Friends born down by those of the contrary side; and that neither in the Laws, nor the Protection of the Peers, there was any, the least help remaining; then began all things to halten back again headlong to their former abuses, and that with so much the more violence, because the conquest seemed a kind of revenge.

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In the Universities and Schools there was yet no open change, or innovation : I know not whether through fear, or that they would not be Followers.

This was the estate of the Church-affairs, when Master Fox began attentively to seek into the substance of the Controversie, then in agitation.

He found the Contention to have been of great Antiquity, and no Age to have been free from some debate in the Church. But those first quarrels were rather for Dominion, and increase of Territory. The *Romans* endeavouring by subtil Practises, and pretext of Religion to retain under the Jurisdiction of a High Priest, the ancient honour of their City, which by open force they could not defend.

Then no sooner could any shew himself to differ from them in point of Faith, but the hastening of his punishment prevented any infection that might spread it self among others.

Thus by their Cruelty, and the patience of Princes, who suffered it, the greatest part of these Dissensions were appealed : neither hitherto were all tracts of the old *Roman* vertue quite worn out, at leastwise some resemblances of vertue remained among many things that were perverted, and by long time utterly defaced.

Afterward the Pope grown bolder by good success, began to draw to himself all Power and Authority, nor contented to have weakned the estate of the *Roman* Empire alone, now, longed to be fingring the Scepters of other Princes ; and to compass his design, spared not to violate any Humane, or Divine Right : Mean while the Clergy little weighed with how great damage to Religion, men of spotted life and conversation were sometimes chosen to the Papacy, by whose example the strictness of life, used by their Forefathers, was drawn into scorn, and their poverty into exprobration ; The industry of the Priesthood languished, and on the contrary side Ambition, Riot, and Avarice began to reign among them. Then at length were the Practises of the Churchmen brought to light, and their Delusions laid open. It was then known why the Ceremonies and Rites in the Church, had been brought to that excessive multitude, to wit, that the number of the Clergy might be increased to perform them : These of necessity were to be maintained ; and to that end were such Opinions broached, as seemed most likely to draw money from all places : Of the dignity of Works ; Of Purgatory ; Of the power of Absolution, and the Popes Indulgences : All which being in themselves false, and soon subject to decay, were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and subtil invention of the Popes infallibility in matters of Faith.

By this handsome connexure, and linking one Opinion to another, the credulity of the Christians was easily insnared ; all this while the new forg'd Opinions yielding plentiful increase, and great sums of money, by a hundred devises screwed out of the Clergy, and common people, came daily to the Pope, and Court of *Rome*.

I have often heard Master Fox affirm, That the first matter which occasioned his search into the Popish Doctrine, was, that he saw divers things in their own natures, most repugnant to one another, thrust upon men at one time to be both believed : as that the same man might in matters of Faith be Superior, and yet in his life and manners inferior to all the World besides. Upon this beginning, his resolution and intended obedience to that Church, were somewhat shaken, and by little and little followed some dislike to the rest.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern History of the Church : to learn what beginning it had ; what growth and increase ; by what Arts it flourished, and by what Errors it began to decline ; to consider the causes of all those Controversies which in the mean space had sprung up, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either side was produced sound or infirm.

This he performed with such heat of study, and in so short a time ; that before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the *Greek* or *Latine* Fathers had left in their writings ; the Schoolmen in their Disputations ; the Councils in their Acts ; or the Consistory in their Decrees ; and acquired no mean skill in the *Hebrew* Language.

By report of some who were Fellow-Students with him, he used over and above his days exercise, to bestow whole nights at his Study, or not till it were very late to betake himself to rest. Near to the Colledge was a Grove, wherein for the pleasantness of the place, the Students took delight to walk, and spend some idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had Master Fox chosen, with the horror of solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind ; which as a fresh-water-Souldier trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

How many nights he watched in these solitary Walks ; what combats and wrastlings he suffered within himself ; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God ; I had rather might be spared from this Discourse, than touched with opinion of Ostentation : But therefore of necessity, was it to be remembred, because from hence sprang the first suspicion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but that the more understanding sort out of their own wisdom, others according as they stood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worst sense. At length those with whom he was intimate, being drawn into suspicion of him ; there were some employed, who under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry with more curiosity into his words and actions ; and there wanted not others, who comparing his customs formerly used, with the present course he now took, did with more bitterness aggravate the fact. Why should he not come to Church, so often as in former times he had accustomed ? Why should he shun the company of his Equals, and refuse to recreate himself after his wonted manner, unless he had felt in his mind some suddain alteration ? nor if that alteration were for the better, would he conceal it.

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Being thus reported of, surrounded with Treacheries, and by every one accused; when the matter came to more severe scanning, and that he could neither hide his resolution longer, nor being a man of plain dealing, thought fit to excuse himself by forging a lye; by the judgment of the Colledge, he was convicted, condemned as an Heretick, and removed the house. Nevertheless his Adversaries affirmed he was favourably dealt with by that sentence, and might have been questioned for his life, if they had not rather use clemency towards him than extremity. But this Wound ragged worse than was thought it would; his Friends upon the report of this accident being sorely displeased, and especially his Father in law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived against him for this cause, or pretending himself agrieved, that he might now with more justice, at least with more security withhold from Master Fox his own Fathers estate. For he both knew it could not be safe for one publickly hated, and in danger of the Law, to seek remedy by it; and that Master Fox was by nature so ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much ado confess himself wronged, even then, when he had in his hands ability of revenge.

When he was thus forsaken by his own Friends, and left naked of all humane assistance, GODS Providence began to shew it self, procuring him a safe Refuge in the house of a worshipful Knight of *Warwickshire*, called Sir *Thomas Lucy*, to whom he was sent for, to instruct his Children: In which house he afterwards married a Wife, and there continued till the Children coming to riper years, had now no longer need of a Tutor. But the fear of the Popish Inquisitions hastned his departure thence; which now relying on the favour of the Laws, were not contented to pursue publick offences, but began also to break into the secrets of private Families.

Oft would Master Fox in the later times of his life, with much vehemence of mind, in discourse with his Friends, detest the wretched condition of that departing; and say, That all other mischances he had pretty well indured; but in this case the misery was so much the greater; because to have born it patiently, would have seemed unnatural; having brought his faithful Consort, who entirely loved him, from her Friends and Kindred, whose grief and tears were with all officious piety to be comforted. It behoved him therefore, either to find some speedy remedy, or in assurance of his love to weep with her. For in vain should he shew an example of his constancy, where she might rather suspect her grief unregarded, than his mind unconquered with so great Calamities. He consulted therefore with himself what was best to be done, and of two ways only left, whereby he might free himself from further inconvenience, long debated, whether he might with most safety, make choice of; either to go to his Wives Father, or his Father in law by marriage of his Mother.

His Wives Father dwelt nearest, being a Citizen of *Coventry*, nor yet bearing any hatred towards him, and more likely to be entreated for his Daughters sake. His Father in law was better known to him, but more suspected. At last he resolved to go first to his Wives Father, and in the mean while by Letters to try, whether his Father in law would receive him or not. His Father in laws answer was, That it seemed to him a hard condition, to take one into his house, whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a Capital Offence: neither was he ignorant, what hazard he should undergo in so doing: nevertheless that he would shew himself a Kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to stay as long as himself desired: but if he could not be perswaded to that, he should content himself with the shorter tarriance, and not bring him and his Mother into hazard of their Fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his sake.

Master Fox his estate was at that pass, that he thought no condition to be refused: Besides he was underhand advised by his Mother to come, and not fear his Father in laws severity; For that (perchance) it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompence for his words with his actions. The truth is, he had better entertainment with both of them, than he any way hoped for: but so his business required, that he should rely long upon neither; and therefore by often going to and fro, from the one to the other, (which carried with it some shew of business) he both deceived their diligence, who enquired after him, and effected, that neither grew weary of his company.

But howsoever he by this means kept himself concealed; yet certain it is, that no time of his life passed more unknown to Posterity than that; whether that while he did but little, which is scarce credible: or whether it more concerned them who knew what he did, that it should be shut up in silence, than published abroad. For his own part he always forbore with particular regard, to speak of that story; lest where he had deserved so much, he might by extolling a small courtesie, seem rather to upbraid the slenderness of the requital, than to shew himself thankful by remembring it. Afterward he took his journey towards *London*; but upon what motives is uncertain; unless we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him thither; which being full of all sorts of company, both Inhabitants and Strangers from all places might assure him sufficient occasions, whether he should choose to conceal himself, or make known his abilities, and get acquaintance with those of alike inclination.

By computation of times, I should think the chief cause of his going thither to have been, that about that time Religion began at length a little to recover it self, and gather strength, especially about the City. For he came not to Town till within a few years before King *Henry* departed this life: Who (as I said before) though the Kingdom were divided into Factions, yet as long as his youth and strength remained, so ordered the matter, that sometimes the power of each party being equalled, and sometimes one or other prevailing, by his authority both were retained

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retained in their Obedience: But when he grew into years, perceiving his health every day impaired, and that his death could not be far off; he then began to consider with himself which side was most trusty, and which most to be doubted; and at what age he should expose his Son, to the raging hatred of the Papists, who was yet by reason of his youth unfit to govern, and brought up in the Discipline of a Religion which they opposed.

He therefore at last resolved upon that, which in reason seemed most wholesome, and in the end proved most fortunate; and having put the Papist-Officers from their authority, by his Will he appointed his Son such Tutors, whose love to himself he had always found readiest, and by long trial of their fidelity, thought likely to continue the same to his Successor. This set Religion again in safety: But howsoever the Professors thereof, were thereby secured of their lives; yet hence no publick benefit or profit was afforded them: So that Mr. Fox was still in as much want as before, having already spent, what either his Friends had bestowed on him, or his own daily industry had acquired.

I should forbear to speak of a marvelous accident, and great example of Gods mercy, were not the matter so well known abroad, that it would be to no purpose for modesty sake to be silent.

As Master Fox one day, sat in *Pauls Church*, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the gastral manner of dying-men; every one shunning a Spectacle of so much horror, There came to him one whom he never remembred to have seen before, who sitting by him, and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand; bidding him be of good chear; adding withall, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were which oppressed him, but might suspect it was no light Calamity: That he should therefore accept in good part that small gift from his Countryman, which common courtesie had enforced him to offer; that he should go, and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; in the mean time let him know, that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of Livelihood. Never could Master Fox learn who that man should be, by whose so seasonable bounty, in that extream necessity, he had been relieved; though he earnestly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that Prophesie, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was sent by some others, who by all means desired Master Foxes safety; and that it might (perchance) be through the Servants negligence, that he suffered the extreamest of all miseries, before any relief came. Certain it is, that within three days space, the issue seemed to make good the Presage, there being some sent from the Dutches of *Richmond*, who upon fair terms did invite him into her Service. It had so fallen out not long before, that the Duke of *Norfolk* the famous Warrior, and most renowned General of his time, together with his Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, a man as far as may be imagined of sincere meaning, and sharp understanding, was committed to Custody in the *Tower of London*; for what Crimes is uncertain: While they were in prison, the Earls Children were sent to the foresaid Dutches their Aunt, to be brought up, and educated: *Thomas* who succeeded in the Dukedom, *Henry* who was after Earl of *Northampton*, and *Jane* afterwards Countess of *Westmerland*.

To these young Lords was Master Fox appointed Tutor, to instruct them both in Manners and Learning: In which charge he deceived not the expectation which the Dutches, a Woman of great Wisdom, had of him.

For the two Sons grew to that height of Proficiency in their Behaviour and Scholarship; that building in their riper years, upon this foundation, The elder *Thomas* seemed to deserve more than the Kingdom could bestow upon him; and the younger *Henry* came to that happiness, that he was able to measure his Fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own society.

The young Lady *Jane*, profited so wonderously in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues; that she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that time, for the praise of Elegancy in both kinds.

There he dwelt during those golden days of Felicity (not seen long time before) in the last years of King *Henries* Reign, and through the five years Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth (a young Prince incomparably hopeful, and hope by perfecting the Work begun by his Father, passed all the Acts of his Predecessors) till the beginning of Queen *Maries* Sovereignty; who coming to the Crown, and turning the stream of Religion, all things again yielded to the Papists Authority; whence not long after, that cruel Tempest proceeded, the noise whereof hath come also to the ears of our Age; many who suffered in that common Shipwrack, swimming out to these peaceful times, as to safe Harbours of everlasting Tranquillity.

Among these Master Fox made one, at that time sheltered by the Protection of the Duke his Sholar; yet not without the eyes of many, who for hatred, or envy looked askew on him, and secretly laid wait for, by Doctor *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who both saw something in him, which he greatly feared, and also disdained much, that the Heir of one of the chiefest Families in the Kingdom, and nearest joyned to himself in Friendship, should by his company be depraved.

Of this man because he was Master Foxes greatest enemy, it will not be from our purpose to speak something further; that both their natures may the better be known.

The Bishop of *Winchester* was a man famous in his Youth (for of his Birth or Parentage, I have no certainty:) one that stood in the midway, between good and bad; and always as he grew

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grew elder, growing worse. Industry, Wit, and Eloquence, Nature had bestowed on him : his Pride, Craftiness, and desire of bearing Sway, he learned of the Cardinal.

Hence were his abilities fit for any Employments, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new Honours ; and having obtained them, he then put on Boldness instead of Industry, Flattery for Obedience ; and instead of Fidelity, Deceit and Complements, and such like frivolous fashions of the Court. He was in bearing those Honours which his Vertue won to him cruel and proud : in regaining any that he lost, able to weary any man with submission and humility. For in his Fortunes also appeared as great diversity, as in his conditions. Some while he he was pleasing to King *Henry*, and high in his favour ; having by his Pen maintained the Kings Authority against the Pope : Afterwards, when his prevaricating therein was understood, he was by the King slighted, and that he might be the less able to do hurt, stripped out of his Dignity. Under *Edward* the Sixth he was not only neglected, but imprisoned, and abid the reproach of a mean estate. At length in Queen *Maries* Reign he was set at liberty, and being again restored to his former Honors, he exercised not so much command as tyranny : till even sick with envy, that Cardinal *Pool* in Dignity out-shined him, and with height of Honors overshadowed his glory, having often, but still in vain tried to cure his Malady with a Cardinalship, anger at length exasperating his Disease, he pined away.

After this manner began, and ended that man, commended for many excellencies of mind, while he lead a private life ; but in his Honors unbridled, and of no moderation : Well might one say, Nature had made him a worthy man, and Fortune corrupted him.

Now Master *Fox* although he was cherished in the bosome of a most loving Duke ; yet after he saw all sorts of men troubled for their Religions sake, some imprisoned, and others burnt ; in brief nothing on all sides, but Flight, Slaughter, and Gibbets ; and that the Bishop of *Winchester* was the principle Incendiary of all this, who for private respects was already his enemy ; he then began to fear what might become of him, and to think of some speedy way for his departure thence. As soon as the Duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulness, he used many words to perswade him to leave all thought of going away ; affirming it neither agreeable to honour or modesty, for him to suffer his Tutor, so well deserving at his hands, at any time of his life, to be taken from him : but that it should then be done, was not befitting for him that desired it. Let him but think with himself, how great a burthen of hatred his Scholar must needs bear, among those who were ignorant, whether he forsook him of his own accord, or were forsaken by him : yet that he intreated not to be excused from any hatred, which might light upon him, if at least he might do it with Master *Foxes* commodity : But in flying, what misery would be wanting ? Banishment, Poverty, Contempt, and among those which knew him not, the reproach of a Runagate. That he acknowledged all this less evil than death ; but that it was not yet come to such extremity ; neither would he suffer it should : That he had yet Wealth, and Favour, and Friends, and the Fortune of his house : if the mischance prevailed further, himself would partake of the danger, and make the destruction common : That he remembered, with what Precepts he had fortified his younger years ; neither had he with more attention hearkened to his Instructions, than he would with constancy put them in practice ; only let him be of good courage, and so avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his Friends company : That this he spake, as hoping by his authority to prevail with him : but if that might not be obtained, he would then further him in the course he intended.

There was in the Dukes Speech the more credit, because it was known to proceed from the inbred sincerity of his heart, and a most tender good will towards him : and he grew now ashamed, not so much of that he had done in asking leave, as that he had believed his request might have been granted : But his modesty excused him : His answer being, That the same care befitted not the Lord, and his Servant : That it was indeed for the Dukes Honor, to defend his Tutor from any injury ; but his own part, to have a care, left for his safety, the Duke might incur apparent danger, or perpetual trouble : neither that his fear wanted all excuse. For though he well knew the Duke could not be drawn from his promise and good intentions towards him ; yet was he not ignorant, that by some wile or other, he might be circumvented and deceived.

For even at that time was the Bishop of *Winchester* very intimate with the Duke, relying upon the ancient Observance he had always used to that Family, by whose credit he had increased his Dignity. Thither he often resorted, to present his Service to the Duke ; and at several times desired of him, that he might see his old Tutor. At first the Duke denied his request, one while alledging his absence, another while that he was ill at ease ; still after faining several delays, to put him off. At length it chanced, that Master *Fox* (not knowing the Bishop was within the house) entred the room where the Duke and he were in discourse ; and seeing the Bishop, with a shew of bashfulness withdrew himself. The Bishop asking who that was ; the Duke answered, His Physitian, who was somewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the University. I like his countenance and aspect very well replied the Bishop, and when occasion shall be, will make use of him. The Duke straight understood that speech, as the Messenger of some approaching danger ; and now he himself thought it high time for Master *Fox* no longer to remain within the same City, or within the same See, against the force of a crafty, and then open deceiver ; but by all means, the Bishops being sick, must be prevented. From that time he caused all things necessary for his flight, with the least noise that might be, to be provided ; sending one of his Servants before to *Ipswich*-Haven, to hire a Bark, and make ready all things needful for the Voyage : and because it seemed scarce safe for Master *Fox* to stay in

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any City, or place of resort, he chose out the house of one of his Servants a Farmer, where he might with convenience expect the warning of a fair Wind to put to Sea. Thither Master Fox went as secretly as he could, taking his Wife as companion in his Travels, then great with child, but resolved to go with him, nor yielding to the intreaty of those, who perswaded her to the contrary; and as soon as it was told him, his company expected him, he made hast to the Port, and went abroad.

Scarce had they weighed Anchor, when suddenly a rough Wind rising from the contrary shore, troubled the Sea with so great violence of Waves, that the stoutest Mariners began to tremble: Then followed a dark night, with continual showres, and a great multitude of Clouds gathered together into a thick storm of rain and hail, both hindred the Sea-mens work, and took away all possibility by the Compass any longer to direct their course. That night with much ado, they lay at Anchor, and as soon as the day appeared when the Tempest seemed not like to cease, they began to cast about, and make back again to the shore: so that the Tide a little favouring them, at length with much difficulty they arrived in the evening at the same Haven again, from whence they had loosed the day before. In the mean while that Master Fox had been at Sea, a Pursevant from the Bishop of Winchester had broke open the Farmers house with Warrant to apprehend him, wheresoever he might be found, and bring him back Prisoner to the City; but understanding he was gone already, after he had pursued him even to the Port, and there found that the Ship he was embarked in, was yet scarce out of sight, had returned back without his arrant. Master Fox, as soon as he came ashore, hearing by report of the people what had passed, although the News somewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himself, presently took horse, and made as if he would have left the Town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the Master of the Ship to set sail again with the first convenience of the Winds; telling him that so his business required, nor did he much care what shore he landed at; only desiring him to go forward, and not doubt but that God would prosper so pious a Work. Whether for reward or pieties sake, the Pilate took upon him this venturous task, and performed it accordingly. For loosing thence in the nights silence, as soon as the Tide turned, though the Sea were rough, and the weather blustering, within two days space he landed Master Fox and his company in safety at Newport-Haven on the other side the Sea.

Whosoever shall read this story, needeth not a more evident argument, to force him to acknowledge, either the certain course of Providence, or the uncertainty of all humane forecasts; when he may see the subtlest deliberations of the wisest heads, oftentimes by errors come to no effect; often overthrown by suddain accidents; and now and then thwarted by contrary Counsels: and that all this is done to teach men so to use their authority, as that the more power Fortune hath conferr'd upon them, so much the less they should know they are able to do of themselves, and not despise those that are of meaner condition. For that God regardeth all men alike, having made them in nature equal, and differenced them by degrees, not to swell the one sort, or shame the other, but to exercise both their modesties, or his own Justice, if they neglect their duty.

Master Fox when he had spent some few days at Newport, in refreshing himself and his company, went to Antwerp, and from thence by small Journeys to Basil.

This City was at that time much spoken of for the great friendship and courtesie shewed to those of the English Nation: for which cause many famous men withdrawing themselves from the cruelty of the Times, had escaped out of England thither. Of these were many, but of slender estate, who some one way, and some another, but the most part maintained their Livelihood, by reviewing and correcting the escapes of the Press; this place for careful Printings, and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that Profession, then surpassing all the Cities of Germany; and preferring the industry of our men, in that Employment, before any of their own Countrymen.

To these men Master Fox joyned himself, so much the better liked of, because having been always inured to hardiness, and in his Youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to indure labour; and that which seemed the greatest misery to others, to suffer want, to sit up late, and keep hard diet; were to him but the sports of Fortune. This (perhaps) may seem strange to many, who remember Master Fox to have been all his life long but a slender bodied man, and in his elder years somewhat sickly: But let no man compare his old age, worn out, and eaten up with cares, and even by the course of Nature ruinous, with the flourishing prime of his Youth; which by so many his works appeareth to have been most healthful: whether it be, that in those of indifferent size, an upright shape of the Limbs and Members may sufficiently serve for health: or that the mind enflamed with desire of vertuous actions, being content with its own abilities to pursue those things it affecteth, needeth the less help from the Body.

His Industry may be from hence abundantly testified, That being so full of employment at Basil, there nevertheless he began to write his History of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*: a Work by the Title alone seeming beyond mans belief. At first it sufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the first lines or rudiments, or as it were to fasten the Warp to the Loom: the whole body of the History he added and interwove it, after he returned into his own Country. First, he wrote it in *Latine*, and sent the Copy to Basil to be printed; where the Work is still in great estimation, as also in divers other foreign Nations, among our own men hardly known, whilst we seek after, and admire strangers only; either through carelessness, or envy neglecting our

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our Country-men. Shortly after to gratifie the Unlearned, he wrote it in his Mother Tongue.

In the mean while the Reformed Religion began again to flourish in *England*, and the Papist Faction much to decline, by the death of *Queen Mary*; a Woman, while she followed her own inclination, every way excellent, and well worthy so Royal Parentage; but while she denied not any thing to some wicked Counsellors, getting this, that she both wanted that praise she had otherwise deserved; and if she be not ill spoken of, it may be accounted the modesty of the succeeding Age, whose custom it is either to commend, or at least to tolerate all the actions of Princes.

I dare neither affirm, that *Mr. Fox* foresaw this suddain change of the Publick Affairs; nor yet (which by no other I would do) will I take from him the testimony of the Reverend and famous Divine, *Doctor Elmore*, sometimes Bishop of *London*; who in presence of many yet living, was wont to say, That he was himself at a Sermon, wherein *Master Fox*, among many things which he preached, to comfort the banished *English*, did with confidence tell them, That now was the time come for their return into *England*, and that he brought them that News by Commandment from God. For which words he was then sharply reprov'd by the graver Divines there present; but excused afterwards by the event; when by comparing of times it was found, that *Queen Mary* died but the day before *Master Fox* had thus presaged.

The whole Christian World straight felt some benefit by this Change of the *English* Government.

The neighbouring Nations, now disburdened of the exil'd *Englishmen*, rejoiced for the good Fortune of their Guests, as for their own. But at home what could be devised to assure their Safety, or relieve their Distresses, which they did not sooner enjoy than presume to hope for? They who had forsaken their Houses, were now called home: They who had suffered Imprisonment, were now released: They who by loss of Goods were decayed, were now by Gifts repaired: They who had been thrust from Places of Honour, were now restored to their former Dignities: The unjust Laws were in the mean while abrogated, and the wholesome Laws established in their places: Their Minds were at quiet: Their Conscience at liberty: All degrees at peace among themselves, and every mans Goods without danger. For in such sort did *Queen Elizabeth*, even in the Infancy of Her Reign, dispose the Affairs of the Commonwealth, that whatsoever the long and prosperous Government of other Princes, doth hardly produce in many years, at her very first Entrance, all at once brake forth, beyond the peoples wish, as if some Deity had diffused it self, and poured forth Felicity upon the World. Of which incomparable, and since Mans creation, most glorious Queen, to have made mention upon any occasion, and not from thence taken cause of some further digression, let it be counted for a Capital Crime among all Writers of History.

She was born of the Lady *Anna Bolen*, whom King *Henry* the Eighth, after his Divorce from his first Marriage, took to Wife. From her she received, as a Princely Dowry, a true Zeal to Religion. As she grew elder in years, so she increased in Manners, Wit and Beauty, which as well make, as befit a Princess. So that both Nature seemed to have boasted in her, the Master-piece, of her most absolute Workmanship; and Fortune to have raised her, to as high a degree, as Hope could ever aspire to.

It made her the more capable of so great a Fortune, that she had first learned to obey; then to command, and to use that Honour first to others, which was shortly after to be used by others to her: having in a private life had experience of the hatred, fatal to the Successors of great Empires, yet of a more noble spirit, than to return the like upon those who were to succeed her. As soon as she came to the Kingdom, her several Vertues appeared at once in their brightest lustre; esteeming all Vices, as well as all Men beneath her. Her mind therefore descended not to an overnice care of her Body. The Principles of her new Sovereignty were, to acquaint her self with the publick Reasons of State; To seek fit men to bear part of her Cares; To strengthen all parts of the Kingdom, with faithful Ministers; To know the Natures and Abilities of those about her; and to search into the Strength, Councils and Attempts of foreign Princes: But all these Qualities, if not well tempered, might have had (perhaps) no long continuance. Such therefore was her Gravity, as nothing more pleasing: Such her Severity, as nothing more gentle; and such her Frugality, as nothing more bountiful. Only she knew no measure, in those Excellencies, whose glory is founded, not in the even ballancing of differing Vertues; but as it were in the throng of illustrious Actions. So was the Nobility of her Birth, heaped with desire of Glory: Her Religion (though most sincere) seconded with Zeal to a holy Life; and her Beauty (though of it self unparallel'd) enriched by a Resolution of perpetual Chastity. But when all these Vertues brake forth into Actions: (good God) what days of Happiness we then enjoyed? What ever more chearful, more secure or wealthy did *England* see, than that four and forty years of Peace? For never voluntarily did she provoke any with War, and always preferred the justice of the Quarrel before the Victory: To the *Irish*-War, Honour, and shame to have lost a Province, enforced her: To the *French*, Piety, and pity of her Neighbours danger: To the *Spanish*, her own Safety, and necessity comprehending in it self the force of all other Causes, compelled her.

In the Progress of this War we heard of, and saw that which (perchance) never happened in any before. For other Nations, though they fought with never so mortal hatred each to other, yet were their Battels restrained to some certain Fields and Places; but this War was so scattered over all places, and managed with such haughtiness of Courage on both sides, that

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through all Seas and Havens from East to West, the Sun might still behold the *English* and *Spanish* Navies fighting for their Lives, Honours or Estates. Never till then had that Sea, which was accustomed to no other command but ours, frothed with strokes of foreign Oars. Nor would a large Volume contain the discourse, if I should relate the number and stateliness of Ships, the strength of Sea and Land Forces, the multitude of Munition, Engins, Weapons, Guns, and provision of Victuals belonging to that Navy, which *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, with intention to raze out the *English* name, sent hither in the year of our Redemption, 1588. Let this suffice, That never was any preparation by Sea comparable to this Fleet, made by any the most powerful Princes or States to be shewed in all the Records of Antiquity: Yet that so huge and threatening *Armada*, swelling with self-confidence, and a presumed hope of Victory, was by the Fortune of this invincible Princess, even in a moment utterly defeated.

The Navies met together, for number and strength unequal: But the manner of the fight was to the *Spaniards* disadvantage, because the *English* Vessels being for bulk much less, and lower built afore, could with more ease cast about for the Wind, and immediately having discharged, retire to open Sea; thereby deluding the sluggish and unweildy Ships of their Enemies, and by levelling at the broad-sides of the *Spanish* Gallions, bestowing their shot with a more certain and successful aim. To this, our Captains in the skill of Sea-fight, and knowledge of the Tides, far excelled the *Spanish* Commanders, who now taught by the former days experience, that they could no way, but in a set fight bear the *English* Encounters, casting their Anchors near *Callice*, there expected new Forces out of *Flanders*, and by the goodness of their Ordnance defended themselves. This laid them open to the *English* for the Victory. For having filled some Ships with Tow, Pitch, Brimstone, and all sorts of materials suddenly combustible, and setting them on fire, with a favourable Tide, they drove them directly upon the Enemies; who were by this action so exceedingly terrified, that the whole Fleet, cutting their Cables as fast as they could, betook themselves headlong to flight. In which flight some of their Ships were burnt, some sunk, some forced to run themselves on shore, some split upon the Rocks, and some for haft falling foul on their Fellows, and so torn and bruised, were taken by our Souldiers. Those that scaped best, not daring to go back the same way they came thither, with long travail both by Sea and Land, returned at length into *Spain*, by the Coasts of *Scotland*, and the Islands of the *Orcades*, through those Seas, which in no age had been sailed on, but by such as were very good at flying.

Where so great Vertues and Victories met together in one person, of necessity Envy would be an Attendant, followed by hatred and treacheries; which could not, by this most innocent Queen, be so avoided, but that her safety (upon whom the safety of almost all Nations in *Europe* depended) was through all her life daily indangered. Which maketh me the rather wonder, what rare Doctrine of our Adversaries this may be, for pieties sake which they pretend, persecuting even vertue it self, whereas (not only in no Heathen, but in none the most barbarous Nation, which doth at all acknowledge any Deity) it was never thought just to take revenge upon Vertue (which certainly cometh nearest to the Nature of God) even in their Enemies: unless it be so that the indulgence of the Christian Religion may be so far extended, that although we are commanded to forgive our Enemies, either they must not be vertuous, or they must not be forgiven. But evident enough it is, that in humane affairs, the desires of men are often employed to one end, and the Will of God to another. By him was Queen *Elizabeth* protected always, from the Injuries and wicked Enterprises of her Enemies, and brought full of years to that Honour, as to carry with her that glory unspotted to Heaven, which she wan upon Earth, Envy now in vain barking at her after death, whose cause all Posterity doth Patronage.

Now let us return to our Story.

Master *Fox*, when by his Friends he understood the happy News in *England*, That Queen *Elizabeth* reigned, and that the state of Religion was sure, and so like to continue, about the end of that year, in which this was in hand, came back to his Country: So much space he had taken to bethink himself, lest (if by any inconstancy of the people, they should grow weary of their present estate) he should again be forced, to seek his Fortunes abroad: besides (his Family being then increased with two Children) he was fain to stay, till money might from home be sent him, to bear his charges in travelling. But before he could get from thence, he was informed that some hard Speeches had passed of him, as if through Pride he had delayed to come, thereby seeking a shorter and more speedy way to preferment, as being due to him, when he should be sent for: This he knew to be a cast of their cunning, who themselves with all earnestness striving for Honours, feared Master *Fox*, as a man deserving, and like (if he would) to be preferred before them. Yet he thought it not worth his labour, to make any excuse for such a Crime, as would of it self come to nothing: but equally despising Injuries, and neglecting his own right, hid himself wholly in his Study.

As in our Bodies it is commonly seen, that those men are more healthful, which use moderate diet and exercise, than those which exceed in either: So I suppose doth the case stand with our Minds, that he, who if Fortune hath given him no rule, prescribeth none to himself, can hardly persist in the soundness of his duty; whereas he who useth modesty in his Fortunes, is always more fresh and vigorous for any illustrious undertakings. For Master *Fox*,
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being for his Abilities famous and supported (as I before shewed) with the Friendship of great Personages, might with ease have attained to whatsoever his desires had inclined him: but affecting neither Riches nor Authority, the wishes of happy men, (though his deserts were equal with any) yet was he well contented to keep the conscience of well-doing to himself, and that Rewards should remain in the Possession of others. This I neither admit, as wholly to his Commendation, nor yet find fault with, as many have done: Let us at least favour good men so far, as to allow Vertue, to choose what degree of Fortune it listeth to shine in; or if we will needs restrain it within certain limits, let us do it to those who are good with hope of reward; as for them who are so for no design, if their glory overwhelm us not, we shall not need to fear their multitude.

I shall write of a life, bearing continually true and solids fruits, but not such whereon the Readers senses may surfeit; where neither the rare stratagems of War or Peace shall be related, nor any such discourses as Writers use, when they intend to captivate the ears of the hearers. I am to speak of a life passed over without noise, of modesty at home and abroad, of continence, charity, contempt of the World, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others.

I have shewed before, that Mr. Fox first applied himself to write the History of the Church, whilst he was at *Basil*; and that the cause he did not there finish it, was, that he might afterwards use the Testimony of more Witnesses. This Work, not a little, vexed the minds of the Papists. For well they saw that, in vain, they had spilt so much blood, and to no effect, been guilty of so great cruelty, if an account of these proceedings must be rendred to succeeding Ages: and that the Work it self could not be taken out of mens hands, they well understood. There was therefore no other hope left, but by charging the Author with falshood, and feigning some Cavils against him, so to lessen his credit and authority; which whilst Mr. Fox endeavoured to remove, and take away from himself, he could not avoid it, but must needs pass much the lawful bounds of an History, by a new heap of matters and testimonies. And let us but by this judge of the industry of our Author, that he not only gathered together so many several things, as the materials of his Work, from all distances of times or places, and through all Shires of the Kingdom, collected the Acts of both Courts, and the Records of matters judged, but also alone by a most distracted kind of diligence searched out, examined, freed even from motheating, and afterward reduced into convenient order those things themselves, being partly as it were rusty, and eaten out by Antiquity, partly by hatred or flattery of Authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged and short form of old writing. I find by the Authors own Notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finished; and very probable it is, that Work shall live, which was so long in bringing forth: Neither in all that time, used he the help of any Servant about his writing or other business: So much doth industry employed to one purpose, and gathered into it self, afford more useful assistance, than being scattered, and the mind divided into many cares at once, though it hath never so many helping hands. I have often begun to consider with my self, of those two sorts of toylings, which men esteem an Honour to undertake, which may be the more painful or more grievous, warfare or studying. Many things seem to make for both sides, but not in shew alike perswasive. For the miseries of War being grievous, not only to those who endure them, but even to those that but hear them reported, as they give scope enough to the Relator, so they make no light impression in the judgment of the sence it self: whereas the labour of studying is chiefly considerable in the silent testimony of that, whereby life is maintained, and whereof only the Intellect can determine. Thus is the question transferred to the Mind, and the Body, that of these two, that may be thought to have the better cause, whose evils do in greatness outweigh the others. I will neither take to my self authority to decide so weighty a Controversie; nor yet will I conceal what I know many wisemen to have thought concerning that matter; which is this, That those evils which happen to the Body, though they may be excessively raging and displeasing, yet they use always to determine in one of these three, weariness, pain or death; whereof the two first are curable by time, and asswaged by remedies, and the last valiant men use also to despise. Now the mind when it is overstrained, though it produceth in some sort the same mischiefs, yet it stoppeth not at weariness or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruine of that whereon even the life of man dependeth. For that in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his Work for a while, or abating some part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former strength; nor overcome the discommodities he shall thereby endure, though with never so great abundance of other contentments. They do therefore conclude, that there is as much more misery in this sober, than in that glorious kind of warfare, as there is more danger in losing an appetite to meat or drink, than in having the meat or drink it self taken away; or to lie long sick of a lingering Consumption, than to endure the smarting of a wound for the present; in sum, that in War, a man loseth more of his pleasures, but in eagerness of studying, more of himself.

The truth of this was, by Mr. Foxes example confirmed, who when he had, for many years, left no time free from thought of his study, either not at all, or not seasonably affording himself what Nature required, was at length brought to that pass, that his natural liveliness and vigour being spent, neither his Friends nor Kindred could by sight remember him. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of Body, in which many afterward saw him, never again returning to that pleasing and chearful countenance which he had before; but when he would by no means be perswaded to lessen his accustomed Labours, or lay aside his study,

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to recreate himself, the cause of his hurt not being removed, the signs thereof did likewise remain.

From this time Master Fox began to be much spoken of, for a good Historian; the other Vertues of his Mind, as they were less known abroad, so being by that which was known overshadowed. Shortly after, he began also for other Endowments, to wax famous, not only as a man learned, but as one for his friendliness useful, and no less by art, than a natural inclination made to be helpful to others. But modesty will not allow me, by way of *Journal*, to rehearse the voluntary pains he took upon him: in general to say something of it will not be amiss; and how, either by good Advice, comfortable Perswasions, or a charitable Hand, he either relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons; whereupon no mans house was in those times thronged with more Clients than his. There repaired to him both Citizens and Strangers, Noblemen, and common people of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause; To seek some Salve for a wounded Conscience. At length, some who were likewise sick in Body, would needs be carried to him; but this, to stop rumours, he would not suffer to be used. For, because they were brought thither, they were by some reported to be cured.

Thus spending the day at home in such like Duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those, who were not able to come themselves to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courtesie of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty, which the Office of his Ministry had imposed upon him. That little time which his Friends, either called away by other occasions, or ashamed of being too tedious, had left free to his own dispose, he bestowed not in sleeping, or taking his pleasure, but in prayer and studying; in both which, he always retired himself into some private place apart, or made use of the nights silence for secrecy, unless by chance sometimes the vehement groans he mingled with his Prayers, being heard by some that were near the place, gave notice how earnest he was in his Devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his Labours ended; but often hath the next mornings light seen the last of his nights care dispatched.

Now although these things be true, yet well I know there are many who will find fault, that I have so slightly passed them over; and demand, why I produce not the matters themselves, as witnesses of his actions, or at leastwise some particular example in each kind, that they may with more security give credit to the rest. But many things there are which hinder me from so doing. First, that common civility forbiddeth us, to publish abroad that, which the Conscience of another hath committed to our secrecy; and a very ill example should he give, who should not rather by all means conceal, than make known to the World, the secrets of private Houses, the jarrings of Friends, and such privy slips in mens lives, whereof it may either shame, or repent them: Next, that the matters themselves, which used in the greatest privacy that might be, to be dispatched, could by no means come to our knowledge; or if by suspicion somewhat were gathered, and that I should instance in one or two Particulars; yet what great assurance in the rest, could I draw from hence.

I will now bring the last Argument, I know not whither I should say, of his Ability or Industry; that he, who so wholly had given himself to pleasure his Friends, that he had set apart no time, for his other occasions, yet wrote so much, as it might well have been believed, he had done nothing else.

I have here for their sakes, who may desire it, set down the Titles of those Books he wrote; which are these, *Comediarum libri 2. Syllogisticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. Oliua Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Osorium de Justitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsim Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii. The Acts and Monuments of the Church.*

We are now come so far, as to be able from hence, to give the Readers a full sight at once, of the rest of Master Foxes life; which ought (I suppose) in like manner to please them, as we see those that travel, when they have been long tired with continual rugged ways and rough Forests, and come at length into the plain and Champion-Countries, are with the very change of soil not a little delighted and refreshed.

In this (as it were) draught of his conditions, we shall first observe that which might well be thought the chiefest of his Vertues; to wit, a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things, which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of Pleasures: which mind of his, whether inbred by Nature, acquired by Discipline, or infused by God, did of necessity give him great ability to perform with commendation in whatsoever he listed to take in hand; there being nothing which can mislead the mind into errors, which would otherwise of it self hold the right way, but what proceedeth from some pleasure or other; lying in wait to entrap us in our journey. But so did Master Fox hold play with these Enemies, as one who desired not to save himself by flying, or shelter himself in some secret place of retire; but by often skirmishing, and experience in the manner of fight, to encrease his own strength, and give to others an example of fortitude; using to say, That they did no great matter, who forsook business and employments in the World, lest they should suffer themselves to be allured and deceived by them. For, that the things were in themselves innocent, and then first of all grew hurtful, when they were overvalued and pursued with avaritious desire; which he that can beat back when it assaileth him, and striveth to break in upon him, is deservedly called temperate; but that he who was never in any temptation, may rather seem to have been good through want of occasion to be otherwise, than by his own Vertue.

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He never therefore declined the Friendship of Illustrious Personages; not to gain honour to himself, that thereby he saw his commendation would be more effectual, when he should desire favour on the behalf of others. The money, which sometime rich men offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the Poor. He likewise frequented the Tables of his Friends, not for his pleasure-sake, being of a spare diet; but both in courtesie to keep them company, and lest any should imagine, he either feared, or fled from the wrastling, and striving with voluptuous Encounters, or that he thought himself, by being absent, better defended against the pleasures incident to eating and drinking, than by the guard of his own moderation. In a word, so did Mr. Fox behave himself in those things which are followed by delights, that certain it is, none of those who were always in his company, can remember any speech or action of his, which might bewray the least shew of a desire to them; and so far was he from thirsting after Honour, Riches, Applause, or any outward good; that he would at no time suffer the care of his private Estate to enter his mind, much less that it should by taking thought for his Household-affairs, be overcome or drawn aside: which either security of his, or as some called it, Slothfulness in his own Fortunes, I will hereafter declare whence it proceeded. In the mean time, whilst I consider the cause wherefore he thought all other things so much contemptible, especially since that could not be imagined to arise from any obstinate disdainfulness, much less from a sleepiness or sluggishness of mind; I assure my self, it was only the love of God, wherewith his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures, of his own accord separating himself from the fashions of the World, of which he was not otherwise incapable; and devoting himself wholly to this care, like one who had found an invaluable Treasure, he bent his eyes and his mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting any thing besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires: Whereby (as in such a case must needs happen) it so fell out, that they who observed his mind so stedfastly fixed upon God, and that he both spoke and did many things beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be void of some divine Inspiration; and now some began, not as a good man to honour him, but as one sent from Heaven, even to adore him, through the folly of mankind, madly doting upon any thing, whatsoever their own will hath set up to be worshipped.

I will neither mince the truth of any story, nor will I with additions flatter Report. Many things did Master Fox foretel, by occasion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying those that were stubborn, to which the event proved after answerable, and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what constancy, whilst he remained at *Basil* among his banished Country-men, he signified the times of their return. It is likewise well known, what Answer he gave concerning that noble and vertuous Woman, the Lady *Anne Hennage*, who lying sick of a violent Feaver, when the Disease had so far increased, that the Physicians had pronounced it deadly, Master Fox was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of, in matters appertaining to her Soules health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading Prayers, and comforting the sick Woman, with such persuasions as seemed good to him; Well have you done (said he) and according to your duty, to prepare your self for all events; but know this from me, That of this sickness you shall not die. By chance, among those who stood by, was Sir *Moyle Finch*, a well known and honourable Knight, the Ladies Son in law, who either moved with so unusual a Speech, or desirous to get somewhat more out of him, as soon as Master Fox was a little withdrawn from the rest of the company, began seemingly to chide with him; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the Artists, he being an unskilful man, should presume to determine the end of the Disease, and by so doing bring the sick Woman, by condition of her Sex, wavering, yet hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope and expectation of life: if his Mother in law might be likely to live, that no man had more cause of joy than himself; but if her death were indeed at hand, it befitted no man less to dissemble it, than he, who ought to provide for the good of her Soul: that he did therefore, for the friendship he bare him, much fear, lest, by that untimely word, he had lost a great part of the good opinion which men had formerly of his truth and modesty. To this Master Fox, smiling, made answer, That for his part he hindred not any man to think of him as he pleased; but concerning the sick Lady, it had so seemed good unto God, that she should recover of that Disease; and that he had said no more than was commanded him. The Lady recovered: nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no less true was that story of Mistris *Honiwood*, an honourable Gentlewoman, who had almost twenty years lain sick of a Consumption through Melancholy, neither did any one seem to have advice or courage sufficient against the force of so mischievous a Disease, though she had already consulted with the gravest Divines, and the best Physicians, and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perswading were accounted to excel the rest. At length she sent also for Mr. Fox. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entred into a more heavy or afflicted house. There sate by the sick Woman to attend her, her Friends, Kinsfolk, Children and Servants, some upon Seats, and some on the Chamber-floor, not weeping or sighing, as those commonly do that lament, but having spent all their tears, resolutely silent, neither rising to those that came in, nor answering those who asked any question, as if that also became their mourning; you might have guesst them so many

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many statues of Mourners in humane likenes. The sick Woman lay upon her Bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent sighs, faintly breathing forth some few words, the effect whereof was, That she desired to end her days. Master Fox when he had so many Patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief so violent would make strong resistance, to attempt any thing in vain, lest, in not being by reason overcome, they might seem to have had reason on their sides, left all other means of consolation, and what he thought necessary to cure their afflicted minds, he diligently mingled with his Prayers; so that within a few days, they who were thought impossible, by mans help to be cured, did now seem, of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himself, he then told her, That she should not only grow well of that Consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age. At which words the sick Gentlewoman a little moved, and earnestly beholding Master Fox: As well might you have said (quoth she) that if I should throw this Glasse against the Wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces; and holding a Glasse in her hand, out of which she had newly drunk, she threw it forth; neither did the Glasse, first by chance lighting on a little Chest standing by the Bed-side, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it: And the event fell out accordingly. For the Gentlewoman, being then threescore years of age, lived afterward for all example of felicity, seldom seen in the Off-spring of any Family, being able, before the 90 year of her age, (for she lived longer) to reckon three hundred and threescore of her Childrens * Children and Grandchildren.

* Among which at this day, to wit, in the year of our Lord, 1641. in which this Book is set forth, there liveth Mrs. Grace Henneage, the Daughter of the said Mistris Henneage, a Gentlewoman of great worth, and the Widow of an honourable Gentleman, Master Michael Henneage, who affirmeth, that she was present at the same time this was done, being a witness of more integrity, and more sincere than that her Testimony should without great wrong be doubted of.

I could here relate many stories of like nature, but they, for the most part, being dead, who might justifie the Particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deserve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it should need to be confirmed by Witnesses.

Master Fox went one day, in duty, as his custom was, to see the Earl of Arundel, Son to the Duke of Norfolk, and Father to this Right Honourable Earl now living. The Earl, in his courtesie, when he was going away, brought him to the Water-side, at the lower end of his Garden; but observing the River very rough by the suddain rising of the Winds, he counselled Master Fox not to trust himself in so boisterous a Tempest upon the Waters: But he continuing in his resolution of going; So my Lord (quoth he) let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken: and with that entering into the Boat, before they could put off from the Bridge, the Wind ceased, and the River began to run with a smoother stream.

Being often asked by his familiar Friends, why he had no more regard to the straightness of his own Estate, it being the first precept of Charity to begin at home; his answer was, That God by his Covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it; and since he had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifest ingratitude?

These and such like things, although by all men much wondred at, yet dare I not presume to affirm, what that was in all these actions, which did principally tend to Master Foxes commendation: whether it be, that the mind by how much the purer and more sublime it is, seeth so much the farther: or whether there be some hidden cause, why God may be pleased sometimes to declare his purposes, by men, not speaking out of their own knowledge, but as they are moved.

We must make haste now to other matters, in which there was nothing that so much wan to Master Fox the love of people, as the pity he usually shewed to all sorts of men in distress; and some you may find, who affirm, that Master Fox not only gave away to the poor his Money, but his Cloaths and Household-stuff also, without his Wives privy; which modesty forbiddeth me to maintain for truth. For since I know well enough, that many things, concerning the rest of his behaviour, have been either feigned, or amplified by the affections of men, I ought not a little to suspect, lest in this they have done the like. True it is, that Master Fox gave largely to the Poor, and therein exceeded the measure of his own substance, but that his bounty ever proceeded to the disfurnishing of his house, I neither have any Author worth the credit, who avoucheth it; nor is it likely that he should descend to such extream courses, who by the liberality of others that supplied him with money to that purpose, wanted not sufficient means to shew his Charity.

All these Vertues of his were fenced about, as with a Bulwark, by a singular modesty and integrity of life; which suffered not any thing either to enter into his manners, or to break forth in his actions, but what was first with much diligence searched into and examined, whether it might beseem him or not; which also having always before him, if at any time (by the condition of mans frailty) ought within began to be shaken, yet was provision quickly made, before the matter proceeded to any great breach in his manners, by forsaking all commerce with any kind of Vices, against which the shame to do evil, and the regard he had to his own credit, kept a continual watch and ward.

Yet for all this there want not some, who accuse Master Fox of Injustice, in the highest degree; which injury, because many are interested in, I shall further inquire into.

Master Fox in that part of his History, wherein he describeth the lamentable Troubles in the five years Reign of Queen Mary, hath by name mentioned not only the Authors of those Executions, but also many, who were but Ministers and Assistants, among whom were some persons of great note. This, some of their Posterity complain to have been done unjustly by Master

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Master Fox, and that the fatal necessity of those times, their modesty in obeying, or the publick Offices imposed upon them, ought not to be a scandal to them, or their Posterity. Now though I might justly answer these men, that the same excuse of necessity, which they alledge for their Ancestors, ought to suffice on Master Foxes behalf, since he could no way leave the Ministers nameless, but he should leave his Adversaries occasion of cavilling at his story: yet willingly would I give them further satisfaction, than they can in justice challenge; desiring, that what hath been done might possibly have been done otherwise, and intreating them, not to suppose that done with a thought of hurting, which was only the Fortune of those who were hurt; in the mean while (notwithstanding) I advise them, that they joyn not their grief, with the anger of those men, who are offended with Master Fox for a far different cause, and under colour of the persons, strike at a matter of another condition, there being two sorts of men, who in this respect complain they are injured, the one out of Nature, the other out of Faction. To the first, as their due, I willingly grant all benefit that courtesie can afford them. Though they are angry, they are still Subjects, and in their Obedience: neither would I make so light of the grief, though unjustly taken by any good Subject, as not rather to lose a part of my right, than that he should relinquish any part of his Loyalty. To the last, I have somewhat else to say, as to men, who had the Fortune to fall out first with their Country, and to have that as the true and principal Cause of their hatred: than to grow angry with Master Fox, whom they hate not, but for their Countries sake. To these men I am so far from thinking any satisfaction due, as that I cannot afford them the favour of reasoning with them, which is granted even to Enemies. For the safety of civil intercourse, and all hope of reconciliation they have taken away, and broken all ties of humane society: And what can I hope he should ever after do, either like an understanding man, or like a man at all, who could forsake his duty to his Country? which alone so draweth into it self the power and right of all duties, that according as any man sheweth more or less love towards it, so may the most infallible judgment be given, how he standeth affected towards God. But if they say, their Country hath failed in its duty: First, that will be a question, whether it hath failed or not and how far it hath failed; but it is without all Controversie their duty to let pass any discontent for their Countries sake: Next, how bold a face must he have, who being himself a party to an Action, of which God only can determine, should presume to make himself his own Judge, and (not content to have set at nought that Authority, which amongst men is most weighty) neither grant to his Country space of appealing, nor awaite the Judgment of Almighty God, but as if he had already won the day, seize all things before hand by foul and stubborn attempts, and rather gratifie an Enemy with his disloyalty, than perform his duty to his Country so well, deserving it? So that if it should happen at any time, that this famous Kingdom (which is not impossible in this state of humane weakness) should err in any part of duty towards God, yet might most dangerous examples of treachery be given, if when any man shall have a desire to his Countries destruction, he may by excuse of his Countries Crime, not only seem to have quitted himself of so hainous a fault, but also to have done what his duty required.

This I have spoken of the more largely, because I understand that many of our own Party think fit, that some Answer should be made to the Papists, concerning the evil Speeches they have used against Master Fox. To satisfie whose desire in a few words, let us first see what those evil Speeches are: That he is a lying Author: It is therefore a lye, that Master Rogers, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Hooper, Bishop Ridley, Bishop Latimer, and other most holy and innocent men of the same train were burned for their Religion. But if this, even by their own confession, be true, what (I marvel) may those matters be, by whose falshood the rest of the whole work hath incurred the infamous Title of a lye, as they do make their Followers believe? Some things they alledge mistaken in the names or number of such as suffer, or in the time of their suffering, which were either recalled in the following Editions, or by the Author so well defended, that as long as he lived no man exclaimed any more. Somethings they likewise urge in the History of former Ages, contradicted by the Historiographers themselves, which they might easily do, in so great contention of differing Opinions, that whatsoever Author a man should follow, he must still fall into the same inconvenience. Yet all they can say is of such a nature, as neither we much care if it were true, nor they if it be false. But let us (if you will) grant them somewhat, and be liberal of Master Fox his right: If I shall take quite out of the History, all that they have said to be false, will they then promise me to suffer their Followers with freedom to read the rest? They will no more yield to this condition, than they will be contented to be quiet: What shall a man do to such men, as are never satisfied, whether you grant that they plead for, or deny it them? And how great a frowardness it were to expect from any Author, that in the whole course of so long a story, whilst one man doth with his own only labours handle so many several matters, he should never so much as mistake any thing? As well might they tax that most accomplished Writer Julius Caesar with telling a lye, if where he describeth our Isle of Great Britain, he should by chance in the circuit of any Island, or passage from one place to another, differ by a few miles from later accompt, who (indeed) wrote the History of his Wars and Expeditions, with that truth he ought to do, but in the rest followed the common report, and believed the Relations of others, not willing to be over curious in things of no great importance.

And thus much it seemed good to me to answer, rather out of the opinion of some of our own side, than that my self thought it necessary: But if our Adversaries themselves require a further Answer, I will deal with them upon other terms: Let them first return to their Obedience,

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dience, make satisfaction to their Country, and then prosecute their private displeasures, when they are clear of all publick Offences: But if they will needs run on still in this heat, and after they have neither any hope nor credit left, think to frighten us with railing, I shall (for my part) be well content to let them gain as much commendation for their good pleading, as they have reaped fruit in that course of life they have heretofore used; and to allow them this double glory, neither in evil-doing, nor in evil-speaking to have any Fellows: If this condition seemeth over hard, yet (at least) let them equal the dignity of that History they so much carp at. Let them be Authors of equal credit. So would the fight be more honourable, if they might with as much damage to themselves be overcome, as they should with advantage get the Victory. If otherwise it be their desire to purchase to themselves some blast of fame, by cavilling at this lasting Work, in their Pamphlets and under-hand Invectives, not such as the judgments of understanding men, but the fancies of some easier Women; is there any man so senseless, as by opposing them, to make those Writings of longer continuance, which would, by being countenanced, in a short time be quite forgotten?

Now further, that they may understand how much their ill Language hath made more for Master Fox his honour than reproach; I will speak a word or two of his moderation towards them. I could produce Letters of his, wherein he perswadeth the Lords and others, who then held the places of chiefest Authority, not to suffer *Edmund Campian*, and his fellow Conspirators to be put to death, nor to let that custom continue longer in the Kingdom, that death rather than some other punishment should be inflicted on the Papist Offenders. And lest he might seem only out of the goodness of his Nature, and not out of the judgment of his mind to have so spoken, he there endeavoureth to prove by many reasons, how much it was to the weakning of the cause, rather to follow the example of their Adversaries, in appointing punishments, than their own mildness; and that they much rather ought to strive, as well in mercy and clemency to overcome them, as they had already in the justice of their cause got the upper hand. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity to intreat for them. Whereas on the other side the Lords gave him to understand; That this was a matter of State, not of Controversie; That the Kings life, the publick Liberty, and the assurance of the Kingdom rested on this Point; That Subjects ought by their own peril to be warned, how they grow too prodigal of their Countries blessings; That such was the estate of the Kingdom, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more secure, if the Subjects, only would consent, to keep their abilities to their Countries use, nor had it further failed of that felicity, than it had been hindred by the revolts and conspiracies of our own men. Yet for all this did Master Fox continue in his opinion, and though he could by intreaty gain nothing, yet would he with many sighs testifie his sorrow, as often as he heard, that any of them were put to death.

And thus having seen his moderations to the persons, it will not be out of the way to add in general what he thought of the Churches of *Rome*, and the Bishop thereof, as far as they may be gathered out of his Speeches, when being of ripe years, he had strengthened his judgment with much experience.

The Heads of his Opinions were these:

That among the Christian-Churches, the *Roman* had been in dignity always chiefest, and of most Antiquity. That it retained this dignity and opinion many Ages after, by little and little growing to greater Authority, not by consent of people, or by any right to that Claim, but by reason of a certain inclination and custom among men, that where any chance far to excel others, they first begin to be powerful among the rest, and at length to exercise command over them. That the greatest Honour and Authority it had, was among these Western Kingdoms, which, as every one most affected the Christian Religion, so were they by the diligence and piety of the *Romans* most assisted, in which respect it had not ill deserved to be called the Mother of those Churches. That the occasion of so great an increase was, that the City of *Rome* being of so ancient Renown, and as it were by destiny appointed Monarch of the World, in all Ages abounding with men of great courage and vertue, being well peopled; wealthy, usefully seated, and always under the Emperors sight, easily afforded this convenience. That at the first the Christians could no where meet together with less trouble, more plentifully be provided for, more safely be concealed, or, when need was, die with more constancy; all which made Posterity so much to admire and honour them. That the Church at first flourished rather in good Discipline, and the approved holiness of the Professors, than in abundance of riches, there being yet no looseness, no pride or ambition found in the manners of the Clergy, and Money, Servants, Lands, Jewels, and such like goods, altogether unknown to them; in fine, all things so restrained, either by modesty in using what they had, or contentedness in wanting what they had not, as that in *Rome* only, seemed to be the Seat of Christian Religion. That all this was with most strictness observed in the times nearest to the Churches Infancy; but in process of time, by little and little began to be neglected and corrupted, after the same manner as Rivers, whose streams near their head being smallest and clearest, the farther they proceed, run in a larger Channel, but with more troubled waters; till at length, by mixture with the Sea, they grow also unwholesome; and though in no one place, we can perceive where they are, any jot changed from their first purity; yet may we easily enough find a great difference, if we compare the extreames together. For that in the Church it so fell out, that having brought all Nations to the Christian Faith, after they once began to think it for the Honour of the Empire, that the Priests should no longer (as they had formerly accustomed) endure

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endure Poverty, but live in a more plentiful way, to which purpose the Emperors granted many things to the Church-men, both as an Ornament and Reward to them; then also the Priests began, first to be taken with the love of Riches, then by degrees to grow wanton through abundance, and not care how little pains they took, after (as always the succeeding Age addeth to the Vices of the former) they affected Power also, which when they had once obtained, and by the Emperors Gift, received the Command of the Church, they gave not over, till (having cast down the Emperors, by whose bounty they had so prevailed) they both invaded the Priviledges of the Empire, and now laid Claim to both Spiritual and Temporal Government; in the mean while neglecting those Rules of Religion which their Predecessors had prescribed them, neither themselves much searching the Scriptures, nor permitting others to do it; and esteeming the Worship of God to consist rather in outward Devotion, and Pomp of Ceremonies, than in the Obedience of Faith. That by this means it so came to pass, that the Church of Rome (as all other immoderate Empires) not only fell from that high degree it once held, but also subverted in it self the very substance and state of a Church: nor that this ought to seem strange, if as the most healthful Bodies fall into sickness with most danger, so it befalleth, that the prime of all Churches should have no mean, but either remain in the perfection of health, or become the most dangerous Enemy to it; and that for this cause the Pope now seemed to be Antichrist. That notwithstanding the case was so plain, yet neither part ought to lend too much belief to Arguments, nor be too earnest in hindering it, if by any moderation of men the matter might be brought to soundness and agreement. That it was not (perchance) in our Power to take from Rome her ancient Honour, and the opinion of her Religion so fixed already in the minds of men. That the Church of Rome had fallen by her own covetousness, ambition, and prevarication; but that never any man had gone so far in sinning, as that Repentance had not pierced as far. That therefore it were fit to allow them, as a returning to Repentance, so some convenient means to move them to it, and sufficient space to repent in. That it might be the Author disliked them, because a German or French man, and not an Italian of their own Nation had told them of their Errors. That there might one day among their own men be found some, by whose Authority they should not be ashamed to amend their faults, and with more willingness part with their own power, to procure the peace of the whole World. That there was at least this hope left, it might so fall out, that they had no further erred in the Articles of Faith, than that they would not suffer too much to be known. That the conditions of agreement would be, first, That the Pope should forsake all those Tenents, by which he gained so great sums of money; there being nothing, whereto the people might with more difficulty be perswaded, than that Christ, the Saviour of the World, had instructed his Church in the ways of money, and setting Scriptures to sale. Next that he should renounce all Secular Jurisdiction, and not suppose himself to have Title, or any thing to do with the right of Princes. That on the other side his Opposers should not refuse, that some one man may have the principal place of Counsel and Government in the Church-affairs, as being a thing which would have many conveniences in it, when it might be done with security; neither that the Roman-Church had once fallen, ought to make against it, nor that it had first flourished, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other, but that all this was to be left to the discretion of a General-Council of the Christians, which might be so equitable, as that neither the Power or Favour of any one should be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in number of Voices to promise it self any advantage to the injury of the rest. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope and speediness of settling all Controversies, if hereafter on both sides they would give such Instructions, as might cause in each Party a better hope and opinion of the other, especially that they ought to leave off that stubborn conceit, whereby each of them, presuming it self to be the only true Church, supposeth the other excluded. For that it were not only wicked, but also highly to the dishonour of God, to think that he had so given his Commandments to Mankind, as that they should be turned to the destruction of those that obey them; which must of necessity come to pass, if when all men will not consent in the same opinion, they who understand most shall refuse to admit of the rest; Was therefore the Kingdom of Heaven reserved only for the more understanding sort, and those that know most? Where should then the Fools of the World be; where should little Children be, whom Christ had set apart for himself? How much better should we serve God, by following that which was evident, than by interpreting that which was doubtful? How much more probable were it, that Gods mercy was so abundant, as when men were once agreed in point of general Obedience, there should nothing else be laid to their charge? For, that the force of Obedience was before God so great, as thereby only all other inequalities might be made even; but if all were not in equal condition, that certainly with God they were best esteemed, who judged with most modesty of others.

From Master Fox his Enemies, I will now pass to his Friends, among which I have already shewed, with how great affection he was beloved by the Duke of Norfolk, being by his bounty maintained in his life, and after his death, by the Pension he bestowed on him, which his Son, the Right Honourable Earl of Suffolk, to whom those Revenues descended, out of his liberality, confirmed.

His Fortunes were increased by the Lord William Cecil, then Lord Treasurer, a man beyond expression excellent, whom it as much availed Queen Elizabeth, to have for her Minister, as it availed the Kingdom, to have Elizabeth for their Queen; and without doubt most deserving, that in himself, and his Posterity, he should flourish in that Kingdom, which he had by his wisdom and advice made most flourishing. He of the Queens Gift obtained for Mr. Fox the Rectory of Shipton, upon no other inducement but his publick Desert, and when Mr. Fox delayed, and after his manner entreated leave to excuse himself, the Lord Cecil politickly overcame his bashfulness, by telling him, That he neither accepted that for an answer, nor had he deserved that the blame of Mr. Foxes refusing the Queens Gift, should be laid upon him, as if he had been his hindrance.

To the Earls of Bedford and of Warwick, he was very acceptable, and approved by them for the likeness of his inclination.

He

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He was very intimate with Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who deservedly was the first that advanced the Power of the Secretariship.

The two Brethren, Sir *Thomas Hennage* and Master *Michael Hennage*, he entirely affected, the first for the sweetness of his Behaviour, the other for his solid Learning and singular modesty of Life, and though they were each of them in their kind most accomplished Gentlemen, yet was he wont to say, that Sir *Thomas Hennage* had as much as was requisite any way to a compleat Courtier, but that Master *Michael Hennage* had both all his Brother in himself, and that besides of his own, which the Court had not corrupted.

To Sir *Drue Drury* he bare (likewise) singular affection, as to a man of sincere intentions, and of great constancy in all Fortunes and (perchance) the only man in the Court, who continued his favour, without loss of his Freedom.

Among the Prelates he principally revered Doctor *Grindal* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Elmar* Bishop of *London*, Doctor *Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, who were his Partners in banishment at *Basil*.

Among the Writers of his time, he preferred before the rest, Doctor *Humphrey*, Doctor *Whitaker*, and Doctor *Fulk*, with whose Learning he was wondrously delighted, and esteemed it no small benefit to be again beloved by them.

But with none had he more familiar acquaintance, than with Master *John Crowley*, and Master *Baldwine Collins*, whose counsel he made use of in all his affairs, especially of Master *Collins*, concerning whom he was wont to say, That he knew not which had greatest share in him, excellence of knowledge, or modesty of mind.

Among military men, Sir *Francis Drake* was much delighted with his Familiarity; whom to commend near the times, he lived in, were needless, but to commend him to Posterity, according to his desert, many Volumes would scarce suffice.

Among the Citizens of *London*, he always found great good will; especially with Sir *Thomas Gresham*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Alderman *Bacchus*, Master *Smith*, Master *Dale*, and Master *Sherington*, who had him in great account and estimation, being part of them such as had born the highest places of Honour in the City, and part of them Merchants of great substance.

I pass by many, who (perchance) had as great share in Master *Fox* his Friendship, as any of these; nor ought it to be accounted a fault, if I either knew not, or remembered not at all: But this I ought not to slip, (as being the chiefest cause why I thought fit to mention the forenamed worthy men) That these were they, from whom, I before said, Master *Fox* received such large sums of money to divide among the poor: which although they did with so much privacy, as that they trusted not to Messengers in delivering it, not regarding any outward praise, their well doing might procure them, knowing the conscience thereof to be as much as they needed to desire; Yet was it not fitting for me in Master *Fox* his History to dissemble it, or to give any man occasion to suppose the truth not opened by Master *Fox*, though they themselves thought good to neglect the fruit of so great Liberality, especiall since it may abundantly serve for commendation of both him and them, that they should be known by their own actions, and he by none but his own.

He used always among his Friends a pleasant kind of familiarity, wherewith he seasoned the gravity and severity of his other behaviour.

Being once asked at a Friends Table, what Dish he desired to be set up to him, to begin his meal with, he answered, the last; which word was pleasantly taken, as if he had meant some choicer Dish, such as usually are brought for the second Course; whereas he rather signified the desire he had to see dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad (by chance) he met a Woman that he knew, who pulling a Book from under her arm, and saying, See you not that I am going to a Sermon; Master *Fox* replied, But if you will be ruled by me, go home rather, for to day you will do but little good at Church; and when she asked, At what time therefore he would counsel her to go; Then (answered he) when you tell no body before hand.

It happened at his own Table, that a Gentleman there spake somewhat too freely against the Earl of *Leicester*, which when Master *Fox* heard, he commanded a Bowl filled with Wine to be brought him, which being done: This Bowl (quoth he) was given me by the Earl of *Leicester*, so stopping the Gentleman in his intemperate Speeches without reprehending him.

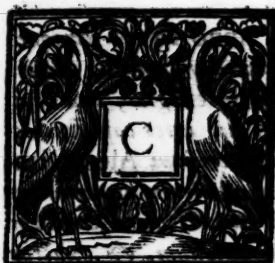
When a young man, a little too forward, had in presence of many, said, That he could conceive no reason, in the reading of the old Authors, why men should so greatly admire them. No marvel indeed, (quoth Master *Fox*) For if you could conceive the reason, you would then admire them your self.

I could speak of many stories of this kind, but that I will not exceed my intended limits too far.

At length having in such actions, and such behaviour spent out his Age, being now full of years, and stored with Friends, ere he had quite passed through his seventieth year, he died, not through any known Disease, but through much Age. Yet did he foresee the time of his departure, nor would suffer his Sons (which notwithstanding he entirely loved) to be present at his death, but forbade the one at any hand to be sent for, and sent the other on a Journey three days before he died, then calling both of them unto him, when he well knew, though they made never so great haste, they should come too late; whether he thought them unable to bear so heavy a Spectacle, or would not have his own mind at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to desire life. Which to me and my Brother was the most grievous of all chances, that thereby we could neither come to close his eyes, to receive his last Blessing and Exhortations, nor satisfy our minds with that last sight of him. Perchance we could with more patience have endured to see the fainting approaches of his death drawing on, than to have lost in him so good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death the whole City lamented, honouring the small Funeral which was made for him, with the concourse of a great multitude of people, and in no other fashion of mourning, than as if among so many, each man had buried his own Father, or his own Brother.

A D LECTOREM.



Contendentibus a me multis, idque sæpenumero, ut Patris mei vitam, ante triginta annos a me conscriptam posteritati donarem; cum nulla nova res acciderit, propter quam (vel me tacente) iudicio posterorum de clarissimo viro diffiderem; multa autem me nunc necessaria huic instituto deficerent, excessu eorum, in quorum testimonio fides rerum continebatur: non dubitavi quin & prioris recufationis meæ veniam apud cunctos consequi, & si in recusando perseverarem, huius quoque libertatis jus tenere facile potuissem. Sed cum viderem homines alienos, & consuetudinis ejus prorsus ignaros, hoc suum negotium fecisse, ut de vita ejus scriberent; de qua nihil nisi per vagas, & fortuitas auditiones doceri potuerunt; eoque fieri, ut multa de eo supra quam facta sunt, extulerint; multa secus quam facta sunt narrarint; plurima ignoratione præterierint; qui adolescens supremis ejus vitæ temporibus perpetuus interfui, & cum abessem propiores causas cognoscendi quicquid attentius gessisset semper habui; adductus sum officio, ut memoriam ejus illæsam esse vellem; & si luce eam donare non possem, at eam in vero, & suo lumine collocarem. Neque veritus sum, ut hoc factum meum legentibus probare possim, quod filius Patris mei vitam composuerim, exemplo propter propinquitatem suspecto: Nam primum celari posteros memorabilem virum, nec injuria eorum qui perperam de eo scripserunt sinebat: defendi autem eum aliter quam ab suis, tutum non erat: neque est, cur in filio magis suspecta sit fides sua, quam in iis qui nullam de eo memoriam extare volunt vis doloris, & iracundiæ suæ. Hactenus sustinui, donec æquato periculo offensionis inter infensos, & cupidos, vicit tandem ratio parendi eis, qui hoc meum studium, etiam cum expostulatione, flagitabant; quorum importunitate consensi in opus emittendum, initio non alio destinatum, quam ut imaginem Paternæ consuetudinis apud me fervarem, & nunc, in tanta hominis fama, aliorum magis opinione, quam iudicio meo necessarium.

JOHANNIS FOXII VIT A.

Johannes Foxius Bostona antiquo oppido conventus Lincolnensis ortus, Anno 1517. utroque genere plebeio, sed honesto inter suos, & copioso fuit: Patrem parvulus admodum amisit: cuius morte postquam mater denupsit, in domum vitrici concessit; ibique pueritiam exegit; qua vix dum egressus, probatusque suis ob bonitatem, vigoremque indolis, Oxonium ad artes capeffendas missus est. Prima literarum elementa in Collegio Aenei nasi hausit, datus in contubernium Alexandro Noello, summo postea hujus civitatis viro, & Decano Paulinæ Ecclesiæ; ut non mirum sit, quorum educatio par, idemque pueritiæ cultus fuit, inter eos similitudinem quoque morum ad extremam senectam duravisse. Egregium, acremque ad studia animum incendit locus, ferax emulationum, & exactor profectus sui in singulis; aderatque industria, quæ raro excellentibus ingeniis comes, ubi ea quoque adsumitur, tum demum efficacissima est: Ob quas dotes cum intra breve tempus admirationem sui apud cunctos, charitatem apud plurimos peperisset, eruditionis, morumque nomine, delectus est in numerum sodalium Magdalenensium, qui honor inter præcipuos Academiae habitus, & Alumnus Collegii debitus, paucis externis, nec nisi in præmium singularis virtutis concedi solet. Apparet prima exuberantis ingenii Germina Poeticæ studiose profudisse: Extant Comædiæ ab ipso conscriptæ, stilo uberi, & ornato, sed Paulo tumentore, quod vitium Orationis, & si ætas, & experientia multum mitigavit, cum ipso tamen magna ex parte consensit, cum in aliis rebus esset sedatissimus: Sed & tum specimen dedit, quem in virum evasurus esset; cum illi ipsi lusus effervescentis adolescentiæ, non nisi Argumentis sacre Historiæ instruerentur: matureque coercuit. Ad Theologiae studium acrior, quam prudentior transiit; descenditque in professionem Reformationis tum inceptæ; prius quam iis nosceretur, qui vel causam ipsam forebant vel fautores protegere possent: Id illi initium molestiarum fuit. Hoc fuit illud tempus quo Henricus octavus Rex, ambiguus propositi, sibi & Papæ discors, Ecclesiæ res in immensum potentia, superbieque auctas, neque tolerandas ex toto, neque mutandas ducens, cum in utroque modum cuperet, in neutro valuit; factumque post homines natos gloriosissimum, inutili temperamento sedavit: Non alias distrahiior populus, neque magis anxius salutis suæ, fortunarumque fuit; ignoto per legum contrarietatem, quid sequi, quid fugere tutum esset; abolito Papatu, & retento tamen dogmate. Initia tamen exacti Papatus ut lata, ita secunda magis Reformatioribus fuerunt; plurimique mortales consensum intulere, conscientia recti & illigato Regis animo per supplicia adversantium, & demolitis maxime Monasteriis: addiditque fiduciam, quod ex Proceribus ut quisque Papali fastigio infestior erat, ita magis Regis gratia, amicitiaque floruit. Interim vigeat statutum sex Articulorum, fontesque plebæbantur. Ita sparsus ex æquo terror, & spes quamdiu Rex inter ingenium suum, & consilia suorum medius, severitate illud, hos discordi indulgentia pavit: Mox protritit Reformatiorum ducibus; postquam Suffolcius morte, Cromwellus ferro cecidisset, intratque per emulorum audaciam Cranmeri Archiepiscopi potentia, nihil vel in legibus, vel in Proceribus præsidii superesset, cuncta in antiquas sordes, licentiamque ruere ceperunt; tantoque impetuosius, quod vindictæ species erat vicisse. At in Academiis, Scholisque nihil mutatum, innovatumque nisi occulto; dubium an metu, an ambitione, ne sequi viderentur. In quo statu rerum, Religioni, Foxius ad controversia tum gliscentis conditionem cognoscendam attentius animum convertit: Vetus dimicatio erat, neque ullum seculum prorsus expers dissidiorum in Ecclesiâ fuit: sed primæ illæ contentiones questionibus de Regno, & jure finium magis complicabantur; nitentibus Romanis, ut veterem urbis amplitudinem, quam armis nequibant, artibus & obtentu Religionis sub summi Pontificis jure retinerent: Tum si qui ab ipsis de fide dissenserant, eorum festinatus exitus contactum in reliquos antevertit. Ita vel crudelitate, vel principum patientia pleraque turbarum composita sunt; manentibus etiamnum Romæ vestigiis primæ virtutis, aut saltem imitantis virtutum inter pleraque inversa, vel vetustate oblitterata. At postquam coalita ex successu audacia, securum Pontifici fuit omnium rerum jus, potestatemque ad se trahere; & concussis Imperii opibus, reliquorum Regum sceptrâ attrectare libido esset; ejusque causa fas omne divinum, & humanum miscere; interim Clerus ipse nihil pensi haberet quanta Religionis jactura homines interdum maculosi in Papatum sublegerentur, quorum exemplo vetus illa parentum severitas, & sanctimonia derisui, paupertas probo esse, sacerdotum industria torpere, contra furere luxus, & avaritia, & ambitio cepit: tum demum intellectæ sunt Ecclesiasticorum artes, cognitumque ludibrium: Idcirco nimirum multiplicatos ritus numerumque Cæremoniarum, quo Cleri numerus faciendis sacris augetur: Hos ali necesse: Ad horum sumptum inductas opiniones cogendis pecuniis potentissimas, de dignitate operum, de Purgatorio, de potestate absolutionis, & indulgentiarum Papalium: quas omnes sua natura falsas, & fluxas esse; verum constabili novo illo omniumque vasserrimo cemento: Papam in fide errare non posse. Sic decore opinionum nexu, compageque vincam Christianorum credulitatem: interius opinionum proventus, pecuniarumque, quæ tum ab Clero, tum ab populo extorqueretur, immensam vim ad Papam, curiamque Papalem sub infinitis nominibus, pervenire. Sæpe audiui Foxium narrantem, eam sibi primam causam fuisse inquirendi in Doctrinam Pontificiorum, quod res Natura pugnantissimas simul offerri credentibus vidisset: Eundem scilicet Hominem & fidei summum, & tamen vita, moribusque ultimum mortalium esse posse. Tali autem principio cum animus, obsequiumque ejus primo nutavisset, dissensio

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Johannis Foxii Vita.

in reliquis sensim secuta est. Prima illi diligentia fuit Ecclesie Historiam omnem tum veterem, tum novam evolvere, cognoscere quis Ecclesie exortus, qua incrementa, quibus artibus floruerit, quo errore declinaverit, expendere controversiarum quae intervenerant causas, vim, & quid in utraque parte sanum, quid agrum esset: quo in conatu sic exarsit studium, & celeritas ejus ut ante trigessimum Aetatis suae annum, quicquid Patres Latini, Graecive in scriptis, quicquid Schola in conclusionibus, quicquid Concilia in Actis, Curia in Decretis reliquerat, id omne, modo obvium esset, legendo percurreret; in Hebraeorum quoque literis peritiam non vulgarem affectus sit. Retulerunt aequales ipsius solitum illi fuisse, super diurnum laborem; pernoctare quoque in studiis, aut non nisi multa admodum nocte ad quietem se recipere. Lucus est extra Collegium amantate loci, studentium otio, & ambulationibus dicatus: Eum locum, noctemque delegerat, ubi tyronem animum pavidum conscientia novae cogitationis, adversus metum, ipso terrore solitudinis, & tenebrarum firmaret. Quas ibi vigilatas noctes, quos fluctus, aestusque animi perpassus sit; quantum singultuum, gemitus, lacrymarum precibus apud Deum interfuderit, malim silentio transmitti, quam in speciem ostentationis memorari: Sed ideo tradi oportuit, quod hinc prima indicia alienatae voluntatis eruperunt. Quippe evulgata fama nocturnorum secessuum, cum suspicacissimus quisque suapte ingenio, ceteri ut quisque ab eo alienior, ita pronior in sinistram interpretationem penderet, tandem familiares quoque ejus traherantur; immisique qui specie monitionis digressus ejus sermones, actus singulos accuratius specularerant. Et erant, qui comparatione pristinae consuetudinis facta atrocius urgerent: Cur infrequentius rem divinam faceret quam soleret? cur vitaret congressus aequalium? Cur solatia consuevit dimitteret? qua mente ista faceret nisi mutata? neque occultaturum si in melius mutaretur. Igitur appetitus rumore, insidiis, insimulatione omnium, questione severius habita, cum ultra celare consilium suum non posset, neque in mendacio perfugium quaerendum putaret, homo simplicissimi instituti, Collegiali judicio convictus, damnatusque de heresi, motusque collegio est. Ea sententia mollissime cum eo agi dicebant adversarii, & potuisse capitis appellari nisi clementiam maluissent. Sed vulnus illud longe gravius quam pro opinione erat, offensis eo nuncio necessariorum quoque animis & praesertim vitrici, quem implacabilem sibi reddiderat seu vero odio, seu fido, quo honestius sibi aliquid, jam saltem securius in bonis Foxii paternis detinendis posset polliceri. Nam neque lege agere hominem publice invisum, legibusque obnoxium tuto posse sciebat; & Foxius natura vindictae adeo nescius fuit, ut se laesam aliquando, cum ulcisci posset, vix agnosceret. Desertum ab suis, nudatumque omni ope humana, divinus favor statim excepit, receptumque ostendit in domo optimi, & amplissimi viri, Tho. Lucii, Equitis Warwicensis; ad quem accitus est liberorum educandorum causa: In qua domo uxorem postea duxit, ibique permansit, quoad pueris adultior jam aetas praecceptoris necessitatem exuerat. Sed maturavit discessum ejus major metus inquisitionum Papalium, quae favore jam legum subnixae non modo publice delicta venari sed privatarum quoque domum secreta perrumpere ceperunt. Profectionis illius miserrimam speciem solebat Foxius supremis vitae temporibus, multa apud amicos cum animi sermonisque vehementia detestari; cum diceret, alios quidem casus se utcumque tulisse, in hoc id insuper calamitatis accessisse, ut eo inhumanior videretur si toleravisset: Abductam domo & Penatibus conjugem fidei & amoris rarissimi, cujus luctum & lacrymas, omni pietatis officio solari oporteret: Aut medendum igitur statim dolori, aut in fidem amoris sociandas lacrymas. Nam frustra constantiae exemplum dari, ubi ea spretam potius ab viro maeritiam suam, quam non viduum tanto malo animum ejus interpretaretur. Consultanti secum quid factum opus esset, duae omnino viae expediendi incommodi ostendebantur; quarum utram eligeret diu incertus animi fuit: ad socerumne, an ad vitricum proficisceretur. Ille loco propinquior, utpote qui civis est proxima civitate Coventriae erat, nondum odio sui imbutus, & filiae charitate placabilior: Alter notior erat sed suspectior. Placuit primum adiri socerum: Interim per literas explorari vitrici animum, an reciperetur. Responsum ab vitrico est: duram conditionem sibi videri petere, ut is in domum reciperetur, quem capitalis admissi compertum, damnatumque sciebat: neque nescire se quanto id cum capitis sui periculo facturus sit: veruntamen se necessitudini omnia tribuere, cujus causa pericula sua se neglecturum docebat: veniret ex lege ut si mentem mutandam censeret eam quam ipse cuperet apud se manendi copiam fore intelligeret: sin id facere non posset eo breviori mora contentus esset; neque matrem & se omnia sua causa facere paratos in discrimen fortunarum adduceret. Erant res Foxii eo loco, ut nullam conditionem beneficii rejiciendam putaret; simul mater occultis mandatis, ut veniret monuerat; neque vitrici severitatem pertimesceret: sic fortasse scripto opus fuisse, cum occasio esset dicta factis compensaturum. Benignius ab utroque tum socero, tum vitrico quam speraverat acceptus est: sed postulabat res ut neutri loco diu fideret. Crebris hinc inde commeatibus, & equato inter utrumque onere id consecutus est, ut tum inquirentium curam negotii specie falleret, & satietatem sui apud utrumque minueret. Utrumque latuit, certum est nullum vitae ejus tempus obscuriore in posteros fama fuisse quam illud: siue otio transiit, quod vix credibile est: siue eorum qui cognitionem habebant magis intereat sileri illud postea quam nosci. Nam ipse semper eum sermonem, etiam cum cura vitaverat, ne in maximo merito modicum beneficium praedicando, exilitatem potius objectavisse, quam servavisse memoriam videretur. Neque vero constat cujus rei potissimum impulsu Londinum se postea transtulit; nisi suspicari libeat illectum loci opportunitate id fecisse; utpote qui incolarum, conveniarumque omnis generis abundantissimum facultatem summam praestabat, siue occultare se mallet, siue ingenium suum proferre, & apud similes sui notescere. Supputatione temporis facta, existimaverim praecipuam ei causam adeundi urbem fuisse, quod Religionis res tum demum recreari parumper, & revalescere iterum apud urbem praesertim ceperunt. Paucis enim annis prius venit, quam Henricus Rex humanis excessit. Is, uti dictum est, quam diu vires & aetatis robur suppetebant, scissum in studia regnum ita tamen moderabatur, ut modo aequata partium potentia, modo praevalente altera, utramque in officio auctoritate sua contineret. Sed postquam jam senior factus minui indies valetudinem, & finem imminere intellexit; reputans secum quid in partibus fidum sibi maxime, quid suspectum esset, quaque aetate filium nondum habilem Regno, & innutritum contrariis disciplinis flagrantibus Pontificiorum odiis committeret; flexit ad id consilium, quod ratio saluberrimum, exitus felicissimum comprobavit: dejectisque de dignitate & de Administratione Pontificiis, eos filio tuteres Testamento dedit, quorum voluntatem erga se semper

Johannis Foxii Vita.

promptissimam fuisse perspexit, eandemque successori mansuram, multa fidelitatis experientia judicavit. Ea res Religioni salutem attulit. Verum ut salus eorum qui Religionem sectabantur magis in securo constituta est; nondum tamen quicquam publici emolumenti, utilitatisque ad ipsos pervenit: unde Foxio eadem egestas quæ antea fuit; consumpto quicquid vel necessarij ipsius erogaverant, vel ipse quotidiana industria quæstiverat. Rem miram, & Divinæ miserationis documento insignem supersederem referre; nisi modestiam silentij fama rei celebris frustra faceret. Sedebat quodam die Foxius in Æde Paulina, inedia longa victus, vultuque, & oculis in supremam morientium torvitatem excavatis. Cateris autem vitantibus tam deformem aspectum; accessit ad eum homo quidam facie incognitus; qui postquam juxta assedisset, familiariterque salutasset, prehensa ejus dextera incertæ pecuniæ summam illi in manum inseruit; jubens bonum animum haberet, & subjiciens: non quidem se scire quantus infortunij modus esset quo conflictaretur, verum suspicari debere haud levem esse: proinde non gravaretur id abs se populari suo munusculi accipere, quod vel communis humanitatis ratio expresse rat: iret, refocillaret animum & vivendi causas reciperet: interim sciret haud multorum dierum intervallo adesse spes novas, & subsidia vitæ certiora. Quis ille mortalium fuerit, cujus opportuna liberalitate ultima illa necessitas depulsa sit, resciri postea nunquam potuit, quamvis multum adnitente Foxio ut detegeretur. Credidere qui vaticinii exitum altius attendebant, hunc non suo, sed aliorum studio missum, qui Foxium omnino saluum esse cupiebant: nam quod extrema prius adierit, quam subventum ipsi esset, in eo fortasse ministri negligentia erratum. Certe eo triduo nondum exacto, prælagij fides impleri visa est; missis ad eum ab Ducissa Richmondensi qui sub honestissimis conditionibus eum in familiam suam perlicerent. Acciderat per eos dies ut Dux Norfolcius, is quem inclinum Militia & Imperatoris artibus celeberrimum illa ætas vidit, unaque cum eo filius, Comes Surria, vir in quantum dici potest rectissime mentis, acerrimique ingenij, incertum quibus criminibus, in custodiam Arcis Londinensi traderentur. Dum hi in vinculis erant, liberi Comitissæ apud amitam præfatam Ducissam educabantur, Thomas qui in Ducatu successit, Henricus postea Comes Northamptonæ, & Jana postea Comitissa Westmerlandiæ. Horum pueritiæ Foxius admotus est, ut & mores eorum regeret & literas doceret. In quo munere prudentissima femina de se judicium minime fefellit. Nam Thomas & Henricus eos morum, & scientiæ profectus fecerunt, quibus substructa eorum grandior ætas, illum ad id opinionis extulit, ut plus meruisse quam regnum ei conferre posset videretur: hunc ad id felicitatis, ut constet modum fortune suæ eum non in hominum judicio, sed in satietate sua habuisse: & Jana græcis latinisque literis in miraculum excolta, doctissimis illius temporis viris de utraq; elegantia concertavit. Interim pertransierunt tempora illa non alias visæ felicitatis, ab supremis Henrici annis, per quinquennium Edwardi sexti, (incomparabilis spei juvenis, & perfectio patris opere omnium Regum opera prætervecti,) ad initia principatus Regine Mariæ: qua rerum potita, conversoque Religionis statu, cuncta rursus Pontificiorum potentiæ cesserunt: unde non multo post atrox illa tempestas inhorruit, cujus fragorem nostra etiam ætas sensit, multis eorum qui illud naufragium perpeffi sunt, ad hanc pacem & in æternum duratura tranquillitatis stationem enatantibus: In quibus Foxius noster fuit, tum fide, & autoritate Ducis discipuli sui incolumis, sed obliquis in eum odio, atque invidia multorum oculis, & clam Gardineri Episcopi Wintoniensis insidiis petitus; utpote qui notum hominis ingenium metuebat, pariterque indignabatur, consuetudine ejus sobolem principis in Regno familiæ, sibi conjunctissimæ depravari. De quo viro, quoniam Foxio inimicissimus fuit, alius repetere nos abs re fuerit, ut utriusque ingenium noscatur. Erat Wintoniensis (nam de initiis ejus nihil habeo compertum) adolescentia clarus, vir inter bonas, malasque artes medius, eo semper deterior, quo provectior. Industriam, indolem, eloquentiam, ab Natura acceperat: superbiam, vafritiem & appetitum potentiæ in domo Cardinalitii didicerat. Hinc ingenium erat negotiorum mire capax, eaque impigre pro parandis honoribus administrabat: Eos adeptus pro industria audaciam, pro obsequio adulationem, pro fide fucum, & formulas, ceteraque Aula inania induit. Idem in gerendis honoribus quos virtute paraverat atrox, & superbus: in recuperandis quos amiserat, usque ad tedium, humilis, & demissus fuit. Nam ut morum ita fortune quoque varietatem sensit. Aliquamdiu Regi suo Henrico gratus, & in animo ejus validus fuit: cujus nimirum auctoritatem contra Papam scripto defensaverat: postea cognita prævaricatione neglectus, & quo minor nocendi facultas esset dignitate exutus est. Sub Edwardo sexto vincula etiam & extrema sortis opprobrium pertulit. Tandem regnante Maria exolutus iterum, redditusque dignitati non potentiam amplius, sed rabiem exercuit, donec invidia prænitentis in Polo Cardinalitii fulgoris aeger, cujus fastigio obumbrari gloriam suam videbat, frustra, & sæpe tentato Cardinalatus remedio, iracundia asperante ægritudinem contabuit. Eumque ad modum cepit & finivit ille vir, dum privatum ageret ob multa bona animi laudatus, in magistratibus impotens, & immodicus, ut diceret Naturam illum egregium virum fecisse, Fortunam corrupisse. At Foxius quamquam in sinu optimi Ducis fovebatur postquam tamen omnis generis homines ob Religionem vexari animadvertit alios vinciri, cremari alios, undique fugam, cædes, patibula, & præcipuam ejus incendiis faciem Wintoniensem esse, sibi privatis de causis insensum, vehementer vereri rebus suis cepit, & consilia fuge agitare. Id ubi Norfolcius rescivit increpita clementer Foxii formidine, cum eo multis egit ut abeundi cogitationes deponeret: affirmans neque dignitatis, neque verecundiæ suæ esse, sinere divelli abs se ullo vitæ suæ tempore præceptorem de se optime meritum: id vero eo præsertim tempore fieri, neque ipsi qui petebat decorum fore: Reputaret secum quanta invidiæ mola oneratum alumnus suum relinqueret apud nescios utrum relinqueret, an relinqueretur. Neque tamen invidiam suam se deprecari quæ ejus saltem commodo fiat: sed in fuga quid non inesse incommodi? Exilium, egestatem, contemptum, & apud ignaros etiam perfugæ contumeliam: minus mala se fateri hæc quam mortem; verum non ad id discriminis processum esse, neque passurum se ut procedatur: superesse sibi opes, & gratiam, & amicos, & fortunam domus suæ: quod si casus ingruat, consociaturum se periculum suum, & communem ruinam fore: meminisse se quibus præceptis adolescentiam suam munierit; neque avidiore se animo monita ejus hausisse, quam constantibus factis executurum: firmaret modo animum, & inimicorum impetus sic declinaret, ut amicorum non paniteret: atque hæc se cum eo loqui tanquam

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tanquam autoritate impetratum: ceterum si id impetrare non posset, provisurum etiam in ea quæ destinasset. Inerat orationi Ducis eo plus fidei quod ea ab innato animi ejus candore attentissimaque voluntate proficisci noscebatur, puduitque Foxium non tam facti sui, quam quod fieri id potuisse crediderat. Sed modestia defendebatur. Non enim eadem utrumque decere, & dominum & servum: Duci quidem in gloriam conducere, præceptorem suum inviolatum ab injuria servare: suas partes esse ne incolumitas sua Duci vel perniciem, vel perpetuam sollicitudinem afferret: neque timorem suum defensione carere: scire se Ducem de fide & benevolentia deduci non posse; circumduci & decipi dolis eum posse non se ignorare. Etenim Wintoniensis etiam tum Norfolcio valde charus habebatur, veteri domus observantia nixus, cujus potentia sternerat. Is officii causa ad Norfolcium ventitare crebro solebat, petereque ab eo, ut Præceptoris sui videndi copiam faceret. Id Norfolcius primo abnuere, excusare ejus absentiam, vel valetudinem, postea prolatare, & eludere. Demum accidit ut dum simul in colloquio essent, Foxius, ignarus Wintoniensem in domo esse, in occursum eis se daret, & viso Wintoniensi, tanquam per verecundiam se subduceret. Percunctanti Wintoniensi quisnam is esset? respondit Dux, medicum suum esse, hominem è Schola rudem: Intulit Wintoniensis placere sibi hominis aspectum, & cum occasio daretur, usum. Intellecta statim est vox nuntia appropinquantis periculi: neque jam ipse Norfolcius manendum Foxio in ea urbe vel intra idem mare putabat contra vim veteratoris astuti & tam manifesti, præveniendam omni modo Wintoniensis aegritudinem. Exin necessaria fugæ quanto potuit fieri silentio adornantur. Præmissus ad portum Ipsuicensem servus, qui navigium conducere, & apta itineri compararet: & quoniam in oppidis, locisque publicis morandi parum tuta ratio videbatur, deleta est domus cujusdam ex Ducis famulatio, villici, ubi Foxius commodum mare, & navigandi signum opperiretur. Eo clam Foxius proficiscitur, suscepta comite uxore tum gravida, sed eundi certa, & retinentium precibus invita; & postquam nuntiatum est expectari illum à comitibus, expeditus ad portum defertur, navemque conscendit. Vix altum tenuerant, cum subito effusus ab contrario littore ventus mare turbavit, tanta fluxus violentia, ut ab firmissimis etiam nautis trepidaretur: tum nox continuis imbris fæda, nubiumque globus in densissimum nimbum convolutus, & administrationem omnem nauticam impederat, cælestis calculi rationem ademerat. Ea nocte anchoris vix hæere: ubi illuxit postquam tempestas nihil remittere visa est, conversa in littus prora, retro adigere navem ceperunt, paulum jam secundante aestu, & tandem superata difficultate sub vesperam postride diei quo solverant, in eundem portum inveci sunt. Interea dum Foxius ad mare esset, littores à Wintoniensi missi domum villici irruperant. Ii mandata habebant, ut Foxium ubicunque capi posset, vincirent, vincitumque ad urbem retraherent. Sed cognito illum discessisse, postquam etiam ad portum usque insecuti, vix navem qua vehebatur, ex conspectu abiisse cernerent, delusi præda revertuntur. Id Foxius simulatque navi egressus est, vulgi sermonibus edoctus, quanquam multum animo conturbaretur, colligit tamen se, consensitque propere jumentis, simulat se oppido abire; sed eadem nocte clam reversus, paciscitur cum naviculario, ut primas ventorum remissiones ad navigandum arripiat: Docet id res suas poscere, neque sua referre, quo continentis littore ejiceretur: pergeret modo, neque dubitaret affuturum pio operi Deum. Siue merces, siue pietas valuit, suscepit homo audacissimi conatus rem, & perfecit. Solvens enim antelucano silentio, favore recursantium aestuum, quamvis sevo adhuc mari, & truculento cælo, Foxium cum suis eo biduo in adversi littoris portu Nauporto saluum exponit. Non illustriore documento qui ista legerit agnoscat, quam certa divina providentiæ ratio sit: quam incerta humane; cum videat accuratissimas prudentium deliberationes sæpe erroribus everti; interpellari casibus, aut contrariis consiliis superari: idque fieri ut homines pro disciplina habeant, sic Imperio uti, ut quo plus ex fortuna possunt, tanto se minus ex se posse sciant, neque impotentes desipiant: Deum enim utramque fortunam ex æquo respicere, hominesque ortu pares honoribus distinguere, non in superbiam, contumeliamve, sed ut utriusque locus modestia pateat, vel adversus utrumque ultioni.

Jam Foxius, ubi dies aliquot Nauporti, reficiendis ab Nausea corporibus consumpsisset. Antuerpium proficiscitur: inde modicis itineribus Basileam contendit. Ea urbs comitatus atque officii erga nostros singularem tum famam obtinebat: Ob quam causam multi ex Anglia celebres viri sævitæ temporum se subducentes eo confluerant: ex quibus qui tenuiori fortuna erant, alius aliter, sed longe major pars recensendis librariorum typis, præliisque vitiis castigandis vitam tolerabant: quod ea urbs Typographiæ cura, copiaque diligentissimorum, ditissimorumque in ea facultate hominum reliquas Germaniæ urbes id temporis antecedeat, qui nostrorum hominum in ea re studium suorum diligentiam anteponebant. His se Foxius adjunxit, eo acceptior quod durissima olim disciplina habitus, exercitataque per omnem adolescentiam patientia labores perferre didicerat, quæque aliis miseria videbantur: egestatem, vigiliis, inedia perferre; ea illi pro ludo fortunæ erant. Id multis fortasse mirum videri potest, qui Foxium per omnem ætatem gracili admodum corpore, & per senectam tenuissima semper valetudine fuisse meminerunt: sed nemo illius extremam vitæ ætatem attritam, depastamque curis, & tum naturæ vitio fatiscientem cum vigore integræ juventutis comparaverit, quam ex tot ejus operibus firmissimam ei fuisse constat, siue in modica structura, erecta artuum membrorumque compages ad firmitatem sufficiat, siue animus ipse, accensus desiderio honestarum actionum, seipso contentus sit, ad exequendum ea quæ vult, minima corporis adminiculatione adjutus.

Industria autem ejus fidem abunde fecerit, quod inter tantas occupationes Historiam suam Actorum Ecclesiæ Basilicæ nihilominus inchoaverit, opus vel ipsius tituli professione mensuram humane fiduciæ ferme egressum. Et primo adumbravisse tantum contentus est, tanquam lineas vel stamina duceret, corpus & subtegmen Historiæ postea adjecit reversus in patriam, vulgavitque primum latino Sermone (mox suo, ut plebi gratificaretur,) opusque ipsum imprimendum Basileam misit, ubi etiamnum in honore est, legiturque passim per exteras nationes, nostris hominibus fere incognitum, dum externa tantum miramur nostra, vel incuria, vel invidia tramittimus.

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Interim in Anglia fortuna Religioni tandem vicem reddiderat, magnisque momentis res Pontificiorum inclinare denuo ceperunt excessu Regine Mariæ, femina dum suis moribus ageret egregia, tantoque Patre digna, sed dum pessimis nihil negat, id consecuta, ut laude quam meruit careat, quod infamia careat, id insequentium temporum modestiæ debeatur: quibus moris est omnia Principum acta vel laudare, vel certe tolerare. Commutationem fortune publicæ præsensisse Foxium non affirmaverim, neque tamen, quod in alio non facerem, fraudabor eum testimonio amplissimi clarissimiq; viri, Jo. Elmari, nuper Præsulis hujus civitatis. Is multis qui adhuc supersunt præsentibus narrare solitus est se concioni interfuisse qua Foxius inter alia quæ consolandi causa apud exules Anglos pronunciaret ausus est dicere: Adeste tempus quo Patria redderentur, idque se Dei monitu ipsis afferre: Eumque de ea re à grandioribus natu valde reprehensum; sed excusatum postea exitu prædictionis, postquam collatione temporum repertum est, Mariam pridie vita migrasse quam Foxius ita fore prædixerat. Sensit statim orbis Christianus beneficium immutati in Anglia principatus. Deoneratæ exulibus circumvicinæ nationes de hospitium restitutione tanquam in sua fortuna gratulabantur. Domi vero, quid est quod ad salutem, vel solatium quissiam excogitare possit quo homines non prius frui quam sperare inciperent? Qui domo profugerant revocati: qui carceribus abditi liberati: qui bona amiserant donati: qui dignitate exuti restitui sunt. Leges interim iniquæ abrogatæ: latæ salubres. Pax mentibus, conscientie libertas, concordia ordinibus, securitas bonis redierat, ita initia Regni temperante Elizabetha, ut quæ sub aliis Principibus, vix longa regnantium felicitas solet producere, ea cuncta sub hujus introitu, tanquam explicante exporrigenteq; se numine superius omnium voto expedirentur. Cujus præcellentissimæ, & post homines; cõditos fulgentissimæ femine mentionem ex quacunq; occasione fecisse, flagitium Scriptoris fuerit, ut non major semper ex se præbita occasio videatur, cur ultra dicatur. Ea matre Anna Bolena genita est, quam Henricus Rex repudiata priore consorte secundis nuptiis uxorem duxit. Ab ea in dotem principalis fortune Religionis amorem accepit. Adolevit moribus, ingenio, forma, quæ Principem non magis decerent quam facerent; ut in eadem & absolutissimi operis exemplum Natura, & Fortuna fastigium summæ spei collocasse viderentur. Capaciorem tantæ fortune fecit, quod parere prius quam imperare didicerat; id aliis facere doctæ quod ipsi mox alii facerent; expertaque est in privata vita odium fatale successoribus magnorum Imperiorum, major animo, quam ut suis rependeret. Ut Regnum attigit effulsere simul virtutes; tamque omnia vitia infra se statim quam homines habuit. Itaque non illi animus ad studium corporis per molliem abjectus est. Rationes Regni publicas novisse, adjuvatores in partem curarum conquirere, Regni partes optimis ministeriis firmare, suorum ingenia callere, externorum Principum copias, consilia, conatus explorare, ea illi rudimenta novi Principatus fuerunt. Possent ista esse minus diuturna nisi temperarentur. Nihil illa gravitate amœnius, nihil illa severitate placabilius, nihil illa frugalitate effusus unquam fuit. In iis tantum bonis modum non novit, quorum dignitas non ex contranitentium virtutum libramine, sed in ipsa celsissimarum actionum congerie spectatur. Sic Nobilitatem generis studio gloriæ, Religionem quamvis rectissimam studio sanctitatis, Formam corporis quamvis incomparabilem castitatis perpetuæ proposito cumulavit. Ut mores ad facta transtulit Deus summe quanta tum temporum felicitate fructi sumus? Quid illa 44. annorum pace serenius, vel securius, vel opulentiùs intra se Anglia unquam vidit? Nam bello neque quemquam sponte lacessivit, & bellandi justas causas potiores semper victoria habuit. Ad Hibernicum, dignitas, & recuperanda Provincia pudor, ad Gallicum pietas, & miserratio vicini periculi; ad Hispaniense salus sua, & omnium causarum vim complexa necessitas rapiebat. In hoc bello nobis audivisse, & vidisse contigit quod in nullo alio forsan usu venit. Nam aliæ nationes, quamvis atrocissimis inter se odiis contenderint, certis tamen sedibus locisque dimicaverunt. Hoc bellum tam diffusum, tot in locis, tantisque animis gestum est, ut ubicunque Sol exurgeret, occideretve, ibi Anglorum, Hispanorumque acies, per omnia maria, portusque deprehenderet, de vita, de facultatibus, aut de dignitate decernentes. Tum primum mare istud nostrorum Imperio suetum, externarum navium proris inalbuit. Numerum, speciemq; navigiorum, copiarum terrestrium, navaliumq; vim; munitionis, machinarum, telorum, tormentorum, commeatusq; reliqui modum, quibus illa classis constabat, quam Philippus Secundus Hispaniæ Rex, extinguendi hujus nominis causa, misit Anno sal. hum. M. D. L. XXXVIII. vix justî operis volumen reciperet. Suffecerit dixisse, nullum uspiam maritimum apparatus ab quoquam Regum, Populorumq; potentissimorum factum comparandum huic ex omni antiquitatis delectu monstrari posse. Hanc tamen classem tam immanem, tam formidabilem fiducia sui, & præsumpta victoriæ spe tumentem, fortuna invictissimi Principis momento temporis disjecit. Concurrere Classes numero, viribusq; impares. Sed genus pugne adversum Hispanis fecit, quoddam nostræ naves minores & humilioris rostro ædificatæ faciliùs in ventum circumagi atq; eluctari poterant: quo facto promptum illis fuit Hispanas tardiores, & ad insequendum inhabiles, vel cedendo illudere, vel in patentes alveos pugnando certiori ictu vulnerare. Accedebat quoddam nostri Duces omnis maritimi officii peritia & notitia æstuum Hispanos longè antecedeabant. Contra Hispani edocti superiorum dierum usu, se nisi stabili pugna nostros sustinere non posse, jactis ante Caletum anchoris, ibi & auxilia Flandrorum expectabant, & præstantia tormentorum se defendebant. Id nobis rationem victoriæ primum aperuit. Naves stupa, pice, sulphure, omnisq; generis arida materia infarctæ incendiq; prono æstu in hostium classem impellebantur; tantumq; consternationis ea res improvisa attulit, ut universæ naves sectis properè funibus, in fugam præcipitarentur. Qua in fuga pars navium flamma, pars fluctu hausta est, pars littoribus, scopulisque impacta, pars ictibus, aut concursu fugientium lacera, in potestatem nostrorum venerunt. Validiores regredi non ausæ, per Scotiæ Orcadumq; extremam oram, & nisi graviter fugientibus intentatum ullo seculo æquor, immenso marium, terrarumq; circuitu in Hispaniam tandem reverterunt. In tanto virtutum victoriarumq; cursu, proximum fuit invideri, ab invidia proximum odio, atq; insidiis peti, quæ, licet integerrima omnium Princeps, sic effugere nequivit, quin salus sua per omnem fere vitam infesta fuerit, in cujus vita omnium fore Europæ gentium salus fundata est. Quo magis subit animum mirari, quæ ista præclara adversariorum

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sariorum disciplina sit, pietas quam obtendunt cura virtutes ipsas insectantium? Quod in nulla non dicam Ethnica sed ne barbara natione usu venit, ut qui modo numen esse scirent virtutem, quæ certe Deo proxima est, vel in hostibus ulciscendam putarent: nisi nobis Religio Christiana ita omnia indulgeat, ut cum inimicis ignoscere præceptum sit, iis aut bonis esse non liceat, aut liceat non esse ignotis. Sed manifestum est alio fine in humanis rebus voluntatem divinam, alio cupiditates hominum versari. Ea Elizabetham ab inimicorum scelere atque injuria semper prohibuit, eoque perduxit Saturam jam annis, ut quam apud homines gloriam adepta est, eam illibatam celo inferret, frustra quoque in mortuam grassante invidia, cujus ultor omnis Posteritas est. Nunc ordo operi restituatur.

Foxius ubi in Anglia letas res, regnare Elizabetham, fidumque, & mansurum Religioni statum esse, ex amicorum literis edoctus est, sine ejus anni quo ista gerebantur in Patriam regreditur. Id tempus ad deliberandum sumpserat: ne si qua hominum inconstantia præsentis conditionis pertasum esset, in casum rursus se dare cogeretur. Sed & tum quoque familiam trahere duobus liberis auctus, ut in itineris sumptum necesse esset pecuniam ab domo afferri interim expectari. Ibi cognovit, sinistros de se Sermones jactos esse, tanquam per superbiam tardavisset, in eoque compendium sibi ad honorem quævisset, tanquam debitum si acciretur. Id intelligebat eorum artificio fieri, qui cum ipsi omni vi ad honores contenderent Foxium ut dignum, & si vellet antecessurum metuebant. Neque ille purgare se tanto crimine, quod iniquitate sua casurum erat, operæpretium sibi esse duxit: Sed juxta injuriarum atque juris sui negligens se totum in studia abdidit. Quod corporibus nostris contingit, ut ea firmiore valetudine utantur quæ intra modum cibantur exercenturque, quam quæ excedunt, id animis quoque opinor nostris contingere, ut difficillimè quis in sanitate officiorum perseverare possit, qui si fortuna sui modum non fecit, ipse sibi non fecerit; contra, qui fortunam per modestiam habuere, ii habitiores & vegetiores ad egregia studia semper fuerint. Nam Foxio integrum fuit quacunque animus inclinavit ea emergere, multa ingenii fama & præclaris, uti dictum est, amicitiiis fultus. Ille non opes neque potentiam, felicium hominum vota, affectavit: sed cum pari cum cæteris virtute esset, conscientiam penes se, præmia penes alios esse libenter tulit. Quod ego factum neque inter laudes ejus prorsus recipio, neque tamen arguo quod multi fecerunt. Concedatur sane bonis viris, ut virtus quemlibet fortune locum legat, ubi eniteat: aut si finibus ea arcanda sit, quin ad eos convertere, qui propter spem aliquam boni esse volunt: nam qui gratuito tales sunt, si eorum gloria non obruare, numerum non reformides. Commemoraturus sum vitam continuam fructibus, non iis quibus legentium sensus hauriuntur, sed solidis verisque. Non hic bellorum aut pacis illustra facinora narrantur, aut si quæ alia scriptorum spatia sunt, per quæ captivas hominum aures ducunt. Nobis vita sine strepitu acta, intus, forisque pudor, continentia, charitas, rerum humanarum contemptus, divinarum ardor, indefessa studia, cuncta in exemplum, vel utilitatem proximi composita dicenda sunt. Demonstratum paulo ante est, Foxium dum Basileæ esset Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ scribende mentem adjecisse; quod ultimam manum non imposuerat causam fuisse, quo testatus aliquando scribere posset. Id opus Pontificiorum animos varie anxio. Frustra enim tantum ab se effusum sanguinis, frustra susceptam tantæ crudelitatis conscientiam videbant, si horum omnium reddenda posteris ratio esset. Et opus ipsum ex hominum manibus tolli non posse intelligebant. Relinquebatur si falsitatis coargui, & confictis ad id calumniis extenuari fides ejus, atque autoritas posset. Quibus amoliendis, depellendisque ab se dum Foxius annititur, evitari non potuit, quin ex tot rerum, testimoniorumque novo aggestu, legitimum Historiæ limitem multum exscenderet. Indeque æstimetur diligentia nostri scriptoris, qua non modo tot res cœn materiem operis sui, ex omni temporum, locorumque distantia comportaverit, & utriusque fori acta, tabulasque rerum judicatarum per omnes Regni Jurisdictiones congesterit, sed etiam eas ipsas res partim vetustate tanquam rubigine adrosas, partim eorum qui scripserunt odio vel assentione depravatas, partim in informi truncaque veterum scriptura latentes, ipse solus, distractissimo conatus genere, primum eruerit, examinarit, ab sili vindicavit, deinde in convenientem structuram redegerit. Undecimo quam scribi ceptum est anno finitum opus fuisse ex commentariis authoris reperio, ut credibile sit victurum opus, cujus tam proluxa fœtura fuit. Quo tamen tempore, neque ipse Amanuensis unquam opera ad scribendum, neque servi ad alia vite ministeria usus est. Tanto plus in se efficacia subsidii industria habet uni tantum rei inserviens, & in se unam collecta, quam extra se licet multis adminiculantibus, si modo ipse in plura divideris.

Sepe apud animum meum institui inquirere, ex duobus ærumna generibus, quæ maxime subire homines dignitatis suæ esse arbitrantur, quodnam usu gravius, atque asperius reperiatur, militiæne, an studiorum. Pro utroque multa facere videntur, sed non utraque juxta in speciem valida. Nam bellandi incommodo non modo iis qui ea præferunt, sed audientibus etiam gravia, ut liberum narrandi egressum, ita primum in ipsius sensus æstimatione patrocinium habent. Contra meditandi labor, & exercitatio tantummodo in principiorum vitæ tacitis suffragiis vim suam retinet, quorum judex intellectus est. Ita quæstio ad animum corpusque transfertur, ut ex his duobus, cujus mala alterius malis magnitudine præponderant, id potius causam habere existimetur. Mihi neque definiendæ tantæ litis arbitrium adsumitur, neque tamen reticebo quid sapientes viros de ea re sensisse intelligo. Id ita se habet. Quæ enim corpori contingunt, etsi ea sæva & acerba vehementer esse possint, eorum tamen extremum semper consuevisse esse, vel defatigationem, vel dolorem, vel denique mortem, quorum illa altera ad tempus sunt, & remediis cedunt; hanc viri fortes etiam contemnere solent. Jam animus ubi intenditur, etsi paria his genere mala infert, non tamen ultimum illud habet, ut homo defatigetur, vel doleat, sed potius illud quod cum eorum unde homo existit ruina conjungitur. In his enim malis feri, ut neque vacationibus, remissionibusque laborum fatigatus denuo instauretur, neque ex copia commodi incommodum arceatur. Ita concludunt, quanto peniciosius esse, appetentiam somni, cibi, quam somnum ipsum, cibumve auferri, & ex tabe, quam ex vulnere decumbere, tanto plus miseriarum in hoc sobrio, quam in illo luculento militiæ genere inesse: in altero nimirum plus voluptatis, in altero plus hominis homini ademptum esse.

Confirmavit

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Confirmavit rem ita esse Foxius, qui cum per tot annos nullum omnino tempus ab cogitationibus scribendi vacuum fecisset, plurimumque sibi in iis quæ naturæ debentur vel denegavisset, vel intempestive concessisset, eo se tandem redegerat, ut consumpto quod corpori inerat naturaliter floridi, succulentique, non ab amicis, non ab propinquis nosci potuerit. Hoc enim initio capit primum in eam corporis maciem arescere, qua multi eum fuisse viderunt: neque rediit unquam pristini vultus decor, aut flos, sed manentibus noxæ causis, cum nullo modo dimittendam sibi consuetudinem suam, aut laxandum ab curis animum putaret, etiam indicium noxæ permansit. Multum igitur dehinc Foxius in ore hominum fuit Historici nomine: Nam reliqua quæ animum ejus incolebant bona, ut minus nota in vulgus, ita notorum magnitudine obtinebantur. Mox aliis quoque artibus capit clarescere: neque modo literis bonus videri, sed & officiis commodus, & ad juvandum alios non minus arte, quam naturali quadam anxietate comparatus. Sed instituta industria ejus per modum Diariorum componere vetat modestia operis: per genera nosci non indecens erit, ut ille consolando, consilio, manu infinitorum hominum, aut inopiam sublevarit, aut desideria implevit. Hinc nullius domus consulentium catibus; frequentior ea tempestate quam Foxii fuit. Adiere eum cives, pariter atque Aduerſarij; illustres, atque plebei; etiam infimæ conditionis homines. Una fere omnibus adeundi causa; conscientia vulnera: His medela quarebatur. Tandem agri quoque, sordore portari capti. Id fieri vetuit ut rumoribus occurreret: nam quia duci, etiam sanari dicebantur. Cum autem per talia officia domi diem eximeret, tum foris etiam frequentissime predicando, adeundoque eos ab quibus ipse adiri non poterat, & quod humanitatis sue erat implevit, & quod pastoris munus erat non intermisit. Reliquum tempus quod sibi amicorum vel digressus, vel pudor fecit, non amenitati, aut somno, sed vel orationi, vel studiis addixit, & utrisque secretum adhibuit loci, vel noctis, nisi qua erumpentes pectore gemitus ex propinquo auditi orantis impetum prodebant: Nam nocturna curæ finem nemo unquam; lux nova sæpe deprehendit. Cum hæc ita sint, scio tamen futurum, ut multi hæc à me tanquam nimis aride decursa reprehendant, postulentque res ipsas, testes officiorum produci, aut saltem in unoquoque genere singulare aliquod factum proferri quo fides de reliquis securior sit. Id vero ne facere possem multis prohibeor. Primum quod conscientia deposita efferrî in vulgus vel ipsa humanitatis ratio vetat: pessimoque exemplo fecerit, qui arcana domum, necessariorum controversias, clandestinos hominum lapsus, cujusque quemque in vita vel pudet, vel penitet, non omni modo celanda potius, quam enarranda existimet. Deinde quod hæc ipsa res, quæ secretissimis colloquiis transigi consueverunt ad nostram cognitionem pervenire nullo pacto potuerunt, aut si qua suspicionibus emanarunt, unumque aut alterum tale exemplum prodatur, at quanta id pars dissolvende fidei fuerit? Jam ultimum illud industriæ, an ingenii dicam argumentum proferatur? Hunc virum qui se adeo totum amicorum usibus condonasset, ut nihil sibi ad eam curam reliqui faceret, sic tamen interim scripsisse tanquam nihil aliud facere videretur. Libros quos scripsit eorum causa quibus id gratum erit adjungere hoc loco visum est: Ii sic circumferuntur: Comediarum lib. 2. Syllogisticon. Admonitio ad Parlamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo Crucifixo. Papa consultatus. Contra Oforium de Justitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsim. Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Comentarî Latine. Actorum & Monumentorum Ecclesiæ Anglicæ.

Perventum jam est ad id, unde simul in totam reliquam Foxii vitam prospectus datur. Id vero legentibus (opinor) pergratum accidere debet, perinde atque in itinere hominibus usvenire videmus, ut qui se multum locis asperis, saltuosisque fatigaverint, ii postquam campos, & planitiem aperuerint, ipsa variantis soli specie refici, & tanquam renovari videantur. In hoc veluti tractu morum occurrit primum quod facile primum in virtutibus Foxii fuit: Omnium scilicet rerum quæ hominibus maxime in pretio sunt, voluptatumque imprimis deliberata contemptio. Quod illi sive ab Natura ingenitum, sive ab disciplina haustum, sive divinitus datum, necesse fuit, ut magnam ei facultatem afferret, præclare quicquid vellet faciendi: cum nihil sit quod animum per se recta iturum in prava detorqueat quin id ab aliqua voluptatum tanquam insidiatore, speculatoreque itineris nostri proficiatur. Cum hoc tamen hoste rem sic habuit Foxius, ut qui non fuga aut latebra incolumis esse vellet; sed qui potius cuperet usu congregiendi, & notitia certaminum, tum robur sibi augeri, tum aliis exemplum resistendi dari: solitusque est dicere, nihil eos magnum facere, qui res, & negotia eo fine desererent, ne capi se, aut deliniri ab iis paterentur: Res enim ipsas natura innocentes esse: nocere tum incipere, cum nimium aestimentur, cupianturque quam cupiditatem qui irruentem, inferentemque se propellere posset, eum merito temperantem esse; qui in nullo unquam periculo fuerit, cum non tam propria virtute quam occasionis defectu bonum videri. Itaque neque ille illustres amicitias unquam recusavit: non quo sibi honori essent, sed quod in iis magnum usum commendationis suæ, quoties aliquem ab se adiutum vellet fore intellexit. Pecunias ab divitibus oblatas accepit, sed quas in pauperes refunderet. Etiam convivium amicorum multoties celebravit: non animi causa, cum cibi parcissimus esset: Interesse voluit cum urbanitatis causa, tum ne quis existimaret se lucram, & certamen voluptarii congressus reformidare, vel refugere, aut adversus epularem lasciviam absentia, quam moderationis suæ præsidio munitiorem sibi videri. Breviter dicam: In his rebus ad quas voluptas consequitur Foxium sic esse versatum, ut constet neminem eorum qui una semper adfuimus meminisse posse ejus vel vocis, vel facti, quo ille, vel levissimam cupiditatem prodiderit: adeoque non honoris, non pecuniæ, non laudis, aut cuiuspiam externi boni aut avidum, aut appetentem fuisse, ut ne rei quidem familiaris curam intrare animum ejus ullo tempore, nedum vinci eum aut abduci domesticis cogitationibus pateretur. Quam ego ejus sive securitatem, sive, ut alii appellant, in propriis fortunis socordiam, unde profecta sit, alio loco demonstrabo.

Interim, dum mecum causas considero, propter quas ille vir reliqua omnia tantopere spernenda censeret, cum præsertim id neque ab parva ambitione, multoque minus ab somno, aut torpore animi profectum existimari possit; compertum habeo: unum amorem divinum fuisse, quo persusus, atque impletus animus ejus, non locum non affectum ad reliquas voluptates relinqueret, ultroque ipse se seculo tanquam

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tanquam abrumperet, alioqui seculi non incapacem. In hanc ille curam absorptus, tanquam qui ingentis gazæ thesaurum reperisset, ac zelo retinendi quæ repererat hunc unum oculis, atq; animo observare, nihil præter hunc in spe, atq; expectatione habere, hanc metam omnium votorum cupiditatumq; facere instituerat. Quo factò id illi contigit, quod in tali re contingere necesse fuit, ut qui animum ejus sic penitus defixum in Deo contuebantur, multaq; eum & facere, & loqui quæ communis probitatis opinionem egrederentur, non illum afflatus Divini expertem esse crederent, neq; jam ut pio honorem, sed ut cælesti viro venerationem, visio hominum ad sponte culta insanientium attribuerent. Non subtraham quicquam justæ fidei, neq; sublandiar famæ. Multa per occasionem consolandi, aut terrendi monuit Foxius, non vano exitu. In multis etiam fortasse falsus est: Demonstratum antea est, quæ constantia Sermonis Basileæ dum esset apud extorres Anglos, de reditu ipsorum pronuntiavit. Circumfertur illud de Anna Hennagia, lectissima, nobilissimaq; femina responsum ejus celebre. Decumbebat ea febre rapidissima, jamque eo malum creverat, ut medici exitiale esse pronuntiarent. Vocatus ad suprema ejus Foxius, cujus ad animæ regimen consilio, & fide plurimum utebatur. Postquam quæ visa sunt ad consolationem agræ exposuisset, peractaque; cujus causa venerat re Divina? Tu inquit recte, atq; ex officio fecisti, quæ te in omnem exitum composueris: sed scito, me internuncio, te ex hoc morbo minime esse interituram. Inter astantes forte tum erat gener Hennagiæ Moyleus Finchius, eques amplissimus atq; clarissimus hodie vivens. Is dicti novitate permotus, sive studio plura eliciendi, digressum paululum ab turba Foxium ficto jurgio adortus: Mirari se dicens, quæ mente fecisset, ut contra quam res, & periti artis judicabant, imperitus ipse, de aegritudinis sine statuendum putaret, eoq; factò mulierem, sexu ipso mobilem, adhuc tamen interritam, ad impatientiam moriendi, spe, atq; expectatione vitæ converteret: si inter vivos referri socrus sua posset, nullius latitiæ justiores esse causas quam suæ; sin moriendum illi sit, nulli minus convenisse, id dissimulare, quam ei qui in animam consuleret. Vehementer igitur se pro amicitia vereri, ne ille magnam partem opinionis, quam de fide, atq; modestia ejus homines habebant eo intempestive dicto deperdidisset. Ad quæ renidens Foxius respondit: per se non stare quo minus quisq; quod ei collibitum esset, de se sentiret: sed de agræ sic visum Deo, ut eo morbo non exstingueretur: idq; se demandato dicere. Convaluit femina, neq; mendacio locus est, viventibus etiamnum qui possent arguere. Simile huic erat illud de Maria Honivoda, illustri imprimis matrona, neq; minus fidum. Ea viginti jam prope annos tabe melancholica laboraverat, neq; contra vim teterrimi morbi satis in quoquam consilii, animive superesse videbatur; quanquam adhibitis melioribus, quiq; aliquam præ ceteris vel artis, vel facundie commendationem habebant. Placuit tandem Foxium quoq; acciri. Qui una ierant retulerunt se mestiores illa, afflictioresque domum nunquam introivisse. Absidebant quotidie per officium agræ familiares, propinqui, liberi, servi, pars sedilibus affixa, pars humi fusa, non flentes, gementesque, quod vulgo fit; sed consumptis lacrymis, contumaci silentio: sub specie humana tot simulachra merentium diceret; itaque non assurgere venientibus, non interrogati respondere, tanquam id quoque luctum deceret: Ipsa agræ, projecta spe vitæ jacebat in lectulo, inter densa suspiria, obscurum quid pectore expromens, cujus summa erat, quod exolui se cupe-ret. Cum tantum agrorum præ manibus Foxius haberet, neque contra violentissimum doloris renixum quicquam frustra tentari placeret; ne rationem quoque habere viderentur qui ratione victi non essent, reliqua omnia demulcendi doloris remedia dimisit: si quid ad sanandas eorum mentes pertinebat, id precibus diligenter immiscuit. Ita consuetudine paucorum dierum effecit, ut qui humana ope sanari se posse diffiderent ultro sanescere viderentur: Cum tandem charior factus pronuntiaret coram plurimis, futurum, non modo, ut agræ ex ea tabe convalesceret, sed ut quam extensissimam in senectam vitæ ejus protolleretur: Quo Sermonem audito, agræ paululum excitata, & Foxium acriter intuita: Quæ eadem inquit ratione, si ego vitrum hoc in parietem addegero, confidam fore, ut non frangatur: Tenebat autem in manu ciathum vitreum, ex quo biberat, projecitque: neque vas casu impactum primo in cistellam lecto attiguit, & postea solo illapsum, ulla ex parte comminutum est. Accessitque omni fides: Restituta enim valetudini pauld post mulier, tum sexagenaria, duravit in exemplum rarissima in sobole felicitatis, quæ ante nonagesimum ætatis suæ annum (nam diutius vixit) sexagesimum supra trecentessimum nepotem, abnepotemque numeravit, ex liberis quos genuerat*.

Hujus generis alia complura referri possent, sed defunctis ferme quorum conscientia fulcitur, non precabor fidem quam nequeo obligare. Quæ sequuntur vulgatiore fama sunt, quam ut testimonii egeant. Ierat Foxius per consuetudinem veteris officii, ad Arundelium comitem filium Norfolcii, hujus excellentissimi viri patrem: Eum digredientem ab se Arundelius, quæ erat comitate, ad ripam hortii sui deduxit: sed cum animadverteret flumem, coorto repente vento fluctibus intumuisse hortatus Foxium est, ne se tam infestis aquis committeret. Ille institutum itineris sequens. Ita (inquit) Comes, mihi ab istis aquis eveniat, ut ego tibi omnia vera, & sincera quæ dixi tradidi: ingressusq; cimbam est, neq; prius ab ponte solverant, quam ventus remittere, flumenq; placidius fluere cepit. Interrogatus sepe ab amicis cur ad familiares angustias tandem non respiceret, quod primum charitatis præceptum esset, ut suas res quam aliorum magis curatas commendatasq; haberet: respondit, curatorem se habere rerum suarum ex pacto Deum: Illi notum quid sibi, aut quando conducere: Hactenus non fessellisse: quando inciperet dubitare ut non simul ingratus esse inciperet? Hæc atq; alia, cum homines vulgo mirarentur, quid tamen in his illud sit quod Foxio propriè in laudem hæreat non præsumperim affirmare: sive animus ipse, quanto purior, delicatiorq; est, tanto longius prospectat, sive aliqua alia occultior causa sit, propter quam Deus patefacere consilia sua per homines aliquando dignetur nescios, sed loqui coactos. Festinandum ad alia est; in quibus nihil erat quod magis studia hominum in Foxium vertit, quam ea quæ in pauperes, & egenos omnis generis usus est misericordia; reperiasq; qui affirmant: Foxium non pecuniam modo, sed & vestem, & suppellectilem, ipsumq; domus suæ instrumentum clam uxore pauperibus dilargiri solitum. Quod ego ne pro vero tradam verecundia teneor. Nam quod multa in reliquis Foxii moribus studio hominum vel ficta, vel in majus exaggerata compererim, ne id quoque in hac parte contigerit vehementer debeo suspicari. Donavit quidem Foxius pauperibus largi-

* In quibus hodie. Anno nimirum salut: hum. 1461. quo hac editio paratur, si perest illa dicta Maria, lectissima femina Gratia Hen-nagie vidua amplissima, atque clarissima viri a Michaelis Hennagii, quæ se in: terfuisse narrat ne: morata rel: genda, testis sanctior, at: que incor: ruptior quam ut de hinc ejus fa: sit dubitare.

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ter, in eaque re suarum ipse virium modum egressus est: sed neque quod ad dissipationem domus suae liberalitas ejus unquam progressa est, nullum dignum authorem habeo: neque convenit, qua ipse aliorum liberalitate adjutus est, qui pecuniam illi Eleemosinae nomine copiosissime subministrabant, illum ad tam extraordinaria subsidia dilapsum. Quas omnes virtutes tanquam vallo clausit insignis vitae modestia, atque integritas, ut nihil alienum in mores ingredi, nihil foras in facta prodire posset, nisi summa diligentia excussum, examinatumque an deceret. Cujus etiam objectu, si quid intus, per humanae imbecillitatis sortem, vacillare contingeret; ne tamen id in magnum morum detrimentum abiret providebatur, sublato undique corruptelarum omnis generis commercio, contra quas perpetuis stationibus, atque custodiis pudor peccandi & decoris sui cura excubabant. Interim tamen non desunt qui Foxium summam in se iniquitatis incusent: id autem quale sit, quoniam ad plures ea injuria pertinere videtur altius investigabimus.

Foxius in ea parte Historiae, qua luctuosum illud quinquennium Reginae Mariae incendium describit, multos nominaverat, non authores modo cladum, sed etiam ministros, adjutoresque; inter quos etiam aliquos illustri loco viros. Id horum posterius Foxium injuste fecisse queruntur: neque debuisse necessitatem illam fatalem temporum, modestiam parendi, aut imposita publice ministeria, aut ipsis, aut posteris ipsorum ignominiae esse. Quibus tamen si justissime respondetur eandem quam ipsi pro majorum facto afferunt necessitatis excusationem, pro Foxio quoque valere debere; aliter enim calumniae locum relinqui, si ministri non ederentur: his tamen ego longe aliter quam pro jure satisfactum velim: Cupere enim, ut quod factum sit, id ita fieri omnino necesse non fuisset: petere etiam, ne quod fortuna laesorum factum est, id animo ledendi factum arbitrentur: monere tamen interim, ne dolorem suum cum eorum iracundia miscere velint, qui Foxio longe alia de causa succensent, & sub personarum invidia aliam rem proscindunt. Duplex enim genus animadvertas eorum, qui nomine posterorum se laesos ferunt: alterum natura: factione alterum. Illis uti dixi humanitatis fructus debetur, atque conceditur: irati sunt, sed interim cives, atque in officio sunt: Neque ego cuiuspiam boni civis, quamvis injustum dolorem, ita contemnerem, ut non potius quam ille de fide, ego de jure meo decederem: Cum his alteris longe alia res est: quibus nimirum contigit, patriae prius irasci, quam Foxio, illamque primam, & veram causam odii habere, hunc non nisi patriae causa odisse. Quibus ego non modo satisfactionis ullam, sed ne quod hostibus conceditur, vel expostulationis gratiam deberi existimo. Sustulerunt ipsi fidem commercii, spem reconciliationis; societatis, humanitatisque fœdera omnia diremerunt. Quid enim eum vel pro sano, vel pro homine postea facturum sperem, qui patriae charitatem potuit deponere? Ea una sic omnium officiorum vim, atque jus in se trahit, ut nullum gravius iudicium sit, quo quisque animo in Deum affectus sit, quam quanta in patriam charitate extiterit. At patriam ipsa deseruit. Primum id in controversia est, desciveritne, & quantum desciverit: extra controversiam est, debere eos omnem suum dolorem patriae dimittere. Deinde quam duri illud oris est, cuius nimirum litis cognitionem solus Deus potest suscipere, ejus litis litigatorum, iudicem se facere, neque modo eam quae inter homines gravissima est auctoritatem non sequi, sed neque vel patriae provocandi, neque ipsi Deo spacium determinandi velle concedere; sed omnia fœdis, protervisque factis ante capere, tanquam victa causa, & potius hostibus scelus suum commodare, quam optima patriae praestare officium? ut si contingeret prelarissimam hanc patriam (quod tamen humana conditio facile recipit) contra Deum ulla in parte delinquere: at perniciosissima exempla perfidiae monstrarentur, si quotiusquisque animum perdente patriae sumpsit, is excusatione patrii delicti non modo liberasse se scelere, sed id quod juris sui est fecisse videatur. Quae eo pluribus quoniam intelligo in nostris etiam multos esse, qui respondendum Pontificis de maledictis in Foxium censent: Quibus ut paucis obsequar. Primum quid illud maledictum est quod jaciunt? Mendacem scriptorem esse: Igitur mendacium est Rogerium, Cranmerum, Hope- rum, Ridleyum, Latimerum, aliosque ejusdem porticus sanctissimos atque innocentissimos viros Religionis causa esse exustos. Sin ista, vel ipsorum confessione, vera sunt, quanam tandem illa sunt quorum vitio totum reliquum opus in mendacii infamiam abierit, quod suis persuadent? Nonnulla afferunt in nominibus, in temporibus, in numeris errata; quae partim in sequentibus editionibus retractata sunt, partim ab ipso authore ita defensa, ut eo vivo nemo amplius oblatraret. Nonnulla etiam afferunt in superioris seculi Historia ab Historicis ipsis contradieta, quod facillimum factum fuit, in tanta discordantium Authorum pugna, ut quemcumque Authorem secutus sis in eundem scopulum impingeres. Ejusmodi tamen omnia afferunt, quae neque si vera, nobis valde cura sint, neque illis si falsa. Demus tamen illis aliquid, si placet; simus liberales in Foxii jure: Si ego ista falsa quae faciunt de Historia penitus excerpsero, polliceantur mihi passuros se reliquum opus in suorum manibus liberè versari? Non magis ferant conditionem quam pacem. Quid his hominibus facias, qui neque datis neque negatis acquiescunt? Jam illud quoque quantae proterviae est, exigere ab ullo Scriptore, ut in cursu longi operis, dum innumera- biles res unius homines labore persequitur, nusquam vel hallucinetur? ut si Caesarem contingat, quo in loco Britanniam nostram describit, de circuitu, vel trajectu insularum paucis milliaribus dissentire ab eo quod hodierna dimensio reperit, idcirco absolutissimus Scriptor mendacii postuletur. Scripsit ille bella, expeditionesque suas, quod institutum operis fuit, ea fide qua debuit: in reliquis secutus est famam; credidit renunciantibus; noluit in re non nimis necessaria esse accuratus. Atque haec ex nostrorum potius hominum opinione, quam quod id faciendum putavi respondere visum est. Quod si illi ipsi respondendum sibi postulent, alia cum illis conditione agam. Redeant ad obsequium, Satisfaciant patriae, Discedant ab hostibus: cum nullum publicum crimen illis adhaereat, tum privatas offensiones prosequantur. Sin perseverare adhuc in studio volunt, deinde postquam omnem spem famamque consumpserint, maledictis terrere incipiant; ne ego facile concedam, ut quem antea vitae fructum ceperint, eam orationis quoque laudem habeant: ita utrumque decus obtineant, ut neque maleficio, neque convitiis quisquam cum iis possit contendere. Si ista durior conditio videatur: Aequum saltem dignitatem invisi operis. Sint Authores pari fama: Honestius certamen fuerit, si quanto suo compendio vicerint, tanto suo detrimento vinci possint. Quod si per libellos, & furtivas declamationes obrectando aeterno operi, eo pacto nomen suum famae studeant inserere, neque virorum, sed muliercularum animis per convitia adrepant, quis ita demens est, ut quae scripta contemnendo perire statim faciat, ea oppugnando faciat diuturniora?

Jam

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Jam porro, ut ipsi intelligant quantum Foxio ad dignitatem potius, quam ad contumeliam ista eorum virulentia contulerit, pauca contra de æquitate ejus erga ipsos dicam. Epistolas ejus proferre possum, quibus persuadet Proceribus, iisque qui tum summam in regno auctoritatem habebant, ne Ed. Campianum, reliquosque ejus conjurationis socios capitis condemnari permitterent, neve inveterascere in Regno consuetudinem illam sinerent, ut Pontificii morte potius, quam aliquo alio supplicii genere plecterentur. Et ne videretur istud ex naturæ suæ tantum bonitate, & non judicio animi dicere, multis rationibus apud eos probare contendit, quantum illud ad diminutionem causæ suæ pertinebat, si in constituendis suppliciis judicium potius adversariorum, quam suam clementiam sequerentur. Multo enim magis debere eos conitari, ut quos justitia vicissent, eos mansuetudine quoque & misericordia vincerent. Hæcque sapius inculcabat, etiam ad offensionis periculum ansus deprecari; cum illi contra ostenderent: Majestatis esse rem, non controversiæ. Verti in eo exemplo vitam Principis, publicam libertatem, possessionem Regni: debere subditos periculo suo moneri, ne patrias facultates prodigere condiscant: eam Regni rationem esse, ut si sua bona intra se servare consenserit, nihil illo sublimius aut securius esse possit: quantum enim ab ea felicitate defecerit, id nostrorum hominum transfugiis, & conjurationibus esse decussum. Perstitit tamen in sententia Foxius, & cum nihil precibus proficeret, dolorem tamen suum multo gemitu testari solitus est, quoties quempiam ex iis morte affectum esse audiebat. Visa æquitate ejus in homines non alienum fuerit adjungere quid Foxius in universum de Romana Ecclesia, ejusque Pontifice senserit, quatenus id ex ejus sermonibus elici potuit, cum jam maturus annis judicium suum multo rerum usu roborasset. Ejus sententiæ capita hæc sunt.

Romanæ Ecclesiæ primam, antiquissimamque inter Christianos dignitatem semper fuisse: Eam ei dignitatem opinionemque multis postea seculis mansisse; auctoritatem paulatim accrevisse, non consensu, vel jure, sed inclinatione, & consuetudine quadam ferendi, ut quos multum aliis præstare contingit, hi plurimum quoque apud eosdem valere, iisque tandem imperare incipiant: præcipua autem tum dignitate, tum auctoritate apud hæc Occidentis Regna valuisse; quorum ut unumquodque Religionem Christianam maxime appetebat, ita in eo studio Romanorum potissimum pietate & labore sublevabantur: unde neque male earundem Ecclesiarum matrem dici meruisse: Occasionem tanto incremento dedisse urbem Romam veteri gloria, & fato quodam imperandi monstratam terris; quæ etiam cum ipsa omni tempestate ingentis animi, atque virtutis viris abundarit, tum frequentia, & opibus, & opportunitate loci, & quod Imperatorum oculis subjecta erat, facile contulerit, ut initio Christiani neque Congregari uspiam facilius, neque sustentari copiosius, neque latere tutius, neque cum opus esset mori constantius reperirentur: unde illis admirationem, & gloriam in posteros accessisse. Sed initia Ecclesiæ rectissimis potius disciplinis, & sanctitate spectata hominum, quam divitiis floruisse. Nihil in Ecclesiasticorum moribus dissolutum, nihil fastus, ambitionisve. Pecuniam, servos, villam, gemmas ignota ipsis bona. Omnia vel pudore, vel carendo coercita: ut non aliud quam Romæ Christianæ fidei domicilium esse videretur: Atque hæc quo magis finitima principis essent, eo magis curæ fuisse: recessu paulatim diffuere, & corrumpi cepisse, more fluminum, quæ prope fontem minora sed limpidiora, quanto longius progrediuntur, tanto conspectiore alveo, sed turbidioribus aquis fluunt, donec recepto tandem mari, insalubres quoque ea reddantur, & cum nullo in loco momenta primi discriminis deprehendas, extremorum tamen comparatione diversissimas esse statim perspicias. Ita enim Ecclesiæ usu venisse, ut postquam traductis ad fidem Christianam nationibus, ex dignitate Imperii visum esset sacerdotes, quod in veteri Religione consueverant, non inopem, sed liberalem vitam ducere, ejusque causa multa ab Imperatoribus tum in ornamentum, tum in premium Ecclesiasticis concederentur, eo initio Sacerdotes pecuniam primo adamare ceperint, tum paulatim ex copia lascivire, & laborem aspernari, ex hoc (ut prioribus vitiis semper, addit, pejor Posteritas) potentiam cupere, cujus potitos, & Imperatorum munere principatum Ecclesiæ adeptos, non prius destitisse, quam dejectis quorum beneficio creverant Imperatoribus, & Imperii jura invaderent, & utrumque humani generis regimen expostularent: Interim Religionis quam majores ipsis tradiderant normam omittere; Scripturas neque multum ipsi scrutari, neque aliis ut id facerent permittere; cultumque divinum non in Obedientiam fidei, sed in externis devotionibus, & magnificentia sacrorum habere.

Quibus ex rebus factum esse, ut Ecclesia Romana, ut cuncta alia immoderata imperia, non solum de gradu, & fastigio dignitatis ceciderit, sed & vim ipsam, statumque Ecclesiæ in seipsa labefactarit: neque id mirum videri debere, si ut nulla corpora contingit lethalius egrotare, quam quæ sunt sanissima, ita contigerit principi Ecclesiæ, ut nihil medium ei conveniret, quin aut in absolutissima sanitate maneret, aut in perniciosissimum hostem evaderet; unde etiam Papam Antichristum videri.

Utrumque in tam manifesto negotio, debere tamen utramque partem non nimium Argumentis fiducia sue tribuere; neque nimio studio impedire, si qua hominum æquitate, res ad sanitatem, atque concordiam deduci possit. Non nostrarum fortasse virium fuisse, Romæ antiquum decus, & confirmatam in hominum mentibus Religionis opinionem eripere. Romanam Ecclesiam sua avaritia, ambitione, prævaricatione concidisse. Sed neminem unquam in delinquendo eo progressum, quo penitentia non penetravisset. Debere dari ut regressum ad penitendum, ita modus, & spatia penitendi: fortasse etiam authorem displicuisse quod Germanus, aut Gallus, & non è natione sua Italus erratorum admonuisset. Exoriri aliquando inter ipsos posse, cujus auctoritate non pudeat ad sanitatem reverti, jacturamque potentiae suæ paci terrarum condonare: Id modo quantulumcumque spei relinqui ita fore, quod in Capitibus ipsis fidei non ultra peccaverint quam quod ea non nimium nosci patiantur. Conditiones concordiae esse, Si Pontifex Rom. omnes eas opiniones velit deferere, ex quibus pecunia fit: nihil ægrius populo persuaderi, quam Christum servatorem Ecclesiæ suæ, pecuniæ artes, & nundinationem sacrorum præcepisse. Si abrenunciet seculo; neque sibi aut juris, aut negotii quicquam in alienis Regnis esse existimet. Si contra adversarii ejus non recusent aliquem esse, qui in re Religionis principem consilii & administrationis locum inter Christianos obtineat: eam rem postquam metus abfuerit, multas secum utilitates asferre: neque contra Ecclesiam Rom. quin ea præferatur, debere magis valere, quod aliquando ceciderit, quam pro ea facere, quod prima floruerit. Hæc autem quo rectius fiant Concilio Christianorum permitti debere, cujus ea æquitas sit, ut neque ex loco in quem conveniatur, neque ex numero suffragiorum, cujuspiam unius potentia, aut gratia quicquam sibi in reliquorum injuria possit polliceri. Inte-

Johannis Foxii Vita.

Interim dum hæc fiant pertinere multum ad spem, celeritatemque componendi; sic hominum mentes deinceps informari, ut utrinque de alteris melius & sperare & sentire incipiant: Præcipue autem debere homines ejus pertinaciæ oblivisci, qua utraq; pars, dum se solam Ecclesiam esse venditat, excludit alteram: id enim non impium modo, sed & contumeliosum summe in Deum esse, existimare, eum sic mandata sua hominibus dedisse, ut obtemperantibus in perniciem vertantur: quod necessario futurum, si cum omnes homines idem sentire nolint, qui plus aliis intelligendo disenserint, ab iis reliqui arceantur: An igitur solis intelligentibus, & magna rerum scientia præditis cælum servari? Ubi igitur fatuos seculi futuros, ubi pueros, quos Christus sibi se p'suit? quanto, rectius Deum coli, exequendo ea quæ manifesta sunt, quam interpretando quæ sunt ambigua? quanto, probabilius esse tantam videri Dei misericordiam, ut convenientibus de summa obsequendi nihil aliud fraudi esse possit? eam vim obedientiæ esse, ut ea sola omnes inæqualitates apud Deum exæquet: quod si par omnium ratio non sit, sanè apud Deum longe potiores eos esse, qui modestius judicant.

Ab inimicis ad amicitias Foxii transeo; inter quas dictum est, quanto semper studio ab Duce Norfolkio dilectus est, cujus & opibus vivi, & pensionibus mortui alebatur, quas nimirum ratas fecit liberalitas Filii ejus, Illustrissimi Comitissæ Suffolciensis, ad quem ii reditus pertinebant. Auxit fortunam ejus Wilhelmus Cecilius, Thesaurarius Regni, vir omni oratione major, quem tanti Elizabethæ intererat, ministrum sibi habere, quanti Regni intereat, Elizabetham habere Principem, certeq; dignissimus, qui in ea patria, & sua & posterorum fortuna floreret, quam is omnium florentissimam sapientia & consilio suo effecerat. Is Rectorem Shiptoniensem, ab Regina, donum Foxio impetravit, nulla alia re adductus, nisi publicum ob meritum: cumque Foxius cunctaretur, & more suo veniam recusationis ab eo peteret, modestiam viri solertia sua expugnavit: neque accipere se responsum dixit, neque mernisse, ut rejecti ab eo beneficii Regii, tanquam ab se aversi, culpa penes se esset. Comitibus Bedfordiensi, & Warwicensi perquam gratus fuit, ob similitudinem morum ipsis commendatus. Francisco Walsinghamio, Secretario Regni intimus fuit, impigerrimo, sapientissimoque viro, meritoque qui Secretariatus vim primus intenderet. Hennagios fratres summe dilexit, Thomam & Michaellem, sed illum elegantia morum ejus electus, hunc ob solida studia, & singularem vitam modestiam, ambo amplissimos, & in suo genere absolutissimos viros, de quibus dicere solebat, in Thoma fuisse, quicquid Aula requirere possit, in Michaelle totum fratrem, & præterea quicquid Aula non corruperat. Druum Druarium quoque multo studio coluit, virum integerrimum propositi, & in omni fortuna constantissimum, & fortasse solum in ea Aula, qui & gratiam retinuit, neque libertatem dimiserat: Inter Præsules, Ed. Grindallum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Elmarum Episcopum Londinensem, Pilkintonum Dunelmensem, Noelkum Decanum Paulinæ Ecclesiæ, observavit, Basilienis exilii comites. Inter scriptores, Laurentium Humfridum, Whitakerum, Fulkium prætulit, quorum ingeniis mire delectatus est, loquaq; beneficii habuit, se ab illis invicem amari. Sed nulla arctius consuetudine tenebatur quam Jo. Crowlii, & Bolduini Collini: Hos omnibus consiliis suis, curisq; adhibuit; Collinum præcipue, de cujus viri possessione, nescire se dixit, uter justius contenderet, an prudentissimus animus, an summa scientia. Inter militares viros, Fran. Drakum consuetudine sua mire devinxerat, quem virum prope ea tempora laudari quibus vixit superfluum fuerit, commendari posteris, vel multis voluminibus vix suffecerit. Præclarissima civium Londinensium voluntate usus est; inter quos apud Tho. Greshamum, Roum, Baccusium, Smithem, Dalum, Sherintonum magnam auctoritatem, opinionemque habere visus est, viros partim amplissimis honoribus in civitate usos, partim copiosissimos negotiatores. Prætereo multos, quos fortasse contigit eundem in Foxii amicitia locum habuisse, neque id mihi vitio verti debet, si omnium vel meminisse, vel notitiam consequi minus potuerim. Illud præterire non debeo, cujus etiam præcipue causa præfatos summos viros memorari volui; hos fuisse, ab quibus demonstratum est, pecunias Elemosinæ nomine Foxio largissime suppeditatas fuisse pauperibus dispensandas: Quod cum illi ita clam facerent, ut nec internunciis fiderent, neque in eo benefacti gratiam respicerent, cujus conscientiam sufficere sibi intelligebant; non tamen id mihi in Foxii Historia dissimulandum fuit, aut committendum, nisi si illi tantæ liberalitatis fructum negligendum sibi existimarent, at non ab Foxio veritatem facti proditam esse quisquam arguat, præsertim cum utrisque abundi ad laudem sit, ut illi suis, hic non nisi suis factis noscatur.

Multa denique comitate inter amicos fuit. Id severitatis gravitatisque condimentum sibi indulserat. Rogatus quondam in Convivio, quondam afferri sibi ferculum juberet, unde prandium inciperet: respondit ultimum. Acceptaq; comiter vox est, tanquam lectiores dapes, quæ ultimo fere poni solent innuisset; cum ille ad finem convivii & ad abeundi voluntatem adluderet. Forte habuit in via obviam mulierem quandam, satis sibi cognitam. Ea prolato quem gestabant libro, cum dixisset. Vides quo profectura sum, nempe ad Concionem: respondit, At ut Sacor domum abi, hodie enim apud Deum nihil effeceris: & cum illa quereretur, quando igitur ire me jubes; cum (inquit) nemini dixeris. Accidit in mensa sua, ut quidam de Leycestrio Comiti liberius obloqueretur: Id cum Foxius audivisset, statim pateram quandam, quam innuerat impleri vino, & afferri sibi jussit, qua allata, Hæc inquit patera mihi ab Leycestrio dono missa est: cohibuitque hominis intemperantiam, neque reprehendit. Ingratum hominem mari comparabat, quod cuncta ingesta voraret, neque signum relinqueret. Adolescenti cuidam audaculo, qui multis astantibus, dixisset, se nihil in antiquorum lectione percipere, quod homines adeo mirarentur: Nihil inquit mirum est, nam si perciperes mirareris. Infinita mihi hujus generis memorandi copia est: sed nolo formam operis excedere.

Cum autem per talia facta, atque mores Foxius ætatem exegisset, plenus annorum, amicorumque nondum exacto septuagesimo cursu sui anno excessit, nulla nota valetudine oppressus, sed multum ob senium. Præsensit tamen tempus exitus sui, neque filios suos, quos ardentissime tamen dilexit, interesse supremis suis voluit: sed alterum acciri prorsus vetuit; alterum nudius tertius diei quo mortuus est ab se dimisit; & utrumque revocavit cum vel festinantes parum in tempore adfuturos sciret: sive impares eos acerbissimo spectaculo fore credidit: sive animum suum turbare domesticis desideriis nolebat: Quod fratri meo mihiq; omnium miserrimum contigit, ut neque oculos componere, neque suprema ejus mandata excipere, neque satiari ultimo ejus aspectu nobis liceret: quietiore fortassis animo deficientis momenta toleravissimus, quam moriendi exemplum in eo amisimus. Ad famam mortui indoluit civitas, elatumque permodico funere nigenti multitudinis suæ concursu honoravit: neque alia lugentium specie, quam si in tanto populo parentem, aut fratrem suum singuli sepelissent.

A T A B L E O F T A B L E S,

Shewing to a whole Alphabet of sundry sorts of Readers; To each kind a particular Catalogue of Instances: Giving him an account, wherein the reading of this great Book of MARTYRS may abundantly give contentment to his vein of Study, and recompence his pains.

The References of which Table let the Reader thus understand,

{ v. volume. } { ch. chapter. }
 { p. page. } { ver. verse. }
 { c. column. }

Understand, studious Reader (what is not considered by most) that this large Book of MARTYRS, is not a Legend of Fables, nor a Chaos-rude-heap of worthless rubbish; but Bibliotheca literarum & literatorum, A Library of learning and learned mens Works, making this Book, for the prime and choice Subject thereof, justly to be esteemed (as the learned confess) the next of all human penn'd Books to the sacred Bible; as may appear in regard either of the Form or Matter thereof.

For Form, it is {
 Methodical; keeping time, as so great a vastness of Story would permit, in the Histories of many Kingdoms besides our own.
 Certain in the proof; from eye-witnesses intent upon the things in the doing; and ancient Records, legally drawn, safely preserved, and faithfully produced.
 Well qualified for stile and expression; keeping in *medio dicendi genere*, a middle strain, yet varying the phrase of speech to the matter in hand. When this Book speaks otherwise, it speaks the words of another man, either relating or acting the matter of that Story. And then what is wanting in our best phrase, is recompensed there with certainty, patheticalness, and pleasure of hearing the Dialects of plain and ancient times and men.
 Rich in variety; ever and anon, after a more serious narration, fetching the Readers spirits fresh again (like the witty Comedian) with a sudden winding in, not impertinently, of some cheerful discourse.

For Matter, {
 As a Library it abounds with Treatises, each Page mostly being as a several Book; yea, one Leaf many times as a Shelf of Authors, for most points and persons: We will give but a taste in some few particulars, in an Alphabetical order.

A.

A Description of true *Antiquity* out of *Irenæus*. Volume 3. Page 34. Column 2.

<i>Antiquaries</i> may here read	Ancient Records of	Words,	Proper names,	The divers writing of the Names of the Ancient Saxon Kings of England, Vol. 1. p. 121, 122. The acceptions of ancient names of places, as <i>Dorobernia</i> and <i>Canterbury</i> are taken for one. Vol. 1. p. 195. c. 2. with many like. The Names of all that were at the Conquest of England. Vol. 1. p. 204, 205.
			Common Names,	The different Names of Reproach given to true Christians in divers Countries: As about <i>Lyons</i> they are called <i>The poor People of Lyons</i> ; In the borders of <i>Sarmatia</i> , <i>Livonia</i> , and these Northern Parts, they have been called <i>Lollards</i> ; In <i>Flanders</i> and <i>Artois</i> , <i>Turrelupins</i> ; In <i>Dolpin</i> , <i>Chagnards</i> ; but most commonly <i>Waldoys</i> . Volume 2. Page 147. col. 2.

[a] *Antiquaries*

A Table of Tables.

Antiquaries may here read	Ancient Records of	Words,	Sermons in ancient old <i>English</i> words. Vol. 1. pag. 453. 622.
		Judiciary terms: As,	<i>Forbonizatum</i> . Vol. 2. pag. 412. c. 1. <i>Fus fisci</i> . Vol. 1. pag. 409, c. 2405. c. 2. <i>Clericus</i> is expounded how it is taken in Law- Books. Vol. 2. p. 411. c. 1.
		Ecclesiastial	A note of all ancient Religious Order. Vol. 1. p. 294. Catalogues of Popes. Vol. 1. p. 595. c. 1. and p. 177. A note of the Archbishops of <i>Cant.</i> Vol. 1. p. 149. c. 1. p. 191, 449, 747. c. 2.
		Persons, Secular,	A note of the Archbishops of <i>Cant.</i> Vol. 1. p. 149. c. 1. p. 191, 449, 747. c. 2. A Table of <i>Roman</i> Kings of <i>England</i> . Vol. 1. p. 119. c. 2. Of <i>Britain</i> Kings of <i>England</i> . Vol. 1. p. 121. c. 1. Of <i>Saxon</i> Kings of <i>England</i> . Vol. 1. p. 121, 122, &c. Of <i>Danish</i> Invaders. Vol. 1. p. 179. c. 1.
		Things,	Of Secular persons entering into Religious Orders, as Kings, Monks. Vol. 1. p. 149. c. 1. lin. 55. Queens Nuns. Vol. 1. p. 147. c. 2. l. 63, &c.
		Writings,	The form and copy of a Popes Bull. Vol. 2. p. 537. 18. Ancient Evidences affording many Antiquities. Vol. 1. p. 423, to 425. Writs and Instruments. Vol. 1. p. 425.
		Practises,	Old Monuments of Abbeys, Monasteries, and Nunneries. Vol. 1. p. 147. c. 2. The form of right appealing. Vol. 1. p. 249. c. 2. When a Law was made first against Priests Marriage. Vol. 2. p. 402. c. 2. When Reliques were brought into the Church. Vol. 3. p. 10. c. 2.

Artists may here see divers of their Arts well used.

Logick in Syllogistical Disputations. Vol. 2. in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edw.* 6.
Natural Philosophy in reasoning about Comets. *Ibid.*
Arithmetick in Sacred computations upon *Daniel*, Vol. 1. pag. 547, *Revel.* V. 570, c. 1. p. 571, 111.
c. 1.
Besides Rhetorick and other Arts expressly used in this Book.

B.

Barons may read in this Book much History concerning the degree of Nobility, Vol. 1. pag. 120. c. 1. pag. 381, 382.

Bishops to the number of thirty four are here so renowned for those praises and patterns they have left to future ages, that this Book seems not altogether unworthy the consideration of that Function, herein to behold

Humble Gregory the First, Bishop of Rome, opposing the Title and Arrogancy of Universal Bishop, Vol. 1. p. 14, 15.	Disputing and dying in England for Christ.
Liberal Aedanus a Scottish Bishop, giving away his brave trapped Horse to relieve the poor and needy, Vol. 1. p. 136. c. 1.	
Learned Armachanus Archbishop of Ireland, stoutly disputing before Pope Innocent the sixth and his Cardinals, against the Order of Begging Friars, Vol. 1. p. 464. c. 2.	
Martyr Evaristus, Vol. 1. p. 50. c. 2.	
Martyr Alexander, Vol. 1. p. 42. c. 1. And others more Bishops of Rome, to the number of twenty six courageously losing their Blood for Christ and his Truth. Vol. 1. p. 641. c. 1.	
Martyr Cranmer, Archbishop, Vol. 3. p. 36, and 37. Vol. 3. p. 562.	
Martyr Ridley, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 50. c. 1. Vol. 3. p. 360. c. 1.	
Martyr Latimer, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 65. c. 1. p. 360. c. 1.	
Martyr Hooper, Bishop, Vol. 3. pag. 96. c. 2. 120, to 128.	
Martyr Farrar, Bishop of Saint Davids in Wales, Vol. 3. p. 166. to 178.	

Casuists

A Table of Tables.

C.

Casuists may here find many cases discussed; As,	{	How far one is bound to accuse himself or another, Vol. 2. p. 352. c. 1. Vol. 1. p. 458. col. 2.
		Whether the <i>Papists</i> challenge in <i>Campion</i> his words, <i>Quo tempore, quibus modis, quotis vicibus</i> , the Church of <i>Rome</i> should revolt, may not clearly be answered. See a learned Treatise for this, Vol. 1. p. 2. to 32.
		When and how Oaths are lawful, Vol. 2. p. 352. c. 1.
		Whether swearing upon a Book be to swear by a Creature, Vol. 1. p. 613. c. 1.
		Whether Kings do well to become Monks, Vol. 1. 127. c. 1.
Criticks may find here	{	Whether persecuted Martyrs may lawfully stand upon their own defence. Vol. 2. p. 165. c. 1. p. 166. c. 1.
		That the story of <i>Abdias</i> is to be suspected, Vol. 1. p. 39. c. 2.
		That <i>P. Anacletus</i> his third Epistle is supposed to be forged, Vol. 1. p. 11.
		That the Decretals and Ordinances fathered upon the Bishops of <i>Rome</i> in the first 300 years after Christ, under the Ten Persecutions, are for the most part feigned. See every particular Persecution. And look their names in the <i>Index</i> at the end. How those things came to be fathered falsely upon them. See Vol. 1. p. 64. c. 1.
		That a place of <i>Fabian</i> is to be corrected, Vol. 1. p. 386. c. 2.
Chronologers may here observe (besides that the whole History is Chronological) many material cautions touching computations of years, dashing the false, setting right the wrong, and discovering where variety of Authors vary. For Example, this Book shews	{	The story of <i>Vincentius</i> suspected, Vol. 1. p. 50. c. 2.
		A place of <i>Epiphanius</i> found faulty, Vol. 1. p. 55. c. 1.
		What is to be thought of the <i>Latin</i> Translation of <i>Eusebius</i> , Vol. 1. 71. c. 2.
		That the more ancient Writers are of more credit; the later Writers under the thousand years since Christ more to be suspected in some things, Vol. 1. p. 486. c. 2.
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Writers judiciously censured; As,	{	<i>Criticisms</i> upon words, as <i>Præcurrere</i> , Vol. 1. p. 15. c. 1. <i>Solus</i> , Vol. 1. p. 24. c. 2.
		The variety of computations of Authors touching the time of <i>Paul's</i> and <i>Peter's</i> suffering, Vol. 1. p. 39. c. 2.
		The difference among Writers touching the suffering time of the Martyrs of the Ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church, Vol. 1. p. 42. c. 1.
		How the Churches condition is to be distinguished into, and considered in five diversities of times, according to four Trecenturies, and one 400 years space, Vol. 1. p. 1.
		A Chronology of the years of the <i>Saracens</i> , <i>Turks</i> , <i>Tartarians</i> , Vol. 1. page 875.
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		<i>Eusebius</i> is very oft cited. See most Pages of the Ten Persecutions.
		<i>Dorotheus. Synops. Joan. de Monte Regali. Hieron. his Catal. Script Isidor.</i>
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		Against the Popes Supremacy. Vol. 3. p. 468.
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		A Catalogue of them gathered from time to time without the Pope. Vol. 1. p. 768.
		That at <i>Brixia</i> , his acts against <i>Hildebrand</i> . Vol. 1. p. 204. c. 2.
		That at <i>Constance</i> , his acts against the <i>Bobemians</i> . Vol. 1. p. 732.
		Lateran. Vol. 1. p. 287. c. 2.
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The rise of the Statute *ex Officio*. V. 1. p. 596. c. 1.
The rise of the Statute for burning for opinions examined. Vol. 1. p. 503. c. 1.

Some

A Table of Tables.

Lawyers may read here,	Common Law,	Some cases disputed. See in the <i>Casuist</i> . Articles of <i>Magna Charta</i> , and touching <i>Charta Foresta</i> . Vol. 1. p. 398. c. 1.
	Civil Law. Vol. 1. 409. c. 1. 417. c. 1.	
	Ecclesiastical Laws in sundry Propositions, vol. 1. p. 166.	
	Eight Kings Ecclesiastical Laws whereby the Church was governed before the Conquest. vol. 1. 883, 884.	
Linguists shall meet with in this History, for their studies,	Canon Law, delivered in	The Apostles Canons, as they call them, vol. 1. p. 12. 17. c. 1. Popes Canons, a censure of them, vol. 2. p. 349. c. 2.
	French Quotations, vol. 2. p. 336, c. 2. with others of like kind.	
	Hebrew derivations, <i>הסד</i> . Deut. 16. 10. and observations <i>הסד</i> . Levit. 6. 15. from <i>הסד</i> . What it signifies, vol. 2. p. 380.	
	Dutch Etymologies, vol. 3. p. 1. c. 2.	
Writings in	Greek readings, vol. 1. p. 18. c. 2. <i>Δια το βασιλευσιν των πολινικων</i> . vol. 1. p. 12. <i>αριστοι</i> <i>προβουοντες</i> ; with abundant more in that Page, &c.	
	Saxon, vol. 2. p. 376, 378. Persian Tongue, vol. 1. p. 874. c. 2.	

M.

Merchants may here find a rare example of one that was a Martyr as well as a Merchant, merchandising as well for godliness as gain, for goodness as well as goods, in that *Mirror of Piety and Patience*, *William Gardiner*, suffering torment to death for Christ in *Portugal*. In *Edw.* the 6th. reign.

N.

Nobility in *Duke Humfry*, vol. 1. p. 801, &c.
Lord Cromwel Earl of *Essex*, vol. 2. p. 419. } in this History shines to their future posterity.
Lord Cobham, vol. 1. 732. and others.

O.

Old age may here with its dim eyes see plain patterns to lead him in the plain way; and encourage him, seeing he is so nigh his end, rather to be dissolved (if he be called unto it) in flames of fire to be with Christ, then in this last period of his life to deny him, and by and by at his death be denied Christ, Heaven, and any thing else but only Hell and damnation.

One lively example is, vol. 3. p. 38. col. 1. Compare p. 359. col. 2. p. 375. c. 2.
Another, vol. 1. 829. c. 2.
More, vol. 3. p. 587. c. 2.
Photinus a very old man suffers for Christ, vol. 1. 52. c. 1.
Polycarpus, who coming to the place of Martyrdom to die for Christ, and being perswaded to turn, and he should be discharged; answered, *Eighty six years have I been Christs servant, and he never yet hurt me, how then may I now speak evil of him which hath thus preserved me?* vol. 1. p. 47.

P.

Politicians may be hence furnished with many observations touching matters of State and Government of Commonwealths, not only laid down in the rule, but proved in the practises; For example,
Thirty two Emperors lives and deaths exemplifie the issue of too much severity and cruelty in Government. vol. 1. 34, 35. Count the Margent.
Decay of Religion decays a Commonwealth. vol. 1. p. 113. c. 2. overthrows the Government, as may be seen in *Richard* the Second. vol. 1. p. 580. c. 2. Compare p. 585. c. 1.
Greatness of a State without true Empire of Government is a weakness to the same, as is plain in the *Turkish* Dominions, by the story of them.
The mischief of several factions in a State, exemplified in *Henry* the Eight his Government. vol. 2. throughout. A particular instance, see vol. 2. pag. 474.
Dissension in a Kingdom opens the door to foreign invasion; see in the example of Christians thus letting in the *Turk*, vol. 1. 827. c. 1.
The *Roman* Empire, and } ruined by refusing Christ, vol. 1. pag. 34. c. 2. 35. c. 1.
The *Jewish* Nation }
The many changes of State, and the causes of them may be seen in this story more than in most; as in the coming in of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Scots*, *Picts*; as also in *Richard* the Second his Reign, *Henry* the Sixth, &c.

Q.

Queen Katharine, Vol. 2. p. 491. c. 1. 493.
Queen Jane, Vol. 3. p. 11. c. 1.
Queen Elizabeth, Vol. 3. p. 32. c. 2. p. 83. c. 2. p. 792. } Make this story worthy to be read of the Royal eyes of that Sex.

A Table of Tables.

R.

Registers of ancient Records may here meet with abundance of those throughout the History.

S.

Souldiers may here behold the fights	{	Of the <i>Turks</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> . Vol. 1. p. 838. c.2. Of the <i>French</i> against the Pope, vol. 1. p. 830. c.1. Of the <i>Germans</i> { <i>Zisca</i> , vol. 1. 733. c.2. <i>Procopius</i> , vol. 1. 736. c.1. <i>Capistranus</i> , vol. 1. 818. c.2. Of the <i>English</i> throughout the History, with <i>Saxons, Danes, Scots, Picts, Normans, &c.</i> Of the <i>Grecian Scanderbeius</i> against the <i>Turk</i> , vol. 1. p. 840. c. 1. vol. 1. p. 844. c.2.	}	In all which see notable { Stratagems: Valour.
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T.

Tradesmen of most sorts shall find here rare patterns of piety of life, and patience in suffering death for Christ in men of their own calling, throughout the third Volume.

V.

Virgins may behold here for their instruction mirrors	{	Of valour in the Maid that defended <i>Lesbos</i> against the <i>Turks</i> , when the men had even given over defending it, Vol. 1. p. 863. c.2. Of patience and meekness, in <i>Rose Allen</i> a Maid, quietly suffering her hand to be burned for Christ, vol. 3. p. 698. Of courageous dying for Christ, in the admirable example of <i>Blandina</i> , vol. 1. p. 52. c.2.
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W.

Women have here rare Examples	{	Of Chastity in that Noblemans Wife of <i>Rome</i> , who would rather die than be defiled with lustful <i>Maxentius</i> , Vol. 1. p. 93. c.2. Of Martyrdom, in <i>Symphorissa</i> and her seven Children, cruelly martyred for Christ, vol. 1. p. 45. c.1. Of <i>Sophia</i> and her three Children martyred, vol. 1. 45. c.1. In many more women, sometimes mother and daughter embracing flames for Christ, in the third Volum.
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Y.

Young-men may here learn to know the God of their Fathers, to remember their Creator, yea Redeemer in the days of their youth, and in their youth to suffer for him that suffered for them in the flower of his age.

In the example of	{	That famous young man, Martyr <i>Germanicus</i> , vol. 1. p. 48. c.2. Of <i>Origen</i> a youth, that vehemently desired Martyrdom, vol. 1. p. 59. c.2. Of <i>Pomian</i> , of but fifteen years old, admirably suffering for Christ, Volum. 1. p. 53. c. 1: A child Martyr, vol. 1. p. 99. c. 2:
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THUS of multitudes of instances we have given but a very few, wherein this University of godly Learning may profit any ingenious Reader; no such can come amiss, but that he may go away the better from this Book after his reading it, if himself be not in fault.

Here is in this Book	{	To settle the judgment in the truth, thousands that have subscribed to it in blood. To win the affections, the most patheticall speeches of dying Saints: Here are files and ranks of Christian Soldiers to muster thee in Christs battel. Here is zeal burning till it be in flames of fire. To encourage practise Here is godlines, which when it is scoffed reviles not, when it is burned cries not. Here is Devotion praying sweetly, { In <i>Constantine</i> Emperour. <i>Luther</i> . <i>Lady Jane</i> , and many others:
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A Chro

A
CHRONOLOGY
OF
Master FOX his Martyrology.

An Advertisement to the Reader,

THAT here is presented unto him a compendious Chronological Table of the most remarkable things contained in the whole Book of Martyrs, (according as they are set down after Master Fox his Method and Computation) digesting them into several Columes; The

First and smaller Colume making report of time.

Four next larger of persons.

Sixth and largest of matters, concisely anatomizing the whole body of the story into the master veins, arteries and sinews.

Seventh, last and least, pointing to the place in the large Volumes, where the Contents of all the other Columes are to be found, and filled up with flesh, blood and spirits of larger Discourses.

To which we have added this brief Chronological Digest, that it may serve the studious Reader, either as a perspective, whereby to view what ground he is to travel, and where the several turnings are, before he begins to read; or as a Register or Note-book, whereby to recollect his thoughts and observations after so long a travel in reading so voluminous a Work: And at all times to be both as a Map of the limits, a Skeleton of the limbs, and Pourtraiture of the face of so rare a Story and a right Martyr; as also a Methodical Index to find and fetch in the main bulk of any special piece of the Story (out of the heap of prolix circumstances wherein it is covered) when it is to be remembered or perused. In all which thus projected, and with extraordinary care and pains effected, if any Reader from his knowledge of other Histories, conceive that many touches of additions or alterations of things, names or times, would have done well; let him remember that Master Fox his Book of Martyrs was the Copy set before the Pen to write after, both for matter and method. As also, that the scope of the Pen-man was, to make this Model a Key to the same; so that if we had any ways set this and the great Volume at difference and odds, we had set the Son against the Father, many references of this to that would have misreported things, and the whole Project had been ruined. This Child then, though a tender little weak one, comes abroad under the Parents Wing; and is modestly bold to speak and go on this way, because in its word it doth (as we speak) say after the Father; *Sequiturque patrem quamvis non passibus equis*, and follows the Fathers footsteps, though it cannot stride so wide. The hope is that that Nail will not score this Paper with dislike, whose Finger never felt the pains of carrying the Pen through so troublesome a business; and that the exercised hand in penning things of this nature will be merciful in censuring this *Chronographizing* of Master Fox his Story; whose parts, though belonging to the same time, are oft so far dispersed, and the same things at sundry times so frequently repeated, that it could not but be a great labour to gather them into times Method.

Farewel.

First,

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome, Greece, France, and Germany.	Bishops and Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
					First, <i>The Author premiseth.</i>	
					A Preface declaring the difference of <i>Rome</i> from <i>Rome</i> ; that Church being now revolted from what she was, in First, Life and Conversation, in <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prophaneness: As, simony, murders, poisonings of each other. 2. Omission of ministerial duties, as of preaching, &c. 3. Schisms and factions, to the number of eighteen since Pope <i>Damasen</i>. 4. Covetous injustice to get money, by fifteen unlawful practices, <i>Viz.</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Annats and vacancies of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, and spiritual places. 2. Retaining of other livings, besides that the incumbent now pays for. 3. New Annats upon change of the incumbents. 4. Preventions of Benefices before the fall. 5. Resignations upon favour. 6. Commendams. 7. Compositions with them that are non-resident, attending at Court. 8. Dispensations for any condition or sin. 9. Exemptions and Priviledges, and the continuations of them. 10. Mandats to the Ordinaries. 11. Penitentiaries and Absolutions from the Pope. 12. Pardons and Indulgences. 13. Making Notaries and Protonotaries, &c. 14. Bulls and Commissions for new foundations. 15. Giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected. 	3. C.I.
					Secondly, Jurisdiction and Power, in <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Elections of Bishops and such Offices. For whereas in the Apostles days, the Apostles with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers: as <i>James</i> was made Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> by the Apostles, &c. as may be seen in the 4th Page of this Volume. After in the increase of the Church, the Elections of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and thus it continued till <i>Constantine</i> the fourth Emperor, and after: But when <i>Alexander</i> the second came, he was chosen without the Emperor, and after him <i>Hildebrand</i> and his followers ordered the matter, that first the Emperor, secondly the Lay-People, lastly, the Clergy, for the most part were excluded. 2. Judiciary Power. For whereas in the Primitive times the Bishops debated all causes of Faith only by Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical Discipline by the Canons of ancient Councils: Now Scriptures and Councils are set aside, and all things are determined by the Popes new Decretals in his Canon Law. 3. In Collation of all Ecclesiastical Promotions. For whereas anciently, according to sacred Councils, the holy Fathers, and the common Law, Bishops, Doctors, Patrons, &c. might bestow the Benefices, &c. in their own Precinct, now the <i>Romish</i> Church inroacheth upon, and getteth all into her own hands and power. 4. Binding and loosing. In which what the Scripture gives generally to all the Church, <i>Rome</i> arrogates to her self, and the only will alone have the Keys. Whereas again, the Scriptures give authority to no Church in some things, there <i>Rome</i> will enlarge her self, and fit the wards of her Keys, so as she will unlock and lock those things which never came into Gods mind to allow. As, to loose and discharge Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance to their Prince; and any man from Perjury for Money; and to bind with Excommunication persons for petty matters, as breaking Parks, not ringing Bells, &c. 5. Secular power over Emperors, Kings and Civil Magistracy whatsoever, to excommunicate depose, &c. and put in others; making all subject to him. Whereas it was not so from the beginning, no not of later times; but <i>Gregorius Magnus</i> was subject to <i>Mauricius</i>, and to <i>Phocas</i> though a wicked Emperor. 	4. C.I.
					5 particulars. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. The Titles and Stile of the Bishops of <i>Rome</i>. Anciently the word Pope was common to all Bishops (as it is common in signification, coming of <i>πάππας</i>, that is, Father.) Saint <i>Austin</i> being called Pope of the Council of <i>Africk</i>; <i>Ferome</i> so called of <i>Boniface</i>, and <i>Cyprian</i> of others. And the highest Bishops anciently were not called more than Patriarchs (as were four so called) or Archbishops and Metropolitans; but now the Pope will have the name 	5. 7. 9.

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	name Pope peculiar to himself; with addition of the high Titles of Vicar-General, Vicar of Christ, Universal Bishop, Head of the Universal Church, Prince of Priests, Bishop of the World, A Neither-God-nor-man, but a thing between both: Against which arrogancy is,	Vol. I. Page.
					<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The ancient title of the Bishop of Rome. 2. The Act of the Nicene Council against carrying causes to Rome, and their five reasons. 3. Act of the Synod of Milevitan, against Appeals to Rome. 4. The Exposition of the name head-Bishop. 5. How the name Universal Bishop did rise and stand at Constantinople. 6. The name Bishop of Bishops forbidden by Cyprian. 7. Gregory his refusal of the name Universal Bishop. 8. Objections for the name Universal Bishop, answered. 9. Arguments proving the equality of the Apostles. 10. Answer to arguments for Peters Supremacy over the Apostles. 11. Certain demands, which answered, overthrow Peters Supremacy. 12. Thirteen causes of the Roman Bishops coming to this height. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 19. 20.
1. 27.	Augustus Cesar.	Cunobellinus, alias Cimbellinus.			<p>4. Doctrine. For Paul the Apostle, and Peters Successor flatly differ in nineteen summary points, viz. touching Justification, Merit, strength of nature, and mans will, distinguishing of Law and Gospel, distinguishing the righteousness of God and of us, Traditions, subtil speculations, mans being in the first and second Adam, imputation of the first and second Adams condition to man, the glory of a mans condition in Christ, difference of days, difference of meats, limitation of marriage, sacrifice for sin, the holy Communion, the number of the Sacraments, what language to be used in the Church, obedience to Kings, the armour of the Church. In all which whosoever knows Saint Pauls judgment, let him suppose the clean contrary opinion, and that is the tenet of the Church of Rome; the several differences may be couched into this one; Paul advanceth Christ, and casteth down man: The Church of Rome casteth down Christ, and advanceth man.</p>	22.
33.					<p>Secondly, The Author of this History comes to the Body of the Story, That Christ is rejected, and crucified by the Jews, choosing Cesar for their King in the seventeenth year of that Tiberius.</p>	33.
	Tiberius Cesar.	Gulderius			<p>Gods judgment on the Jews for it.</p> <p>Tiberius Cesar hearing of Christs Miracles, Resurrection and Ascension, moves the Senate to receive and adore Christ as God.</p> <p>The Senate of Rome refuseth to receive Christ for God, because contrary to the Law of the Romans (as they said) he was received for God, before the Romans decreed the same. This Tiberius lived six years after Christs Passion.</p> <p>Gods judgment on the City of Rome for refusal of Christ, their Emperors turning extreme Tyrants against them, almost to their utter subversion. And for three hundred years after Christ, in which time were thirty two Emperors, was there scarce one Emperor but came to an ill end.</p> <p>Tiberius and his Tyranny described. By whom he was executed.</p> <p>Gods judgment on Pilate that condemned Christ; which Pilate was deposed from his place, banished, and at length he slew himself.</p> <p>The stoning of Stephen the Proto-martyr, at which Paul was a persecuting agent. This day (saith Dorotheus) suffered also Nicamor one of the seven Deacons, with 2000 Christians more.</p> <p>Paul is Converted.</p> <p>Tiberius Cesar having reigned twenty three years dies, after whom succeedeth C. Cesar Caligula: commanding his Image to be set up in the Temple of Hierusalem; which was the beginning of The abomination of desolation to stand in the Holy place. He took the Romans wives violently from them; and having deflowred three of his own sisters, banished them.</p> <p>By this C. Cesar Caligula,</p> <p>Herod that mocked Christ, and murdered John the Baptist, was banished, and dies miserably.</p> <p>Caiaphas also was deposed by the said Caligula.</p> <p>Caligula being slain, leaves in his Study two Bills or Notes of them whom he did mean to persecute and kill, which Notes he called the Sword and Dagger; which were used for cruelty by him that followed, viz.</p> <p>Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years a grievous Tyrant.</p> <p>James the Apostle, the Son of Zebedee, martyred.</p> <p>Simon and Parmenas, two of the seven Deacons, martyred.</p> <p>Thomas the Apostle, preaching to the Medes, Persians and Parthians, Germans, &c. was slain with a Dart.</p> <p>Simon Zelotes preaching in Africk, and Britany, was Crucified.</p> <p>Andrew the Apostle preaching at Patris in Achaia, was by Egeas the Governour Crucified.</p> <p>Matthew the Apostle wrote his Gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew Tongue. He is martyred with a Spear.</p> <p>Matthias the Apostle preaching to the Jews, was stoned.</p> <p>Philip the Apostle having much laboured among the Barbarous Nations in preaching, was crucified and stoned to death at Hierapolis.</p>	35.
34.						
35.						
39.	Calus Cesar. Caligula.					
43.	Claudius Nero.		Aviragus			
62.						

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	James the younger, the Son of Alpheus, the brother of the Lord, Bishop of Hierusalem, was thrown down from the battlements of a Church, and afterward stoned, and so martyred to death. With James many more were stoned, as may be collected out of Joseph. l. 6. 20, &c.	Vol. I. Page
63 67	Domitian Nero.		Claudius the Emperor falls into Britain, and subdued part of it to the Empire.		Mark the Evangelist martyred at Alexandria, as Reusner affirmeth. The description in general of the Ten Persecutions in the Primitive Church, under the Roman Emperors: Wherein, first, the wonderful many kinds of torments of the Christians are described by Rabanus: Secondly, the admirable patience of the tormented declared by S. August. Thirdly, the infinite number of those patient tormented ones, set forth by S. Hierome and Heliodorus.	37.
69					Under this Emperor was the first of the ten Persecutions, by which (as Eusebius reports) whose Cities were filled with the dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and sorts.	
73					This Nero was so wicked, that St. Hierome upon Daniel saith, he was thought to be Antichrist. For so prodigious a monster was he, more like a beast, or rather a Devil than a man, that he caused his Mother, his Brother-in-Law, his Sister, his Wife great with child, and his Instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own kin to be put to death. He fired Rome in twelve places, and sung the while the verses of Homer.	34.
81 91 96		Anacletus alias Clemens.		Marlus.	His end, after he had reigned fourteen years, was by the Senate proclaimed an enemy to all mankind, condemning him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death, for fear whereof he fled and slew himself. Under him suffered Peter and Paul for Christ, about the later end of his reign. A question moved whether St. Peter were ever at Rome. Another question concerning Paul, whether he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that to Laodicea. Paul declares the sum of that Doctrine which he preached.	39.
	Domitianus.				Vespasian was the quiet Prince that put the distinction between the first and second persecution; in that he did not proclaim Persecution against the Christians. Howbeit he with Titus destroyed the Jews for their rebelling, killing many above 11000, selling into slavery 17000, and leading 2000 in triumph, to be torn with wild beasts, and cruelly to be slain.	34.
		Evaristus. Alexander.			Domitian, Brother of Titus, beginning his reign mildly, turned a blasphemous Idolater against God (commanding men to worship him) and a cruel tyrant against Christians; for by him was moved the 2d Persecution. Simeon, Bishop of Hierusalem was Crucified. John the Evangelist is banished into Patmos. But after the death of Domitian, he was released under Pertinax the Emperor, living to the time of Trajanus, governing the Churches of Asia, and penning his Gospel. He converted a thief. And flies out of a Bath, because wicked Cerintus was there. St. John could not (as the Papists say) be the Virgin Maries Confessor, seeing according to them, she was without sin.	
100	Nerva. Trajanus.				Domitianus fearing the coming of Christ, commanded all that could be found of the stock of David in Jewry to be slain. Another cause inciting Persecution, was false accusation of the Christians. But however the inquisition was this, Swear the truth, whether thou art indeed a Christian. If they confessed they were, the Law condemned them for that alone. This Bishop of Rome was a martyr, and flourished as Reusner counts, Anno Christi 102.	42. 43.
111	Adrian, or Hadrian.				This Bishop of Rome was also martyr, see in the reign of Adrian Emperor. Traditions of holy water, &c. are falsely fathered on him, he flourished as Reusner will, in the year 110, in the later end of Trajans reign. Saphira and Sabina, martyrs. Nerva with his quietness put a period of peace for one year between the second and third Persecution.—Trajanus caused the third Persecution. Pliny writes to Trajan to stop the Persecution. Trajan seeks out and puts to death the stock of David. Certain Sectaries of the Jewish Nation accuse Simeon Son of Mary Cleophas, that he was of the line of David, and a Christian; whereupon he was crucified; but the accusers escaped not being condemned for being (as the Emperor supposed) of the stock of David. Phocas B. of Pontus, mar. Sulpitius, Servilianus, Euphrosinus, Theodora, Mart. Nereus and Achilleus, Martyrs. Ignatius Mart. being devoured of wild beasts. Publius, Bishop of Athens, Martyr.	45.
					Under him suffered Alexander Bishop of Rome, with his two Deacons. Zenon, a Nobleman of Rome, 10260 more slain for Christ. Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus Carcerius, prime Martyrs. Eustachius, with his Wife and Children, Martyrs. Calocerius seeing the patience of Faustinus and Jobita suffering the cruel torments, cried out with these words, Vere magnus Deus Christianorum, i.e. Great is the God of the Christians, whereupon he was presently apprehended, brought to the place of their execution, and was made partaker of their Martyrdom.	
					Eleutherius with his Mother Antbia, Martyrs. Justus & Pastor, Brethren, Mart. Symphorissa with her 7 Children, Martyrs. Sophia with her three Children, Martyrs. Apologies made to the Quadratus Bishop of Athens: Emperor in behalf Aristides a Philosopher. of the Christians by Sereus Granus a Nobleman.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	The success was that the Emperor writeth and slacketh the Persecution, charging that none be persecuted barely for Christianity. Hereby then began to come in the respite of peace between the third and fourth Persecution. Howbeit this <i>Adrian</i> understanding of the <i>Jews</i> rebelling, sent <i>Julius Severus</i> against them, who overthrew fifty two Castles in <i>Jewry</i> , burnt and demolished 9080 Villages, and slew fifty thousand of the <i>Jews</i> . After this <i>Adrian</i> the Emperor repaired <i>Hierusalem</i> , calling it <i>Heliopolis</i> . <i>Adrian</i> dies by bleeding at the nose, as he had shed Christians blood. This Emperor <i>Antoninus</i> reigned twenty three years, continuing that peace with the Christians he found begun in <i>Adrians</i> last days; for which he had the name of <i>Pius</i> . Yet by the peoples tumult, without the Emperors consent, some were martyred. His saying was, He had rather save one Citizen, than destroy a 1000 of his adversaries. He writes in behalf of the Christians, to the Persecutors, notable arguments to stay persecution, as being conquered by the patience of the Christians. An Edict of peace for the Christians is proclaimed at <i>Ephesus</i> . This quiet Emperor in life, of all other Emperors of those times, died the most quiet death. This <i>Antoninus</i> was studious of Philosophy, but severe against the Christians, moving the fourth persecution. He moveth much { In <i>France</i> , see pag. 50. } In <i>Asia</i> , where <i>Polycarpus</i> Bishop of <i>Smyrna</i> was Mart. In this persecution, Christians were whipped until their veins, arteries and bowels did appear. <i>Germanicus</i> , a famous Martyr for patience. <i>Quintus</i> a Phrygian, being rashly hardy, suffers for it. <i>Polycarp</i> at first by perswasion, did fly persecution, at last offered himself willingly to those that beset the house to seek him, and was martyred. Twelve Martyrs at <i>Smyrna</i> . —Of <i>Polycarps</i> Epistle to the <i>Philippians</i> . <i>Irenaeus</i> was conversant with <i>Polycarp</i> , and <i>Polycarp</i> with the Apostles. Difference of Ceremonies brake not amity in the Primitive Church. <i>Socrates</i> deceived in his Tripartite story. <i>Metrodorus</i> Martyr. <i>Corpus</i> , <i>Papilus</i> , <i>Agathonica</i> , Martyr. <div> <i>Felicitas</i> with her seven Children, viz. <div> <i>Januarius</i> <i>Felix</i> <i>Philippus</i> <i>Silvanus</i> <i>Alexander</i> <i>Vitalis</i> <i>Martialis</i> } Martyrs at <i>Rome</i>. </div> </div> <i>Justinus</i> Martyr, learned in Philosophy, and godly in practice. <i>Crescens</i> a Philosopher, procurer of <i>Justins</i> death. <i>Praxedes</i> and <i>Potentiana</i> two godly Virgins, bury the bodies of the dead Martyrs, and spend their Patrimonies to relieve the living. <i>Ptolomeus</i> and <i>Lucius</i> , Martyrs at <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> . A place in <i>Gratianns</i> suspected. <i>Concordas</i> , Martyr; spitteth in the face of the Idol. <i>Vincentius</i> his story suspected. In <i>France</i> were many Martyrs, at <i>Lions</i> , and <i>Vienna</i> , whose History is set forth under the hands of the brethren of <i>France</i> , in their Letter to the brethren in <i>Asia</i> . <i>Vetus Epagathus</i> , a young man, is a courageous Martyr, unto wonderment. Ten Christians as weak as he was strong, fainting, to the great sorrow of the stronger. The Christians are accused of keeping the Feast of <i>Thyestes</i> , and Incest of <i>Oedipus</i> . <i>Blandina</i> , martyr, is so patient in suffering all manner of torments, that she wearies her tormentors. <i>Sanctus</i> , Martyr, was so able patiently to bear all manner of torments, that none could make him answer to many questions put to him, but only this in <i>Latin</i> to each of them, <i>I am a Christian</i> . His first torments making him so swollen and scorched, that his members had lost their shape and use; the second contrary to his enemies intent restored his limbs in regard of both. <i>Bibrides</i> , a woman Martyr, having denied Christ, returns and confesseth Christ in the midst of those torments which were inflicted to make her blaspheme Christ. Divers Martyrs strangled. Martyrs die in prison. <i>Photinus</i> a Deacon, eighty years old, Martyr. A description of the comfort of confessing, and the discomfort of denying Christ. <i>Maturus</i> and <i>Attalus</i> martyred in a red hot Iron-chair, could not be made by setting them in it, to confess any thing, but what they had willingly before. Deniers of Christ return and become Confessors. <i>Alexander</i> a Phrygian, beckoning at the Bar to the Christians to stand to the Confession of Christ, is questioned, confesseth Christ, and is martyred. <i>Blandina</i> , a woman, and <i>Ponticus</i> a youth of fifteen years old, Martyrs, could not be forced to swear, with all the witty cruelty of the tormentors. <i>Justi-</i>
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A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Justinus a deep Philosopher, a godly man, an Apologizer for the Christians, and a Martyr.	Vol. I. Page
					Grounds of crediting the Prophets. The profit of reading them. Epiphanius found in a fault. Most worthy Martyrs pronounce themselves unworthy of the name of Martyrs. Alcibiades rebuked for over-strict fasting. Apollinaris and Melito exhibit Apologies to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians. The Books of the Old Testament anciently received for Authentick. Christian Soldiers get rain by prayer in a time of their great want of water in the army: for which the Emperor favours them, writing Letters in behalf of all the Christians, to the asswaging of the Persecution. This Commodus was (though inconvenient to the Senators of Rome) commodious to the Church; giving some peace universally throughout the same. Mean while the Gospel spreads, and many Noble families in Rome adjoyn themselves to the Christians. Notwithstanding there was some persecuted in his time, for although there was a Law made by the Emperor, that none should falsely accuse the Christians upon pain of death, yet in case any Christian were once accused, the ancient Law was that none that were arraigned for profession of Christ should be released without recantation of his opinion. Hereupon it followed, that Apollonius a Noble Senator of Rome being accused of his servant, the servant by the Law against accusers, was executed, and had his legs broken; and Apollonius himself by the Law of not dismissing accused Christians without recantation, was beheaded; because instead of making a recantation, he made an Apology of Christian belief. This Emperor, Antoninus Commodus was very skilful in casting Darts, and took great pride to be called Hercules, and to wear oft times a Lions skin, in both intimating what a Protector he was to the City, and chieftain over the people; Hercules being a Giant, and a Lion the King of Beasts. This Emperor on his birth-day, clothed in his Lions skin, and sacrificing to Hercules and Jupiter, commanding also the people to do the like, Vincentius, Peregrinus, Eusebius, Potentianus, learned men, and instructors of the people, dissuaded them: for which cause, and for that they would not sacrifice to Idols at the command of the Emperor, were with sundry devices tormented, and at last with the pressure of leaden weights, were martyred to death. Julius with his family are baptized, and after martyred. This Xistus or Sixtus Bishop of Rome is counted the sixth, Bishop after Peter. The Epistles, and in them the Ordinances fathered upon him, very probably are falsely put upon him. He sat in his Seat about nine or ten years. This Telesphorus sat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. Many Ordinances touching Gloria in Excelsis, Lent-fast, not permitting of Laymen to accuse the Clergy, are falsely fathered upon him. This Higinus died a Martyr. The Ordinances of Cream, of one Godfather and Godmother, of Dedications of Churches, &c. are falsely put upon him. The inflicting penance forty days upon the Priest, for letting fall one crum of the Lords-Supper: and if a drop did fall, that it should be licked up, or else the place washed or pared, &c. all which, put on this Bishop Pius by Platina, sound as unlikely as they are in themselves trivial. He made a Decree of changing Easter-day from the wonted day, viz. the fourteenth day of the Moon in the first Month, to the Sunday after. This Anicetus sat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. He determined the same about Easter-day, as Pius his Predecessor had. This Soter sat in the Seat eight years: He also concludes the same order touching Easter, as Pius and Anicetus had. He sat Bishop of Rome fifteen years. His determination touching Easter is the same with his three Predecessors. See more in p. 37. in the Hist. of Victor. Divers Writers report that this Bishop of Rome sent Damianus and Fugatius at the request of King Lucius, King of England, to him into England, by whom the said King should be converted and baptized. But as they vary in time, some making this sending to be a year or two under 180, and others as much over: so is there a just difference between them, whether these were the first that transported the Christian Faith into England, some of them avouching the coming of Simon Zelotes into England, others the coming of Joseph of Arimathea first founding Christian Religion in this Isle. Whoever was first, Petrus Cluniacensis, Origen and Tertullian do witness that Christianity was much more ancient than Eleutherius, yea and then the conversion of the said King Lucius. Besides those mentioned above, were these learned men, confounding the Persecutors by writing, in the time of this present Emperor Commodus. Seraphion Bishop of Antioch. Egesippus a Writer of the Ecclesiastical story from Christs Passion to his own time. None of his Books remain save only five. De Excidio Hierosol. And those are not mentioned by Hieron. Eusebius or Miltiades, who notwithstanding make mention of the man himself. Miltiades wrote an Apology for the Christians.	53.
175.	Lucius Antoninus Commodus.					55.
		Xistus I. alias Sixtus I. Telesphorus.				55.
129.		Higinus.				
140.		Pius.				
159.		Anicetus				
		Soter.				
178.		Eleutherius.	Lucius.			

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Heracles about this time began to write his Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Testament.	Vol. Page
					<i>Theophilus</i> an Ecclesiastical writer, Bishop of <i>Cesaria</i> . <i>Dionysius</i> Bishop of <i>Corinth</i> , famous for learning, writes divers Epistles to several Churches. He writes to one <i>Penitus</i> a Bishop, <i>Ne grave servanda castitatis onus</i> , &c. i.e. That he laid no yoke of necessity of keeping Chastity upon his Brethren. This <i>Dionysius</i> writes an Epistle of <i>Dionysius Arcopagita</i> , declaring (as it is storied in the <i>Acts</i>) his Conversion by <i>Paul</i> , but speaks not a word of his Book <i>De Hierarchia</i> ; yet doth he speak more of him touching his being first Bishop of <i>Athens</i> . This <i>Dionysius</i> of <i>Corinth</i> doth shew us that it was the custom in his time, that the Epistles that were sent unto Congregations by learned men, should be read in the Churches in the audience of the Assemblies. <i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i> also wrote in the time of this Emperor <i>Commodus</i> , whose Books some are yet extant, declaring the order and number of the Books of the New Testament. A man of these times too, was <i>Pantenus</i> , the first publick professor in Schools in <i>Alexandria</i> , occasioning by his example Christian Universities. This <i>Pantenus</i> for his great Learning, was sent for by <i>Demetrius</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> , to preach to the <i>Indians</i> , where he finding <i>St. Matthews</i> Gospel in <i>Hebrew</i> , left there by <i>St. Bartholomew</i> , brought it from thence to the Library of <i>Alexandria</i> . Whiles the Christians had any respites of peace in this <i>Commodus</i> his time, they jangled about the celebration of <i>Easter</i> . Yet differing in this Ceremony, they brake not off Charity. The difference of their <i>Easter</i> -days. He reigned but a few months Emperor. This <i>Severus</i> raised the fifth Persecution, of the eighteen years of his reign, the first ten were favourable to the Christians, the other eight through false accusations of the malignant, by Proclamation drew blood upon the Christians, see <i>Euseb. Lib. 6.</i> about the year 205. The accusers branded them with sedition, murder, &c. with worshipping of an <i>As</i> his head, because they believed the story of <i>Sampsons</i> slaughtering the <i>Philistims</i> with a Jaw-bone: and with worshipping the Sun: because before Sun-rising they met and sung <i>Palms</i> , praying towards the East: But the true quarrel was their not worshipping the <i>Roman</i> Idols. The Captains and Officers in this Persecution were <i>Hilerianus</i> , <i>Vigelius</i> , <i>Claudius</i> , <i>Hormianus</i> . The places of this Persecution were <i>Africa</i> , <i>Alexandria</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , and <i>Carthage</i> . The persons persecuted and martyred were, <i>Leonides</i> Father of <i>Origen</i> beheaded, with whom his son <i>Origen</i> , being then of seventeen years, would have suffered Martyrdom, but that his Mother by force hindred him. <i>Origen</i> encourageth his Father to Martyrdom, saying, <i>Cave tibi ne quid propter nos</i> , &c. that is, <i>Take heed you turn not your purpose of Martyrdom for our sakes</i> . His Father being slain, and his goods confiscate to the Emperor, he maintained himself, and mother, and her children, being in great poverty, by teaching School. He was very learned, conferring the <i>Hebrew</i> with the Translation of the <i>Septuagint</i> ; and finding out the common Translations of <i>Aquila Symmachus</i> and <i>Theodotion</i> ; adjoining to them four other Translations. His Books he penned, were by <i>St. Hieroms</i> account, 7000 Volumes, which he sold for a little above three pence a piece for his relief. <i>Plutarch</i> , a Scholar of <i>Origen</i> , martyr. <i>Serenus</i> his Brother, a hearer also of <i>Origen</i> , martyr, burned. <i>Heraclides</i> , another hearer of <i>Origen</i> , martyr, beheaded. <i>Heron</i> , <i>Origen</i> s scholar, martyred by beheading. <i>Serenus</i> a fifth of <i>Origen</i> s scholars, martyred by beheading. <i>Rbas</i> and <i>Pontamiena</i> were tormented with pitch poured upon them, and so martyred. <i>Marcella</i> , mother of <i>Pontamiena</i> , martyred with fire. <i>Basilides</i> , an Officer that saw execution done upon <i>Pontamiena</i> , afterwards denied to give an Oath in a matter whereunto he was called, because he was to swear by the Idols, professing himself also to be turned Christian, by means of <i>Pontamiena</i> , who said as she went to martyrdom that she would pray that God would have mercy on him, after which she had seen a Crown put upon his head, whereupon he was martyred by beheading. <i>Alexander</i> by his great strength of body and grace, surviving many great torments inflicted on him for Religion, was by the repute thereof, adjoined Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> to <i>Narcissus</i> the former Bishop of that seat being 163 years old, and unwieldy to govern alone. Three malicious false witnesses accusing this <i>Narcissus</i> , confirmed it with imprecations of burning, deaths sickness, and losing both the eyes to themselves if their false accusations were not true: which being false, those several imprecations were truly executed upon them by the Lord, to each his own will. <i>Andoclus</i> sent by <i>Polycarp</i> into <i>France</i> for his spreading the Gospel there, was beaten with staves and bats, and beheaded, and so martyred. <i>Asclepiades</i> a persecuted Confessor, Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Irenaeus</i> , Bishop of <i>Lions</i> , Martyr; commended by <i>Tertullian</i> to be the greatest searcher of all kind of Learning.	59.
195.	<i>Pertinax Severus</i> .	This same <i>Severus</i> extended his Empire over <i>Britain</i> at this time.				60.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury	He as his name signifies, a man of peace, composing by his great Learning many differences, and suppressing many errors wherewith the Church in his time did swarm.	Vol. r. Pag.
					Not long after this <i>Irenaeus</i> flourished <i>Tertullian</i> , an Ecclesiastical writer, commended by <i>Vincentius Lirinensis</i> , to be the Flower of all Latine Writers, and one that by his eloquence of style compelled assent, having in it as many sentences as words, and as many victories as sentences. This <i>Tertullian</i> made a singular Apology for the Christians, touching every particular false accusation, shewing the impossibility and improbability of any truth in them.	60
	Victor.				This <i>Victor</i> is reported (though <i>Platina</i> saith the contrary) by <i>Damasus</i> , and the followers of the common Chronicles, to die a Martyr. But he moved some stir about the time of <i>Easter</i> , which the Apostles had left as indifferent, who by reason of their intentiveness of Preaching, gave no heed to times and days; nor did they bind the Church to any Ceremonies, saving of strangled things, and blood. Which of blood seemeth to be given to the Church, to prevent the scandal the heathen Gentiles laid upon the Christians eating blood, and so to continue only whiles the Persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Also <i>Pius</i> , <i>Anicetus</i> , <i>Soter</i> , and <i>Eleutherius</i> , having changed <i>Easter-day</i> , from the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, to the next Sunday after, and being opposed by <i>Melito</i> Bishop of <i>Sardis</i> , <i>Egesippus</i> and <i>Polycarp</i> , sent by the brethren of <i>Asia</i> to <i>Rome</i> to <i>Anicetus</i> , to confer with him about it, and not agreeing in opinion, the learned Men of those Times, with those now named, keeping Charity, left the time of <i>Easter</i> , as <i>Adiaphoron</i> , a thing indifferent in the Church till the time of this <i>Victor</i> . Now this <i>Victor</i> was so violently set upon upholding the Roman determination of his former Predecessors, as a necessary: that he would Excommunicate all the Bishops and Churches of <i>Asia</i> as Hereticks, unless they would be of his Opinion, had not <i>Irenaeus</i> restrained him. Yet was <i>Irenaeus</i> , also <i>Theophilus</i> , Bishop of <i>Cesarea</i> , <i>Narcissus</i> Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> , <i>Palmas</i> of <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Banchillus</i> of <i>Corinth</i> , &c. of the judgment of <i>Victor</i> , touching keeping <i>Easter</i> upon the Sunday after the fourteenth of the Moon in the first month, for these two Reasons: First, because they would differ as much as might be from the Jews; Secondly, because the Resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day. On the contrary opinion were divers Bishops in <i>Asia</i> , chiefly <i>Polycrates</i> Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i> , alledging Scripture, the example of some of the Apostles, and custom of other Fathers. But <i>Irenaeus</i> still took off the edge of sharp Contentions; and so the Controversie remained free till the time of the <i>Nicene</i> Council. And other Doctors of Christian liberty were free till <i>Victor's</i> time, about Anno 200.	62
203		Zephyrus.			The two Epistles in the first Tome of the Councils, fathered upon this <i>Zephyrus</i> Bishop, may justly be suspected to be fained. And that those and other ordinances spoken of before, were invented by some to advance the Papacy, and naming them with the names of those Fathers. The same we may think of the patens of <i>Glas</i> ascribed to the said <i>Zephyrus</i> . For that time of his sitting Bishop, some Writers make it 8, some 16, some 17 years. The most agree between 17 and 18.	62
	Bassianus.			This same Bassianus extends his Empire over England.	This Emperor <i>Severus</i> invades England, he casts up a Ditch of 130 miles, from Sea to Sea, beginning at <i>Tine</i> , and reaching to the <i>Scottish Sea</i> . He removing thence to <i>York</i> , was there by the Northern men and Scots besieged and slain.	
214					<i>Severus</i> leaving behind him two Sons, <i>Bassianus</i> and <i>Geta</i> , <i>Bassianus</i> slays <i>Geta</i> , and governs the Empire alone about six years, and then was slain of his next Successors.	
	Macrinus with his son Dia- dumenus.				These two, <i>Mac</i> and <i>Diad</i> , having Reigned one year, were slain of their own people.	
219	Varus Heliogabalus.				This <i>Heliogabalus</i> affected pomp in his life exceedingly; burning balm for oyl in his Lamps, filling his Fish-ponds with rose-water, wearing apparel of gold, and most costly silks, shoes set with precious stones, feeding himself with variety of dishes every second day, furnished with whatsoever was rarest and dearest; He affected too a pompous death, providing (in case his wicked life should make his enemies besiege him) swords of gold, silken ropes, cups of <i>Jacinths</i> to hold poyson, pavements of precious stones, wherewith to stab, hang, poyson and brain himself. He affected Lust as well as Pride, having 600 chariots of bauds and harlots to attend him in his progress. He was slain of his Souldiers, being an enemy to all honesty, and advancer only of base ones.	63
224	Aureli- Alex. Severus.				This <i>Severus</i> was adopted by <i>Heliogabalus</i> , being without Issue. He was learned, and in his actions constantly advised by his Senate; he so hated bribed Judges, that he would vomit when he saw them; and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. He dismissed all idle and needles servants from his Court. He favored the Christians, saying of a place where they did meet for good Duties, which the Cooks and Tiplers would have taken from them, It was fitter for Gods service, than the use of Scullians, and so restored it to the Christians. Observe hence, that as yet there were no Christian Churches in <i>Rome</i> . He put to death <i>Turinus</i> with smoke, for taking mony of People, to get for them the Emperors favor, which he, lying, boasted he had at command; The Crier proclaiming at his execution, <i>Smoke be sold, and smoke be is punished with.</i>	63

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	His mother <i>Mamma</i> hearing of <i>Origen's</i> fame, sent for him from <i>Alexandria</i> , to hear him, who came to her and the Emperor her son. Though he favored the Christians, yet some were martyred in his time, as Historians affirm, giving this reason; That by him no Proclamation was set forth for the safety of the Christians. The persons persecuted under him they reckon to be, <i>Calixtus</i> martyred. Many Ordinances of the Fast of <i>Ember-week</i> , of not accusing Bishops, &c. falsely put upon him. <i>Urbanus</i> Martyred. His Epistle decretal of Church-goods, Confirmations, &c. may justly be thought to be feigned. <i>Tiburtius</i> and <i>Valerianus</i> , Converts of <i>Urbanus</i> , and Noble men of <i>Rome</i> , Martyred. <i>Cecilia</i> , wife of <i>Valerianus</i> , a great confinner of him and his brother <i>Tiburtius</i> , and a means of the Baptizing of 400 persons (as the story reports) Martyred. <i>Agapetus</i> of fifteen years, who could neither be made to sacrifice to Idols, nor be killed with whips, hot water poured upon him, or wild Beasts, was by Beheading Martyred. The Executioner of this <i>Agapetus</i> , named <i>Antiochus</i> , in the executing of this Martyr, fell down from his Seat, crying, That his inward Bowels burned within him, and so dyed. Many more (as Authors affirm) as well of the Senate and chief of <i>Rome</i> , as others were martyred under this Emperor, and their Heads were hanged over the City gates, to terrifie others from the profession of Christ. Albeit, as touching the time of these fore-named Martyrs, I suppose they suffered rather under <i>Maximinus</i> or <i>Decius</i> , than under <i>Alexander</i> . This Emperor <i>Maximinus</i> , was chosen Emperor rather by the wilfulness of the Souldiers, than the will of the Senate. He caused the sixth Persecution, especially against the Teachers, hoping that when they were smitten, the Sheep would soon be scattered. And therefore it is the more likely that <i>Urbanus</i> , and the rest above-named in the former persecution, suffered rather under this <i>Maximinus</i> , than under that <i>Alexander</i> . <i>Origen</i> , under this Emperor, wrote his Book <i>De Martyrio</i> . <i>Pontianus</i> the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> banished. This <i>Gordianus</i> was a learned and quiet Prince, and governed with much peace. <i>Pontianus</i> the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> dyes. His Epistles decretal, touching the hyperbolical dignifying of the Clergy, probably are feigned. At this time were raised in the Church other famous Fathers, as, <i>Phileas</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Zebenus</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Ammonius</i> the School-master of <i>Origen</i> , who wrote divers Books in defence of Christian Religion: and continued himself in the Profession thereof. <i>Julius Africanus</i> , who was (as <i>Nicephorus</i> writes) a Scholar of <i>Origen</i> , and a great Writer of Histories. <i>Natalius</i> , who had suffered as a good Confessor, much persecution, but being hired with preferment of being a Bishop, and by money, viz. 150 pieces of Silver every month, he turned to be of the Sect of <i>Theodotus</i> . But being much afflicted by the Lord, he repenting, returned to the Christian Congregation, and was received. <i>Eusebius</i> saith, That because this Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , <i>Anterius</i> did cause the lives and deaths of Martyrs to be written, that he himself was Martyred by <i>Maximinus</i> the Judge. <i>Hippolytus</i> a Bishop, a great Writer, <i>Eusebius</i> and <i>Hierome</i> mentioning his Books, and a Martyr, by being drawn with wild Horses through the Thickets. <i>Gordianus</i> Emperor, is slain; <i>Philip</i> Emperor, after him. This <i>Philippus</i> Emperor, took to himself his Son <i>Philip</i> assistant in governing. This <i>Philippus</i> , with his Son and all his Family, being converted by <i>Fabianus</i> and <i>Origen</i> , were Baptized: And howsoever <i>Pomponius Letus</i> writes, he was a dissembling Prince; this is certain, that for Religions sake, he and his Son were slain by <i>Decius</i> one of his Captains. This <i>Decius</i> Emperor, moves the seventh Persecution, which was a most terrible one, because, besides <i>Philippus</i> his Christianity, he had committed his Treasure to <i>Fabian</i> the Bishop. This Bishop <i>Fabian</i> was a married Man, and chosen Bishop, as <i>Eusebius</i> reports, by the lighting of a Dove upon his head, as he stood among the Assembly met to choose a Bishop of <i>Rome</i> . He was Martyred by <i>Decius</i> . The Ordinances of burning the old oyl, and consecrating new once a year; of not Marrying within the fifth Degree, &c. may justly be suspected of feigning. To this <i>Fabian</i> wrote <i>Origen de Orthodoxia fidei sue</i> , that is, Of the righteousness of his Faith. <i>Origen</i> living to this <i>Decius</i> , suffered under him many bands, torments, rackings, &c. for Religion. After all which, being brought by the Officers to the Altar, whereon lay an <i>Ethiop</i> , and commanded to Sacrifice to the Idol, or else he should have his Body defiled by the <i>Ethiop</i> ; he chose rather to Sacrifice, for which he was Excommunicated of the Church; and for his calling upon the Christians to carry those Boughs which he had in his hand, in honor to Christ, which the Heathen used to honor their gods withal, was by the Church of <i>Alexandria</i> removed from their Communion, and so departed thence for shame to <i>Jewry</i> . Where being im- <td>Vol. I. Pag.</td>	Vol. I. Pag.
227		Calixtus. Urbanus.				64
236		Pontianus.				
237	Maximinus.					
240	Gordianus.					65
		Anterius.				
246	Philippus the first Christian Emperor.					
250	Decius	Fabianus.				

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. I. Pag.
				<p>portuned by the Congregation to make some exhortation to the people, after long denial, he stood up and read the Verse of the fifth Psalm, and so sat down and wept. What became of him at last, is not known, but only that, as <i>Suidas</i> saith, he dyed and was buried at <i>Tyrus</i>, and ended his life, as <i>Eusebius</i> saith, in great misery and poverty.</p> <p>This <i>Origen</i> Usher in the School at <i>Alexandria</i>, was one <i>Heracles</i>; who for his excellent parts was Master of that School, and afterward Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, next after <i>Demetrius</i>.</p> <p>After <i>Heracles</i> succeeded <i>Dionysius Alexandrinus</i>, Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, as he succeeded him before in the School. This <i>Dionysius</i> writes of <i>Heracles</i> thus, <i>Hunc ego, &c.</i> that is, <i>This Canon I received from blessed Heracles our Pope</i>. Yet observe, that this <i>Heracles</i> was no Bishop of <i>Rome</i>.</p> <p><i>Nicephorus</i> saith of this Persecution, that it was as easie to number the sands, as the Martyrs under this <i>Decius</i>. The more famous were these,</p> <p><i>Aclepiades</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>, a persecuted Confessor under <i>Severus</i>, dyes a Martyr under <i>Decius</i>.</p> <p><i>Babylas</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>, for not suffering the Emperor, having committed a Murder, to enter into the Christians Temple, was martyred. Being buried in the Temple of <i>Apollo</i>; he causeth the Oracle that was there to cease. Whereupon his Body was taken up again.</p> <p><i>Babylas</i> Bishop of <i>Nicomedia</i>, Martyr.</p> <p>Forty Virgins in the City of <i>Antioch</i>.</p> <p>Martyrs in <i>Phrygia</i>.</p> <p>Confessors at <i>Babylon</i> carryed to <i>Spain</i> to be Martyred.</p> <p>Divers Martyred in <i>Cappadocia</i>.</p> <p>Divers Martyred in <i>Perfide</i>.</p> <p>Many Martyred at <i>Alexandria</i>.</p> <p>A Sooth-sayer was a great stirrer up of this Persecution (being a great friend to Idolatry) by whose means the multitude was so enraged against them that would not sacrifice to their Idols, that they stone <i>Meira</i> a Christian Priest, and dragged <i>Quinta</i> a godly Woman through the streets, and killed her. They went into Christians Houses, and took away their goods of price, and burned the rest in the Market-place.</p> <p><i>Apollonia</i> a Martyr, had her teeth dashed out. And being threatned with a fire made before her to burn her, unless she would commit Idolatry, she voluntarily leaped into the fire.</p> <p>Dissention among the Persecutors, turned Persecution for a time from the Christians upon themselves.</p> <p>Revolters being perswaded to Sacrifice to the Idols, come trembling, as if they themselves should be Sacrificed.</p> <p>A Souldier taking part with the Christians against them that rail at them, is Martyred for the same.</p> <p><i>Ammonian</i> was tormented for telling the Judge she would not yield to his wicked commands for any tortments he would inflict. Which she accordingly performed; and the Judge was ashamed to be overcome of a Woman. Knights and Warriors standing by the Tribunal, where the Martyrs were condemned, made signs to the fearful, imboldning them to Confession and Martyrdom. They being espied, and about to be questioned, pressed in to the Bench, professed Christ, and were Martyred.</p> <p><i>Cheremon</i> a married Bishop, fled with his Wife in this Persecution in the Mountain of <i>Arabia</i>, and was never seen more.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i> charged by <i>Germanus</i> Bishop, for flying in Persecution, cleareth himself, calling God to witness, that he regarded not his life, but the Souldiers that kept him, leaving him through a fear, by the shrieking of some not far off, he was left alone, and escaped.</p> <p><i>Christophorus</i>, of twelve cubits high, as Writers report, was martyred in this Persecution; whether he be that <i>Christophor</i> of whom the speech goes, he carryed Christ, &c. it is uncertain.</p> <p>Abundance in this Persecution wandred in Mountains, and were starved, or devoured of Beasts.</p> <p>A Souldier out-facing all threats to draw him to Idolatry, is by the Pretor put into a soft bed in a pleasant Garden of Lillies and Roses, and a beautiful Harlot sent in to him with Imbracements, inticing him to Adultery. But he bites off his tongue whiles she was kissing him, and spit it in her face, and rejected her wicked offers.</p> <p><i>Theodora</i> Virgin, for refusing to sacrifice to Idols, was adjudged to the stews. A Christian Souldier going thither, as if (as the people hoped) he would have been one of them that would have abused her, changed his habit for hers, he sending her to escape, and staying there himself to dye in her stead; who being condemned, <i>Theodora</i> to release him, declares her self to be the right party. The Pretor cutting off their hands, burns both him and her.</p> <p><i>Nichomachus</i> in his tortments renouncing his Christianity, and offering Sacrifice to the Idols, was, when he was released, taken estfoons with a wicked Spirit, thrown on the ground, that he bit off his tongue, and so died. Many more examples there were in this Persecution of Gods Judgments on revolters.</p> <p>Upon these revolters rose first the Heresie of <i>Novatus</i>, viz. that revolters for fear of Tortments, might not be reconciled nor admitted to the Church, though they repented. This <i>Novatus</i> makes three Bishops drunk, that they might Ordain him Bishop of <i>Rome</i> against <i>Cornelius</i> the then lawful Bishop of that See.</p>	68
					69
					71
					71

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. I. Page.
255	Gallus and Volusianus his son reign together.	Cornelius.		Upon these two Bishops of Rome set up together, doth Cyprian so much write of Unity and one Bishop, and not otherwise is he to be understood as any way to speak for a Pope. A Synod is held at Rome against this upstart Bishop, Novatus. This Cornelius is highly commended of Cyprian for his worthiness, of Hierome for his eloquence, and of others for his Martyrdom. Hence conceive all the trivial Decretals to be fained. This most Tyrannical Decius having reigned a very short time, viz. between two or three years, was slain of the Barbarians. After Decius his death God sent a Pestilence on the Empire of ten years continuance. In it the Christians visited each other, though Infection did kill the Visitors next in short space. But the Gentiles being cruelly uncharitable, neglected their Brethren, being sick, and cast out their dead Bodies to the dogs. Upon this Pestilence, Cyprian wrote his Book, <i>De Mortalitate</i> . Gallus and Volusianus succeed by Treason next to Decius, and reign but a short time for their persecuting. Gallus setting forth Decrees for Persecution, banishing many Bishops and Pastors from their Flocks, condemning others to the Metall-mines. To this time I refer the banishment of Cyprian, he being then Bishop of Carthage. Who in his absence from his Flock by this Exilement, made supply by his many excellent Letters, which are yet in a great part extant. This Lucius was also banished under these two Co-Emperors. This Lucius is said to Ordain, That two Priests, with three Deacons, should always be with a Bishop to witness his conversation; which Order may be very good and useful. But it seems not to agree to Lucius his time, wherein there was not such Greatness of Bishops to retain and maintain such Retinue; nor such freedom from Persecution, as that they durst be seen openly abroad. Other Ordinances put upon him are suspected of faining. This Bishop is said by many Authors to dye a Martyr. Many Decrees fathered upon him: but they are feigned. These two Roman Emperors reigning covertly together, were very courteous to the Christians, by reason whereof, and the greatness of the Pestilence in the Empire, Persecution was extinguished for some two or three years, in so much that the Emperors Court was full of Christians. But after Valerian having an Egyptian a chief Ruler of the heathen Synagogue, and chief of the Inchanters, being hindered by the Christians Prayers from his feats and charms, complaining and incensing thereupon the Emperor, the said Valerian was moved by him to move the eighth persecution. Cyprian adds in his fourth Book, and fourth Epistle, certain causes on the Christians part of this Persecution; viz. The sins and dissensions of the Christians. Finally, That wicked Accusers caused this Persecution, by accusing the Christians of being the causes of the evils of Famine, Pestilence, &c. on the Empire. Against all these Cyprian writes an eloquent Apology, entituled, <i>Contra Demetrianum</i> , as Tertullian had done before, <i>Contra Scapulam</i> . In the time of this Persecution was Cyprian Martyred, whose name was alias Statius, whose Country was Carthage in Africa. Who was made first a Priest, then the Bishop of Carthage. He was very careful of the afflicted Brethren, a great reader of Tertullian, and a man that had many godly Visions, as of future Persecutions, &c. At last, refusing to offer to Idols, this Persecution took off his Head, and crowned him with Martyrdom. For the excellent Sentences penned by him, his Books tell the World of them sufficiently. He had his blemishes, as other Fathers were not free (though the Papists fault is to make too much of every thing.) Origin had something that the Church now holds not. Polycarp, observed Easter after the Jews custom. Ignatius makes fasting on the Sabbath as bad as killing Christ. Irenaeus held that man was not made perfect in the beginning, and seems to defend Free-will. Tertullian is noted for a Chiliasm, and a Montanian. Justin seems to incline to Chiliasm, to the opinion of Angels falling by concupiscence of Women, and to the Doctrine of Free-will. And this Cyprian held contrary to the Church, Re-baptizing of Infants Baptized by Hereticks; whereupon fell great contention between him and Stephanus Bishop of Rome. Besides this Cyprian, there was a second, who of an Idolater, and a practiser of Magick, was converted to a Christian, made a Priest and Bishop of Antioch, of which he was a native Citizen, and after was Martyred under Dioclesian. Lastly, a third Cyprian, long after both these, there was in the time of the Emperor Julius Apostata. This Bishop of Rome is in this Persecution Martyred with six Christians, for being Christians. Laurence, in this Persecution was Martyred, between whom and Xistus the Bishop, was love and words, as between the dearest Father and Son, especially when he saw Xistus going to Martyrdom. This Laurence was a vertuous Levite, a Minister of the Sacraments, and a Disturber of the Churches riches. Whereupon the covetous Emperor demanding where he had bestowed the same, after three days respite gotten of the Emperor for answer, he brings the poor, saying, These are the precious Treachery of the Church. The Emperor conceiving himself mocked in this Answer,	72. 73. 73. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79.
256		Lucius.			
259	Valerianus and his son Galienus.	Stephanus.			
		Xistus the second, alias, Sixtus the second.			

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	<p>swer, commands <i>Lawrence</i> to be tormented to death, by pinching him with fiery Tonges, girding him with burning Plates, laying him on the iron Grate or Grid-iron red hot, roasting, broiling, tossing and turning him. In the suffering of all which, this is all that <i>Lawrence</i> said,</p> <p><i>This side is now roasted enough, turn up, O Tyrant great. And see whether roasted or raw thou think'st the better meat.</i></p> <p>By this suffering of <i>Lawrence</i>, thus patiently suffering death in so great torments, a <i>Roman</i> Soldier was converted, desiring to be baptised; thereupon he was martyred.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i> Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, with certain brethren, was banished in this Persecution to <i>Cephro</i>, for not worshipping the Heathen Gods, and proving that there was one only true God whom they ought to worship.</p> <p>In this Persecution were Martyred, Men, old and young, Women, Wives and Maids, and young simple innocents.</p> <p><i>Eusebius</i> the Deacon, notwithstanding his many persecutions, lived, ministering to the living fettered Confessors, and burying the dead Martyrs, and after was made Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>, and after died in peace, about the year 268.</p> <p>In <i>Cesarea Palestine</i> suffered Martyrdom, <i>Priscus</i>, <i>Malchus</i>, and <i>Alexander</i>, who became Martyrs by seeing the Christian courage of others Martyred.</p> <p>In the City of <i>Carthage</i> at this time were martyred 300.</p> <p>In <i>Simela</i> of <i>Italy</i> <i>Pontius</i> was Martyred by being first hanged on the Rack, then cast to the wild Beasts, then these not hurting him, was cast too into the fire, of which, as <i>Vincentius</i> saith, being not hurt, he was last of all beheaded and cast into the flood: His tormentors were so vexed after with spirits, that they bit off their tongues and died.</p> <p><i>Bergomensis</i> is here to be reproved, for writing in his 8th Book in the story of this Emperor <i>Valerianus</i>, that <i>Philippus</i> was Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, and beheaded under the same <i>Valerian</i>, which is clean contrary to approved Authors, and the course of time.</p> <p>At this time was one <i>Philippus</i> made President of <i>Alexandria</i>, who had a Daughter named <i>Eugenia</i>, of rare beauty, who to avoid Marriage with a Pagan and Heathen Persecutor, fled from her Father, going in Mans Apparel, calling her self <i>Eugenius</i>, and for her parts was made Head of a Society of Christians, where a lustful Matron being enamoured with her beauty, supposing her to be a man, laboured to draw her to uncleanness with her; but <i>Eugenia</i> not consenting, this Matron accuseth <i>Eugenia</i> to have laboured to deflower her; whereupon the matter was brought before <i>Philippus</i> the President, who according to allegations, being about to condemn her to death, <i>Eugenia</i>, seeing no other evidences would serve, discovered her self to <i>Philippus</i>, to be an innocent, a Woman, and his Daughter, and so was restored and received of <i>Philippus</i> as an innocent and a Daughter, who not long after converted her Father to Christianity, who after died also a Martyr, and after his death <i>Eugenia</i> returning to <i>Rome</i> was also martyred.</p> <p>In the 6th year of <i>Valerianus</i> and <i>Galienus</i> were <i>Victor</i> and <i>Victorinus</i>, having been imprisoned three years, martyred.</p> <p><i>Fruentius</i> Bishop of <i>Tarracoma</i> in <i>Spain</i>, with his two Deacons, <i>Argurius</i>, and <i>Eulogius</i> were martyred at this time in the fire, for calling Idols dumb gods of stocks, and professing his worship, and opinion of the true God. It is reported by some that a Soldier saw the Heavens opened over them as they were in the fire, receiving them, a Soldier and the persecuting Presidents Daughter beholding the same.</p> <p>This Emperor <i>Valerian</i> having thus persecuted the Church, two of the seven years that he had reigned, he was taken in War by the King of <i>Persia</i>, and made his block to take Horse to his dying day.</p> <p><i>Claudius</i> his persecuting President was so vexed with the Devil, that he bit off his tongue and died.</p> <p><i>Galienus</i> the son of <i>Valerian</i>, for his part in persecuting, had many Earthquakes, and 30 Rebellions moved in his Empire. Whereupon he mitigated Persecution, yet some were somewhat troubled. His Father reigned seven years together with him; and he reigned nine alone, somewhat more quietly.</p> <p>The Ordinances put on that <i>Dionysius</i> are feigned. Some say he was Bishop 9 years, others 6 years and 2 Months.</p> <p>This <i>Claudius</i> was also a quiet Emperor. He reigned about two years.</p> <p>This Emperor was also quiet. He continued but seventeen days.</p> <p>This <i>Aurelianus</i> begins mildly, but anon after moves the ninth Persecution. In his mild time there was a Council of Christians at <i>Antioch</i>, he seeming not to be against it or them.</p> <p>In the beginning of his Tyranny, he makes his entrance into bloud with the death of his Sisters Son.</p> <p>As he was about to seal an Edict for Persecution, he was so terrified with Thunder and Lightning, that it stopped his Tyranny. About the fifth or sixth year of his Reign he was slain.</p> <p>This Emperor <i>Tacitus</i> reigned but six Months.</p> <p>This <i>Florian</i> reigned but sixty days.</p>
262					<p>Vol. I. Page</p> <p>80</p> <p>80</p> <p>82</p> <p>82</p> <p>83</p> <p>In</p>
266		Dionysius.			
272	Claudius Quintilianus. Aurelianus.				
278	Pub. An. Tacitus. Florianus.				

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1.	Page
280	Mar. Au.	Felix				
281	Probus.	Enicibi-				
284	Carus	anus.				
	with his two sons Carinus and Numerianus.					84
285	Aper usurps the Empire.	Caius who was martyred in the 10th Persecution.				
289						
290	Dioclesian he chooseth Maximianus fellow Emperor with him.		Carausius alias Cerausius.			
296			Alektus.			
304		Marcellinus who was cited up, made to appear, and condemned by the Council of Sinues, Martyr. Marcellus Martyr. Eusebius Martyr. Miltiades Martyr.	Asclepiodatus. Coilus.			85
						86
						86
						87
						88
305	Maximinus and Constantius.					88
309	Maxentius set up by the soldiers.	This Constantius extends his Empire over England.				


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Anno Christi	Emper. of Rom.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Constantine seeming to be willing to most advance those that at a certain appointed solemnity, would most readily offer Sacrifice, and thereby according to his desire, discovering who were Heathenish Idolaters, and who Christians, he commending the Christian refusers and deriders of that idolatry, chose them for his Court, banished the others from him, as unfit for his service, that were Traitors to God.	Vol. 1. Page.
311		Silvester the First.			Contrariwise, <i>Maximinus</i> was very wicked in idolatry and cruelty; where God struck him with a swelling and Fistula in the belly and secret parts; which putrifying, brake out with swarms of Lice, with such a stink, that his Physicians could not endure the same; wherefore he was slain of this <i>Maximinus</i> . But by anguish of his Disease, he slack'd Persecution, as being conscious, and accordingly making confession that his persecuting had brought this upon him; and so acknowledging his offences to God.	90
					The Infidels themselves extol the only true God of the Christians.	91
					Anon, by the wicked device of <i>Theotechnus</i> an Inchanter, bringing the Christians out of credit with the Emperor, and of <i>Præfectus Castrorum</i> , who got certain Women to say in writing, that once they were Christians, and what lascivious acts they knew the Christians did upon the Sundays; the Emperor was incensed to set up Decrees of fresh persecution, in brass, whereby many Bishops and others were martyred.	92
					Upon this followed great Famine and Pestilence on the Heathen; to whom the Christians then shewed great relief, when the Heathens forsook each other.	93
					By this some peace came again to the Church; <i>Maximinus</i> revoking his brazen Decrees, and punishing his Enchanters that incensed him against the Christians.	
					<i>Maximianus</i> pretending to ask aid of <i>Constantinus</i> , to depose wicked <i>Maxentius</i> his Son, set up by the Soldiers to be Emperor (as we said) but intending indeed to slay <i>Constantinus</i> (for <i>Maximianus</i> would have fain resumed the Empire) was slain by <i>Constantine's</i> Officers. Hanged as some say.	
					<i>Maxentius</i> this while goes on his wicked tyrannical reign, at Rome, murdering Husbands to be naught with their Wives: so that one Gentlewoman, her Husband being slain, slew her self to avoid his ravishing of her.	93
					<i>Constantinus</i> , intreated of the Romans, came against <i>Maxentius</i> for his wickedness, warring upon him; and upon a Bridge made of Boats over <i>Tibur</i> (which <i>Maxentius</i> made to intrap and drown <i>Constantine</i>) was <i>Maxentius</i> intrapped and drowned.	94
	Constantine the Great, and Licinius, of cesars are made Emperors		This Constantine is created Emperor also over Britain.		<i>Constantine</i> sets forth Decrees of favour to the Christians.	
					<i>Licinius</i> feigningly joyns with <i>Constantine</i> in that act; for at the first there was great familiarity between them, <i>Licinius</i> marrying <i>Constantine's</i> Sister. But all <i>Licinius</i> his love was feigned, who, as he was an enemy to learning, calling it poyson; and an enemy to honesty, loving all base vices; so he was an enemy to <i>Constantine</i> secretly (plotting against his person) and to the Christians, because he said that they prayed for <i>Constantine</i> , and not for him. And so he banished some Christians from his Court, and as covertly as he could, for <i>Constantine</i> persecuted divers Bishops and other Christians, very sorely, for about six years.	96
		Marcus.			For these things, at last, <i>Constantine</i> and he joyn Battel, and after many Battels, wherein still <i>Licinius</i> was beaten, at last was slain.	
					Anno 324.	
					<i>Constantinus</i> the good Emperor, the Father of <i>Constantine</i> died a natural death, and was buried at <i>York</i> .	
					<i>Dioclesian</i> died (as some write) by his own poison. Others say with sorrow of <i>Constantine's</i> prospering.	
331		Julius.			About the time of this Persecution was St. <i>Alban</i> , who was the first that I find that suffered Martyrdom in this Kingdom.	98
					<i>Romanus</i> , a rare Martyr, suffered at this time, who said that so many wounds as he had, so many mouths he had to praise God.	
					A very young Child is a Confessor of Christs God-head, and is martyred, the Mother rejoycing in the same.	99
					<i>Menas</i> , a famous Martyr, in the midst of great torments, cried out, that there was nothing to be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven.	100
					Martyrs put in a cold Pond all a Winters night.	
					A Schoolmaster martyred by his Scholars. The story is in Verse.	101
					<i>Eulalia</i> , a singular Martyr, in the midst of her torment praiseth God.	102
					A place of <i>Platina</i> confused.	103
					Great Persecution there was in <i>Persia</i> , where were slain sixteen thousand Martyrs.	109
					<i>Constantinus</i> writes to the King of <i>Persia</i> in behalf of the Christians.	
					Also he sets forth Edicts in his own Kingdom, of all peace and liberty (the Persecutors being now vanquished) and sets up Schools, prescribes Prayers, establisheth Religion, &c. in his Empire; conferring many privileges upon the Clergy.	
					Thus	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi.	Emper. of Greece or Constantinople.	Bishops of Rome.	The Kings of ENGLAND.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Thus the Ten PERSECUTIONS (having lasted three hundred years) end, and a general PEACE begins in the Church, in the whole Roman Empire, in Constantine's good Government.	Vol. I. Page.
337			<p><i>Octavius.</i> <i>Maximianus.</i> <i>Gratianus.</i> <i>Constantinus the second.</i></p>			
348		<i>Liberius.</i>	<p>Saxon Kings begin to invade, and prepare for the setting up in England their Saxonish Heptarchy.</p>	<p>Kings of Britain. <i>Vortigernus</i>, alias <i>Vortigernus</i>.</p>	<p>In the time of this <i>Vortiger</i>, the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Scots</i> so spoiled this Land, that <i>Vortiger</i> was feign to crave aid of the <i>Saxons</i>; which <i>Saxons</i>, at last growing strong, began to subdue the Land to themselves. Whereupon the <i>Britains</i> complained to <i>Vortigern</i> against the repairing of so many <i>Saxons</i>. But he not hearkning to them, was after seven years reign deposed by them, and <i>Vortimer</i> his Son is chosen King in his room, as followeth in the Table.</p>	121
447					<p>This <i>Vortimer</i> in some good measure suppresseth the <i>Saxons</i>. At length he was poisoned of his stepmother, having reigned six years.</p>	
454				<i>Vortimerus.</i>	<p>Then the said <i>Vortigern</i>, before deposed, having again obtained this Kingdom, <i>Hengistus</i> enters it with abundance of <i>Saxons</i>. And when he saw the <i>Britains</i> too strong for him, he concluded peace with them; and under that covert, works Treason, slaying the Barons at <i>Salisbury</i> Plain; and thereby took the King Prisoner: And so in this Kingdom of <i>England</i> began the Kingdoms of the <i>Saxons</i>, until they came to seven Kingdoms, all <i>Saxonish</i>. Yet so, as though the <i>Britains</i> were thus deceived of their Land by the <i>Saxons</i>, the <i>Britains</i> were not utterly driven out, but that a certain Kingdom remained amongst them in some part of the Land; namely, about <i>Cornwall</i> and the parts of <i>Cambria</i>, which is divided into two parts, viz. <i>South-Wales</i>, called <i>Demetia</i>; and <i>North-Wales</i>, called <i>Venedocia</i>. Yea, many time the <i>Britains</i> did win upon the <i>Saxons</i>, till the time of <i>Carecius</i>; at which time the <i>Britains</i> were utterly vanquished out of <i>Britain</i> to <i>Wales</i> by <i>Gormundus</i>, whom they themselves sent for out of <i>Ireland</i> for their help.</p>	
456			<p>Now the Heptarchy, or seven Kingdoms of the <i>Saxons</i>, viz. First, <i>Kent</i>, then <i>South-Sax</i>, <i>West-Sax</i>, <i>Northumberland</i>, <i>Mercia</i>, <i>East-Sax</i>, <i>East Angles</i>, begin every</p>	<p><i>Vortigernus</i> alias <i>Vortigernus</i>.</p>		
462			<p>one in his order:</p> <p><i>Kent.</i> <i>South Sax.</i> <i>West Sax.</i> <i>Northumberland.</i> <i>Mercia.</i> <i>East Sax.</i> <i>East Angles.</i></p> <p>The <i>Britain</i> Kings are driven to corners, their Kingdom now extending commonly but to part of <i>Cornwall</i> and <i>Cambria</i>.</p>			
			<p><i>Kent.</i></p> <p>In <i>Kent</i> reigned <i>Hengistus</i> 31 years. <i>Eosa</i> or <i>Ist</i> 24. <i>Otha</i> 26. <i>Ethelbertus</i> 56. <i>Edbaldus</i> 24. <i>Ercombertus</i> 24. <i>Egebertus</i> 9. <i>Lotharius</i> 12. <i>Eadricus</i> 6. <i>Nitredus</i> & <i>Wilnardus</i> 7. <i>Witredus</i> 31. <i>Egbert</i> 23. <i>Ethelbert</i> 11. <i>Alricus</i> 34. <i>Paddertus</i> 2. <i>Eutredus</i> 18. <i>Balredus</i> 18.</p>	<i>Aurelius Ambrosius.</i>	<p>Of the Kings of <i>Kent</i>, the first Kingdom of the seven, this <i>Hengistus</i> was slain.—<i>Estelbert</i>, the first <i>Saxon</i> that received the faith, and subdued the other Kings, all save <i>Northumberland</i>. —King <i>Ercombert</i> first commanded <i>Lent</i> to be fasted in his Dominions. —<i>Egebert</i> killed his Uncles two Sons. —To <i>Eadricus</i> his time all <i>Canterbury</i> Archbishops were <i>Italians</i>. —In the Reign of this <i>Baldred</i>, his Kingdom was translated to <i>Egbert</i> King of <i>West Saxons</i>, who subdued him, Anno 832. and gave the Kingdom to his younger Son <i>Athelstan</i>; who dying, it was given to the elder Son of <i>Egbert</i>, named <i>Estelwolf</i>. This Kingdom lasted 342 years.</p>	
			<p><i>South Sax.</i></p> <p>* Over <i>South Saxons</i> Reigned <i>Elle</i> 31 years. <i>Cissa</i>. <i>Nancanleus</i>. <i>Portb</i>. <i>Ethelwulfus</i>. <i>Redwallus</i>. <i>Condebertus</i>. <i>Ethelredus</i>. <i>Adelwold</i>. <i>Adelrich</i> 5. <i>Adhamus</i>.</p>	<i>Uter Pen-dragon.</i> <i>Arthur.</i>	<p>Of the Kings of <i>South-Saxons</i>; <i>Cissa</i> gave being and name to <i>Cicester</i> where he reigned. —<i>Nancanleus</i> a <i>Britain</i>, the chief Marshal of King <i>Uter</i>, whom <i>Portb</i> the <i>Saxon</i> slew. —This <i>Portb</i> came in at the Haven called <i>Portb-mouth</i> from his name. —The little mention in Authors of <i>Ethelwulfus</i>, makes me think him to be that <i>Adelwold</i>, who is also called <i>Estelwald</i>, which is afterwards named. —The little mention of Authors of <i>Condebert</i> and <i>Ethelred</i>, makes me think them to be those Kings of <i>Kent</i>, <i>Ercombert</i> and <i>Egebert</i> reigning at the same time. —<i>Adelwold</i> was</p>	
* 478						

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Greece	Kings of England.					Kings of Britain.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
		Kent.	West-Sax.	Northumb.	Mercia.	East-Sax.	East Angles.	
* 522			* Over West-Saxons reigned Cerdicus 17. Kenricus 26. Chelnicus 30. Celricus 3. Cetwulfus 14. Kingulfus & Quincilinus 22. Kanevalkinus 21.				Constantine.	
* 547			Seaburga 1. Efwinus 2. Cotwinnus 7. Cedwalla 3. Ive 35. Edelardus 14. Curedus 16. Sigebert 1. Kinnulfus 31. Brithricus 13. Egbertus.	* Over Northumberland reigned Ida 18 years. After Ida this Kingdom was divided into the two Provinces, <i>viz.</i>  Alle Adda 30.7. Aethelcus 5. Iridus Edwinus. Northumb. 17. Ost-Eaufcus. Iridus. Oswald Northumb. Oswin Northumb. Oswin & Oswin reign together in Deira. 7. Egfridus North. 15. Alfridus, North. 20. Osfredus, North. 15. Kenredus, North. 1. Ofricus, North. 20. Celufus 9. Egbertus 21 Oulfus 1. Mollo 11. Alfredus 10 Ethelbert 5. Alfwoldus 17. Ethelbert North. 16. After this King, this Kingdom ceased for 25 years. till Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, subdued it, as he did other Saxons, to his Dominions. After which Egbert, K. of the West-Saxons succeeded in Northumberland over which reigned these <i>West-Sax Kings:</i>			Aurelius Conanus.	
* 561								

was the first Christened King of *Suffex*. This shortest Kingdom of the seven, passed into other Kingdoms in the days of *Ive* King of *West-Saxons*. This Kingdom endured about 112 years.

Of the Kings of *West-Saxons* (their Kingdom containing *Somersetshire, Barkehire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall*) *Kinngilfus* was the first Christened King of this Kingdom of *West-Sax*: He was after a Monk. — *Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there was Christened and died. — *Iva* went to *Rome*, and was made Monk. — *Sigebert* slew a good Counsellor for giving him good advice. He was deposed of his people, and slain of that Counsellors Swine-herd. — *Egbert* subdued the other Kingdoms to him, began the Monarchy, and turned the name *Britain* into *Anglia*. This longest continuing Kingdom lasted till *W. Conqueror's* coming. This Kingdom lasted 554 years.

Of the Kings of *Northumberland*. *Ida* had six Children by his Wife, and six by his Concubine. — After *Adda* some Chronicles put in *Bernicia*, King *Glappa*, *Theonulfus*, *Fribulfus*, *Theodoricus*. — *Ethelfrid* slew the Monks of *Bangor*, being twenty two hundred, because they prayed for the good success of the *Britains*. — *Edwin*, the first Christened converted King of this Kingdom. — *Ofric* and *Eaufrid* are not reckoned in the Race of Kings, because they revolted from Christianity, and were slain. — *Oswald* with a small number conquered *Penda* his great Army through Prayer. He sent for *Aedan* into *Scotland* to preach, which as he did in *Scottish*, the King expounded into *English*. He gave much alms — *Oswin* fighting against *Penda*, vowed to make his Daughter a Nun, giving with her twelve Lordships to build twelve Monasteries. — *Oswin* slays his partner *Oswin*, and chooseth another. — *Egfred* married *Etheldrida*, who after twelve years could not be allured to ly with him, getting licence of him to be made a Nun, and after an Abbess. She made but one Meal a day, and never wore linen. — *Alfrid* (as *Beda* saith) was exactly seen in the Scriptures. — *Osfred* began his Reign at eight years old. *Celufe*, after he had reigned eight years, was made a Monk. To him *Beda* wrote his History. — *Mollo* was made away with by *Alfredus* his subtil Train: Which *Alfredus* also after ten years was expelled of his own people. *Ethelbert* was also expelled. — The two last Kings were slain. This Kingdom lasted 409 years.

Of the Kings of *Mercia*, *Penda* was a great conqueror of others, *viz.* of *Edwin* and *Oswald* Kings of *Northumberland*: Also of *Sigebert*, *E-*

[c]

drike

A Chronology.

Anno
Christi

Emperors of Greece.

Roman Bishops.

Kent.

Southsaxons.

Northumb.

The Kings of England.

Mercia.

Eastfax.

Eastangles.

Kings of
Britain.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

drike and Anna, Kings of East-
angles: and Kenwalchins K. of
West-sax. — Under Penda Christ
was receiv'd in this Kingdom.
—Ulferus had 3 daughters holy
Virgins. Adelred was made Monk,
and had two Sisters holy Virgins.
—Under Ceolced was Cutblake
Hermit of Crowland, called St.
Cutblake. Under Estelbald died
Beda. Estelbald gave that all
Churches should be free from
exactions. — Bernred for his pride
was deposed of his own peo-
ple. — Offa consenting to the
death of Estelbert, King of the
Eastangles, for his repentance
caused Peter-pence first to be gi-
ven to Rome. — Kenelm began
to reign at seven years old; and
after six months was slain.
—Ludecane was after two years
reigning slain of Egbert King of
West-saxons, by whom the rest of
the Saxons were subdued. This
Kingdom lasted 250 years.
Of the Kings of the Kingdom of
Eastfax. (which began An. 561.
as did that of Mercia:) Sebertus
was the first of them that was
Christened in this Kingdom. —
Sexredus and his Brother Se-
wardus reigning together, ex-
pelled Melius the B. because he
would not administer the bread
of the Sacrament to them un-
baptised. — Sibert was baptised,
and Ministers were sent into his
Country to preach, and to bap-
tise. — Sebbi and Offa become
Monks. This Kingdom lasted to
Egbert K. of Westfax.
Of the Kings of Eastangles (which
Kingdom began 561.) Uffa his
name occasioned the people of
Northfolk to be called Uskins. —
Keldwaldus joyns Idolatry with
Christianity, by the counsel of
his wicked Wife. — Erpwaldus
began and continued entire in
the Christian Religion. — Sige-
bert became Monk. — Estelred
for his holiness was counted for
a Saint. He coming to Offa,
King of Mercia, to marry his
Daughter, was innocently slain of
him. — After Estelbrius this King-
dom was under divers of the o-
ther Kings, tyrannizing over it,
till Saint Edmund. This King-
dom continued 377 years.
Gregory opposed the setting up of
an universal Bishop at Constanti-
nople. He brought in the stile
of the Roman Bishops, Servus
Servorum.
In the days of Pelagius Bishop of
Rome, one Gregory seeing fair
children sold in the Market-
place of Rome, and understanding
they were Heathens of England,
lamented the misery of such An-
gelical persons; and enquiring
out that they were of the Pro-
vince of Daira (whence Deir-
ham is named) These people,
saith he, are to be delivered, de
Dei ira. Lastly, knowing their
King to be called Alle, he saith,
That Alleluja ought there to be
sung to the living God. But Pela-
gius

Vol. I.
Page

123

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128

* 561

* 561

578

580

588

589

Pelagius 2.

Gregorius Magnus.

Vortigern.
Malgo.
Carcinus.

Augustine.

A Chronology.

Anno Christi.	Emperors of Greece.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. Page.
			Kings of Britain. Eborac. East Saxons. West Saxons. Northumbria. Kent.		
600				gins would not permit this Gregory to effect these allusions, but after, being Bishop next to Pelagius, he sent over <i>Austin</i> , with other Preachers about the number of forty. <i>Austin</i> sends to the said Gregory, to be resolved of divers doubts about the behaviour of Bishops, Marriage of Priests, &c. which Gregory answers, granting Wives to the Priests that could not contain. <i>Austin</i> , of a Monk, by Gregory his Pall made Archbishop of Canterbury: After he had baptized a great part of <i>Kent</i> , he made two Archbishops, by the command of the said Gregory, viz. the Archbishop of London, and the Archbishop of York. This <i>Austin</i> chargeth the said Bishops to assist in preaching to the English men, and that Reformation should be made in the Scottish and British Churches, in divers things; particularly, to change their time of Easter, to the custom of Rome: But the Scots and Britains utterly refused to change their custom. <i>Austin</i> was so proud, that he would not bow to seven Bishops, and one Archbishop, coming to a Council at his command; whereupon the said Bishops and Archbishop was so perverse, that they denied to assist him to convert the Idolatrous Saxons. A great fault on both sides. <i>Austin</i> baptized (as Authors say) 10000 in one day, viz. the Feast of Christs Nativity. Observe, Fonts were not then in use; nor were there many Trinkets used about Baptism, as now at Rome; else <i>Austin</i> could not have baptized so many in one day. <i>Austin</i> fate some fifteen years Archbishop. He ordained Lawrence Archbishop. See also Page 173 of the great Volume. About this time departed Gregory Bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, he was the basest of all his Predecessors, and the best of all his successors. About this time died David, Archbishop of Cairleon. About this time was Job, Patriarch of Alexandria: who of a hard sparing man became bountiful in Hospitality to the poor. He would twice a Week sit all the day at his Door, to take up matters, and make unity where was any variance. He lamented much one day because none came that day to him, as having done no good. But his Deacon perfwaded him rather to joy, that he had brought the City into that good order, that there needed no reconciliation. He was a malicious detractor of Gregory and his works. He continued scarce two years. See Page 173 of the great Volume. He did more hurt in his one year being Bishop, than Gregory could do good in many. He obtained of Phocas the wicked Emperor, that he and his successors in that See should have an universal head-ship over all the Churches in Christendom. This Boniface the Fifth sent Letters and Presents to King Edwin of Northumberland, a Pagan, to win him to the faith. Justin ordained Paulinus Archbishop of York. Of him see also Page 173 of the great Volume. King Edwin being wounded by Treason with a Sword, was thereupon moved to cause that his Daughter should be baptized, and twelve more of his Family, in token that he also would be christened, as he promised to Christ, if he should give him Victory in Battel over the King of the West Saxons. But when he had the Victory, he neglected his promise, excusing himself, that he might not clearly deny his old Law which his Forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and advice of his Council. But by preaching of Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, he left his Mahometry. At last by Peculinus his earnest prayers to God, and pressing the King with his promise, he received the faith, and was baptized with many of his Subjects with him. After this the said Paulinus baptized daily many multitudes. And great peace was throughout the Kingdom, so that a Woman laden with Gold might have gone quietly. Of Honorius Archbishop, see Page 173 of the great Volume. Six years after Edwin's Baptism (who brought in the faith in the North parts) was he slain in Battel by Cedwalla the British King and by wicked Penda King of the Mercians; in the Field called Hatfield. Edwin being dead, and Cedwalla with his Britains and wicked Penda with his idolatrous Mercians, spoiling the Country, Paulinus, with the Queen Edelburg, was fain to fly by water into Kent, where Paulinus was Bishop of Rochester nineteen years: No Bishop being in Northumberland for thirty years after. But Paulinus had left James, a godly Deacon, who preached and baptized many, till peace and the former condition of that Country returned. By means of Edwin, Erpwaldus King of the East-angles, was reduced to Christs Faith.	131 132 133 134 134 135
604				2. Lawrentius.	
610		Sabinianus.		3. Mellitus.	
		Bonifacius the third.		4. Justin.	
		Bonifacius 9.			
627					
634				5. Honorius.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emperors of Greece.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	After Edwin and his Son, slain both in Battle, Officers and Enfridus reigned there, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. These two being first Christened in Scotland, after being Kings returned to their Idolatry, and so the year following were both slain by Cedwalla and Penda.
636	Honorius I.	King of Britain. East Saxons. Northumbria. West Saxons. Kent.		After whom succeeded Oswaldus, ruling both Provinces, Deira and Bernicia; whom when Cedwalla and Penda thought to slay also, he being smaller in number, cried to God in prayer, to help him, for the salvation of his people, against those two enemies, and so in the field called Denesbury, he conquered Cedwalla and Penda.
643				This Oswald disdained not to expound and preach the Gospel to his people. By this Oswald's means, Kingigilsus, King of West Saxons was converted, through the preaching of Berinus, who was sent by Pope Honorius into England to preach; which Berinus was made Bishop of Dorchester, by whom Kingigilsus was baptised. Kingigilsus made the same day, the same Oswaldus to be both his Godfather and his Son-in-law.
651	Vitellianus alias Vitalianus.			Oswald, having reigned nine years is slain by Penda. Penda is slain by Oswie the Brother of Oswald, King after him in the Kingdom of Northumberland. He married his Daughter to Weda, Son of Penda, and made him King of South-Mercia, upon condition he should become a Christian, which when Penda his Father was dead, he performed.
664		Aldredus alias Deus diditi.		Wolferus his Brother succeeded, who was christened, and is counted the first christened K. of Mercia. Aidanus a Scottish Bishop, having a stately and princely Horse given him with Trappers, by K.Oswine of Deira, to the end that he might not so much travel on foot: meeting a poor man asking alms of him as he rode, and having nothing else to give him, gave him his Horse trapped as he was. The K. rebuking him for parting with that choice Horse, when other meaner might have served the Begger; the Bishop replied, Dost thou, O King, set more by an Horse, the foal of an Horse, than by the Son of Mary, yea, the Son of God? At which words the King fell at his feet, promising never after to gainsay any charity he should shew.
				Benedict or Benet, surnamed B. (who brought up Bede from seven years old, all his life in learning) a Nobleman, and in great favour with King Oswie, left all honour and preferment to serve Christ; and furnished the Kingdom with good Books fetched from Rome. He also brought in Glasing into England.
				Cuthbertus, Bishop, is said to live about this time, with divers other godly Bishops. But the said Cuthbert is not by Writers said to be Archbishop of Canterbury till after Anno 735. See after that year.
				A Synod about this time is held of divers Bishops, wherein many held against the Britains and Scottish Bishops for the observing of Easter. For Colman, Archbishop of York, and the Britains, according to Aidanus Finianus, and the other Bishops their Predecessors had held, and as the Scottish Bishops then did hold, did observe contrary to the use among the Romans and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first month, till the eight and twentieth of the same Month; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &c. held that according to the custom of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africk, Egypt and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unless it were Sabbath; but to be respite to the next Sabbath between the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleged for their Tenet, Saint John the Evangelists example. This latter alleged St. Peter's. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will not gainsay him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the Gates of Heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yielded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realm, and went into Scotland.
				Wolferus converting the South Saxons that they had received Baptism, presently they had Rain, which they had wanted three years, causing a great Famine, insomuch that the people would go forty together upon the Rocks, and take hands, and throw themselves down into the Sea.
				Wilfrid taught the South Saxons the art of fishing with Nets.
				About this time the detestable Sect of Mahomet, began to take strength and place. Of Mahomet came the Kingdom of Agarens, whom he after named Saracens; to whom he gave sundry laws patched of many Sects. He taught them to pray with their faces to the South. As we keep Sunday, so they keep Friday; which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to have as many Wives as they were able to maintain; and to have as many Concubines as they listed; to abstain from Wine, except on some solemn days of the year; to have and to worship one God Omnipotent; and to esteem Moses and the Prophets great, but Christ as greater; as being

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.
668			<div> <div>Kings of Britain.</div> <div> <div>East Angles.</div> <div>East Saxons.</div> <div>West Saxons.</div> <div>South Saxons.</div> <div>Kent.</div> </div> </div>	7. Theodore.
679		Agatho.		
680				
681				
689		Sergius I.		
705	Philippicus.			8. Brithwald or Bertwaldus.
707		Constantine.		
717				
724		Gregor. 2.		

ing born of the Virgin Mary, by the power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to Heaven, but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him; with many other wicked blasphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turk, and in process of time wholly subdued unto him, as we shall declare in the years following, in which those several passages were done.

This Theodore was sent from Italy into England, by Vitellianus the Pope, to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers other Monks of Italy to set up here in England, Latin-service, Masses, and such other Romish ware. This Theodore plays Rex, displacing Cedda and Wilfrid, Archbishops of York, pretending they were not lawfully Consecrated; notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed against their wills.

In the time of this Theodore, a Synod was held at Thetford, ordaining that Easter should be kept throughout the Realm upon one certain day, viz. Prima 14. Luna mensis primi. That no Bishop should meddle in anothers Diocefs. That Monasteries should be free from Bishops Jurisdiction. That Monks should not stray from their own Monastery to another: Nor a Clergy-man from his own Bishop to anothers Diocefs. That Synods Provincial should be kept in the Realm at least once a year; with divers other Ordinances of like nature.

In the next year after that Synod, was held the sixth General Council at Constance: At which was Theodore under Pope Agatho present, where it was permitted that Greek Priests should have wives, and forbidden to the Latin.

In the sixth year of Iva, beginning to reign about this time, most valiantly warring against the Kentish Saxons, was one Cutblake a Confessor, who first was a Monk, and after an Anchorite.

Ofredus succeeds his Father Alfride in Northumberland.

Philippicus is mentioned after pag. 143.

In the 16th year of Iva, Ethelred King of Mercia having reigned 30 years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of Bardney.

P. Conf. is mentioned pag. 143.

This year being about the 18th of King Ives reign, died that learned Bishop Adelmus, first Abbot of Malmesbury, after Bishop of Shirebourne; which See was after united to Winton.

John of Beverly, Bishop of York, dieth.

In the time of Ives, who reigned 37 years, began first the right observation of Easter-day by the Picts and Britains: in which observation three things are necessary:

1. The full Moon of the first Month, (1) of March.
2. The Dominical Letter.
3. The Equinoctial day, which was wont to be counted, in the East Church, and especially among the Egyptians, to be about the 17th of March.

So that the Full Moon, either on the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day, being observed, the next Dominical-day following that Full Moon, is to be taken for Easter-day. But then two things must be noted,

1. That the fulness of the Moon must be perfectly full: So that it be the beginning of the third week of the Moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the Moon.
2. That the said perfect fulness of the Moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day: For else, if it happen either on the Equinoctial day before the evening, or before the Equinoctial, it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed.

This rite in keeping Easter being received in the Latin Church, began now among the Picts and Britains, through the busie travel of Theodorus Cutblacus, but namely of Elbert the holy Monk, as they term him, and of Colfrid, Abbot of Sirwin.

This Colfrid wrote also to Narcamus, or Naitonus the King of the Picts, concerning the shaving of Priests Crowns, as necessary to the Vow of a Monk, or degree of a Priest, for restraint. And thus began this Ceremony, without any proof of Scripture.

Pope Gregory the second is mentioned pag. 143.

King Ives yet reigning, being the 37th year of his reign, is importunately perswaded by his Queen Ethelburga to turn Monk at Rome; to which, when he did not at first yield, the King departing to some other place, the Queen caused all the Kings glorious Palace to be smeared and filled with Hogs, and dung, and filth, and in their lodging Chamber was put a Sow with young Pigs. Then the Queen brings the King to that Palace, saying, I pray you my Lord, behold this house, where are now all the rich hangings, and clothes of gold, &c. that were left here the other day? be not all these gone? In like manner shall we vanish away, and our bodies, now delicately fed, shall turn to the filth of the earth; wherefore remember my words, and purchase that Palace

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Other
729			<div> <div>Kings of Britain.</div> <div> <div>East Angles.</div> <div>East Saxons.</div> <div>Mercia.</div> <div>Northumberland.</div> <div>West Saxons.</div> <div>South Saxons.</div> <div>Kent.</div> </div> </div>		<p>that is eternal. Thus he did win the King to go to Rome in the habit of a poor man, and become a Monk; and she herself became the Abbess of <i>Barking</i> Nunnery, seven miles from <i>London</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Ive</i> was the first I read of, of all the <i>Saxon</i> Kings, the which did set forth any Laws to his people.</p> <p>Next to <i>Ofricus</i> followed <i>Celulfus</i>, who was a very learned man, and his time nourished many learned men; among whom was <i>Beda</i>, who dedicated his story, intituled, <i>Anglorum Historia</i>, not only to be ratified, but also to be amended, as some Writers affirm.</p> <p>This <i>Beda</i> (because we have now mentioned him) was (as he witnesseth in his History) a Priest of the Monastery of <i>Peter and Paul</i> at <i>Wire</i>, and born in the Territories of the same Monastery. He was from seven years bred up by <i>Benet</i>, and became a Deacon at nineteen years, and at thirty a Priest: From which time to the nine and fiftieth year, he interpreted the Works of Ancient Fathers, and wrote Treatises to the number of thirty seven Volumes, which he digested into seventy eight Books.</p> <p>For this <i>Beda</i> wrote Pope <i>Sergius</i> the first, requiring <i>Celfrid</i> Abbot of <i>Wire</i>-Abbey, to send up the said <i>Beda</i> to <i>Rome</i>, for the fame of his learning: The Church of <i>Rome</i> (as appears by that <i>Sergius</i> his Letter) making use of <i>Beda</i> for discussing of many controversies in learning; all the <i>Latin</i> Church giving him the mastery in judgment and knowledge of the <i>Latin</i> Fathers. In all his explanations he omitting curiosity of skill, mainly endeavoured to inform his Reader in the love of God, and of his neighbour. Thus <i>Beda</i> continued to the age of sixty two years. He translated the Gospel of <i>St. John</i> into <i>English</i>. He made a comfortable and godly end.</p> <p>Of <i>Constantine</i> the sixth. See the first great Vol. pag. 686.</p> <p>Pope <i>Zachary</i> is mentioned following in this page.</p> <p>See also pag. 137. of the great Volume, how he forbad all Funeral Exequies, and lamentations to be made for him.</p> <p><i>Egbert</i> King of <i>Northumberland</i> erected a Noble Library in <i>York</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Cuthbert</i> collected this year a great <i>Synod</i> of Bishops and Prelates, in the month of <i>September</i>, at <i>Clonsbo</i>: there decreeing that Bishops should be more diligent in admonishing the people, live in peace, visit yearly the Parishes of their Diocess: That Priests should not be ordained till their lives were examined, being ordained, should not meddle with secular affairs: with divers other Ordinances touching Monasteries, Baptism, the Holy Supper, Prayer, &c.</p> <p>Of <i>Leo</i> the Fourth, Emperor of <i>Greece</i>, besides this page, see p. 147.</p> <p>A Copy of these Ordinances <i>Cuthbert</i> sends to <i>Boniface</i> Bishop of <i>Mentz</i>, an <i>English</i> man, which <i>Boniface</i> died a Martyr, as Popish stories term him.</p> <p>This <i>Boniface</i>, Bishop of <i>Mentz</i>, writes to <i>Ethelbald</i> King of <i>Mercia</i> in <i>Latin</i> rebuking him, that whiles he contemned lawful Matrimony, he did defile the sacred Nuns.</p> <p>This <i>Boniface</i> being admitted Archbishop of <i>Magunce</i> by Pope <i>Gregory</i>, the second, brought divers Countries of the <i>Germans</i> under the Pope, and set up abundance of Popish Prelates and Ceremonies, as worshipping of Reliques, &c.</p> <p>In the time of this Archbishop, Pope <i>Gregory</i> the second, Pope <i>Gregory</i> the third, Pope <i>Zachary</i>, and before these, <i>Constantine</i>, the first, wrought great masteries against the <i>Greek</i> Emperors, <i>Philippicus</i>, and <i>Leo</i>, and others; for the maintaining of Images to be set up in Churches: of whom <i>Philippicus</i> lost both his Empire and both eyes; and <i>Leo</i> lost the Popes blessing, being Excommunicated by <i>Gregory</i> the third. This <i>Gregory</i> the third was he that penned the four Books of Dialogues in <i>Greek</i>, falsely bearing the name of <i>Gregory</i> the first: Which Books after <i>Zachary</i> his successor translated into <i>Latin</i>. Of <i>Leo</i> the fourth, see in <i>Ann.</i> 775.</p> <p>Also by the authority of the said Archbishop <i>Boniface</i>, which he had received from Pope <i>Zachary</i>, <i>Childericus</i> King of <i>France</i>, was deposed from the right of his Crown, and <i>Pipinus</i> the betrayer of his Master, was confirmed.</p> <p>From this <i>Boniface</i> proceeded that detestable Doctrine registred in the Popes Decrees, <i>Dist.</i> 40. That though the Pope were so wicked in himself, and towards others, that he led innumerable souls to Hell, yet no man ought to rebuke him, having power to judg all men.</p> <p><i>Kenulphus</i> succeeds slain <i>Sigebert</i>, defending his Lordship strongly against his enemies, till he resorting to a Paramour he kept at <i>Merton</i>, was there beset and slain.</p> <p>Offa King of <i>Mercia</i> winning victories of the <i>Kentishmen</i>, took such displeasure against <i>Canterbury</i>, that he moved the <i>Primary</i>, the Archbishops See, and Lands of <i>Lambrish</i> (by the agreement of Pope <i>Adrian</i>) to <i>Lichfield</i>.</p> <p><i>Stephanus</i> Predecessor, viz. Pope <i>Zachary</i>, gave the Kingdom of <i>France</i> to <i>Pipinus</i>, deposing <i>Childerike</i>; and now <i>Pipin</i> gratifies the See of <i>Rome</i>, in giving this <i>Stephanus</i> his time, to that See, the <i>Exarchat</i> or Princedom of <i>Ravenna</i>, the Kingdom of the <i>Lombards</i>, many other great possessions of <i>Italy</i>, with all the Cities thereto adjoining,</p>
735	Constant. 6.				
741		Gregory 3. mentioned pag. 167.			9. Taculus, or Tatwyn.
					10. Nothelmus.
747		Zachary.			11. Cuthbert alias Cuthbert.
748					
		Stephan. 2.			

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
757		Paulus 1.	Kent. West Saxons. Northumberland. East Angles. East Saxons. Mercia.		joyning unto the borders of <i>Venice</i> ; and this is the Donation that commonly, but fallely goes under the name of <i>Constantine's</i> Donation. To this <i>Pipinus</i> was sent into <i>France</i> the invention of Organs out of <i>Grecia</i> , by <i>Constantine</i> , Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> . This Pope <i>Paul</i> thundred out Excommunications against <i>Constantine</i> Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> , for pulling down Images in Churches: but the said Emperor slighting the Pope, held on in his practice, destroying Idolatry to the end of his life. Of this Archbishop, see pag. 173. of the great Volume. This Pope <i>Constantine</i> was a Lay-man: for the which he was shortly deposed, his eyes thrust out, and he thrust into a Monastery. This Pope made a Decree that no Lay-man should be Pope. Also he condemned the seventh Council of <i>Constantinople</i> , as heretical, for condemning worshipping of Images. This Pope wrote a Book of the worshipping and utility of Images, calling them Lay-mens <i>Kalenders</i> , holding a Synod against them that speak against them. Of <i>Lamb.</i> Archbishop, see pag. 173. of the great Volume, how that Metropolitan See in his time was translated to <i>Lichfield</i> . Pope <i>Adrian</i> clothed the body of St. <i>Peter</i> in silver, and covered the Altar of St. <i>Paul</i> with a pall of gold. King <i>Celupbus</i> as his Father turned Monk, dies this year; wherein many Cities, as <i>London</i> , <i>Wint. York</i> , <i>Doncaster</i> , were burned with sudden fire, pag. 85. Till this time the Liturgy of St. <i>Ambrose</i> was much used in the <i>Italian</i> Churches. But now this <i>Adrian</i> confirms the Mass of St. <i>Gregory</i> above the Mass of St. <i>Ambrose</i> , by a pretended revelation and miracle, that when <i>Ambrose</i> his Mass-book, and <i>Gregories</i> Mass-book were put upon an Altar in a Church, the doors sealed up, the morrow the leaves of St. <i>Gregories</i> Book were scattered abroad in the Church, and the other Book lay open upon the Altar: which <i>Adrian</i> expounded, that <i>Gregories</i> Mass should be dispersed throughout the Church, and not that of St. <i>Ambrose</i> . <i>Carolus</i> following his Father <i>Pipins</i> devotion, did confirm his Fathers Donations to the See of <i>Rome</i> , adding also thereunto the City and Dominion of <i>Venice</i> , <i>Histria</i> , &c. The Pope to requite his kindness, makes him to be intituled, <i>Most Christian King</i> . This <i>Charles</i> makes the Pope Prince of <i>Italy</i> and <i>Rome</i> ; and makes <i>Charles Patricium Romanum</i> , and moreover ordained him only to be taken Emperor of <i>Rome</i> . In this year 780, it rained blood at <i>York</i> ; which is thought of some Expositors, to betoken the coming of the <i>Danes</i> into the land, who entred about seven years after, in the ninth year of <i>Brigbticus</i> King of <i>West Saxons</i> . <i>Edelburga</i> poysoneth King <i>Brigbticus</i> her Husband, and after playing the Harlot with a Monk, ended her life in great penury and misery. <i>Irene</i> Empreß of <i>Greece</i> , takes up at <i>Constantinople</i> the body of <i>Constantine</i> Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> , her Husbands Father, and having burnt it, casteth the ashes into the sea, for that he disanulled Images. <i>Egbert</i> of the blood royal, is banished by <i>Brigbticus</i> now raigning over the <i>West Saxons</i> in <i>England</i> ; because the said <i>Brigbticus</i> feared <i>Egberts</i> coming to his Crown. The Archbishop <i>Eshelard</i> , by his Epistles to Pope <i>Leo</i> , obtained the Metropolitan See again to <i>Canterbury</i> , see pag. 173. of the great Volume. King <i>Offa</i> dies. After him succeeds <i>Egfert</i> , then <i>Kemulphus</i> , after him his son, who in his tender age was wickedly murdered by his sister <i>Quinreda</i> . Thus far of the troublesome seven Kingdoms of the <i>Saxons</i> ; of whom observe these general observations. 1. That they brought in the first Croß and Altar into this Kingdom, Anno 635. 2. They set up Schools at <i>Cambridge</i> , Anno 630. 3. They set up about { Eleven Monasteries, besides four built by King <i>Edgar</i> . Four Nunneries. Thirteen more noted Abbeys, besides many of less note. 4. That Queens and Kings daughters, amongst them in all to the number at least of eighteen, have turned Nuns. 5. That at least nine of those <i>Saxon</i> Kings became Monks. In this time came in the <i>Danes</i> first into the North parts of <i>England</i> , and were driven out again. <i>Egbert</i> ,	145
764		Stephan. 3.		12. Bregwyn, or Bregui-nus.		
775		Adrian 1.		13. Lambert, alias, Jambert, alias, Lambrigh-tus.		
780						
	Leo the 4.					
	Emp. of France.					
	Carolus Magnus.					
784						
793						
795		Leo the thirld. See p. 177. the great Vol.		14. Eshelardus alias Arhelard, or Adhelard.		146
801						
802						
		Carolus Magnus being before made Emperor of Rome, by the means of Adrian the Pope, and Pope Leo the thirld, next succeeding, the Empire is translated in this year 801, fully from Greece to France.				

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of France.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Anno Christi
807 810 824 826	Ludovicus Pius.	Stephanus the fourth, pag. 177. of the great Volume. Paschalis the first, p. 177 of the great Volume. Eugenius the second, pag. 177. of the great Volume. Valentinus the first, pag. 177. of the great Vol. Gregory the fourth in the same year, see pag. 177. of the great Volume.	The 7 Kingdoms of the Saxons are united into a Monarchy. EGBERT.	Egbert, of the blood Royal, being chased into France by Brightricus, as we said, for safety of his Crown from so near a blood; and Brightricus being now dead, he speeds from France into Westsax, obtaining by his wife behaviour the said Kingdom. Bernulphus King of Mercia, and other Kings deriding him with scoffs and rimes, provokes him to bid Bernulphus battel, wherein he conquered him, and possessed his Kingdom. Then made he war upon the Kentish Saxons, and conquered them. He also subdued Northumberland. Thus he brought these three Kingdoms to be tributary to him, and joyned them to his Kingdom. Also this Egbert was from the Britains the Town of Chester. Thus these victories being gotten, he calls a Council at Winchester, and is Crowned King over this land, which before was called Britain: but he sent out command and Commifions, that from that day forward the Saxons should be called Angles, and the land Anglia. A General Synod is held at Aquisgrane, by the command of Ludovicus the Emperor, King of France. There Pope Gregory the Fourth decrees that Priests should have maintenance of Lands belonging to their severall Churches, and not go about begging. All glorious apparel, rings, &c. forbidden Priests.	151
832 833 834				Feodogeldus, alias, Theodogild. In the same year, viz. 832 was, Celsinus.	About this year the Heathenish people of the Danes (who a little before in Northumberland had murdered the Ministers, and ruined the Churches) came the second time with a great host into England. Egbert gave them battel, but had the worst. The Danes are encouraged by their success against Egbert to enter again this year into England; and in long time and many years after could not be utterly beaten out.
837 840 844	Lotharius.		ETHELWOLFUS.		Thus this Kingdom hath been hitherto plagued with five sundry Nations: Namely, 1. By the Romans. 2. By the Scots. 3. By the Picts. 4. By the Saxons. 5. By the Danes. Ethelwulfus the Son of Egbert, and in former time a Deacon, and after a Bishop of Winchester (as some will) is King after his Father, by dispensation of the Pope, but still in mind devout to his Order, giving the tenth of his goods and lands in Westsaxons to the Clergy. He gave also Peter-pence to Rome, (i.e.) a penny of every fire house thorough his Kingdoms, with many more Donations to Rome. He married Judith the Daughter of Carolus Calvus, the French King: whom he restored to the title of Queen. For before it was a Decree of the Westsaxons, for Queen Ethelburga's poysoning of her Husband King Brightricus, that no Kings Wife should have the title of Queen. In the later end of the reign of this Ethelwulfus the Danes brake into England, doing great spoil on the land and lives, and blood of men.
843 846		Sergius the second. Leo the fourth.			This Pope, whose name was Os Porci, for the shame thereof, was the first that brought in the altering of Popes names. This Pope Leo was Tutor or Guardian to Alured, committed to him by Ethelwulf the Father of Alured. This Pope ordained that no Bishop should be condemned under seventy two Witnesses. An example was practised in condemnation of Stephen Gardiner.
854		Joan, called John the eighth.			This Pope Joans proper name was Gilberta. She was a Dutch woman of Magunce; who going out of the Abbey of Fulda, with an English Monk in mans apparel to Athens, and becoming learned, by her wit came to sit Pope two years and six months. At last in an open procession fell into travel with her child, and so died. Ever since the Cardinals come not by that part of the street where this shame was.
856 857		Benedict 3.	Ethelbald.		This Benedict ordained Dirge for the dead. Ethelbald the first Son succeeds Ethelwulfus his Father in the Kingdom of Westsaxons. He is infamous for lying with, and marrying of his step-mother.
858			Ethelbert, alias, Ethelbertus.		Ethelbert the second Son succeeds his Father Ethelwulfus in the Kingdom of Kent. After these two, the third son of Ethelwulfus, viz. Ethelred, succeeded; who was mightily troubled with the Danes.
867 870 871		Nicholas the 1. or Mag. nus. Adrian, alias Hadrian the second. See p. 180. of the great Vol.	Ethelred.		This Pope Nicholas enlarged the Popes Decrees, equalling them to the writings of the Apostles. He decreed that Service should be in Latin: He began the forbidding Priests to marry: against which Hilderich Bishop of Ausburgh wrote a learned Epistle to the said Pope, proving the lawfulness of Priests marriage. After Ethelbald and Ethelbert succeeded Ethelred their Brother, the third son of their Father Ethelwulfus. In the later days of King Ethelred, the Danes invaded this land, spoiling and murdering.
				Ethelredus, alias, Ethelredus.	

This.

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Ann Christi	Emper. of Fran.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbi- shops of Canter- bury.	This John, succeeding next to Hadrian the second, and preceding next be- fore Marinus or Martinus the second (as Mr. Fox calls him) is counted by others, as Rensner, and others, John the eighth. Of this Pope John see 108. of the great Volume.	Vol. Page.
876 879	Carolus Cal- vus.	John the 9.	Alfred, af- as Alfred, brother to Ethelred.		Alfred was eminent above his Predecessors, for Valor, Vertue and Learning. He was the first English King. He was much vexed with the Danes, who did win from him all the North part of England, from the River Thames. But after, they laboring to chase him out of the South part, he flying for the present, after a while beat them, and chased them from those parts; see p. 183. of the great Volume.	157
882		Martin the 2.			Others call him Marinus, without any first or second. See Rensners Chronol. and Helvicus. Of this Pope, see pag. 180. of the great Vo- lume.	
884		Adrian, alias Hadrian. 3.			By this Hadrian the third (of whom see pag. 180.) it was decreed, that no Emperor after that time, should have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. Thus the Emperors began to decay, and the Popes to in- crease.	
885 889		Stephen 5.		Plelmundus alias Pleg- mund.	Of this Pope Stephen, see p. 180. of the great Volume. Ethelred having thus overcome the Danes, and having made them to yield to the Conditions that he propounded, one of which was, to baptize their Prince Gutrim, he naming him Athelstan: he permitted the said King Athelstan to hold all East Angles in Fee from him. Which Athel- stan, having reigned rather as a Tyrant than an under King, eleven years, dyed this year. Not long after which, the Danes landed in this Land, in four places. But they were valiantly beaten back.	159
891					King Arnulphus, for rescuing of Pope Formosus from his Captivity among the Romans, is Crowned by the said Pope, Emperor	
892					This Boniface was Pope but five and twenty days.	162
896 897		Formosus. Bonifacius 6.			This year the Danes come again into England, but some of them were slain; some of them, and thirty Ships, were taken; and others of them were hanged.	
		Stephen 6.			This Pope Stephen, for hate of Formosus, dissolved his Decrees, took up his Body after it was buried, and cut two Fingers off his right Hand, and cast them into Tyber; and buried the Body again in a private mans Sepulcher.	
898		Romanus. Theodorus 2.			Pope Romanus continued Pope but three months. Theodor the second was Pope but twenty days.	
899					Alfred having reigned twenty nine years and six months, dyes. He is re- puted for a man of a liberal Heart and a godly Life. He caused Schools of Learning to be set up, especially in the West parts. For amongst the Britains, long before, in King Arthurs time, in the Town of Chester, was taught Grammar, Philosophy, and other Arts and Sciences. After, in Egberts time (as Writers affirm) Philosophy began to flourish in Eng- land. About which time, as some think, Granchester University by Cambridge began to be founded by Beda. Sigebert also Founded Schools in England, as Alcuinus will. And yet before these, some think that Greeklade, a Greek University; and Latinlade, a Latine University in this Land, was Founded.	
					Alfred Translated many good Books, and made one of his own, in the common Language of this Land.	
898		John the 10. Benedict. 4.			That Pope John which next succeeded Pope Theodor, and preceded next before Pope Benedict the fourth, was Pope about this year; whom Mr. Fox terms John the tenth: but others, John the ninth.	
	Emp. of Germ.				Of this Translation of the Empire, see p. 169. of the first great Volume, col. 2. lin. 34.	
903	About this time (saith M. Fox) the Empire is translated from France to Germany among the Aimaines, where it is to this day.		EDWARD the elder.		This King Edward was inferior to his Father Alfred in Learning; but more eminent in military Affairs: Conquering this Land to himself from petty Kings, and from invading Danes.	
904		Leo the 5.			Ethelwoldus, King Edwards Uncles son, rebels against King Edward, join- ing with the Danes. But first he was made to fly into France; after, he returning with more Forces of Danes, is slain.	
905		Christophe- rus the 1.			This Pope Sergius beheaded Pope Formosus after his death; as Pope Ste- phen the sixth before had disfigured him after death.	
		Sergius 3.			Of this Conradus, whom Mr. Fox calls Conracus, see p. 169. of the first great Volume.	
906		Anastasi- us 3.			King Edward assaulted of the Danes, he slays two Kings, two Earls, and many thousands of Danes.	163
912		Lando.			Of others he is counted the tenth Pope John. This Pope was smothered with a Pillow.	
913		John 12.		Athelmu- sus.	This Adelstan was King Edwards son, by her of his three Wives that was called Egwin. Adelstan was wife and valiant.	
915			Adelstan, or Ethelstan.	Wifelmus.	Duke Elfred conspires to put out Adelstans eyes. He is sworn at Rome upon accusation of it. He forswearing that he intended it not when as he did, fell down, and in three days dyed.	
916					Ethelstan, for peace sake with the Danes, he married to Suthericus their Kings sister. But Suthericus dying in a year, he seizeth that Province in- to his own hands.	
924					Constantine, King of Scots, breaks Covenant with Ethelstan, and there- upon beaten by Ethelstan in War.	
927						Of

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1. Page
932		John 12.		Of others this Pope <i>John</i> is called the eleventh. This Pope <i>John</i> was the son of <i>Marozia</i> an Harlot. He is deposed by the Clergy and People of <i>Rome</i> , not agreeing to his Election, and <i>Leo</i> the sixth is put in his room.	
933				<i>Bristanus</i> is Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> ; of whom its feigned, that to him praying for departed Souls, as he stood in <i>Winchester</i> Church-yard, many Souls answered, Amen: which if it had been so, how were those Souls in Purgatory?	
934	The translation of that Empire to Germ. is perfected in	Leo 6.		Of this <i>Otto</i> Emperor, see Vol. 1. p. 145. and p. 192. col. 2. of the great Volume.	
935	Otho. M.	Stephen 7.		Of others, as <i>Reufner</i> , &c. he is termed <i>Leo</i> the seventh. He is Pope seven months.	162
		John the 13 restored.		Touching this <i>Stephen</i> to be the seventh, see Vol. 1. p. 162. with p. 162. in the margin.	
940		Leo the 7. Stephen 8.	EDMUND.	This <i>Stephen</i> having been Pope two years, according to Mr. <i>Fox</i> , was poisoned. Pope <i>John</i> the twelfth (as Mr. <i>Fox</i> reckons him) is restored to the Popedom again.	
				<i>Edmund</i> was brother to <i>Atbelstan</i> , succeeds in the Crown, <i>Atbelstan</i> dying without Issue.	
941				Monks are put out of <i>Eusham</i> Monastery, and Canons put in their place.	
				<i>Odo</i> Arch-bishop of <i>Canterbury</i> lived to this <i>Edmunds</i> time, and called a Synod to stir up Ministers to Preach.	
942		Martin 3. alias Maritus 2. Agapetus 2.		<i>Dunstan</i> is now Abbot of <i>Glastenbury</i> , in this Kings time, before he was Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .	
946			EDWIN.	Of Pope <i>Martin</i> the third, and <i>Agapetus</i> the second, see the first great Vol. p. 189.	
955				King <i>Edmund</i> is slain by <i>Pulcher</i> Church. See the first great Vol. p. 196. col. 1.	
				<i>Edwin</i> the eldest son of King <i>Edmund</i> , succeeds in the Throne after King <i>Edmund</i> .	169
				This King <i>Edwin</i> kept a strange Woman, the Wife of a man whom he had slain (as some say) to which Woman he on the first day of his Coronation, breaking from his Lords, and going into the Chamber; <i>Dunstan</i> Abbot of <i>Glastenbury</i> , follows him, brings him back by the hand, accuses him to <i>Otho</i> Archbishop; <i>Otho</i> separates him from the Woman, and suspends him out of the Church. For this <i>Dunstan</i> is made fly over the Sea, and the Monks, as well in other Monasteries as <i>Dunstons</i> of <i>Glastenbury</i> , are thrust out, and Secular Priests put in their room.	
		John 13.		This was Pope <i>John</i> the Twelfth (as others reckon.) He was an Adulterer, a Whore-master, an Incestuous person, an Extortioner, a Gaimster. From his wicked merriment in these Evils, came the Proverb, <i>As merry as Pope John</i> . He cuts out the Tongues, puts out the Eyes, cuts off the Noses and Fingers of his Cardinals. He himself at last is deposed, but after restored. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 205.	
959			EDGAR.	<i>Edwin</i> is hated for his misdemeanors of his Subjects, chiefly them of <i>Northumberland</i> and <i>Mercia</i> , by whom he is removed from his Kingly Honor, and <i>Edgar</i> received in his stead. So that the River <i>Thames</i> divided both their Kingdoms. <i>Edwin</i> having reigned four years alone, dies without Heir, and so <i>Edgar</i> his Brother succeeds.	
				He began his Reign this year, being fifteen years old; but was not Crowned till fourteen years after. He calls home exiled <i>Dunstan</i> , makes him Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> , then of <i>London</i> .	
				<i>Otho</i> or <i>Odo</i> Archbishop dying, King <i>Edgar</i> makes <i>Dunstan</i> Arch-Bishop.	
963		Leo the 8.		This Pope <i>Leo</i> , (of whom see the first great Volume, p. 205.) was substituted Pope in the room of the former deposed Pope <i>John</i> . But the said <i>John</i> being restored, this <i>Leo</i> was deposed. Of this Pope <i>Leo</i> , see pag. 205. of the first great Volume col. 2.	
				<i>Dunstan</i> gets the King to make <i>Oswaldus</i> , Nephew of <i>Otho</i> (as it is said) Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> .	
				Not long after, the said King <i>Edgar</i> , at <i>Dunstons</i> intreaty, made <i>Eshelwoldus</i> first Monk of <i>Glastenbury</i> , then Abbot of <i>Abendon</i> , to be Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> . Of him is related a Vision, appearing to him, of a Tree, whose Branches covered the four Quarters of the Kingdom, and were covered with Monks Cows, and with one master Cowl on the top, &c.	
				Whether this Dream be feigned or no, it was made good in effect, <i>Dunstan</i> , <i>Oswald</i> , and <i>Eshelwold</i> , making Monks to swarm in this <i>Edgars</i> time in England.	170
964		Benedict 5.		The Romans setting up this <i>Benedict</i> after Pope <i>John</i> , and not setting in and restoring again Pope <i>Leo</i> the Eighth, deposed contrary to the Emperor <i>Otho</i> his mind; the said Emperor besieged <i>Rome</i> , and puts in again <i>Leo</i> the Eighth, who gratifies the Emperor, with giving to him and his Successors in a Synod, the power of Electing a Pope.	
965		John 14.		Alias <i>John</i> the Thirteenth: of him see the first great Volume, p. 205.	
969				<i>Oswald</i> (made Arch-bishop of <i>York</i>) by policy makes many Priests turn Monks, or to leave their place.	
				Monks anciently were but strict Lay-men; inasmuch as they were forbidden to meddle with Ecclesiasticals.	171

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Basilius magnus, and Nazianzenus, were Monks. The ground of mens Founding Monasteries of later times, was, that Monks might pray for them when they were dead; or else by way of satisfaction for some murder committed by the Founders. King Edgar was a good Justiciary, in execution of Laws justly. This King made this Land one perfect Monarchy. This King having subdued men, drives out too the Wolves out of this Land. He was exceeding Watchful, and well provided for the Defence of the Seas. To prevent Drunkenness in his Subjects, he caused to be made Cups with pins to be set in them; adding a Law, that he that drank at a draught beyond his mark, was to pay a penny: half to the Accuser, the rest to the Ruler of the Town. Eight Kings called <i>Subreguli</i> , did Homage to this <i>Edgar</i> , whom in pomp he made to row him in a Boat, himself holding the Helm. He was given to Women, and a great Monk-maker, and a deflowerer of a Nun. For which <i>Dunstan</i> refused to take him by the hand, when the King offered it; and enjoyns the King Penance for seven years, of wearing no Crown for that time, of Fasting twice in the Week, of Liberality to the Poor, and building a Nunnery. Doting <i>Dunstan</i> was drowned in Superstition, if not a Sorcerer too. He is said to catch the Devil by the Nose with a pair of Tongs red hot. Pope <i>John</i> aforesaid, ordained the first Christening of Bells. Of Pope <i>Bern</i> , the Sixth, see the first great Volume, pag. 206. where he is cast into prison, and slain. Of Pope <i>Donus</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 206. Of Pope <i>Boniface</i> the Seventh, see the first great Volume, pag. 206.col.1. This <i>Boniface</i> fearing Conspiracy, flies to <i>Constantinople</i> ; mean while Pope <i>John</i> the Fifteenth, <i>alias</i> the Fourteenth, is made Pope. Then <i>Boniface</i> returns, and so are two Popes at the same time. See the said p. 206. Much stir at this time about placing and displacing Monks, caused stir about the Crown, Monks aiming at such a King as would be a Monk-favorer: at last, this <i>Edward</i> by <i>Dunstan</i> 's means was chosen. This <i>Edward</i> was not, in truth, a Martyr, as the common opinion goes; but was truly a Bastard. Of this <i>John</i> the Fifteenth, <i>alias</i> (as others will) <i>John</i> the Fourteenth, and <i>Boniface</i> , had their ends, see the first great Volume, pag. 206.col.1. <i>John</i> having his eyes put out, and he himself famished in Prison, <i>Boniface</i> dyes, and after is dragged through the City, the people triumphing in it. An Image of the Crucifix of Rood, by <i>Dunstan</i> 's device, is made to answer to a Council met and praying to this Image, such an answer as might carry the conclusion as <i>Dunstan</i> would; in these words, <i>Abstine hoc ut fiat</i> , &c. (i.) <i>Far be that, far be that: you have well judged, you would not do well to change.</i> <i>Dunstan</i> was a great enemy to Priests wives. King <i>Edward</i> his Step-mother, offering him as he sat on Horse-back a cup of Beer, whiles he was drinking, caused her Servant to stab him; whereupon he rides away towards his Company, falls down dead, and so was found; but not known who he was, nor how he dyed, his Horse having dragged him through much dirt, his Foot hanging in the Stirrup, as he fell dead off his Horse-back. Two Nunneries are Founded upon his Blood, that that murderess Queen had shed. This <i>Benedict</i> (whom <i>Reusn.</i> and <i>Helv.</i> put before the former Pope <i>John</i> , yea though he be taken for <i>John</i> the Fourteenth) was made Pope by consent of <i>Otto</i> Emperor, the second of the name. In the time of this <i>Benedict</i> , <i>Gilbertus</i> a Necromancer is made Archbishop of <i>Rains</i> , by <i>Hugh</i> Capet the French King. <i>Edward</i> being murdered, the Crown comes to this <i>Elred</i> his younger brother. This <i>Elred</i> reigned long, viz. thirty eight years, but very unhappily. As he was Christened, being a Child, by <i>Dunstan</i> , somewhat falling cross, <i>Dunstan</i> swears by the Holy Virgin, that this will be an untoward Prince. He is Crowned this year by <i>Dunstan</i> , who pronounced (as they say) at his Coronation, that because he came to the Crown by the murder of his brother, the Kingdom should not be without blood-shed, till a people of a strange tongue did intrall them. <i>John</i> the sixteenth, <i>alias</i> <i>John</i> the fifteenth. He sat Pope eight months. The <i>Danes</i> understanding of discord in this Land, and the subjects to be disaffected towards their Prince, invade this Kingdom, doing great spoil. See the first great Vol. p. 207. <i>Alias</i> <i>John</i> the sixteenth. This year the Bishop of <i>Duresme</i> began, upon occasion of <i>B. Aldudurnus</i> his carrying Saint <i>Cuthberts</i> Body thither. See the first great Vol. p. 207.	Vol. I. Page.
971						172
972	Otto the 2.	Benedict 6.				173
974		Donus the second. Bonifac. 7.				174
975		This Bonifac the 7 and this John the 15. are both Popes at once--	EDWARD the martyr.			174
976	Otho count 8 years more.	John the 15.				175
977						177
979		Benedict 7.	EGELRED or ELRED.			177
981						178
984	Otho the 3.					
985						
988				Ethelgar.		
989						
990						
993		John 16.				
				Elfricus.		
		John 17.				
995				Strictus. Sanctus. Aluredus.		
					Against	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbi- shops of Canter- bury.		Vol. I. Page.
		Gregory 5. and John 18. both Popes together.			Against this Gregory, maliced because he was a German, was set up this John the eighteenth, alias John the seventeenth, by Crescentius Consul of Rome. Whereupon Otto the third Emperor, to whom Gregory the fifth flies, comes with an Army, apprehends John, puts out his eyes, and after puts him to death: and apprehends Crescentius, cuts off his nose and ears, and after so led through the City, having his Members cut off he hanged upon a Gibbet. Gregory is restored, reigns Pope four years. This year London is besieged of the Danes. The Danes spoiling the Land, caused the English levy of Danegilt, amounting from 10000 per annum, to 40000 per annum, paid to the Danes to buy peace of them. Now came in the Lurdane, i. the Lord Dane, who was Lord of the English mans House, Goods, and Wife too. Pope Gregory the fifth, being restored to the Popedom, calls a Council at Rome, by the advice of Otto the third, Emperor; and there to confirm the Empire in Germany his own Country, Decrees those seven should be Electors of the Emperor, which are to this day: viz. The Bishops of Mentz, Triers, Colen do Elect the Empror; are his Chancellors too. Bohemia's King elects, and bears his cup: And Saxons Duke elects, his Sword holds up. Archsewer is Elector Palatine, And Marquess Brandenburg his Chamberlain. These Verses in Latine, see the first great Vol. p. 206.	
997	The Empire established in Germany by ordain- ing seven Electors by the Pope.					
1000		Silvester 2. made Pope by Magick.				
1003 1004		John 19.			The years of Christ amounting to a thousand, Religion began much more to decay than in former times: Pope Sylvester the second being a Sorcerer, and a most hainous wicked Instrument. See the first great Vol. p. 215. This year the Saxons that had driven the Britans from their Land, make way by Elreds joyning in Marriage with the Normans (taking to Wife Emma the Daughter of Rich. the first of that name, the third Duke of Normandy) for a new plague to come upon themselves. For Alred, in confidence of his affinity, gave secret and strict charge to all Towns in England, upon St. Brice his day, at a certain hour, the Danes should be all slain; which caused much trouble. Alias John the eighteenth. He brings in the Feast of All-Souls. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	180
1004 1006		Joh 2.			For upon tydings of this at Denmark, King Swamus of Denmark comes into the Land, beats down Exeter, and so came on, spoiling the Country. At length they are beaten out by Duke Uskatel. Herein Mr. Fox differs from others, who put no John between All-Souls John, and Pope Sergius the fourth. The Danes land again in this Kingdom, at Sandwich. The King at last was fain to pay them a Tribute of 30000 pounds. Many times after, in this Kings time, did the Danes invade and spoil. They stone to death, at Greenwich, Elphegus Archbishop of Canterbury, because he would not pay to them such Taxes as they would impose. The King is driven out of the Land to Normandy by the tyranny of the Danes, they, mean while, laying intolerable Taxes on the people of this Land, whereupon they fell to Prayer and to Fasting; so that shortly Swamus the Prince of the Danes dyed suddenly, yelling and crying. In fear whereof, Canutus his son Reigned here, with shew of much favor to the people. Of Livingus Archbishop, see the first great Vol. p. 215.	180
1012 1013		Benedict 8.		Elphegus, or Elphege.		
1016		Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.		Livingus, or Lifwing.		
1020 1023	Conradus 2.			Egenoldus, alias Æthelnotus See p. 215. of the first great Vol.	Egelred returns, hearing of Swamus his death, and coming upon Canutus the son, being unprovided, caused him to fly into Denmark. But afterward Canutus came again, and took West-saxon. After Egelreds death, much Faction being moved whom to choose for King, Londoners being for Edmund Ironside, Egelreds eldest Son: Others, and chiefly the Clergy, being for Swamus Son, viz. Canutus; having sworn to Swamus his Father. Edmund and Canutus fight many Battels for the Kingdom; and at last a Duel between themselves: Last of all, they agreed to divide the Land between them, and so lived in love till Edmund was stabbed in the Fundament, by the Traiterous Son of Duke Edricus, as he was at the draught house. Then Duke Edricus himself, liking his Sons Fact, it should seem, carried Edmunds two Sons to Canutus, with these words, Ave Rex solus, (i.) God save thee King alone. Canutus sends them to his Brother Swamus King of Sweedland, to be murdered: but he abhorring that Bloodiness, sent them to Salomon King of Hungary, where the one dyed a natural death: The other, named Edward, was married to Agatha, Daughter of his Brother Henry the fourth, Emperor. Alias John the nineteenth. Reusn. Helv. Of him in Mr. Fox. See the first great Volume, p. 216. He was made Pope by Magick, as Mr. Fox saith in the same Page. Canutus this while, to make safe the English Crown to himself, Swears some, Banisheth others, puts to Death others; among which, was Duke Edricus. For though Canutus loved his Treason, yet durst not dare	181
1032		John the 21 Benedict 9. He is depo- sed.				

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germany.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. Page
1038	Henricus 3. called Niger.				Eadfin, or Edjnu.	dare trust the Traytor that put to death <i>Edmund Ironside</i> his own natural Prince. This Archbishop <i>Eadfin</i> is not named by Master Fox, as we can find; though he names him before and after him. See the first great Vol. pag. 215.	
1039						<i>Canutus</i> governed this land twenty years, in all which time the <i>Danes</i> began by little and little to be Christian men. <i>Canutus</i> dies. <i>Harold Harefoot</i> (so called for his swiftness) his son, reigns in <i>England</i> in his stead. This <i>Henry</i> the fourth, Emperor, was Excommunicated by four Popes. See the first great Vol. p. 245. <i>Hardeknutus</i> his Brother, King of <i>Denmark</i> , was after him King of <i>England</i> .	182
1043			Edward Confessor.			Of <i>Henricus</i> the third, Emperor, see the first great Vol. p. 216. About this time, wicked Earl <i>Godwin</i> played his feats. King <i>Hardeknute</i> , the last of the <i>Danish</i> Kings of <i>England</i> , having reigned here two years, dies without issue. The <i>Danes</i> from their first landing (in <i>Brigbtricus</i> time) having vexed this Land 255 years; and having reigned as King twenty eight years; now the last of them being dead without issue, the Crown comes to <i>Edward</i> , the younger son of <i>Egelred</i> , a meer <i>Englishman</i> ; returning from his banishment in <i>Normandy</i> , caused by the <i>Danish</i> Kings. He was sent for by the <i>Englishmen</i> , and Crowned this year. His disposition was much averse from war.	182
1045		Silvest. 3. rector. Benedict. 9. rector. Gregory 6. All.				Pope <i>Benedict</i> the ninth, as we said, coming to be Pope by Magick, and opposing <i>Henricus</i> the third, Emperor, and putting in his room <i>Petrus</i> King of <i>Hungary</i> . After fearing <i>Henry</i> the fourth prevailing against him, sold his seat to <i>Gregory</i> the sixth for 1500 pounds. Of this <i>Gregory</i> see the first great Vol. p. 216. Contention moved between this King <i>Edward</i> and Earl <i>Godwin</i> , happened about this time; in which Earl <i>Godwin</i> and his five sons were outlawed.	
1046	Henricus 4.					Of these three Popes, see the first great Vol. p. 216. where <i>Henricus Niger</i> Emperor, displaceth these three, and puts in <i>Clement</i> the second: and thereupon inacting, That no Bishop of <i>Rome</i> should be chosen without the consent of the Emperor. And the <i>Romans</i> sware their assent to this act. <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> comes to see the King, and is welcomed; he promising him (as some write) that if he died without issue, he the said <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> should have this Kingdom. The <i>Romans</i> forgetting their Oath to the Emperor, in nine months poyson this Pope. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1049						Earl <i>Godwin</i> , that had murdered the Kings brother <i>Alfred</i> , wishing in excuse to the King, that the bread he was eating might not be swallowed safely, if he were not guiltless of his death, was presently choaked, and so died: Of <i>Damasus</i> and <i>Leo</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 216. Of him see the first great Vol. pag. 215. <i>Harold</i> (who after was King) was a means of his banishment, in the time of this King <i>Edward</i> .	
1050		Damasus 2. Leo 9.				Of Archbishop <i>Robert</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 220.	
1052					Robert.	Of this Archbishop <i>Stigandus</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 215.	
1053	Henricus 4.				Stigandus.	Of this Pope, see the first great Vol. p. 217. King <i>Edward</i> sends to <i>Henry</i> the fourth Emperor, praying him to send to the King of <i>Hungary</i> , that his Cousin <i>Edward</i> , son of <i>Edmund Ironside</i> , might come into <i>England</i> , for as much as he intended to make him King after him. This request was fulfilled, and he came into <i>England</i> , with his wife and children.	184
1054						This <i>Henry</i> Emperor, began his reign, being a child. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 211. and p. 217. The year following his Cousin <i>Edward</i> dies. Of Pope <i>Benedict</i> the tenth, and <i>Nicholas</i> the second, see the first great Vol. p. 217.	
1057		Stephen 9.				Then the King thought to make that <i>Edwards</i> son <i>Edgar Adeling</i> his heir; but fearing (by the pride of <i>Harold</i> the son of <i>Godwin</i> , and the mutability of <i>English</i> hearts) he should not effect it, sent Ambassadors to <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> his Kinsman, assigning him to be lawful heir next to succeed him to the Crown.	
1058		Benedict 10. do reign at once. This Ben. and Nicholas 2. do reign at once.				Not long after (<i>Godwin</i> being dead) his son <i>Harold</i> grows so wickedly proud, that he ruled all as King, by reason that the King somewhat favoured him. At length he sailing towards <i>Flanders</i> , and being driven by tempest into <i>Normandy</i> , there <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> makes him to swear he would marry his daughter, and that after King <i>Edwards</i> death, he should keep the land of <i>England</i> to his behoof, according to the will and mind of King <i>Edward</i> , and so to live next to him in honour and dignity, in the Realm. At his return to <i>England</i> he tells King <i>Edward</i> what he had sworn to Duke <i>William</i> of <i>Normandy</i> , with which the King was well pleased.	
1059						Pope <i>Nicholas</i> the second having called a Council at <i>Sutrium</i> , and by the help of <i>Hildebrands</i> device having made <i>Benedict</i> the tenth to unpope himself; now he calls a Council at <i>Rome</i> , which is called the <i>Lateran</i> Council; in which he undermineth the Emperor of his jurisdiction, and conferreth the Election of the Pope upon a few Cardinals.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. I. Page
1060						In this Council <i>Berengarius</i> is made to recant his tenet against real Presence; and Transubstantiation is brought in.	
						King <i>Edward</i> dies.	
1062		<i>Cadulus.</i>				This year <i>Aldredus</i> Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> being to be made Archbishop of <i>York</i> , comes with Earl <i>Tostius</i> of <i>Northumberland</i> to Pope <i>Nicholas</i> to Rome for his Pall, instead of which (for some pretence) was deprived of all his dignity; and as he was returning home, was spoiled of that he carried with him. At last <i>Tostius</i> with rough words to the Pope, makes the Pope give the Bishop his Pall, for all his losses.	
		<i>Alexander 2.</i>				<i>Nicholas</i> (as his name signifies) having by violence got into the Popedom, after three years he is poisoned. See the first great Vol. p.217.	
						Of these two Popes <i>Cadul.</i> and <i>Alex.</i> and their warring swords for <i>Peters</i> Keys, see the first great Vol. p.218.	
						Pope <i>Alexander</i> is knockt about the pate by <i>Hildebrand</i> , for seeking the favour of the Emperor, touching his being Pope. The first great Volum, p. 218.	
1066			<i>Harold.</i>			<i>Harold</i> the second son of Earl <i>Godwin</i> , and last King of <i>Saxons</i> , (notwithstanding many Nobles went with <i>Edgar Adeling</i> , next heir after <i>Edmund Ironside</i>) forgot also his promise to Duke <i>William</i> of <i>Normandy</i> , who contemning <i>Edgars</i> youth, takes upon him to be King.	186
						<i>Harold Harefager</i> , son of <i>Canutus</i> King of <i>Norway</i> and <i>Denmark</i> , comes after <i>Edwards</i> death to claim the Crown, with an army. He beats <i>Harold</i> King of <i>England</i> in the first battel; <i>English Harold</i> beats him in the second: and <i>Danish Harold</i> is also slain by the hand of <i>Englands Harold</i> . <i>Tostius</i> also the brother of <i>Harold</i> King of <i>England</i> joyning with the <i>Danes</i> in this battel against his brother, is slain.	
						One thousand sixty six a wondrous year; To tell our fall, a Comet doth appear.	
						Duke <i>William</i> of <i>Normandy</i> sends an Ambassage to King <i>Harold</i> , admonishing him of his Covenant agreed between them. But because Duke <i>William's</i> daughter was dead, King <i>Harold</i> thought himself disingaged from that agreement. He alledged also that those promises were compelled, and without consent of his Lords, which ought not to be.	
						Hereupon, and for two other reasons, namely, to be avenged for the blood of his Nephew <i>Alfrid</i> , King <i>Edwards</i> brother, and of the <i>Normans</i> , of all whose deaths <i>Harold</i> was reputed the principal cause, and to revenge the exilement of <i>Robert</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , whereof <i>Harold</i> was cause, Duke <i>William</i> invades this Kingdom, and conquers <i>Harold</i> in battel, wherein <i>Harold</i> was slain; and so Duke <i>William</i> (who was Cousin German to <i>K. Edward</i> by the Fathers side) gained the Kingdom and Crown. In this Conquest,	
						On <i>William's</i> side were slain 6013.	
1067			<i>William the Conqueror.</i>			On <i>Harolds</i> side 66654.	
						<i>William</i> the Conqueror is Crowned K. of <i>England</i> by <i>Alredus</i> Archbishop of <i>York</i> , <i>Stigandus</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> being absent, either for fear or hate of <i>William</i> .	192
						Great Taxes are laid by <i>William</i> upon the land, changing the Laws of <i>K. Edward</i> , although at his coming he had sworn to keep them. (Of which see more p. 214. of the great Vol.)	
						Great famine is in <i>Northumberland</i> .	193
						The <i>Scots</i> are subdued to <i>William</i> the Conqueror.	
						This land hath been conquered by	
						<div> <div> <div>Romans the first</div> <div>Scots and Picts the second</div> <div>Saxons the third</div> <div>Danes the fourth</div> <div>William and his Normans the fifth</div> </div> <div>time.</div> </div>	
1070						In this Conquest observe	
						<div> <div>Gods justices severity.</div> <div>Lack of successions casualty.</div> <div>Foreign Marriages incommodity.</div> </div>	
						This year <i>William</i> the Conqueror calls a Council. Two Cardinals and he himself are present; who by pretences depose many Bishops: (Among which was Archbishop <i>Stigandus</i>) to the intent to prefer <i>Normans</i> and aliens, as <i>Thomas</i> a <i>Norman</i> to be Archbishop of <i>York</i> , and <i>Lanfrancus</i> a <i>Lombard</i> and <i>Italian</i> born, to be Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .	193
1074		<i>Hildebrand</i> surnamed <i>Gregory 7.</i>			<i>Lanfrancus.</i>	This <i>Hildebrand</i> caused the Prelates and Popes stoutness against Emperors, long before he was Pope, and now he practiseth it much more, being Pope; casting off the Emperors from Elections of Popes (as the Tragical History of all his evils may be seen in this page of the great Volume) inasmuch that Cardinal <i>Benno</i> writes against him of his wickedness.	196
1076						<i>Osmund</i> the second Bishop of <i>Sarum</i> (<i>Hirmanus</i> a <i>Norman</i> , that began the new Church and Minster, being the first) now finishing the Minster, first began the Ordinary, which was called <i>Secundum usum Sarum</i> .	
						Henry	

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					Henry the fourth, Emperor, attends upon this Pope, with his wife and children barefoot, at his Palace-gate, three days and three nights, before he could be admitted in; then too he is made to swear unreasonable subjection to the Pope in all things; and when all is done, the Pope gives away his Crown to Rodolph Duke of Swetia, with these words, <i>The Rock to Peter gave the Diadem, And Peter gives it unto Rodulphs Realm.</i>	
1083		Clement 3.	This Clement 3. being Pope, is said to have been the last King of Wales, who, in the year 1093, by W. Rufus, son of Edward, was slain. Rufus and Urban 2. are both Popes at once, which contention lasted as Mr. Fox computes to the year 1095, divers Kingdoms siding with each of them.		Hildebrand is accused of grievous crimes in a Council called at Brixia, by Henry the fourth, Emperor, who had been so wronged by Hildebrand. In this Council, called by Henry, Hildebrand is condemned to be deposed, and Clement the third is chosen Pope in his room.	
1088		Victor 3.			About this time, or not much after Hildebrand the Pope, dies K. William the Conqueror.	204
		Urban 2.			Of Popes see the first great Volume, pag. 239.	
					Great Pestilence is in England.	
1091					Rats swim over to a Bishops Tower, that was cruel in time of famine to the poor, and devour him.	
1092					William Rufus is Crowned by Archbishop Lanfrancus, his elder Brother. Duke Robert in Almaine comes to fight for the Crown; whereupon William Rufus mildly quieted him, by taking the Crown from him at 3000 Marks per Annum, and agreeing that the longest liver of them two should take the Crown.	207
1093					The King did not much favour the Pope, because as Matthew Parisensis writes, <i>They follow not the steps of Peter, but hunt for reward; and had not the power of him, whose holiness they did not imitate.</i>	
					Lanfrancus Archbishop of Canterbury dies (Polydore much commends him, I see not for what.) After whom the Archbishoprick is void four years.	
					Extream tempests in England burn a Church, break the head of a Crucifix, throw down the Lady, at Wincomb, and blow down six hundred houses, as also the roof of Bow-Church at London.	
					Pope Urban calls a Council at Rome; in it he Excommunicates Lay-persons that conferred spiritual livings.	208
					Pope Urban calls a Council at Claremont, where he by an Oration, moves 30000 to go to Hierusalem, to suppress the tyrannizing Heathens that were over the Christians.	
1095				Anselm.	This being about the sixth year of King Rufus, Malcom King of Scots invades England, and is slain (himself having been a great murtherer) with his son Edward, and Margaret his wife.	
1096					This same year also, he, after he had kept Canterbury Archbishoprick four years, gave it to this Anselm, who for the Kings kindness, much crossed him in many things for a long time, all Bishops holding with the King against Anselm. Many of those that went to Hierusalem, in the way are by ambushment slain by the Bulgars, near to the Town Civitus. Yet at last when all the armies met, they went on, won some Towns, as Antioch, and slew many Saracens.	
1098					Corbona, Master of the Persians Chivalry, is slain by the Christians that went in the said Voyage to Hierusalem; with whom were also slain 100000 Infidels. Shortly after the Christians take Hierusalem. Robert Duke of Normandy was chosen King thereof, but he refused it, because he heard of the death of William Rufus in England; wherefore he never prospered after.	209
					Earl Ludovicus rebels against Henry the fourth, Emperor; against whom and which, Waltramus Bishop of Merburgh writes an Epistle, exhorting him to obedience.	214
					The Earl writes an answer.	ibid.
1099		Paschalis 2.			This year 1090, (as Gisburn reports) a spring boils out blood three weeks together. See the first great Volume, pag. 256.	
					Of this Pope Paschalis see the first great Vol. p. 242.	
					He sets up again Henry the fourth Emperor, having Excommunicated him, as did Hildebrand, his son Henry, making him Emperor, called Henry the fifth; as it follows in Anno 1105. See pag. 254, 255. of the first great Volume.	
1100			Henry the 1. Surnamed Beauclerk.		This King Henry the first was William the Conquerors third son, who now succeeds his brother Rufus. He had his name of Beauclerk, for his knowledge in the seven Liberal Arts.	216
					Duke Robert the eldest brother of K. Henry, and first son of William the Conqueror, comes to challenge the Crown of this Henry, as he did of William Rufus. And this Henry promiseth him the three thousand Marks per Annum, as Rufus had before; and so Duke Robert returned to Normandy satisfied. After Duke Robert and K. Henry fall out, and Duke Robert was taken in war a prisoner, brought to England, and kept in prison while he lived. And Normandy was subdued to King Henry the first.	
1101					This King Invested Bishops without the Pope.	
					About this year 1101, the Bishop of Fluence began to preach of Antichrist to be there born and manifested. Pope Paschalis hereupon calls a Council, silenceth the Bishop, and condemns his Book. See the first great Volume, p. 254.	

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The Emperor <i>Henry</i> the fourth being conquered in battel of his rebellious son <i>Henry</i> the fifth, set against him by Pope <i>Paschalis</i> the second, is so poor, that he intreated the Bishop of <i>Spire</i> (to whom he had been kind) to have a Prebend there; having some skill to serve in the Ladies Quire: but the Bishop swearing by the Lady a flat denial; the Emperor forlorn of Son, Kingdom, Bishop, and all, goes to <i>Leodunum</i> and there dies (having reigned fifty years) whose body buried, <i>Paschalis</i> takes up again, and causeth it to be kept unburied five years. <i>Henry</i> the fifth coming to be Crowned at <i>Rome</i> , could not obtain it, till he ratified it, that no Emperor should have to do in the Election of the Roman Bishop. Afore he yielded to it; and about other things, there was such opposition between this <i>Henry</i> the fifth and the Pope, that unless he had defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain. <i>Anselm</i> Archbishop died. The See is void five years. The Bishoprick of <i>Ely</i> first founded. <i>Henry</i> the Bishop. <i>Trent</i> river dried up about <i>Notingham</i> , from morning till three in the afternoon, that men might go over dry-shod. <i>Gisburn</i> . <i>Thames</i> this year, from the Tower to the Bridge, from midnight to next evening, scarce knee deep: innumerable people and children wading over; the Tyde falling short of its custom ten miles. This year <i>Worcester</i> is burnt. This Pope <i>Gelasius</i> was set up by the Cardinals, without the Emperor. <i>Thurstinus</i> chosen Archbishop of <i>York</i> ; will not make his procession of obedience to the See of <i>Canterbury</i> , where he was consecrated, for which the King deprives him. Hence rose great ado between the Archbishop <i>Thurstinus</i> and the King. This Pope <i>Gregory</i> is set up by the Emperor. Pope <i>Gelasius</i> is driven into <i>France</i> . This Pope <i>Calistus</i> is set up by a few Cardinals. He first excommunicates the Emperor <i>Henry</i> the fifth, then drives <i>P. Gregory</i> out of <i>Rome</i> . The Emperor is again forced to ratifie his consent, of passing away his right of choosing the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> ; and moreover to ratifie this Pope <i>Calixtus</i> to be Pope, though the Emperor, <i>P. Gregory</i> was yet alive. Pope <i>Calistus</i> in the business about <i>Thurstin</i> Interdicts the Church of <i>Canterbury</i> and <i>York</i> , and all the Parishes within the same; unless <i>Thurstin</i> without exacting subjection to <i>Canterbury</i> be admitted to the See of <i>York</i> ; and that the King (with the Pope in his Epistle to <i>England</i>) should be excommunicated, except he consented to the same. <i>Thurstin</i> is received to his See, and reconciled to the King. The King calls a Council at <i>London</i> , where he gets the Clergy to give him the punishment of married Priests; which granted, for money the King lets them have their wives. The Order of the Knights of the <i>Rhodes</i> , called the <i>Johannites</i> , and of the <i>Templars</i> , rose up at this time. The Priory of <i>Norton</i> founded. The King is troubled with three Visions, the first of multitudes of Husbandmen flying on him with their Mattocks; requiring the debt he owed unto them. The second of Soldiers, falling upon him. The third of Bishops, threatening him with their Episcopal staves. To prevent the coming to pass of these, he vowed three things: first, repentance, secondly, alms, and thirdly amendment of life. The King is in a great tempest at Sea in this year 1131. He releaseth to the Commons <i>Dunegilt</i> : he gave to the Churchmen much, and looked to execution of justice, as after his deliverance from the tempest, to fulfill his three Vows. King <i>Henry</i> dies, being in <i>Normandy</i> . Notwithstanding the Oath of <i>Stephen</i> and of the Nobility to <i>Maud</i> formerly, before her Father, they set not up her, or young <i>Henry</i> the son: but this <i>Stephen</i> , sisters son to King <i>Henry</i> , takes upon him the Crown, and him the Nobility Crown on St. <i>Stephens</i> day. The King takes the Bishop of <i>Sarum</i> , and the Bishop of <i>Lincoln</i> , and puts ropes about their necks, and led them to Castles held against him, threatening to put to death the Bishops, unless the rebels would yield. This <i>Conradus</i> Emperor, is the only man, among many Emperors, that did not receive his Crown from the Pope. <i>Maud</i> the Empress comes with a great army into <i>England</i> , being aided by the Earls of <i>Gloucester</i> and <i>Chester</i> , and wars on King <i>Stephen</i> , and takes him prisoner. Then the <i>Kentishmen</i> and <i>Londoners</i> war against <i>Maud</i> .	Vol. 1. Page
1103	Henry 9.					217
1105						221
1106						222
1107						
1109						223
1110						
1113						
1114						
1115						
1118						
		<i>Gelasius 2. and Gregory 8. both Popes together.</i>	<i>Redulfus.</i>			
		<i>Gregory 8. and Calistus 2. (Gelasius being gone) are both Popes together.</i>				
1119						
1122						
1125	<i>Isabring Sane.</i>	<i>Honorius 2.</i>				
1128						
1130						
		<i>Innocent 2. and Anacletus 2. both Popes together.</i>				
1131						
1135						
1136			<i>Stephen.</i>			226
1138	<i>Conradus 3.</i>					
1140			<i>Theobald.</i>			228

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				<p><i>Maud</i>, and takes the Earl of <i>Glocester</i> Prisoner. So he and King <i>Stephen</i> are freed by exchange. Then King <i>Stephen</i> in all haste gathers another Army, and chalet <i>Maud</i> the Empreſs out of the Land.</p> <p>But the Earl of <i>Glocester</i> and <i>Cheſter</i> were ſo ſtrong, that they in Fight had almoſt taken King <i>Stephen</i>.</p> <p><i>Euface</i>, King <i>Stephens</i> Son, wars againſt <i>Normandy</i>, but in vain.</p> <p><i>Henry</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> makes War in behalf of his Mother <i>Maud</i>, with great puiſſance in <i>England</i>, winning the Tower of <i>London</i>, and many other places.</p> <p><i>Euface</i>, King <i>Stephens</i> Son, dies.</p> <p>Peace is made between King <i>Stephen</i> and <i>Henry</i> of <i>Normandy</i>; upon this condition, that <i>Stephen</i> ſhould enjoy the Kingdom his life-time; and mean while <i>Henry</i> ſhould be proclaimed in the chief Towns of the Kingdom, Heir apparent to the Crown.</p> <p>The <i>Jews</i> Crucifie a Child in <i>Norwich</i>.</p> <p>This year alſo comes in, the curſing with Bell, Book and Candle.</p> <p>Theſe two Popes, <i>Lucius</i> and <i>Eugenius</i>, much withſtood the <i>Romans</i> this time, in their laboring to recover the old manner of chooſing their Conſuls and Senators.</p>	
1143					
1144		Celeſtine 2. Lucius 2. Eugenius 3.			
				<p>In the time of King <i>Stephens</i> Reign (its not ſet down diſtinctly in what years) flouriſhed as ſome Authors affirm.</p> <p><i>Gratianus</i>, compiler of the Popes Decrees.. } Brethren. <i>Petrus Lombardus</i>, maſter of the Sentences. } <i>Petrus Comestor</i>, writer of the Scholaſt ſtory. } <i>Hugo de Sancto Victore</i>. <i>Bernardus Clarevallensis</i>. <i>Hildegare</i> the Nun, a Prophetess. <i>Johannes de temporibus</i>, who (as moſt of our old Authors affirm) lived 361 years: He lived the laſt of his days in this Kings time.</p>	
1152	Fredericus Barbaroſſa.			<p>In this Kings time, by <i>Theobald</i> Archbiſhop it was Decreed, that Biſhops ſhould teach their Flock more diligently, that reading of the Scriptures ſhould be more frequented in Abbies, that Prieſts ſhould learn and teach the Lords Prayer and the Creed in Engliſh.</p> <p>Being the ſixteenth year of King <i>Stephen</i>, <i>Theobald</i> Archbiſhop of <i>Canterbury</i> and Legate to the Pope, began in the Council at <i>London</i>, the new found appellations from Councils to the Pope, invented by <i>Henry</i> Biſhop of <i>Wincheſter</i>.</p>	
1153		Anaſtaſius 4. Adrian 4.	Henry 2.	<p>This Pope <i>Adrian</i> was an <i>Engliſhman</i>, his Sir-name was <i>Breakſpear</i>, he belonged once to <i>St. Albons</i>, he kept much ado alſo to put down the <i>Roman</i> Conſuls, Senators, &c.</p>	228
1154				<p>This King <i>Henry</i> was the Son of <i>Geffery Plantagenet</i>, and of <i>Maud</i> the Empreſs, and Daughter of King <i>Henry</i> the firſt.</p> <p>This King <i>Henry</i>, the firſt year of his reign, ſubdued <i>Ireland</i>; and not long after made <i>Thomas Becket</i> Lord Chancellor of <i>England</i>. He ſubdued <i>William</i> King of <i>Scotland</i>: He ſubduing <i>Wales</i>, cut down many woods to make the way plain. He alſo had in his Rule the Iſles <i>Orcades</i>, alſo <i>Poitou</i> and <i>Guien</i>, <i>Normandy</i>, <i>Gascoine</i>, <i>Angeou</i> and <i>Chinon</i>. Alſo <i>Alverne</i> and the City of <i>Tbolouſe</i> he won. Laſtly, by the Title of his Wife <i>Eleanor</i>, Daughter to the Earl of <i>Poitou</i>, he obtained the Mounts <i>Pyram</i> in <i>Spain</i>. None of his Progenitors had ſo many Countries.</p>	
1157				<p>Two Suns ſeen in the Firmament in <i>England</i>.</p> <p>Three Suns ſeen three hours in <i>Italy</i>.</p> <p>Three Moons appear, whereof the middle had a red Croſs overthwart the face: which betokened (as ſome conceive) the great Schiſm between the Cardinals, for the election of the Biſhops of <i>Rome</i>: or elſe rather the buſineſs between <i>Fredericus Barbaroſſa</i>, Emperor, and the Pope, <i>Adrian</i>, of which more will follow by and by.</p> <p>After the appearance of thoſe great Lights in the Firmament and Air, appeared in the Church <i>Gerbardus</i> and <i>Dulcinus</i>, Preachers againſt the Antichriſt of <i>Rome</i>, as he that was prefigured by the Whore of <i>Babylon</i> in the <i>Apocalypſ</i>. Theſe two (as <i>Robert Guisburnes</i> ſtory affirms) brought thirty with them into <i>England</i>; who by the King and Prelates were all burnt in the Fore-head, and ſo driven out of the Kingdom, and after (as <i>Illyricus</i> writeth) were ſlain by the Pope.</p>	
1158				<p>The buſineſs between Pope <i>Adrian</i> the fourth, was: firſt, that the Emperor held the Popes ſtirrup on the left ſide; who excuſed himſelf to the offended Pope, by telling him, That he had not been uſed to hold ſtirrups. The next day the Emperor makes amends by holding it on the right ſide. Secondly, that the Emperor having marched into <i>Italy</i>, ſubduing ſome Rebels, he was informed by the Pope, that according to the former cuſtom of <i>Carolus Magnus</i> ſubduing the <i>Lombards</i>, <i>Orto</i> the <i>Berengarians</i>, and <i>Lotharius</i> the <i>Normans</i>, who left for the See of <i>Rome</i> ſome token of benevolence, for the obtaining their Victories, he ſhould likewiſe upon this Victory of his, leave a benevolence; and in particular, it muſt be <i>Apulia</i>; which at his own coſt and pains he muſt win from Duke <i>William</i>, that it might be reſtored again to the Church of <i>Rome</i>. This buſineſs was ſo reſolved upon by the Pope, that until the Emperor promiſed the ſame, he could not receive his Crown from the Pope. For the Popes in thoſe days had the Em-</p>	

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					perors at this a-bey, that for to be Crowned they were fain to yield to any thing. But the Pope himself in stirring in the execution of this Plot, was so besieged by <i>William</i> the Duke, that before intreated peace of the Pope, which would not yield it upon any terms, that they were forced to intreat the Duke for peace; which was granted, with profitable conditions to the Duke. The Emperor this while sitting quietly at home, and considering how the Pope had wrested his power in Election of Popes, investing of Prelates, &c. how he had pilled and polled all Nations by the Legates, and sown discord in his Empire: Hereupon he requires Homage and Oath of Allegiance of all his Bishops; and forbids the Popes Legates to enter into the Empire, without his sending for, and all Appeals to <i>Rome</i> . Finally, In his Letters he prefixed his name before the Emperor. Hereupon the Pope writes a rebuking Letter to the Emperor. The Emperor writes back, in defence of his doings, an Apologetical Epistle. The Pope replies with a Bull of Excommunication. The Emperor makes answer to that with accusatory Letters against the vileness, pride, &c. of the See of <i>Rome</i> . Then the Pope writes to the <i>German</i> Bishops to work against the Emperor. The Bishops they write their excusing of the Emperor. This Pope towards the end of his life (who dyed amidst those broils, being choaked with a Fly as he was walking abroad) was wont to say, That there was no more miserable kind of Life in the Earth, than to be a Pope.	
1159		Alexander the third, and Victor the fourth, both Popes together.			This Pope, being set up by the Popes Faction. This <i>Victor</i> was set up by the Emperor and nine Cardinals. The two Popes made great Schism and Tumult.	229 230
					The Emperor to quiet them, sent for them to appear before him. <i>Alexander</i> scorns the motion; <i>Victor</i> doth appear: him therefore the Emperor aids to the City, and settles him to be Pope. <i>Alexander</i> then flying to <i>France</i> , to <i>Secil</i> and <i>Venice</i> , works by money and cunning; gets the City of <i>Rome</i> on his side to set up such Consuls as were for his turn. Also of the <i>French</i> , and <i>Venetians</i> , and <i>Apulians</i> , he got force of Ships and Arms on his side: against which the Emperor sends his Son <i>Oibo</i> with Ships and Men well appointed, against the <i>Venetians</i> and the Pope; charging him to do nothing till he should come to him. But he not tarrying for his Father, was beaten and taken: for the delivery of whom, the Emperor was fain to submit himself to the Pope; who putting his Foot upon the Emperors Neck, spake these Words; <i>Thou shalt walk upon the Adders and Basilisks, and shalt tread down the Lyon and Dragon</i> . Mean while the Emperor speaking to the Pope from under his Foot, <i>Not to thee, but to Peter</i> : The Pope answers, <i>Both to me and to Peter</i> . Thus the Emperor having subjected himself, promising to take <i>Alexander</i> for the true Pope, and to restore all he had taken away from <i>Rome</i> , departed.	
1160					Pope <i>Alexander</i> the third, sitting Pope one and twenty years, calling divers Councils at <i>Turo</i> , ratified the wicked acts of <i>Hildebrand</i> . This year many chief Men of <i>Lyons</i> walking together, one whereof falling down dead, to the amazement of them all, one <i>Waldus</i> a rich man, was above all the rest, by Gods Spirit working together with the example, stricken with a sound inward repentance, a new life following thereupon, with great study of the Word of God, wherewith he much instructed his Family, others also resorting to him to be taught; and so he became the original of the <i>Waldenses</i> .	231
1161				Tho. Becket	This <i>Becket</i> lived in the time of this Pope <i>Alexander</i> . He did not (as some affirm) dye a Martyr, but a stubborn man against his King; who had preferred him from an Arch-deacon, to be Lord Chancellor of <i>England</i> , and after to be Arch-bishop of <i>Canterbury</i> . The Pope, viz. <i>Alexander</i> the third, holds with <i>Becket</i> in his obstinacy against the King and his Laws. The Bishops generally counselling <i>Becket</i> to submission to the King, are sharply rated by him. This year a child was Crucified by the Jews. This year a Collection of two pence in every pound, was gathered throughout all <i>England</i> and <i>France</i> , for the succor of the East Christians against the <i>Turks</i> . This year, being about the fifteenth year of King <i>Henry</i> the second, so feared, lest the Arch-bishop would proceed to Excommunication of his own Person, that he appealed to the Pope, intreating him to send down two Legates to <i>England</i> , to take up the matter between him and his Arch-bishop. This year the Doctrine of the <i>Waldenses</i> (coming of that <i>Waldus</i> an able and learned man in the Scriptures and true Godliness, as hath been seen	234 235 236 247 263
1167						
1169						
1170						

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				seen in old Parchments, and Records of things of his penning) sprang up more and more in the time of this wicked Pope Alexander, who with his Faction much set against these Christians, whose tenents are ordinarily to be seen to be very Orthodox and sound.	
				This year William King of Scots, with David his Brother, do Homage to England.	
				This year Babylon was destroyed (and never built again) by Almaricus King of Jerusalem.	
				Becket this year bare another grudge against the King, because King Henry the second, by Authority of the Parliament, Crowning his Son King, by the hands of the Arch-bishop of York, and other Bishops, not sending for him. Also he makes the Pope to suspend the Bishops.	252
				This same year also Ludovike the French King, came with a great Army against the King to Normandy, for not Crowning Margaret his Daughter, with her Husband.	
1171				Becket is slain by four Souldiers. Many Authors alleadged that condemned Becket's carriage towards the King.	253
				Abundance of strange lies are reported touching Becket's miracles.	255
				Of him was made this blasphemous Anthem :	256
				For the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend, Grant us Christ to climb Where Thomas did ascend.	
				The Pope is angry, and more incensed by Ludovike the French King, for the death of Becket.	
				The Pope enjoyns the four Knights that killed Becket such hard penance of going to Jerusalem barefoot in linen Breeches, with much Fasting and Prayer, that in few years after they are said to dye.	
			Richard.	The King subdued Ireland, and four of the five Kings thereof: the King of Tomacta in that Land, denying to be subdued; keeping in Woods and Marishes.	
1172				The Legates from the Pope, being come into Normandy, touching the death of Becket, the King repairs to them, swears he neither assented to, nor assisted in Becket's death; but only spake rigorously against his Knights which did not avenge him of Becket. For which the Legates enjoyn the King great penance, of fighting against the Turk, and obliging himself to the Pope.	
1173				All England almost diseased with a Cough.	
				William King of Scots, is Imprisoned in England, being taken in War. See the first great Vol. p. 302.	
1174				This year Canterbury City is almost all burnt.	256
1175				A Convocation of Bishops is held this year about the subjection of Bishopricks to the Arch-bishop of York, and of York to Canterbury.	
				This year King Henry the second divides the Kingdom into six parts, appoints for every part three Justices of Assise.	
1176				The ancient Custom of exempting Priests from the temporal Sword, in case of Murther, inflicting on them only Excommunication: this year, in this King Henries time, began to be altered, by the procurement of Richard Arch-bishop of Canterbury.	
				Ireland this year is subdued to the King of England.	
1177				Hovenden in this year brings in Letters of Pope Alexander to Roger Arch-bishop of York, and the Bishop of Duresm.	
				Contention between the Arch-bishop of York and Canterbury revives.	
1178				The Popes Commissioners persecute sorely some in Tholouse, holding against Transubstantiation.	
1179				Pope Alexander, in some of those many Councils held at Laterane, whereof was one this year, and in France, &c. Decreed, That no Arch-bishop should receive the Pall, unless he would first swear. The form of giving the Pall and taking the Oath, see the first great Volume, p. 298.	
				Under the Reign of this Henry the second, the Dominions and Crown of England extended farther than ever before in England.	258
				Scotland. Ireland. England. Normandy. Aquitain. Gant, &c. To the Mountain of Pirenei, which be the uttermost parts of the great Ocean in the British Sea.	
				Viz. He is King over	
1180				Pisanus Burgundo, a very Learned man in Greek and Latine, presents to Pope Alexander's Council, Chrysostoms Homily on the Gospel of John, translated out of Greek into Latine.	
1181				He is Protector of France; Philip the French King yielding himself and his Realm wholly to his Governance.	
				He	

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					He was offered to be King of <i>Jerusalem</i> , but he refused it, fearing [the rebellion of his sons in his absence. Princes from most parts of Christendom came to this King, for his wisdom to be advised, and have questions determined. He maintained great Wars much of his thirty five years he reigned; yet never put he any Tax upon the Laity, or First-fruits or Appropriations upon the Clergy; and yet dyed worth 900000 pounds, besides Jewels, precious stones, and household Furniture. This many-ways-happy King, was unhappy in his Sons, who stood in armor against him, taking part with the <i>French</i> King against him; causing him with extreme grief to fall sick, and in four days to dye. The King being dead, bled afresh at the coming near one of his Sons; whereby the Beholders concluded, that he was the Author of his Fathers death. His Sons (their Kingly Father being dead) unsuccessful in their Designs, as what else could be expected of such Sons? lose all their Fathers Dominions beyond Sea. Great contention was between this <i>Baldwinus</i> and the Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> . See the first great Vol. p. 309. Pope <i>Urban</i> writes to Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> , sharply rebuking him, and upholding the Monks. In few days after he dyes. This year King <i>Henry</i> pays to <i>Rome</i> 40000 marks of Silver, and five thousand of Gold, for the death of <i>Becket</i> . Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> begins the building of the new House at <i>Lambeth</i> , with the Church. Pope <i>Gregory</i> dyes with sorrow for the loss of the Holy Cross. This Pope <i>Clement</i> forbids Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> to proceed. And also sharply writes (as did Pope <i>Urban</i>) to rebuke him as an oppressor of the Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> . This Pope <i>Clement</i> sends another more sharp Letter to this Arch-bishop, by his Legate <i>Rodulphus</i> , to the same effect. This year Pope <i>Clement</i> writes a third Letter to Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> . This King forbidding any <i>Jews</i> to approach his Palace at his Coronation, the <i>Jews</i> notwithstanding pressing on, were by the Gate-keepers smitten, and at last many, on boldship of the Kings command of keeping them out of the Palace, slew many of them; on which was raised a report, that all the <i>Jews</i> must be destroyed; inasmuch, that the <i>Londoners</i> fired divers houses of the <i>Jews</i> , and the Inhabitants in them. The King strongly took part with the Arch-bishop against the Monks. The King sorrowing for his rebellion against his Father, for satisfaction agrees with King <i>Philip</i> of <i>France</i> to go to the Holy Land, to recover Christ his Patrimony, as they called it. In which Voyage, as he had much contention with the unthankful hearted <i>French</i> King, so he had divers Victories against the enemy; as against <i>Isakius</i> King of <i>Cyprus</i> , and against <i>Achon</i> and others. See following, Anno 1192, &c. The manner of the Popes Crowning this Emperor, see in the next year. In this year was a great Northern brawl, on Twelfth-Even, between the Arch-bishop elect of the Church of <i>York</i> , and his Company on the one side, and <i>Henry</i> Dean of that Church, and his Chanter and Singing-men on the other side; because the Dean and his Quiresters presumed to begin their Service before the Bishop came: whom they conceived to stay too long in attiring himself, or some such occasion. The Arch-bishop bids them stay their over-forward Service, now half done at the Bishops coming in: The Dean and Chanter bids them proceed on. At last, the Arch-bishop silenced the Service, and makes them begin again the first part, which he had not yet heard: The others, seeing the Bishops Authority to make the Service begin again, put out the Lights; whereby these Popish Devotions, which cannot be done without Candle-light, were for the present extinguished.	258
1184				<i>Baldwin</i> .		267
1185		<i>Urban 3.</i>				
1187						
1188		<i>Gregory 2.</i> <i>Clement 3.</i>				
1189			<i>Richard the first, surnamed Coeur de Lion.</i>			
1190	<i>Henry 6. son of Frederick Bar. 5.</i>					
1191		<i>Celest. 3.</i>			King <i>Richard</i> sends over his Gallies to <i>Naples</i> , there to meet his Mother <i>Eleanor</i> , and <i>Berengaria</i> the Daughter of <i>Sanctius</i> King of <i>Navar</i> , whom he purposed to Marry, who shortly after meet together. <i>Henry</i> Emperor is Crowned (upon condition of restoring many things to <i>St. Peter</i> , pretended by the Pope to have been taken away) the Pope holding the Crown between his Feet, and so the Emperor stoops with his Head to take it on: the Pope effoons with his Foot striking it off (intimating his Power to Depose him as well as to Crown him) the Cardinals taking up the Crown thus kicked off, and putting it on again. In this absence of the King of <i>England</i> , by reason of his Voyage to the Holy-land, the King had appointed the Government of the Realm to <i>Hugo</i> Bishop of <i>Durham</i> , and <i>William</i> Bishop of <i>Ely</i> . To <i>Hugo</i> of <i>Durham</i> was committed <i>Windsor</i> Castle: to <i>William</i> of <i>Ely</i> the Tower of <i>London</i> . To these two Bishops were adjoined four chief Justices: <i>Hugh Bardolf</i> , <i>William Marshall</i> , <i>Geffery Peterson</i> , and <i>William Bruer</i> , to have the hearing and oversight over all Causes. But above all these, the Bishop of <i>Ely</i> (being Chancellor, and by his Money got to be the Popes Legate) took upon him mightily, taking away <i>Windsor</i> Castle from the other Bishop. It is incredible to think how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused themselves after the Kings departure into	275 276 278

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					into Syria, in excess of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressions of the Kings Subjects.	
					A great contention arose between <i>John</i> Earl of <i>Morton</i> , the Kings Brother, with other states of the Realm, and the said <i>William</i> Bishop of <i>Ely</i> , through his pride usurping all the government of the Kingdom to himself. In short, he was at variance with many of the great persons of the Kingdom, till by <i>Earl Johns</i> means and others, he was for his ill behaviour fain to disguise himself in Womans apparel, make to the Sea side, and to sail out of the Kingdom, complaining to Pope <i>Celestine</i> , and sending Letters to the King, complaining to him likewise.	
1192					The King gets Victories against the <i>Saladine</i> , got <i>Sclavonia</i> from the <i>Saracens</i> .	
1193				<i>Hubertus.</i>	The French King not agreeing with King <i>Richard</i> , returns home, invades <i>Normandy</i> , persuades <i>John</i> the Kings Brother to take upon him the Crown of <i>England</i> in the Kings absence; whereby he made League with the French King, and did him Homage.	
					King <i>Richard</i> hearing this, makes peace with the <i>Turk</i> for three years, and returns homeward; who, as he was coming, by Tempest was driven to <i>Hispria</i> , to a Town called <i>Synaca</i> , and taken by <i>Lymbold</i> Duke of that Country, and by him sold to the Emperor for sixty thousand Marks; which Emperor writes his triumph therein to the said French King.	
					The King is thus a Captive a year and three months.	
					This while the French King wars upon <i>Normandy</i> , and makes <i>Earl John</i> , King <i>Richards</i> Brother to invade <i>England</i> . But by the Barons he was made fly into <i>France</i> . At last for 100000 pounds to the Emperor, the King was released; that money being made up of Chalice, Crofies and other Church-plate.	
1195					This year the Pope granted that Priests might administer with Latin and tin Chalices (the Silver and Gold being gone to redeem the King) and so it continued long after.	281
1196					<i>Lymboldus</i> Duke of <i>Auftrige</i> fell in displeasure with the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , and died excommunicate.	
1197					<i>Philip</i> King of <i>France</i> breaks his Truce made with <i>Richard</i> King of <i>England</i> , so that King <i>Richard</i> was fain to sail over into <i>Normandy</i> to withstand him.	
					<i>Fulco</i> , alias <i>Gualter</i> , Archbishop of <i>Rome</i> , rebukes the King for his three Daughters. The King in a rage calling him mad man, and saying, <i>I have no Daughter</i> . <i>Fulco</i> replies, telling him that his three Daughters were <i>Pride Covetousness and Luxury</i> ; and that unless the King did marry them away they would undo him and his Kingdom. To which the King calling the Nobles, reciting <i>Fulco</i> his Parable, and confessing his fatherhood of such Children, makes this answer, <i>Here before you all I give my Daughter Pride to Wife unto the proud Templars; my Daughter Avarice to the covetous order of the Cistercian Monks: and my Daughter Luxury to the riotous Prelates</i> .	281
1198		<i>Innocent the third.</i>			King <i>Richard</i> the sixth, viewing a Castle, is hit with an Arrow in the Arm, with the setting of the iron whereof he dies.	
1199	<i>Otto the fourth.</i>				This King <i>John</i> was the Brother of King <i>Richard</i> , and Earl of <i>Morton</i> ; being crowned and sworn with a strict charge of the Archbishop to keep the Laws, he sails over into <i>Normandy</i> , and makes truce with the French King for a time.	
			<i>John.</i>		King <i>John</i> being divorced from his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of <i>Glocester</i> , being in the third degree of kindred; by the counsel of the French King, he marries <i>Isabel</i> , Daughter of the Earl of <i>Anguilla</i> ; and then <i>Arthur</i> of <i>Britain</i> did Homage to King <i>John</i> for <i>Britain</i> and other places.	282
1200					About this time arose divers contentions between King <i>John</i> and the Archbishop for sundry things.	
1202					<i>Philip</i> the French King in a communication between him and King <i>John</i> , requies King <i>John</i> to part with all his Lands in <i>Normandy</i> , and <i>Pictavia</i> , which he had beyond the Sea, unto <i>Arthur</i> his Nephew, the Son of King <i>John</i> 's elder Brother, and that presently, or else he would war against him. King <i>John</i> denying it, the French King warring, and <i>Arthur</i> assisting, King <i>John</i> takes <i>Arthur</i> Prisoner, and scarce leaves any of the French to carry back tidings.	
1203					This year King <i>John</i> for lack of rescue lost all his Holds, (as Writers affirm) and Possessions in <i>Normandy</i> , through the force of the French King.	
1205					<i>Hubert</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> deceaseth. The younger sort of Monks at midnight choose their superiour <i>Reignold</i> , and without the Kings licence, privately placeth him in the Metropolitcal Seat, singing <i>Te Deum</i> , and after post him away to the Pope.	
1206					The next year the contention between the Suffragans and Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> about the said Election, is brought before the Pope, who passed sentence on the Monks side, charging the Suffragans and Bishops of <i>Canterbury</i> henceforth to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone.	
1207				<i>Stephen Langton.</i>	The Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> now having the said Elect of an Archbishop in their own hands, fall at odds between themselves, the younger against the elder; the younger standing for <i>Reignold</i> , the elder choote another.	283

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	They bringing their cause, their Elections and Allegations before Pope Innocent the third; he condemning both their Elections, commanded them to choose Stephen Langton, then Cardinal of Saint Chrysigen, for their Archbishop, which done, though with secret muttering of many the Monks, they sing Te Deum.	Vol. 1. Page
1212	Frederick 2.				The King was content to let this Election thus to pass, so as he might have his Sovereignty entire. But this Archbishop Langton was so proud and stubborn against the King, that the King sent abroad into all parts of the Kingdom Letters Certificatory of the same. Whereupon the Pope mightily sets himself against King John, interdicting and cursing King John, and all that should eat, drink, talk, &c. with him; inasmuch that at last the King was fain to pass over his Crown to the Pope.	285
1215					The French King makes an attempt in hope to get the Crown of England, but the English take 300 of the French Kings Ships, and so defeated his project.	
					Pope Innocent the third calls a Synod at Rome, called the Council of Lateran, upon this occasion. Princes now beginning to resist the Pope, where by many Princes were excommunicated, as Otto the Emperor, John King of England, Peter King of Aragon, Raimund the Earl of Tolouse, Aquitania, Sataloni, &c. The Pope now to prevent any future increase of opposition, inacts in this Synod, that the Pope henceforth should have the correction of all Christian Princes.	287
					In this Council also was first invented Transubstantiation; and forbidding Priests Marriage was confirmed.	
1216		Honorius 3.			To this Council were those great men in England summoned to appear, who would not consent to the expulsion and tyrannical deposing of their King. But the other side and faction of the Nobility opposed their King lustily, desiring Philip the French King to send his eldest Son Ludovick with a great power, and they would choose him for their King, and so he came and was chosen; howbeit against the Popes consent, who charged the French King rather to help King John against his rebellious Subjects, for that (saith the Pope) King John is my feudary Tenant. But this hindred not.	288
					Simon Langton is chosen Archbishop of York. But that choice was anon dissolved, information being given to the Pope, that he was Brother to that Stephen Langton that had made that tumult in England.	
					This year K. John was poisoned by one Simon a Monk, who being absolved of his Abbot afore-hand for doing this fact, he finds a Toad in the Garden, pricks him with a Pen-knife, until he had made him vomit up all his poyson, which he having conveyed into a Cup of Wine, began to the King with a smiling countenance, speaking these words, If it shall please your Princely Majesty, here is such a Cup of Wine, as you never drank a better, I trust this Wassel shall make all England glad. The King having drunk, and anon being ill, inquired for Simon the Monk, to whom some answering that he was departed this life (for his Guts gushed out of his Belly) the King replies, Then God have mercy on my soul; and so he died, much repenting of his former life.	290
			Henry 3.		In this Kings time was the Bridge of London, being of Wood, built of Stone and the power of choosing a Mayor in London was first granted.	
1217					Henry the third being King John's eldest Son, began his Reign in the ninth year of his age. Against him, some that hated the Father, stood for Lewis the K. of France his Son. But W. Earl Marshal orating to the Nobles, that the French Kings Son was the shame of their servitude, and that hatred of the Child for the Father, was unjust persecution of the innocent Child; Hereupon they all gave consent to choose this young Henry for their King; who is crowned at Glocester, because the French held Westminster.	290
1218					Upon the choice of the Son of King John to be King, Lewis the French Kings Son makes War upon England; Earl Marshal and others gives him Battel, and win the Field of him. Then Lewis takes London for his safety, shutting the Gates till great aid from France was sent him in 100 ships, but they were encountred with upon the Sea, most of them taken, and Eustace the chief of them, and his Head was smitten off; so that the French Kings Son Lewis agreed for 1000 pound of Silver he would depart out of the Kingdom never to return he nor his.	
					A Parliament is held in England (now Lewis and his French are gone out of the Land) in which King Henry the third confirmeth all the priviledges that had been granted by John his Father.	292
1219					The Kingdom on the other side grant to the King two shillings of every Plow-Land.	
					Thomas Becket is shined.	
1220					This year Order was proclaimed, that all Aliens should depart out of the Realm, except Merchandizers, going in and out under the Popes safe conduct. It was conceived that the device was to make divers great Men strangers, that held Castles and Holds of the King against his will, to go out of the Kingdom.	
					About this time the young King was crowned again at Westminster.	
					This year the Pope of Rome stirs up Ludovike the French King to lay Siege against the City of Tolouse to extinguish the Albigenses. Vol. 1. Page 302.	

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1221					The Lord keeps the <i>Albigenſes</i> that the French King and his Hoſt could not touch them; but ſtrikes them with a ſore Peſtilence and Famine, forcing them to retire home again to France, Vol. I. p. This year the King went to Oxford, where he had ſomething to do with William Earl de Albemarle. The Gray or Minorite Friars enter firſt into England. The Houſe of the <i>Carthuſian</i> Monks is founded. In England are ſuch violent Tempeſts, that many Trees, Towers, Churches, are thrown down, and ſome perſons ſlain in an Houſe. Philip the French King dies, his Son Ludovike ſucceeding him. The Order of Friars Minorites is confirmed by Pope Honorius the third. Pope Honorius the third, a great adverſary to Frederick Emperor, dies, after whom ſucceeds Gregory the ninth, more grievous than his Predeceſſor. Franciſcus Patron of the Frier Minorites dies. Ela foundeth the Houſe of the Nuns at Lacock. W. Biſhop of London gave over his Biſhoprick. The Pope works Reimundus the good Earl of Tholouſe great trouble. This year the King of England makes the Londoners to pay the ſum of 1000 Marks to him, becauſe they had given or lent the like ſum to Lewis the French King his adverſary, at his departure out of England. With theſe and other Taxes, proviſion is made to recover Normandy. The King grants to the City of London to be Toll-free. Great contention ariſeth between the Prior and Covent of Durham, and this K. Henry the third, becauſe they would not chooſe him to their Biſhop whom the King did deſire.	303
1222						
1223						
1224		Gregory the 9th.				
1226						
1227						304
1228						307
1229				Richardus magnus.	The choice of this Archbiſhop, coſt the Realm the tenths of all moveables, ſee Vol. I. The new Church of Coventry is finiſhed by Alexander the Biſhop of that City. The French provide again to War againſt the ſoſaid Reimundus Earl of Tholouſe, and to expulſe him out of his poſſeſſions. The Earl gives them a great overthrow, and diſcomfits the French three times that ſummer. As the Biſhop and his Deacon, and many people were in Saint Paul's Church in London at Maſs, there aroſe ſuch a dark Tempeſt with Thunder, &c. that the people ran out, fell down amazed, conceiving that Doomes-day was come; the Biſhop and Deacon mean while take faſt hold of the Altar. The Archbiſhop now confirmed in his See, complains againſt Hubert Lord Chief Juſtice, as one that withheld ſome Lands due to Canterbury. The Archbiſhop goes to the Pope, and complains againſt the King for committing ſo much truſt of the affairs of the Kingdom to Hubert. Richard dies in his return from complaining to the Pope, in whoſe room the Monks chooſe Ralph Nevel, alias Radulphus de nova Villa, who was the Kings Chancellor, the King well liking the choice; He is commended in ſtories to be a very good man. But being depraved and traduced to the Pope by Simon Langhton Archbiſhop of York, the Pope fruſtrates the choice. Then the Monks chooſe John their Prior to be Archbiſhop, who going to the Pope (and therefore not inſufficient by age to govern, who could take ſuch a Voyage) to receive his Pall, and being examined three days, was rejected for being too old by the Pope, perhaps older than was he. A great Conſistory of Abbots, Priors, and of the Nobility, is held at S. Albans between the Counteſs of Eſſex and her Husband. Roman and Italian Parſons in England are robbed. The Biſhops labour to bring Hubert out of the Kings favour, and prevail, to the incenſing of the King againſt him, and making him to queſtion Hubert for many things unreaſonably, to imprifon him, and bereave him of all his treaſure. Hubert is conveyed out of Priſon into a Church; but without reſpect to that as a Sanctuary, he being found by the Keepers is dragged to Priſon again, to the great offence of the Biſhop, for ſo diſreſpecting the ſacredneſs of that place. John Blund is choſen Archbiſhop. But he is the third of thoſe that are unchoſen by the Pope one after another, before any election would take with the Pope. This Archbiſhop Edmund was choſen by the Popes command. Archbiſhop Edmund with his Biſhops in Council at Weſtmiſter (the King now being at variance with the Nobles) declared to the King plainly that the Council he followed was not good, but dangerous to him and the ſtate (meaning the counſel of Peter Wincheſter, and Peter of Rival, &c.) ſhewing it in their turning the Kings heart from his own natural Subjects, and in eleven particulars more. The King takes pity of Juſtice Hubert's Wife. Richard Earl Marſhal is fraudulently circumvented and ſlain in Ireland. The King laments it. Many of the <i>Catini</i> and the <i>Albigenſes</i> are ſlain by the Popes command. Peace is concluded between the King and the Nobles. Juſtice Hubert is reſtored again to the Kings favour. The King calling a Council, calls the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Peter Rival, Stephen Segrave, &c. to account for abuſing his Seal, &c.	309
1230						
1231						
1232						310
1233						311
1234				Edmund, of Abendon.		312
						314
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					Great variance ariseth between the <i>Romans</i> and Pope Gregory the ninth, because the Pope contended contrary to the custom (as the <i>Romans</i> pleaded) that he might excommunicate a Citizen of <i>Rome</i> , and interdict the City.	
1237					Schism ariseth between the <i>Greek</i> and the <i>Roman</i> Church, because that an elected <i>Grecian</i> Archbishop, could not be confirmed when he was come to <i>Rome</i> , unless he would give a great sum of money, which Simony the Archbishop and the <i>Grecians</i> with one consent did abominate, and separated from <i>Rome</i> .	318
					This separation of the <i>Greek</i> Church from Pope Gregory the ninth, and the Church of <i>Rome</i> , causeth that <i>Germanus</i> Archbishop and Patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , wrote to Pope Gregory the ninth, to reform matters, and study means of Unity in the seamless Coat of Christ.	
1238					The Pope imposeth so many exactions upon <i>England</i> , beginning at this 1237 year, and so forward (as he had many years before to the said year) as make up large Tables.	321 322
					<i>Orbo</i> the Popes Legat hath authority to stay longer and gather more money in <i>England</i> .	
1240					Not long after in this year, Pope Gregory sends a new Precept to Legat <i>Orbo</i> , that all beneficed men in <i>England</i> and <i>France</i> should pay to the Pope the fifth part of their revenues. Who notwithstanding their four material excuses, were fain to pay it.	
1241					Preachers are stirred up by the Lord to preach that the Pope was an Heretic, and condemned for their pains; viz. <i>Arnoldus</i> , <i>Johannes Semeca</i> the gloss Writer of the Popes Decrees, an opposer of the Pope, <i>Gulielmus De sancto amore</i> , giving many signs of false Teachers. <i>Gallus</i> and <i>Großbead</i> .	323
					<i>Petrus Supino</i> gets 1500 Marks out of <i>Ireland</i> for the Pope; and <i>Petrus Rupeus</i> in <i>England</i> gets of the Abbots and Priors, shewing to them the Popes Bills and Bulls, a mighty quantity of Silver and Gold.	
					The Pope demands of the House of <i>Peterborough</i> , that they should grant him some Benefice lying in their donation, whole fruits were worth an 100 pound, so that they should be as Farmers, and the Pope to receive the profits. But the King forbade them any such grant.	
1243		Innocent the 4th.			From Pope <i>Innocent</i> the fourth comes <i>M. Martinus</i> , a new Merchant of the Pope, with power to suspend all Prelats in <i>England</i> from giving Benefices, till the Popes Kinsmen were preferred.	
1245					The King writes a Letter to Pope <i>Innocent</i> to forbear his intolerable oppressions of the Kingdom of <i>England</i> .	326
					<i>Martinus</i> being an instrument of the Popes oppression of <i>England</i> , is warned by the Nobility (and he had little less comfort of the King) to be gone out of <i>England</i> , upon pain of being cut in pieces; who taking his leave of the King, the King (as <i>Matthew Paris</i> saith) bids him farewell in the Devils name.	
					The Nobles and Commons of <i>England</i> write a supplication to Pope <i>Innocent</i> the fourth in the General Council at <i>Lions</i> , against his injurious Taxes imposed upon <i>England</i> .	327
1246					Pope <i>Innocent</i> in a meeting at <i>Cluniack</i> persuades the <i>French</i> King (who was addressing himself for his Voyage to <i>Jerusalem</i>) to war against <i>Regulum istum</i> , that is, the feeble King of <i>England</i> (for his not condescending to the Pope in all things) either to drive him out of his Dominions, or to make him accommodate the Pope in every thing.	329
1247					The Clergy and Commonalty of <i>England</i> write another Letter to Pope <i>Innocent</i> the fourth against his exactions in <i>England</i> .	
1248					The Abbot of <i>Abingdon</i> commanded to give a Benefice by the Pope to one, and by the King to another, rather obeys the King than the Pope. For which he is cited to appear before the Pope, and condemned in fifty Marks.	331
					The <i>French</i> K. bent and bound for the Holy-land, is persuaded by his friends and Mother to lay down the obligatory Cross for his journey, as having (say they) taken it up in the weakness of his senses in his sickness. The K. hereupon tearing off his Badge and resigning it to the Bishop (all the persuaders joining therein) by and by takes it up again, saying, <i>If formerly in my weakness of body and senses I took up the Cross to go to the Holy-Land to fight against the Heathens, now I take it up again in the full strength of both.</i>	
					The Pope being at odds with the Emperor <i>Frederick</i> the second, will not at any hand be reconciled, though the King of <i>France</i> strongly interceded, and the Emperor himself clears himself of all imputation, offers full satisfaction for all pretended wrongs, will go out of his Empire (if the Pope could not induce him there) to the Holy Land, never to return into <i>Europe</i> again, so as his Son <i>Henry</i> Nephew to King <i>Henry</i> of <i>England</i> might succeed him, with offer of other most reasonable conditions. These oppositions of the Pope against Christian Emperors and Kings, gave the <i>Turks</i> great advantage of prevailing.	332
1250					The <i>French</i> K. in his Voyage to <i>Jerusalem</i> takes in <i>Damietta</i> . This year the <i>Sarazens</i> to day are beaten of the <i>French</i> before <i>Damietta</i> ; on the morrow the <i>French</i> are beaten by the <i>Saracens</i> ten times more. See more Vol. I. p. 334. c. 1.	
					The <i>Templaries</i> fighting for the holy Temple against the <i>Sarazens</i> near to <i>Antioch</i> are vanquished, and their Standard-bearer slain.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	The grand cause of Gods not prospering the Christians in their Wars in the Holy-Land, was the Christians adhering to their Masses, and other superstitions.	Vol. I. Page.
1253					Men that can dispend fifteen pound land <i>per annum</i> , must make the King a soldier, Vol. I. p. 369. c. 2.	332
1254				Boniface.	This year Pope Innocent would needs have the bones of Robert Grosbead Bishop of Lincoln, contrary to the minds of the Cardinals, to be taken up and cast out of the Church, for his open plain rebuking the Pope in his life time, to the putting of him into a great terrour of Conscience, so that the Pope seemed to see a Bishop in a Vision to say unto him, <i>Arise wretch, and come to judgement.</i> The Kings great expences in his Voyage to <i>Vascon</i> makes him put many Taxes upon his Subjects, chiefly on the Church-men, who being wont to receive Tithes from, are now made to give Tithes to the Laity. Vol. I. p. 369. c. 2.	368
1255		Alexander the 4th.			Pope Innocent dies. Great dissention ariseth between Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Canons of Lincoln about the right of giving Prebendships. The Jews crucifie a Child nine years old with great torment. The King of England exacts of the Jews 8000 Marks in pain of hanging. Walter Gray Archbishop of York with superstitious excessive fasting, killed himself.	368
1257					A Jew falling into a Privy at Tewkesbury upon Saturday being the Jews Sabbath would not for reverence thereof be lifted out; and on the morrow being the Christians Sabbath Richard Earl of Gloucester would not suffer him to be taken out, and so he died in the Dung.	
1259					The King entring into France, required the restitution of such Lands in Normandy and Anjou, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withheld from him, and made the French King to agree to him. Vol. I. p. 369. c. 2.	
1260					A great contention is at Oxford between the Scholars. To this year continueth the History of Matthew Paris, leaving at the story of the death of Fylo Bishop of London.	369
1261		Urban the 4th.			The King gives Licence to plant an University at Northampton, and writes to the Magistrates of that Town courteously to intreat the Scholars when they came.	371
1262					The King gets from the Pope a release of his Oath wherein he had sworn to some Statutes at Oxford.	372
1263					The King renues his release from his Oath, by this Pope Urban. The Barons combine to maintain the Statutes of Oxford. An agreement is made between the King and the Nobles.	
1264					The King besiegeth and invades the Barons at Northampton. The Scholars there also are stubborn against the King, shooting with slings, long-bows and cross-bows, doing much hurt, but at length are beaten, slain, and made to fly.	373
1265		Clement the 4th.			A Battel fought at Lewes between King Henry 3. the Barons win the field, and do take Richard King of Almon, K. Henry's Brother, and his Son, who assisted the Kings Prisoners. This Pope was at first a married man and had children. Then he was the French Kings Chancellor. After his Wives death he was made Bishop called <i>Podiensis</i> . After that Archbishop of Narbon. After Cardinal, and last of all Pope.	375
					Thomas Aquinas flourisheth about this time, and Bonaventure. A form of peace is drawn between the King and his Barons, wherein the King promiseth much reformation of things in Church and Common-wealth.	377
1266					K. Henry the third writes to Oxford Sheriff against an Assembly or Meeting of men, who termed themselves Harlots. It is probable that this was some pretended Order of Religion; and that from it came the reproachful name of Harlot. Dissention ariseth between Earl Simon and the Earl of Gloucester, they fight a Battel, and Simon and many of his side are slain.	379
					The King being in the custody of the Barons is now restored to his Regality. Kenelworth decree confirmed, that they that had lost their Lands by Attainder, (although not yet attainted) should fine therefore at the Kings pleasure, and take them of the King again.	380
1267					The King besiegeth the Castle of Kenelworth, whither repairs Osobonus the Popes Legat, and by his perswasions Henry Hastings that had valiantly kept it against the King, yields it to the King, pardon being granted to him, of Life, Lands, Goods, &c.	381
1270					The Barons fortifie the Isle of Ely, and after that London against the King. Peace concluded between the King and the Nobles. Prince Edward the Kings Son, and many Princes of other Kingdoms take upon them the Cross to make an expedition to Jerusalem.	382
1271		Gregory the 10th.			Boniface Archbishop being dead, the Monks of Canterbury agree upon the Prior of their House Adam Chelenden. The King and his Son Edward intreated the Monks to choose Robert Burnel, Prior Chelenden elect, and not admitted by the K. goes up to Rome, there continues 2 years, and at last resigns up his Election to Pope Gregory, who gave it to R. Kilwarby.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1. Page
1272				Rob. Kilwarby.	
1273					
1274			Edward the 1st.		385
					386
1278				J. Peckham.	
1279					
1284		Nicholas the 4th.			
1288					
1291					386
1294				R. Winchelsey.	
1298		Celestine the 5th. Boniface the 8th.			
1299					
1301					387
1303					389
					389
1304		Benedict the 11th.			390
1305					396
1306		Clement the 5th.			397

The great Concordance came forth about this time by an English Frier, called John Derrington.

Whereas the other Princes that went to the Holy Land, especially the French, did take mony of the Infidels, instead of giving them blows, Prince Edward refused this mony, (who was for his integrity sake, when many of the others with their monys were drowned with Tempest) and also prospered his designs.

Pope Gregory the Tenth calls a Council at Lions about the controversie between the Greek Church and the Latin Church.

K. Henry the third dies having reigned 56 years.

Edward the eldest Son of Henry the first being in Vasconia, when his Father died, returns home, and is crowned this year. At which crowning, he putting off his Crown, said, *he would not put it on again till he had gathered together all the Lands that belonged unto it.*

This K. had much ado with Wales, but at length cuts down their Woods, subdued the Country and their King Lewline, and made his Son Prince of Wales.

The said Lewline rebelling (as we said) asked counsel of the Conjurers what should be the event; to whom it was answered, that he should go forward boldly, for he should ride through Cheap with a Crown on his head, which was thus fulfilled. He being slain his head was carried through Cheap with a Crown of Silver to London Bridge.

This Archbishop Peckham, resisted the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages, &c. See Vol. 1. p. 399. c. 1. He ordained that one Minister should have but one Benefice. Vol. 1. p. 399. c. 1.

Jews for mony-clipping are executed.

The great Conduit in Cheap began to be built.

After this Pope Nicholas, the See of Rome was void two years and three months, through the dissention of the Cardinals, before another Pope was chosen. Vol. 1. p. 389. c. 2.

The King of England being proved by many ancient Records, to be chief Sovereign of Scotland, took full possession of the same; appointing the Crown to John Baliol under him.

This Archbishop Winchelsey much troubled the King, accusing him to the Pope.

The Scots rebel against England.

Of Pope Boniface the eighth, and Pope Celestine, Vol. 1. p. 387. c. 1. How he was thought to be the eighth Nero, and how with a Reed he speaks through a Wall in the night to Pope Nicholas (because he was a man laborious to reform the Church) as if it had been a voice from Heaven to give over his Bishoprick; and so at last gat him out, the same year he was Pope.

The K. of England and the Scots have a great fight; but K. Edward hath the Victory.

The Scots rebelling again, again are suppressed by the King, and made to swear to the Kings Allegiance.

This Pope Boniface the 8th challengeth of King Edward the Kingdom of Scotland.

The King willeth the Pope to send his grounds of challenging the Kingdom of Scotland; calls a Parliament, writes to the Pope abundance of passages and pretexts from Anno 900 to 1230. that the Kingdom of Scots was the Kings of England.

Pope Boniface the 8th being offended with Philip the French King, excites King Edward of England to war against him; but King Edward well knowing the Pope, put him off with delays, and the French King fearing K. Edward, restored unto him Vascone, which he wrongfully had detained.

The Scots rebel again against K. Edward the first, under W. Wales.

Great difference ariseth between Philip K. of France, and Pope Boniface the 8th. The Pope thundring out his curse of Excommunication against the K. because the King commanded his Legat and a Bishop (whom the Legat got released, being imprisoned for a Conspiracy against the K.) to depart out of his Realm. The King on the other side calls a Parliament, and makes a declaration against the Popes intolerable wickedness, and an appealation from the Pope to a General Council.

This year Captain Schaira with Soldiers, besiege, apprehend and rifle the Pope, and set him on a Colt with his face towards the Tail, causing the unbroken Colt to course up and down with him, till the Pope was out of breath.

This Pope, what by fear, and what by sorrow, dies, and Pope Benedict the 11th succeeds.

To this Pope Clement, K. Edward wrote divers Letters against R. Winch. Archbishop, with whom he was much pestered.

This Pope Clement having provided strongly to keep the Emperor of Germany under his feet, that no Emperor could be crowned without his leave: next he intermeddles with the Empire of Constantinople, excommunicating Andronicus Paleologus Emperor of Constantinople, as an Heretick, because he would not suffer the Greek Church to appeal to Rome.

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
1307					A Parliament is held by the Kat <i>Carlisle</i> , wherein many great complaints are made against the Popes exactions. A Parliament is held in <i>France</i> , wherein Popish and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is thoroughly discussed, and Regal Supremacy justly advanced against the vain reasons of the <i>Papists</i> . K. <i>Edward</i> the first marching towards <i>Scotland</i> , falls sick of a flux; swears the Nobles to make his Son <i>Edward</i> K. after him; chargeth his Son not to call home wicked <i>Garveston</i> , whom he had banished; to go in War to the Holy Land, carrying his heart with him, which had vowed to go that Voyage himself, but <i>Scottish</i> Wars hindered him, and so he dies. This <i>Edward</i> in this 1307, enters into the Throne, being of a graceful body, but not so gracious in his soul. This year and not afore, is K. <i>Edward</i> crowned. The King is much led aside by the evil counsel of one <i>Garveston</i> , and the two <i>Spencers</i> . A Parliament is called, wherein are exhibited divers Articles touching things his Father had given him in charge, namely, to remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and to let matters of State be debated by the Council of the Kingdom, and touching sundry other matters: The King perceiving that this did hit at his <i>Garveston</i> , did when there was no remedy, yield to let <i>Garveston</i> be banished into <i>Ireland</i> , and so the Parliament ended, the other Articles not sped. The first <i>Ottoman</i> having conquered the other three Families of the <i>Turks</i> , Anno 1300. now goes on conquering the Christians. Vol. 1. p. 837. c. 1. R. <i>Winchelsey</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , whom <i>Edward</i> the first had banished, is now released, and returns from <i>Rome</i> home. The Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> excommunicates the Bishop of <i>Coventry</i> for holding with <i>Peter Garveston</i> , which <i>Garveston</i> , though banished upon forfeiture of life, goods, &c. Presumes upon the Kings favour, returns again. <i>Peter Garveston</i> is apprehended by <i>Guido</i> , alias <i>Guy</i> Earl of <i>Warwick</i> , and beheaded by the Nobles. The King hath a young Son born, the joy whereof made him begin to forget his sorrow for <i>Garveston</i> ; but that <i>Frenchmen</i> make-bates, cause contention between the K. and Nobles to arise again. The <i>Scots</i> take occasion by this discord, to rebel against the King, under one <i>Robert Bruis</i> , whom King <i>Edward</i> the first had chased out of <i>Scotland</i> , was now returned thither, getting himself to be made King, who when the King of <i>England</i> and his Lords and Armies encountered him and his Host, did discomfort them, and slew many of the <i>English</i> Lords. Pope <i>Clement</i> dies, after whom the Papacy continues void two years. This Emperor <i>Ludovicus</i> a worthy man was crowned without the Popes consent, and was much vexed by this wicked Pope <i>John</i> , Vol. 1. p. 424. The King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth <i>Barwick</i> in <i>Scotland</i> : The mean while the <i>Scots</i> by another way invaded the Merchants of <i>Yorkshire</i> , robbing the Country, and slaying much people, and of an Army gathered by the Archbishop of <i>York</i> , of divers Abbots, Priors, Clerks and Husbandmen to resist them, they slay many, and that of the Clergy, called therefore the <i>White Battal</i> ; inasmuch that the King was fain to retire from <i>Barwick</i> , and rescue <i>Yorkshire</i> . At this time the two <i>Spencers</i> , <i>Hugh</i> the Father, and <i>Hugh</i> the Son, were so impious, and yet so potent in the Kingdom, that no Lord durst controul them, so that they were much hated of the Nobles. A Prohibition is set forth against <i>Peter-pence</i> . The <i>Spencers</i> banished by Act of Parliament for their wickedness, are restored and advanced by the King. The Nobles to redress this evil, assemble their power; but being scattered by the Kings forces before they could come together, were pursued and taken, and two and twenty of the chief Earls and Lords were hanged, drawn and quartered, saving that the Earl of <i>Lancaster</i> was beheaded. This cruelty to his natural Subjects wrought his utter ruine at last. Now the King begins with the <i>Spencers</i> to triumph in his Victory of putting the Nobles to death. The King advanceth <i>Hugh Spencer</i> to be an Earl, and ill reported, and reputed Sir <i>John Balloch</i> to be Chancellor of <i>England</i> : Also the King raiseth an Army against the <i>Scots</i> ; but the good leaders being put to dearth, and unskillful ones leading this Army one hundred thousand of this Army perisheth by Famine. Of <i>Benedict</i> 12. see Vol. 1. p. 424. The King cited by the <i>French</i> to do homage to him for the Dukedom of <i>Aquitain</i> , which the King held of <i>France</i> ; about this was great contention between the two Kings. Prince <i>Edward</i> with the Queen is sent over to quiet matters; who would not return again till they had fitted matters for the ruine of the King and his wicked favourites. The <i>French</i> King by reason of the great ado the King of <i>England</i> made by Proclamations for the Queen and her Son to return, and by threatening of the <i>French</i> K. himself. The <i>French</i> K. removed the Queen and her Son from him, who are both joyfully received in the Court and Country of the Earl of <i>Henawde</i> ; where a Marriage was concluded between <i>Edward</i> her Son, being of the age of 14, and <i>Philip</i> the said Earls Daughter.	401 415 416 417 418 419 419 420 421 422
1308			<i>Edward</i> the 2d.			
1310						
1311						
1312						
1313						
1314	<i>Ludovicus</i> the 5th.					
1316	<i>Bavarius.</i>					
1317	<i>Nicholas</i> the 5th. Anti-Pope.	<i>John</i> 22.				
1321						
1322						
1323						
1324		<i>Benedict</i> 12.				
1325						

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	By this Marriage-Match was knit a combination of War, whereby the Queen and the young Prince should invade England; who being furnished out of Henawde, and with some Lords that came out of England at the hearing of the Marriage, with 2757 Soldiers. With these she and her Son lands; very many of the greatest of the Nobility (the Archbishop also, as they say, sending relief of money and provision) resort to the Queen, so that daily her power increased; and on the other side, scarce any would be hired to fight on the Kings side.	Vol. I. Page
1326					Then the K. flies to <i>Bristow</i> , appointing <i>Spencer</i> the Father to keep <i>Bristow</i> Castle. The Queen follows, takes the Castle, apprehends the said <i>Spencer</i> , whom being torn, at last they hanged him at the said City in chains of Iron. The K. flies to <i>Wales</i> ; the Queen follows, proclaiming that if the King would come in and appear, he should receive his Kingdom again if he would be conformable to his liege people. Who not appearing, Prince <i>Edward</i> is proclaimed High-keeper of the Realm. The Queen, sends Lords to pursue after the King; the King is taken and put in <i>Kenelworth</i> Castle. Divers Lords and great Persons are apprehended, of whom <i>Spencer</i> the Son is drawn and hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high; and beheading him, and quartering him, they send his Limbs into several Quarters of the Kingdom. Sir <i>John Arundel</i> also was beheaded.	423
1327			Edward the 3d.	S. Mpham.	A Parliament is called at <i>London</i> , from which a Message is sent to the King, that if he would resign his Crown, his Son should have it after him, if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. The King being not able otherwise to choose, yields up his Crown, is kept in Prison, deposed by the Parliament, the Son set up as King, the old King living in Prison, at last is slain (as Authors affirm) with a hot Spit thrust up into his body by <i>Roger Mortimer's</i> means, for which he was drawn and quartered afterward. This King built <i>Oriel</i> College, and <i>St. Mary</i> Hall in <i>Oxford</i> . This year 1326 great fury and outrage arose between the Townsmen and the Abby of <i>Bury</i> , the Town rising the Monastery and imprisoning the Monks, and some slaughter was between them. Of this Archbishop <i>Simon</i> , see Vol. I. Page 424. As also Page 451. of the same Volume. This being the life and death of K. <i>Edward</i> the second, the Father as we have heard; <i>Edward</i> the third, the Son is crowned at the age of 15 years. A man temperate, warlike and prosperous. <i>Orchanes</i> the 2d <i>Ottoman</i> . Vol. I. p. 837. c. 2. The King with the Queen is at <i>York</i> with an Army of 60000 men, ready to encounter with the <i>Scots</i> . The <i>Scots</i> steal away, so that no Battel is fought. K. <i>Edward</i> the 3d, is now married to the Earl of <i>Henawlt's</i> Daughter above said.	426
1332				7. Stratford.	A release by the means of <i>Roger Mortimer</i> and the old Queen, is granted by the King, under age, to the <i>Scots</i> of all their homage and fealty to the Crown of <i>England</i> , which they were tied unto by Seal and Indenture, called the <i>Ragman-Role</i> . The Black-Crofs also won from <i>Scotland</i> by valour of the former King <i>Edward</i> is given back to the <i>Scots</i> , with other things very prejudicial to <i>England</i> . The Nobles desiring to redress these matters in a legal way, are falsely accused of Conspiracy against the King, and the Earl of <i>Kent</i> , being guilty, is put to death, being the Kings Uncle, and never brought to answer for himself. The King conquers <i>France</i> . Of this Archbishop, see Vol. I. p. 451. The King challengeth <i>France</i> as his own. Vol. I. p. 429. The Pope sends to the King of <i>England</i> for three year truce with the King of <i>France</i> . Vol. I. p. 435. The Emperor <i>Ludovicus Barvar</i> , that before was for the King of <i>England</i> , against the K. of <i>France</i> , now is against the K. of <i>England</i> . <i>Benedict</i> the 12th dies, whose infamy lives in <i>Latine</i> Epitaph, thus Englished: <i>Here's Nero laid; in life, a death to lay; To Clergy-men a Viper. And they say, His heart a wand'rer was from truth divine, His Head a Cup fill'd up with strongest Wine.</i> See the later Verse. Vol. I. p. 425. c. 1.	428
1345		Clement the 6th.			<i>Windsor</i> Castle repaired, the round Table made. <i>Henry</i> Earl of <i>Lancaster</i> with 600 Archers, and as many men at Arms, won many Towns and Conquests from the <i>French</i> in <i>Gascoin</i> . The King wins <i>Calis</i> , translated the Staple thither, takes the <i>French</i> King Prisoner (who had stirred up the King of <i>Scots</i> against the K. of <i>England</i>) and is the first that conjoined the <i>French</i> Arms with the <i>English</i> Arms, Vol. I. p. 426.	441
1348				Tho. Braidwarden.	The raging Plague going from <i>London</i> into the North parts, this year swageth.	
1349				Simon Islip	<i>Amurat</i> the 3d <i>Ottoman</i> . Vol. I. p. 838.	
1350					<i>Calis</i> almost won from the <i>English</i> by the <i>French</i> . <i>Philip</i> the <i>French</i> King dies.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterb.	Earl Ewe, Constable of France, upon false pretence is beheaded. In this Pope Innocent the sixths time, was <i>Johannes de Rupefissa</i> . Vol. I. Page p.464.	Vol. I. Page
1351		Innocent the 6th.			The Marshal of France with his great Army, is put to flight by Sir Roger Bentele, a Captain in Britain, having but only 600 soldiers with him.	
1352					Of Pope Innocent 6. See Vol. I. p.445.	
1354					The King of France and England had made peace, but that the Popes partiality inclining to the French, hindered the same.	
					<i>Rochayladus</i> and a Frier scourged and burned, for preaching that Rome was the Whore of Babylon, and condemning the Popes Bull. Vol. I. p.445.	
1355					The King of England hearing of the death of King Philip of France, and the succession of his Son, who had given the Dukedom of Aquitania to Charles his eldest Son, and Dauphin of Vienna; sends over Prince Edward with Earls and common Soldiers, who subdued the said Dukedom.	
1356					Prince Edward being in Gascoine, wins great Victories of the French.	
1360					The King hath trouble with the Pope.	
					Having passed over the time of losing Satan, and his darkening of the Church with ignorance and affliction, now we come to the time wherein the Church began to be reformed somewhat, by a great Catalogue of excellent men.	453
					<i>Guliel. de sancto amore.</i> Having made way for Reformation, of whom we spake before.	
1362					<i>Marfilus Patavinus,</i>	
					<i>Ockam, Grosthead;</i>	
					As <i>Petrus de Cugneris,</i>	
					<i>Conradus Hagar,</i>	
					<i>Cesenas</i> and others, Go on with Reformation.	
1364					as shall follow in their years	
					About this time was the Author, and Penning of that excellent Treatise against Popery, called the Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman.	453
					About this time was that rare man <i>Armachanus</i> , Primate of Ireland, who disputed and preached against Heresies; in particular against the order of Begging Friars, and against Popish confessions, &c.	464
					With this <i>Armachanus</i> in this <i>Henricus de Gandavo.</i>	
					Disputation and time of Reformation; were <i>Gulielmus de Landuno.</i>	
					<i>Johannes Monachus</i> , Cardinal.	467
		Urban the 5th.			This being the second year of Pope Urban the 5th. <i>Nicholas Orem</i> preached a Sermon before the Pope and his Cardinals; wherein he worthily rebukes the Prelates of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off by certain signs. All the sayings of the Prophets spoken against the wicked Jewish Priests, are aptly applied against the Romish Clergy, comparing the Church at this time with the Strumpet spoken of <i>Ezek. 16.</i> Concluding that the Clergy now were worse than the Jewish Synagogue.	473
1366					<i>Milstrus</i> a Bohemian, preacheth that Antichrist was come already. Vol. I. p.477. c. 1.	
1367					In this year, being the fifth of Pope Urban, began first the Order of Jesuites.	
1368				W. Simon Langham.	This year the offices of Chancellorship of England, of the Privy Seal, and of the Treasurership, which were wont to be in the hands of Clergymen, by a motion in Parliament, were removed from the Clergy, into the hands of the Lords Temporal.	477
				W. Wittlessey.	This Pope reduceth the Papacy from France, where it had been 70 years, to Rome again.	
		Gregory the 11th.			This year lived St. Bridget, as the Papists canonize her, who notwithstanding was a great enemy to the unholiness of the Pope, calling him a spiller of Christs Flock, a murderer of souls, &c.	
1371					<i>Matthias Parisiensis</i> a Bohemian, writes against Antichrist, proving him already to be come. Vol. I. p.478. c. 2.	
					About this time was <i>Wickliff</i> , Professor of Divinity in Oxford.	
1373					<i>Henricus Hassia</i> writes <i>De erroribus Christianorum.</i> <i>Henricus de Iota</i> now flourisheth.	
					This being the third year of Pope Gregory the 11th, King Edward holds a Parliament, and complains of the Popes reservation of Benefices in England.	477
1374					About this year began <i>Bajazetes</i> the 4th Ottoman to reign over the Turks, with the murder of his Brother.	
1375					The King and the Pope concludes that the Pope should not reserve Benefices, and that the King should not give Benefices upon the Writ <i>Quare Impedit.</i>	
1377					This King Richard Son of Edward the 3d. is but eleven years of age when he began his Reign, who like his Father, was in his Reign, no great disavour of <i>Wickliff's</i> Doctrine.	
			Richard the 2d.	Simon Sudbury.	Pope Gregory sends a Bull, sharply rebuking Oxford University for their permitting <i>Wickliff</i> . Vol. I. p.491. c. 1.	
1378		Urban the 6th.				

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	In Pope Urban's time began a Schism in the See of Rome that lasted 39 years. Vol. I. p. 495. c. 1.	Vol. I. Page
1379					Katharina Senensis, an holy Virgin, lived at this time, spake much against the wickedness of the Prelats of Rome, and prophesied of the great schism that should be among them, which after came to pass.	
1380				II. Courtney.	The Vicechancellor of Oxford, viz. Wi. Barton annexeth the Univerfity seal to Edicts against the favourers of Wickliff's Doctrine.	
1381					Of this Archbishop, see Vol. I. p. 580. c. 1.	
1382					A Convocation is held at London, summoning Wickliff to appear, Vol. I. p. 514.	514
1383					The Examination and troubles of Nich. Hereford, Phil. Reppington, and J. Ashton, Vol. I. p. 498. c. 2.	
1384					Pope Urban was against Clement Antipope, Vol. I. p. 508.	
					Johannes Mountzinger Rector of the Univerfity of Ulme, propounded openly in the Schools in an Oration that the Body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with Latreia, meaning that the Sacrament was not to be adored; which after he also defended by writing.	479
		Boniface the 9th.			Of Pope Boniface the ninth. His Bull against the Lollards, Vol. I. p. 574. c. 1.	
					The story of that famous Christians troubles, W. Swinderby, Vol. I. p. 530. c. 2.	574
1389					Also of Walter Brute his companion, Vol. I. p. 542. c. 1.	
1390					R. Wimpleton preacheth an excellent Sermon at Paul's Crofs, Vol. I. p. 622. c. 2.	
					Jacobus Misvenfis writes of the coming of Antichrist.	
					At Bruiga are burned 36 Citizens of Moguntia, for the Doctrine of the Waldenses, affirming the Pope to be Antichrist.	479
					140 in the Province of Narbone rather endured any Persecution by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the Romish Church, contrary to the truth of the Scriptures.	
1394		Benedict the 13th			Of Benedict 13. see Vol. I. p. 630.	
1395					A Parliament is held at Westminster. In this Parliament twelve Articles are put up by the Gospellers, and also fastened at Pauls Doors, &c. touching Reformation. Vol. I. p. 578. c. 2.	
1396				Thomas Arundel.	This Archbishop was Brother to Earl of Arundel. Of him, see Vol. I. p. 580.	
1397					He made many Constitutions against Religion, Vol. I. p. 597. c. 1.	
					Bajazetes 4th Ottoman, is captivated to Tamerlan the Parthian, in an iron Cage and golden Fetters. Vol. I. p. 838. c. 2.	
1399					Bajazetes dies in his Captivity. Vol. I. p. 839. c. 1.	
					Calepinus the 5th Ottoman succeeds. He vexed the Christians by means of their discords. Vol. I. p. 839. c. 1.	
					King Rich. 2. takes his Voyage to Ireland; mean while the Earl of Darby and Duke of Hereford, and with him Archbishop Arundel (which before were both exiled) return out of France into England, challenging the Dukedom of Lancaster after the death of his Father; at the knowledge whereof, multitudes of people gathered to them, with many of the greatest Noblemen in the Land; whereby the King flying to Wales, was so distressed, that he was fain to resign his Crown to Henry the fourth.	
			Henry the 4th.		W. Sautre Martyr, his troubles, Vol. I. p. 586. c. 2.	
1400					Articles put on the Church door against Henry the fourth, Vol. I. p. 591. c. 1.	
1401					Calepinus the 5th Ottoman dies.	
1404					Orchanes and Moses his Uncle, } Vol. I. p. 839.	
1406					the 6th Ottoman.	
1407		Gregory the 12th.			Of Gregory the 12th, and King Henry the 4th's Letter to him, see Vol. I. p. 630.	
					Moses the Uncle, having slain Orchanes the Nephew, reigns but two years, and is now slain by Mahumetes, Orchanes his Brother; who now succeeds, and is the 7th Ottoman, Vol. I. p. 839.	
1408					Will. Thorp's Examination and troubles. Vol. I. p. 602. Purvey's troubles. Vol. I. p. 618.	
1409					The Archbishop of York, with the Lord Mowbray and others, executed. Vol. I. p. 593.	
1411					John Badby Artificer, Martyr. Vol. I. p. 593.	
1412		Segismund.			Of Segismund the Emperor. See Vol. I. p. 733, 734.	
					John Hus, in defence of Wickliff, delivers his determination upon the fourteenth Article of Wickliff touching preaching and hearing of the Word. Vol. I. p. 514.	
					Hus his defence of the 15 Articles of Wickliff, viz. that its lawful for a Priest or Deacon to preach without the authority of the Apostolic See, Vol. I. p. 517.	
					Disputation at Prague Univerfity upon Wickliff's 7th Article, proving by 24 Arguments, that Princes and Lords Temporal have lawful authority over the Spirituality.	
1413			Henry the 5th.		Henry the fourth is sick in a Chamber at Westminster, called Jerusalem, is persuaded he should die (and so did) because it was prophesied he should die at Jerusalem. His Son Henry the 5th succeeds.	635
					This year a Synod is called at London by Archbishop Arundel, to persecute that worthy Lord Cobham, who for Religion suffers great trouble at this time.	668
					Many	

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Many Lollards are martyred this year.	Vol. I. Page.
1414				H. Chicheley.	Archbishop Arundel dies. This Archbishop Chicheley was an adversary as his Predecessors to the favourers of the truth. Vol. I. p. 669.	
1415		John the 23d.			The troubles and martyrdom of John Hus and the Bohemians. The Pope holds a Council at Constance, the proceedings thereof. An Owl would needs be in the Council. Jerome of Prague is condemned and burnt. Vol. I. p. 722. Pope John the 23d is deposed. Vol. I. p. 733. John Claidon and Rich. Turming are persecuted. Vol. I. p. 728. Archbishop Chicheley makes a Constitution against the Lollards. The execution thereof is the persecution of many good men. Lord Cobham is put to death with the burning death of Martyrdom, not with the hanging death of a Traytor, about the year 1418, or later end of 1417. Pope Martin upon S. Martins day is chosen Pope by the Council of Constance, the Emperor killing his feet. This Martin vexeth the Bohemians that adhere to the Doctrine of J. Hus and Hierome of Prague.	670 675 718
1416					Amurathes the second of that name, the 8th Ottoman. Vol. I. p. 839. c. 2. He becomes a Turkish Monk. Vol. I. p. 841. c. 1. He is fain to come forth again to War, he is conquered, dies with fury and madness. Vol. I. p. 841.	731 732
1419					The valour of Scanderbeius, Castriotus, Huniades, against the Turks. Vol. I. p. 840, 841.	733
1420					Zisca a Nobleman raising 40000 soldiers, becomes their Captain, and beating back the Emperor Sigismund, ruins the Popish Persons, Towns, Monasteries and Religion, in revenge of John Hus and Jerome of Prague's death. Henry Grunsfelder Priest of Germany, martyred, Vol. I. p. 759. Pope Martin sends forth a bloody Bull against the followers of Wickliff of England, and of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, of Boheme. To countermand the Bull of Pope Martin, an exhortation is put forth to Kings and Princes against the pestiferous See of Rome, under the name of Procopius Conradus, and other Captains of the Bohemians. By the valour of Procopius Magnus and the Bohemian Soldiers, Sigismund Emperor was fain to entreat for his Kingdom, who before would not be intreated for John Hus and Jerome of Prague, whom he helped forward into the fire. The Popish Army with the Nobles and Cardinal of Winchester fly before the Christian Bohemians. Sigismund Emperor, and Pope Martin, gather new forces against the Bohemians. The Popes Army again with Cardinal Julian, flies for fear. Henry the fifth (of whose Wars in France it is not for our Ecclesiastical story to relate) now dies; his Son Henry the Sixth but one year old, succeeding. W. Taylor a Priest under Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury is valiant to be burned for Christs truth, notwithstanding that under Archbishop Arundel, he through fear did abjure. Henry Ratgeber Priest of Germany, martyred. Vol. I. p. 759. c. 2. John Florence, for denying the Popes supreme-law-making-authority, and his ceremonial observation of days, fastings, &c. is disciplined. John Draendorf of noble birth, a Priest, was burned at Worms. V. I. p. 759. Richard Belward is troubled for the truth. John Goddesel persecuted for Christs sake. Peter Thoraw burned at Spire, Vol. I. p. 759. c. 2. Leaden-Hall in London is founded. Vol. I. p. 809. c. 1. Matthew Hagar suffered at Berlin in Germany not long after. V. I. p. 759. A Widow murdered in London. The Author going into banishment is slain by Women. Vol. I. p. 809. c. 1. King Henry the sixth sends down most cruel Letters for the apprehension of William White, Priest, and other Lollards, as they call them; whereupon well near an hundred are vexed and troubled for Religion in Suffolk and Norfolk. W. White Priest, is burned for the truth. Tho. Pye and John Mendam disciplined for the truth. John Beverly, alias Batild, is whipped, alias fustigated for the truth. John Skilley made to do penance for the truth. The troubles of Margery Backster. King Henry the sixth is this year, and not afore, crowned with his Regal Diadem. The same year he crowns Rich. Hoveden with Martyrdom and many others, with the crowns of thorns of Persecution. Of Pope Eugenius the 4th. see Vol. I. p. 760. Nicholas Canon persecuted for true Religion. Tho. Bagley Priest, persecuted for Religion. Paul Craw a Bohemian delivered up to be burnt for holding opinions, contrary to the Church of Rome. The Council of Basil is called, lasting about 11 years.	737 742 745 747 748 749 750 750 752 753 754 756
1421						
1422						
1423						
1424						
1425						
1426						
1427						
1428						
1430			Henry the 6th.			
1431		Eugenius the 4th.				

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1. Page
1436					758
1438	Albertus the 2d. Duke of Austria.	Felix 4.			759
1439					783
					796
1440	Frederick the 3d. Duke of Austria.				797
					800
1443				J. Stafford	802
1445		Nicho. 5.			
1447					
1448					
					803
1449					
1450					
1452				J. Kemp.	
1453					
					804
1454				Th. Bourchier.	
1455		Calixtus the 2d. Pius 2.	Edward the 4th.		807
1458					
1459					
1461					808
1463		Paulus 2.			
1464					
1465					
					809
1471		Sixtus 4.			
1473					
1474					
1475					
1476					
1479					
1481					
			Edward the 5th.		
1483					

Tho. Rhedon alias *Rhedonensis* a French man, and a *Carmelite* Frier burnt in *Italy* for the truth.
 Of this Emperor *Alba* 2. see Vol. 1. p. 784. and more 817.
 The business of the *Bohemians* at the Council of *Basil*. Vol. 1. p. 785. They put up petitions to the Council. Vol. 1. p. 789.
 Pope *Eugenius* is deposed by the Council of *Basil*, and Pope *Felix* chosen in his room.
 These two former years the Pope imposeth infinite Exactions upon *France* and *Germany*, whereof complaint is made. Vol. 1. p. 821, 822.
Richard Wich persecuted for Religion.
 This year a Council is called by *Henry* Archbishop, to consult about *Premunire facias*, to remove that law, by which the Prelats were cut short in many things they would have done.
 Of this *Frederick* Emperor, see more. Vol. 1. p. 817.
 Cardinal of *Winchester* unjustly hates good Duke *Humfry*. The Duke justly Articles against the Cardinal. Vol. 1. p. 799.
Eleanor Cobham, Dutche of *Glocester*, and Sir *Roger Onley* Priest, are condemned about this time, or the next year following, the one to death, the other to perpetual Prison.
Paul's Steeple burnt with Lightning. Vol. 1. p. 800.
 Archbishop *Chicheley* dies, whom in his life built *Alsolne* Colledge, and *Bernard* Colledge in *Oxford*.
 Of Pope *Nich. 5.* see Vol. 1. p. 806.
 The death of that good Duke *Humfry*, Duke of *Glocester*.
 Cardinal of *Winchester*, the wicked enemy of Duke *Humfry*, not being able to intreat or bribe death, though he speaks of both, dies.
Mat. Palmerius a *Florentine*, Martyr. Vol. 1. p. 806.
W. Wanflet succeeds the Cardinal at *Winchester*.
Magdalen Colledge is built at *Oxford*.
 The Marquis (after Duke) of *Suffolk*, another enemy of Duke *Humfry*, now is beheaded.
 The commended Art of Printing is invented.
Mahumetes the second of that name, is now the ninth *Ottoman*. What he won from the Christians, see V. 1. p. 842.
 Duke *Humfry* K. *Henry* the 6th his Uncle, being dead; the K. loseth the hearts of his Subjects, and enemies to the King rise against him, as *Jack Cade*; after, the Duke of *York*, as it follows in its time and year.
 The lamentable losing of *Constantinople* to the *Turk*.
 The Duke of *York* with 3 Earls, set upon K. *Henry* 6. near *S. Albans*, and take him Prisoner. A Parliament is called, the said Duke is proclaimed Protector. V. 1. p. 808.
 After this was long War between the House of *Lancaster* and *York*. *Ibid*.
Reynold Pecock Bishop of *Chichester* is imprisoned and persecuted for the Gospel.
 Many good sentences of *Pius* the Pope.
 The Duke of *York* is slain in Battel by the Queen.
 Prince *Edward* the Son and Heir of the said Duke of *York*, raiseth a great Army, and by conquest in Battel, possesseth himself of the Crown, and makes K. *Henry* the 6th. to fly to *Scotland*.
 Q. *Margaret* flieth the Land.
 K. *Edward* himself sitteth on his own Bench, in the cause of a certain Widow for Rape.
 King *Henry* 6. comes with a sufficient power of *Scots* and *French*, to recover his Crown, he is beaten and flies.
 Of this Pope *Paulus*, see V. 1. p. 807.
 K. *Henry* 6. is found in a Wood, taken and imprisoned.
 The Earl of *Warwick*, who before was much for K. *Edward* the 4th, being displeased, for that K. *Edward* the 4th would not match according to his desire, moves great War against him.
 Of this Popes great wickedness, see V. 1. p. 807, 824.
 Great fights between *Edward* the 4th, and many Nobles that rose up against him. Q. *Margaret* being taken in Battel, and Prince *Edward* Son of K. *Henry* the 6th. brought before the King.
John Goose (an English *Hus*, for *Hus* signifies a *Goose* in the *Bohemian* tongue) is unjustly burnt at *Tower-Hill* in *London*.
 The Pope curseth and excommunicateth *Pogiebracius*. The *Bohemians* notwithstanding stick to their King. *Matthias* takes from him *Moravia*, and much of *Silesia*. V. 1. p. 820.
 Wars and Peace between *Charles* Duke of *Burgoin*, and *Frederick* Emperor, V. 1. p. 821.
John a Netherd of *Franconia* martyred.
 This year *John de Wessalia* is persecuted.
Bajazetes the second of that name, is the 10th *Ottoman*, what he won from the Christians. V. 1. p. 845.
 A Merchant in *Cheapside*, for jesting, he would make his Son Heir to the Crown (meaning his own Sign, being the Crown) is by K. *Edward* the fourths command, within less than four hours, hanged, drawn and quartered. V. 1. p. 825.
 K. *Edward* the 4th. dies. V. 1. p. 825.
 K. *Edward* the 5th, in three Months is deprived of his Crown and Life by his Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*. Vol. 1. p. 825, 826.

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Anno Christi	German Emperors.	Roman Popes.	Kings of England.	A. B. Cant.		Vol. 1 Page
					The Lord <i>Hastings</i> a murtherer, is murdered, Vol. 1. p. 825.	825
					Pope <i>Sixtus</i> dies, a Monster rather than a Prelate.	
					The great tyranny of <i>Richard</i> Lord Protector, Vol. 1. p. 825. He aspires to, and usurps the Crown, Vol. 1. p. 826.	
					Of this Pope, see V. 1. p. 808.	
1484					<i>George</i> King of <i>Boheme</i> is condemned of Heresie, V. 1. p. 808.	
1485					He condemned eight men, and six women, for denying Bishops that came after <i>Peter</i> , to be Christs Vicars, <i>ibid.</i>	
					By the device of this <i>Morton</i> Bishop of <i>Ely</i> , and after Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , the two Houses of <i>York</i> and <i>Lancaster</i> are united, by King <i>Richards</i> tyranny, constraining them to call home banished Earl <i>Richmund</i> and to set him up as King, V. 1. p. 826.	
					Of <i>Maximilian</i> Emperor, see Vol. 1. p. 821.	
					King of the <i>Romans</i> divers years before he was Emperor.	
					King <i>Richard</i> the third is slain by <i>Henry</i> Earl of <i>Richmund</i> , is carried like a dead Calf all dirted, overthwart an horse to be buried, V. 1. p. 827.	
1486					The said <i>Henry</i> Earl of <i>Richmond</i> is Crowned King, called <i>Henry</i> the seventh, V. 1. 828.	
					Great persecution is moved in <i>Coventry</i> and <i>Litchfield</i> Diocels this year, V. 1. p. 882.	
					This year <i>Fredericus</i> Emperor waxed aged, and the hearts of the <i>Germans</i> towards the Emperor seeming doubtful to him, doth now in his life time associate his son <i>Maximilian</i> to be joynd Emperor with him, with whom he raigns seven years.	828
1487					<i>Maximilian</i> taken captive in the lower Countries of <i>Flanders</i> , is rescued by <i>Frederick</i> his Father.	
1490					Of this Archbishop <i>Morton</i> , see V. 1. p. 883.	
					The learnedness of the Emperor <i>Maximilian</i> , caused that in this facility of dispersing learning by the late Invention of Printing, many men became very learned, among which was <i>Weselus</i> , who was not long after, nor unknown to <i>D. de Wessalia</i> . This <i>Weselus</i> died this year.	
1492					The <i>Germans</i> put up ten Grievances against the Pope to the Emperor, with an advertisement, V. 1. 831.	
1494					<i>Fredericus</i> Emperor dies, leaving his son sole Emperor.	
					Of Pope <i>Alexander</i> , see V. 1. p. 833.	
					<i>Joan Boughton</i> a very old woman, mother to the Lady <i>Young</i> , is martyred in the fire, for holding <i>Wickliff's</i> opinions.	833
1497					<i>Tho. Langton</i> was elected Archbishop, but died before he was confirmed, V. 1. p. 883.	
					<i>Rich. Milderale</i> , <i>James Sturdy</i> , } bear faggots before the Proceffion at <i>Pauls</i> , by way of penance for the truth.	
1498					<i>Hugh Glover</i> , A Priest being perswaded by the King to revoke, is presently burned also.	
1499					<i>Edward Plantaginet</i> being beheaded, the Queen moves to <i>Calis</i> .	
					<i>Brabram</i> martyr, is burned in <i>Norfolk</i> .	
1500					<i>Hieronymus Savanarola</i> , with two Friers, all martyred, are burned.	831
1501					Divers taken in <i>Kent</i> , are made to do penance for the truth, V. 1. p. 877.	
1503					An old man is burnt in <i>Smithfield</i> , V. 1. p. 877. Of this Archbishop, see V. 1. p. 883.	
					Besides in this Pope, of this V. 1. see V. 2. p. 2. of these two Popes, and their sending to King <i>Hen. 7.</i>	833
1504					Also of Pope <i>Julius</i> , see V. 2. p. 4.	
1506					<i>Perkin Werbeck</i> moves sedition, V. 2. p. 4.	
					<i>W. Tufworth</i> is burnt at <i>Amerham</i> , his only daughter being constrained to set fire to her dear father, V. 1. p. 878. and twenty one do penance for the truth, V. 1. p. 878.	
					Father <i>Roberts</i> is burned at <i>Buckingham</i> , V. 1. p. 878.	
1507					A great sedition and tumult is raised in <i>Blackheath-field</i> by the Blacksmith, V. 2. p. 6.	
1508					<i>Tho. Chafe</i> of <i>Amerham</i> is in this year 1506, most wickedly strangled and martyred in prison at <i>Wooburn</i> .	878
					<i>Tho. Norice</i> is burned at <i>Norwich</i> for the truth.	879
					<i>Elizabeth Sampson</i> is persecuted for speaking against Popery.	
					About this time <i>Laurence Gbest</i> was burned.	
					<i>James Morden</i> and <i>Tho. Bernard</i> burnt at <i>Amerham</i> , V. 1. p. 878.	
					A faithful woman of <i>Cheaping-Sadbury</i> is burnt, the persecutor <i>Dr. Whiting</i> , then and there being slain by a Bull.	
1509					King <i>Henry</i> the seventh dies.	
					Prince <i>Arthur</i> being fifteen years of age, marrying in his Fathers time Lady <i>Katharine</i> daughter of <i>Ferdinand</i> , and dying within five months after, the Crown fell next to <i>Henry 8.</i> being of the age of 18 years, entering his reign this year, marrying shortly after his brother <i>Arthurs</i> wife, that the Dowry might not depart out of the land.	
					<i>Empson</i> and <i>Dudley</i> , the one a Knight, the other an Esquire, having been strict executors of penal Statutes in <i>Henry 7.</i> time, purchasing thereby great hate; about this time, by this King are beheaded.	
					Great contention between the <i>Dominick</i> and <i>Franciscan</i> Friers, touching the Conception of the Virgin <i>Mary</i> without sin, and other of her priviledges.	
					The Friers upon this contention, make an Image of the Virgin <i>Mary</i> , with artificial motions, to stir, sigh, groan, and weep, &c. to bring the people into a greater conceit of the Image than of an Image, for which they are burned.	4
1510						4
1511					Pope <i>Julius</i> questioned in <i>Turone</i> Council in <i>France</i> : of this see also V. 1. p. 834.	
					This year is great persecution in <i>London</i> Diocels, whereof 40 names are found recorded, <i>Ann. 1527.</i>	
					<i>John Brown</i> martyred, V. 2. p. 550.	
					Many are martyred in <i>Canterbury</i> Diocels under <i>W. Warham</i> , V. 2. 531.	
					<i>W. Sweeting</i> , burned in <i>Smithfield</i> for the truth, V. 2. p. 7.	
					<i>John Brewster</i> , The renewing of <i>W. Sweeting's</i> troubles; for the truth, V. 2. p. 22.	
1512					<i>James Brewster</i> burned with <i>Sweeting</i> , V. 2. <i>ib.</i>	
1513					<i>Zelymus</i> the eleventh <i>Ottoman</i> reigneth over the <i>Turks</i> . He conquers part of Christendom, V. 1. pag. 846.	
					Pope <i>Julius</i> not standing to the judgment of a Council, is conquered in war by <i>Ludovick</i> the French King.	
						Pope

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	A. B. Canterbury.		Vol. 2. Page
					Pope Julius throwing away his Keys into the River, and being unable to conquer by his sword dies.	
					Great changes happens in the Church in the times of these living together, { Pope Leo the tenth, Carolus 5, Emperor, Francis K. of France, Hen. 8. K. of England, James K. of Scotland, } Although they began to reign at times a little different, as may be seen in the several Columns.	
1514					James is King of Scots.	
1515					John Hupne persecuted and murdered in the Lollards Tower, described, V.2. p.8.	
1516					Francis is King of France.	
1517					Great war is this year between Frederick Duke of Austria, and Ludovike Duke of Bavaria. Campson, Ruler of the Egyptians, is slain, V.1. p.847.	
					John Brown is burned for the truth.	
					Elizabeth Stamford, John Household, &c. persecuted for the truth, V.2. p.17.	
1518					Tomoumbeius Ruler of the Egyptians is tormented to death by the Turk, V.1. p.847.	
					The Popes Proclamation of Pardons, makes Luther write against them, V.2. p.46,47.	
					The troubles and burning of John Stilman, Martyr, V.2. p.18.	
					The Martyrdom of Tho. Man, V.2. p.18,19.	
1519					Christopher Shoomaker is burned for Religion, V.2. p.23.	
					Of Carolus Emperor, see V.1. p.850. and V.2. p.4.	
					Solyman 12th Ottoman begins to reign. He wins from the Christians, V.1. p.847, 848.	
					Famous Dr. Colet dies, of whose life, see V.2. p.41. Not long before whose death flourished famous Grocinius an Englishman, Reader of Divinity Lecture in Pauls in London.	
					Persecution in England of sundry good men this year is moved in Coventry, where seven are burned together, V.2. p.181.	
1420					A Proclamation against the Doctrine of Luther, and the followers of it in England, is set forth this year, V.2. p.236. He forbids thirteen good Books, V.2. p.237.	
					John Southwike persecuted, V.2. p.17.	
					The Clergy of England taken in a Premunire; they pay a mass of money for it, V.2. p.421.	
					Pope Leo the tenth sends forth his Bull against Luther, which Luther well baits in his answer, Vol.2. p.541.	
1521					This year was terrible trouble and persecution of hundreds of good people for the truth; in the Diocels of Lincoln under Longland their Bishop, to find whose names if thou wilt not take the pains to begin at this 24 pag. of this second Volume; to write the eleven leaves of Catalogues of them, thou maist in the Table at the later end find them more readily.	24
					This year reformation in the Church by Luther, of whom went Prophecies before.	42
					His acts and doings before the Emperor.	52
					King Henry the eighth writes against Luther (as it is commonly reported and reputed) in which work others are supposed to have the chief hand; and the King the name, for which he is by the Pope stiled, Defender of the Christian Faith.	57
					Pope Leo the tenth wars and wins from the French King; rides in triumph in the same, and dies.	
					The Christian Princes at discord incourageth Solymanus the twelfth Ottoman to war against Christendom, to take Belgrade, V.1. p.848.	
					Zuinglius this year is questioned for teaching against the abuses in the Church: His life and acts, V.2. p.71.	
1522					This Pope was sometimes Schoolmaster to Emperor Charles the Fifth; he is a German born, yet a great enemy to Luther, plotting and acting sundry devices: Luther and the Nobles of Germany countermanding: He by reasoning, they by putting up their complaints against the Pope, touching forbidding times of Marriage, commanding too many times for holy days, selling remission of sins for money, abusing Excommunication, and many more particulars.	64
					Solyman the Turk wins the Island Rhodes, Vol.1. p.848.	
1523					The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk of Melden in France, Vol.2. p.85.	
					Pope Clement the seventh, his Bull against Henry the eighth, in behalf of Queen Katharine. A Marriage to him who was his Brother Arthurs wife, Vol.2. p.536.	
					Of Pope Clement the seventh, how in the facking of Rome he is taken: see V.2. p.245.	
					This year met Zuinglius and Johannes Faber, and others to dispute; Zuinglius for the rest against the truth. But none willing to dispute with Zuinglius touching his sixty seventh Article of the truth, the Senate of Zurich proclaims throughout their Dominions that the traditions of men should be put down, and Christs Gospel should be set up, and so reformation begins in those parts.	72
					Henry Voet and John Esch Friars Augustines are burnt at Brussels for the Gospel, Vol.2. p.80.	
					Persecution begins this year in Germany of hundreds of Martyrs continuing for many years, V.2. p.94.	
					Likewise in France this year Persecution begins, martyring multitudes, not ceasing in many years, V.2. 104. Whose names thou maist either find in reading over the Catalogues; or if it be too much pains, thou maist have them readily in the Table in the end of the Book.	
1524					Henry Sutphen is burned about the City of Diethmar, Vol.2. p.81.	
					Divers Martyrs secretly drowned in Germany, V.2. p.84.	
					George Hala of Saxony a Preacher, martyred, Vol.2. ib.	
					The Tigurines write in defence of true Religion upon occasion of the Cantons apprehending the Preacher Johannes Oxlinus.	
1525					Persecution of many in Lincoln and Oxfordshire Diocels, V.2. p.195, 196.	
					This year the Senate of Zurich deposeth the Mass with all its appurtenances.	
					Wolfgangus is martyred, great judgments befall his condemnners, V.2. p.91.	
					Dr. John Castellane martyred in Germany, V.2. p.85, 86.	
					The story of a good Pastor murdered this year, penned by Oecolampadius, V.2. p.88.	
					Another story of Master Peter Spenser, Minister, drowned this year; penned by Oecolampadius, V.2. ibid.	
					Cardinal Wolfey setting the Lord Cromwell at work to pull down some Religious houses for the Cardinals ends, teacheth and forebodeeth ominously the ruin of the great Abbeyes, which after fell by that Lord Cromwell, V.2. p.420.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of German.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	A. B. Canterbury.	Vol.2. Page
1526				<p>About this time the Rusticks in <i>Germany</i> make a tumult; which being allaid, the Papists fallly accuse the Gospellers to have an hand in it, and so condemn them, V.2. p.90.</p> <p>About this time a Disputation is held at <i>Baden</i> in <i>Germany</i>, touching the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, the Mass, &c. <i>Eckius</i> defends the Popes tenet. <i>Oecolampadius</i> is against <i>Eckius</i>. <i>Zuinglius</i> could not be there, for which he excuseth himself.</p> <p><i>John Huglein</i> martyred, Vol.2. p.92.</p> <p><i>Leonard Keyser</i> of <i>Bavaria</i> burned for the Gospel, V.2. p.93.</p> <p>A prohibition of the New Testament in <i>English</i>, and of seventeen other good Books, is set forth, Vol.2. p.248.</p> <p>The many wicked practises of Cardinal <i>Wolsey</i>, making men do penance for eating of flesh, abjures men for speaking against the Pope, V.2. p.208.</p> <p><i>Solyman</i> the Turk conquers <i>Ludovike</i> the French Kings Army, the King himself falling off his horse, and dying in a Marsh place, Vol.1. p.847.</p> <p>The Senate and people of <i>Berne</i> in <i>Helvetia</i> appoint another Disputation, between the Protestants and <i>Zuinglians</i> on the one side, and the Papists on the other. The Bishops round about: as the Bishops of <i>Basil</i>, <i>Constance</i>, &c. are enjoined to present and bring Divines with them, on pain of forfeiture of all their possessions within the bounds of their precinct.</p> <p>At this Disputation were present <i>Zuinglius</i>, <i>Oecolampadius</i>, <i>Bucerus</i>, <i>Capito</i>, &c. On the contrary side, the chief was <i>Conradus Tregerus</i>.</p> <p>Thus by this means reformation began at <i>Berne</i>, <i>Constance</i>, <i>Geneva</i>, &c. the Mass, Images, &c. are put down.</p> <p>The <i>Bernates</i> in the year of their reformation from Popery to true Religion, did engrave the same in a pillar of brass with golden letters.</p> <p><i>George Carpenter</i> martyred at <i>Munchen</i> in <i>Bavaria</i>, V.2. p.92.</p> <p>The widow <i>Wendelmata</i> is martyred in <i>Holland</i>, V.2. p.93.</p> <p><i>Patrick Hamleton</i> a Scot at <i>St. Andrews</i> in <i>Scotland</i> martyred, V.2. p.182.</p> <p>His excellent Treatises, V.2. p.184.</p> <p>A Christian Jew martyred by the Turk, V.2. p.179.</p> <p><i>Lome</i>, <i>Nicolson</i>, and <i>Raimund</i>, are made to abjure in <i>London</i> Diocess, V.2. p.260.</p> <p>They of <i>Strausburgh</i> calling a Council, after long controversie about Religion, depose the Mass, till the Patrons of it could prove the lawfulness of it by the Scripture; and so set reformation on foot in <i>Strausburgh</i> also.</p>	75
1527				<p><i>Simon Fish</i> his Book called <i>The Supplication of Beggers</i>, comes to the Kings hand, V.2. p.228.</p> <p>Cardinal <i>Wolsey</i> is cast out of the Kings favour, and so begins to fall, for his delaying in matters touching the Kings Marriage, v.2. p.206, 207, 208.</p> <p><i>Ferdinand</i>, the Brother of <i>Carolus</i> the fifth Emperor, and Deputy in <i>Germany</i>, labours against the Protestants and Reformation.</p> <p><i>John Tewksbury</i> of <i>London</i> martyred, v.2. 241.</p> <p>Now began the name of Protestants, from their protesting in <i>Germany</i> against the evil Decree of <i>Spires</i>, which was also this year.</p> <p>The Turk besiegeth <i>Vienna</i>, vol.1. p.849.</p> <p>Reformation is wrought in <i>Basil</i> also.</p> <p><i>Paul Luther</i> an <i>Englishman</i>, also <i>Whaplod</i>, <i>Goderidg</i>, <i>West</i>, <i>White</i>, <i>Kitchen</i>, <i>Wegen</i>, <i>Hale</i>, are made to abjure this year in <i>London</i> Diocess, vol.2. p.260, 270.</p> <p>Near an hundred good Books are forbidden in <i>England</i>, vol.2. p.285.</p> <p><i>Ferdinandus</i> wins from the Turk places which he had taken, and also expulseth his other enemy <i>Vaiuoda</i>, vol.1. p.849.</p>	76
1528				<p>The Turk takes <i>Gunza</i> in <i>Hungary</i>, vol.1. p.852.</p> <p>A Council is held at <i>Ausburge</i>: the Confession of the Protestants there.</p> <p><i>Thomas Hitton</i> martyred at <i>Maidstone</i>, vol.2. p.210.</p> <p><i>John Tindal</i>, <i>Worsley</i>, <i>Stacy</i>, <i>Maxwell</i>, <i>Curson</i>, <i>Cornewell</i>, and <i>Philip</i>, are made to abjure in <i>London</i> Diocess, vol.2. p.261.</p> <p>Wars begin between the Protestants and the five Popish Towns of <i>Switzerland</i>, where <i>Zuinglius</i> is slain.</p>	77
1529				<p>Peace is concluded between them.</p> <p><i>Oecolampadius</i> being sick in body, and now worfe by sorrow of mind, hearing of <i>Zuinglius</i> his death, dies.</p> <p>The troubles of <i>Thomas Bilney</i>, vol.2. p.211. His learning to burn, by putting his finger in the candle. His death, vol.2. p.227, 228.</p> <p><i>Thomas Arthurs</i> troubles, vol.2. p.212.</p> <p>The troubles of <i>John Frith</i>, vol.2. p.250. His Martyrdom, see Anno 1533.</p> <p><i>Thomas Bennet</i> is martyred in the fire, vol.2. p.260.</p>	78
1530				<p>This year <i>Periman</i>, <i>Goldstone</i>, <i>Staple</i>, <i>Tomson</i>, <i>Wetzel</i>, <i>Man</i>, <i>Feldon</i>, <i>Cooper</i>, <i>Roe</i>, <i>Wallom</i>, <i>Palmer</i>, <i>Brasier</i>, <i>Fairested</i>, <i>Bull</i>, <i>Haymond</i>, <i>Lamb</i>, <i>Hewet</i>, the two <i>Patmoores</i>, the two <i>Smiths</i>, <i>Row</i>, <i>Christopher</i>, <i>Nelson</i>, <i>Eve</i>, <i>Hudson</i>, <i>Hewet</i>, <i>Kyry</i>, <i>Lobley</i>, <i>Lincoln</i>, <i>Mell</i>, <i>Medwell</i>, <i>Fulman</i>, <i>Bowgas</i>, <i>Tiler</i>, <i>Lancaster</i>, the two <i>Topleyes</i>, <i>Gardener</i>, <i>Johnson</i>, are made to abjure, with divers other at <i>Bumsted</i>, vol.2. p.263, to 267.</p>	79
1531				<p>Men and women of <i>Essex</i> troubled for the Gospel, vol.2. p.268.</p> <p><i>Solyman</i> the Turk murthers his own son <i>Mustapha</i>, vol.1. p.857.</p> <p>The troubles and burning of the Martyr <i>Richard Bayfield</i>.</p> <p><i>James Bainham</i> is brought into trouble, vol.2. p.246. His penance, p.247. His burning, ib.</p> <p>Three men are hanged for the burning of the Rood of <i>Dover-Court</i>, vol.2. p.249.</p> <p>Master <i>Tracy</i> being dead, is taken up and burned, vol.2. p.262.</p> <p>Of the death of Archbishop <i>Warham</i>, and <i>Cranmers</i> succeeding in the Archbishoprick of <i>Canterbury</i>, a little after his being Ambassador to the Pope, to dispute of King <i>Henry</i> the eighth his Marriage with his Brothers wife, that it was unlawful, see vol.2. p.355.</p> <p><i>John Frith</i>, Martyr, vol.2. p.250, to 253.</p> <p>And <i>Andrew Hewet</i>, Martyr, vol.2. p.255.</p> <p><i>Tho. Harding</i> of <i>Cheesham</i> in <i>Buckinghamshire</i>, is martyred, v.2. p.193.</p> <p>} Are burned together.</p>	238
1532					
1533					

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	A. B. Canterbury.		Vol. I. Page
1534					<p>The King is divorced from Lady <i>Katharine</i> Dowager, and marries Lady <i>Anne Bullen</i>, Vol. 2. p. 270. Compare p. 270, 271.</p> <p>Queen <i>Anne</i> is Crowned. Of her Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> is born, Vol. 2. p. 276.</p> <p>The <i>Turk</i> sends his Admiral into <i>Africk</i> against the King of <i>Tunis</i>, who dispossesseth the King, and deprives him of his Kingdom, V. 1. p. 852.</p> <p>The Friers of <i>Orleanse</i> counterfeit the walking of a womans Ghost, V. 2. p. 550.</p> <p>The King calls a Parliament, wherein the Commons complain of the cruelty of the Prelates, for calling them before them, <i>ex Officio</i>.</p> <p>An Act of Succession of the Crown is concluded, Vol. 2. p. 278.</p> <p>The Popes authority is cast out of <i>England</i>.</p> <p>The Kings subjects are sworn to his Supremacy.</p> <p>The Bishops and Universities write against the Popes Supremacy.</p>	
1535					<p><i>Charles</i> the Fifth Emperor restores the King of <i>Tunis</i> to his Kingdom, and restoreth 20000 Captives out of servitude, Vol. 1. p. 852.</p> <p>Pope <i>Paul</i> the third calling a Council, calleth our King unto the Council, the Kings answer, vol. 2. p. 310.</p> <p>Sir <i>Thomas Moor</i>, and <i>Fisher</i> Bishop of <i>Rocheſter</i> (who had written against <i>Luther</i> and <i>Oecolampadius</i>) denying to be sworn to the Kings Supremacy, are executed this year.</p>	294
1536					<p>The King having made all safe at home with his subjects for his own Supremacy against the Popes, now he endeavours to make safe to him the favour and peace of other Princes, that the Pope might not set them against him.</p> <p>The troubles of <i>William Tindal</i>.</p> <p>His Martyrdom.</p> <p>This year also died Lady <i>Katharine</i>, Princess Dowager, and Queen <i>Anne</i> is beheaded.</p> <p>In three days after, the King marries Lady <i>Jane Seimer</i>.</p>	295 301 305 309 310
1537					<p>By the means of a Monk a Rebellion is raised against the King in <i>Lincolnshire</i>, upon the chief of which execution was done.</p> <p>Prince <i>Edward</i> is born of the Lady <i>Jane Seymer</i>, the Queen dies in Childbed.</p> <p><i>Solyman</i> the twelfth <i>Ottoman</i> takes and waſts <i>Corcyra</i>, the Island of the <i>Venetians</i>, v. 1. p. 852.</p>	313 315
1538					<p>Whiles the Pope and the Emperor, and the <i>Venetians</i> are at odds, <i>Solyman</i> the <i>Turk</i> invades and waſts <i>Apulia</i>, v. 1. p. 852.</p> <p><i>D. Bonner</i>, now but Archdeacon, is sent by the King Ambaſſador into <i>France</i>, to ſucceed <i>Stephen Gardiner</i> in Ambaſſie; <i>Bonnors</i> Letters to the Lord <i>Cromwell</i>, and his deſcription to the ſaid Lord of the evil behaviour of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p> <p>A poor woman persecuted for eating of a Pig in <i>Lent</i>, which ſhe longed for, being with child, v. 2. p. 426, 427.</p> <p>Articles deviſed by the Kings Highneſs to eſtabliſh Chriſtian quietneſs, and unity among the people, with certain injunctions.</p> <p><i>John Longland</i> Biſhop of <i>Lincoln</i> (before a great persecutor of Chriſtians) preacheth for the Kings Supremacy against the Pope, before the King at <i>Greenwich</i>.</p> <p>Many Idols, Images and Pilgrimages are depoſed by means of the ſaid injunctions of the King this year. Among thoſe Idols, that called <i>Darvell Gatharen</i>, is burned, with the which Idol Frier <i>Foreſt</i> for denying the Kings ſupremacy was burned, being hanged in chains over the fire; and ſo was fulfilled the Prophetic, that that Idol ſhould ſet a whole <i>Foreſt</i> on fire.</p> <p>This ſame year after the fall of Images, followed the ruin of the Abbies.</p> <p>After the fall of Abbies, the living Temple of Chriſt <i>John Lambert</i>, falls into trouble, and the martyring fire, by the deviſe of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p> <p><i>Collins</i> diſtracted, is with his dog burned this year, for holding up that dog in imitation of the Priests Maſs.</p> <p><i>Cowbridge</i> diſtracted, burnt for articles, who knew not what he ſaid himſelf.</p> <p><i>Will. Laſton</i> burned for ſpeaking against an Idol.</p> <p><i>Puttewſe</i> is burned for ſaying jeſtingly, that when the Priſt himſelf had drunk up all the Wine, he did bleſs the people with the empty Chalice.</p> <p><i>Peke</i> is burned, forty days pardon is proclaimed for them that will caſt ſticks into his fire. A Knight and Gentleman for this reward cut boughs with their ſwords, and throw them in.</p> <p>The King is deſired by the Emperor to come or ſend to the Popes Council at <i>Vincence</i>. The King excuſeth himſelf and his Kingdom for abſence, and diſcovereth the defects of the Popes Councils.</p> <p>The great diliverance of <i>Grinaeus</i> from danger, vol. 3. p. 777.</p> <p>This King <i>Henry</i> the eighth ſets forth Injunctions against <i>English</i> Books, Sacramentary perſons, Sects of Religions, by the deviſe of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p> <p>A deſcription how Religion now begins to go backward.</p> <p>The <i>Turks</i> paſſing by <i>Dalmatia</i>, take there a Town called <i>Caſtellum Novum</i>, <i>New Caſtel</i>, away from the <i>Spaniards</i>, who kept it, v. 1. p. 853.</p> <p>This year persecution was in <i>Spain</i>, martyring very many Chriſtians, not giving over in many years, v. 2. p. 139. If the Catalogues be too tedious in this page for thee to read and find their names: ſee the Table at the end.</p>	315 318 322 325 326 330 331 <i>ibid.</i> <i>ibid.</i> 366 <i>ibid.</i>
1539					<p>A Parliament is called; 1. For Tranſubſtantiation, 2. Against giving the Cup, 3. Against Priests Marriage, 4. For vows of Chſtity, 5. For Maſſes, 6. For Auricular Confeſſion, is concluded, notwithstanding many allegations against the Act and Articles.</p>	371
1540					<p>The great Bible in <i>English</i> printed by the Lord <i>Cromwells</i> means, v. 2. p. 434.</p> <p>Persecution moved in <i>Scotland</i>, where Sir <i>John Brothwicke</i> hath great troubles, v. 2. p. 511.</p> <p>The good Lord <i>Cromwell</i> is beheaded.</p>	433

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Queens of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	The L. Cromwel being made away by Gardiners device, Christs Sheep are slain apace, as R. Barns, Tho. Garret, W. Hierome Divines. Three Papists executed the same time with them, for denying the Kings Supremacy.	Vol. I. Page
1541					Mekins a youth of 15 years old, brought to the fire by Bonner, sitting in Guildhal in Commision for the 6 Articles, for speaking, upon hearing of others talk, against the Sacrament of the Altar. Spencer, Ramsay and Hewer suffer at Salisbury. Great trouble and persecution in London of near an hundred persons for the six Articles. Alexander Seton persecuted. John Porter cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Pauls Church in London. Persecution is moved in Lincoln Diocess by the six Articles. Barber recants in St. Marys at Oxford, at which is a fear lest the Church were on fire. K. Henry is divorced from Ann of Cleve, and marries Katharine Howard. This year Lady Howard being accused to the King of incontinent living, both before her Marriage, with Francis Dereham, and since with Thomas Culpeper; those two men, as also Queen Katharine, with the Lady Rochford, are put to death.	433 435 445 ib. 447 452 ib. 453 455 ib.
1542					The Town in Hungary called Quinque-Ecclesie, that is, Five-Churches, is taken by the Turks. After it they take in the same Country Soclofia. V.1. p.854. c.1. The Cardinal of Scotland moves persecution at Perth. V.2. p.520. A piece of a Child in the Siege of Alba, is found in a Soldiers Satchel, the other part being eaten. V.1. p.856. c.2. Persecution of above twenty in Callis; where George Bucker, alias Adam Damplick is martyred. V.2. p.469. 477.	
1543					The Persecution of 4 Windsor men, viz. Testwood, Filmer, Person and Marbeck. The Turks take Wezigradum.	457
1545					The Act of the six Articles is somewhat qualified in Parliament. It is yet qualified more in another Parliament. Testwoods Recantation of denying the six Articles.	478
1546					The Scots are subdued. Bullen in France is won. V.2. p.481. The troubles of Mrs Ann Askew begin. V.2. p.483. Martin Luther dies godlily and quietly. V.2. p.69. John Dazius a Spaniard, is martyred, his own Brother killing him at Neoberge in Germany. V.2. p.87. Kerby and Clerk of Suffolk martyred. George Wiseheart martyred in Scotland. V.2. p.521, 522. Ann Askew is burned, and with her Nicholas Belenian. 483. The troubles and dangers of Queen Katharine Parr, by Gardiners Plots. 491. Great Persecution is in Italy for many years. V.2. p.139. Read the Catalogue in this Page, or see the Table and the end.	479
1547					The Cardinal of Scotland, a wicked Persecutor, is murdered and buried in a Dunghil. V.2. p.526. King Henry the Eighth dies.	512
			Queen Jane.		A Preface containing a learned Discourse touching the wicked Mass, for which so many bled and burned, in this 3d Volume is premised to the ensuing stories. Queen Jane by K. Edward's will, the witness of most of the greatest Nobles, and by their assistance and Proclamations, is proclaimed Q. of England throughout the Kingdom. Lady Mary claims the Crown of England by Letters to the Council. Their answer, denying her demand. Lady Mary by feigned promises (which she cruelly after brake) made to the Suffolk men, (who were always ready to promote the Gospel) gets their assistance by War, to settle her in the Crown, against the Lady Jane. By these Suffolk Forces, Queen Mary overthrows the forces that were for Queen Jane; so that Lady Mary is proclaimed Queen, and the Lords begin to fall off from the Lady Jane. The Duke of Northumberland, the Father-in-law of Lady Jane, is imprisoned by Q. Mary in the Tower, with Lord Gifford his Son, and Q. Jane his Wife. The Duke made in hope of life to revoke his Religion, is beheaded, with Sir J. Gates, and Sir T. Palmer, confessing their faith. Good Bishops are displaced, preaching, and printing and Plays, and the terms Papist and Heretick is prohibited by Proclamation. Bishop Bonner is released out of Prison, cast in there by Edward the 6th. He set up Bourn a Canon of Pauls, to preach at the Cross, and to clear him, upon the same Text, for which, as Bourn said 4 years afore, the said Bonner was cast into the Marshalsey. A Dagger is thrown at Bourn for his pains. In August, this year, many are clapt up in Prison for dislike of Popery and its abettors. In September the same year, many are troubled for Religion. In October the same year, Q. Mary is crowned. A Parliament is called. Popery as Mass, &c. set up. Judge Hales that had been for Q. Mary in Title to the Crown, is now by her troubled, for standing for the Law. A Disputation concerning Religion, as real Presence, &c. is held in a Convocation between the Protestant and Papist Divines this year, Octob. 18. The Convocation is dissolved. V.2. p.24. Many great Lords, &c. and Bishops put in Prison, and Gardiner among the rest, for the Supremacy, &c. matters are now released by the Queen, and advanced.	Vol. 3. Page 1 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10 12, 13. 13. 15. 15. 16. 24.
1554			Queen Mary.		The Queen shuts up many this year in Prison for Religion. V.3. p.25. The Queens rigour touching Religion, and her likelihood to marry Philip, cause a Rebellion of Sir Tho. Wyatt, &c. in Kent, and of the D. of Suffolk, Lady Janes own Father, in Warwick and Leicestershire. They are taken. The Queens Oration in Guild-hall against Wyatt, and touching her Marriage. V.3. p.25. Conference between Lady Jane and Fecknam about points of Religion. V.3. p.25. Lady Janes Letter to her own Father in Prison. V.3. p.26. Lady Janes Letter to Mr. Harding her Fathers Chaplain, now revolted to Popery, notably terrifying him out with places of the Scripture for the same. V.3. p.27. Lady Janes Letter to her Sister Katharine, V.3. p.28. The admirable sweet carriage and death of the Lady Jane. V.3. p.29. Bonner teaching after them that would not come in Lent to confession. The Queens Letter and Articles to the Bishop of London, against Religion and Religious persons. ib. A like Prescript with Articles, the Queen sends to the Lord Mayor of London. Vol. 3. p.31. The Queen by Proclamation expulseth all strangers and foreigners out of the Land, whereby Peter Martyr and others avoid the Realm. V.3. p.32. Lady Elizabeth is suspected of, and imprisoned for consenting to Wyatts Rebellion, by whom she is cleared; but Gardiner and Weston labour her ruine by tales in the Star-Chamber, &c.	

A Chronology.

Anno
Chris.

German Emperors.

Roman Popes.

Kings of England.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

The Queen holds a Parliament, wherein she laboured, but in vain, to restore the Popes Supremacy. But in her own writing to the Bishop of London, &c. she left out the usual clause of Henry 8. and Edward 6. *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ Caput.* V.3.p.33.

Bonner in Convocation with hyperbolic blasphemy, extols Priests Dignity to be above Kings and Princes, and Angels; equal with the Virgin Mary, maker of his Creator.

Doctor Ridley his Conference in Prison touching the Sacrament, &c. with Secretary Bourn. V.3. p.34.

Cranmer Archbishop, Ridley Bishop, are, April 10. sent down to Oxford to dispute touching Religion. Cranmer disputes. V.3.p.36. Disputation at Oxford between Dr. Smith, and Ridley Bishop of London touching Religion. April 17. p.50. Disputation at Oxford, April 18. between Mr. Smith, and Mr. Latimer at Oxford. V.3.p.65. Harpsfield's Disputation at Oxford for his Degree, April 19. Cranmer disputeth. V.3.p.70. Bishop Ridley's report of Oxfords misordered Disputation with him and his fellow Prisoners. V.3.p.74. Bishop Ridley writes Letters to the Prolocutor, for his breach of promises to him touching the order of Disputation. V.3.p.75. The Archbishop Cranmer writes Letters by Doctor Weston to the Council for all lawful favour, which he refused to deliver. Bishop Ridley writes an unanimous conciliatory Letter to the Archbishop, touching their consent in the substance of Religion. V.3. p.76. Mr. Bradford and others are committed to the Tower, August 16. Cranmer Archbishop clears himself of scandal put upon him. V.3.p.78. Queen Mary is crowned, Latimer and Cranmer are put in the Tower. ib. The Queen by Proclamation at her Coronation, pardons other Prisoners, but not those in the Tower and the Fleet, and 62 persons more. The Archbishop of York is committed to the Tower. The Queen rides in pomp to Parliament, Octob. 5. Mr. Lawrence Saunders, October the 10th, preacheth in London against the Abomination of the Mass. Dr. Weston upon the 10th of October, makes a Popish Sermon at Pauls Cross. Cambridge University defend the Queens proceedings, before any Law be enacted to the same purpose. K. Edward's Acts are Repealed, December 15. V.3.p.78.

A Priest of Canterbury saying Mass, the morrow repenting, preaches against it. Justice Hales and Mr. Rogers are imprisoned, January 26. Strange sights are seen at nine in the morning in the Heavens, Feb. 15. before the coming in of K Philip, and the going out of true Religion. This Month of February, Winchester in his Sermon before the Queen stirs her up to use no mercy towards the Kentish men, but severe execution upon them, for their rising in Rebellion. The Duke of Suffolk is beheaded, Feb. 23. V.3.p.79. Mr. Mantel in this Month of Feb. is executed in Kent, among other Gentlemen; who at his first falling under the Gallows, the Rope brake; whereupon for Recantation of his Religion, pardon was offered, which he refused, and chose rather to die. His Apology clearing himself of aspersions of Recantation. All London are commanded, March 17. to prepare themselves for shrift. V.3.p.81. March 18, Lady Elizabeth is put in the Tower. Near twenty Gallowses are set up about London, upon occasion of Wyatts Rebellion, to terrifie others; upon one of which, in Cheapside, a Cat was hanged with a shaven Crown, and a Paper between her feet like a Priest at Mass with his Wafer. The Priest of Pancras in Cheap on Easter day, according to the Popish manner, feeling in the Sepulcher for the Pix and Crucifix, and saying, *He is not here, but is risen*; it proved that they were not there indeed; for some body or other had stolln them away, about which much search was made. The Lord Gray is hanged and quartered for a Conspiracy against the Queens life as it was alledged.

Bradford, Saunders, &c. Narration touching their Disputation and Religion. V.3.p.82. The imprisonment of Lady Elizabeth in Woodstock. p.83. Queen Mary is married to Philip, a form drawn for their mutual stile. Winchester preacheth at Pauls Cross extream blasphemy against the truth, and flattery of K. Philip. p.85. John Street troubled for coming under the Priests Canopy. p.86.

Bonner's frantick behaviour in his Visitation, striking, scolding, &c. A Rood in Lancashire is made so ugly, that (as they there concluded) it was fitter to make a Devil. p.87. Bonner sends forth a Mandat to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted on the Church-Walls. ib. Queen Marys Persecution make 24 Fellows places void in Cambridge at once in one Colledge. The business the Council, the Bishops and the Parliament made about Queen Marys conceiving with Child as they conceived. p.88. Cardinal Pools entertainment, Oration and Actions at the Parliament before the Queen. p.91. Gardiner's dreaming Sermon at the Cross on the words, *It is high time to awake*, &c. pleading for Popery. p.92. Thirty Christian Martyrs, and a Minister apprehended in Bow-Church-yard, for the Gospel, and imprisoned. The Act of the Popes Supremacy is passed in Parliament. A great tumult at Westminster between the Spanish and English. This year begins the Persecution of the Waldenses or Waldoys in the Vally of Angrogne-luserne, St. Martin, Perouse, &c. in the Country of Piedmont, continuing to Anno 1561. V.2.p.160. Mr. Hooper writes comfort to the Martyrs apprehended in Bow-Church-yard. V.3.p.95. The persecuted Preachers make Supplication to the King and Queen. Vol.3. p.97.

Vol.3.98. Of this Cardinal pranks more will follow in order of years. John Rogers his troubles and Martyrdom. p.98. Mr. Lawrence Saunders his troubles and Martyrdom. p.108. John Hooper Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester burned for the truth. ib. Doctor Rowland Taylors suffering for the truth. p.137. The Queen solicited by the King of Denmark in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, now in danger of his life for Religion, writes her answer to the said King. p.150. 151, 152. Judge Hales is rebuked by Winchester; he drowns himself. p.153. Thomas Thompkins hand is first burned, then his body by Bonner for the truth. p.155. William Hunter martyred. p.157. Master Higbed and Causton Gentlemen, burnt in Essex for the truth. p.161. William Pigot, Stephen Knight, and John Lawrence persecuted and martyred. p.164. Dr. Farrar Bishop of St. Davids, persecuted and martyred. p.166. Rawlins White burned at Cardiff in Wales for the Gospel. p.180. Queen Marys words to her Council touching restitution of Abby Lands. p.185. Winchesters Letter to Bonner, touching the solemnizing of the Popes Funeral. p.183. George Marsh martyred. p.189. William Branch, alias Flower, persecuted and martyred. p.203. John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, and John Warn burned together for the Gospel in Smithfield. p.206. John Simpson and John Audeley, dwelling in Essex, persecuted by Bonner. p.209. Bonners ridiculous proceedings against John Tooley, martyred after his death. p.210. Thomas Hawks a Gentleman, a worthy Martyr of Christ, martyred. p.220. Thomas Wats is persecuted unto fire for the Gospel. p.224. Proclamation against good Books that are against the Pope his Doctrine and Church: (the Wardens of each Company being to search them out) and the putting forth of evil Books, as our Ladies Pfalter, &c. p.227. The troubles and Martyrdom of Thomas Osmond, Chamberlain, and William Bamgord. p.231. The Letters and Martyrdom of that famous Man, Master Bradford. p.254. The Martyrdom of John Bland Preacher, and at the same time of John Frankesh, Humfry Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden. p.309. The Martyrdom of Margere Polley. p.316. The Martyrdom of Christopher Waide. p.317. The Martyrdom of Dirrick Carver and John Launder. p.320. The Marquels of Winchester helps forward persecution. p.317.

Thomas

1555

Marcellus 2. Paulus 4.

Cardinal Pool.

A Chronology.

Anno
Christ

German Emperors.

Roman Popes.

Kings of England.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

1556

Pius 5.

Ferdinandus.

Thomas Iveson martyred: Vol.3. Page 323. John Denley, John Newman, and Partick Packingham apprehended, and martyred. p.325. Edmund Tyrel writes to the Queens Commissioners, touching assistance in Persecution. p.321. Coker, Houser, Lawrence, Colliar, Wright and Stere, burned for the Gospel at Canterbury. p.327. Elizabeth Warr Widow, burnt at Stratford-Bow. p.328. The Martyrdom of George Tankerfield at Saint Albans. ib. The Martyrdom of Robert Smith. p.330. The manner of Christians imprisoned, described with Pictures and Poems. p.335. The manner of the imprisonment in the Lollards Tower. p.344. The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel Preacher. p.345. Will. Allen martyred. p.349. Ro.Coo of Melford in Suffolk martyred. ib. Thomas Cob Martyr. p.350. Cratmer, Streeter, Burward, Brodbridge, Tutty, in one fire at Canterbury, Martyrs. ib. Thomas Hayward and John Goreway Martyrs. p.351. Mr. Robert and John Glover Gentlemen, persecuted in Litchfield Diocels. ib. Master Robert Glover and Cornelius Borgey, are burned at Coventry. p.357. The Bishop of Chesters Letter against the Burial of William Glover's body. p.358. William Wolfey and Robert Pigot martyred. ib. The Acts, Letters, Troubles and Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer Bishops. p.360. to 446. The uncomfortable death following Gardiner's wicked life. p.447. Web, Roper, Park, burned at Canterbury for Religion. 458. William Wiseman imprisoned for the Gospel; there dying, is cast out into the Fields, (by others whose burials in the fields are here described) as *ιδωειν κυνεαρι*, as Carrion for Dogs, with command that no man should bury them. p.459. A notable Letter of a Woman to Bonner for his cruelty. p.512. The Examination, Condemnation, Letters and Martyrdom of John Philpot Archdeacon. p.460, to 512. Whittle, Green, Tudson, Went, Brown, Isabel, Foster, Joan Warr, martyred together at London. 513. John Lomas, An Albright, Joan Carter, Agnes Smith, Joan Soal, burned at Canterbury for the truth. p.530. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, his troubles, Acts and Martyrdom at Oxford, putting his hand voluntarily first into the fire. 531 to 568. This year the Turk (as some report) wasted part of Italy, Vol.1. p.858. Agnes Potter and Joan Trunchfield, martyred at Ipswich. John Spicer, William Coberly, John Maundrel, burned for Christ in one fire at Salisbury. Vol.3. p.569. Drakes, Tims, two Sparges, Cavel, Ambrose, burned at London for Christ. p.570. The Northfolk and Suffolk mens godly Supplication to the Queens persecuting Commissioners. p.578. John Harpole, Joan Beach, martyred. p.583. The Letters, Acts and Martyrdom of John Fullier Minister. p.584. Lyster, Mace, Spencer, Loyne, Nichols, Hamond, burned at Colchester for Christ. p.586. Lame Laverock, and blind Apprice, martyred at Stratford Bow. Three women, viz. Hut, Thacknel and Horns, burned for Christ in Smithfield. p.588. Sir John Mordant, and Edmund Tyrel, Esquire, persecuting Justices in Essex, write to Bonner. ib. Spicer, Denny and Pool, martyred in Suffolk. p.589. Gregory Crow, and his New Testament, and three other men wonderfully preserved at Sea. 591. W. Slith dies in the Kings-Bench. p.592. Harland, Oswald, Avington, Read, condemned at Lewis. ib. Thomas Wood and Milles martyred at Lewis. Adberal, and Clement die in the Kings-Bench. ib. Adlington, Parnam, Wye, Hallywel, Bowyer, Searles, Hurst, Clawch, Jackson, Derisal, Ruth, Elizabeth Pepper, Agn. George, burned at Stratford Bow in one fire. ib. Freeman, Stannard and Adams were condemned with them. p.594. Parret, Hunt, Norris, with hardship, for Christ in the Kings-Bench there die, and one of them buried in the Back-side. 595. The trouble of John Fortune for Christs sake. p.596. John Carles is persecuted, His Letters, he is imprisoned for Christ in the King-Bench, there dies. p.598. Julius Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, a famous Martyr. His Acts, troubles and Martyrdom. p.615. The lamentable burning of three Women and an Infant in Garnsey. p.627. Thomas Dungan, J. Foreman, and Mother Tree, are burned for Christ in Suffex. p.632. The Martyrdom of Thomas Moor, at Leicester. ib. The examination of Jackson, and Newman, a Martyr. p.633. Blind Joan Waske is martyred at Derby. p.634. Sharp martyred at Bristow, and Hart, Ravensdale also a Shoemaker and Currier, martyred at Mayfield in Suffex. p.636. J. Horn and a Woman burned for Christ at Wotton Underbedge in Gloucestershire. ib. The cruel imprisonment of Dangerfield, and of his Wife being in Childbed, and her infant. ib. A Shoemaker martyred in Northampton, and five Martyrs furnished in Canterbury, they declaring the same by a Letter, thrown out at the Window. 637. A complaint against the Christians at Ipswich. p.791. The story of John Cheek King Edwards Schoolmaster. p.638. The Cardinal Pools Visitation of Cambridge, and his burning of dead Bucers bones, and the Ceremonies, Sermon, &c. thereof. p.640. The like is done of the Visitors, to Peter Martyr's Wifes bones. p.653. The Cardinals Articles, &c. of the Visitation of Canterbury Diocels. p.654. Philpot, Bedingden, Kemp, Hay, Hudson, Bradbridge, Stephens, Final, Lowick, Prowting, Martyrs in Canterbury Diocels. p.655. King Philip, and Queen Maries bloody Commission to persecute good Christians. p.656. Two and twenty good Christians apprehended for Christ, and sent from Colchester to London, where they are persecuted. ib. Commissary Kingstons Letter to Bonner, touching furthering Persecution. p.657. Loseby, Ramsey, Thirrel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, martyred in Smithfield. p.660. The Narration of Steph. Gratwick his Condemnation and Martyrdom, and of Morant and King with him. p.663. J. Bradbridge, Appleby, Petronil, Allin and his Wife, Joan Mannings, and Elizabeth a blind Maid, burned for Christ at Maidston. p.665. Fishcock, White, Pardu, Widdow Final, Widdow Bradbridge, Goodwife Wilson, and Goodwife Benden, Martyrs at Canterbury. p.668. The handling of Matthew Plaise in Kent by the Bishop and his company of Persecutors. p.669. Woodman six times largely examined, Stevens, Mainard, Hofman, Wood, a Maid Marg. and J. Morris, Burgis Ashdon's Wife, Groves Wife burnt for Christ in one fire at Lewis. p.671 to 694. Ambrose dies in Prison for Christ, and Rich. Lush is martyred. p.695. Elizabeth Cooper, and Simon Miller burnt at Norwich. p.696. Persecutors make supplication to the Lord Darcy to move forward more persecution. ib. Rose Allins hand burnt by Tyrrel. p.698. Motehal and Colchester Cattle Prisoners persecuted for Christ. p.699. Six Martyrs, three Men and three Women burnt for Christ at Colchester in the morning, and four more in the afternoon. p.700. J. Thurston Martyr, dies in Prison. ib. J. Eagles martyred for Christ. ib. The troubles and Martyrdom of Richard Crashfield. p.702. The apprehension and Martyrdom of Mrs. Joyce Lewis of Lichfield. p.703. The Martyrdom of Allerton, James and Marg. Austoo, and Richard Roth at Islington. 705 to 712. Borgeor and Thurston Women, burnt at Colchester for Christ. 713. J. Kurd burnt at Northampton. ib. John Noys of Laxfield in Suffolk martyred. p.714. Cicely Ormes martyred at Norwich. p.716. The troubles of Christians at Lichfield. 717. Great Persecution in Chichester Diocels. ib. Sharp, Benion and Hal, burnt for Christ at Bristow. p.749. Tho. Spurdance, Queen Marys servant examined before Norwich Chancellor. Hallindale, Sparrow and Gybson, martyred in Smithfield. p.717. The Martyrdom of John Rough Minister, and Margaret Mearing at London. p.723. The racking and tormenting of Cuthbert Simpson in the Tower, and his burning in Smithfield for Christ, with Fox and Devenish. 726. W. Nichol burned for Christ in Hereford West in Wales. p.729.

Of

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Germany.	Popes of Rome.	Queens of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Matthew Parker.	Queen Elizabeth.	Gregory the 12th.	
								Of the Emperor <i>Frederick</i> , his brotherhood to <i>Carolus</i> the fifth Emperor, and of his Acts whiles he was Deputy in <i>Germany</i> , see Vol.2.p.78.
								<i>Seaman, Carman</i> and <i>Hudson</i> , put to death for Christ at <i>Norwich</i> . Vol.3.p.729.
								<i>Harris, Day, George</i> , burnt at <i>Colchester</i> for Christ. p.732.
								Godly persons for praying in a field at <i>Issington</i> are apprehended, thirteen of them burned. ib.
								Proclamation against Books that are against <i>Popery</i> , &c. Vol.3.p.530. <i>Wa. Mille</i> martyred, V.2.530.
								The Examination and condemnation of <i>Roger Holland</i> . Vol.3.p.735,736. Six Martyrs burned at <i>Brainford</i> . p.738. <i>Bombers</i> scourging of <i>Tbo. Hinshaw</i> , pictured out. p.739.
								<i>Richard Yeoman</i> , Doctor <i>Taylor's</i> Curate at <i>Hadley</i> suffers for the Gospel.p.741. <i>John Alcocks</i> troubles for Christ.p.742.
								A Child is whipped to death by <i>Bonner</i> .p.753. <i>Tbo. Benbridge</i> Martyr. p.743.
								<i>Cook, Miles, Lane, Ashley</i> , Martyrs at <i>Edmundsbury</i> . p.744.
								<i>Alexander Gouch</i> , and <i>Alice Driver</i> , suffer for Christ at <i>Ipswich</i> . p.746.
								<i>Phil. Humsfy, John David</i> , and <i>Hen. David</i> put to death for Christ in the same Month <i>Queen Mary</i> died. ib. <i>Cornford, Brown, Herft, Snotb</i> , and <i>Katharine Knight</i> were the last of the Martyrs that suffered death in <i>Q. Marys</i> days, according to their prayer, they might be the last.p.750.
								A note of such as were scourged for Christ in <i>Queen Marys</i> days. p.756,&c.
								The great Deliverance of Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> from danger in <i>Q. Marys</i> days, by the death of the said Queen ; who dies this year, <i>Novemb.17</i> , and the said Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> proclaimed Queen the same day. 792.
								<i>John Hales</i> his Oration to <i>Q. Elizabeth</i> at her first beginning to Reign.p.819. A relation of the unprosperous succels of <i>Q. Mary</i> , in her persecuting life, to her death. p.800. Gods judgments on the Persecutors that assisted all <i>Q. Maries</i> life time, till her death, in persecuting.p.801.
								<i>Katharine Duchels</i> of <i>Suffolk</i> in trouble, is delivered.p.778.
								<i>Rich. White</i> is examined, and <i>John Hunt</i> condemned, and both to be burned, but <i>Q. Maries</i> death saves them alive. p.752.
								A Catalogue of many Martyrs appointed to death in <i>Queen Maries</i> Persecution, escaping by her death, &c. other means. p.761.
1559								A Disputation is held between the <i>Protestants</i> and <i>Papists</i> at <i>Westminster</i> . p.822.
1560								The torments of <i>Nich. Burton</i> an <i>English</i> Merchant in <i>Spain</i> , for true Religion. p.754.
								Other <i>Englishmen</i> also suffer Martyrdom this year in <i>Spain</i> and <i>Portugal</i> . p.755.
1562								Foreign Persecution by the Bishops of <i>Rome</i> , before the <i>French</i> Massacre. p.862.
								A Massacre in <i>France</i> . p.859.
								Thus have we with all the method and pithiness we could use in these present labours, <i>Chronologically</i> annuated all remarkables in these three Volumes ; seating and placing them according to their age, each particular in his own year. If any man should wish to have had here a larger universe of particulars, though of less consequence ; and a preciser punctualness of times, even to months and days ; such a man shall be able fully to satisfy himself with these considerations :
								First, That keeping close to the nature of the most and best Chronologies, with a studied conciseness, we intended to compose of things material, not trivial, <i>Annals</i> not <i>Kalendar</i> s, and <i>Ephemerides</i> ; that is, to date years, not months and days.
								Secondly, That seeing largeness is to be bound fast to the abbreviature, the second and third Volume, and so they go together abroad into the World : Its but turning over leaves, and when that hath been too tediously prolix in its ample narrations, this will tell the same after that, without wearying eyes or ears. And when this with its <i>Laconical</i> shortness, leaves the Reader hungry, to have seen and heard somewhat more, that will be ready to fill that appetite.
								Thirdly, That although the first Volume makes dispatch in its relations, and so fills up its vastness with variety of stories, till it brings us beyond the 1500 year : yet the second and third Volumes consist of few stories, swollen to that hugeness by the massiness and voluminousness of each story ; so that they both begin and end within the compass of about 50 and odd years, as this our Chronicle it self shews in the Time, Page and Columns ; so that of themselves, unless we would turn <i>Chronologizing</i> into <i>Epitomizing</i> , would wind up themselves into a narrow compass. Besides the first and second Volume in above forty years are woven together ; as may be seen in the Quotations of the large Colume of matter of both these Volumes.
								Fourthly, That of all the Martyrs which indeed are the main bulk of the second and third Volume, Mr. <i>Fox</i> hath penn'd and placed at the beginning a most punctual and methodical <i>Kalendar</i> Chronicle of years, months and days of their troubles and sufferings : yet to make our project a compleatness and perfection, we took into our other passages of estate, all special and dated stories of Martyrs ; though in thus doing in regard of Mr. <i>Fox</i> his <i>Kalendar</i> , we <i>Actum agimus</i> , & post <i>Homerum</i> <i>Teximus</i> <i>Ilia-des</i> , do that which needed not.

FINIS.

Acts and Monuments OF THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS, AND

Matters ECCLESIASTICAL passed in the Church of CHRIST,
From the Primitive beginning, to these our days, as well in other Countries,
as namely in this Realm of ENGLAND, and also of SCOTLAND;
Discourfed at large.

And first, the difference between the Church of ROME that now is, and the
Ancient Church of ROME that then was.

CH RIST our Saviour in the Gospel of
of St. *Matth. cap. 16.* hearing the con-
fession of *Simon Peter*, who first of all
other, openly acknowledged him to be
the Son of God, and perceiving the se-
cret hand of his Father therein, answer-
ed again, and alluding to his name,

called him a Rock, upon which Rock he would build his
Church so strong, that the gates of Hell should not prevail
against it, &c. In which words three things are to be no-
ted. First, that Christ will have a Church in this world.
Secondly, that the same Church should mightily be im-
pugned, not only by the World, but also by the uttermost
strength and powers of all Hell. And thirdly, that the same
Church, notwithstanding the uttermost of the Devil and
all his malice, should continue. Which prophecy of Christ
we see wonderfully to be verified, inasmuch that the whole
course of the Church to this day, may seem nothing else
but a verifying of the said Prophecy. First, that Christ hath
set up a Church, needeth no Declaration. Secondly, what
force, what sides and sorts of men, of Princes, Kings, Mo-
narchs, Governors, and Rulers of this World, with their
Subjects publickly and privately, with all their strength and
cunning, have bent themselves against this Church. And
Thirdly, how the said Church, all this notwithstanding,
hath yet endured and holden his own. What storms and
tempests it hath overpast, wondrous it is to behold. For the
more evident declaration whereof, I have addressed this pre-
sent History, intending by the favourable aid of Christ our
Lord, not so much to delight the ears of my Country in
reading of News, as most specially to profit the hearts of
the godly, in perusing antiquities of ancient times, to the
end that the wonderful works of God, first in this Church,
might appear to his glory. Also that the continuance and
proceedings of the Church from time to time, being set
forth in these *Acts and Monuments*, more knowledge and
experience may redound thereby, to the profit of the Rea-
der and edification of Christian Faith.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute
the matter, as may best serve to the profit of the Reader: I
have thought good first, beginning from the time of the
Primitive Church, and so continuing (by the Lords grace)
to these latter years, to run over the whole state and course
of the Church in general, in such order as digesting the
whole tractation of this History into five sundry diversities
of times.

1. First, I will intreat of the suffering time of the
Church, which continued from the Apostles age about
three hundred years.
2. Secondly, of the flourishing time of the Church,
which lasted other three hundred years.
3. Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the
Church, which comprehendeth other three hundred years,
until the loosing out of Satan, which was about the thou-
sandth year after the ceasing of Persecution. During which
space of time, the Church although in ambition and pride

it was much altered from the simple sincerity of the Primi-
tive Time, yet in outward profession of Doctrine and Re-
ligion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a
Church: notwithstanding some corruption of Doctrine,
with Superstition and Hypocrisie was then also crept in.
And yet in comparison of that which followed after, it
might seem as I said, something sufferable.

4. Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, and loo-
sing of Satan, or desolation of the Church, whose full
swinge containeth the space of four hundred years. In
which time both Doctrine and sincerity of Life was utterly
almost extinguished: namely, in the chief Heads and Ru-
lers of this West Church, through the means of the Ro-
man Bishops, especially counting from *Gregory the seventh*,
called *Hildebrand*, *Innocentius the third*, and Friars which
with him crept in, till the time of *John Wickliffe* and
John Hus, during four hundred years.

5. Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist reign-
ing in the Church of God by violence and tyranny, follow-
eth the reformation and purging of the Church of God,
wherein Antichrist beginneth to be revealed, and to appear
in his colour, and his Antichristian Doctrine to be detected,
the number of his Church decreasing, and the number of
the true Church increasing. The durance of which time
hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred
and fourscore years, and how long it shall continue more,
the Lord and Governor of all times, he only knoweth. For
in these five diversities and alterations of times, I suppose
the whole course of the Church may well be comprised.
The which Church because it is universal, and sparsedly
through all Countries dilated, therefore in this History stan-
ding upon such a general argument, I shall not be bound
to any one certain Nation more than another: yet not-
withstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I have
purposed principally to tarry upon such Historical Acts
and Records, as most appertain to this my Country of Eng-
land and Scotland.

And for so much as the Church of Rome, in all these
Ages above specified, hath challenged to it self the Supreme
Title, and Ringleading of the whole Universal Church on
Earth, by whose direction all other Churches have been
governed: in writing therefore of the Church of Christ,
I cannot but partly also intermeddle with the acts and pro-
ceedings of the same Church, for so much as the doings
and orderings of all other Churches from time to time, as
well here in *England*, as in other Nations, have this long
season chiefly depended upon the same. Wherefore, as it is
much needful and requisite to have the doings and order-
ings of the said Church to be made manifest to all Christi-
an Congregations: so have I framed this History, accord-
ing to the same purpose. First, in a general description
briefly to declare, as in a summary table, the misguiding of
that Church, comparing the former primitive state of the
forenamed Church of Rome, with these latter times of the
same: which done, then after in a more special tractation,
to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so far
forth

Mat. 16.

Three
things no-
ted in
Christs
words.

The order
of the dis-
position of
this History.

The suffer-
ing time of
the Church.

The flour-
ishing time
of the
Church.
The declin-
ing time of
the Church.

The time of
Antichrist
in the
Church.

The Refor-
mation of
the Church.

The Church
of Rome.

forth as shall seem not unprofitable for the publick instruction of all other Christian Churches, to behold and consider the manner and dealing of this one. In the which one Church of Rome four things, as most special points, seem to me chiefly to be considered. To wit, Title, Jurisdiction, Life and Doctrine. Wherein I have here to declare, first, concerning the Title or Primacy of the Church, how it first began, and upon what occasion. Secondly, concerning the Jurisdiction and Authority thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend. Thirdly, touching the misorder of life and conversation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the Form of Doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath been. Of the which four, the first was prejudicial to all Bishops. The second, derogatory to Kings and Emperors. The third detestable to all men. The fourth, injurious against Christ.

Four things
to be considered
in the Church of
Rome.

1. Title.
2. Jurisdiction.
3. Life.
4. Doctrine.

The title of
the Pope.

For first, the Title and Stile of that Church was such, that it overwent all other Churches: being called The Holy Universal Mother Church, which could not erre: and the Bishop thereof, Holy Father the Pope, Bishop Universal, Prince of Priests, Supreme Head of the Universal Church, and Vicar of Christ here in Earth, which must not be judged, having all knowledge of Scripture, and all Laws contained within the chest of his Ereft.

The jurisdiction
of the
Pope.

Secondly, the Jurisdiction of that Bishop was such, that challenging to himself both the Swords, that is, both the Keyes of the Scripture and the Scepter of the Laity, not only he subdued all Bishops under him, but also advanced himself above Kings and Emperors, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, Kings to lead his Horse by the Bridle, some to kiss his feet, placing and displacing Emperors, Kings, Dukes and Earls, whom and when he listed, taking upon him to translate the Empire at his pleasure: first, from Greece to France, from France to Germany, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also being Emperor himself *Sede vacante*, pretending Authority or power to invest Bishops, to give Benefices, to spoil Churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call General Councils, to judge over the same, to set up Religions, to Canonize Saints, to take Appeals, to bind Consciences, to make Laws, to dispense with the Law and Word of God, to deliver from Purgatory, to command Angels, &c.

The properties
of life
in the
Romish Clergy.
The Doctrine
of the
Pope.

Thirdly, what was the life and conversation of the Court of Rome, hereafter in the process of this History followeth to be seen and observed.

Fourthly, such was his Doctrine in like manner, tedious to students, pernicious to mens Consciences, injurious to Christ Jesus, and contrary to it self. In Laws more divers, in Volume more large, in diligence and study more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainful than ever was the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which four points well considered and advised in this present History set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent Christian Reader, sufficient instruction to judge what is of this See and Church of Rome to be esteemed.

But here by the way it is to be noted, that all these deformities above touched of vain Title, of pretended Jurisdiction, of Heretical Doctrine, of Schismatical Life, came not into the Church of Rome all at one time, nor sprang with the beginning of the same Church, but with long working, and continuance of time by little and little crept up, through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly of Pope Silvester, partly of Pope Gregory the seventh, in the year of our Lord 1170. partly of Innocentius the third, and finally of Pope Boniface the eighth, in the year of our Lord 1300. Of the which four Popes, the first brought in the Title in the year of the Lord 670. which was never in such ample wise before publicly enacted, and received publicly in the said Church of Rome. The second brought in Jurisdiction. The third which was Pope Innocent with his rabble of Monks and Friars (as Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Johannes Scotus) and with such other Bishops as succeeded in the same See after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christs doctrine and manners also. And lastly, Pope Bonifacius the eighth, and after him Pope Clement the fifth over and besides the Jurisdiction sufficiently advanced before by Pope Hildebrand, added moreover the Temporal Sword to be carried before them. And that no Emperor (were he never so well elected) should be sufficient and

Pope Silvester
the 2d.
Pope Gregory
the 7th
called Hildebrand.

Pope Innocent
the third.

Pope Bonifacius
the eighth.

lawful, without the Popes admission, in the year of our Lord 1300. whereby the Popes power was brought now to his full pride and perfection. And thus came up the corruption of the Romish Church in continuance of years by degrees, and not altogether, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Christ willing) shall be expressed.

Wherefore, whosoever shall have hereafter to do with any adversaries, about the Antiquity or Authority of the Church of Rome, let him here well consider when and how, the Title, Jurisdiction and Corruption of Doctrine first began in the Popes See. And so shall he see, that the Church of Rome, as it is now governed with this manner of Title, Jurisdiction and Institution of Doctrine, never descended from the Primitive Age of the Apostles, or from their Succession, *Nisi tantum equivoco, & non univoco*: Like as *Sancta Maria picta non est Sancta Maria*, & *homo pictus non est homo*, as the Schools do say: that is, As the picture of the Holy Virgin, is not the Holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the Wall is not a Man: so it is to be said of the Church of Rome (the Institution and Doctrine of the Church of Rome I mean) that although it hath the name of the Church Apostolical, and doth bring forth a long Genealogy of outward succession from the Apostles, as the Pharisees did in Christs time bring their descent from Abraham their Father: yet all this is (as I said) but only *equivoco*, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apostolical Church indeed: for as much as the definition of the Apostolical Church neither now agreeth with this present Church of Rome, nor yet the manner, form and institution of the said Romish Church, as it now standeth with this Title, Jurisdiction and Doctrine, had ever any Succession or Offspring from the Primitive Church of the Apostles. But as Christ said by the Pharisees, that they were the Children, not of Abraham, but of the Devil: in semblable wise may be answered, that this Church of Rome now present, with this Title, Jurisdiction and Doctrine now used, cannot be fathered upon the Apostles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of another Author, whom here I will not name.

Equivoco.
That is in
name only,
and not in
very deed.
Univoco.
That is both
in name, and
also in definition
and effect, agreeing
with the name.

The Church
of Rome, as
now it is, is
not apostolical,
but only *equivoco*.

And here now cometh in the Argument of *Pighius, Hostius and Eccius*, to be answered unto, who arguing for the Antiquity and Authority of the Church of Rome, reason on this manner.

The argument
of *Pighius, Hostius*
and *Eccius* for the
authority of the
Church of Rome.

Da That forso much as an ordinary and a known Church visible must here be known continually on earth, during from the time of the Apostles, to the which Church all other Churches must have recourse:

ri And seeing then there is no other Church visible, orderly known to have indured from the Apostles time, but only the Church of Rome:

i They conclude therefore that the Church of Rome is that Church whereunto all other Churches must have recourse, &c.

To the which Paralogisme I answer thus: that this word *Durans Ecclesia*, the during Church in the Minor, hath *Fallaciam equivoci*. For although the name of the Church and outward succession of Bishops have had their durance from the time of the Apostles, yet the definition and matter which maketh a true Apostolical Church indeed, and *Univoco*, neither is now in the Church of Rome, nor yet the form and institution of the Church now used in Rome, was ever from the Apostles; which Apostles were never authors or fathers of this Title, Jurisdiction and Doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies ever to the same.

Answer.
Fallacia equivoca.

The minor
examined.

Again to the Major, which standeth upon two parts, I answer: First, although the necessity of the Church during from the Apostles, may and must be granted; yet the same necessity was not bound to any certain place or person, but only to faith: so that whereforever, that is to say, in whatsoever Congregation true Faith was, there was the Church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs ever remain on earth, therefore the Church also must needs remain on earth. And God forbid, that the said true faith of Christ should only remain in one City in the World, and not another as well. And therefore to the second part of the Major is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so given, to remain fixtly in one place or City alone: so neither is there any one Church in the World

The Major
examined.

World so ordained and appointed of God, that all other Churches should have their recourse unto it, for determination of their causes and controversies incident, &c. And thus much to the Argument of *Pigbius* and *Hofius*, &c.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the ancient Doctors and holy Fathers in the commendation of the Church of *Rome*; here cometh in also to be noted, that whosoever will understand rightly their authorities, and answer to the same, must first learn to make a difference and distinction of the said Church of *Rome*, from that it was, to that it is: forasmuch as the Church of *Rome* is not the same Church now, which it was then, but only *Aequivoce*: otherwise as touching the very property and definition of a Church, it is another Church, and nothing agreeing to that it was then, save only in outward name and place. Therefore by this distinction made, I answer the place of *Ireneus*, *Cyprianus*, and other famous Drs. commending the Church of *Rome* as Catholick and Apostolical, and say that these Doctors, speaking of the Church of *Rome* which then was, said not untrue, calling it Catholick and Apostolical, for that the same Church took their ordinary succession of Bishops joynted with the ordinary Doctrine and Institution from the Apostles. But speaking of the Church of *Rome* which now is, we say the said places of the Doctors are not true, neither do appertain to the same: all which Doctors neither knew the Church of *Rome* that now is, neither if they had, would ever have judged any thing therein worthy such commendation.

Over and besides, our adversaries yet more objected against us, who heaving and shooing for the Antiquity of the *Romish* Church, for lack of other sufficient reason to prove, are driven to fall in scanning the times and years. What (say they)? where was this Church of yours before these fifty years? To whom briefly to answer, first we demand what they mean by this which they call our Church? If they mean the ordinance and institution of Doctrine and Sacraments now received of us, and differing from the Church of *Rome*, we affirm and say, that our Church was, when this Church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet ever see any light: that is, in the time of the Apostles, in the primitive age, in the time of *Gregory* the first, and the old *Roman* Church, when as yet no Universal Pope was received publicly, but repelled in *Rome*: nor this fulness of plenary power yet known, nor this Doctrine and abuse of Sacraments yet heard of. In witness whereof we have the old acts and histories of ancient time to give testimony with us, wherein we have sufficient matter for us to declare the same form, usage and institution of this our Church reformed now, not to be the beginning of any new Church of our own, but to be the renewing of the old ancient Church of Christ: nor to be any swerving from the Church of *Rome*, but rather a reducing to the Church of *Rome*. Whereas contrary, the Church of *Rome* which now is, is nothing but a swerving from the Church of *Rome*, as partly is declared, and more shall appear (Christ willing) hereafter.

And where the said our adversaries do moreover charge us with the faith of our Fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptised, accusing and condemning us for that we are now revolted from them and their faith, wherein we were first christened: To this we answer, that we being first baptised by our Fathers and Godfathers, in water, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the same faith wherein we were christened then, we do retain: and because our Godfathers were themselves also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we have forsaken the faith of our Godfathers, &c. As for other points of Ecclesiastical uses, and circumstances considered, besides the principal substance of Faith and Baptism, if they held any thing which receded from the Doctrine and Rule of Christ, therein we now remove our selves; not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remove from the Rule of Christ's Doctrine. Neither doth the Sacrament of our Baptism bind us in all points to the opinions of them that baptised us, but to the Faith of him in whose Name we were baptised. For as if a man were christened of an Heretick, the Baptism of him notwithstanding were good, although the Baptiser were naught: so if our Godfathers or Fathers, which christened us, were taught any thing not consonant to Christian Doctrine in all points, neither is our Baptism worse for that,

nor yet we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselves did not follow the true Church of Christ.

Wherefore as it is false, that we have renounced the faith of our Godfathers wherein we were first Baptised, so is it not true, that we are removed from the Church of *Rome*: but rather say, and (by the leave of Christ) will prove that the Church of *Rome* hath utterly parted from the Church of *Rome*, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more evidently to declare, I will here compare the Church of *Rome* with the Church of *Rome*; and in a general Description set forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the Churches, that is, of both the times of the Church of *Rome*: to the intent it may be seen whether we or the Church of *Rome* have more apostated from the Church of *Rome*. And here first I divide the Church of *Rome* in a double consideration of time: first, of those first six hundred years which were immediately after Christ: and secondly, of the other six hundred years, which now have been in these our later days: and so in comparing these two together, will search out what discrepance is between them both. Of the which two ages and states of the *Roman* Church, the first I call the Primitive Church of *Rome*, the other I call the later Church of *Rome*, counting this later Church from the thousand years expired after the binding of Satan, to the time of his loosing again, according to the Prophecy of the twentieth Chapter of *St. Johns Revelation*: counting these thousand years from the ceasing of Persecution, under *Constantinus Magnus*, to the beginning of Persecution of the Church again under *Innocentius* the third, and *Ottomannus* the first *Turcian* Emperor. And thus have ye the Church of *Rome* parted into two Churches, in a double respect and consideration of two sundry states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let us see whether the Church of *Rome* hath swerved from the Church of *Rome* more than we, or no.

And to begin first with the order and qualities of life I ask here of this *Roman* Clergy, where was this Church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive Church of *Rome*, with this pomp and pride, with this riches and superfluity, with this *Gloria mundi*, and name of Cardinals, with this prancing dissoluteness, and whoring of the Curtisans, with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of Spiritual Dignities, these Annats, Reformation, Procurations, Exactions, and other practices for money, this avarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, fleshly filthiness most detestable, barbarousness and negligence in preaching, promise-breaking faithfulness, poisoning and supplanting one another, with such schisms and divisions, which never were more seen than in the elections and Court of *Rome* these seven hundred years, with such extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny in burning and persecuting their poor brethren to death?

It were too long, and a thing infinite, to stand particularly upon these above rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the Schisms that have been in the Church of *Rome* since the time of *Damasus* the first, which are counted to the number of eighteen schisms: what a Volume would it require? Or if here should be recorded all that this See hath burned and put to death since the loosing out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleights to get money should be described, as process of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principal grounds are reckoned at least to fourteen or fifteen sleights.

First, for annats or vacancies of Arch-Bishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, Priories conventual, and other Benefices elective.

Secondly, for the holding and retaining of all other spiritual livings whatsoever, besides this which now the Incumbent payeth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

Thirdly, new annates for all the same are required again, *Tories quoties* any one of all his spiritual livings be, or are fained to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chanced divers times three or four annats to be paid for one Benefice.

Fourthly, for giving out preventions of Benefices before they fall, and many times some one prevention to be given to divers and sundry persons by the office for monies sake.

A 2

Fifthly,

The Church of Rome distinguished from the Church of Rome.

Two times of the Church of Rome considered and examined.

The first point.

The enormities of life in the later church of Rome described. Po-lu- and practices of Rome to get money.

Fifteen practices of the new church of Rome to get money.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5. Fifthly, for resignations upon favour, which in many cases the Pope challengeth to be reserved to himself.

6. Sixthly, for Commendams.

7. Seventhly, for compounding with such as be absent from their charge, and give their attendance about the Court.

8. Eighthly, for infinite dispensations, as to dispence with age, with order, with Benefices incompatible, as if the number be full, if the House be of such or such an Order. *Item*, dispensation for irregularity, for whoredome and adultery, for times of marriage, for marrying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity Canonical, for gossips to marry, for the which it hath been seen in *France* a thousand Crowns to be paid to *Rome* at one time, for dispensing with this Canonical affinity of Gossips, as we call it, the same being yet not true but fained. *Item*, dispensing for eating meats in times prohibited.

9. Ninthly, for innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a Proctor, for confirmations of privileges, for transactions made upon special favour of Pope, for permutations of Benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of Pensions, with such like.

10. Tenthly, for Mandats granted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, whereof every Ordinary if he have the collation or presentation often, may receive one Mandat: if he have fifty, he may receive two Mandats: and for every Mandat there comes to the Pope about twenty Ducats. And yet notwithstanding so many are sold, as will come buyers to pay for them.

11. Eleventhly, for the Popes penitentiary, for absolution of cases reserved to the Pope, for breaking and changing of Vows, for translation from one Monastery to another, also from one order to another, for licence to enter into certain Monasteries, to carry about Altars, with many other things of like device, pertaining to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

12. Twelfthly, for giving and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, to be read not only in publick temples, but also to be bought in private houses, and of private persons, in divers and sundry respects.

13. Thirteenthly, for making Notaries, and Protonotaries, and other offices of the Court of *Rome*.

14. Fourteenthly, for granting out Bulls and Commissions of new foundations, or for changing of the old, for reducing regular Monasteries to a secular state, or for restoring again into the old, and for other infinite rescripts, and writs about matters depending in controversy, that otherwise might and ought by the Ordinary to be decided.

15. Fifteenthly, for giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected. By reason of all which devices (besides the first of the Annates) it hath been accounted out of the Kings Records in *France*, in the time of *Ludovick* the ninth (as testifies *Molinus*) to the number of two hundred thousand Crowns, only out of *France*, payed and transported to *Rome*. Which Sum since that time hath been doubled and trebled, besides Annates and Palls, which altogether are thought to make the total sum, yearly going out of *France* to the Popes Coffers of late years, ten myriads, or millions, every myriad mounting to ten thousand Crowns. Now what hath risen besides in other Realms and Nations, let other Men conjecture.

Summa
totalis.

Wherefore if the Gospel send us to the fruits to know the Tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the Church of *Rome*, with these fruits of life? Or if we will seek the Church in length and number of years: where was this Church of *Rome* with these qualities then, at what time the Church of *Rome* was a persecuted Church, not a persecuting Church? And when the Bishops thereof did not make Martyrs, as these do now, but were made Martyrs themselves, to the number of five and twenty, in order one after another? Or when the Bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring, not by power or parts taking, not by money or friends making, as they be now, but by the free voices of the People and of the Clergy, with the consent of the Emperour joynd withal, and not by a few conspiring Cardinals, closed up in a corner, as now they be, &c.

The jurisdiction and power of this new Church of *Rome* examined.

And yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or else impute to the common fragility of man, and charge

them no farther therein than we might charge our selves. Now over and beside this deformity of life, wherein they are clean gone from the former steps of the true Church of *Rome*, we have moreover to charge them in greater points, more nearly touching the substantial ground of the Church, as in their jurisdiction presumptuously usurped, in their Title fallily grounded, and in their Doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this later pretended Church of *Rome* hath utterly sequestred it self from the image and nature of the ancient and true Church of *Rome*, and have erected to themselves a new Church of their own making, as first usurping a Jurisdiction never known before to their ancient Predecessors. For although the Church of *Rome* in the old primitive time had his due authority and place due unto that See, among other Patriarchal Churches, over and upon such Churches as were within his Precinct, and bordering near unto it, as appears by the Acts of the *Nicen* Council: yet the universal fulness and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spiritual and temporal, in deposing and dispensing matters of the Church not to him belonging, in taking Appeals, in giving Elections, investing in Benefices, in exempting himself from obedience and subjection of his ordinary power and Magistracy, with his coactive power newly erected in the Church of *Rome*, was never received nor used in the old *Roman* Church, from the which they disagree in all their doings.

This new Church of *Rome* in three points challenged.

Nicen. cou. ca. 6.

For although *Victor* then Bishop of *Rome*, Anno 200. went about to Excommunicate the East Churches, for the observation of *Easter* day: yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by *Irenaeus* so to do. And although *Boniface* the first likewise, writing to the Bishops of *Carthage*, required of them to send up their appellations unto the Church of *Rome*, alledging moreover, the Decree of the *Nicen* Council for his authority: the Bishops and Clergy of *Carthage* assembling together in a General Council (called the sixth Council of *Carthage*) to the number of two hundred and seventeen Bishops, after that they had perused the Decrees in the authentique Copies of the aforesaid *Nicen* Council, and found no such matter by the said *Boniface* alledged, made therefore a publick Decree, that none out of that Country should make any Appeal over the See, &c. And what marvel if Appeals were forbidden them to be made to *Rome*, whenas both here in *England* the Kings of this Land would not permit any to Appeal from them to *Rome*, before King *Henry* the 2d. because of the murder of *Thomas Becket*, being thereunto compelled by Pope *Alexander* the third? And also in *France* the like prohibitions were expressly made by *Ludovicus Pius*, Anno 1268. which did forbid by a publick instrument called *Pragmatica sanctio*, all exactions of the Popes Court within this Realm. Also by King *Philip* named *Le bel*, Anno 1296. the like was done, which not only restrained all sending or going up of his Subjects to *Rome*, but also, that no Money, Armour, nor Subsidy should be transported out of his Realm. The like also after him did King *Charles* the fifth, surnamed the wise, and his Son likewise after him *Charles* the sixth, who also punished as Traytors certain seditious persons for appealing to *Rome*. The like resistance moreover was in the said Country of *France*, against the Popes reservations, preventions, and other like practices of his usurped Jurisdiction in the days of Pope *Martin* the fifth, Anno 1418. *Item*, when King *Henry* the sixth in *England*, and King *Charles* the seventh in *France*, did both accord with the Pope, in investing and in collation of Benefices: yet notwithstanding the High Court of Parliament in *France* did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberty and customs of the *French* Church. Inasmuch that when the Duke of *Bedford* came with the Kings Letters Patents to have the Popes procurations and reservations admitted, yet the Court of Parliament would not agree to the same, but the Kings Procurator General was faine to go betwixt them, as is to be seen in their Registers, Anno 1425. the fifth day of *March*. In the days of the which King *Charles* the seventh, was set forth in *France*, *Pragmatica sanctio*, as they call it, against the Annates, reservations, expectatives, and such other proceedings of the Popes pretended Jurisdiction, Anno 1438. Wherefore what marvel if this Jurisdiction of the Popes Court in Excommunicating, taking Appeals, and giving of Benefices, was not used in the

Victor stopped from his Excommunication by *Irenaeus*. *Boniface* the first, falsifieth the Council of *Nice*.

The sixth Council of *Carthage*.

Appellations to *Rome* forbidden in *England*.

Appellations to *Rome* forbidden in *France*.

Ex Amonio de gestis Francorum, lib. 5. ca. 33.

The Popes jurisdiction resisted in *France*.

Pragmatica sanctio.

the old Church of Rome, whenas in these later days it hath been so much relisted.

The Popes Jurisdiction concerning elections examined.

And what should I speak of the form and manner of Elections now used in the Church of Rome, clean converted from the manner of the old Church of their Predecessors? For 1st. in those ancient days, whenas yet the Church remained in the Apostles only, and a few other Disciples, the Apostles then with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers, as by the Apostles, James was made Bishop of Hierusalem, Paul in Creta elected Titus, and Timothy in Ephesus. Also Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome, &c. After which time of the Apostles, when the Church began more to multiply, the election of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitive Church, till the time, and after the time of Constantine the fourth Emperor, which Emperor (as writeth Platina and Sabellicus, *Enead. 8. lib. 6.*) published a law concerning the election of the Roman Bishop, that he should be taken for true Bishop, whom the Clergy and People of Rome did choose and elect, without any tarrying for any authority of the Emperor of Constantinople, or the Deputy of Italy: so as the custom and fashion had ever been before that day, Anno 280. And here the Bishops began first to writhe out their elections and their necks a little from the Emperors subjection, if it be so as the said Platina and Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many conjectures there be, not unprofitable, rather to think this constitution of Constantine to be forged and untrue: First, for that it is taken out of the Popes bibliothecary, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and master of the Popes library, a suspected author, who whatsoever feigned Writings or Apocrypha he could find in the Popes Chests of Records, making any thing on his masters side: that he compiled together, and thereof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratianus take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected, &c.

Platina Sab. Enad. 8. lib. 6.

Constantine the fourth Emperor of Constantinople. The Popes bibliothecary suspected. The Constitution of Constantine the fourth Emperor of Constantinople examined.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus say that Constantine moved with the holiness of Pope Benedict the first, made that constitution: how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the Emperour was so far off from him, being at Constantinople, and also for that the said Pope reigned but ten Months? which was but a small time to make his Holiness known to the Emperor so far off. And grant he were so holy, yet that holiness might rather be an occasion for the Emperor so to confirm and maintain the old received manner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third conjecture is this, for that the said constitution was not observed, but shortly after by the said Benedict, was broken in the election of Pope Conon. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the People, and limited to the Clergy only, and muchless might be taken away from the Clergy, and be limited only to the Cardinals, without the consent of their Prince and Ruler, according to their own Rubric in their Decrees, where the Rubric saith: *De ordinatione Episcopi: Nullus inuitus datur Episcopus; cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & desiderium requiratur, &c.* That is: Let no Bishop be given to any People against their wills: but let the consent and desire both of the Clergy and of the People, and of the order, be also required, &c. And in the same distinction also, *cap. Sacrorum*, we read the same liberty and interest to be granted by Carolus magnus, and Ludovicus his Son, not to a few Cardinals only, but to the order as well of the Clergy, as of the people, to choose not only the Bishop of Rome, but any other Bishop within their own Dioceses whatsoever, and to the Monks likewise to choose their own Abbot, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, only for the worthiness of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for Doctrine and Example unto the Flock, &c.

Rubrica de ordinatione episc. ex Celestino Papa Dist. 63. ca. Cleri, di. 63. ca. sacrorum

Liberty granted to the Clergy, and to the People to choose their Bishop

Carl. Mag. Ludov. p. 11.

And this continued till the time of the aforesaid Carolus magnus and Ludovicus his Son, Anno 810. of the which two, Carolus the father, received expressly of Pope Adrian the first, full jurisdiction and power to elect and ordain the Bishop of Rome, like as Pope Leo the ninth did also to Otto the first German Emperor, Anno 961. The other, that is Ludovicus, Son to the aforesaid Charles, is said to renounce again, and surrender from himself and his suc-

cessors, unto Pope Paschalis and the Romans, the right and interest of choosing the Roman Bishop, and moreover to give and grant to the said Paschalis the full possession of the City of Rome, and the whole Territory to the same belonging, Anno 821. as appeareth by the Decree, *Ego Ludovicus, Dist. 63.* But admit that fained Decree to be unfeignedly true (as it may well be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountain, with the constitution of Constantine aforesaid, that is, from the master of the Popes Library, of whom both Gratianus and Volateran, by their own confession, take their ground) yet the same Decree doth not so give away the freedom of that election, that he limiteth it only to the Cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the Romans: neither doth he simply and absolutely give the same, but with condition: so that, *Omnes Romani uno consilio, & una concordia, sine aliqua promissione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent*: that is, Whom as all the Romans with one Council, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall choose to be Bishop of Rome. And moreover in the same decree is required, that at the consecration of the same Bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the French King concerning the same.

The decree, Ego Ludovicus, dist. 63. suspected.

Gratianus and Volateran, what ground they have of their records. Dist. 63. cap. Ego Ludov. Election of the Bishop of Rome standeth upon the consent of the Clergy, and the people of Rome.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same Decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope Stephen the fourth, and Pope Paschalis the first, in Ludovicus time were impasped through discord, without election of the Emperor, yet they were faine by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugenius the second, which succeeded next to Paschalis, Lotharius son of Ludovicus, and Emperor with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed Laws and Magistrates over the City. Whereby may appear the donation of Ludovike, in giving away the City of Rome to the Pope, to be feigned. And after Eugenius, Pope Gregory the fourth, who following within a year after Eugenius, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said Emperour Ludovicus. And so in like manner his successors, Pope Sergius the second, Pope Leo the fourth, Pope Nicholas the first, and so orderly in a long tract of time, from the aforesaid Nicholas the first, to Pope Nicholas the second, Anno 1061. (which Nicholas in his decree, beginning, *In nomine Domini, dist. 23.* ordained also the same) so that in the election of the Bishops of Rome, commonly the consent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergy of Rome was not lacking. After which Nicholas, came Alexander the second, and wicked Hildebrand, which Alexander being first elected without the Emperours will and consent, afterward repenting the same openly in his preaching to the People, declared that he would no longer sit in the Apostolical See, unless he were by the Emperour confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into Prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand and his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the Emperour, then the Lay People, after that, the Clergy also began to be excluded. And so the election by little and little was reduced to the hands of a few Cardinals, contrary to all ancient order, where ever since it hath remained.

The decree, Ego Ludovicus, proved false

Dist. 23. cap. In nomine Domini.

And like as in elections, so also in power judiciary, in deciding, and determining of causes of faith, and of Ecclesiastical discipline, the state of the Church of Rome now being, hath no conformity with the old Roman Church heretofore. For then Bishops debated all causes of faith only by the Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical discipline they determined by the Canons, not of the Pope, but of the Church, such as were decreed by the Ancient Councils, as writeth Gregor. *Turonensis in Francorum historia.* Whereas now both the rule of Scripture, and sanctions of the old Councils set aside, all things for the most part are decided by certain new Decretal, or rather, Extradcretal and extravagant constitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his Consultories practiced.

The judiciary power of the Pope examined.

G. Turonensis. In Fran. hist. li. 10. ca. 18. The Popes Jurisdiction usurped in giving and disposing ecclesiastical promotions

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the Common Law, as of the sacred Councils and Institution of Ancient Fathers, have given to Bishops, and other Prelates, also to Patrons and Doctors of Ecclesiastical Benefices, every one within his own Precinct and Dominion,

also to Cathedral Churches and other, to have their free Elections, and to prosecute the same in full effect, ordering and disposing promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of Prelacies, Dignities, and all other Ecclesiastical Benefices whatsoever, after their own arbitrement, as appeareth by the first General Council of France, 16. q. 7. cap. Omnes Basilicae, by the first General Council of Nice, cap. 6. Also by the General Council of Antioch, cap. 9. and is to be seen in the Popes Decrees, 9. q. 3. Per singulas. And likewise beside these ancient decrees, the same is confirmed again in more later years by Ludovicus the ninth French King, in his constitution, called Pragmatica Sanctio, made and provided by full Parliament against the Popes Exactions, in the year of our Lord 1228. in these words as follow. *Item exactiones & onera gravissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam Ecclesia regni nostri impositas vel imposita (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) sive etiam imponendas vel imponenda levare aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & urgentissima causa, vel inevitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresse, & spontaneo jussu nostro, & ipsius Ecclesiae regni nostri, &c.* that is, Item, all Exactions and importable burdens of money, which the Court of Rome hath laid upon the Church of our Kingdom (whereby our said Kingdom hath been miserably hitherto impoverished) or hereafter shall impose or lay upon us, we utterly discharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter for any manner of cause, unless there come some reasonable, godly, and most urgent and inevitable necessity; and that also not to be done without the expresse and voluntary commandment of us, and of the Church of the same our foresaid Kingdom, &c. Now contrary to and against these so manifest and expresse Decretments of General Councils, and Constitutions Synodal, this later Church of Rome of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of their elders, have taken upon them a singular Jurisdiction by themselves, and for their own advantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing Churches, Colleges, Monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, election, goods and lands to the same belonging, by reason and example whereof have come in these Impropropriations, first fruits, and reservations of Benefices, to the miserable dispoiling of Parishes, and horrible decay of Christian faith, which things among the old Roman elders were never known. For so much then did it lack, that due necessities were pluckt from the Church, that Emperours, Kings and Princes plucking from their own, did rather cumulate the Church with superfluities.

Impropropriations and first fruits of Benefices

Institutions canonice sub Ludov. Pio.

The words of Prosper.

Aug. ad Rom.

Vowsons & pluralities of benefices.

three points wherein the Popes Church erreth in his Jurisdiction

Again, when such goods were given the Church by those Ancestors, they were neither so given, nor yet taken to serve the private use of certain Churchmen taking no pains therein, but rather to serve the publick subvention of the needy, as is contained in the Canonical Institutions by the Emperour Ludovicus Pius, set forth in the year of the Lord, 380. The words be these: *Res Ecclesiae vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonium pauperum*: that is, The goods of the Church be the vows and bequests of the faithful, prices to ransom such as be in captivity or prison, and patrimonies to succour them with hospitality that be needy.

Whereunto agreeth also the testimony of Prosper, whose words be these: *Viros sanctos Ecclesiae res non vendicasse ut proprias, sed ut commendatas pauperibus divisisse*: that is, good men took the goods of the Church, not as their own, but distributed them as given and bequeathed to the poor. And faith moreover: *Quod habet Ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune*: that is, Whatsoever the Church hath, it hath it common with all such as have nothing, &c.

Add the worthy testimony of S. August. ad Bonifac. *Si autem privatim, quae nobis sufficiant possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procuracionem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpatione damnavili vendicamus, &c.*

Likewise Vowsons and pluralities of Benefices were things then as much unknown, as now they are pernicious to the Church, taking away all free election of Ministers from the flock of Christ.

All which inconveniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and jurisdiction abused in this later Church of Rome: so it cannot be denied, but

the said later Church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it self much more than either the limits of Gods Word do give, or standeth with the example of the old Roman Church, in these three things especial. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

The first is this, that whatsoever the Scripture giveth and referreth, either to the whole Church universally, or to every particular Church severally, this Church now of Rome doth arrogate to it self absolutely and only, both doing injury to other Churches, and also abusing the Scriptures of God. For albeit, the Scripture doth give authority to bind and loose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the City of Rome only, more than to other Cities, nor to the See of Peter, more than to other Apostles, but giveth it clearly to the Church, whereof Peter did bear the figure, so that wheresoever the true Church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and loose, given and taken merely as from Christ, and not mediately by the Pope or Bishop of Peter's See.

The 2d point wherein this present Church of Rome abuseth his Jurisdiction contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old Roman Church, is this, for that it extendeth his authority further and more amply, than either the warrant of the Word, or example of time will give. For although the Church of Rome hath (as other particular Churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet it hath no such authority to absolve Subjects from their Oath, Subjection and Loyalty to their Rulers and Magistrates, to dispense with perjury, to denounce remission where no earnest repentance is seen before, to number remission by days and years, to dispense with things expressly in the word forbidden, or to restrain that which the word maketh free, to divide Religion into Religions, to bind and burthen Consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters, as for breaking of Parks, for not ringing of Bells at the Bishops coming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the Church goods, for holding on their Princes side in princely cases, for not going at the Popes commandment, for not agreeing to the Popes Election in another Princes Realm, with other such things more, and more vain than these, &c. Again, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the Bishop and Church of Rome, to minister Sacraments: yet it giveth no authority to make Sacraments, much less to worship Sacraments. And though their authority serveth to baptise men, yet it extendeth not to christen Bells: neither have they authority by any Word of God to add to the Word of God, or take from the same, to set up unwritten verities under pain of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to institute strange worship, otherwise than he hath prescribed which hath told us how he would be worshipped, &c.

The third abuse of the Popes Jurisdiction standeth in this, that as in spiritual jurisdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, so they have impudently intermeddled themselves in temporal Jurisdiction, wherein they have nothing to do. Inasmuch that they have translated their Empire, they have deposed Emperours, Kings, Prince, Rulers, and Senators of Rome, and set up other, or the same again at their pleasure, they have proclaimed Wars, and have warred themselves. And whereas Emperours in ancient time have dignified them in titles, have enlarged them with donations, and they receiving their confirmation by the Emperours, have like ingrateful Clients to such Benefactors, afterward stampt upon their Necks, have made them to hold their Stirrop, some to hold the Bridle of their Horse, have caused them to seek their Confirmation at their hand; yea, have been Emperours themselves, *Sede vacante, & in discordia electionis*, and also have been Senators of the City; moreover, have extorted into their own hands the plenary fulness of power and jurisdiction of both the Swords; especially since the time of Pope Hildebrand; which Hildebrand deposing Henry the 4th Emperour, made him give attendance at his City gate. And after him Pope Boniface the 8th, shewed himself to the People on the 1st day like a Bishop, with his keyes before him, and the next day in his Robes Imperial, having a naked sword born before him, like an Emperour, in the year of our Lord 1298. And for so much as this inordinate jurisdiction hath not only been used of them, but also to this day is maintained in Rome; let us therefore now compare for usage

1. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction fully restrained and impropriate to the Church of Rome, which ought to be generally equal to all Churches Christian.

2. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction abused and extended in the Church of Rome further than the Word limiteth.

Christening of Bells.

3. The jurisdiction of the Pope abused and usurped in temporal matters where he has nothing to do.

usage hereof to the old manner in times past, meaning the Primitive and first age of the Church of the Romans. Wherein the old Bishops of Rome in those days, as they were then subject to their Emperor, so were other Bishops in like manner of other Nations subject every one to his King and Prince, acknowledging them for their Lords, and were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their Laws, and that not only in causes Civil, but also in regiment Ecclesiastical, as appeareth, *Dist. 10. cap. 1. & 2. Dist. 97. cap. De illicita.*

Also, 24. q. 3. So was Gregorius, surnamed Magnus, subject to Mauricius, and to Phocas, although a wicked Emperor. So also both Pope and People of Rome took their Laws of the Emperors of Constantinople, and were submitted to them, not only in the time of Honorius an hundred years after Constantine the great, but also in the time of Martianus, Anno 451. and so further unto the time of Justinian and of Carolus Magnus, and also after the days of them. In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the Imperial Law of Martian did rule and bind in Rome, both in the days of Justinian, and 150 years after, till the time of the Empire being translated from Greece unto France. Whereby it may appear false, that the City of Rome was given by Constantine the first, unto the Bishop of Rome to govern: for that Pope Boniface the first, writing to the Emperor Honorius, calleth in the same place Rome the Emperors City, *Dist. 97. cap. 1.* And Lotharius also Emperor, appointed Magistrates and Laws in Rome, as is above mentioned. Moreover, for further probation hereof, that both the Bishop of Rome, and all other Ecclesiastical persons were in former time, and ought to be subject to their Emperors and lawful Magistrates, in causes as well Spiritual as Civil, by many evidences may appear, taken out both of Gods Law and mans law.

And first by Gods Law, we have example of godly King David, who numbered all the Priests and Levites, and disposed them into four and twenty orders or courses, appointing them continually to serve in the Ministry, every one in his proper order and turn, as came about: which Institution of the Clergy also, good King Ezechias afterward renewed, of whom it is written: *He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all things as his father David had done before: he took away the high groves, and brake down Images, &c. 4 Reg. 8.* The said Ezechias also reduced the Priests and Levites unto their orders prescribed by David before, to serve every one in his office of ministrations: *2 Paralip. 30. 31.* And this order from David still continued till the time of Zachary, at the coming of Christ our Lord, being of Abias course, which was the eighth order of the Priests appointed to serve in the Tabernacle, *Luke 1.* To pass over other lighter offices as translated from the Priests to Kings authority, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the Temple, and reparations of the Lords House, King Solomon displaced Abiathar the High-Priest by his Kingly Power, and placed Sadoch in his stead: *3 Reg. cap. 6.* Also dedicating the Temple of the Lord with all the People, blessed the whole Congregation of Israel, *3 Reg. 8.* Judas Machabeus also elected Priests, such as being without spot, had a zeal to the Law of the Lord, to purge the Temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had before profaned, *1 Mac. 4.*

Also King Alexander writing to Jonathan, appointed him chief Priest in his Country, *1 Mac. 10.* Demetrius ordained Simon and Alcimus in the like office of Priesthood. Josaphat likewise as in the whole Land did set Judges: so also in Jerusalem he appointed Levites and Priests, and Heads of Families to have the hearing of causes, and to minister judgment over the People: *2 Paral. 19.* By these and many other is to be seen, that Kings and Princes in the old time, as well when Priests were born Priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in Ecclesiastical matters, as in calling the People to Gods service, in cutting down groves, in destroying Images, in gathering Tithes into the Lords House, in dedicating the Temple, in blessing the People, in casting down the brazen Serpent within the Temple, in correcting and deposing Priests, in constituting the order and offices of Priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the service and worship of God, and in punishing the contrary, &c. And in the New Testament, what meaneth the example of Christ himself, both giving and teaching Tribute to be given

to Cesar? to Cesar I say, and not to the High-Priest. What meaneth his words to Pilate, not denying power to be given to him from above?

And again, declaring the Kings of Nations to have dominion over them, and willing his Disciples not so to do, giving us to understand the difference between the regiment of his spiritual Kingdom, and of the Kingdoms of this World, willing all worldly states to be subject under the superior Rulers and Magistrates, in whose regiment is dominion and subjection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the Doctrine of St. Paul, where it is written: *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers,* under whose obedience, neither Pope, Cardinal, Patriarch, Bishop, Priest, Frier nor Monk is excepted nor exempted: as Theophylactus expounding the same place declareth and faith, *Universas erudit, sive Sacerdos sit ille, sive Monachus, sive Apostolus, ut se principibus subdant:* that is, He teacheth all sorts, whether he be Priest, or Monk, or else Apostle, that they should submit themselves under their Princes, &c. And S. Augustine writing ad Bonifacium faith in much like sort: *Quicumque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium:* that is, Whosoever refuseth to obey the Laws of the Emperor, which make for the verity of God, incurreth the danger of great punishment, &c. Also in another place, writing contra Cresconium, hath these words, *In hoc enim reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem, &c.* that is, Kings according as it is enjoined them of God, do serve God in that they are Kings, if they in their Kingdoms command those things that be good, and forbid things that be evil, such as appertain not only to human society, but also to Gods Religion, &c. And yet to come more near to the Popes own Doctors, Thomas Aquine not much discrepant from the injunction of the Apostle above alledged, thus describeth the office of a King, *Hoc, inquit, officium Rex se suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore animæ, & sicut Deus in mundo, &c.* Let a King (faith he) understand, that he hath taken this office upon him to be as the soul within the body, and as God in the World. In like agreement with the holy Apostle St. Paul, joyneth also St. Peter: *Be you subject (faith he) to every humane creature, whether it be to the King as most preeminent, or to other set over you, &c.* Where the common gloss addeth thereto, *To obey the same, whether they be good or evil.* These places rightly pondered, let any man now judge, whether the Pope hath done open wrong to the Emperor, in surprising above the jurisdiction of his lawful Prince and Magistrate, notwithstanding whatsoever his own Canon Law faith to the contrary.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto proved by Gods Law, that all Ecclesiastical persons owe their due subjection to their lawful Princes, in matters as well temporal as spiritual: so no less evidences may also be inferred out of mans Law, and examples of the oldest Fathers to prove the same. And first to begin with the example of Gregory the great, who in his Epistle to Mauricius writeth thus, *Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: ecce per me servum ultimum suum & vestrum respondet Christus, &c.* that is, You were then my Lord, when you were not the Lord of the whole Empire: behold Christ himself shall make you answer by me, which am his most simple servant and yours, &c. And before him Eleutherus his Predecessor, Bishop of Rome, writing to Lucius, King of this Realm, calleth him by the name of Christs Vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the Popes Decrees and Canons be full of Records hereof, testifying how the ancient Church of Rome, not only received, but also required of the Emperors, Laws and Constitutions to be made, touching not only such causes, but also such persons as were Ecclesiastical? And here to omit by the way the chapter, *Principes seculi*, also Chapter *Administratores*, 23, quæst. 5. with divers other beside, I will recite out of the Epistle of Boniface the first, to the Emperor Honorius, so much as serveth for our purpose, written *Dist. cap. 92 Ecclesiæ, cap. Victor.* Where it is mentioned, that the said Bonifacius Bishop of Rome, sent an humble supplication to the forenamed Emperor, desiring him by his authority, to provide some remedy

John 19.

Rom. 13

Theophylactus.

Aug. ad Bonifacium.

Aug. contra Cresconium lib. 3. cap. 9.

Thom. de Regim. princip. lib. 1. c. 32.

1 Peter 2.

Greg. ad Mauric. Aug. lib. 3. epist. 61.

The Pope calleth King Lucius Christs Vicar.

23. q. 68. 5. principes cap. Administratores. Dist. 97. cap. Ecclesiæ, cap. Victor.

remedy

Popes submitted in the old time to Emperors. Ex cap. de juramento calumnia.

Dist. 97. c. 1.

Plat. in vita Reg. 2. Evidences proving Ecclesiastical persons to have been subject to their Magistrates in causes both Ecclesiastical and Temporal. Evidences out of the Scripture.

David. 1 Par. c. 30. 31. Ezechias. 4 Reg. 8.

The order of Abias was the 8th order among the Priests. 1 Par. 24.

Solomon.

Judas Machabeus.

1 Mac. 10. 1 Mac. 14. Josaphat.

2 Par. 19.

remedy against the ambitious contentions of the Clergy, concerning the Bishoprick of Rome. Which Emperour Honorius incontinent at his request, directed and established a Law, that none should be made Bishop of Rome through ambition, charging all Ecclesiastical Ministers to surcease from ambition; appointing moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be taken, but the election to proceed further to another to be chosen by a full consent of voices, as is expressed, *Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.*

Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.

To this I adjoyn also the Law and Constitution of Justinian the Emperour, ratified and renewed afterward in the Council of Paris, in time of King Ludovicus Pius. Where all Bishops and Priests be expressly forbidden not to Excommunicate any man, before his cause was known and proved to be such, as for the which the ancient Canons of the Church would have him to be Excommunicate. And if any should otherwise proceed contrary to the same, then the Excommunicate person to be absolved by the authority of an higher decree, and the Excommunicate to be sequestred from the Communion, so long as should seem convenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expressed, *24. q. 3. De illicita.* The same Justinian moreover in his Laws and Constitutions, how many things did he dispose and ordain in Church-matters, as to have a determinate number of Church-men or Clerks in Churches, *Const. 3.* Also concerning Monasteries and Monks, *Const. 5.* how Bishops and Priests should be ordained, *Const. 6.* concerning removing of Ecclesiastical persons from one Church to another. Also concerning the constitution of the Churches in Africk. And that the holy mysteries should not be done in private houses: so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be deprived, *Const. 57.* Moreover, concerning Clerks leaving their Churches, *Const. 58.* Also concerning the order and manner of Funerals, *Const. 59.* And that Bishops should not keep from their Flock, *Const. 67.* The same Justinian granted to the Clergy of Constantinople the privilege of the secular Court, in cases only civil, and such as touched not the disturbance of the Bishop: otherwise in all criminal Causes he left them to the judgment of the secular Court, *Const. 83.* He giveth also Laws and Decrees for breach of Matrimony, *Const. 117.* and in divers others places. And in his *Const. 123.* after the Doctrine of St. Paul, he commandeth all Bishops and Priests to sound out their service, and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not only be heard, but also be understood of the faithful people, what was said and done. Whereby it is to be gathered, that Divine Prayers and Service then, was in the vulgar Tongue.

24. q. 3. cap. De illicita.

Ex Novel. 9. Justinian.

Divine Service used in the vulgar tongue.

Clodoveus.

Constitutio Arelensis. Carolus magnus.

Canonical Scripture only to be read in Conc. Car. 102. 3. c. 47.

Bishops and Priests charged to preach with diligence.

And as the said Justinian, and other Emperors in those days had the Jurisdiction and Government over spiritual matters and persons, the like examples also may be brought of other Kings in other Lands, who had no less authority in their Realms, than Emperours had in their Empire. As in France, Clodoveus the first christened King at Orleans, caused a Council of thirty three Bishops, where thirty three Canons were instituted concerning the government of the Church, within two hundred years after Christ: *Ex primo tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus*, beside his other Laws and Edicts political, called five Synods, one at Mentz, the second at Rome, the third at Rheims, the fourth at Cabilone, the fifth at Arelate, where sundry Rites and Ordinances were given to the Clergy, about eight hundred and ten years after Christ. The same Carolus also decreed, that only the Canonical books of Scripture should be read in the Church, and none other. Which before also was decreed Anno 417. in the third general Council of Carthage. Item, he exhorteth and chargeth Bishops and Priests to Preach the Word, with a godly Injunction: *Episcopi vero ut sive per se, sive per vicarios, pabulum verbi divini sedulo populis annuncient. Quia, ut ait beatus Gregorius, iram contra se occultis iudicis excitat sacerdos, si sine praedicationis sonitu incedit. Et ut ipsi clerum sibi commissum in sobrietate & castitate nutrant. Superstitiones quas quibusdam in locis in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent:* that is, The Bishops either by themselves, or their Deputies, shall shew forth the food of Gods Word to the people with all diligence. For as Gregory saith, the Priest procureth against him the wrath of the secret Judge, which goeth without the sound of preaching. And also that they bring

up their Clergy to them committed, in soberness and chastity. The superstition which in certain places is used of some, about the Funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and pluck up by the roots, &c.

Superstition at funerals forbidden. Ex Ansegis abbate lib. 1. cap. 76.

Moreover, instructing and informing the said Bishops and Priests in the office of preaching, willing them not to suffer any to say or preach to the people any new Doctrine of their own invention, and not agreeing to the Word of God, but that they themselves both will preach such things as lead to eternal life, and also that they set up other to do the same: and joyneth withal a godly exhortation. *Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde praeparemus nos in scientia veritatis, & mox: Ut divina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & crescat, & multiplicetur, in profectum Ecclesiae Dei sanctae, & salutem animarum nostrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Pax praedicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Amen.* Furthermore, the said Carolus in his Constitutions divideth the goods given to the Church so, that in the more wealthy places, two parts should go to the use of the poor, the third to the stipend of the Clergy. Otherwise in poorer places an equal division to be made between the poverty and the Clergy, unless the gift had some special exception. *Ex Ansegis, lib. 1. cap. 80.* And in the same book a little after, *cap. 83.* the Author declareth, by the said Carolus to be decreed, that no Ecclesiastical person or persons from thenceforth should presume to take of any person, any such gift or donation, whereby the Children or Kinsfolks of the said Donor should be defeated of their Inheritance duly to them belonging. *Ludovicus Pius* King of France, and after Emperour, was Son to the foresaid Charles, who being joyned together with the said Charles his father in the Empire, ordained also with his father sundry Acts and Observances touching the government of the Church, as in the Author before alledged may appear. As first, that no entry should be made into the Church by Simony: again, that Bishops should be ordained by the free election of the Clergy and of the people, without all respect of person or reward, only for the merit of life, and gift of heavenly Wisdom.

Ludovicus Pius.

Ex Ansegis, lib. 1. cap. 80.

Also the said Kings and Emperours forbad that any free-man or Citizen should enter the profession of Monky, without licence asked of the King before: and added a double cause wherefore. First, for that many not for meer devotion, but for idleness, and avoiding the Kings Wars, do give themselves to Religion: again, for that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtil covetous persons seeking to get from that which they have, *Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem.* Item, that no young children or boys should be shaven, or enter any Profession without the will of their Parents. And no young Maidens should take the veil or profession of a Nun, before she came to sufficient discretion of years to discern and choose what they will follow. That none should be entered or buried thenceforth within the Church: which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinianus, forty years before them. Item, the said Carolus, two and twenty years before this Emperour, enacted that Murderers and such as were guilty of death by the Law, should have no sanctuary by flying into the Church, &c. which also was decreed by Justinian three hundred years before this Carolus. *Ex novel. Justinian.*

Lib. 2. c. 14. sacra Eccl. Justin. in Novel.

Moreover, the foresaid Ludovicus Pius, with his Son Clotbarius (or as some call him, Lotharius) joyned with him, among other Ecclesiastical Sanctions, ordained a godly Law, for Lay-men to communicate the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord in these words: *Ut si non frequentius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: nisi forte gravius quibusdam criminibus impediatur:* That Lay-men do communicate at least thrice, if not oftener, except they be let percase by some more have hainous and grievous offences. *Anseg. lib. 2. cap. 43.* Item, they enacted that no goods of the Church should be alienated under the pain Leonine constitutionis. Unto this Lotharius, French King and Emperour, Pope Leo the fourth writeth that *Romana lex*, that is, the Roman Law, (meaning the Law of the French Emperours) as it hath hitherto stood in force: *Ita & nunc suum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat*, that is, So now it may continue still in its vigour and strength. *Ino Carnotensis, lib. 11. Decretorum.* About the year of the Lord, 848. after this Lotharius, succeeded his Son Ludovicus the second, in the Kingdom and Empire of France, before

Anseg. lib. 2. cap. 43.

Clodoveus.

Ex Inno. C. 1. decretorum.

The Pope
pleadeth
his cause at
the Bar be-
fore the
Emperor.
a quest. 7. ca.
Hoc si in-
continenter.
Ludovicus
9.

before whom the foresaid Pope *Leo* was brought into judgment, and pleaded his cause of Treason, and there was before the Emperor quit and released. Which declareth that Popes and Bishops all this while were in subjection under their Kings and Emperours.

Pragmatica
Sanctio, S.
Ludovici.
Arestum Se-
natu Pari-
sen. ex Mo-
linæo.
Philippus
Fulcher.

Moreover, descending yet to lower times. Anno 1228. *Ludovicus* the Ninth, called holy *Ludovike*, made a Law against the pestiferous Simony in the Church; also for the maintenance of the liberty of the Church of *France*, established a Law or Decree, against the new Inventions, Reservations, Preventions, and Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, called *Pragmatica sanctio*, S. *Ludovici*, the which Sanction was also practised long after in the Kingdom of *France* against the Popes Collectors and under-Collectors, as appeareth by the *Arestum* of the Council of *Paris*, Anno 1463. Ex *Molinæo* in *Commentariis*. Furthermore, King *Philip le Bel*. 1303. set forth a Law, called *Philippina*, wherein was forbidden any exaction of new tythes and first fruits, and other unaccustomed collections to be put upon the Church of *France*. *Carolus* the fifth, named *Sapiens*.

Carolus Sa-
piens.

Anno 1369, by a Law, commanded that no Bishops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his Kingdom of *France*, should execute any censure of suspensé, or Excommunication, at the Popes commandment, over or upon the Cities or Towns, Corporations, or Commons of his Realm. Ex *regist. antiquarum constat chart. 26*. Item *Carolus* the sixth, Anno 1388. against the Cardinals and other Officials, and Collectors of the Pope, revoking again the power which he had given to them before, provided by a Law, that the fruits and rents of Benefices, with other pensions, and Bishops goods that departed, should no more be exported by the Cardinals and the Popes collectors unto *Rome*, but should be brought to the King, and so restored to them to whom they did rightly appertain.

Carolus 6.

The like also may be inferred and proved by the stories and examples of our Kings here in *England*, as King *Offa*, King *Egbertus*, *Edgarus*, *Aluredus*, *Arhelwoldus*, *Canutus*, *Edwardus*, *William the Conquerer*, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second, till the time of King *John* and after. Whose dealing as well in Ecclesiastical cases as Temporal, is a sufficient demonstration to prove what injury the Popes in these latter days have done unto the Emperours, their lawful Governors and Magistrates: in usurping such fulness of power and jurisdiction over them, to whom properly they owe subjection, contrary to the steps and example of the old *Roman* Bishops their Ancestors: and therefore have incurred the danger of a *Premunire*, worthy to be deprived. Although it is not to be denied, but that Ecclesiastical Ministers and Servitors have their power also committed unto them, after their sort, of the Lord: yet it becometh every man to know his own place and standing, and there to keep him, wherein his own precinct doth pale him, and not rashly to break out into other mens walks. As it is not lawful for a civil Magistrate to intermeddle with a Bishop or a Preachers Function: so unseemly and unorderly it is again, that *Boniface* the eighth should have born before him the temporal Mace and naked Sword of the Emperour: or that any Pope should bear a triple Crown, or take upon him like a Lord and King. Wherefore let every man consider the compass and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a Bishop or servitor Ecclesiastical, was in the old Law to offer sacrifice, to burn incense, to pray for the people, to expound the Law, to minister in the Tabernacle, with which office it was not lawful for any Prince or man else to intermeddle: as we read how *Jofias* was punished for offering incense, and another for touching the Ark: so now the office of Christian Ministers, is, to preach the Word, to minister the Sacraments, to pray, to bind and loose, where cause urgently requireth, to judge the spiritual cases, to publish and denounce free reconciliation and remission in the name of Christ, to erect and comfort troubled Consciences, with the rich grace of the Gospel, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel, whereof the one belongeth to such as be not in Christ, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true believers in the Son of God: to admonish also the Magistrates erring or transgressing in their office, &c.

The office
of the Ec-
clesiastical
Minister.

And as these properly belong to the Function of the Ecclesiastical sort: so hath the civil Governor or Magistrate again his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of justice and judgment, to

The office
of civil Ru-
lers and
Magistrates.

defend with power the right of the weak that suffer wrong, to defend from oppression the poor oppressed, to minister with equity that which is right and equal to every man, to provide Laws good and godly, to see the execution of the same as cause moveth: especially to see the Law of God maintained, to promote Christs Glory and Gospel, in setting up and sending out good Preachers, in maintaining the same, in providing Bishops to be elected that be faithful, in removing or else correcting the same being faulty or negligent, in congregating the Clergy, when need is of any counsel or election, to hear their learning in causes propounded, and according to the truth learned, to direct his judgment in disposing such Rites and Ordinances for the Church, as make to edification, not to the destruction thereof: in conserving the discipline of the Church, and setting all things in a congruous order. Briefly, the office of the civil Ruler and Magistrate, extendeth to minister justice and judgment in all Courts, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal: to have correction over all Transgressors, whether they be Lay-men or persons Ecclesiastical. And finally, all such things as belong to the moving of the Sword whatsoever, that is to say, all outward punishment is referred to the jurisdiction of the secular Magistrate, under whose subjection the Ordinance of God hath subjected all Orders and States of men.

Here we have the witness also of *Hormisdas*, Bishop of *Rome*, which being well weighed, maketh the matter plain, that Princes have to deal in spiritual causes also, not only in temporal: where the said *Hormisdas* writeth to *Epiphanius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople* in this sort: *Clara celestis misericordiae demonstratio procedit, quando reges seculi causas de fide cum gubernatione politica conjungunt. &c. ex Act. v. univers. concil. Constantini secundi. Anno 528*. And thus much and too much peradventure concerning the matter of jurisdiction, in which point this new Church of *Rome* hath swerved from the ancient Church of *Rome* which was, as is sufficiently proved.

The third point wherein the Church of *Rome* hath broken, and is departed from the Church of *Rome*, is the form of stile and title annexed to the Bishop of that See. As where he is called Pope, most holy Father, Vicar general, and Vicar of Christ, successor of *Peter*, universal Bishop, Prince of Priests, Head of the Church universal, *Summus orbis Pontifex*, *Stupor mundi*, head Bishop of the World, the admiration of the World, neither God nor man, but a thing between both, &c. for all these terms be given him in Popish books. Albeit the name Pope, being a Greek name, derived of *πάππας*, which soundeth as much as Father in the *Syracusane* Speech, may peradventure seem more tolerable, as which hath been used in the old time among Bishops: for so *Austin* was called of the Council of *Aphrick*, *Hierome* of *Boniface* and others. Also *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* was called *Papa* 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur & dist. 50. cap. De eo tamen. Item *Clodoveus* or (as *Rbenanus* calleth him) *Ludovicus*, first Christian King of *France*, calleth a certain simpler Bishop, *Papam*. *Hierome* also in his Epistle to *Chromatius*, calleth *Valerianus* by the name of Pope: and likewise writing to *Eustathius* and *Fabiola*, he calleth *Epiphanius*, *Beatum Papam*. In the Apologies of *Athanasius*, we read oftentimes that he was called *Papa*, and *Archiepiscopus*. *Ruffinus* also lib. 2. cap. 26. calleth him *Pontificem maximum*. Also *Aurelius* President in the sixth Council of *Carthage*, was called of the said Council *Papa*, ex cap. 4. vj. Concil. *Carthag.* And before this, *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, writing to King *Lucius*, the first Christian King in this Land, calleth him in his Epistle, the Vicar of Christ, &c. But that any of these terms were so peculiarly applied to the Bishop of *Rome*, that other Bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one Bishop above the rest had the name of Oecumenical, or universal, or head, to the derogation of other Bishops, or with such glory as is now annexed to the same: that is not to be found neither in Histories of the old time, nor in any example of the Primitive Church, nor in the testimonies of ancient approved Doctors. First, before the Council of *Nice*, it is evident by Pope *Pius* the second, that there was no respect had to the Church of *Rome*, but every Church then was ruled by her own governance, till the year of our Lord, 340. Then followed the Council of *Nice*, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole University of Christs

The third
point
wherein the
Church of
Rome is al-
tered from
the Church
of *Rome*.
The titles
and stiles
of the Bishop
of *Rome*.

24. q. 1. cap.
Loquitur.
Dist. 50. cap.
De eo tamen.
Papa a com-
mon name
in the old
time to all
Bishops of
higher
knowledge
and vertues.
Hieronymus
ad Chromati-
um, Epist.
Idem ad Eus-
tathium &
Fabiola.

Ex Epist. Pii
Secundi. 103.

The four Patriarchs appointed by the Council of Nice. Ex Concil. Nicen. Ex Concil. Constantinop. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Constantinop. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Constantinop. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Carthage. Can. 39.

Ex Concil. Chalcedon. cap. 38.

Ex Gabri. Biel. fol. 5.

The Popes decree proved false.

Christ's Church, which was now far spread over all the world, certain Provinces or Precincts, to the number of four, were appointed, every one to have his head Church, and chief Bishop, called them Metropolitan or Patriarch, to have the oversight of such Churches as did lie about him. In the number of which Patriarchs or Metropolitans, the Bishop of Rome had the first place, the Bishop of Alexandria was the second, the Bishop of Antioch the third, the Bishop of Hierusalem was the fourth Patriarch. Afterward, in the number of these Patriarchs came in also the Bishop of Constantinople in the room of the Bishop of Antioch. So these four or five Metropolitans or Patriarchs, had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them should not deal within an others precinct, and also that there should be among them equality of honour, whereupon we read so oft in the decrees of the old councils, τὰ ἰσα πρεσβεία ἢ δέξινον, ἢ τῆς τιμῆς, that is, Equal degree of Thrones, and of honour among Priests and Ministers. Again, speaking of the said Patriarchs or Primats, we read in the second and third chapter of the Council of Constantinople, ἐπισκόπος ἢ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐκκλησίας μὴ ὀφείλει εἰσέλθαι, μὴ δὲ συλλεῖν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, that is, That Bishops should not invade the Diocese of other Bishops without their borders, nor confound together Churches, &c. Moreover, the old Doctors for the most and best part, do accord in one sentence, that all Bishops placed wheresoever in the Church of God, be *Ejusdem meriti & honoris & successoris Apostolorum*, that is, To be of one merit, of like honour, and all to be successors together of the Apostles. Also, he that is the Authour of the Book called *Dionysius Areopagita*, calleth all the Bishops *ἐπισκοπῶν, ἢ ἱερέων*, that is, Of equal order, and of like honour, &c. All this while the Bishop of Rome was a Patriarch, and a Metropolitan or Bishop called of the first See, but no Oecumenical Bishop, nor head of the universal Church, nor any such matter. In so much, that he, with all other Bishops, was debarred from that, by a plain decree of the Council of Carthage, Can. 39. in these words, *ut de his primatibus καὶ δόξας ὁρίσασθαι μὴ λέγεται ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἢ ἱερέων, ἢ ἀρχὴν ἱερέων, ἢ ταῦτα πρὸς πάντας*; that is, That the Bishop of the first Seat shall not be called the Prince of Priests, or the High Priest, or any such thing, And left any here should take occasion of cavelling, to hear him called Bishop of the first Seat, here is to be expounded what is meant by the first Seat, and wherefore he was so called: not for any dignity of the person, either of him which succeedeth, or of him whom he is said to succeed, but only of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainly proved by the Council of Chalcedon, cap. 28. Wherein is manifestly declared the cause why the See of Rome among all other Patriarchal Sees is numbred for the first See by the ancient Fathers: For why, saith the Council, *ὅτι τὸ δέξινον τῆς πρεσβυτείας ῥώμης διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ὅ πατέρες ἐκόντος ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πρεσβείαν*; that is, For that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chief degree of honour to the See of old Rome, because the principal reign or empery was in that City, &c. The same also is confirmed by *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, declaring, *Quod excellentia Romani Imperii extulit papatum Rom. pontificis supra alias Ecclesias*; That the excellency of the Roman Empery did advance the Popedom of the Roman Bishop above other Churches, &c. Ex Gabri. Biel. fol. 5. Moreover, saith the said *Cæsariensis*; *Nicena Synodus hoc contulit privilegium Rom. pontifici, ut sicut Romanorum Rex Augustus præ cæteris appellatur; ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris Episcopis Papa vocaretur*. That is, The Council (saith he) of Nice gave this privilege to the Bishop of Rome, that like as the King of the Romans is named Emperor above all other Kings, so the Bishop of the same City of Rome should be called Pope above other Bishops, &c. By these places hitherto alledged (and such other, many more than be here alledged) it appeareth, that though these Titles of Superiority had been attributed to the Bishop of Rome: yet it remaineth certain, that the said Bishop received that preferment, *Jure non divino, sed humano*, by mans law, not by the Law of God. And so is the distinction of the Popes proved false, where is said: *Romanam Ecclesiam non a consilio aliquo, sed a divina voce primatum accepisse*, That the Church of Rome took not his primacy by any Council, but only by the voice of God. And this is to be said, although it were true that these titles and terms were so given to the Bishop of Rome in the old

time: yet how and by whom they were given, ye see. Now to try this matter, as joyning an issue with our Adversaries, whether these foresaid Titles of Sovereignty were applied in the old time of the primitive Church to the Bishop of Rome, as to be called the Vicar general of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and universal Bishop, remaineth to be proved. Whereunto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the Bishops of Rome (of some peradventure) were so called by the names of higher preeminence) of that City, of some going about to please them, or to crave some help at their hands: yet that calling, 1. Was used then but of a few. 2. Neither was given to many. 3. Was rather given than sought for, of the most. 4. Was not so given that it maketh or can make any general necessity of Law why every one is so bound to call them, as the Bishop of Rome now seeketh to be taken and called, and that by necessity of Salvation, as the decree of Pope Boniface the eighth witnesseth, where is said, *Quod sit de necessitate salutis ut credatur primatus Ecclesie Rom. & ei subesse*; That it standeth upon necessity of salvation, to believe the primacy of the Church of Rome, and to be subject to the same, &c. As touching therefore these titles and terms of preeminence aforesaid, orderly to set forth and declare what Histories of times do say in that matter, by the Grace of Christ: First, we will see what be the Titles the Bishop of Rome doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When they first came in, whether in the primitive time or not, and by whom. 3. How they were first given to the Roman Bishops; that is, whether of necessity duty, or voluntary devotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few; and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the City, or else of the worthiness of the Bishop which there sat. 4. And if the aforesaid names were then given of certain Bishops, unto the Bishop of Rome: whether all the said names were given, or but certain, or what they were. 5. Or whether they were then received of all Bishops of Rome, to whom they were given, or else refused of some. 6. And finally, whether they ought to have been refused being given, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertain to the profession rather of Divines, than Historians, and would require a long and large debating: yet for so much as both in these, and divers other weighty Controversies of divinity, the knowledge of times and Histories must needs help Divines disputing about the same, so much as the Grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will joyn to the seeking out of truth such help as I may. And first to begin with the Names and Titles now claimed and attributed to the See and Bishop of Rome, and what they be, is sufficiently declared above, that is, the Chief Priest of the World, The Prince of the Church, Bishop Apostolical, The universal Head of the Church, The Head and Bishop of the Universal Church, The Successor of Peter, Most holy Pope, Vicar of God on Earth, Neither God nor man, but a mixt thing between both; The Patriarch or Metropolitan of the Church of Rome, The Bishop of the first See, &c. Unto the which Titles or Stiles is annexed a triple Crown, a triple Crosse, two crossed Keys, a naked Sword, seven-fold Seals, in token of the seven-fold Gifts of the Holy Ghost, he being carried pick-back upon mens shoulders, after the manner of the Heathen Kings, having all the Empire and the Emperor under his dominion: and that it is not convenient for any terrene Prince to Reign there, where he sitteth, having the plenary fulness of power, as well of temporal things as spiritual things in his hands: that all things are his, and that all such Princes as have given him any thing, have given him but his own, having at his will and pleasure to preach Indulgences, and the Crosse against Princes whatsoever: and that the Emperor and certain other Princes, ought to make to him confession of subjection at their Coronation: having authority to depose, and that he *De facto*, hath deposed Emperors and the King of France: also to absolve the Subjects from their Allegiance to their Princes: whom Kings have served for foot-men to lead his horse, and the Emperor to hold his stirrop; that he may and doth give power to Bishops upon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to have Prisons; without whose Authority no general Council hath any force. And to whom Appellations in all manner of Causes may and ought to be made. That his Decrees

1.
2.
3.
4.

Boniface 8. Extravag. de majoritat. & obedient. cap. 10. ubi.

1.
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What names and titles be attributed to the Bishop of Rome. Ex 6. decret. lib. 1. de elec. c. 2. et c. 21. in cap. 17. in promissio. glossa. The form of the Popes regality to his titles appertaining.

Regalia sancta Petri

Decreets be equal with the decrees of the *Nicene Council*, and are to be observed and taken in no less force than if they had been confirmed with the heavenly voice of Saint Peter himself. *Ex fra. Barth. & alius. Item*, that the said Bishop of Rome hath the heavenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another, *cap. Quando de transl. Epis. tit. 7. Item*, that he can of nothing make something, and cause the sentence, which before was none, to stand in effect: and may dispense above the Law, and of injustice make justice, in correcting and changing Laws, for he hath the fulness of power. And again, *dist. 40. cap. Si Papa*: If the Pope do lead with him innumerable Souls by flocks into Hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faults in this World. *Item*, that it standeth upon necessity of salvation to believe the primacy of the See of Rome, and to be subject to the same, &c.

These things thus declared, now let us see whether these names and titles, with the form and manner of this Authority and regality above rehearsed, were ever attributed to any in the primitive time of the Bishop of Rome. For all these he doth challenge and claim unto him by old possession from the time of Saint Peter. And here a question is to be asked of our Adversaries the Papists, Whether they will avouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole form and tenour of regality to the same belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their Allegations, which they never have done yet, nor ever shall be able. If they will not, or cannot avouch them altogether in manner as is specified, then why doth the Bishop claim them all together so stoutly, usurp them so falsely, and obtrude them upon us so strictly? Moreover if the said our Adversaries, being convicted by plain evidence of History, and example of time, will yield unto us (as they must needs) in part, and not in the whole; let us come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regality they will defend, and derive from the ancient custom of the primitive Church, (that is, from the first five hundred years, I mean after Christ.) First, in the Council of Nice, which was the year of our Lord, 340. and in the sixth Canon of the said Council, we find it so decreed: that in every Province or Precinct some one Church, and Bishop of the same, was appointed and set up to have the inspection and regiment of other Churches about him, *Secundum morem antiquum*; that is, After the ancient custom, as the words of the Council do purport: so that the Bishop of Alexandria should have power of Libya, and Pentapolis in Egypt, forasmuch as the Bishop of the City of Rome hath the like or same manner. And in like sort also in Antioch and in other Countries, let every Church have his due honour, and consequently that the Bishop of Jerusalem have also his due honour to him reserved, so that such order be kept, that the Metropolitan Cities be not defrauded of their dignity which to them is due and proper, &c. In this Council and in the same Canon sixth and seventh, where the Bishops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are joyned together in one like manner of Dignity. First, there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein. Secondly, forasmuch as in the said two Canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no Bishop should be made without consent of their Metropolitans, yea and that the City also of Hierusalem should be under his Metropolitan, and that the Metropolitan should have the full power to confirm every Bishop made in his Province: therefore it may be well suspected, that the third Epistle Decretal of Pope Anacletus, and of Pope Stephanus, with other more, are forged, wherein these Bishops, and especially the Bishop of Rome, is exempted and dislevered from the name of a Metropolitan or an Archbishop, to the name of a Patriarch or Primate: as appeareth in the decrees, *Dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta*. Wherefore as we must needs grant the Bishop of Rome to be a Metropolitan or Archbishop by the Council of Nice; so we will not greatly stick in this also, to have him numbred with Patriarchs or Primats. Which title seemeth in the old time to be common to more Cities than to Rome, both by the Epistle of Anacletus, of Pope Stephanus, of Pope Julius and Leo, &c.

After this followed a general Council in Africk, called the sixth Council of Carthage, Anno 420. where were congregated two hundred and seventeen Bishops, among whom was also Augustinus, Prosser, Orosius, with divers

other famous persons. This Council continued the space of five years, wherein was great contention about the Supremacy and Jurisdiction of Rome: the Bishop whereof then was Zosimus. This Zosimus the Roman Bishop had received the same time into the Communion of the Church without any examination, one that came to complain to him out of Africk, named Apiarius, a Priest whom Aurelius the Metropolitan with the Council of Africk had worthily excommunicated for his detestable conditions before. Upon this Zosimus after that he had received and shewed such favour to Apiarius, for that he did appeal to him, sendeth to the Council his Messengers, to wit, Faustinus Bishop of Potentine, and two Priests of the Church of Rome, named Philippus and Asellus, with these four requests: First, that Apiarius, whom he had absolved might be received of them again, and that it might be lawful for Bishops or Priests to appeal from the sentence of their Metropolitans, and also of the Council to the See of Rome.

Secondly, that Bishops should not fall over importunately *Ad comitatum*. Thirdly, that if any Priest or Deacon were wrongfully Excommunicate by the Bishops of their own Province, it should be lawful for them to remove the hearing and judging of their cause to their neighbour Bishops. Fourthly, that Urbanus their Bishop, either should be excommunicated, or else sent up to Rome, unless he would correct those things that were to be corrected, &c. For the approbation whereof, the said Zosimus alledged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene Council. The Council of Carthage hearing this, and remembering no such thing in the Council of Nice to be decreed, and yet not suspecting the Bishop of Rome, to dare wrongfully to falsifie the words of that Council, writeth again to Zosimus, declaring that they never read to their remembrance, in their common Latin exemplar of the Nicene Council any such Canon; yet notwithstanding for quietness sake, they would observe the same time till they might procure the Original Copies of that Council to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to Pope Boniface, which then succeeded Zosimus. And thirdly also to Celestinus, which shortly after succeeded Boniface.

In the mean time this foresaid Council sent their Legates, Marcellus and Innocentius to Atticus Patriarch of Constantinople, and to Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentick Copies in Greek of Nicene Council, which being sent unto them, and they finding in the true Originals no such Canon, as the Bishop of Rome had falsely forged, they wrote a sharpe and an handsome Letter to Celestinus Bishop of Rome, calling him in the said Letter by the way *Domine frater*: declaring to him, how they had perused all the Copies of the Council of Nice, and could find no such Canon as he and his Predecessors had falsely alledged, and therewithall reciting the sixth Canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of the Nicene Council had committed all and singular persons Ecclesiastical, as well Bishops as other, unto the charge of their Metropolitans. Moreover expounding the same Decree, they shewed the reason thereof.

1. For that (say they) the Fathers of that Council did well foresee, to be most just and convenient, that all Controversies there be ended (*in iisdem locis*) where they begin.

2. For that it is not to be supposed contrary, but that the Grace of God will be as prest and ready in one Province as in another, to instruct his Ministers both prudently to understand judgment, and constantly to maintain the same.

3. For that there is no need to seek further to any Outlandish help, because specially that the party whosoever is not contented with the determination of his Judges or Commissioners, may lawfully appeal either to the Provincial or to any general Council.

4. That way to be better, than to run to any foreign Judge, it must needs be granted; because it is not like that our God will inspire his Justice and Truth of examining unto one Bishop, and deny it unto a multitude congregated in a whole Council.

5. Neither can it be, that any such Outlandish judgment in hearing and determining causes, can stand perfect and upright, for that the necessary persons of witnesses, either for infirmity of Sex, of Age, of Sickness, or some other Impediment

*Ex concilio
rom. tom. 1.
in sexta
synod. Carthage.*

*Urbanus
episcopus
Sicentis.
The Pope
of Rome
taken with
the manner
in falsifying
the decree
of Nicene
Council.*

*The Bishop
of Rome
called Do-
minus frater,
that is
brother Bi-
shop. Bishops
of Rome pro-
ved falsifiers
of the Ni-
cene Council.
Five reasons
why mat-
ters of Con-
troverſie
ought not
to be heard
out of other
Countries
unto Rome.*

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

*Every Coun-
try to ap-
peal first to
his own Me-
tropolitan,
secondly to
a Provincial
or general
Council.*

*Ex fra.
Barth. &
aliis.*

*Cap. quando
de transl.
Epis. tit. 7.*

*Dist. 40. cap.
Si Papa.*

*Ex concilio
Nicaeno.*

*Dist. 64. cap.
Mori antiquum.*

*Ex concilio
Nicaeno.*

*Dist. 22. cap.
Sacrosancta.*

*The Bishop
of Rome
called Me-
tropolitan,
Archbishop,
Patriarch,
Primate.*

*The sixth
Council of
Carthage.*

Impeachment are not be able to present by whom the truth of the sentence should be directed. Wherefore as by these and other reasons they thought it not convenient from them to bring their matters over unto Rome: so neither was it to be found, said they, by any Council of the old Fathers decreed, that any Legats should be sent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said Bishop of Rome, that he would not induce *Fumosum typhum* (or rather as I may call it) *typhos seculi*, in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis præfert iis qui Deum diligunt: that is, That he would not induce the swelling pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which Church sheweth and giveth the light of simplicity and of humility to such as love God, &c. In these foresaid Letters moreover is signified, how the forenamed Malefactor *Apiarius*, whom the Bishop of Rome before had absolved and received to the Communion of the Church, was afterward found culpable, and therefore the Council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so enjoined him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the Bishop of Rome before proceeding.

1. In sum, out of this Council of *Carthage* these points are to be noted. First, how glad the Bishops of Rome were to receive such as came to them for succour.
2. What pride they took by the occasion thereof, thinking and seeking thereby to have all under their subjection.
3. To the intent to allure other to seek to them, how ready they were to release and quit this *Apiarius* as guiltless, which after was to be tried culpable by his own confession.
4. How contrary to the acts and doings of the *Romish* Bishop, this Council condemned him, whom the said Bishop of Rome before had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the *Romish* Church.
5. How the Bishops of old time, have been falsifiers of ancient Councils and Writings, whereby it may be suspected, that they which shamed not to falsify and corrupt the Council of *Nice*, muchless would they stick to abuse and falsify the decretal Epistles and Writings of particular Bishops and Doctors for their own advantage, as no doubt they have done many one.
6. In this foresaid Council, whereat *Augustine* himself was present, and where *Aurelius* President of the same, was called *Papa*, the Bishop of Rome was called expressly in their Letters but Bishop of the City of Rome, and *Dominus frater*, that is, brother Lord Bishop.
7. The Dominion of this *Roman* Patriarch, in the said Council of *Carthage*, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of *Africa* to appeal over the Sea to him, nor for him to send over his Legats to them for ending their Controversies. Whereby it may sufficiently appear, that the Bishop of Rome in those days was not at all admitted to be the chief of all other Bishops, nor the head of the universal Church of Christ in earth, &c.
8. We hear in this Council, five causes or reasons given, why it is not necessary nor yet convenient for all foreign causes to be brought to one universal Head or Judge, as is before recited.
9. Lastly, by the said Council of *Carthage*, we hear a virtuous exhortation to be given to the Bishop of Rome, that he would not induce into the meek and humble Church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the World, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other Council of *Carthage*, it was moreover provided by express Law, and also specified in the Popes decrees, that no Bishop of the first Seat, should be called the Prince of Priests, or the chief Priest, or any such like thing; but only the Bishop of the first Seat, as followeth more in the said decree. *Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur*, that is, Be it enacted, that no Bishop, nor the Bishop of Rome, be called universal Bishop, &c. And thus much concerning this foresaid Council of *Carthage*.

Not long before this Council, was celebrated in *Africa* an other Council, called *Synodus Milevitana*, about the year of our Lord, 442. at the which Council also *S. Augustine* was present, where it was decreed under pain of Excommunication, that no Minister or Bishop should appeal over the Sea to the Bishop of Rome. Whereby it may

appear that the Bishop of Rome all this space was not universally called by the term of Oecumenical or universal Bishop, but Bishop of the first Seat: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the City of Rome only, but the first Seat then was called Metropolitan Church, as by the words of the *Nicene* Council, and other Constitutions more is to be seen, where the four Patriarchs were called *πρωτοι*, or *πρωτεύοντες*, or *πρωεσώτες*, as namely, by the words of the Council of *Carthage* may appear which be these: *εἰ μὴ μετὰ ἡγουμένου τῆς πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας τῆς ἰδίας ἐκείνης χάριτος ἐπισκόπου· ὅστις ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρωτεύοντος κατεξείρετον λαβόν.* That is, except he have some special licence or exception, by the consent of the first Seat of the proper Bishop in every Country, that is, of him that is the primate in the said Country, &c. Also the words of the *Can. 39.* of the Council of *Carthage*, before touched, be these, *ὡς τῆς πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἕναρον ἢ ἱερίων, ἢ ἀκρὸν ἱερέα ἢ ποιῆτον π. π. ο. τ. ε.;* that is, That the Bishop of the first Seat be not called Prince of Priests, or head Priest, or else any such like. Again, *Anicetus* the tenth Bishop of Rome, and Pope *Stephen*, and Pope *Felix*, making a difference between a Primate and Metropolitan, writeth thus: Let no Archbishops be called Primates, but only such as have the first Seat, &c. Thus it is made plain, how the Bishop of the first Seat, or first Bishop, or Primate is none other but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not only to the Church of Rome, but to all such Cities and places whereas before among the *Gentiles* were *Primi flamines*, &c. *dist. 80. cap. urbes & loca, & in illis.* Where, by the way, is to be noted the repugnance or contrariety of such as craftily, but falsely have counterfeited the Popes decretal Epistles: which besides other great and many Conjectures also hereby may be gathered. For where *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Epi. 12.* *Anicetus* and other, joyning together the office of Patriarchs and Primates, do divide the same from the order of Metropolitans, or Archbishops, alledging therein the constitution of the Apostles and their Successors, that is to be found false by the Canons of the Apostles, by the Council of *Nice*, and by the Council of *Antioch*, with other more. For in the Canons of the Apostles, where in every Canon, almost, mention is made of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the Bishop, or lower than the Deacon, save only in the thirty three Canon, setting an order among Bishops, the Canon willett the Bishop of every Nation to know their first or chief Bishop, and him to be taken for the Head of them: he saith not the Head of the Church, or Head of the world, but the Head of those Bishops. And where? not in Rome only, but plainly and expressly in every Nation, for so the words purport, *τὸς ἐπισκόπους ἐκείνη ἐδύνατο χρῆσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς πρώτον;* that is, The Bishops of every Nation ought to know the first or chief among them, &c. Moreover, the Council of *Antioch* reciting the foresaid Canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, in stead of *π. π. ο. τ. ε.;* writing *ἐν μητροπόλει πρεσβυτέρα ἐπίσκοπον:* which is as much to say as Metropolitan; and in the end of the said Canon, calleth him *τὸς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον*, *Id est, Metropolitanum*, 6. q. 3. per singulas. Whereby it is concluded, that to be false, that *Clement* and *Anacletus*, and *Anicetus* be reported (but falsely) to put a difference between Primates or Patriarchs, and Metropolitans, or Archbishops: Whereas by sufficient authority it is to be proved, that in the old Church both Primates, first Bishops, Bishops of the first Seat, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops of the mother City, and Archbishops were all one. First, that Primates and Metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the Canons of the Apostles, and by the Council of *Antioch* afore said. Again, that Patriarchs and Archbishops were all one, it is evident *Ex Novella Justiniani*, *cap. 23.* where the said Constitution reciting the four Patriarchs (above mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbishops. And a little after calleth the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Archbishop, by these words: *ὁ τῆς μακαριώτατης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὁ πατριάρχης* that is, Which be under the Archbishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople*. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, divers from that of *Clement*, *Anacletus*, and *Anicetus*, in placing these afore-

Fumosum typhum seculi.

Summary notes gathered out of the Council of *Carthage* against the Pope.

Dist. 99. cap. f. dei epif.

The highest title belonging to a Bishop, is to be called the Bishop of the first Seat.

The Bishop of Rome forbidden to be called universal Bishop.

Synodus Milevitana.

No Bishop to appeal over the Sea.

Bishop of the first Seat what it meaneth.

Concil. Carth. can. 23.

Concil. Carth. can. 39.

Ex epist. decret. Anicet. Steph. Felicis.

Dist. 80. cap. urbes & loca, & in illis.

The Papists in their decrees contrary to themselves.

Concil. Antioch.

Concil. Antioch. cap. 9. q. 3. per singulas provincias.

Dist. 99. cap. Anacletus.

Novella Justiniani, 23.

Ex Novella Justiniani.

foreſaid perſons, firſt beginning with Biſhops, then over them ſetteth the Metropolitan, and over him again the Archbiſhop, and there ſtayeth, making no further mention of any other above him: whoſe words be theſe, *ἡ ἀρχιεπισκοπή ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τῇ μητροπολίτι* *ἡ ἐπισκοπή ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τῇ μητροπολίτι* that is, if a Biſhop be accuſed, the Metropolitan to have the examination of thoſe things that are brought againſt him; if the Metropolitan be accuſed, then the Archbiſhop to have the hearing thereof, under whom he dwelleth and pertaineth, &c.

And in the ſame conſtitution moreover, *εἰς δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρὸν, ἢ ἄλλου οὐδὲποτε προεδρεύουσιν κατὰ ἐπίσκοπον ζήντας* *πρωτον δὲ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρῶτον διακρινέτω, καὶ εἰ τὸς τοῖς κατεμμένοις ἀντίποι, ὅτι καὶ μακροτάτων ἀρχιεπισκοπὸν καὶ μεταρχίῳ τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναρρέτω τὸ πρῶτον, &c.*

If any ſuit or ſupplication be brought againſt a Biſhop by a Miniſter, or any other, firſt the Metropolitan to have the deciding of the matter, and if any default ſhall be found in the judgment thereof, then the hearing and ending of the caſe to be brought before the Archbiſhop, &c.

In this Conſtitution of *Juſtinian*, although the Metropolitan be placed above the Biſhop, and the Archbiſhop above the Metropolitan: yet notwithstanding by this is ſufficiently confuted the forged Conſtitution of *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Anicetus*, *Stephanus*, and *Felix*: who in their Epiſtles decretal, joyn together in one form and order, both Archbiſhop and Metropolitan, and above them both do place the Patriarch, and above the Patriarch the Apoſtolic See, to wit, the Biſhop of *Rome*, as may appear in reading the firſt Epiſtle of *Clement*: *In illis autem civitatibus, &c.* The ſecond Epiſtle of *Anacletus* art. 4. *Provincia, diſt. 99. cap. Nulli Archiepiscopo.* Alſo the Epiſtle of Pope *Stephen* the firſt, Art. 5. (where note by the way, that *Gratianus* referreth this place of the Epiſtle to Pope *Lucius*.) Item, the Epiſtle of Pope *Felix* the ſecond, Art. 12. In all which foreſaid Epiſtles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the firſt and principal place is given to Primates, or Patriarchs, the ſecond to Metropolitan, or Archbiſhops, the third to Biſhops, and finally above all theſe is extolled the Apoſtolic See of the Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to all that which before hath been alledged out of *Juſtinian*, the Council of *Nice* and of *Antioch*, &c. Whereby it may appear, that either *Juſtinian* in preferring Archbiſhops above Metropolitan, did not read theſe Epiſtles decretal, if they were unfeigned; or if they were forged, they which forged the ſaid Epiſtles in their names, did not well adviſe that *Juſtinian* had written in this matter before.

Thus then theſe Titles above recited, as Biſhop, Metropolitan, the Biſhop of the firſt See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbiſhop; that is to ſay, chief Biſhop, or head Biſhop to other Biſhops of his Province, we deny not but were in the old time applied, and might be applied to the Biſhop of *Rome*, like as the ſame alſo were applied to other Patriarchs in other chief Cities and Provinces.

As touching the name likewiſe of the High Prieſt, or high Prieſthood, neither do I deny but that it hath been found in old Monuments and Records of ancient times: but in ſuch wiſe and fort as it hath been common to Biſhops indifferently, and not ſingularly attributed to any one Biſhop or See. Whereof testimony we have out of the ſeventh general Council, *Diſt. 38. cap. Omnes*, where the Biſhops office is called *Summum ſacerdotium*, The High Prieſthood: in theſe words, *Subſtantia ſummi ſacerdotii noſtri ſunt eloquia divinitus tradita, i. vera divinarum ſcripturarum diſciplina, &c.*

That is, the ſubſtance (ſay they) of our High Prieſthood, is the word of diſcipline of holy Scriptures given us from above, &c.

And likewiſe the Council of *Agatha* maketh relation, *De pontificibus in ſummo ſacerdotio conſtitutis*. Of Biſhops ſet in the high Prieſthood, meaning not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomſoever, 12. q. 3. cap. *Pontifices*. Alſo *Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the year of the Lord, 240. writing in general to his Brethren, and to all Biſhops and Miniſters Eccleſiaſtical, doth attribute to them the ſame title of *Summum ſacerdotium*, in theſe words: *Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinavit vos, & omnes qui ſummo ſacerdotio funguntur, &c.* God which hath pre-ordained you Brethren, and all them which bear

the Office of High Prieſthood, 3. q. cap. 1. *Deus ergo*, With like phraſe of Speech *Anacletus* alſo in his ſecond Epiſtle ſpeaking of Biſhops in general, calleth them *Summos ſacerdotes*: *Unde, inquit, liquet quod ſummi ſacerdotes, i. Episcopi a Deo ſunt iudicandi, &c.* The High Prieſt, that is, Biſhops, ſaith he. And moreover in the ſame place he calleth them Apoſtles, and Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, &c. So doth *Innocentius* the firſt, in the year of our Lord, 405. as appeareth *Diſt. 61. cap. Miſerum*. Item *Zoſimus* Biſhop of the ſaid City of *Rome*, in the year of our Lord, 420. as witneſſeth *Diſt. 59. cap. 1*, who ſpeaketh, *De ſummo ſacerdotio*, that is, Of high Prieſthood, not only of the Church of *Rome*, but of all other Churches. *Urbanus* the firſt, was Biſhop of *Rome* in the year of Chriſt, 226. who in his writings alledged by *Gratian*, referreth the name and place *Summi pontificis*, of the high Biſhop, not only to the Seat of *Rome*, but uniformly to every Biſhop, as appeareth in the words of the *Diſt. 51. cap. Si officia, &c.*

And thus much as touching the name or title of High Prieſt, or Supream Biſhop. Which title as I do not deny to have been uſed in manner and form aforeſaid: ſo do I deny this title and ſtile of *Summus orbis Pontifex*, as it is now uſed in *Rome*, to have been uſed, or uſually received during all the primitive time of the Church, that is five hundred years after Chriſt: after the manner and fort I mean of that authority and glory, which in theſe days now is uſed and is given to the ſame: until the time of *Phocas*, the wicked Emperour, which was after the year of the Lord, 608. The which title as it is too glorious for any one Biſhop in the Church of Chriſt to uſe: ſo is it not to be found in any of the approved and moſt ancient Writers of the Church; namely theſe, *Cyprianus*, *Baſilius*, *Fulgentius*, *Chryſoſtomus*, *Hieronymus*, *Ambroſius*, *Auguſtinus*, *Tertullianus*: but rather written againſt by the ſame, eſpecially of the laſt. And therefore not without cauſe it is written and teſtified of *Erasmus*, who ſpeaking of the ſaid name of *Summus orbis Pontifex*, denieth plainly the ſame to be heard of among the old Writers, whoſe words be theſe: *Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omnium ſcriptis licet colligere, &c.* lib. Epiſt. 3. Epiſt. 1. Art. 37. &c. as whoſoever readeth the ſame Authors, ſhall find to be true.

The like is to be affirmed alſo of other preſumptuous titles of like ambition, as the Head of the univerſal Church, the Vicar of Chriſt in Earth, Prince of Prieſts, with ſuch like: which all be new found terms, ſtrange to the ears of the old primitive Writers and Councils, and not received openly and commonly before the time of *Boniſace* the third, and *Phocas* the aforeſaid.

Now remaineth the name of the Pope, which of his nature, and by his firſt origine, being a word of the *Syracusan* Speech called *πάππας*, and ſignifieth as much as *Pater*, Father, was then uſed and frequented of them in the old time, not ſo as proper only to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but common and indifferent to all other Biſhops or Perſonages, whoſoever were of worthy excellency, as is partly before declared. But now contrarily, the generality of this name is ſo reſtrained and abuſed, that not only it is appropriate to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but alſo diſtincteth and diſſevereth the authority, and preeminence of that Biſhop alone from all other Biſhops, for which cauſe it is now worthily come into contempt and execrations. No leſs is to be rejected alſo the name of *Univerſalis* or *Oecumenicus Pontifex*, *Summus orbis Episcopus*, *Caput univerſalis Eccleſiæ*, *Chriſti in terris Vicarius*, *Princeps ſacerdotum*, &c. All which terms and vocables, tending to the derogation of other Biſhops and Patriarchs, as they were never received nor allowed in *Rome* (if we believe *Gregory*) during the time of the primitive Church, ſo now are worthily of uſe reſuſed.

Although it cannot be denied, but certain were in the primitive time which began privately to pretend that proud and wicked title of univerſal Biſhop, as *Menna*, and eſpecially *Johannes* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who calling a Council at *Conſtantinople*, went about to ſtabliſh and ratiſie and to digniſie his Throne by the conſent of the Council, and the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and obtained the ſame; as appeareth in the fifth general Council of *Conſtantinople*, Act the firſt, where both *Menna* is named *Oecumenicus Patriarchatus*, and alſo *Johannes* in the ſaid

Archbiſhop and Metropolitan not to be both one.

An item againſt the forged Epiſtles decretal.

Clement. Epiſt. 1. Anaclet. Epiſt. 2. art. 4. Anicet. Epiſt. art. 2. diſt. 39. ca. Nulli Archiepiscopo. cap. Supra. epiſt. art. 5.

Repub- lican be- tween the Inſtitutions of Juſtinian, and the Epiſtles decretal.

Biſhop, Metropolitan, Biſhop of the firſt See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbiſhop, Chief Biſhop; terms uſed in the primitive time of the Church. High Prieſt or high Prieſthood.

Diſt. 38. cap. Omnes ſummi ſacerdotes ſummi ſacerdotium.

Ex Concil. Agathenſi. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices.

3. q. cap. Deus ergo.

Ex Ana- clet. epiſt. 22. q. 7. cap. Ac- cuſatio. Biſhops cal- led the Suc- ceſſors of the Apoſtles Diſt. 61. cap. Miſerum. Diſt. 59. cap. 1.

Ex Urban. 1. diſt. 51. cap. Si officia.

Summus or- bis Pontifex.

Ex Erasmus epiſt. lib. 3. epiſt. 1. art. 73.

Univerſalis Pontifex. Caput uni- verſalis Ec- cleſiæ, Chri- ſti in terris Vicarius, Princeps ſacerdotum, &c.

Papæ.

How they began firſt at Conſtan- tinople, to take the name of univerſal Biſhops Ex quinto ſynodo uni- verſali, actio- ne prima, cap. poſt. con- ſultum. Ibid. cap. dom. noſtra.

saïd Council is titled *Oecumenicus Patriarcha*: *ex Concil. in general. 5. cap. Domino*. Concerning the which title although it was then used in *Constantinople* through the sufferance of the Emperors, being then willing to have their Imperial City advanced: yet notwithstanding this foresaid title, all this while, was not in the City of *Rome*. And in *Constantinople* it stood not then in force (*fure aliquo divino*) but only by mans Law. And thirdly, it was then but only *Verbalis titulus*: having no true domination upon all other Churches, or any real subjection belonging to the same; For as much as neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any of the *West* Churches were subject or did acknowledge service unto them, but rather did repugne the same: namely, *Pelagius* the second, and *Gregorius* the first, both Bishops at that time of *Rome*, which *Pelagius* writing to all Bishops, saith plainly in these words: that no Patriarch should take the name of universality at any time, because that if any be called Universal, the name of Patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be far, saith he, from all faithful men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honour of his brethren is diminished. Wherefore the said *Pelagius* chargeth all such Bishops, that none of them in their Letters will name any Patriarch to be universal, lest he take from himself the honour due to him, while they give that which is not due to another. What can be more evident than these words of *Pelagius*, who was Bishop of *Rome* next before *Gregory*, Anno 583? In like manner or more plainly, and more earnestly writeth also *Gregory* of this matter in his Register, proving and disputing that no man ought to be called Universal Bishop. Moreover, with sharp words and rebukes, detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, prophane, and such as to consent unto it, is as much as to deny the Faith. He added further and saith, That Whosoever goeth about to extol himself above other Bishops, in so doing followeth the fact of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal or like unto other Angels. In his Epistles how oft doth he repeat and declare the same to repugne directly against the Gospel, and ancient decrees of Councils? affirming that none of his Predecessors did ever usurp to himself that stile or title, and concludeth that whosoever so doth, declareth himself to be a Forerunner of *Antichrist*, &c. With this judgment of *Gregory* well agree also the words of Saint *Augustine*, lib. 3. cap. de baptismo, where reciting the words of *Cyprian*, he thus saith: *Neque enim quisquam nostrum se Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut Tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit*, &c. that is, For none of us doth ever set himself to be Bishop of Bishops, or after a tyrannical manner doth subdue and bring under his Fellows unto the necessity of his obedience, &c. By these words of *Cyprian*, and *Augustine*, it is manifest that in their time was no Supremacy, or universal Title among Bishops received, nor that any great respect was had to the Bishop of *Rome* (as *Pius* the Second saith, *Epist. 301.*) before the Council of *Nice*. And after in that Council the said Bishop of *Rome* had no further authority to him limited, than only over his Province, and places suburban, bordering about the City of *Rome*. Against whose Primacy divers Cities also did resist long after that, as the Church of *Ravenna*, *Mediolanensis*, and *Aquilegensis*. Also the Greek Churches long resisted the same, so did the Churches of *Asia Rutenica*, *Moscovitica*, *Valachica*, and other more.

But to return again to *Gregory*, who confirming the Sentence of *Pelagius* his Predecessor above mentioned, had no small Conflicts about this Title matter, both with the Patriarch, and with the Emperor of *Constantinople*, as witnesseth *Antonius*, and other, &c. The History is thus; After that *John* being made of a Monk Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by his flattery and hypocrisie, had obtained of *Mauricius* the Emperor to be extolled above other Bishops, with the name of Universal Patriarch, and that he would write to *Gregory* then Bishop of *Rome*, for his consent concerning the same: *Gregory* abiding still in his constancy, did set himself stoutly against that Antichristian Title, and would give no place. At the same time the *Lombards* had invaded the Country of *Italy*, and the City of *Rome*, the Emperor keeping then at *Constantinople*, and setting in *Italy* an Overseer called *Exarchus*, to rule in *Ravenna*. *Gregory* perceiving the Emperor *Mauricius* to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth

to *Constantina* the Emperess, arguing and declaring in his Letters, that Presumption and Pride of him to be universal Patriarch, was both against the rule of the Gospel, and decrees of the Canons; namely, the sixth Canon of the *Nicene* Council, and the novelty of that new found title to declare nothing else, but that the time of *Antichrist* was near. Upon this, *Mauricius* the Emperor taking displeasure with him, calleth home his Souldiers again from *Italy*, and inciteth the *Lombards* against the *Romans*: who with their King *Agilulphus*, thereupon contrary to their League made before, set upon the City of *Rome*, and besieged it a whole year together, *Gregory* yet notwithstanding still remaining in his former constancy. After these Afflictions thus overpast, *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, writeth to the said *Gregory* in his Letters, naming him Universal Pope: unto whom *Gregory* refusing the same, answereth again as followeth.

The Letter of Gregory to the Patriarch of Alexandria.

Behold: in the Preface of your Epistle directed to me, ye have used a word of a proud name, calling me Universal Pope, which I pray your Holiness you will cease hereafter to do, for that is derogated from you, whatsoever is attributed to another more than right and reason requireth. As for me I seek not mine advancement in words, but in manners: neither do I account that any Honour wherein the Honour of my Brethren I see to be hindered: for my Honour I take to be the Honour of the Universal Church: my Honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my Brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth. For if your Holiness call me Universal Pope, in so doing you deny your self to be that, which ye affirm me to be, Universal: but that God forbid. Let these words therefore go, which do nothing but puff up Vanity, and wound Charity, &c.

It were too long here to infer all such Letters and Epistles of his concerning this matter, written to the Emperor *Mauricius* and *Constantina* the Emperess, but that shall more largely appear hereafter (*Christ* willing) in the body of the History, when we come to the year and time of *Gregory*, which was well nigh six hundred years after *Christ*. In the mean season this is sufficient to declare, how the Church of *Rome* with the form and manner of their title of Universal Supremacy now used and maintained, hath utterly swerved from the ancient steps of the Primitive Church of *Rome*.

Now let us see what the Adversary side hath to Object again for the title of their Universality, or rather Singularity. And first here cometh in a blind cavillation of a certain Sophister, who glossing upon the words of *Pelagius* above recited, laboureth to colour the plain Text with a fivred, subtle meaning, as though the sense of the Canon were this, not to deny there the state of Supremacy: *Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse Universalem Episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quod esset cujusque Ecclesie proprius recto, ita quod nullus alius esset Episcopus*, &c. that is, But to deny there, that any may be Universal Bishop after this sense and meaning only, so that he should be the proper Pastor of every Church alone, and that there should be no other Bishop beside himself, &c. Thus goeth this Sophister about to dash out this Text, but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did *John* the Patriarch then seek any such thing to be Bishop and proper Pastor of every Church alone; nor if he had, the Council of *Chalcedon* and the Emperor *Justinian* would never have agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, that this Glosser denieth *Pelagius*, here to forbid the Primacy or Supremacy of that Patriarch, which indeed is the only intent of *Pelagius* in that Canon, witnessing as well other Historiographers, as namely, *Anton. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13.* and also the gloss ordinary upon the same Canon, &c.

Out of the same Fountain springeth the like or very same reason of late renewed by a certain new start English Clerk in these our days, who answering to the places of *Gregory* touching the said matter, laboureth to avoid the clear authority of him, by a like blind cavillation, saying that *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, by this title of Universal Bishop, understood himself only to be a Bishop, and none else.

And

Ex Pelag.
20. dist. cap.
99. Nullum.

Gregory against
the universality
of the Bishop
of Constantinople.

August. lib.
3. ca. 3. de
baptismo contra
Jana.

To be Bishop
of Bishops
forbidden by
Cyprian
and August.
Ex Pio secund.
Epist. 301.
The Popes
primacy re-
jected.

Ex Antonio
tit. 12. c. 3.

The answer
of Gregory
to Eulogius
Patriarch of
Alexandria.
Dist. 99. cap.
Eccles.

Gregory re-
fuseth the
name of
universal
Pope.

A Sophistical
Cavillation
upon the
words of
Pelagius and
Gregory an-
swered.

An objecti-
on of a cer-
tain late
English
Writer re-
futed.

And that Gregory in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to prove this to be the very meaning of Gregory, he reciteth the words of Gregory, written to the said John Archbishop of Constantinople as followeth, *Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, ut Episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quandoque perductus es, ut despectis fratribus Episcopus appetas solus vocari*: that is to say, For thou (John Bishop of Constantinople) which sometime didst grant thy self unworthy the name of a Bishop, art now come to this, that thou dost seek to be called a Bishop alone, &c. Upon this word *Episcopus solus*; this Glosser would ground a surmise, that Gregory did find fault with the Archbishop, not for any Primacy which he sought for above other Bishops, but only for that he coveted to be a Bishop and Pastor alone in every Church, in such sort, as there should be no other Bishop nor Pastor else, but himself only. But as is said, that was never the Archbishops seeking, nor the matter of Gregorys reprehension. For the said Bishop of Constantinople went not about to be Bishop alone (which was too much absurd, and also impossible) but to be Universal alone: nor to take away the office from other, but the honour from other; not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith Gregory, *Ut despectis fratribus, not Depositis fratribus*: so that this word *Solus*, here noteth a despising of other, not a depoling of other, and importeth a singularity in condition above other, and not the office or substance of ministration without other, that is to be universal among many, and not to be alone without any, nor to diminish the number of them, but only to increase the honour to himself: For the more evident probation whereof (although the thing it self is so evident, that it needeth no proof) what can be more plain, than the words themselves of Pelagius and Gregory? wherewith they charge him for running before his Brethren, for challenging Superiority above them, for diminishing their honour, by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the Angel of Pride in exalting himself, in admitting that to him, which the Bishops of Rome and their Predecessors had refused, being offered to them before, &c. All which declare that he sought not to thrust out all other Bishops out of their Churches, and to be Bishop himself alone. For that was never offered to the Bishops of Rome by the Council of Chalcedon, that they should be Bishops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer seek to have no more Angels in all Heaven but himself, but he to be above all other alone.

Likewise the word *Præcurrere*, that is, To run before other, in the Epistle of Pelagius, declareth that John sought not to be Bishop alone, but Bishop universal. We say not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly *Præcurrere*, but *Solus currere*. Moreover, in seeking to be Superior to other Bishops, he seeketh not to take away other Bishops, but to make other Bishops inferior to him. For where no Inferior is, there can be no Superior, forasmuch as these together are Correlatives, and infer necessary respect mutually. And if it were true as this Glosser saith, that he had sought to be Bishop alone, how would that Council either have granted that unto him, or have offered it to the Bishop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serve all Churches, without any Fellow Bishop to help him? And where this foresaid Clerk standeth so much upon the words of Saint Gregory: *Solus Episcopus*: Gregory therefore shall expound Gregory, and one *Solus* shall declare another. Wherefore if this Divine (whatsoever he be, Doctor or Batchelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what (only Bishop) meaneth in this place: another place of the said Gregory may instruct him, where Gregory writing to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, giveth this reason why he refused the same title offered to him (which then was offered to the said John Patriarch of Constantinople) saying, *Quia videlicet si unus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, sed absit hoc, &c.* That is to say, For if one alone would be called a Patriarch universal, then should the name of Patriarchs be derogated from all other, &c. Whereby two things are to be noted: First, what thing it was which the Patriarch of Constantinople did seek, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was given to John, which was to be called Patriarch Universal. The second thing to be noted, is the cause why Gregory did re-buke this title, both given to John, and offered to him:

because (saith he) if one take upon him the name of Universal Patriarch, then is the name Patriarch taken from the rest. As who would say, If I would take upon me to be named Universal Patriarch, then should there be no other Patriarch, but I should be Bishop Patriarch alone. And here cometh in your *Solus Episcopus, &c.*

Furthermore the same Gregory speaking of the said Solus, in another place by, seemeth to declare there, what he meaneth by this *Solus* here, in these words as follow, *Ut & nulli subesse, & solus omnibus præesse videretur*: that is to say, So that he would be subject to none, and would be chieftain to all other alone, &c. And so by this place may the other place be expounded, *Ut solus Episcopus sit is, qui solus inter Episcopos præesse appetat*: that is, He that seeketh to be as Bishop alone: who alone seeketh to be extolled above other Bishops. But to be short in a matter that needeth not many words: he that thus cavilleth upon this place *Solus Episcopus* in Gregory, must be desired here not to take *Solus* alone, but joyn withall the word going before, which is, *Despectis fratribus*. By the which might seem sufficiently declared what Gregory meant by *Solus Episcopus*, meaning, that to despise other Bishops, and to diminish their honour, to set up his own, and to be subject to none, but to prefer himself inequally before all others, is as much as to be counted Bishop alone. And thus much touching this Objection.

Another Objection of our Adversaries is this; Although (say they) no Bishop of Rome was ever called, or would be called by the name of Universal Bishop, yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be Heads of the Universal Church. Their reason is this:

As S. Peter had the Charge of the whole Church (by the testimony of Gregory) committed unto him, although he were not called Universal Apostle.

So no more absurd it is for the Pope to be called the head of the whole Church, and to have the Charge thereof, although he be not called Universal Bishop, &c.

Wherein is a double Untruth to be noted: first, in that they pretend Peter to be the Head, and to have the Charge of the whole Church: if we take here (Charge or Head) for Dominion or Mastership upon or above the Church in all Cases judiciary, both Spiritual and Temporal: for the words of the Scripture be plain, *Non dominantes in clerum*, 1 Pet. *Vos autem non sic*, Luk. 22. that is, Not as Masters over the Clergy, &c. But you not so, &c. Again, that the Church is greater, or rather the head of Peter, it is clear, 1 Cor. 3. *All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas: either the world, death, or life, you be Christs, Christ is Gods, &c.* In which words the Dignity of the Church no doubt is preferred above the Apostles, and above Cephas also. Moreover, as the dignity of the Wife is above the Servant, so must needs the honour and worthiness of the Church (being the Spouse of Christ) surmount the state of Peter or other Apostles, which be but Servants to Christ and to the Church; yea, and though they were Princes of the Church, yet after the mind of Baldus, *Magis attenditur persona intellectualis, quam organica*. Otherwise if by this word (Charge) he meant only the office and diligence of teaching; to that I answer, The same Lord that said to Peter, *Feed my sheep*, said also to the other, *Go and Preach this Gospel to all Nations*. And he that said to Peter, *Whatsoever thou loosest*, said also to the other, *Whatsoever ye remit in the Earth*. Moreover, if the matter go by preaching, Paul the Apostle laboured more therein, than ever did Peter by his own confession, *Plus laboravi*; also suffered more for the same, *Plus sustinui*; neither was his Doctrine less found. Yea, and in one point he went before Peter, and was Teacher and School-Master unto Peter, whereas Peter was by him justly corrected, Gal. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not always nor in all things a point of Mastership, but sometime a point of Service. As if a French-man should be put to an English-man to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kind of faculty: yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulness of power upon him, to appoint his Diet, to rule his Household, to prescribe his Laws, to stint his Lands, and such other. Wherefore seeing in travel of Teaching, in pains of Preaching, in gifts of Tongues, in largeness of Communion, in operation of Miracles, in grace of Vocation, in receiving the Holy Ghost, in vehemency of Torments, and death for Christs Name, the other Apostles were nothing inferior to

A place of Gregory examined.

Ex Epist. Greg. 38. lib. 4.

Another objection resolved.

A double untruth in one Popish argument. Peter how he had charge and not charge of the Church. The first untruth in this argument. The dignity of the Church above the Apostles.

Pelag. 2. Epist. 1.

Vide Baldum consil. 169. lib. 3. secundum novam impressionem, & secundum vii. consil. 359. lib. 1. Proofs and reasons that there was no inequality of pre-eminence among the Apostles.

Ex Epist. Greg. 36. lib. 4.

Office of teaching giveth no dominion further than the book.

Peter in no point ex-celleth the rest of the Apostles.

Peter: why *Peter* then should claim any special Prerogative above the rest, I understand no cause. As indeed he never claimed any: but the Patrons of the Apostolical See do claim it for him, which he never claimed himself: neither if he were here, would no less abhor it with Soul and Conscience than we do now: and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or any vantage to our selves, but only the vehemency of Truth, and Zeal to Christ and to his Congregation. Moreover, if these men would needs have *Peter* to be the Curate and Overseer of the whole universal Church (which was too much for one man to take Charge of) and to be Prince of all other Apostles, then would I fain learn of them, what meaneth (*Dextra societas*) the right hand of Society between *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Barnabe*, mentioned *Gal. 2*. What taking of hands is there between Subjects and their Prince, in way of fellowship? Or where fellowship is, what Mastership is there? Or again, what state of Mastership is it like that Christ would give to *Peter*, who being indeed Master of all, took such little Mastership upon himself, and that not only in inward affection, but also in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that *Peter* in divers places of the Gospel hath his Commendation, neither do I deny *Peter* to be worthy of the same. But yet these words of Commendation give to him no state of Superiority, or Jurisdiction upon all others, to have all under his Subjection. As if a School-Master should have more special charge to some one of his Scholars for his riper towardness: yet this giveth him no fulness of Authority, or Power coactive upon the rest, unless by special admission he be deputed thereunto. Whereof, nothing can be gathered of *Peter*; for if it be true that *S. Augustine* saith, that such things as were spoken to *Peter*, have no light some understanding, except they be referred to the Church, whereof *Peter* did bear a figure: then hath the person of *Peter* nothing to Claim by these words, but all redoundeth to the Church, which being meant by *Peter*, hath power by this reason, both over the person of *Peter*, and other persons in the Lord.

Answer to an invincible argument proving by Chrysostome the whole Church to be committed to St. Peter.

But here stumbleth in an argument of our Adversary again, which he in the margin of his Book calleth an invincible argument drawn out of the bowels of *S. John Chrysostome*, lib. 2. *De Sacerd.* Whereby he supposeth to have given a shrewd blow to Protestants, and to have gotten *Hectors* victory upon a certain *English* Prisoner taken in plain field, and of all such as take his part. The Text only of *Chrysostome* he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an invincible argument in the margin. But because he either wist not, or list not to shew his cunning therein, I will form that an argument for him which he would have done, but did not: and so will form it (the Lord willing) as he himself must of necessity be driven to do, if the matter ever come to the trial of act, and not to the trifling of words. First, he taketh his Text out of *Chrysostome*, as followeth. For what cause, I pray you, did Christ shed his blood? Truly to redeem those sheep, whose Charge he committeth to *Peter*, and to *Peters* Successors. Upon this place of *Chrysostome*, this Clerk taketh his medium, Christ's suffering. His conclusion is, That all which Christ died for, were committed to *Peter*: wherefore the form of the argument must needs stand thus in the third figure:

A Popish perillous paradox.

Christ suffered for all men:

Christ suffered for them whom he committed to *Peter*.

Ergo, All that Christ died for, were committed to *Peter*.

If this be the form of his insoluble argument, as it seemeth to be, by the order of his reasoning, and also must needs be, taking that medium, and making that conclusion as he doth, (for else in the first figure, and first mood, the Text of *Chrysostome* will not serve him) then must the form and violence of this inextinguishable argument be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of *Logick*, making his conclusion universal, which in that figure must needs be particular, either affirmative or negative. And so this argument invincible, falleth into one of these two straits; either concluding thus, the form will not serve him, or concluding in another figure, the words of *Chrysostome* will not answer to his purpose, to prove that all the world was committed to *Peter*. Which Proposition as it is strange in Scripture: so neither is it the Proposition of *Chrysostome*. And though it were, yet both without inconvenience might be granted of us,

and being granted, serveth his purpose nothing, so long as the Proposition is not exceptive, excluding other Apostles. For the words of *Chrysostome* do not so sound, that the whole world was committed to *Peter* only, and to none other. Likewise then as it may be well affirmed of us, that the world was committed to *Peter*: so can it not be denied of them that the world was also committed to *John*, *James*, *Bartholomew*, *Paul*, *Barnabe*, and other all and singular Apostles. For he that said to *Peter*, Feed my sheep, said also to all and singular his Apostles, Go into all the world and Preach, &c. *Matth. ult.* Moreover, for as much as this man collecteth out of *Chrysostome*, that the whole world was committed to *Peter*, how shall we then joyn this meaning of *Chrysostome* with Saint *Paul*, which saith that the Gospel was committed to *Peter* over the Circumcision, as was *Paul* over the Uncircumcision? And here an answer to his doughty argument, both to the form, and to the matter thereof: albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be said more of *Peters* Successors in the Text of *Chrysostome*. By the which Successors is not meant the Bishop of *Rome* only (as the Papists would bear us in hand) but all such true and faithful Pastors, whom the Lords calling fendeth, and setteth over his Flock, wherefore, or whatsoever they be. For as *Peter* beareth a Representation of the Church, by the testimony of *Augustine*, in *Joan. tract. 124. Prefat. in Psal. 108.* so the Successors of *Peter* be all faithful Pastors and Overseers of Christs Church, to whom Christ our Lord hath committed the Charge of his Flock. Wherefore they are not a little deceived, which looking upon the Rock only of the person, and not the Rock confession (contrary to the rule of *Hilary De trinit. lib. 6.*) do tie the Apostleship or Rock of *Peter* to one only Bishop, and the succession of *Peter* to one only See of *Rome*: whereas this being a spiritual office, and not carnal, hath no such carnal Race or Descent after any worldly or local understanding: but hath a more mystical meaning, after a spiritual sense of succession, such as *Hierome* speaketh of, *Epist. ad Evagrium. Omnes, inquit, Apostolorum successores sunt, &c.* that is, All, (saith he) speaking of Bishops) be Successors of the Apostles, &c.

The World was committed as well to other Apostles as to Peter. A place of Chrysostome examined by S. Paul.

The successors of Peter.

Augustine in Joan. tract. 124.

Hilary, lib. 6.

Hierome, Epist. ad Evagrium.

Of like force and fashion, and out of the same figure, the same Author patcheth moreover another argument, proving, that the Bishop of *Rome* was titled the head of Christs Church, in the Primitive time of the old Ancestors, before the age of *Gregory*. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure:

Saint *Peter* was called by the ancient Fathers, head of Christs Church;

Saint *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*:

Ergo, The Bishop of *Rome* was called Head of the Church in the old ancient time.

This argument expository, being clouded up in the third figure, and concluding singularly, hath rather a shew of an argument, than maketh any necessary conclusion, standing upon no mood in the said figure, if the Author thereof were put to trial. Albeit to leave the form, and to come to the matter of the argument. First, how well will he dispatch himself of the major, and prove us that *S. Peter* although he were at *Rome*, and taught at *Rome*, and suffered at *Rome*: yet that he was Bishop and proper Ordinary of that City and special See of *Rome*? As touching the allegation of *Abdias*, *Orosius*, *Ado*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome*, *Optatus*, *Augustine* brought forth for his most advantage, to prove his major: thus I answer concerning *Orosius*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome* and *Augustine*, that where they speak of *S. Peters* Chair, or planting the Faith at *Rome*, straightway this man argueth thereupon, that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*. But that doth not clearly follow. For the office of the Apostles was to plant the Faith in all places, and in every Region, yet were they not Bishops in every Region. And as for the Chair, as it is no difference essential that maketh a Bishop (for so much as a Doctor may have a Chair, and yet be no Bishop) so cannot he conclude by the Chair of *Peter*, that *S. Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*. For all this proveth no further, but that *Peter* was at *Rome*, and there taught the faith of Christ, as *Paul* did also, and peradventure in a Chair likewise: yet we say not that *Paul* was therefore Bishop of *Rome*: but that he was there as an Apostle of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his feet, or sitting in a Chair. In the Scripture commonly the Chair signifieth Doctrine or judgment, as sitting also declareth such as teach or judge, whether

An argument of the Papists.

Answer to the argument.

Orosius, Tertullian, lib. de prescript. advers. haeres. Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3. Hier. in catalog. Epist. 42.

whether they sit in the Chair of *Moses*, or in the Chair of Pestilence. Planting likewise is a word Apostolical, and signifieth not only the office of a Bishop. Wherefore it is no good consequent. He sate, he taught, he planted at *Rome*, his chair and seat was at *Rome*; Ergo, he was Bishop of *Rome*. And thus much touching *Orosius*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Augustine*.

As for *Abdias*, *Ado*, *Optatus*, and such others, although we should have much wrong offered, and never should make an end, if we should be plett with the authority of every one that could or did move pen, in all the whole first age of the Church, to be our Judges in every Ecclesiastical matter: and much more wrong should have, if the Authors either corrupted, or counterfeited, should be laid unto us, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherein they wrote; yet to help and to save the authorities of these Authors so much as we may, I answer to their Allegations with this distinction of a Bishop, which is to be taken either generally, or specially. After the first, a Bishop is he to whomsoever the publick cure and charge of Souls is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of Bishop is co-incident with the office of Apostle, or any publick Pastor, Doctor, or Curate of the universal flock of Christ. And thus may *Paul*, *Peter*, or any other of the Apostles be called Bishops. So also is Christ himself by express word called *ἐπίσκοπος* and *παις*, that is, Bishop and Pastor, 1 *Per. 2*. And thus may *Peter* well be named a Bishop of these foresaid Authors after this manner of taking. But this publick and general Charge universally over the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the Apostles. For then were Bishops by places and Provinces appointed, to have special Over-sight of some particular Flock or Province, and so to be Resident and Attendant only upon the same.

The other diversity of this name Bishop, is to be taken after a more special sort, which is, when any person orderly called, is assigned namely and specially to some one certain place, City, or Province, whereunto he is only bound to employ his office and charge, and no where else, according to the old Canons of the Apostles, and of the Council of *Nice*. And this Bishop differing from the other, is called *Episcopus intinatus*, having his name of his City or Diocess. And thus we deny that *Peter* the Apostle was ever Bishop elected, installed, or intituled to the City of *Rome*: neither doth *Optatus*, *Abdias*, *Ado*, or *Hierome* affirm the same. And if *Ado* say that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome* five and twenty years, until the last year of *Nero*, that is easily refuted both by the Scriptures and Histories: for so we understand by the Declaration of Saint *Paul*, *Gal. 1.2*. that fourteen years after his Conversion, Saint *Paul* had *Peter* by the hand at *Hierusalem*.

Moreover, the said *Paul* in the foresaid Epistle witnesseth that the charge Apostolical was committed unto *Peter* over the circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also *S. Paul* writing to the *Romans*, in his manifold Salutations to them in *Rome*, maketh no mention there of *S. Peter*, which doubtless should not have been unremembred, if he had been then in *Rome*. Again, *S. Peter* dating his Epistle from *Babylon*, was not then belike at *Rome*.

Furthermore, Histories do Record, that *Peter* was at *Pontus* five years, then at *Antioch* seven years. How could he then be five and twenty years at *Rome*? Finally, where our Adversary alledging out of *Ado*, saith, that Saint *Peter* was there five and twenty years, until the last year of *Nero*: how can that stand, when Saint *Paul* suffering under *Nero*, was put to death the same day twelve month, that is, a whole year after *Peter*? &c. But especially how agreeeth this with Scripture, that Christ should make *Peter* an Apostle universal to walk in all the world? *Ite per universum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi testes usque ad fines terræ.* &c. And our Papiists would needs make him a fitting Bishop, and intitle him to *Rome*. How accord these, *Apostolus* and *Episcopus*, *Ire* and *sedere*, *Omnes gentes* and *Roma* together?

And thus have I resolved the first untruth of that Popish Demonstration before rehearsed, wherein they think to prove that as *Peter*, although he was not called Universal Apostle, yet was the head of the whole Church: so the Pope might, and hath had after him the Charge of the whole Church, although he was not called Universal Bishop in the old time, &c.

Now followeth the second untruth to be touched in the

same argument, which is, that because *Peter* was the head of the Church: so therefore the Pope must also be the head of the Church, and was: albeit he was not called Universal Bishop a long time. But this we do deny, yea, the matter denieth it self by their own position; for being granted by them, that the title of Universal Bishop was not received at *Rome*, but refused to the time of *Gregory*: then must it necessarily be granted, that the Bishops of *Rome* before Saint *Gregory*, had not the Charge of the whole Church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the Church. For so much as there can be no head, but which is Universal to the whole Body, neither can any have charge of the whole, but he must needs be Universal to all and singular parts of that, whereof he hath the Charge. As in Sciences, whosoever hath knowledge and cunning in all the seven liberal Sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal Knowledge, is said to be an universal learned man: so in office, to whomsoever the Publick Charge of all Churches doth appertain, how is he not to be called Bishop Universal? Now if before Saint *Gregories* time, the name of Universal Bishop was repealed in *Rome*: how then can the name be refused, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or else let our Adversaries tell us how they define an Universal Bishop, seeing this word Bishop is properly the name of office whereto is annexed Charge. Wherefore, if a Bishop be he which hath the charge of all Souls in his Diocess committed to him, and must render account for them all; then whose Charge extendeth to all and singular Churches, and must render account for every Christian soul within the whole world, to him cannot be denied the name of an Universal Bishop, having the office of an Universal Bishop. Or if he be not an universal Bishop, he cannot then have the Charge of the whole, that is, of all and singular Churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition: *Cui convenit definitio, convenit & definitum, & contra: Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur*. Although this word Universal, in the Greek Writers signifieth that, which we in our vulgar English Tongue call Catholick; yet I suppose our Adversaries here will not take Universal in that sense. For after that meaning, as we do not deny that the Bishops of *Rome* may be Universal Bishops, so neither can they deny but other Bishops may also be as Universal, that is, as Catholick as they. But such as more distinctly and School-like discuss this matter, define Universal or Catholick by three things; to wit, by time, place, and person. So that whatsoever extendeth it self to all times, all places, and all persons, that is properly Universal or Catholick. And contrariwise, what thing is to be called Universal or Catholick, reacheth to all those three foresaid, comprehending all places, times, and persons, and extendeth it self of his own nature to the same, or else it is not to be called properly Universal or Catholick. And thus three things there be, which most commonly we call Catholick or Universal: that is the Church, which is called the Catholick Church: Faith, which is called the Catholick Faith: a man whom also we call a man Catholick, because these three of their own nature and disposition (no contrary obstacle letting) extend themselves so to all, that no time, place, nor person is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concur in the Charge of the Bishop of *Rome*, then is it an Universal Charge, and he an Universal Bishop: if not, then is his Charge neither Universal, nor he the Head of the Church, nor yet Universal Bishop. For how these three can be separated, I cannot see, except the Adversary part do prove it more evidently than they have done.

And thus much to the Objection of our Adversaries: arguing thus, that as Saint *Peter* being not called Universal Apostle, yet was the Head of the Universal Church: so the Pope, although he was not first called Universal Bishop, had, and might have the Charge of the whole Church, and was the universal Head of the same. The which Objection containing (as is said) a double untruth, our Adversaries, yet notwithstanding, do busie themselves greatly to fortifie by sundry Testimonies and Allegations, patched out of old and ancient Doctors, but specially out of *Theodoretus*, *Ireneus*, *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, proving by them, that the See of *Rome* having the Preeminence and Principality, hath been honoured above all other Churches. Whereupon the said adversary before minded grounded this consequent.

The second untruth of the argument above mentioned.

What is an Universal Bishop.

Regula definitionis. Cui convenit definitio, & definitum, & contra: Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur. Universal, defined by three things, time, place, and person.

Three things commonly called Catholick or Universal.

To have universal charge to be head of the universal Church, and to be universal Bishop are all co-incident together.

A double taking of the word Bishop.

Christ himself a Bishop.

Comm. Apo. 23. 14-34. Com. Nice. 34. 15. Council. Antioch. cap. 3. 13. Peter being at Rome.

Irenaeus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Amb. de doct. gent. lib. 2. cap. 6. Aug. Epist. 162. An argument of the Papists. Answer.

Preeminence of a Church esteemed after a double consideration,

Objection. Outward preeminence becometh unto outward Kingdoms, not to the Church of Christ.

The first answer to the Objection.

Non sic. Faith Christ: Quod sic, faith the Pope. Objection. Answer. Superiority in the Church. Distinction of degrees in the Church. Diversity of Dignities in degrees. Order kept in the Church, and what true order is.

Aug. lib. de Civ. Dei. cap. 91. Order defined.

Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine and Theodoretus affirm, that the Church of Rome is the chief of all other Churches.

Ergo, the Bishop and Head of that Church is chief and Head over all Bishops, and Head over all other Churches.

But this consequence is to be denied, for that the excellency of the Church or place doth not always argue the excellency of the Minister or Bishop, not yet necessarily doth cause the same. For in matters of the Church, which are spiritual, all preeminence standeth upon spiritual and inward Gifts (*Spiritualia enim spiritualibus comparantur*.) as Faith, Piety, Learning and godly Knowledge, Zeal and Fervency in the Holy Ghost, Unity of Doctrine, &c. which Gifts many times may excel in a Church, where the Minister or Bishop is inferior to Bishops or Ministers of other Churches. As the most famous School in a Realm, hath not alway the most famous School-Master, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in Learning above all others. So if our Adversaries do mean by this Preeminence of the Church of Rome, such inward Gifts of Doctrine, Faith, Unity and Peace of Religion; then say I, the excellency hereof doth not infer or argue the excellency of the Bishop. And thus concerning the Principality of the Church of Rome, commended at that time of the Doctors, it may be true, and so well expounded one way. And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and deny the consequent. But here will our Adversaries peradventure reply again and say, that the Principality of the Church of Rome which is commended by the Doctors, is not meant here so much by inward Gifts and Indowments belonging to a Christian Church, as by outward Authority and Domination over other Churches. Whereto is to be answered: first, what necessity is there; or where did our Papists learn, to bring into the spiritual Church of Christ, this outward form of civil Regiment and Policy? that as the Roman Emperors in times past governed over all the world, so the Roman Bishop must have his Monarchy upon the Universal Clergy, to make all other Churches to stoop under his Subjection. And where then be the words of our Saviour? *Vos autem non sic.*

If they hold their Affirmative *Quod sic*. Where then is Christ's Negative *Non sic*? If they say, there must needs be distinction of degrees in the Church, and in this distinction of degrees, Superiority must necessarily be granted for the outward Discipline of the Church, for directing matters, for quieting of Schisms, for setting Orders, for commencing of Convocations and Councils, as need shall require, &c. Against this Superiority we stand not, and therefore we yield to our Superior Powers, Kings and Princes, our due Obedience, and to our lawful Governors under God of both Regiments, Ecclesiastical and Temporal. Also in the Ecclesiastical State, we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the Primitive Church allowed, as Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Ministers and Deacons, for of these four we specially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of Office, so we admit in the same also, diversity of Dignity: neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular Person. For as we give to the Minister place above the Deacon, to the Bishop above the Minister, to the Archbishop above the Bishop: so we see no cause of inequality, why one Minister should be above another Minister: one Bishop in his degree above another Bishop to deal in his Diocese, or one Archbishop above another Archbishop. And this is to keep an order duly and truly in the Church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the Authority of *August. lib. de Civit. Dei*. Where he thus defineth that which we call Order: *Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio*. Order (saith he) is a discretion or disposition given to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to every one his own right and proper place.

This definition of *S. Augustine* standing with the things before premised; now here joyneth the question between us and the Papists, whether the Metropolitan Church of Rome, with the Archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitan Churches and Archbishops, through universal Christendom, or not? To the answer whereof, if

the voice of Order might here be heard, it would say, Give to things that be matches and like, like honour; to things unlike, unlike honour, &c. Wherefore, seeing the See of Rome is a Patriarchal See appointed by the Primitive Church, and the Bishop thereof and Archbishop limited within his own bordering Churches, which the Council of Nice calleth *Suburbicas Ecclesias*, as other Archbishops be: he ought therefore orderly to have the honour of an Archbishop (ordering himself thereafter) and such outward Preeminence as to other Archbishops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right Order, he falleth into presumption, and doth wrong unto his Fellows: and they also do wrong unto themselves whosoever they be, which feeding his humor of ambition, give more unto him than the foresaid rule of Order doth require. For so much as they yield to him more than is his right, so much they take from themselves, which is due to them. And the same is the cause, why both *Gregory* and *Pelagius* his Predecessor reprehendeth them, which gave to the Archbishop of Constantinople, that which now the Bishop of Rome claimeth to himself, charging them with the breach of Order in these words, *Ne dum privatim aliquod daretur uni, honore debito Sacerdotes privarentur universi*; that is, Left that while any singular thing is given to one person, all other Priests be deprived of their due honour. And for the like case, *Pelagius* exhorteth that no Priest do give to any one Archbishop, the name of Universal Bishop, *Ne sibi debitum subtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert debitum*; that is, Left (saith he) in so doing, he take from himself his due honour, while he yieldeth that which is not due to another. And also in the same Epistle, *Quia si summus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur*. For (saith he) if he be called the chief universal Patriarch, then is the name of Patriarch derogated from others, &c. Wherefore as is said, seeing the Bishop of Rome is an Archbishop, as others be, Order giveth that he should have the Dignity which to Archbishops is due; whatsoever is added more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honour.

The second reason and answer to the Objection before moved, is this, That being granted to the Papists, that the Doctors aforesaid, speaking of the Principality of the Church of Rome do mean not only of the inward Vertues of that Church, but also of the outward Authority and Jurisdiction of the same, above other Churches: yet the cause wherefore they did attribute so much to that Church, is to be expounded, which was this, as before was alleged out of the Council of Chalcedon, *Can. 28. Ad τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*, that is, For the Rule and Empery which that City of Rome had then above other Cities; which cause being outward and carnal, was neither then cause sufficient, and now ceasing, importeth not to us the like effect, according as they say, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*. So that by the reason thereof, the aforesaid Principality of the Church of Rome, did not hold them *fure divino sed humano*. And as it holdeth by mans law, so by mans law may be repealed again.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the Pope sitteth and succeedeth in the Chair of *Peter*, and also that he is the Bishop of the greatest City in the world: yet it followeth not thereby that he should have rule and Lordship over all other Bishops and Churches of the world. For first touching the succession of *Peter*, many things are to be considered:

First, Whether *Peter* sate, and had his Chair in Rome, or not?

Secondly, Whether he sate there as an Apostle, or as a Bishop?

Thirdly, Whether the sitting in the outward Seat of *Peter* maketh Successors of *Peter*?

Fourthly, Whether he sitteth in the Chair and Seat of *Peter*, which sitteth not in the Doctrine of *Peter*?

Fifthly, Whether the Succession of *Peter* maketh rather an Apostle than a Bishop, and so should we call the Pope the Apostle of Rome, and not the Bishop of Rome?

Sixthly, Whether Ecclesiastical Functions ought to be esteemed by ordinary succession of place, or by Gods secret calling and sending?

Seventhly and lastly, Whether it stand by Scripture, any succession at all to be pointed in Christs Church, or why more from *Peter* than from other Apostles?

All

Ex regis Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32.

Ex Epist. 2. Pelagii 2. dist. 99. cap. Nullus.

The second answer to the objection before moved.

Certain demands for the Papists to answer unto.

All which Interrogatories being well discussed (which would ask a long Process) it should well appear what little hold the Pope hath to take this state upon him, above all other Churches, as he doth. In the mean time, this one argument by the way may suffice, in stead of many, for our Adversaries to answer to at their convenient leisure. Which argument thus I form and frame in *Camestres*.

An argument proving the Popes of this latter Church of Rome not to be Successors of Peter.

Ca- All the true Successors of *Peter* sit in the Chair of the Doctrine of *Peter*; and other Apostles uniformly:
me- No Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* sit in the Chair of *S. Peters* and other Apostles Doctrine uniformly:
stres. Ergo, No Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* be the true Successors of *Peter*.

And when they have well perused the minor of this argument, and have well conferred together the Doctrine taught them of *S. Peter*, with the Doctrine taught now by the Popes, of justification of a Christian-man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largeness of sin, of mens Merits, of Free-will, of Works of supererogation, of setting up Images, of seven Sacraments, of auricular Confession, of Satisfaction, of sacrifice of the Mass, of Communicating under one kind, of elevating and adoring the sacramental Elements, of *Latin Service*, of Invocation, of prohibition of Meats and Marriage, of vowing Chastity of Sects and rules of divers Religions, of Indulgences and Pardons: also with their Doctrine taught now of Magistrates, of the fulness of Power and Regality of the See of *Rome*, with many other like to these, &c. then will I be glad to hear what they shall say to the Premises.

Secondly, If they would prove by the Allegation of the Doctors, *Ireneus*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Theodoretus* afore-said, the Bishop of *Rome* to be the Chief of all Bishops therefore, because the City whereof he is Bishop, is the chief and principal above all other Churches, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking as I say, the Principality of that Church to stand *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν*, that is, upon the principal Dominion of that City) no more than this consequent followeth.

London is the chief City in all *England*:

Ergo, the Bishop of *London* is the chiefest of all Bishops in this Realm.

Which argument were derogatory to the Archbishops both of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Yea, to grant yet more to our Adversaries (which is all they can require) the mind of the afore-said Doctors, as *Ireneus*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Theodoretus*, in giving Principality unto *Rome*, to have respect unto the virtue of succession from *Peter*, and not unto the greatness of the City: yet notwithstanding for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered: to say,

A false consequent of the Papists.

The Apostolical See of *Rome*, having succession from *Peter*, with the Bishops thereof, was chief then of all other Churches in the Primitive time of these Doctors.

Ergo, The Apostolical See of *Rome*, with the Bishops thereof, having succession from *Peter*, ought now to be chief of all other Churches in these our days.

Answer to the consequent.

This consequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if succession which gave them the cause of Principality, were the same now, which was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession in the time of these Doctors, was as well in Doctrine Apostolical, as in place Apostolical. Now, the succession of Doctrine Apostolical hath long ceased in the See Apostolical: and nothing remaineth but only place, which is the least matter of true Spiritual and Apostolical succession. And thus much to the authority and testimony of these fore-named Doctors.

Succession Apostolical double-wise to be considered.

Besides these Objections heretofore recited out of *Ireneus*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Theodoretus*; our Adversaries yet object and heap up against us moreover Examples of the Primitive time of the Church, Testimonies of general Councils, and Opinions of ancient Writers taken out of the Book of Councils, and Epistles decretal, whereby their intent is to prove the fore-said terms (of the Head of the Church, Ruler of the Church, Chief of all other Priests) to be applied not only to *Peter*, but also to the Bishop of *Rome* within the compass of the Primitive

time. And here cometh in the Testimony cited of *Vincencius Lirinensis*. Of the Epistle of *Paschasius* and his Fellows, writing to *Leo* from the Council of *Chalcedon*. The testimony also of *Justinian* the Emperour in his *Code*: where *Joannes* then Pope, was called *Caput omnium Ecclesiarum*, *Epist. inter claras*, cap. *De summa trinit. & fide cath.* The testimony also of *Asbanasius*, with his Fellow Bishops of *Egypt*, of *Thebaida* and *Lybia*, in their Epistles to Pope *Marcus*, *Liberius*; and *Felix*. Likewise the testimony of *Jerome*, in *Præf. in 4. Evang.* Item *Ep. 42. tom. 1.* Item *Ep. 41. tom. 2.* Of *S. Ambrose*, 1. tom. 3. Of *S. Augustine* to *Boniface*. *Ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Palag. l. 1. c. 1.* Item *l. 2. de bapt. c. 1.* Of *Theodoretus* in his Epistle to Pope *Leo*, *Epist. commentar. in Pauli Ep. præfixa*. Of *Chrysostome*, *Epist. ad Innocentium*, tom. 5. &c. By which Testimonies our Adversaries would prove Saint *Peter*, and after him the Bishop of *Rome* to be called and taken for Head of the Church, Chief Bishop, Prince and Ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which Objections fully and exactly to answer in order, would require a whole Volume by it self. In the mean time, leaving the rest unto them, unto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this own short distinction I answer these and all such other like places, where *S. Peter* with his Successors are called Head of the Church, Chief of Bishops, Prince of the Apostles, &c. In which places, this word Head, Chief, and Prince of the Apostles, may be taken two manner of ways: to note either Dominion or else Commendation. For so we read sometime *Caput* and *Princeps*, to be words not of authority, but of excellency, whereby is declared the chiefest and worthiest part among many parts, and not Possessor and Governor of the whole. Like as in the person of man, the Head is the Principal part of the whole Body, being indued with reason, and furnished with most excellent senses, by the which the whole body of man is directed: so thereof is derived by a Metaphor, to what man or thing soever nature or condition hath given the greatest excellency of Gifts and Properties above other parts or members, the same society to be called of the said Parties, *Caput* or *Princeps*, Head or Prince. And yet the same Head or Prince is so called, hath not always Dominion or Jurisdiction of the rest. So we call in our vulgar Speech, the Head or Chief men of the Parish, who for their Riches, Wisdom, or Place, are most specially noted: after like phrase of Speech we call the head man of the Inquest, him that hath first Place: and yet neither they nor these have any Dominion or Jurisdiction upon the Residue. In a School the chiefest Schollar in Learning, is not therefore the Master or Governor of his Fellows. Neither hath *M. Cicero* any Title thereby to claim Subjection and Service of all other Orators, because he is named *Princeps Eloquentiæ*, and goeth before them in that kind of phrase. The same *Cicero*, lib. 1. offic. calleth *Cratippum principem hujus ætatis Philosophorum*: as *Homer* may be also called *Poetarum Princeps*: and yet neither Philosophers to *Cratippus*, nor Poets to *Homer* owe any thing else, but only fame and praise.

Testimonies alledged for the Principality of the Pope.

Answer by a distinction

Caput & Princeps have a double understanding.

How Peter is Princeps Apostolorum, Princeps Eloquentiæ, Cicero, Princeps Philosophorum Cratippus.

Petrus Princeps & Corypheus Apostolorum.

And what if Saint *Peter* the blessed Apostle be called and counted by the old ancient Doctors, as Head and Prince of the Apostles, which is as much as *Corypheus Apostolorum*, for his excellent Faith, for his Divine Confession and singular Affection to the Lord *Jesus*: yet what Interest or Charge either hath he to Challenge over the Apostles, or the Pope after him over all other Bishops and the whole Church of *Christ*, although the Pope have the like excellency of *Christ's* Faith which *Peter* had, as would God he had! As concerning these Allegations therefore out of the Doctors, two things are to be observed: first, that neither these Names and Titles, though they be given to *Peter*, do give him any State or Dominion over other Apostles: nor yet the succession of him doth further any whit this celtitude and regality of the Pope to advance him above his Fellow Archbishops, as now he doth.

And if our Adversaries would needs provoke us to the numbering of Testimonies, and dividing the house (speaking of the Writers and Councils of the Primitive Age) for these afore-said Testimonies alledged on their side: I could on the contrary part recite out of the witness of Doctors,

Doctors, out of the examples of Councils, and practices of Emperors, no less than sixty voices, much more repugnant against their assertion, than there is for the Pope. The translation whereof for this present I do refer, either to them that have more leisure at this time to discourse them, or else omit it to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be to grant me further leisure in another Book to treat thereof at large in such order, as (if the Lord so grant) shall appear sufficient matter, to prove by the Doctors, general Councils, examples and histories of time, that the Bishops of Rome, during the first five hundred years after Christ, although for the greatness of the Empire, were somewhat more magnified than the other, and therefore were sought of many, and were flattered of some, and they themselves divers did set forth themselves more than they should: yet by the common consent of Churches were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consent of the most part, within the compass of that age, the Bishops of Rome had not this Regal state of Title, Jurisdiction and fulness of power, which now they usurp, but were taken as Archbishops of equal honour, of equal merit with other Archbishops and Rulers of the Church. And if any preferment was given unto them something above the rest, yet neither was it so given of all nor of the most part: secondly, neither was it so given of them for any such necessity of Gods Word. *Aut jure aliquo divino*, as which did so bind them thereunto, nor yet so much for the respect of Peter, and his succession: as for certain other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteen.

Thirteen
causes of ad-
vancing of
the See of
Rome.

1. Of which, the first is the greatness of the City and Monarchy of Rome.
2. The second, is the authority of the Emperor Constantine the great, first of the Emperors converted to the Faith, and ruling in the same City, by whom the universal liberty of the Church was first promoted: and the causes of the Bishops being then at variance, were committed partly to the Bishop of Rome, partly to other Bishops near by, to be decided, as appeareth, *Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.*
3. The third was the Council of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that Church to have the oversight of the Churches bordering about it.
4. The fourth cause of advancing the Church of Rome, was the unquiet state of the Greek Church, much troubled in those days with Sects, Factions and Dissentions, whereof we may read, *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.*
5. The fifth, whenas Synods were called by other Metropolitans; then if it chanced the Bishops of Rome to be absent, and their sentence being absent to be required, by the occasion thereof they began at length to take their sentence for a Canon or rule Ecclesiastical, and thereby to refuse other Synods, where their Decree or Sentence was not required.
6. Another cause was, that when any common matter was in hand at other places, whatsoever was done, commonly the manner was to write to the Roman Bishop for his approbation in the same for publick unity and consent to be had in Christs Church, as appeareth, *Lib. 10. Epist. 78. Ambros. ad Theophyl.*
7. Item, for that the testimony sometimes of the Roman Bishop was wont in those days also to be desired for admitting Teachers and Bishops in other Churches, whereof we have example in *Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.*
8. Moreover, this was a great setting up of that Church, whenas their sentence not only was required, but also received divers times of other Bishops. And when Bishops of other Provinces were at any dissention among themselves, they of their own accord appealed to the Bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite up both parties, and to have the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Macarius and Hesycheus send to Julius then Bishop of Rome, &c.
9. Item, In that certain of the Arians returning from their Arianisme, offered up and exhibited unto the Bishops of Rome their libels of Repentance, and were of them received again, as Ursatius and Valens did to Julius, *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 24.*
10. The tenth cause was also, for that Gratianus the Emperor made a Law, that all men should retain that Religion which Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria did hold, *Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 4.*
11. And also if it hapned the Bishop of Rome to disallow the ordering of any Minister or Ministers, the Popes per-

ceiving how diligent and ready they were to seek their favour, and to send up their messengers to Rome for their purgation, took thereby no little manner of exaltation, *Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.*

Besides these aforesaid, the Bishops of Rome had also another artificial practice, that in sending out their Letters abroad, as they did so many, in all their Epistles (if the Epistles be theirs, and not forged) ever they were harping of the greatness of their name, and of their Apostolick See, and of the primacy of Saint Peter, their Predecessor and Prince of all the Apostles, &c. And this they used in every Letter, whensoever they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their Letters Decretal, namely, in the Letters of Miltiades, Marcellus and Marcus, &c.

Again, if any of the East Church directed any writing to them, wherein any signification was contained of never so little reverence given unto them (as learned men commonly use for modesties sake) that was taken by and by, and construed for plain subjection and due obedience, as declareth the Letter of Damasus, written to the Bishops of the East Church beginning thus: *Quod debita reverentia, &c.* In English thus: *But that your charity yieldeth due reverence to the Apostolical See, you in so doing (dear children) do much for your selves, &c.* *Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9.* whereas the Bishops of the East Church notwithstanding, had shewed little or no reverence in their Epistle to Pope Damasus before.

Thus have ye the first and original grounds, by the means whereof, the Archbishops of the Romish See have achieved to this their great Kingdom and cellitude over Christs Church, first beginning the mystery of their iniquity by that which was modestly and voluntarily given them: afterward by use and custome claiming it ambitiously unto them of duty and service; and lastly, holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possession, so that now in no case they can abide the Birds to call home their feathers again, which they so long have usurped.

And thus much concerning the Life, Jurisdiction and Title of the Roman Bishops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the Church of Rome. To these I might also joyn the manner of Government, wherein the said Romish Bishops have no less altered, both from the rule of Scripture, and from the steps of the true Church of Rome, which government as it hath been, and ought to be only spiritual, so hath the Bishop of Rome used it of late years no otherwise than hath an earthly King or Prince governed his Realm and Dominions, with riches, glory, power, terror, outward strength, force, prison, death, execution, laws, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, revenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offences against God committed, using and abusing in all these things the Word of God for his pretext and cloke to work his worldly purpose withal: whereas indeed, the Word of God ministrereth no such power to spiritual persons, but such as is spiritual: according to the saying of the Apostle; *Armæ militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia, &c.* The Armour and Artillery saith Saint Paul, of our warfare, is not carnal, but spiritual: such as serve not against flesh and blood, nor against the weak person of man; but against Satan, against the gates of Hell, and the profundities of the wicked power, &c.

Which Armour, as it is all spiritual, so ought they, which have the dealing thereof, to be likewise spiritual, well furnished with all such gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, meet for the governance of his spiritual Church: as with wisdom and knowledge in the Scripture to instruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foresight of the crafty cogitations and operations of Satan, with power of the Spirit to resist the same: with practice and experience of temptations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of Satan: with heavenly discretion to discern spirits, and truth from untruth: with judgment and knowledge of tongues and learning to convict error: with zeal of Gods glory, with fervency of prayer, with patience in persecution: with a mind contented with all cases and states incident, with tears and compassion on other mens griefs: with stoutness and courage against proud and stout oppressors: with humility toward the poor and miserable: with the counsel of the Lord Jesus by his Word and Spirit to direct

This later
Church of
Rome differ-
ring from
the first
Church of
Rome in
form of
government

How the
Church of
Christ ought
to be govern-
ed.

direct him in all things to be done : with strength against sin : with hatred of this world : with gift of faith : power of the keyes in spiritual causes : as to minister the Word, the Sacraments and Excommunication when the Word biddeth, that the spirit may be saved, and to reconcile again as cause requireth, &c. These and such like are the matters wherein consisteth the finewe and strength of the Church, and for true governance of the same. But contrary to these afore-said both the Bishop and Clergy of this later Church of Rome, proceeding in their administration and governance, as who under the name and pretence of Christ and his Word, have exercised of long time nothing else but a worldly dominion, seeking indeed their own glory, not the glory of Christ : riches of the world, not the lucre of souls : not feeding of the flock, but filling the purse : revenging their own wrongs, but neglecting Gods glory : striving against man only, and killing him ; but not killing the vice, nor confuting the error of man : strong against flesh and blood, but weak against the Devil, stout against the simple, but meek against the mighty : briefly, doing almost all things preposterously, more like to secular Princes, than spiritual Pastors of Christs flock, with outward forcement, and fear of punishment, with imprisoning, farnishing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, slaying, murdering, and burning, and warring also : on the other side, with his riches and treasures, with his guard and guardiance, with strength of Men, with Court and Cardinals : with pomp and pride about them, with their triple Crown, with the naked Sword, with their ordinary succession : with their laws and executions : their promotions and preferments : their biddings and commandings : threatnings and revengings, &c.

Preposterous government of the church by the Pope.

A comparison between the Kingdom of this World, and the Kingdom of the Pope.

In fine, to compare therefore the images of a worldly Kingdom, with this Kingdom of the Pope, there is no difference, save only, that this Kingdom of the Pope, under hypocrisy maketh a face of the spiritual sword, which is the Word of God : but in very deed doth all things with the temporal sword, that is, with outward forcement and coercion : differing nothing from civil and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For as in an earthly Kingdom, first there is a Prince or some chief Magistrate appointed, having dominion over his Nobles and Commons, containing all his Subjects under his statutes and laws ; with the which laws notwithstanding he dispenseth at his pleasure ; under whom all other inferior Magistrates have their order and place to them appointed to rule over the Subjects, and yet to be subject under him : so if the state and form of the Pope be well considered, we shall see it altereth nothing from the same, but only in the names of the persons. In civil government, all subjection is referred to one head ruler, whose authority surmounteth all the rest, and keepeth the munder obedience : in like manner the government of the Popish Church is committed to one man, who as chief steward, over-seer, and ruler of Christs household in his absence, hath supreme power over all Churches to moderate and direct all the affairs thereof. But here standeth the difference, in civil Policy he is called a King or Prince : here he is called a Pope.

Secular Nobility compared with ecclesiastical nobility.

Civil magistrates compared with ecclesiastical.

The King hath next unto him his Dukes and Earls : the Popes Nobility standeth in his Cardinals and Legats ; who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pomp and pride, will not only give check to them, but also mate to Kings themselves, if they might be suffered, as did *Theodorus, Lanfrancus, Anselmus, Thomas Becket*, and so would *Thomas Woolsey* have done, had not the King given him a neck to his mate betime. In Civil Policy next to Dukes and Earls followeth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, with Majors, Sheriffs, Constables, Bailiffs, Wardens, &c. The like race is to be seen also, although under other names, in the Popes policy : of Primats, Bishops, Suffragans, Provosts, Deans, Canons, Vicars, Archdeacons, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolyths, Exorcists, Lectors, Dore-keepers, Singsters, with other Clerks. And is in the other, Under Wardens cometh the order of Scavengers : so neither doth the Popes Monarchy lack his Chancelrakers, to whom may well be compared that rablement of Abbats, Provincials, Priors, Monks, Friars, with their Covents, and Nunneries.

Moreover, from Justices, Judges, Lawyers, Sergeants,

Attorneys, which be necessary Officers in the Commonwealth, what differ the Popes Inquiritors, Canonists, Doctors, and Batchelors of the Popes Law, Commissaries, Officials, Proctors, Promoters, with such others, which serve no less in spiritual Court, and in the Consistory, than the other afore-said do in temporal Court, or in *Guildhall* ? Now who so list to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other ; also the power and strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other ; and so the riches of the one, with the riches of the other ; I suppose he shall see no great odds between them both, taking the Popes Kingdom, as it hath stood in his full ruff, and yet doth stand where Churches are not reformed. As for subtilty and politick practice, there is no man that is indifferent that doubteth, or that hath his eyes that seeth not, that the Popes Hierarchy in holding up their state, far excelleth all the Kingdoms of worldly Princes, of whom all other may take example to learn.

Officers of the temporal court compared with the Officers of the spiritual Court.

Glory compared. Power compared.

Riches compared.

Subtilty compared.

Thus in comparing the Popes regiment with civil governance, as they do little or nothing disagree : so in comparing again the same with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old ancient Church of Rome, we shall see no resemblance between them. As we read in the Apostles time, all the Armour of Christs Ministers was spiritual and full of godly power against the spiritual enemies of our salvation, governing the Church then with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the sword of the spirit, the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, hearty charity, sincere faith, and a good conscience : so after the Apostles in the time of *Ambrose*, by his own testimony it is to be understood, that the armour of Churchmen was then, *Preces & lachrymæ*, prayers and tears : where now the armor of the Popes Priesthood is nothing else but *Ignis & ferrum*, fire and sword, wherewith they keep all things under their subjection. And here cometh the enorm and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension and interdiction in cases frivolous, or worldly ; and for such things as for which the Civil Magistrate will not commit any Citizens to the stocks, the Popes censure will not stick to commit a Christian to the Devil : not to speak of their other usurped dealings and doings in matters, that belong to the civil sword, and be to them impertinent. As in punishing whoredom and adultery, in administration and probats of testaments, in bearing civil office, as Popes to be Senators of Rome, and Emperor also *Sede vacante*, Cardinals to be Captains in War, and Rulers of Regions : Bishops to be Presidents or Chancellors. Priests to be Stewards in great mens houses, or Masters of Mints, or Clerks of the Market, or Gardiners to Gentlemen, &c. All which here I overpass, referring them to the deeper consideration of such as have more leisure to mark the order of their doings, and so to judge of the same with indifferency, according to the rule of truth taught in Gods Word, and publick examples of the ancient Church of Christ in the primitive time.

The difference between the Popes regiment and the order of the primitive Church.

2 Cor. 10. Ephes. 6. 1 Tim. 1.

The armor proper to Churchmen.

Horrible abuse of excommunication in the Popes Church.

The Popes governing in matters to them not pertaining.

Thus having discoursed sufficiently so much as concerneth the manner of life, title, jurisdiction and government of the Popes See (in all which points it is to be seen how this later Church of Rome hath receded from the true ancient Church of Rome) it now remaineth according to my promise, and order prefixed, consequently to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of Doctrine : wherein consisteth the chiefest matter that maketh with us and against them, in such sort as (their Doctrine standing as it doth) neither are they to be reputed for true Catholics, being altered so far from them : nor we other than Hereticks, if we should now joyn with these. For the more trial whereof, let us examine the Doctrine and Rites of the said Church of Rome now used, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient Catholics, to the intent that such simple souls as have been hitherto, and yet are seduced by the false visage and image of this pretended and bastardly Church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eschew the peril, if they list to be instructed ; or if not, to blame none but themselves for their own wilful destruction. And albeit I could here charge the new fangled Church of the Pope with seven or eight hainous crimes, as blasphemy, idolatry, heresie, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty and contrariety (in which it neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-elders, nor yet with themselves in sundry points) yet after a more temperate sort to pass this matter with them,

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Church examined and detected.

The false image of the Popes Church.

them these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this Doctrine of the Pope now taught in the Church of Rome, is neither any consolation of Conscience, nor salvation of mans soul. For seeing there is no life nor souls health but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but only by faith in the son of God: what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least are most esteemed? For to say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the Popes law now set forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heap of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one jot to the justification of our souls before the terrible judgment of God.

And therefore as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the Pope is void of all true comfort and salvation: so likewise it seemeth that these, which addict themselves so devoutly to the Popes learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart, never entred into any serious feeling of Gods judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should soon have seen their own weakness, and been driven to Christ; then should they have seen what a horrible thing it is to appear before God the Father, or once to think on him (as *Luther* saith) without Christ. And on the contrary side, then should they know what a glory, what a Kingdom, what liberty and life it were to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondson of *Agar*, but with the free son of *Sara*: by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving: that God only might be praised, and not man.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by St. Paul writing to the Romans. The same did *Cornelius* the Roman, and first that was baptised of all the Gentiles, learn of St. Peter when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached. And in the same Doctrine the said Church of the Romans many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same Doctrine the Bishop of Rome with his Romans now also should still remain, if they were such ancient Catholics as they pretend, and would follow the old mother Church of Rome, and hold the first liquor where-with they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdor and scent of that liquor and pleasant Must is now clean put out through other unfavoury infusions of the Popes thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor piece remaineth of all that primitive Doctrine, which St. Paul and other Apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvel if the Romans now in so long tract of time have lost their first sap, seeing the Church of the Galatians then in the very time of St. Paul their Schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had not so soon turned his back a little, but they were all turned almost from the Doctrine of faith, and had much ado to be recovered again.

Of this defection and falling from faith, St. Paul expressly foretelleth us in his letters both to the *Thessalonians*, and also to *Timothy*, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certain shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, &c. *1 Tim. 4.* and to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth us to understand in the same place, where the said Apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eat meats ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiving, for mans sustenance; most evidently, as with his finger, pointing out unto us the Church of Rome, which not in these points only, but also in all other conditions almost is utterly revolted from the pure original sincerity of that doctrine, which St. Paul planted in the Church of the Romans, and of all other Gentiles.

The summe of St. Paul's Doctrine delivered to the Gentiles.

1. First, the doctrine of St. Paul ascribeth all our justification freely and meely to faith only in Christ, as to the only means and cause immediate, whereby the merits of Christs Passion be applied unto us, without any other respect of work or works of the law whatsoever: and in this Doctrine, the Church of the Romans was first planted.

2. Secondly, the same Doctrine of St. Paul cutting off, and excluding all glory of mans deserving, stayeth only upon Gods promise and upon grace, not mans merits: upon mercy, not mans labouring or running: upon election and calling, not mans willing, &c.

3. Thirdly, the same Doctrine casting down the strength of man and his *Integra naturalia* (as the Schools do term them) concludeth all flesh under sin, and maketh the same destitute of the glory of God.

4. Item, it maketh manifest difference between the Law and the Gospel, declaring the use and end of them to be divers: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemn, the other to justify; the one to have an end and a time, the other to be perpetual, &c.

5. Item, the same Doctrine of St. Paul, as it sheweth a difference between the Law and the Gospel; so it maketh no less difference between *Justicia Dei*, and *Justicia propria*; that is, the righteousness of God and the righteousness of Man, abhorring the one, that is, mans own righteousness, coming by the law and works; and embracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciously to us for Christ his Sons sake, in whom we believe.

6. Item, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoever, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

7. Likewise it rejecteth and wipeth away all curious subtilties, and superfluous speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ only crucified, which is only the object whereunto our faith looketh.

8. Furthermore as the same Doctrine of Saint Paul defineth all men to be transgressors by disobedience of one Adam, though they never touched the apple, they coming of his stock by nature; so doth it prove all men to be justified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, they being likewise born of him by spiritual regeneration and faith.

9. And therefore as all men coming of Adam be condemned originally, before they grow up to commit any sin against the Law: so all men regenerated by faith in Christ, be saved originally before they begin to do any good work of charity, or any other good deed.

10. Item, the Doctrine of St. Paul perpending the high glory of a Christian mans state in Christ Jesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with Almighty God, *Rom. 5.* Secondly, exempteth him from all condemnation, *Rom. 8.* Thirdly, it matcheth him with Angels; it equalleth him with Saints and fellow Citizens of Heaven; it numbrell him with the household of God; and inheriteth him with Jesus Christ himself, *Ephes. 2.* Fourthly, it adopteth him from the state of a servant, to the state of the Son of God, crying *Abba Father*, *Gal. 4.* Fifthly, it openeth to him a bold access and entrance to the high majesty and throne of grace, *Ephes. 2.* Sixthly, it subjecteth all things under him, as ministers, yea the Apostles themselves in their highest office, death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole World besides, and assigneth him no spiritual head, but only Christ, saying, *And you are Christs, and Christs is Gods*, *1 Cor. 3.* Seventhly, it advanceth and setteth him in a spiritual liberty or freedom, above all terrors of spirit, rising either of Gods Law, or Mans Law, above all dreadful tears of sin, damnation, malediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory: above all servile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customs, or what else soever oppresseth and entangleth the spiritual freedom of a Conscience, which Christ hath set at liberty; and requireth moreover that we walk and stand stout in that liberty whereto we are brought with the free-son of Sara, and not suffer our selves any more to be clogged with any such servile bondage: that is to say, although we must be content to subject our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet must we not yield our spiritual consciences and souls as slaves and servants, to be subject to the fear or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, for so much as we are in that part made Lords and Princes over all things whatsoever can harm, or bind, or terrifie us, *Gal. 4. Col. 2.*

11. Item, the right vein of Saint Pauls Doctrine putteth no difference nor observation in days and times, *Gal. 4. Col. 2.*

12. Item,

No comfort nor salvation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

The scope and summe of the Popes doctrine whither it tendeth.

Popes never lightly afflicted in conscience deeply.

An horrible thing to think of God without Christ.

The right faith of the old Romans. Cornelius a Roman, first baptised of all the Gentiles.

The Church of Rome hath lost the liquor where-with it was first seasoned.

The Galatians almost gone from faith in St. Pauls time.

1 Tim. 4.

A brief sum of St. Pauls doctrine delivered to the Gentiles

Salvation by mercy only, and not by merits.

All flesh concluded under sin.

Difference between the Law and the Gospel.

Justicia Dei Justicia propria.

The righteousness of God, & the righteousness of man, how they differ in Scripture. A true Christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified. All men condemned by one.

All men saved by one.

Original sin. Original justice. Rom. 5. Rom. 8.

Ephes. 2.

Itaq; jam non es servus sed filius.

Gal. 4. Ephes. 2.

Heb. 4.

1 Cor. 3.

The glorious state of christian liberty and spiritual freedom in Christ Jesus.

Gal. 4. Colos. 2.

Days and times indifferent.

Meats indif-
ferent with
thank-
giving.

Marriage
lawful for
all men.

One sacrifice
for sin, and
no more.

Heb. 9.

The use of
the holy
Communion
in ancient
times of the
primitive
Church.

No more
Sacraments
mentioned
in St. Paul,
but the
Lords Sup-
per and
Baptism.

The autho-
rity and
office of the
civil Magi-
strates.

The office
and autho-
rity of Bi-
shops how
far it doth
extend.

Another
brief recap-
itulation of
St. Paul's
doctrine re-
duced to
five points.

12. *Item*, it leaveth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiving, to serve the necessity of the body, and not the body to serve them, *Coloss. 2. 1 Tim. 4.*

13. *Item*, it permitteth Marriage without restraint or exception, lawful and also expedient for all men, having need thereof, *1 Cor. 7.*

14. *Item*, it admitteth no sacrifice for sin but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done once for all with blood. For without blood there is no remission of sin, which is applied to us by faith only, and by nothing else, *Heb. 9.*

15. *Item*, as touching the holy Communion, by the Letters of Saint Paul to the *Corinth. 11.* we understand, that the use then amongst them was, to have the participation of the Bread called the Lords Body, and of the Cup called the Lords Blood, administered not at an Altar, but at a plain Board or Table, the Congregation there meeting together after the time of their Supper, where not the Minister alone did receive, and the other looked on; but the whole Congregation together did communicate with reverence and thanksgiving, nor lifting over the Priests head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts; but either sitting at the Supper, or standing after the Supper. According to which form the *Muscovites* yet to this day, following the old Rite of the Country (although being drowned otherwise in much superstition) use to receive it after they be risen from their Dinner, standing. Experience whereof was seen here at London the first day of October, 1569.

16. *Item*, the said Apostle, besides the Sacramental Supper, maketh mention of Baptism, or washing of regeneration, although he himself baptised but few, *1 Cor. 1.* of the other Sacraments he maketh no mention.

17. *Item*, by the same Doctrine of St. Paul, no tongue is to be used in the Congregation, which is not known, and doth not edifie, *1 Cor. 14.*

18. *Item*, the Rule of Saint Paul's Doctrine subjecteth every creature under the obedience of Kings and Princes, and ordinary Magistrates, ordained of God to have the sword and authority of publick Regiment, to order and dispose in all things, not contrary to God, whatsoever pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the evil: from whose Jurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations or persons, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Political. And therefore to this office it appertaineth to preserve peace, to set things in lawful order, to conserve Christian Discipline in the Church of Christ, to remove offences, to bridle the disobedient, to provide and procure wholesome and faithful teachers over the people, to maintain learning, and set up Schools, to have oversight not only of the People, but also of all Ecclesiastical Ministers, to see every one to do his duty, and to remove or punish such as be negligent: also to call Councils and Synods, and to provide that the Church Goods be faithfully dispensed by the hands of true dealers, to the sustentation of the Church, of true Teachers, and to the publick necessity of the poor, &c.

19. Furthermore, by St. Paul's Doctrine, the Ministers and superintendents of Christs Church have their authority and armour likewise to them limited, which armour is only spiritual and not carnal, whereby they fight not against flesh and blood, but against the power of darkness, error and sin; against the spiritual seduction and craftiness in heavenly things, against the works and proceedings of Satan the Prince of this World, in comforting weak Consciences against the terrors of the Devil and desperation, and finally against every cogitation lifted up against Christ, to subdue every creature to the subjection and power of Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Another brief recapitulation of the same.

Briefly to reduce the whole Doctrine of St. Paul into a compendious sum, it consisteth chiefly in these five points:

1. First, in setting forth the grace, great love and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Jesus his Son to mankind, which so loved the World, that he hath given his own Son for the redemption thereof, *John Rom. 5. Ephes. 2.*
2. Which gave his Son to die for us being his enemies, *Rom. 5.* Which hath quickned us being dead in sin, *Ephes. 2.*

Which so mercifully hath reconciled the World to himself by his Son, and also by his Embassadors desireth us to be reconciled unto him, *2 Cor. 5.* Who hath given his own Son to be Sin for us, *2 Cor. 5.* To be accursed for us, *Gal. 3.* Which by firm promise hath assured us of our inheritance, *Rom. 4.* Which not by the works of righteousness that we have done, but of his own mercy hath saved us by the washing of Regeneration, *Tit. 3.*

2. The second point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant majesty of Christ Jesus the Son of God, and the excellency of his glory; who being once dead in the infirmity of flesh, rose again with power, and ascending up with majesty, hath led away captivity captive, *Eph. 4.* sitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heavenly things above all principates and potestates, powers and dominations, and above every name that is named, not only in this World, but also in the world to come, *Ephes. 1.* At whose name every knee is to bend both in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue to confess our Lord Christ Jesus to the glory of God the Father, *Phil. 2.* In whom and by whom all things are made both in heaven and earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates or potestates, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things consist in him who is the head of his body the Church, the beginning and first born from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fullness, *Col. 1.* To whom the Father hath given all judgment, and judgeth no man himself any more, *John 5.* To whom the Father hath given all things to his hands, *John 13.* To whom the Father hath given power of all flesh, *John 17.* To whom all power is given in heaven and earth, *Math. 28.* In whom all the promises of God are *Est 2 Cor. 1.*

3. Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his Cross and Passion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to us by the same. By whose blood we have redemption and remission of our sins, *Ephes. 1.* By whose stripes we are made whole, *Ephes. 1.* By whose Cross all things are pacified, both in heaven and in earth, *Col. 1.* By whose death we are reconciled, *Rom. 5.* Who hath destroyed death, and brought life to light, *1 Tim. 1.* Who by death hath destroyed him which had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and hath delivered them which lived under fear of death all their life in bondage, *Heb. 2.* By whose obedience we are made just: by whose righteousness we are justified to life, *Rom. 5.* By whose curse we are blessed, and delivered from the malediction of the Law, *Gal. 3.* By whose blood we that once were far off, are made near unto God, *Ephes. 2.* Who in one body hath reconciled both Jews and Gentiles unto God, *Ephes. 2.* Who by his flesh hath taken away the division and separation between God and us, abolishing the law which was set against us in precepts and decrees, *Ephes. 2.* Who is our peace, our advocate, and propitiation for the sins of the whole world, *1 John 2.* Who was made accursed, and sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him, *2 Cor. 5.* Who is made of God for us, our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, *1 Cor. 1.* By whom we have boldness and entrance with all confidence through faith in him, *Ephes. 3.* Who forgiveth all our sins, and hath torn in pieces the obligation or hand-writing, which was against us in the law of commandments, and hath crucified it upon the Cross, and utterly hath dispatched and abolished the same, and hath spoiled principates and potestates, as in an open shew of conquest, triumphing over them openly in himself, *Col. 2.* Who justifieth the wicked by faith, *Rom. 4.* In whom we are made full and compleat, *Col. 2. &c.*

4. The fourth branch is, to teach us and inform us, to whom these benefits of Christs Passion and Victory do appertain, by what means the same is applied and redoundeth unto us; which means is only one, that is, only faith in Christ Jesus, and no other thing. Which faith it pleaseth Almighty God to accept for righteousness. And this righteousness it is, which only standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and especially by the Doctrine of St. Paul. Which righteousness thus rising of faith in Christ, St. Paul calleth the righteousness of God, where he speaketh of himself, utterly refusing the other righteousness which is of the law, that he might be found in him, not having his own righteousness which

The great
mercy of
God in
Christ.

Galat. 3.
2 Cor. 5.
Rom. 5.
Titus 3.

The glory
and majesty
of Christ Je-
sus set forth
by St. Paul.

Ephes. 4.

Phil. 2.

Colos. 1.

John. 5.

John 13.

John 17.

Math. 28.

2 Cor. 1.

The third
branch.

The vertue
and effect of
Christs
death, and
what ex-
ceeding be-
nefits pro-
ceed there-
of.

Ephes. 1.

Ephes. 1.

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Ephes. 1.

The righteousness of the law.
Philip. 3.

which is of the law, but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith, Phil. 3. Again, the said Apostle writing of the Jews, which sought for righteousness and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, sheweth the reason why: Because (saith he) the one sought it by works and the Law, and not knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own righteousness, did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God. The other, which were the Gentiles, and sought not for it, obtained righteousness, that righteousness which is of faith, &c. Rom. 9. Also in another place of the same Epistle, Saint Paul writing of this righteousness which cometh of faith, calleth it the righteousness of God, in these words: Whom God (saith he) hath set up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, whereby to make manifest the righteousness which is of himself in tolerating our sins, &c. Rom. 3. By the which righteousness it is evident that St. Paul meaneth the righteousness of faith, which Almighty God now revealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the Gospel. Wilt thou see yet more plainly this righteousness of God, how it is taken in St. Paul, for the righteousness of faith, and therefore is called the righteousness of God, because it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deserved of man? In the same Epistle to the Romans and in the third Chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: The righteousness of God (saith he) is by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all that do believe, &c.

The righteousness of the Gospel.
Rom. 9.

The places of St. Paul expounded.
Rom. 3.

The righteousness of faith, why it is called Gods righteousness.

Rom. 3.

A lesson out of St. Pauls Doctrine, of all Christians to be observed.

Rom. 9.

Acts 10.
Salvation cometh only by faith.
Mat. 16.

Luke 19.

Luke 7.

Luke 23.

Luke 18.
That which is lost by the law is recovered by faith.

Luke 18.

Mat. 9.

Joh. 14.

Joh. 14.

Joh. 15.

Joh. 6.

Acts 26.

Acts 10.

Mat. ult.

Joh. 14.

The Writings of St. Paul full of the name of Christ Jesus.

Wherefore whosoever studieth to be accepted with God, and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learn diligently by the Doctrine of St. Paul to make a difference and a separation, as far as from Heaven to Earth, between these two, that is, between the righteousness of works, and righteousness of faith: and in any wise beware he bring no other means for his Justification, or remission of his sins, but only faith apprehending the body or person of Christ Jesus crucified. For as there is no way into the house but by the door, so is there no coming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith. And as the mortal body, without bodily sustenance of bread and drink, cannot but perish; so the spiritual soul of man hath no other refreshing but only by faith in the body and blood of Christ, whereby to be saved. With this faith the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Jesus Christ, and received thereby righteousness. Cornelius (the first baptised Roman) so soon as he heard Peter preach Christ, received straightway the Holy Ghost. Peter himself confessed, and for his confession had the Keys of Heaven, Mat. 16. Zachæus received the person of Christ into his house, and withal received salvation both to him and his whole household, Luke 19. What a sinner was Mary, which had no less in her than seven Devils, and yet because she set her heart and affection upon that person, many sins were forgiven her? Luke 7. The right hand Thief, how far was he from all works of the Law, and yet by Faith entered he justified into Paradise the same day with Christ? Luke 23. In like manner although the poor Publican came to the Church with less holiness after the Law, yet went he home to his house more justified than the Pharisee with all his works, and all by reason of faith, Luke 18. The Parable of the Prodigal Son which was lost, yet revived again; also of the lost groat, and of the lost sheep which went astray and was found again: what do these declare, but that which is lost by the Law to be recovered by faith and grace? And how oft do we read in the Gospels? Thy faith hath saved thee, &c. Jesus seeing their belief, &c. He that believeth in me, I will raise him up in the last day, &c. Believe also in me, &c. He that believeth in me hath everlasting life, &c. Without me ye can do nothing, &c. He that is in me, &c. He that loveth me, &c. He that beareth me, &c. He that abideth in me, &c. He that receiveth me, &c. Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, &c. That they may receive remission of sins by their faith in me, &c. Acts 26. To him all the Prophets give witness, to have remission of sins, whosoever believeth in his Name, &c. Acts 10. He that believeth and is baptised, Mat. ult. He that believeth in me shall do the works that I do, and greater than these, &c.

And likewise in the writings of St. Paul, how often do we hear the name of Christ almost in every third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: In Christo Jesu, per Christum Jesum, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum &c. Qui

credunt in ipso, &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo, &c. Credentes in illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen ejus, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c. Believe (saith St. Paul to the Jaylor) in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house, &c. Acts 16.

Thus then thou seest, as the Passion of Christ is only the efficient or personal cause immediate of our salvation: so is Faith only the instrumental or mean cause that maketh the merits of Christ to us available. For as the passion of Christ serveth to none but such as do believe; so neither doth faith (as it is only a bare quality or action in mans mind) it self justify, unless it be directed to the body of Christ crucified as to his object, of whom it receiveth all his virtue. And therefore these two must always jointly concur together, faith, and Christ Jesus crucified. As for example, when the Children of Israel were bid of Moses to look up to the brazen Serpent; neither could the Serpent have helped them, except they had looked up, nor yet their looking upward have profited them, unless they had directed their eyes upon the said Serpent, as the only object set up to the same purpose for them to behold. So our Faith in like case directed to the body of Jesus our Savior, is the only means whereby Christs merits are applied unto us, and we now justified before God, according to the Doctrine of St. Paul (who in express words defining to us what this faith is, and how it justifieth) faith: If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe with thy heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saved, &c. Rom. 10. Besides this, what action or quality soever is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and believing, be it never so true, except it apprehend this object (which is) the body of Christ the Son of God, it serveth not to justification. And that is the cause why we add this particle (only) to faith, and say that only faith in Christ justifieth us, to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or works of man, from the cause of justifying; for so much as there is no other knowledge nor gift given of God to Man, be it never so excellent, that can stand before the judgment of God unto justification, or whereunto any promise of salvation is annexed; but only this faith looking up to the Brazen Serpent, that is, to the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified.

As for Example, when the Turk faith, that he believeth in one living God that made Heaven and Earth, his belief therein is true, yet it justifieth him not, because it lacketh the right object, which is Christ. So when the Jew faith, that he believeth in one God maker of Heaven and Earth, and believeth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, just, and true of promise, and that he hath elected the seed of Abraham: true it is that he believeth, and yet all this serveth him not, because Christ the Son of God is not joyned withal. And though the said Jew should be never so devout in his prayers, or charitable in almes, or precise in keeping the Law, and believe never so steadfastly that he is elect to be saved; yet he is never the nearer to salvation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded upon the head corner stone, which is the person and body of Jesus Christ the true Savior. After like sort it may be said of the Papist, when he faith, that he is baptised, and believeth in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, and one God, and also confesseth Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, which died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness, &c. his belief therein is true, and indeed would save him, if he did stay his salvation in this faith, and upon Christ his Savior only, according to the promise and grace of God, and go no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ only to be his perfect Savior without the help of the Patrons, Heads, Advocates, and Mediators, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ only to be the means of his justification, but setteth up other by-means, as Hope, Charity, Sacrifice of the Mass, Confession, Penance, Satisfaction, Merits and Pardons, supposing thereby to work his justification before God, contrary to the word of promise, to the Gospel of Grace, and to the Doctrine of Saint Paul, whereof we shall see more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

And thus much of the true causes of our Justification after the Doctrine of Saint Paul. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the original causes of our salvation, which be divers

Belief only in Christ saveth. Acts 16.

The personal cause of Salvation. The instrumental cause.

How faith justifieth. Christ the only object of faith which justifieth. Example of the brazen Serpent.

What faith is by St. Paul. Rom. 10.

Faith only.

Divers sorts of believing. The Turks faith.

The Jews faith.

Every truth may be believed, but the believing of every truth saveth not.

The Papists faith.

Only.

Hope and Charity be no parts of our justification, nor causes to make the merits of Christ ours.

The causes of our salvation distinguished.

divers and sundry, some are external, and without us; some are internal, and within us. Of the external causes which are without us, the first and principal is the mercy and grace of God. Of this followeth Predestination and Election. Then cometh Vocation. The last and next cause to us is the death and bloodshed of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, and all these be external causes, because they are without us. Of internal causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more in Scripture appointed, that is our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in us. Besides this, there is no gift of God given to man, virtue, work, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of salvation, but only this gift of faith, to believe in Christ Jesus. And this is the cause why we hold that faith only justifieth, meaning that amongst all the works, deeds, actions, labours and operations, whatsoever man doth or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh salvation, but only his faith given to him of God to believe in Christ his Son, following therein the trade of St. Paul's teaching: who in precise words so ascribeth justification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the same Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul reasoning of the glory of justifying, asketh this question, how this glory is excluded; whether by the law of works? And concludeth no: ascribing only the glory thereof to the law of faith, and consequently upon the same he inferreth: *Colligimus enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis: We hold that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.*

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our Justification, which St. Paul utterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalf? Of which like exclusives, and negatives the whole course of St. Paul's Doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: *Sine operibus, absque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum est; secundum misericordiam; non ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur, Ephes. 2. Non ex operibus justificatio quae fecimus nos, sed secundum propositum suum & gratiam, &c. Tit. 3. Non secundum opera nostra, &c. Tim. 1. That is to say, It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man should glory, &c. Not of the works of righteousness, which we have done, but of his own mercy, &c. Not after our works, but after his own purpose and grace which is given to us, &c. Again, Gal. 2. Non justificatur homo ex operibus, &c. That is, A man is not justified by works, &c. Item, Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, fides imputatur ad justiciam, &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for righteousness, &c. By these exclusives and negatives in St. Paul's Doctrine, what doth he else mean, but utterly to exclude all kind of mans merits, and works of the law from the office and dignity of justifying? And although he expresseth not the word, Only: yet upon his exclusives, and negatives, this exceptive must needs be inferred. For in all Logick the consequence is necessary and formal, as, One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one: Ergo one man only is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ, proved to be the only mean, or instrumental, or conditional cause of our salvation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of St. Paul taught to the ancient Romans.*

5. The fifth branch, which I note in Saint Paul's Doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established us in certainty of our salvation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth us vehemently and with all instance to good works, shewing the true use and end to good works: which is, First, to shew our obedience and dutiful service (as we may) unto God, who hath done so great things for us. Secondly, to relieve our neighbours with our charity and kindness, as God hath been kind to us his enemies. Thirdly, to stir up others by our example to praise God, to embrace the same Religion, and to do the like. For requisite it is, that as God hath been so merciful to us and gracious in eternal gifts, we should be merciful likewise to other in temporal commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him of his fatherly goodness (of our parts so little deserved) to call us to so high a vocation, to give the blood of his Son for us, to forgive us all our sins, to deliver us from this present wicked world, to make us Citizens of Heaven, yea his Children, more than Servants: little then can we do, and well may we think

those benefits ill bestowed, if we forgive not our neighbours, and shew not something again worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called us, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heavenly things: and finally, if we being provoked with such love and kindness, render not again some love for love, some kindness for kindness, seeking how to walk in the steps which he hath prepared for us to walk in, serving him (so much as we may) in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. And though our obedience shall always be imperfect, do the best we can: yet reason would that some obedience we should shew, as loving Children to such a loving father.

And this is the cause why St. Paul is so vehement and urgent to call upon good works, not that works should justify, but that we being justified so mercifully and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vain, but endeavour our selves to our uttermost to render our service again to him, in such conversation of life as may most make to his glory, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our Saviour seem in some places to attribute to our obedience and charity here in earth, great rewards in heaven, that is of his own free grace and goodness so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for us to claim any meed thereby or thank at his hand, as by any worthiness of our doings: no more than the servant can, who when he cometh from the Plough and serving the Cattel in the field, serveth first his Master at home and waiteth upon his Table: the Master is not bound (saith Christ) to thank his Servant therefore, and bid him sit down: So you (saith he) when you have done that is commanded you, say ye are unprofitable servants; ye have done but what your bound duty was to do, Luke. 17.

Again, here also is to be understood, that where such rewards be ascribed unto mens deeds, it is not for the worthiness of the deed it self, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the work to be good in Gods sight: for else if an Infidel should do the same work that the Christian doth, it were nothing but meer sin before God. In that therefore the Christian mans work is accepted be it never so small (as to give a Cup of cold water) the same is only for his faith sake that doth it, and not for the work which is done. Whereby again we may learn how faith only doth justify a man, and that three manner of ways.

First, it justifieth the person in making him accepted, and the Child of God by regeneration, before he begin to do any good work.

Secondly, it justifieth a man from sin, in procuring remission and forgiveness of the same.

Thirdly, it justifieth the good deeds and works of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office therefore of faith and works is divers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and justifieth him in the sight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and making his good deeds acceptable to God, climbing up to Heaven, and there wrestling with God and his judgment for righteousness, for salvation, and for everlasting life. Works and Charity follow faith, and are exercised here upon the earth, and glory only before Man, but not before God, in shewing forth obedience both to God and to Man. Further than this our good works do not reach, nor have any thing to do in the judgment of God touching salvation. I speak of our good works (as St. Paul speaketh, Rom. 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For else if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh; that is, if we could perfect them; then as it is said: *Qui fecerit ea, vivet in eis.* But now seeing the imbecillity of our flesh cannot attain thereto, it followeth thereof that all glory of justifying is taken from works, and transferred only to faith.

And thus much concerning the principal contents of St. Paul's Doctrine: wherein the Church of the ancient Romans was first grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitive state of the Church. Likewise the same form of Doctrine the later Romans also that followed should have maintained, and not have fallen away for any mans preaching;

Good works justify not but follow the justified.

Luke 17

Faith justifieth three manner of ways.

The office of faith, and the office of the Law compared together.

The works of man be imperfect, and therefore have nothing to do with justification.

Grace and mercy. Election. Vocation. Christ's passion.

Christian faith.

The meaning and cause why faith only justifieth.

All works of man excluded from the glory of justifying.

Ephes. 2.

Titus 3. 2 Tim. 1.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 4.

The exclusives and negatives of St. Paul's Doctrine be marked.

The fifth branch.

The true use and end of good works.

Gal. 1.

Defection
of Faith in
the Church
of Rome.A view of
the Popes
Catholick
Church.

Theff. 2.

The Church
of Rome de-
generated
again almost
to new Pa-
ganism.The Popes
Church only
in words
Catholick,
in deed hea-
thenish.The Religi-
on of the
Popes
Church pro-
ceedeth con-
trary to the
working of
the Holy
Ghost.The Church
of Rome
pretendeth
a fair face
of religion,
but is void
of the effect
thereof.

but hold him accursed, yea if he were an Apostle or Angel from Heaven, teaching any other Doctrine besides that institution which they have received, Gal. 1. for so were they warned before by the Apostle St. Paul to do. And yet notwithstanding all this forewarning and diligent instruction of this blessed Apostle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, especially among the Romans, whereof the said Apostle also foretold them so long before, fore-prophecyng: *That the day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of sin should be revealed, the proud adversary of God, &c. Theff. 2.* meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the Holy Ghost had then planted by his Ministry among the Gentiles, as we see it now come to pass in the Church of Rome. Which Church is so gone from the faith that St. Paul taught, that if he were now alive, and saw these Decrees and Decretals of the Bishop of Rome, these heaps of ceremonies and traditions, these Mass-books, these Portefes, these Festivals and Legends, these Processionals, Hymns, and Sequences, these Beads and Graduals, and the manner of their Invocation, their Canons, Censures, and later Councils, such swarms of superstitious Monks and Friars, such Sects, and so many divers Religions, the testament of St. Francis, the rule of St. Benedict, of St. Bridget, of St. Anthony, &c. the intricate subtilties and labyrinths of the Schoolmen, the infinite cases and distinctions of the Canonists, the Sermons in Churches, the assertions in Schools, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the Clergy, the cruelty of persecuting Prelats with their Officials and Promoters: he would say this were not a defection, but rather a plain destruction, and a ruine of faith; neither that this were any true Church of Christ, but a new found Religion, or Paganisme rather, brought in under the shadow of Christianity, wherein remaineth almost nothing else but the name only of Christ, and the outward form of his Religion, the true vein and effect whereof is utterly decayed; as to them which list to examine all the parts of this new Romanish Religion may soon appear.

For save only that they pretend the solemn form and words of the Creed, and are baptised, confessing the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: as touching all other points and true sincerity of the Christian Faith, which they outwardly profess, they are utterly degenerated from that which St. Paul and the Word of God first had taught them.

First, they confess the Father in Word, but his Will in his Word expressed they renounce; his grace they acknowledge not, his benefits and promises given unto us in his Son they receive not, the vigor of his Law they feel not, the terror of his judgments earnestly they fear not, his commandments they observe by traditions and commandments of their own.

Likewise the name of Christ his Son in word they confess, but his office in deed they deface and diminish; his glory they seek not, but under his name they do seek their own; the power of his blood and passion they know not, or else dissemble it, whom neither they admit to be the Head of his Church alone, nor Saviour alone, nor to be our only Patron and Advocate, but match him with our Lady, and other Patrons, so that every Parish almost in Christendom hath his peculiar Patron besides Christ to hold by.

In like manner they confess the name of the Holy Ghost, but God himself knoweth how far they are from the comfort, knowledge and taste of the Holy Ghost; as well may appear by their Councils, by their expounding of Scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies, by their outward worshipping and idolatrous Invocation to stocks and stones, and to dead creatures, by their scrupulous observation of days, times, places, numbers and gestures: and no less also by their Doctrine, which defraudeth the poor hearts of simple Christians of their due consolation, joy and liberty in the Holy Ghost, and keepeth them still in a servile bondage, and a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation, contrary to the working of the Holy Spirit of God.

And thus the Church of Rome, pretending only the name of Christ and of his Religion, is so far altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that under the name of Christ, it persecuteth both Christ and his Religion: working more harm to the Church of Christ, than ever did the open Tyrants and persecuting Emperors among the Heathen: not much unlike herein to the old Synagogue of the

Scribes and Pharisees, who under the name of God crucified the Son of God, and under pretence of the Law, fought against the Gospel, and under the title of Abraham's children, persecuted the Children of Abraham. And as they bragging so highly of the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, did indeed destroy the true Temple of the Lord: right so these pretended Catholics in these days, after they have raised up a Catholick Church of their own, and have armed the same with laws, and have gathered unto them a power of Priests, Prelats, Abbots, Priors, of religious men, of Cardinals, and also of secular Princes to take their part; now under the name of the Catholick Church they persecute the true Catholick Church, and colouring their proceeding still with *In nomine Domini*, most cruelly put them to death which die *Pro nomine Domini*; condemning them for Hereticks, Schismatics, and Rebels, not which deny any part of the Creed, which they themselves profess, nor such whom they can convince by any Scripture; but only such, which will not joyn with their errors and heresies, contrary to the honour of God, and truth of his Word.

And lest any should think this, that we here protest against the corrupt errors and manifold deformities of this later church of Rome, to proceed of any rancour or affection, rather than grounded upon necessary causes, and demonstrations evident, my purpose is (by the Lords leave) to take herein some little pains, as I have collected a little before the sum and contents of St. Paul's Doctrine, wherewith the old Church of Rome was first seasoned and acquainted, so now as in a like summary table to descry the particular branches and contents of the Popes Doctrine now set forth, to the intent that all true Christian Readers, comparing the one with the other, may discern what great alteration there is between the Church of Rome that now is, and the Church of Rome that then was planted by the Apostles in the Primitive time. And to the end to open unto the simple Reader some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of Doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error; first we will propound certain principles or general positions, as infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, whereby all other Doctrines and Opinions of Men being tried and examined, as with the touchstone, may the more easily be judged whether they be true or contrary, and whether they make against the Scripture, or no.

Certain Principles, or general Verities grounded upon the truth of Gods Word.

The first Principle.

1. **A**s sin and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: so righteousness and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by Faith and Baptism, Rom. 5.

Certain general Principles and Rules gathered out of the Scriptures. Rom. 5.

The second Principle.

2. The promise of God was freely given to our first parents without their deserving; that the seed of the woman should break the serpents head, Gen. 3.

Gen. 3.

The third Principle.

3. Promise was given freely to Abraham before he deserved any thing, that in his Seed all Nations should be blessed, Gen. 12.

Gen. 12.

The fourth Principle.

4. To the Word of God neither must we add, nor take from it, Deut. 4.

Deut. 4.

The fifth Principle.

5. He that doth the works of the Law shall live therein, Levit. 18. Gal. 3.

Levit. 18. Gal. 3.

The sixth Principle.

6. Accursed is he which abideth not in every thing that is written in the Book of the Law, Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

The seventh Principle.

7. God only is to be worshipped, Deut. 6. Luke 4.

Deut. 6. Luke 4.

The eighth Principle.

8. All our righteousness is like a defiled cloth of a woman, Esay 64.

Esay 64.

The ninth Principle.

9. In all my holy hill they shall not kill nor slay, saith the Lord, Esay 11. 65.

Esay 11, 65.

The tenth Principle.

10. God loveth mercy and obedience more than sacrifice, Ose. 6. 1 Reg. 15.

Ose. 6. 1 Reg. 15.

The

The old Pharisees and the later Church of the Roman compared together.

The Popes Church under the name of the Catholick Church persecuteth the true Catholick Church of Christ.

The eleventh Principle.

11. *The Law worketh anger, condemneth and openeth*
Rom. 3. *sin*, Rom. 3.

The twelfth Principle.

12. *The end of the Law is Christ, to righteousness to eve-*
Rom. 10. *ry one that believeth*, Rom. 10.

The thirteenth Principle.

13. *Whosoever believeth and is baptised, shall be saved.*
Mat. ult. Matth. ult.

The fourteenth Principle.

14. *A man is justified by faith without works, freely by*
Gal. 2. *grace, not of our selves*, Gal. 2. Ephes. 2.

The fifteenth Principle.

15. *There is no remission of sins without blood.*
Ephes. 2. Heb. 9.

The sixteenth Principle.

16. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, Rom. 14. *Without*
Rom. 14. *faith it is impossible to please God*, Heb. 11.

The seventeenth Principle.

17. *One Mediator between God and Man, Christ Jesus,*
1 Tim. 2. *And he is the propitiation for our sins*, 1 Joh. 2.

The eighteenth Principle.

18. *Whosoever seeketh by the Law to be justified, is*
Gal. 5. *fallen from Grace*, Gal. 5.

The nineteenth Principle.

19. *In Christ be all the promises of God, Est & Amen.*
2 Cor. 1. 2 Cor. 1.

The twentieth Principle.

20. *Let every soul be subject to superior powers, giv-*
Rom. 13. *ing to Cesar that which is Cesar's, and to God that which*
is Gods, Rom. 13.

These Principles and infallible Rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny: so if they be granted, the Doctrine then of the Popes Church must needs be found not to be Catholick, but rather full of errors and heresies, as in the sequel following remaineth more expressly and particularly by the Grace of Christ to be convinced.

Here followeth a summary collection of the Errors, Heresies, and Absurdities, contained in the Popes Doctrine, contrary to the Rules of Gods Word, and the first Institution of the Church of Rome.

Of Faith and Justification.

First as touching the only means and instrumental cause of our Justification, whereby the merits of Christs Passion be applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how Saint Paul ascribeth the same only to faith; as appeareth by all his Letters, especially to the Romans. Where he excluding all kind of works, ascribeth all our salvation, justification, righteousness, reconciliation and peace with God only unto faith in Christ. Contrary to which Doctrine, the Pope and his Church hath set up divers and sundry other means of their own devising whereby the merits of Christs Passion (they say) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of sins, and for our justification, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the Mass, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of Saints, and holy Orders, the Popes Pardons, &c. So that Christs sacrifice, stripes, and suffering, by this teaching doth not heal us, nor is beneficial to us, though we believe never so well, unless we add also these works and merits above recited. Which if it be true, then it is false that *Esay* the Prophet doth promise: Chap. 53. *In his stripes we are all made whole, &c.* This error and heresie of the Church of Rome, though it seem at first sight to the natural reason of man to be but of small importance; yet if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresie that ever almost crept into the Church; upon the which, as the only foundation, all or the most part of all the errors, absurdities and inconveniences of the Popes Church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be sought by our own working and merits to apply the merits of Christs Passion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor end in setting up new means and merits of our own devising for remission of sins. Neither hath there been any heresie that either hath rebelled more

presumptuously against the high Majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath injured the souls of the simple, than this Doctrine.

First of all, it subverteth the will and testament of God. For where Almighty God of mercy hath given us his Son to die for us, and with him hath given out his full promise, that whosoever believeth upon him, should be saved by their faith, and assigneth none other condition, either of the Law, or any of works, but only of faith, to be the means between his Son and us: these men take upon them to alter this Testament that God hath set, and adjoyn other conditions, which the Lord in his Word never appointed nor knew. To whom the words of Hierom may be well applied upon the Epistle to the Galatians, speaking of such: *Qui de Evangelio Christi faciunt hominis Evangelium, vel quod pejus est, Diaboli &c.* That is, *Which make of the Gospel of Christ the gospel of Men, or rather the gospel of the Devil, &c.*

Secondly, whereas the Christian Reader in the Gospel, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his Son, might thereby take much comfort of soul, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God: there cometh in the pestiferous Doctrine of these Hereticks, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God to choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghost, and oppress Christian liberty, and bring us into spiritual bondage.

Thirdly, as in this their impious Doctrine they shew themselves manifest enemies to Gods Grace: so are they no less injurious to Christian Men, whom they leave in a doubtful distrust of Gods favour and of their salvation, contrary to the Word and Will of God, and right institution of the Apostolick Doctrine. And whereas our new Schoolmen of late, to maintain the said wicked point of Doctrine, do object unto us that we rather leave mens conscience uncertain, forso much as, if life (say they) were not a due reward, it were uncertain: and now forso much as due debt is certain, and mercy or favour is uncertain, therefore (say they) we leaving mens consciences to the mercy of God, do leave them in a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation. To this I answer, that due debt, if it be proved by the Law duly deserved, must be certain. But if the Law shall prove it imperfect, or insufficiently due, then it is not certain, neither can there be any thing duly claimed. Now as touching mercy, so long as it remaineth secret in the Princes will, and not known to his Subjects, so long it is uncertain. But when this mercy shall be openly published by Proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will and testament, established in blood, and sealed with Sacraments, then this mercy remaineth no more doubtful, but ought firmly to be believed of every true faithful subject. And therefore Saint Paul to establish our hearts in this assurance, and to answer to this doubt, in his Epistle to the Romans, doth teach us, saying: *And therefore of faith, that after Grace the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed of Abraham, &c.* Rom. 4. Meaning hereby, that works have nothing to do in this case of justifying, and noteth the reason why. For then our salvation should stand in a doubtful wavering, because in working we are never certain whether our deserts be perfect and sufficient in Gods judgment or no. And therefore (saith Saint Paul) to the intent our salvation should be out of all doubt and certain, it standeth not of works in deserving, but of faith in apprehending, and of Gods free grace in promising.

Fourthly, as in this their sinister Doctrine they break this principle of Christian Religion, which saith that a man is justified by faith without works, so again it breaketh another principle above rehearsed. For this Rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to Gods Word, nor taken from it: then have these men done wickedly in adding (as they do) to Gods Word. For where the Word of God limiteth to our justification no condition but faith: *Believe (saith he) in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and thy whole house, &c.* Acts 16. these justiciaries do add thereto divers and sundry other conditions besides, and such as the word also precisely excludeth, as Hope, Charity, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the work of the Priest, *Ex opere operato*, Auricular Confession, Satisfaction, meritorious deeds, &c. And thus much concerning the Doctrine of Faith and Justification. Whereby it may ap-

The first inconvenience

No condition limited of God to Man for salvation but one. Hierom. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. 1.

The second inconvenience. What hurt cometh into the Church by taking away the article of justification.

The third inconvenience.

Objection of the Papists answered

The Papists do teach the mercy of God to be uncertain.

Mercy of God made certain by his promise.

Salvation standeth sure and certain by Gods promise. The place of Saint Paul Rom. 4. expounded.

The fourth inconvenience

The fourth principle above recited broken.

pear to what horrible blindness and blasphemy the Church of Rome is now fallen, where this kind of Doctrine is not only suffered, but also publicly professed, which speaking against faith, thus blasphemously dare say: *Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certo statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata, seseque possessurum vitam eternam, non fides est, sed temeritas; non spiritus sancti persuasio, sed humane audacie presumptio.* That is, *That faith wherewith a man firmly believeth, and certainly assureth himself, that for Christs sake his sins be forgiven him, and that he shall possess eternal life, is not faith, but rashness; not the persuasion of the Holy Ghost, but presumption of a mans boldness.*

Ex Lindavo
in epitoma
doctrinae
evangelicae.

Of Works and the Law.

The first error of the
Papists,
touching
good works.

AS touching the Doctrine of good works, and the Law, what the teaching of Saint Paul was to the Romans, ye heard before. Who although he excludeth good works from the office of justifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practice and conversation of Christian life, but most earnestly calleth upon all faithful believers in Christ, to walk worthy their vocation, to lay down their old conversation, to give their members servants of righteousness, to offer their bodies up to God a lively sacrifice, &c. The like example of whole teaching, if the Churches now reformed do not follow, let their sermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings and lives also bear record. Who although they cannot say with Christ, *Which of you can blame me of sin?* yet they may say to the adversaries, Whosoever of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproach against us. Wherefore *Hofius*, *Pighius*, with their fellows do them open wrong, and slanderously belie them in comparing them in this behalf to *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, and other Hereticks called *Anomei*, who taking the good sentences of Saint Paul, did abuse the same to filthy licence of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

Hofius in 2.
tom. confessio-
nis, cap. 1.

But to let these slanders pass, now what the errors be of the Church of Rome touching this part of Doctrine, remaineth to be declared. Whole error first standeth in this, that they, misunderstanding the definition of good works, do call good works, not such as properly are commanded by the Law of God, but such as are agreeable to the Popes law; as building of Abbies and Churches, giving to the High Altar, founding of Trentals, finding of Chantries, gilding of Images, hearing of Masses, going on Pilgrimage, fighting for the Holy Cross, keeping of Vows, entering to Orders, fasting of Vigils, creeping to the Cross, praying to Saints, &c. All which are not only reputed for good works, but so preferred also before all other works, that to these is given pardon from the Pope, double and triplefold, more than to any other good work of Charity commanded in the Law of Almighty God.

The second error of the
Papists in
the doctrine
of good
works.

Another error also may be noted in the Papists, touching the efficient or formal cause of good works. For albeit they all confess in their Books, that *Gratia Dei gratis data* is the chief and principal cause thereof, and worketh in us *Justiciam primam* (as they call it) yet the good works after regeneration they refer to other subordinate causes, under God, as to free-will, or to *Habitum virtutis*, or *Ad integra naturalia*, and nothing at all to faith, when as faith only next under God is the root and fountain of all well doing: as in the fruits of a good tree, albeit the Planter or the Husbandman be the principal agent thereof, and some cause also may be in the good ground; yet the next and immediate cause is the root that maketh the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God in a soft and repentant mollified heart, planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good root cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but springeth forth, and maketh both the tree fruitful, and also the fruit thereof to be good, which otherwise had no acceptance nor goodness in them, were it not for the goodness of the root from whence they spring; So St. Paul, although he had certain works in him, such as they were, before his conversion: yet had he no good works before the Grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So *Mary Magdalene* the sinner, and *Zachens* the Publican. So all the Nations of the Gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and especially good fruit, when they began to be ingrafted in Christ, and to receive the root of his faith, whole fruits before that, were all damnable and unfavoury. As touching the cause therefore

Faith the
root and
cause of
good works.

Works are
not to be
called good,
but by reason
of faith.
The office
of faith to
justify.
The effect
of faith to
bring forth
good works.

of good works, there is no other in man but faith, whose office as it is to justify us in Heaven, so the nature of it is here in earth to work by love, as the root worketh by the Sap. For as a man seeth and feeleth by faith the Love and Grace of God toward him in Christ his Son: so beginneth he to love again both God and man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly springeth the running fountain of all good works and deeds of Charity.

Fides per dilectionem operans: Gal. 5.

Thirdly, as they err in the cause of good works, so do they err much more in the end of the Law, and of good works: for where S. Paul teacheth the Law to be given to this use and end: to convict our transgressions, to prove us sinners, to shew and condemn our iniquity, and to drive us to Christ: they take and apply no other end to the Law, but to make us perfect, to keep us from wrath, and to make us just before God. And likewise where St. Paul proveth all our good works to be unperfect, and utterly excludeth them from the end of justifying: they contrariwise do teach, as though the end of good works were to merit remission of sins, to satisfy unto God, to deserve Grace, to redeem souls from Purgatory, and that by them the person of the regenerate man doth please God, and is made just before God. For so they teach most wickedly and horribly, saying, that Christ suffered for original sin, or sins going before Baptism; but the actual sins, which follow after Baptism, must be done away by mens merits. And so they assign to Christ the beginning of salvation, or obtaining the first grace (as they call it) but the perfection or consummation of grace they give to works and our own strength. Neither can they in any case abide, that we be justified freely by the mercy of God through faith only apprehending the merits of Christ. Howbeit neither do all Papists in this their error agree in one. For some make distinction, and say, that we are justified by Christ *Principaliter, id est*, principally: *Et minus principaliter, id est*, less principally, by the dignity of our own deeds, contrary to the eighth principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith, but by our virtues that follow after. Some again do thus expound the saying of St. Paul, *We are justified by faith*: that is (say they) by faith, preparing us, or setting us in a good way to be justified. Others expound it by the figure *Synecdoche*, that is, by faith conjoynted together with other virtues: Others thus: *By faith*, that is, being formed with charity, &c. Thus all these do derogate from the benefit of Christ, and attribute unto works a great or the greatest part of our justification, directly against the true vein of St. Paul's Doctrine, and first institution of the ancient Church of Rome, and against all the principles of Holy Scripture.

The third error of the
Papists,
touching
the end of
the Law and
good works.

Tho. Aquinas
Hofius in 2.
tom. confessio-
nis, cap. 1.

The divers
opinions of
the catho-
lick Papists
how faith
justifieth.

The Popes
doctrine against
the principles
of Scripture

The fourth
error of the
Papists
touching the
imperfection
of man in
satisfying
the perfection
of the
Law.

Against the
principles
of Scripture

Precepts &
Counsels.

Works of
supereroga-
tion.

Mens tradi-
tions pre-
ferred be-
fore the
Works of
Gods Law.

Against the
principles
of Scripture

Furthermore, as touching the said Doctrine of the Law and good works, they err in misunderstanding the nature of the Law and works. For where S. Paul disputeth that the Law is spiritual, and requireth of us perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we being carnal, are never able to accomplish: they affirm otherwise, that the Law doth require but only outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they say) man is not only able to perform, but also to do more and greater things than the Law requireth. Whereof rise the works of Supererogation, contrary to the sixth and eighth principles above specified. Also there be (say they) among other, certain works of the Law, which pertain not to all men, but are *Consilia*, Counsels, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and these they call *Opera perfectionis*, or *Opera indebita*, adding also unto these new devices, to serve God after their own traditions besides the Word of God; as Monastical Vows, wilful poverty, difference of meats and garments, Pilgrimage to Relicks and Saints, worshipping of the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, &c. with such like; and these they call works of perfection, which they prefer before the other commanded in the Law of God. Infomuch that in comparison of these, the other necessary duties commanded and commanded by the Word of God (as to bear office in the Commonwealth, to live in the godly state of matrimony, to sustain the office of a servant in a house) are condemned, and accounted as prophane in comparison of these, contrary to the tenth principle above mentioned.

Of Sin.

Erroneous
Doctrine of
the later
Church of
Rome con-
cerning sin.

OF Sin likewise they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the Apostles, and the ancient Church of Rome, while they consider not the deepness and largeness of sin, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the strength of sin extendeth not only to these, but also comprehendeth the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge and true fear of God, the untowardness of mans mind to God-ward, the privy rebellion of the heart against the Law of God, the undelighting will of man to God and his Word. The sense of flesh St. Paul also calleth an enemy against God, and feebleth in himself, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sin.

Original sin
what it is.

As touching also original sin, wherein we are born, which is the destruction of original justice, and of Gods image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtiness against the Law of God, and never ceasing so long as man liveth) this original sin the Popes Doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the same, and holdeth that this inward concupiscence, and vicious affections not bursting out in us with consent of will, are no mortal nor damnable sin, but only *Fomes peccati*: and say moreover, that this *Concupiscencia* in us is no depravation of the higher, but only of the lower parts of man being a thing *indifferent*, and no less natural in us, than is the appetite to eat and drink, and that the same is left to remain in the Saints after Baptism, to be to them occasion of more meriting, &c.

Fomes peccati.
Concupiscencia.

Original sin
extenuated.

Of Penance or Repentance.

False doctrine of the later Church of Rome touching Penance.

OF Penance, this later *Lateran* Church of Rome of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle before) which Penance, say they, standeth of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free-will, without the Law and the Holy Ghost, *Per Actus elicitos*, through mans own action and endeavour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sin. In confession they require a full rehearsal of all sins, whereby the Priest knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sins, *Ex opere operato*, deserveth remission, contrary to the fourteenth principle before. Satisfaction they call *Opera indebita*, enjoined by the ghostly Father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away and changeth eternal punishment into temporal pains, which pains also it doth mitigate. And again, these satisfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence, &c.

Contrition.
Confession.

Satisfaction.

True Doctrine of repentance by the Scripture.
Parts of repentance.
1. Contrition.
2. Faith.
3. New obedience.

This unfavoury and Heathenish Doctrine of Penance far differeth from the true teaching of Holy Scripture: By the which teaching, repentance properly containeth these three parts, contrition, faith and new life. Contrition is called in Scripture the sorrow of heart, rising upon the consideration of sin committed, and of the anger of God provoked, which sorrow driveth a man to Christ for succour: whereupon riseth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newness of life, which we call new obedience, working fruits worthy of repentance.

Difference between the Law and the Gospel.

The blind ignorance of the Popes Church in not distinguishing the Law from the Gospel.

A Babylonish confusion in the Popes doctrine.

What difference the Popes put between Moses and Christ.

AS there is nothing more necessary and comfortable for troubled Consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference between the Law and the Gospel: so is the Church of Rome much to blame in this behalf, because it confoundeth together those two, being in nature so divers and contrary one from another; as threatnings with promises, things temporal with things eternal, sorrowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedom, &c. Teaching the people that whatsoever the Law saith, the Gospel confirmeth; and whatsoever the Gospel saith, the same is agreeable to the Law, and so make they no difference between *Moses* and *Christ*: save only that *Moses* (they say) was the giver of the old law, *Christ* is the giver of the new and a more

perfect Law. And thus imagine they the Gospel to be nothing else but a new law given by Christ, bidding to the promises thereof the condition of our doings and deservings, no otherwise than to the old law. And so divide they the whole law after this distinction, into three parts, to wit, the law of Nature, the law of *Moses*, and the law of *Christ*. And as for the Gospel (they say) it is revealed for no other cause, but to shew to the world more perfect precepts, and counsels, than were in the old law: to the fulfilling whereof they attribute justification, and so leave the poor consciences of men in perpetual doubt, and induce other manifold errors; bringing the people into a false opinion of *Christ*, as though he were not a remedy against the law, but came as another *Moses*, to give a new law to the world.

Popes make the Gospel a new law.

Popes divide the law into the law of Nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ.

The Popes Church blind in the office of Christ.

The time of the law, and time of the Gospel distinguished.

Malediction of the law, ceasing in Christ.

The use of the law remaineth. Christ and the Law cannot reign together.

Ephes. 4. The power of the Law is for a time.

The power of Christ is eternal.

Rom. 8.

Colos. 2.

The malediction of the Law giveth place to Christ.

The curse of the Law is crucified, and shall never rise again.

Rom. 7.

Rom. 6;

To be under the law, and under grace expounded.

What it is to be under grace.

Psal. 31.

Acts 10.

One remedy for remission of sins and no more.

Particular confession no remedy for remission of sins.

Remission of sins standeth upon a general cause, and not particular.

Furthermore, as they make no difference between the nature of the law, and the nature of the Gospel, confounding *Moses* and *Christ* together: so neither do they distinguish or discern the time of the law, and the time of the Gospel asunder. For where St. Paul bringeth in the law to be a Schoolmaster, and limiteth him his time unto *Christ*, and saith that *Christ is the end of the law*, that is, whereas the law ceaseth, there *Christ* beginneth, and where *Christ* beginneth there the law endeth: they contrary make the law to have no end nor ceasing, but give to it immortal life and kingdom equal with *Christ*, so that *Christ* and the Law together do reign over the soul and conscience of man. Which is untrue: For either *Christ* must give place, and the law stand; or the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law I mean) must end, and *Christ* reign. For both these, *Christ* and the law, grace and malediction cannot reign and govern together. But *Christ* the Son of God, which once died, can die no more, but must reign for ever. Wherefore the law with his strength sting and curse, must needs cease and have an end. And this is it that St. Paul speaking of the triumph of *Christ* saith, that he *Ascending up led away captivity captive*, and hath set man at liberty; not at liberty to live as flesh lusteth, neither hath freed him from the use and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, so that, *There is now no condemnation to them that be in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh*, &c. Rom. 8.

And in another place St. Paul speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, saith, that *Christ had taken the obligation written against us in decrees, and hath nailed it upon the Cross triumphing over all*, &c. So that as the Kingdom of *Christ* first began upon the Cross; even so, upon the same Cross, and at the same time the Kingdom of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was so crucified upon the Cross, that it shall never rise again, to have any power against them that be in *Christ Jesus*. For like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, and hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power over her: even so we now being espoused unto *Christ* our second husband, are discharged utterly from our first husband the law, and (as St. Paul in another place saith) *Are no more under the law*, that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, but under grace, that is, under perpetual remission of sins, committed not only before our Baptism, but as well also after Baptism, and during all our life long. For therein properly consisteth the grace of God, in not imputing sin to us, so often as the repenting sinner rising up by faith, flieth unto *Christ*, and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remission promised in him, according to the testimony both of the Psalm, *Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin*, &c. and also of all the Prophets, *Which* (as Saint Peter saith) *give record to him, that through his name, all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sins*, &c. Act. 10. Which being so, as it cannot be denied, then what need these private and extraordinary remissions to be brought into the Church by ear-confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the Popes pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the Law, and if this Law it self which was the first husband, be captived, crucified, abolished and departed, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in *Christ Jesus*, or by whom should it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and general deliverance for all men, once gotten by the Victory of *Christ* from the penalty of the Law: what needeth then any particular remission of sins at sundry times to be sought at the Priests hands, or the Popes pardons? He that hath a general pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for sin be general and perpetual, once gotten, for ever

The Law
crucified by
Christ, what
it meaneth.

to all them that be in Christ Jesus, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confession? If it be not general and perpetual, how then is it true that St. Paul saith, *The Law is crucified, and condemnation abolished*? Or how standeth redemption perpetual and general, if remission be not general? For what is redemption else, but remission of sin, or sins bought out? Or what else to kill the Law, but to discharge us from condemnation for ever? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemies hand doth him a pleasure: but he that killeth the enemy once out of the way, giveth perpetual safety. So if remission of sins by Christ were for some sins, and not for all, the Law then must needs live still. But now the killing and crucifying of the Law importeth full remission and absolute, and our safety to be perpetual. But here, percase, will be objected of some:

Objection.

Answer.

The cause of
remission e-
ver one and
perpetual.

How standeth remission of sins certain and perpetual, seeing new offences being daily committed, do daily require new remission? Hereto I answer: Albeit sins do daily grow, whereby we have need daily to desire God to *Forgive our trespasses, &c.* Yet notwithstanding the cause of our remission standeth ever one and perpetual, neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the body of Christ sacrificed once upon the Cross for all sins that either have been or shall be committed. Beside this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor mens pardons that remitteth sins.

The promise
of remission
ever perpe-
tual.

Remission
of sins free-
ly promised
without li-
mitation of
time or
number.

Furthermore, as the cause is one and ever perpetual, which worketh remission of sins unto us: so is the promise of God ever one, once made, and standeth perpetual, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the said promise of God is always sure and cannot fail, which offereth remission to all them that believe in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time soever a repenting sinner believeth, and by faith applieth to him the sacrifice of Christ, he hath by Gods own promise, remission of his sins, whether they were done before, or after Baptism.

The means
whereby re-
mission is
promised is
only faith.
The words of
promise
free and ab-
solute.

And moreover, for so much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner, by no other means nor condition, but only one, that is, by faith in Christ: therefore excluding all other means and conditions of mans working, we say, that what repenting sinner soever believeth in Christ, hath already in himself (and needeth not to seek to any Priest) perpetual assurance of remission, not for this time or that time only, but for ever and a day. For the promise faith not, He that believeth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sin no more: neither doth it say, that the Law is laid, or the sentence reprimed, but faith plainly, that the Law with her condemnation and sentence it self, is condemned and hanged up, and shall never rise again to them that be in Christ Jesus: and promisseth indeterminately, without limitation, remission of sins, *To all that*

Acts 10.

believe in his name, &c. Act. 10 And likewise in another place, the Scripture speaking absolutely, faith, *Sin shall not prevail over you*, and addeth the reason why, saying, *Because ye are not under the Law, but under*

Rom. 6.

Grace, Rom. 6. Adding this lesson withal (as followeth in the same place) Not that sinners should sin more therefore, because they are under grace, but only that weak infirmities might be relieved, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the

Mans infir-

mity impar-

eth not the

Grace of

Christ, but

augmenteth

it.

2 Cor. 12.

where Grace

superaboundeth

also.

Rom. 5.

In remission

of sins therefore,

these four things must

concur together:

first the cause that worketh

(which is the sa-

crifice of Christs body),

secondly, the promise that offereth,

thirdly, faith that apprehendeth,

fourthly, the repenting sin-

ner that receiveth. And although

sins daily do grow, which

daily provoke us to crave remission:

yet as touching the

cause that worketh remission of

our daily sins, and

the means which apprehend and

apply the said cause

unto us, they remain always one

and perpetual: besides

which no other cause nor means

is to be sought of man.

So that to them that be

repenting sinners, and be in

Christ

Jesus, there is no law to condemn them, though they have deserved condemnation: but they are under a perpetual Kingdom, and a Heaven full of Grace, and remission to cover their sins, and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first, which seek any other cause of remission, than only the blood of our Saviour: secondly, which assign any other means to apply the bloodshedding of Christ unto us, besides only faith: thirdly and especially, which so limit and restrain the eternal privilege of Christs passion, as though it served but only for sins done without and before faith, and that the rest after Baptism committed, must be done away by confession, pardons, and satisfactory deeds. And all this riseth because the true nature of the Law and the Gospel is not known, nor the difference rightly considered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither again do they make any distinction between the malediction of the Law and use of the Law. And therefore whensoever they hear us speak of the Law (meaning the malediction of the Law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander us, as though we spake against the good exercises of the Law, and give liberty of flesh to carnal men to live as they list. Whereof more shall be said (by the Lords grace) as place and time shall hereafter require.

Of Free-will.

Concerning Free-will, as it may peradventure in some case be admitted, that men without Grace may do some outward functions of the Law, and keep some outward observances or traditions: so as touching things spiritual and appertaining to salvation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent, that he can perform nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who, after he be regenerated by Grace, may work and do well, but yet in such sort that still remaineth, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetual repugnance between the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original Church of the ancient Romans first instructed. From whom see now how far this later Church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may perform the obedience of the Law, and prepare themselves to grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and of congruity obtain grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly perform the full obedience of the Law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requireth, and so those works of condignity, deserve everlasting life. As for the infirmity which still remaineth in nature, that they nothing regard nor once speak of.

Of Invocation and Adoration.

Over and besides these uncatholick and almost unchristian absurdities and defections from the Apostolical faith above specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should; but to dead men, saying: that Saints are to be called upon, *Tanquam mediatore intercessionis*, As Mediators of intercession: *Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis*. And Christ as the Mediator of salvation: And affirm moreover, that Christ was a continual mediator only in time of his passion. Which is repugnant to the words of St. Paul, writing to the old Romans, chap. 8. where he speaking of the intercession of Christ: *Which is (saith he) on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us, &c.* And if Christ be a mediator of salvation: what needeth then any other intercession of Saints for our sutes? For salvation being once had, what can we require more? Or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saints, which is sure to be saved only by Christ? And then in their Catholick devotions, why do they teach us thus to pray to the blessed Virgin: *Salva omnes qui te glorificant*, that is, *Save all them that glorify thee, &c.* if salvation belong only to Christ? unless they study of purpose to seem contrary to themselves.

Hitherto also pertaineth the worshipping of relikes, and the false adoration of Sacraments, that is, the outward signs of the things signified, contrary to the seventh Principle before. Add to this also the prophanation of the Lords

Supper

The Pope
errors
touching
remission of
sins detest-
ed.

What in-
convenience
riseth for
lack of dis-
tinction be-
tween the
law and
the Gospel.

Erroneous
doctrine of
the Papists
concerning
free-will.

Meritum de
congruo.

Meritum de
condigno.

False doc-
trine concern-
ing Invo-
cation.

Mediator of
intercession.

Mediator of
salvation.

Christ a con-
tinual medi-
ator by the
doctrine of
St. Paul.

Rom. 8.

Christ only
being our
mediator of
salvation,

what need-
eth any
other medi-
ation of
Saints.

Salvation
falsely attri-
buted to
the blessed
Virgin.

Idolatrous
adoration
of relikes
and sacra-
ments.

Prophanation of the Lords Supper. False merit by Masses.

Supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the Communion ministered, in setting it to sale for money, and falsely perswading both themselves and others, that the Priest doth merit both to himself that faith, and to him that heareth, *Ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis*, &c. that is, *Only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him.*

Of Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lords Supper.

False Doctrine touching Sacraments. The number

AS touching Sacraments, their Doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

Cause final.

1. First, They err falsely in the number. For where the Institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth Principle above prefixed) have added to the Prescription of the Lords Word, five other Sacraments.

The operation.

2. Secondly, In the cause final they err. For where the Word hath ordained those Sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions of spiritual things: they contrariwise do teach that the Sacraments do not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual without faith, *Ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis*, &c. As is to be found in *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Catharinus*, and others more.

The application of Sacraments.

3. Thirdly, In the operation and effect of the Sacraments they fail, where they contrary to the mind of the Scriptures do say, that they give Grace, and not only do signify, but also contain and exhibit that which they signify, to wit, Grace and Salvation.

Errors and abuses of Baptism.

4. Fourthly, They err also in Application, applying their Sacraments both to the quick and the dead, to them also that be absent, to remission of sins, and releasing of pain, &c.

Baptizing of Bells.

In the Sacrament of Baptism they are to be reprov'd, not only for adding to the simple words of Christs Institution divers other new-found Rites and Phantasies of men: but also where the use of the old Church of *Rome* was only to baptize men; they baptize also Bells, and apply the words of Baptism to water, fire, candels, stocks and stones, &c.

False Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning the Lords Supper. Idolatry committed to the Sacrament.

But especially in the Supper of the Lord their Doctrine most filthily swerveth from the right mind of the Scripture, all order, reason and fashion; most worthy to be exploded out of all Christian Churches. Touching the which Sacrament, the first Error is their Idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking and kneeling unto it, in reserving also and carrying the same about in pomp and procession in Towns and Fields. Secondly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving there no substance of Bread and Wine to remain, but only the real Body and Blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called Bread his Body, therefore say they, he made it his Body, and so of a wholesome Sacrament, make a perilous Idol: and that which the old Church of *Rome* did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of meer accidents to blear the peoples eyes, making them believe they see that they see not: and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their Maker, a Creature for their Creator: and that which was threshed out of a wheaten Sheaf, they set up in the Church, and worship for a Saviour: and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father: and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pit, where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by Scriptures, that the Body of Christ can never corrupt and putrifie: yet for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them which believe not that which is against true Christian belief.

The Sacrament turned to an Idol.

Thirdly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving there no substance of Bread and Wine to remain, but only the real Body and Blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called Bread his Body, therefore say they, he made it his Body, and so of a wholesome Sacrament, make a perilous Idol: and that which the old Church of *Rome* did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of meer accidents to blear the peoples eyes, making them believe they see that they see not: and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their Maker, a Creature for their Creator: and that which was threshed out of a wheaten Sheaf, they set up in the Church, and worship for a Saviour: and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father: and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pit, where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by Scriptures, that the Body of Christ can never corrupt and putrifie: yet for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them which believe not that which is against true Christian belief.

Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar.

Of Matrimony.

Aburdities and Errors of the Popes Church touching Matrimony.

WHat order and rule Saint *Paul* hath set for marriage in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* it is manifest: where, as he preferreth single life in such as have the gift of Continenace, before the married estate: so again, in such as have not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing every such one to have his wife: *Because of Fornication*. Furthermore, how the said Apostle alloweth a Bishop to be the Husband of

one wife (so he exceed not to the manner of the *Jews*, which were permitted to have many) and how vehemently he reproveth them that restrain marriage, his Letters to *Timothy* do record. Moreover, what degrees be permitted by the Law of God to marry, in the Book of *Leviticus* is to be seen, Chapter eighteen. Also how Children ought not to marry without consent of their Parents by manifest Examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Contrary to these Ordinances of the Scripture; the new Catholicks of the Popes Church, first do repute and call marriage a state of Imperfection, and prefer single life, be it never so impure, before married Matrimony. Furthermore, as good as the third part of Christendom, if it be no more, both Men and Women, they keep through co-acted Vows from marriage, having no respect whether they have the gift or no. Ministers and Priests such as are found to have wives, not only they remove out of place, but also pronounce Sentence of death upon them, and account their Children for Bastards and illegitimate: Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Degrees of Copulation forbidden they extend further than ever did the Law of God, even to the fifth or sixth degree. Which degree notwithstanding they release again when they list for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new-found Prohibition of spiritual Kindred, that is, that such as have been Gossips, or Godfathers and Godmothers together in Christening another mans Child, must not by their Law marry together. Briefly and finally in this Doctrine and Cases of Matrimony, they gain and rake to themselves much money from the people, they augment horrible Sodomitry, they nourish wicked Adultery and much Fornication, they fill the world with Offensions and Bastards, and give great occasion of murdering Infants.

Single life, be it never so impure, preferred before Matrimony. The third part of Christendom kept by the Popes Law to marry. The Popes Doctrine against Priests marriage, and their Children. The third part of the year exempted from marriage. Marriage within the fifth or sixth degree, by the Popes Law. Gossips inhibited to marry by the Popes Law. What inconveniences come by restraining of marriage.

Of Magistrates and civil Government.

YE heard before what Rules and Lessons Saint *Paul* gave to the old *Romans* concerning Magistrates, to whose Authority he would have all humane Creatures to be subjected, and how they are the Ministers of God, having the Sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false Doctrine and Idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right, *Rom. 13*. Now let us survey a little the Popes proceedings, and mark how far he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points almost from true Christianity.

The corrupt Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning civil Rulers and Magistrates. *Rom. 13*

1. First, The Pope with all his Clergy exempt themselves from all Obedience civil.
2. They arrogate to themselves Authority to Ordain and Constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary Magistrate.
3. Yea they take upon them to depose and set up Rulers and Magistrates, whom they list.

Of Purgatory.

THE Paradoxes, or rather the Fantasies of the later Church of *Rome* concerning Purgatory, be monstrous, neither old nor Apostolical.

The Fantasies and anticks of the Popes Church concerning Purgatory.

1. First (say they) There is a Purgatory, where Souls do burn in fire after this life.
2. The pain of Purgatory differeth nothing from the pains of Hell, but only that it hath an end; the pains of Hell have none.
3. The painful suffering of this fire fretteth and scowreth away the sins before committed in the body.
4. The time in these pains endureth in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.
5. After which time of their pains being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to Heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.
6. The pains of Purgatory be so great, that if all the Beggars of the World were seen on the one side, and but one Soul of Purgatory on the other side, the whole World would pity more that one, than all the others.
7. The whole time of punishment in this Purgatory must continue so long, till the fire have clean fretted and scowred away the rusty spots of every sinful Soul there burning, unless there come some release.

Ex Thom. Mors & alius.

8. Helps and releases that may shorten the time of their Purgation, by the Popes Pardons and Indulgences, Sacrifice of the Altar, Dirges, and Trentals, Prayer, Fasting, meritorious Deeds out of the Treasure-House of the Church, Alms and Charitable Deeds of the living, in satisfying Gods Justice for them, &c.

9. Lack of belief of Purgatory bringeth to Hell.

Manifest
defection
of the Popes
Church
from the
old Faith of
Rome.

Many other false Errors and great Deformities, Heresies, Absurdities, Vanities, and Follies, besides their blasphemous Raylings, and Contumelies, may be noted in the said latter Church of Rome, wherein they have made manifest defection from the old Faith of Rome, as in depriving the Church of one kind of the Sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods Word, in praying and speaking to the people, and administering Sacraments in a Tongue unknown, in mistaking the Authority of the Keys, in their unwritten Verities, in making the Authority of the Scripture insufficient, in untrue judgment of the Church, and the wrong Notes of the same in the Supremacy of the See of Rome, in their wrong Opinions of Antichrist.

Contrariety
between the
Religion of
Christ and
of the Pope
briefly no-
ted.
Christ Do-
ctrine is
wholly
spiritual.

But because these, with all other parts of Doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other Books both in Latin and English, set forth in these our days: I shall not need further herein to travel, especially seeing the contrariety between the Popes Church and the Church of Christ, between the Doctrine of the one, and the Doctrine of the other, is so evident, that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no hands almost that feeleth it not.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, that which may suffice for all) whereas the Doctrine of Christ is altogether Spiritual, consisting wholly in Spirit and Verity, and requireth no outward thing to make a true Christian man but only Baptism (which is the outward profession of Faith) and receiving the Lords Supper: Let us now examine the whole Religion of this latter Church of Rome, and we shall find it, from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremonial Exercises; as outward Confession, Absolution at the Priests hand, outward Sacrifice of the Mass, buying of Pardons, purchasing of Obits, externe worshipping of Images and Reliques, Pilgrimage to this place or that, building of Churches, founding of Monasteries, outward Works of the Law, outward Gestures, Garments, Colours, choice of Meats, difference of Times and Places, peculiar Rites and Observances, set Pray-

No outward
thing is re-
quired in
Christ Do-
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make a
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man, but
only Bap-
tism and
the Lords
Supper.

ers, and number of Prayers prescribed, fasting of Vigils, keeping of Holidays, coming to Church, hearing of Service, extem succession of Bishops, and of Peters See, extem Form and Notes of the Church, &c. So that by this Religion to make a true Christian and a good Catholic, there is no working of the Holy Ghost almost required. As for example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let us here define a Christian-man after the Popes making: whereby we may see the better what is to be judged of the Scope of his Doctrine.

All doctrine
of the Popes
standeth
only in out-
ward things

A Christian man after the Popes making defined.

After the Popes Catholick Religion, a true Christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptized in the Latin-Tongue (where the Godfathers profess they cannot tell what) then confirmed by the Bishop: the Mother of the Child to be purified; after he be grown in years, then to come to the Church, to keep his Fasting-days, to fast the Lent, to come under Benedicite; that is, to be confessed of the Priest, to do his Penance, at Easter to take his Rites, to hear Mass and Divine Service, to set up Candles before Images, to creep to the Cross, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on procession, to carry his Palms and Candle, and to take Ashes, to fast the Ember-days, Rogation-days, and Vigils, to keep the Holidays, to pay his Tythes and Offering-days, to go on Pilgrimage, to buy Pardons, to worship his Maker over the Priestis head, to receive the Pope for his Supream Head, and to obey his Laws, to receive Saint Nicholas Clerkes, to have his Beads, and to give to the high Altar, to take Orders if he will be a Priest, to say his Mattens, to sing his Mass, to lift up fair, to keep his vow, and not to marry, when he is sick to be aneiled and take the Rites of the Holy Church, to be buried in the Church-yard, to be rung for, to be sung for, to be buried in a Fryers Coole, to find a Soul-Priest, &c.

A Christian
man defined
after the
Popes Do-
ctrine.

All which Points being observed, who can deny but this is a devout man, and a perfect Christian Catholick, and sure to be saved, as a true faithful Child of the holy Mother-Church?

Corporal
exercise
serveth to
small profit

Now look upon this definition, and tell me (good Reader) what Faith or Spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost in all this Doctrine is to be required. The Grace of our Lord Jesus give the true light of his Gospel to shine in our Hearts. Amen.

Ὁν τῆς Χρῆστος

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Acts and Monuments, CONTAINING

The three hundred Years next after CHRIST, with the
Ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church.

THese things before premised, having thus hitherto prepared the way unto our story, let us now (by the grace and speed of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter: that as we have heretofore set forth in a general description the whole state as well of the primitive as of the later times of this Church of *Rome*: so now consequently we may discourse in particular fort the acts and doings of every age, by it self, in such order as is before prefixed.

1. First, To declare of the suffering time of the Church, which containeth about the time of three hundred years after Christ.
2. Secondly, The flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred years.
3. Thirdly, The declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, other three hundred years.
4. Fourthly, Of the time of *Antichrist*, reigning and raging in the Church, since the loosing of Satan.
5. Lastly, Of the reforming time of Christs Church, in these later three hundred years.

In the tractation of all which things our chief purpose and endeavour shall be (so near as the Lord will give us Grace) not so much to intermeddle with outward Affairs of Princes, or matters civil (except sometime for example of life) as specially minding (by the help of the Lord) to prosecute such things which to the Ecclesiastical state of the Church are appertaining: as first to intreat of the stablishing of Christian Faith, then of the Persecutions of Tyrants, the Constancy and Patience of Gods Saints, the first Conversion of Christian Realms to the Faith of Christ, namely, of this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*: first beginning with King *Lucius*, and so forward following the order of our *English* Kings here in this Land, to declare the Maintenance of true Doctrine, the false practise of Prelates, the creeping in of Superstition and Hypocrisie, the manifold Assaults, Wars and Tumults of the Princes of this World against the people of God. Wherein may appear the wonderful Operation of Christs mighty Hand, ever working in his Church, and never ceasing to defend the same against his Enemies, according to the verity of his own Word, promising to be with his Church while the World shall stand, so as by the process of this story may well be proved, and will be testified in the Sequel thereof.

In the tractation of all which things two special Points I chiefly commend to the Reader, as most requisite and necessary for every Christian man to observe and to note for his own experience and profit; as first the disposition and nature of this World; secondly, the nature and condition of the Kingdom of Christ; the vanity of the one, and stablishment of the other; the unprosperous and unquiet state of the one, ruled by mans Violence and Wisdom, and the happy success of the other ever ruled by Gods Blessing and Providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and his mercy upon the other. The World I

call all such as be without or against Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by Heathenish life not following him, or by violence resisting him. On the other side, the Kingdom of Christ in this World, I take to be all them which belong to the Faith of Christ, and here take his part in this world against the world: the number of whom although it be much smaller than the other, and always lightly is hated and molested of the World, yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarly doth bless and prosper, and ever will. And this number of Christs Subjects is it, which we call the visible Church here in Earth. Which visible Church, having in it self a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be divided in two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward Profession only, the other which by Election inwardly are joyned to Christ: the first in words and lips seem to honour Christ, and are in the visible Church only, but not in the Church invisible, and partake the outward Sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other are both in the visible and also in the invisible Church of Christ, which not in words only and outward profession, but also in heart do truly serve and honour Christ, partaking not only the Sacraments, but also the heavenly Blessings and Grace of Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the World and the Kingdom of Christ there is a continual repugnance: so between these two parts of this visible Church afore said oft times groweth great Variance and mortal Persecution, insomuch that sometime the true Church of Christ hath no greater Enemies, than of their own Profession and Company, as happened not only in the time of Christ and his Apostles, but also from time to time almost continually; *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.* but especially in these later days of the Church under the Persecution of *Antichrist* and his Retinue, as by the reading of this Volume more manifestly hereafter may appear.

At the first Preaching of Christ, and coming of the Gospel, who should rather have known and received him, than the *Pharisees* and *Scribes* of that people, which had his Law? And yet who persecuted and rejected him more than they themselves? What followed? They in refusing Christ to be their King, and chooling rather to be subject unto *Cæsar*, were by the said their own *Cæsar* at length destroyed; when as Christs Subjects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the Gospel of God, when it is so gently offered.

The like example of Gods wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the *Romans* also themselves. For when *Tiberius Cæsar*, having received by Letters from *Pontius Pilate* of the doings of Christ, of his Miracles, Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himself also moved with belief of the same, and did confer thereof with the whole Senate of *Rome*, to have Christ adored as God: they not agreeing thereunto refused him, because that contrary to the Law of the *Romans* he was consecrated (said they) for God before the

The Kingdom of Christ in this world. The visible Church. The Church of Christ divided in two sorts of people.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Gods punishment for refusing the Gospel.

Tiberius Cæsar moved the Senate to have Christ received. Christ refused of the Senate of *Rome*. The vain cause why the Senate of *Rome* refused Christ.

Two things in this history chiefly to be noted.

The world.

Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 3.

The Senate and City of Rome plagued for refusing of Christ.

Ex Suet. in vita Tiberii.

Christ suffered again.

Anno 34.

Saint Paul converted.

Anno 35.

Anno 39.

Caesar Caligula.

Caligula commanded his Image to be set up in the Temple of Hierusalem.

The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

Herod miserably died in banishment. Caiaphas deposed.

Anno 43.

Ex Gosfrid. Viterbiensi. part. 15.

the Senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him, &c. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.* Thus the vain Senate following rather the Law of man, than of God, and which were contented with the Emperor to Reign over them, and were not contented with the meek King of Glory, the Son of God to be their King; were after much like sort to the Jews scourged and intrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the Emperor, and rejected Christ: so the just permission of God did stir up their own Emperors against them in such sort, that both the Senators themselves were almost all devoured, and the whole City most horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred years together. For first the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his Reign was a moderate and a tolerable Prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy Tyrant, who neither favoured his own Mother, nor spared his own Nephews, nor the Princes of the City, such as were his own Counsellors, of whom to the number of twenty he left not past two or three alive, and so cruel was he to the City, that as the story recordeth, *Nullus a pœna hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer.* *Suetonius* reporteth him to be so stern of nature, and tyrannical, that in time of his Reign, very many were accused, and condemned with their Wives and Children, Maids also first deflowered, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty persons to be drawn to the place of Execution. By whom also, through the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the Town of Lions, and at length did slay himself. Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long escape, of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa also by him was cast into Prison, albeit afterward he was restored. In the Reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus the Son of God, in the four and thirtieth year of his Age, which was the seventeenth of this Emperor, by the malice of the Jews suffered his blessed Passion for the conquering of sin, death, and Satan the Prince of this World, and rose again the third day. After whose blessed Passion and Resurrection, this foresaid Tiberius Nero (otherwise called Biberius Nero) lived six years, during which time no Persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the Christians, through the Commandment of the Emperor.

In the Reign also of this Emperor, and the year which was the next after the Passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more, Saint Paul was converted to the Faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned three and twenty years, succeeded C. Caesar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which three were likewise such Scourges to the Senate and people of Rome, that the first not only took other mens Wives violently from them, but also deflowered three of his own Sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and Temples to be erected in his Name, and used to sit in the Temple among the gods, requiring his Images to be set up in all Temples, and also in the Temple at Hierusalem; which caused great disturbance among the Jews, and then began the Abomination of Desolation to be set up in the holy place, spoken of in the Gospel. His cruel condition, or else displeasure was such towards the Romans, that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one Neck, that he at his pleasure might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod the Murderer of John Baptist, and Condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual Banishment, where he died miserably. Caiaphas also, which wickedly sate upon Christ, was the same time removed from the High Priests room, and Jonathan set in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula incensed against the Romans had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a Tribune and other Gentlemen, which slew him in the fourth year of his Reign. After whose death were found in his Closet two little Libels, one called a Sword, the other the Dagger: in the which Libels were contained the Names of those Senators and Noblemen of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this Sword and Dagger, there was found also a Coffer, wherein divers kinds of Poison were kept in Glasses and Vessels, for the purpose, to destroy a wonderful number of people, which Poisons, afterward being thrown into the Sea, destroyed a great number of Fish. *Gosfrid. Viterb.*

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the same did the other Two which came after, bring to pass; Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but especially the third of these Neros, called Domitius Nero, which succeeding after Claudius, reigned fourteen years, with such fury and tyranny, that he slew the most part of the Senators, and destroyed the whole Order of Knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a Monster of nature was he, more like a Beast, yea rather a Devil than a man, that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous Uncleanliness, that he abstained not from his own Mother, his natural Sister, nor from any degree of Kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his Mother, his Brother in Law, his Sister, his Wife great with child, all his Instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own Kindred and Consanguinity. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it six days and seven nights in burning, while that he to see the example how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the Infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christian-men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable Emperor in his Reign fourteen years, till at last the Senate proclaiming him a publick Enemy unto Mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death. For the fear whereof, he flying the hands of his Enemies, in the night fled to a Manor of his Servants in the Countrey, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither Friend nor Enemy left that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the Testimony and Faith of Christ. Anno 69.

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the just Scourge and heavy Indignation of God from time to time ever followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus the Son of God is contemned, and not received; as by these Examples may appear, both of Romans which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their own Emperors, but also by Civil Wars, whereof three hapned in two years at Rome, after the death of Nero, and other Casualties (as in Sueton is testified) so that in the days of Tiberius aforesaid, five thousand Romans were hurt and slain at one time by the fall of a Theater. And also most especially by the destruction of the Jews, which about this same time in the year threecore and thirteen, and forty years after the Passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of Saint Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus and Vespasian his Father (who succeeded after Nero in the Empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides them which Vespasian slew in subduing the Countrey of Galilee, over and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other Provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of which, part he gave to be devoured of the wild Beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slain. By whose case all Nations and Realms may take example, what it is to reject the Visitation of Gods verity being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their Salvation.

And as this wrathful Vengeance of God thus hath been shewed upon this rebellious people, both of the Jews and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own Emperors: so neither the Emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their just reward. For among so many Emperors which put so many Christian Martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them escaped either not slain themselves, or by some miserable end or other worthily revenged. First, of the poisoning of Tiberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Neros after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba within seven months was slain by Otbo. And so did Otbo afterward slay himself, being overcome by Vitellus. And was not Vitellus shortly after drawn through the City of Rome, and after he was tormented was thrown into Tiber? Titus a good Emperor is thought to be poisoned of Domitian his Brother. The said Domitian, after he had been a Persecutor of the Christians, was slain in his Chamber, not without the

Claudius Nero.

Anno 56.

Domitius Nero.

The horrible wickedness and cruelty of Nero.

Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Anno 69.

Vespasian Emperor and Titus his Son. The destruction of the Jews.

A note for all Realm to mark.

The Romans for contemning Christ, punished by their own Emperors.

Examples of the just plague of God upon the Roman Emperors persecuting and resisting Christ till the time of Constantine.

Tiberius. Caligula. Claudius. Domitius. Nero. Galba. Otbo. Vitellus. Titus.

con- Domitian.

Commodus.
Pertinax.
Julianus.
Severus.
Geta.
Bassianus.
Macrinus.
Diadumenus.
Heliogabalus.
Alexander.
Severus.
Maximinus.
Balbinus.
Gordianus.
Philipus.
Decius.
Gallus and
Volusianus.
Aemilianus.
Valerianus.
Galerius.

consent of his Wife. Likewise *Commodus* was murdered of *Narcissus*. The like end was of *Pertinax* and *Julianus*. Moreover, after that *Severus* was slain here in *England* (and lieth at *York*) did not his Son *Bassianus* slay his Brother *Geta*, and he after slain of *Martialis*? *Macrinus* with his Son *Diadumenus* were both slain of their own Souldiers. After whom *Heliogabalus*, that monstrous bellipanch, was of his own people slain, and drawn through the City and cast into *Tiber*. *Alexander Severus* that worthy and learned Emperor, which said he would not feed his Servants doing nothing with the bowels of the Common wealth, although in life and vertues he was much unlike other Emperors, yet proved the like end, being slain at *Mentz* with his godly Mother *Mammaea*, by *Maximinus*, whom the Emperor before of a muletor had advanced to great Dignities. The which *Maximinus* also after three years was slain himself of his Souldiers. What should I speak of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* in like sort both slain in *Rome*? Of *Gordian* slain by *Philip*: of *Philip* the first christened Emperor, slain, or rather martyred for the same cause: of wicked *Decius* drowned, and his Son slain the same time in battel; of *Gallus* and *Volusianus* his Son, Emperors after *Decius*, both slain by Conspiracy of *Aemilianus*, who rose against them both in War, and within three months after was slain himself? Next to *Aemilianus* succeeded *Valerianus* and *Galerius* his Son, of whom *Valerianus* (who was a Persecutor of the *Christians*) was taken Prisoner of the *Persians*; and there made a riding Fool of *Sapores* their King, who used him for a stool to leap upon his Horse, while his Son *Galerius* sleeping at *Rome*, either would not, or could not once proffer to revenge his Fathers Ignominy. For after the taking of *Valerian*, so many Emperors rose up as were Provinces in the *Roman* Monarchy. At length *Galerius* also was killed by *Aureolus* which warred against him. It were too long here to speak of *Aurelianus* another Persecutor, slain of his Secretary; of *Tacitus* and *Florus* his Brother, of whom the first reigned six months, and was slain at *Pontus*; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at *Tarvis*: of *Probus*, who although a good civil Emperor, yet was he destroyed by his Souldiers. After whom *Carus* the next Emperor was slain by Lightning. Next to *Carus* followed the impious and wicked Persecutor *Dioclesian*, with his Fellows *Maximian*, *Valerius*, *Maximinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*, under whom all at one time (during the time of *Dioclesian*) the greatest and most grievous Persecution was moved against the *Christians* ten years together. Of which, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* deposed themselves from the Empire. *Galerius* the chiefest Minister of the Persecution, after his terrible Persecutions, fell into a wonderful Sickness, having such a Sore risen in the nether part of his belly, which consumed his Privy-members, and so did swarm with Worms, that being curable neither by Surgery nor Physick, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the *Christians*, and so called in his Proclamations against them. Notwithstanding he not able to sustain (as some say) the stink of his Sore slew himself. *Maximinus* in his War, being tormented with pain in his guts there died. *Maxentius* was vanquished by *Constantine*, and drowned in *Tiber*. *Licinius* likewise, being overcome by the said *Constantine the Great*, was deposed from his Empire, and afterward slain of his Souldiers. But on the other side, after the time of *Constantine*, when as the Faith of Christ was received into the Imperial Seat, we read of no Emperor after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were *Julianus* or *Basilus* (which expelled one *Zeno*, and was afterward expelled himself) or *Valens*. Beside these we read of no Emperor to come to ruine and decay, as the others before mentioned. *Ex lib. hist. tripart.*

And thus have we in brief sum collected out of the *Chronicles* the unquiet and miserable state of the Emperors of *Rome*, until the time of *Christian Constantine*, with the Examples, no less terrible than manifest, of Gods severe Justice upon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the Faith and Name of Christ their Lord.

Moreover, in much like sort and condition, if leisure of time or haste of matter would suffer me a little to digress unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like Examples I could also infer of this our Country

of *England*, concerning the terrible Plagues of God against the churlish and unthankful refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up *Gildas* to Preach to the old *Britans*, and to exhort them unto Repentance and Amendment of Life, and afore to warn them of Plagues to come if they repented not. What availeth it? *Gildas* was laughed to scorn, and taken for a false Prophet, and a malicious Preacher. The *Britans* with lusty Courages, whorish Faces, and unrepentant Hearts went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their Enemies on every side and destroyed them, and gave the Land to other Nations. Not many years past, God seeing Idolatry, Superstition, Hypocritie, and wicked living ruled in this Realm, raised up that godly learned man *John Wickliffe*, to Preach unto our Fathers Repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives; to forsake their Papistry and Idolatry, their Hypocritie and Superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His Exhortations were not regarded, he with his Sermons was despised, his Books and he himself after his death were burnt. What followed? They slew their right King, and set up three wrong Kings on a row, under whom all the Noble blood was slain up, and half the Commons thereto, what in *France*, and with their own Sword in fighting among themselves for the Crown; and the Cities and Towns were decayed, and the Land brought half to a Wilderness, in respect of that it was before. O extream Plagues of Gods Vengeance! Since that time even of late years, God, once again having Pity of this Realm of *England*, raised up his Prophets; namely, *William Tindall*, *Thomas Bilney*, *John Frith*, *Doctor Barnes*, *Jerome Garret*, *Anthony Person*, with divers others, which both with their Writings and Sermons earnestly laboured to call us unto Repentance, that by this means the fierce Wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they intreated? How were their painful Labours regarded? They themselves were condemned and burnt as Hereticks, and their Books condemned and burnt as heretical. The time shall come, faith Christ, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good Service. Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this Realm worthy the name of a Plague, let the godly wise judge. If God hath deferred his Punishment, or forgiven us these our wicked Deeds, as I trust he hath, let us not therefore be proud, and high minded, but most humbly thank Him for his tender Mercies, and beware of the like ungodly Enterprises hereafter. Neither is it here any need to speak of these our lower and later times, which have been in King *Henries* and King *Edwards* days, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh and cannot be forgotten. But let this pass, of this I am sure, that God yet once again is come on Visitation to this Church of *England*, yea and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this Visitation he hath redressed many Abuses, and cleansed his Church of much Ungodliness and Superstition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the old form and state. And now how grateful Receivers we be, with what heart, study, and reverence we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that see our Fruits, or to the Sequel, which peradventure will declare it. But this by the way of digression. Now to regress again to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the Justice of God upon these *Roman* Persecutors: so now we declare their Persecutions raised up against the People and Servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years after Christ. Which Persecutions in number commonly are counted to be Ten, besides their Persecutions first moved by the *Jews* in *Hierusalem* and other places against the Apostles. In the which, first Saint *Stephen* the Deacon was put to death, with divers others more, in the same rage of time either slain or cast into Prison. At the doing whereof, *Saul*, the same time played the doughty *Pharisee*, being not yet converted to the Faith of Christ, whereof the History is plain in the *Acts of the Apostles* set forth at large by *S. Luke*.

After the Martyrdom of this blessed *Stephen*, suffered next *James* the holy Apostle of Christ, and Brother of *John*. Of which *James* mention is made in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the twelfth Chapter. Where is declared, how

Britann. Gildas.

Wickliffe and his Books condemned, and he burnt for an Heretic after his death.

John 16.

Gods benevolence towards England.

A Caveat for England.

S. Stephen the first Ringleader of all Christs martyrs.

S. James the Apostle, Brother of John.

how that not long after the stoning of Stephen, King Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the Congregation: among whom James was one, whom he slew with the Sword, &c. Of this James, Eusebius also inferreth mention, alledging Clement, thus writing a memorable story of him. This James (saith Clement) when he was brought to the Tribunal Seat, he that brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) seeing him to be condemned, and that he should suffer death: as he went to the Execution, he being moved therewith in Heart and Conscience, confessed himself also of his own accord to be a Christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive him that he had done. After that James had a little paused with himself upon the matter, turning to him; Peace (saith he) be to thee Brother, and kissed him; and both were beheaded together, in the year of our Lord thirty and six.

Hist. Eccle. lib. 2. cap. 9. ex Clementis Epistola Hypotyposin. A notable conversion of a wicked Accuser and after a Martyr.

Nicanor one of the seven Deacons, with two thousand other martyred. Ex Dorotheo in Synopsi. Simon a Deacon martyred: S. Thomas the Apostle suffered.

Dorotheus in his Book named Synopsis, testifieth, that Nicanor one of the seven Deacons, with two thousand others, which believed in Christ, suffered also the same day, when as Stephen did suffer.

The said Dorotheus witnesseth also, that Simon, another of the Deacons, Bishop afterward of Bosrum in Arabia, was there burned. Parmenas also another of the Deacons suffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes and Persians, also to the Germans, Hircanians, Bactrians, and Magies. He suffered in Calamina, a City of Juda, being slain with a Dart.

Simon Zelotes crucified.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the Country of Africk, and in Britannia; he was likewise crucified.

Thaddaeus the Apostle slain.

Judas Brother of James, called also Thaddaeus, and Lebbaeus, preached to the Edessens, and to all Mesopotamia: he was slain under Augarus, King of the Edessens in Berrito.

Simon Cananus crucified.

Simon called Cananus, which was Brother to Jude above mentioned, and to James the younger, which all were the Sons of Mary Cleophas, and of Alpheus, was Bishop of Hierusalem after James, and was crucified in a City of Egypt in the time of Trajanus the Emperor, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth, that he with his Brother Jude were both slain by a tumult of the people in Suanir a City of Persidis.

Mark the Evangelist burned.

Mark the Evangelist, and first Bishop of Alexandria, preached the Gospel in Egypt, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, under the Reign of Trajanus the Emperor.

Bartholomew the Apostle crucified and beheaded.

Bartholomew is said also to Preach to the Indians, and to have converted the Gospel of Saint Matthew into their Tongue, where he continued a great space, doing many Miracles. At last in Albania a City of greater Armenia, after divers Persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified, and after being excoiate, he was at length beheaded. John de monte regali.

Andrew the Apostle crucified for the Gospel. Ex Hieronymo in Catalogo script. Eccles. Ex Cypriano lib. de duplici martyrio, ex Bernardo serm. 2. de sancti. Andree.

Of Andrew the Apostle and Brother to Peter thus writeth Hierome in his Book De Catalogo Scriptorum Eccles. Andrew the Brother of Peter (in the time and Reign of Vespasianus, as our Ancestors have reported) did Preach in the fourscore year of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Saxons, and in a City which is called Angustia, where the Ethiopians do now inhabit. He was burned in Patris a City of Achaia, being crucified of Egeas the Governor of the Edessians. Hitherto writeth Hierome, although in the number of years he seemeth a little to mis: for Vespasianus reached not to the fourscore year after Christ. But Bernard in his second Sermon, and Saint Cyprian in his Book De duplici Martyrio, do make mention of the Confession and Martyrdom of this blessed Apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible Writers we have collected after this manner: that, When as Andrew being Conversant in a City of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent Preaching had brought many to the Faith of Christ: Egeas the Governor knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constrain as many as did believe Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the Senate, to do sacrifice unto the Idols, and so give divine honour unto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to resist the

wicked counsel, and the doings of Egeas, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him; that, It behoved him which was Judge of men, first to know his Judge which dwelleth in Heaven, and then to worship him being known, and so in worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind Idols. These words spake Andrew to the Consul.

The words of Andrew to the Council.

But he greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him, Whether he was the same Andrew that did overthrow the Temple of the gods, and perswaded men of that Superstitious Sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. Andrew did plainly affirm, That the Princes of the Romans did not understand the Truth, and that the Son of God, coming from Heaven into the World for mans sake, hath taught and declared how those Idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but also most cruel Devils, Enemies to Mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and so by the wicked service of the Devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedness, and after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds.

The fervency of Andrew against Idolatry.

But the Proconsul esteeming these things to be as vain, especially seeing the Jews (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to Teach and Preach such things any more; or if he did, that he should be fastened to the Cross with all speed.

Andrew abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened, He would not have preached the honour and glory of the Cross, if he had feared the death of the Cross. Whereupon Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew teaching and enterprizing a new Sect, and taking away the Religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. Andrew coming to the place, and seeing a far off the Cross prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecillity of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he fail in his speech, his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested, his understanding did not fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak, and fervent Charity did appear in his words as kindled sparks; he said, O Cross, most welcome and long looked for; with a willing mind joyfully and desirously I come to thee, being the Scholar of him which did hang on thee: because I have been always thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee. So being crucified, he yielded up the ghost and fell on sleep, the day before the Kalends of December.

The constant faith of Andrew to the end.

Matthew, otherwise named Levi, first of a Publican made an Apostle, wrote his Gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew Tongue, as recordeth Eusebius, lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. lib. 5. cap. 8. cap. 10. Also Irenaeus, lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo script. Ecclesiast. Concerning the doings and decrements of this blessed Apostle and Evangelist, divers things be recorded by Julius Africanus, under the pretended name of Abdias; also of Vincentius, Perionius, and others, but in such sort, as by the contents may greatly be suspected, the matter not to lack some crafty forgery, for the more establishment of later decretals, and Romish Doctrine, as touching Merits, consecration of Nuns, the superstitious prescription of Lent-fast, not only in abstaining from all flesh meats, but also from all Matrimonial Copulation between man and wife, during the said time of holy Lent. Item, the strict Prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance, before receiving of the Lords Supper. In ordaining of Mass, and that no Nun must marry after the Vow of her Profession, with such other like.

The Cross here is not taken for the material Cross of wood, but for the manner of death upon the Cross, which death was to him welcome. S. Matthew the Apostle slain with a Spear. Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 1. Irenaeus lib. 3. cap. 1. Hieron. in Catalogo script.

Joan. de Monte Regali, testifieth of Matthias, after he had preached to the Jews, at length he was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in Ethiopia.

Matthias the Apostle stoned and beheaded.

Philippus the holy Apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous Nations in preaching the Word of Salvation to them, at length he suffered as the other Apostles did, in Hierapolis a City of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death, where also he was buried, and his Daughters also with him.

Philippus the Apostle crucified. Ex Iuliano de passioni nostri ipsius.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND



THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A most exact Table of the first ten Persecutions of the Primative Church
after Christ from y^e time of Tiberius unto Constantius Emperors of the said Empire with the fund

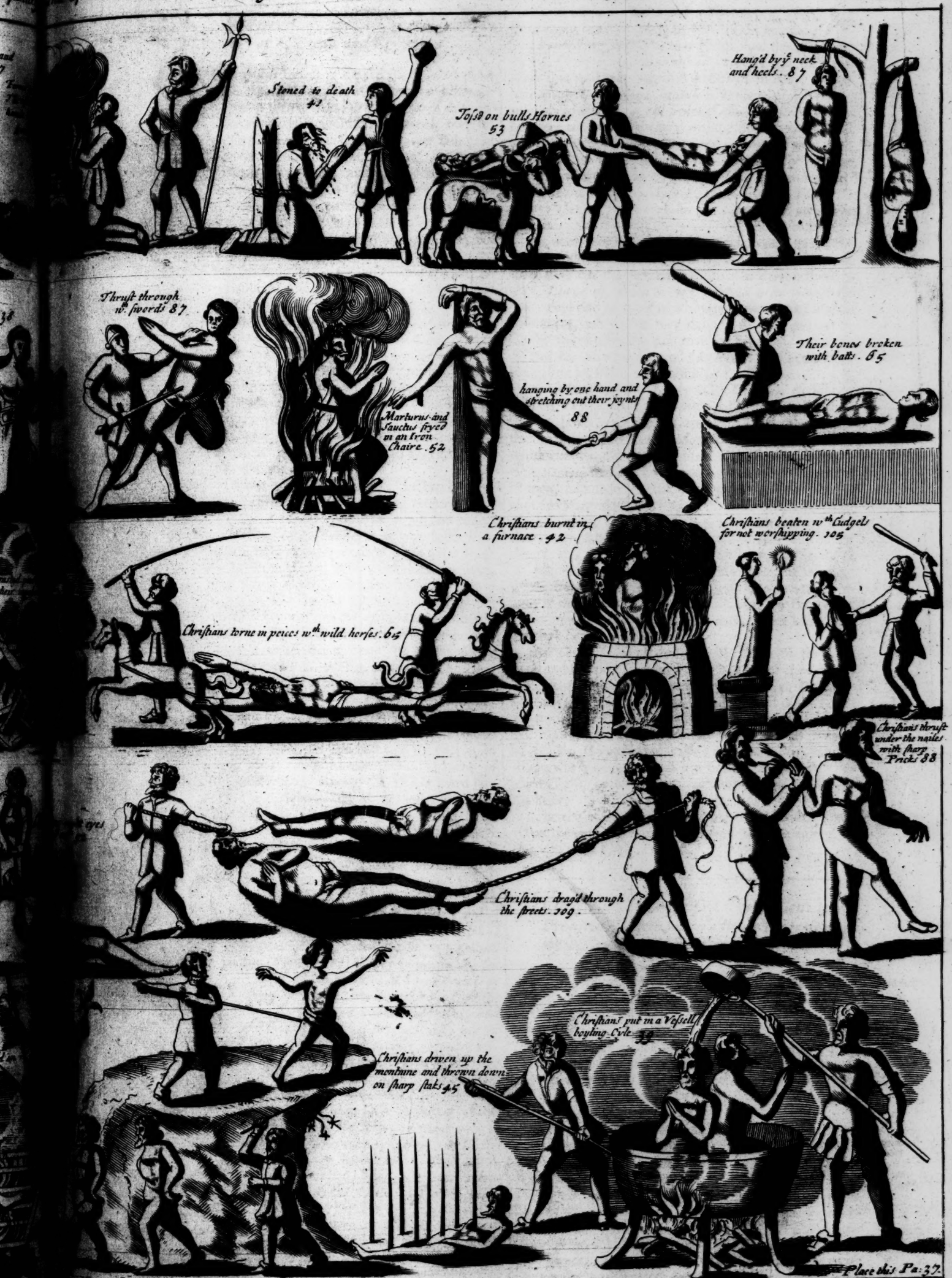


12 Months
Revel. 11.
3 Years & a half.
3 Days & a half.
Revel. 11.
A Time times & a
half time. Revel. 12.
1260 days Revel. 12.
The trying and loosing
again of Satan Rev. 20.

The 42 Monthes in y^e Revelation of S^t Iohn Expounded.

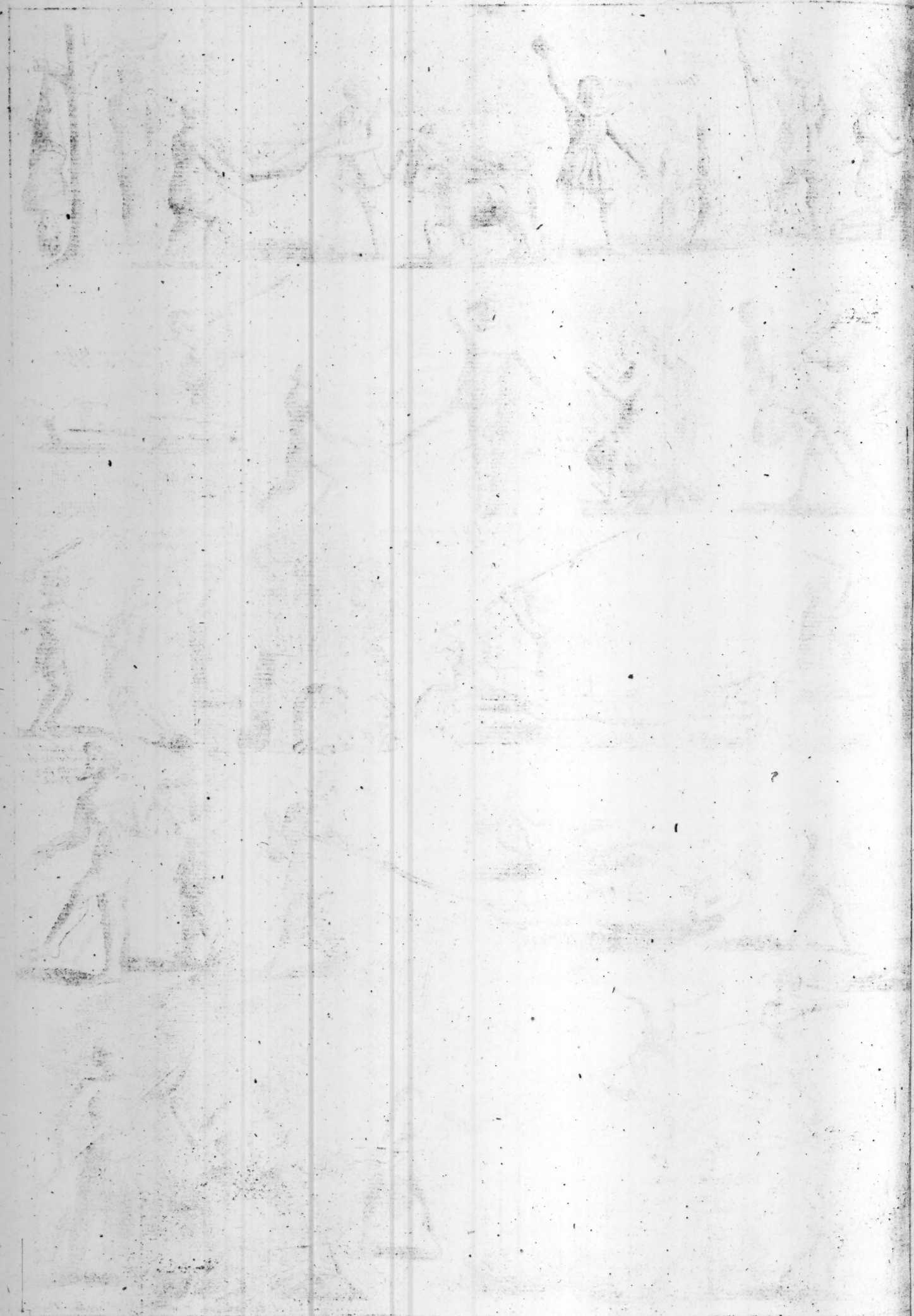
These Persecutions in y^e Primative Church lasted
y^e 294 years. S^t Iohn in his Revelation doth Prophefy before in sundry places, first Chap ii where he saith The Gentiles shall tread
scripture & of Daniel y^e is every month for 7 years amounts to 294 years Wherein is to be noted y^e error of y^e n^o taking these 42 months
are mystically to be reckon'd by sabbaths of years y^e is 7 years to every month after y^e use of scripture so they make 294 years during y^e
y^e Revelation chap ii where it is said y^e after 3 1/2 days y^e two Prophets shall revive againe & for count every hour of y^e day which he doeth by
month n^o is a year maketh one time two twelve months which is two years make two time & 6 months n^o is half a year make half a time
of S^t Iohn chap 12 mention is made of a 1260 days it cometh likewise to y^e same reckoning for giving 30 days to a month amounts to 42
prophefeth y^e Satan should be tied up for a thousand years & after y^e let loose in y^e world for a little space y^e is y^e rage & violence should y^e be stirred up

the Heathen Tyrants of Rome continuing the space almost of three hundred yeares
of torments devised against the Christians and executed upon them.



from the beheading of St John Baptist w^{ch} was 32 yeares of y^e raigne of Tiberius till y^e end of Licinius y^e last persecuting Emperour of Rome Concerning
12 months And againe in y^e 12 Chap And power was given to y^e beast to make 42 months & which 42 months being counted by sabbaths of yeares after y^e comon vs^e of
for 3 yeares & a half do thereby affirm y^e Antichrist when he shall come being borne of y^e tribe of Dan shall raigne but 3 1/2 yeares not understanding how these 42 months
Antichrist y^e raigne in y^e primitive Church till y^e coming of Constantine y^e Christian Emperour The like understanding hath y^e 3 dayes & a halfe mentioned in
y^e is for 7 yeares and it cometh to 294 yeares And whether you count by months or day both ways it giveth a time times and a half time For as one twelv
either 42 months so likewise in y^e one day two dayes & a half may be understood a times time & a half time Revel: chap 12. Furthermore wherein y^e said Revel:
said being reduced to sabbaths of yeares make 294 yeares and so long continued these persecutions Moreover after y^e time of these persecutions expired St I^e Revel: ch 20
Gods people as before w^{ch} losing of Satan fallth on y^e year of our lord 1334 At w^{ch} time y^e kingdom of y^e Turke began under Ottomans washing y^e Churches of Asia & Europe

The Hunter's Feast of Honour
The Hunter's Feast of Honour



The Hunter's Feast of Honour
The Hunter's Feast of Honour

Of James the Brother of the Lord, thus we read in the story of Clement and Egesippus.

James Bishop of Jerusalem.

After that Festus had sent the Apostle Paul to Rome after his Appellation made at Cesarea, and that the Jews by the means thereof had lost their hope of performing their malicious Vow against him conceived, they fell upon James the Brother of our Lord, who was Bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the Faith of Christ. But he, otherwise than they all looked for, freely and with a greater constancy before all the multitude confessed Jesus to be the Son of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the justest among them all, for the highness of Divine Wisdom and Godliness, which in living he declared; they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accomplish their mischief, because the Kingdom the same time was vacant. For Festus being dead in Jewry, the Administration of that Province was destitute of a Ruler, and a Deputy. But after what manner James was killed, the words of Clement do declare, which writeth that he was cast down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, and being smitten with the Instrument of a Fuller, was slain: but Egesippus, which lived in the time next after the Apostles, describeth the cause diligently in his fifth Commentary, after this manner as followeth:

Ex Clemente. Ex Egesippo in Commentariis.

James the Brother of our Lord took in hand to govern the Church after the Apostles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a just and perfect man. Many and divers other Jameses there were beside him, but this was born holy from his mothers Womb, he drunk no Wine nor any strong Drink, neither did he eat any living Creature, the Razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with Oil, neither did he use Bath, to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with woollen Cloth, but with Silk, and he only entered into the Temple, falling upon his Knees, asking remission for the people, so that his Knees by oft kneeling lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a Camel. He was (for worshipping God, and craving forgiveness for the people,) called just, and for the excellency of his just life named Oblivus, which (if you do interpret it) is the safeguard and justice of the people, as the Prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the Hereticks which were among the people asked him what manner of door Jesus should be, he answered, That he was the Saviour. Whereof some do believe him to be Jesus Christ; but the aforesaid Hereticks neither believe the Resurrection, neither that any shall come, which shall render unto every man according to his works, but as

Apoc. 14.

many as believe, they believed for James his cause. When as many therefore of the Princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Jews, and Pharisees, saying, It is dangerous lest that all the people do look for this Jesus, as for Christ. Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James, We beseech thee restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus, as though he were Christ; we pray thee persuade them all which come unto the Feast of the Passover of Jesus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people do testifie of thee that thou art just, neither that thou dost accept the person of any man; therefore persuade the people that they be not deceived in Jesus, and all the people and we will obey thee: therefore stand upon the Pillar of the Temple, that thou mayst be seen from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this Passover all the Tribes do come with all the Country. And thus the forenamed Scribes and Pharisees did set James upon the Battlements of the Church, and they cried unto him and said, Thou just man, whom all we ought to obey, because this people is led after Jesus, which is crucified, tell what is the door of Jesus crucified. And he answered with a great voice, What do you ask me of Jesus the Son of Man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God in Heaven, and shall come in the Clouds of the Sky? But when many were persuaded of this, they glorified God upon the witness of James, and said, Osanna in the highest to the Son of David. Then the Scribes and the Pharisees said among themselves, We have done

evil, that we have caused such a Testimony of Jesus, but let us go up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with fear, may deny that Faith. And they cried out, saying, O, O, this just man also is seduced; and they fulfilled that Scripture which is spoken of in Esay, Let us take away the just man, because he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works. Therefore they went up, to throw down the just man, and said among themselves, Let us stone this just man James; and they took him to smite him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast down. But he turning, fell down upon his knees, saying, O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do.

Esay 5.

But when they had smitten him with stones, one of the Priests of the Children of Rechab, the Son of Charobim, spake to them the testimony which is in Jeremy the Prophet, Leave off, what do ye? The just man prayeth for you. And one of those which were present took a Fullers Instrument, wherewith they did use to beat and purge Cloth, and smote the just man on his head, and so he finished his Martyrdom, and they buried him in the same place, and his Pillar abideth still by the Temple. He was a true testimony to the Jews and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Vespasianus the Emperor destroying the Land of Jewry, brought them into Captivity. These things being thus written at large of Egesippus, do well agree to those which Clement did write of him. This James was so notable a man, that for his justice he was had in honour of all men, inasmuch that the wise men of the Jews, shortly after his Martyrdom, did impute the cause of the besieging of Jerusalem, and other Calamities which hapned unto them, to no other cause, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Also Josephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: These things so chanced unto the Jews for a vengeance, because of that just man James, which was the Brother of Jesus, whom they called Christ, for the Jews killed him, although he was a righteous man.

Luk. 23.

Joseph. lib. 10.

The same Josephus declareth his death in the same Book and Chapter, saying, Caesar hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus the Lieutenant into Jewry: but Ananias the younger being Bishop, and of the Sect of the Sadducees, trusting that he had obtained a convenient time, seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus entred on his journey, he called a Council, and calling many unto him, among whom was James, by name the Brother of Jesus which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as Breakers of the Law.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other besides James also at the same were martyred and put to death among the Jews, for the Faith of Christ.

A Description of the ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church, with a lively Portraiture of the variety of their Torments.

These things being thus declared for the Martyrdom of the Apostles, and the Persecution of the Jews: now let us (by the Grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the Persecutions raised by the Romans against the Christians in the Primitive Age of the Church during the space of three hundred years, till the coming of godly Constantine, which Persecutions are reckoned of Eusebius, and by the most part of Writers, to the number of ten most special.

The ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church.

Wherein marvellous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of Christian Innocents that were slain and tormented, some one way, some another, as Rabanus saith, and saith truly, Alii ferro perempti: Alii flammis exusti; Alii flagris verberati; Alii vectibus perforati; Alii cruciati patibulo; Alii demersi pelagi periculo; Alii vivi decorati; Alii vinculis mancipati; Alii linguis privati; Alii lapidibus obruti; Alii frigore afflicti; Alii fame cruciati; Alii truncatis manibus, alijsq; castis membris, spectaculum contumeliae nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c. that is, Some slain with Sword; Some burnt with fire; Some with Whips scourged; Some stabbed with Forks of Iron; Some fastned to the Cross or Gibbet; Some drowned

The sundry torments of the holy Martyrs in the Primitive Church.

drowned in the Sea; Some their Skins pluckt off; Some their Tongues cut off; Some stoned to death; Some killed with cold; Some starved with hunger; Some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembred, have been so left naked to the open shame of the world, &c. Whereof *Augustine* also in his Book *De civit.* 22. cap. 6. thus saith, *Ligabantur, includebantur, cadebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contemnentes pro servatore.* Whose kinds of Punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these Martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry Torments, and like cruelty of the Tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant Saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his Saints, that as *Hierome* in his Epistle to *Cromatius* and *Heliodorus*, saith, *Nullus esset dies qui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperiri posset ascriptus, excepto die calendarum Januarii;* that is, There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thousand Martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January.

*Aug. de ci-
vit. lib. 22.
cap. 6.*

The num-
ber of holy
Martyrs in
the Primi-
tive Church

The first Persecution.

THe first of these ten Persecutions was stirred up by *Nero Domitius*, the sixth Emperor before mentioned, about the year of our Lord threehundred and seven. The tyrannous Rage of which Emperor was so fierce against the *Christians* (as *Eusebius* recordeth) *Usque adeo ut videres repletas humanis corporibus civitates, iacentes mortuos simul cum parvulis senes, feminarumque absque ulla sexus reverentia nudata in publico rejectaque starent cadavera;* that is, Inasmuch that a man might then see Cities lie full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that Sex in the open streets, &c. Likewise *Orosius* writing of the said *Nero*, saith, That he was the first which in *Rome* did raise up Persecution against the *Christians*, and not only in *Rome*, but also through all the Provinces thereof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of *Christians* in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreover the testimony of *Hierome* upon *Daniel*, saying, That many there were of the *Christians* in those days, which seeing the filthy Abominations and intolerable Cruelty of *Nero*, thought that he should be *Antichrist*.

Orosius, li. 7.

Nero
thought to
be *Anti-
christ*.

S. Peter the
Apostle cru-
cified at
Rome.

*Hierom. lib.
de viris il-
lustris.*

This report
seemeth nei-
ther to
come of
Hierome, nor
to be true
in *Peter*.

*Eusebius, lib. 3. de ex-
cidio Hiero-
sol. cap. 2.
Abdias lib. 1. de vita
Patri.*

In this Persecution, among many other Saints, the blessed Apostle *Peter* was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at *Rome*; albeit other some, and not without cause, do doubt thereof: concerning whose life and history, because it is sufficiently described in the Text of the Gospel, and in the Acts of Saint *Luke* 4. 5. 12. I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cause and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as *Hierome*, *Egesippus*, *Eusebius*, *Abdias*, and others, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. The words of *Hierome* be these, *Simon Peter* the Son of *Jona*, of the Province of *Galilee*, and of the Town of *Pethsaida*, the Brother of *Andrew*, &c. After he had been Bishop of the Church of *Antioch*, and had preached to the dispersion of them that believed, of the Circumcision, in *Pontus*; *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bitinia*, in the second year of *Claudius* the Emperor (which was about the year of our Lord forty and four) came to *Rome* to withstand *Simon Magus*, and there kept the Priestly Chair the space of five and twenty years, until the last year of the aforesaid *Nero*, which was the fourteenth year of his Reign, of whom he was crucified, his Head being down, and his Feet upward, himself so requiring, because he was (he said) unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord was, &c. *Egesippus* prosecuting this matter something more at large, and *Abdias* also (if any authority is to be given to his Book, who following not only the sense, but also the very form of words of *Egesippus* in this History, seemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other Authors) saith, That *Simon Magus* being then a great man with *Nero*, and his President and Keeper of his life, was required upon a time to be present at the railing up of a certain Noble young man in *Rome* of *Nero's* kindred lately departed: whereas *Peter* also was

desired to come to the reviving of the said Personage. But when *Magus* in the presence of *Peter* could not do it, then *Peter* calling upon the Name of the Lord *Jesus*, did raise him up, and restored him to his Mother, whereby the estimation of *Simon Magus* began greatly to decay and to be detested in *Rome*. Not long after the said *Magus* threatened the *Romans* that he would leave the City, and in their sight fly away from them into Heaven. So the day being appointed, *Magus* taking his wings in the Mount *Capitolinus*, began to fly in the Air: but *Peter* by the Power of the Lord *Jesus* brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall, his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then *Nero*, sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against *Peter* to put him to death. Which, when the people perceived, they intreated *Peter* with much ado that he would fly the City. *Peter*, through their importunity at length perswaded, prepared himself to avoid. But coming to the Gate, he saw the Lord *Christ* come to meet him, to whom he worshipping, said, *Lord, Whither dost thou go?* To whom he answered and said, *I am come again to be crucified.* By this *Peter* perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the City again, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared. And this out of *Egesippus*.

Eusebius moreover writing of the death not only of *Peter*, but also of his Wife, affirmeth, that *Peter* seeing his wife going to her Martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging upon the Cross) was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, *Bad her remember the Lord Jesus.* Such was then (saith *Eusebius*) the blessed bond of marriage among the Saints of God. And thus much of *Peter*.

Euseb. lib. 2. hist. Eccles. cap. 30.

Peter's Wife put to death for Christ. The words of Peter to his wife, going to death.

Paul the Apostle, which before was called *Saul*, after his great travel and unspeakable Labours in promoting the Gospel of *Christ*, suffered also in this first Persecution under *Nero*, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth *Hierom* in his Book, *De viris illustribus*. *Paul*, otherwise called *Saul*, one of the Apostles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and of a Town of *Jewry* called *Gisgalis*, which Town being taken of the *Romans*, he with his Parents, fled to *Tharsus*, a Town of *Cilicia*; afterward was sent up by his Parents to *Jerusalem*, and there brought up in the knowledge of the Law, at the feet of *Gamaliel*, and was a doer of the death of *Stephen*. And when he had received Letters from the High Priest to persecute the *Christians*, by the way going to *Damascus*, he was stricken down of the Lords Glory, and of a Persecutor was made a Professor, an Apostle, a Martyr, a witness of the Gospel, and a Vessel of Election.

Paul the Apostle.

Ex Hierom. mo lib. de viris illustribus.

Saul brought up under *Gamaliel*. *Saul* a Persecutor. *Saul* converted.

Among his other manifold Labours and travels in spreading the Doctrine of *Christ*, he won *Sergius Paulus* the Proconsul of *Cyprus*, to the Faith of *Christ*, whereupon he took his name, as some suppose, turned from *Saulus* to *Paulus*. After he had passed through divers places and Countries in his laborious Peregrinations, he took to him *Barnabas*, and went up to *Jerusalem* to *Peter*, *James* and *John*, where he was Ordained and sent out with *Barnabas* to Preach unto the Gentiles.

Saulus turned to Paulus.

Paul sent to the Gentiles.

And because it is in the Acts of the Apostles sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable Conversion, and Conversation of this most worthy Apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his History, I will here add, how the said Apostle *Paul*, the five and twentieth year after the Passion of the Lord, in the second year of *Nero*, at what time *Festus* ruled in *Jewry*, was sent up in bonds to *Rome*, where he remaining in his free Hostery two years together, disputed daily against the *Jews*, proving *Christ* to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first Answer, or Purgation there made at *Rome*, the Emperor *Nero*, not yet fully confirmed in his Empire, and yet not bursting out into those mischiefs which Histories report of him, he was at that time by *Nero* discharged, and dismissed to Preach the Gospel in the West parts, and about the Coasts of *Italy*, as he himself writing unto *Timothy*, afterward in 2 *Tim.* 4. his second Apprehension, in his second Epistle witnesseth, saying, *In my first Purgation no man stood with me, but did all forsake me, the Lord lay it not to their Charge: but the Lord stood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his Word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might hear and be taught: and I was deli-*

Acts 28.

2 Tim. 4.

vered

wered out of the Lions mouth, &c. In which place by the Lion, he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterwards likewise he saith, *I was delivered from the mouth of the Lion, &c.* And again, *The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath saved me unto his heavenly Kingdom, &c.* speaking this, because he perceived then the time of his Martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the same Epistle before, he saith, *I am now offered up, and the time of my dissolution draweth on.*

Thus then, this worthy Preacher and Messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same year, as some write, but in the next year following) was beheaded at Rome for the testimony of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia, the seven and thirtieth year after the Passion of the Lord. He wrote nine Epistles to seven Churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreover he wrote to his Disciples, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The Epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrews, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the stile and phrase, but either judged to be written of Timothy, as Tertullian supposeth, or of S. Luke, as others think; or else of Clement afterward Bishop of Rome, who, as they say, was adjoined with Paul, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and manner. Or else as some do judge, because S. Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiousness of his name among that people, therefore he dissembled, and confessed not his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, he being an Hebrew, so he wrote in Hebrew; that is, his own Tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth from his other Epistles, and is after a more eloquent manner translated into the Greek, than his other Epistles be. Some also read the Epistle written to Laodicea, but that is exploded of all men. Thus much Hierome.

As touching the time and order of the death and Martyrdom of Saint Paul, as Eusebius, Hierome, Maximus, and other Authors do but briefly pass it over: so Abdias (if his Book be of any substantial authority) speaking more largely of the same, doth say, That after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruine of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free Custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from Martyrdom by Gods permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the Gospel by him.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his story, declareth moreover, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the Emperor, not only for teaching new Doctrine, but also for stirring up Sedition against the Empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to shew the order and manner of his Doctrine, there declared what his Doctrine was, To teach all men Peace and Charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour; Rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; Mean men to be contented with food and rayment, and with their present state; Poor men to rejoyce in their poverty with hope; Fathers to bring up their Children in the fear of God; Children to obey their Parents; Husbands to love their Wives; Wives to be subject to their Husbands; Citizens and Subjects to give their Tribute unto Caesar, and to be subject to their Magistrates; Masters to be courteous, not churlish to their Servants; Servants to deal faithfully with their Masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his Doctrine he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of Glory, which spake to him from Heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, *That he should go and preach his Name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatsoever he did or said, he would justify it, &c.* After that Paul had thus declared unto the Emperor, shortly after, sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose Execution then Nero sent two of his Equires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them, that shortly after they

should believe, and be baptized at his Sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done, the Souldiers came and led him out of the City to the place of Execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his Neck to the Sword. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was stricken off, instead of blood issued out white Milk, and that at laying down his head, he signed himself with the sign of a Cross in his Forehead: but this being found in no other History, Abdias seemeth either to add of his own, or else to borrow out of the Legend, as he doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of Milk flowing out of his neck, is referred also unto Ambrose, who in his Sermon threecore and eight (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirm the same. Of the time and year when the blessed Apostles did suffer, Histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the Popes decrees, say, That both Peter and Paul suffered both in one day, and in one year: which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius Bishop of Corinth. Hierome in his Book *De viris illustr.* affirmeth, that they both suffered in one day, but he expresseth not the year. So doth Isidorus and Eusebius. Simon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some, which think that Paul suffered not with Peter, but after Peter, Prudentius in his *Peristephanon*, noteth, that they both were put to death upon the same day, but not in the same year, and saith, that Paul followed Peter a year after.

Abdias, above mentioned, recordeth, that Paul suffered two years after Peter. Moreover, if it be true which Abdias saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in his fair Custody at Rome, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, which was as Hierome witnesseth, the third or fourth year of Nero, then must it be ten years betwixt the Martyrdom of Peter and of Paul, forasmuch as it is by all Writers confessed, that Paul suffered the fourteenth year, which was the last year of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other Authors, nor with himself. And thus much of the first Persecution.

The second Persecution.

The first Roman Persecution beginning under Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased under Vespasianus, who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After whose Reign was moved, not long after, the second Persecution, by the Emperor Domitian, Brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Orosius so write, that he first beginning mildly, afterward did so far outrage in Pride intolerable, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and that Images of Gold and Silver in his honour should be set up in Capriccio. The chiefest Nobles of the Senators, either upon envy, or for their Goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slain privily.

And as his Tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperance of his life was no less. He put to death all the Nephews of Juda, called the Lords Brother, and caused to be sought out and to be slain all that could be found of the stock of David (as Vespasian also did before him) for fear, lest he were yet to come of the House of David, which should enjoy the Kingdom. In the time of this Persecutor, Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Justus afterward succeeded in that Bishoprick.

In this Persecution, John the Apostle and Evangelist, was exiled by the said Domitianus into Patmos. Of whom divers and sundry memorable Acts be reported in sundry Chronicles. As first, how he was put in a Vessel of boiling Oil, by the Proconsul of Ephesus. The Legend and Pericritus say, It was done at Rome. Isidorus also writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth, that he turned certain places of wood into gold, and stones by the Sea side into margarites, to satisfy the desire of two, whom he had before perswaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost Heaven, for their sakes again he changed the same into their former substance. Also how he raised up a Widow and a certain young man from death to life. How he drank poyson and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had drank the same before. These and such other Miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidorus, and other Writers more, yet because they are no

A legend miracle.

The story of Abdias is suspected.

Histories do vary about the time of their Martyrdom.

If this be true Prudentius recordeth of Paul to suffer under Nero, and the year after Peter, then it is false which Hierome beareth testimony, Peter to suffer the last year of Nero.

The second Persecution Anno 69.

Ex Orosio lib. 7.

The tyranny and intemperance of Domitian

Simeon Bishop of Jerusalem crucified.

John the Evangelist

Isidorus de patribus monachis testamentum

Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 10. Euseb. Eccl. h.

The Epistles of S. Paul to seven Churches.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Epistle to Laodicea.

Abdias de viris illust.

Paul declareth his Doctrine to the Emperor. The sum of Pauls Doctrine.

Paul condemned.

Paul suffered.

Anno 97.
John banished.
John released out of banishment.

Articles of our Christian Belief, I let them pass, and only content myself with that which I read in *Eusebius*, declaring of him in this wise, That in the fourteenth year after *Nero*, in the second Persecution, in the days of *Domitian*, *John* was banished into *Patmos* for the testimony of the Word, in the year fourscore and seventeen. And after the death of the aforesaid *Domitian*, he being slain, and his Acts repealed by the Senate, *John* was again released under *Pertinax* the Emperor, and came to *Ephesus* in the year one hundred. Where he continued until the time of *Trajanus*, and there governed the Churches in *Asia*, where also he wrote his Gospel, and so lived till the year after the Passion of our Lord, threecore and eight, which was the year of his age, one hundred and twenty.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Iren. lib. 2.

Moreover, in the aforesaid Ecclesiastical story of *Eusebius*, we read, that *John* the Apostle and Evangelist, whom the Lord did love, was in *Asia*, where he being returned out of *Patmos*, after the death of *Domitian*, governed the Churches and Congregations. *Irenaeus* in his second Book thus writeth: And of him all the Elders do witness, which were with *John* the Disciple of the Lord in *Asia*, that he spake and wrote these things, &c. for there he continued with them unto the time of *Trajanus*, &c. Also the said *Irenaeus*, lib. 3. *Hypoteses*, in like words declareth, saying, The Church of the *Ephesians* being first founded by *Paul*, afterward being confirmed of *John* (who continued in the same City unto the time of *Trajanus* the Emperor) is a true witness of this Apostolical tradition, &c. *Clement Alexandrinus* moreover noteth both the time of this holy Apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain History of him, not unworthy to be remembered of such which delight in things honest and profitable. Of the which History *Sozomenus* also in his *Commentaries* maketh mention. The words of the Author setting forth this History be these, Hear a Fable, and not a Fable, but a true Report, which is told us of *John* the Apostle, delivered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the Tyrant, when *John* was returned to *Ephesus*, from the Isle of *Patmos*, he was desired to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to constitute Bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the Church, partly to Ordain and set such of the Clergy in Office, whom the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain City not far off, the name of which also many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the Brethren, he looking more earnestly upon him which was the chief Bishop among them, beheld a young man mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man (saith he) to thee with great diligence, in witness here of Christ and of the Church.

Clement Alexandrinus.

A notable History of John the Evangelist.

What wicked company doth.

When the Bishop had received of him this Charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein: again, the second time *John* spake unto him, and desired him in like manner and contestation as before. This done, *John* returned again to *Ephesus*. The Bishop receiving the young man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate (that is) he baptized him, and in short time through his diligence brought him into such order and towardness, that he committed unto him the oversight of a certain Cure in the Lords behalf. The young man thus having more his liberty, it chanced that certain of his Companions and old Familiars being idle, dissolute and accustomed of old time to wickedness, did joyn in company with him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous Banquets; then incited him forth with them in the night to rob and steal, after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein by custom of time, by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken Horse, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all mischief and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of Grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome Doctrine of Salvation, which he had learned before, began to set his mind upon no small matters. And for as much as he was entred so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceeded in the same. And so associating unto him the company of his Companions, and fellow Thieves, took upon him to be as Head and Captain among them, in committing all kind of Murder and Felony.

In the mean time it chanced that of necessity *John* was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided, and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the Bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which in the witness of Christ and of the Congregation then present he left in his hands to keep. The Bishop something amazed at the words of *John*, supposing he had meant of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received, (and yet durst not mistrust *John*, nor contrary his words) could not tell what to answer. Then *John* perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly: The young man (saith he) and the Soul of our Brother committed to your custody, I do require. Then the Bishop with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping said, *He is dead*. To whom *John* said, *How, and by what death?* The other said, *He is dead to God, for he is become an evil man, and pernicious, to be brief, a Thief: and now he doth frequent this Mountain with a company of Villains and Thieves like unto himself against the Church*. But the Apostle rent his Garments, and with a great lamentation said, *I have left a good keeper of my Brothers soul: get me a Horse, and let me have a Guide with me: which being done, his Horse and Man procured, he halted from the Church as much as he could, and coming to the same place was taken of Thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, I came for this same cause hither, lead me, said he, to your Captain*. So he being brought, the Captain all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and est-foons coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, *My Son, why dost thou fly from thy Father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? have pity on me, my Son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of Salvation: I will make answer for thee unto Christ, I will die for thee if need be: as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee: believe me, Christ hath sent me*. He hearing these things, first, as in a maze, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly: and coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping (as well as he could) being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the Apostle after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his murdering right hand, which for shame he durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the Congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many Sentences, went not from him (as the Author reporteth) before he had restored him to the Congregation again, and made him a great example and trial of Regeneration, and a token of the visible Resurrection.

Moreover, the aforesaid *Irenaeus* in lib. 3. cap. 3. and *Eusebius*, lib. 3. cap. 28. and lib. 4. cap. 14. prosecuting the History of *John*, declare in these words, saying, That there were certain which heard *Polycarpus* say, that *John* the Disciple of our Lord going into *Ephesus* to be washed, seeing *Cerintus* within, he leaped out of the Bath unattended, because he feared the Bath should have fallen, seeing that *Cerintus* an Enemy to the Truth was within. Such fear had the Apostles (saith *Irenaeus*) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the story of *John* the blessed Evangelist, here cometh in matter and occasion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the Catholic, subtil, illuminate, and seraphical Doctors of the Popes Catholick Church, these five hundred years. The difficulty is this, That for so much as auricular confession hath been, and is yet received in the Popes Catholick Church for an holy and necessary Sacrament, extending universally to all and singular Creatures Christian: here then ariseth a question, Who was our Ladies Confessor, or ghostly Father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the Catholics to be Saint *John*. Whosoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is straightways *Ipso facto* an Heretick. This then so determined, ariseth another question or doubt, that seeing our Lady was without all original sin, and

A notable Lesson for all Christians to shew again their lost sheep.

O unspiteful heart, able to love the company of the wicked.

An example of the godly to shew the company of the wicked.

A Catholic question concerning auricular confession.

Another Catholic question.

also actual or mortal: what need then had shee of any Confessor? Or what should she confess unto him? for if she had confessed any sin, when she had none; then had she made her self a lyar, and so had sinned indeed. Here therefore (gentle Reader) in this perplexity these our illuminate Doctors stand in need of thine aid to help at a pinch. *Magnus Albertus* the great Divine, denieth not, but that she indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to her ghostly Father, to keep the observance of the Law, appointed for such as had that need, which she had not. And therefore (saith he) necessary it was that she should confess with mouth. But then here is to be asked, What did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confess? To this *Albertus* answereth again, and telleth us plainly what she said in her confession, which was this, That she had received that great Grace, not *Ex condigno*; that is, Not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithstanding received Circumcision, to give to others example of Humility and Obedience: in like manner would our Lady shew her self obedient to the observance of the Law, albeit there was no cause why she had any need thereof. And thus hast thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful question moved and solved, to the intent I would reveal to thee some part of the deep Divinity of our Catholick Masters, that have ruled and governed the Church in these their late Popish days.

Moreover, to help this case out of all doubt, cometh in famous *Thomas of Waring*, and thus looseth the knot, much after like effect, saying, That as Christ, although he did owe nothing to the Law, yet notwithstanding received Circumcision, to give to others example of Humility and Obedience: in like manner would our Lady shew her self obedient to the observance of the Law, albeit there was no cause why she had any need thereof. And thus hast thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful question moved and solved, to the intent I would reveal to thee some part of the deep Divinity of our Catholick Masters, that have ruled and governed the Church in these their late Popish days.

But breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this foresaid second Persecution under *Domitianus*. In which Persecution, besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly Martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was *Flavia* the Daughter of *Flavius Clemens*, one of the Roman Consuls, which *Flavia*, with many others was banished out of Rome, into the Isle *Pontia*, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the Emperour *Domitianus*, *Euseb. lib. 3.*

This *Domitianus* feared the coming of Christ as *Herod* did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the Stock of *David* in *Jewry*. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lords kindred, which were the Nephews of *Jude*, that was called the Lords Brother after the flesh. These, when the Lieutenant of *Jewry* had brought up to *Domitian* to be slain, the Emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the Stock of *David*? Which when they had granted, he asked again, what possessions, and what substance they had? They answered, That they both had no more between them in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and sustained their Families with the hard labours of their hands, shewing forth their hands unto the Emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken: Then the Emperor inquiring of them concerning the Kingdom of Christ, what manner of Kingdom it was, how, and when it should appear? They answered, That his Kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an Heavenly and Angelical Kingdom, and that it should appear in the consummation and end of the World, what time he coming in Glory, should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deservings. *Domitian* the Emperor hearing this (as the saying is) did not condemn them; but despising them as vile persons let them go, and also staid the Persecution then moved against the *Christians*. They, being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the government of Churches, being taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lords stock, and so continued in good peace till the time of *Trajanus*. *Hec Egest. & Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20.*

By this story here cited, may appear, what were the causes why the Emperors of the Roman Monarchy did so persecute the *Christians*: which causes were chiefly these, Fear and Hatred. First, Fear, for that the Emperors and Senate of blind Ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christs Kingdom, feared and misdoubted lest the same would subvert their Empery, (like as the Pope thinketh now that this Gospel will overthrow his Kingdom of Majesty) and therefore sought they all means possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the

name and memory of the *Christians*. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old Law of the Roman Senate: *Non debere demitti Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent*; that is, that the *Christians* should not be let go, which were once brought to the Judgment-Seat, except they changed their purpose, &c. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21.* Secondly, Hatred, partly for that this world, of his own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the *Christians* being of a contrary nature and Religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, spake against their Idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the Power of Satan, working in their Idols: And therefore Satan the Prince of this world, stirred up the Roman Princes and blind Idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious Slanders, false Surmises, infamous Lies, and slanderous Accusations of the Heathen Idolaters against the *Christian* Servants of God, which incited the Princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what Crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed to the *Christians*; as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their concourses, putting out their Candles, they ran together in all filthy manner, that they killed their own Children, that they used to eat mans flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not swear by the Fortune and Prosperity of *Cæsar*, that they would not adore the Image of *Cæsar* in the Market place, that they were pernicious to the Empery of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the City or Provinces of Rome, either Famine, Pestilence, Earthquake, Wars, Wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever happened, it was imputed to the *Christians*, as *Justinus* recordeth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the Emperors against the *Christians*, came by one *Publius Tarquinus* the chief Prelate of the Idolatrous Sacrifices, and *Mamertinus* the chief Governor of the City in the time of *Trajanus*; who partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent Counsel, partly with infamous Accusations (as witnesseth *Nauclerus*) incensed the mind of the Emperor so much against Gods people.

Also among these other causes abovesaid, crept in some piece of covetousness withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked Promoters and Accusers for lucre sake, to have the Possessions of the *Christians*, were the more ready to accuse them to have the spoil of their goods.

Thus hast thou (*Christian* Reader) first, the causes declared of these Persecutions; secondly, the cruel law of their Condemnation; thirdly, now hear more what was the form of Inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second Apology of *Justinus*) to this effect; that they should swear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed *Christians* or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded. *Just. Apol. 2.*

Neither yet were these Tyrants and Organs of Satan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no less horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruelties of mans invention could devise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the *Christians*, as partly I have mentioned before, and more appeareth by the Epistle sent from the Brethren of France, hereafter following. Crafty trains, Outcries of Enemies, Imprisonment, Stripes and Scourgings, Drawings, Tearings, Stonings, Plates of Iron laid unto them burning hot, deep Dungeons, Racks, strangling in Prisons, the teeth of wild Beasts, Gridirons, Gibbets and Gallows, tossing upon the horns of Bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and Dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried. *Ex Epistola fratrum Viennensium ac Lugdunensium, &c.*

And yet notwithstanding for all these continual Persecutions, and horrible Punishments, the Church of the *Christians* daily increased, deeply rooted in the Doctrine of the Apostles, and of men apostolical, and watered plentifully with the blood of Saints, as saith *Niceph. lib. 3.* Whereof let us hear the worthy testimony of *Justinus* Martyr in his Dialogue with *Triphew*. And that none (saith he) can terrifie or remove us which believe in Jesus, by this

Lex antiqua Romana contra Christianos. Ex Eusebio, lib. 1. c. 32.

The Kingdom of Christ hated of Roman Princes

False Accusations and Slanders against the Christians. Ex apologia Justin. Mart. 2.

Publius Tarquinus et Mamertinus Persecutores.

Ex Just. Mart. in 2. Apolog. The form of Inquisition against the Christians in the old time.

The cruelty of Tyrants in killing of Christian men.

Ex Epist. fratrum Viennensium & Lugdunensium, ad fratres per Asiam & Phrygiam scripta.

Ex Nicephoro, lib. 3. c. 32.

Ex Just. Mart. in Dialogo suo cum Triphew.

The Church
increaseth
by Persecu-
tion.

it daily appeareth, for when we are slain, crucified, cast to wild Beasts, into the fire, or given to other Torments, yet we go not from our Confession: but contrary, the more cruelty and slaughter is wrought against us, the more they be that come to Piety and Faith by the Name of Jesus: no otherwise than if a man cut the Vine-Tree, the better the Branches grow. For the Vine-Tree, planted by God and Christ our Saviour, is his people. *Hæc Just.*

Disagree-
ment in
Authors
touching
the lives
and times
of Martyrs.
Linus Bi-
shop of
Rome.

Cletus and
Anacletus
both one.

Clement a
Bishop
counted a
Martyr.

The lives of
Martyrs
painted out
with fained
Miracles.

Evaristus
Bishop of
Rome and
Martyr.

The decre-
tal Epistles.

¶ To comprehend the names and number of all the Martyrs that suffered in all these ten Persecutions (which are innumerable) as it is impossible, so it is hard in such a variety and diversity of matter to keep such a perfect order and course of years and times, that either some be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place, especially seeing the Authors themselves, whom in this present Work we follow, do diversely disagree both in the times, in the names, and also in the kind of Martyrdom of them that suffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the Church and Epistles decretal do take *Anacletus* to succeed after *Clement*, next before *Evaristus*: contrary, *Eusebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6.* making no mention of *Cletus*, but of *Anacletus*, saith, That *Evaristus* succeeded next to *Clement*. Likewise *Rufinus* and *Epiphanius*, speaking nothing of *Anacletus*, make mention of *Linus*, and of *Cletus*, next before *Clement*, but say nothing of *Anacletus*: whereby it may appear that *Cletus* and *Anacletus* were both one. *Sabellicus Aenead. 7. lib. 2.* speaking of *Linus* and of *Cletus*, saith, that they were ordained helpers under *Peter*, while he laboured in his Apostleship abroad, and so saith also *Marianus Scotus*: contrary, *Irenæus, lib. 3. contra hæres.* speaketh of *Anacletus*, making no mention of *Cletus*. Whereby it may appear by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretal Epistles, whom all the later Histories of the Pope his Church do follow in this behalf, &c. Moreover, where *Antoninus*, *Vincentius*, *Jacobus In supplemento*, *Simoneta*, *Aloisius*, with others, declare of *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Evaristus*, *Alexander*, Bishops of Rome, that that they died Martyrs: *Eusebius*, in his Ecclesiastical History writing of them maketh thereof no mention.

And first as touching *Clement* (whom *Marianus Scotus* calleth the first Bishop of Rome after *Peter*) they say that he was sent out into banishment of *Trajanus*, beyond *Ponticus*, with two thousand Christians, where he opened a well-spring to them which in the Wilderness were condemned to the Mines. Afterward being accused to the Emperor, he was thrown into the Sea with a millstone fastened about his neck, and not long after, his body was cast up and buried (as *Platina* saith) at the place where the Well was made. Some say it was found first in the days of Pope *Nicholas* the first, *Fascicul. tempor.* But forasmuch as I find of his Martyrdom no firm relation in the ancient Authors, but only in such new Writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives and histories of good men, with fained additions of forged Miracles, therefore I count the fame of less credit, as I do also certain decretal Epistles, untruly (as may seem) ascribed and intituled to his name. *Eusebius* in his third Book, writing of *Clement*, giveth no more of him, but thus, After he had governed the Church of Rome nine years, the said *Clement* left the succession thereof to *Evaristus*.

Of which *Evaristus* next Bishop of Rome, thus we find in *Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3.* *Peter* and *Paul* (saith he) committed the Charge of that Church to *Linus*: after whom came *Anacletus*, then succeeded *Clement*, next to *Clement* followed *Evaristus*, after whom came *Alexander*, and then *Sixtus* the sixth Bishop of Rome after the Apostles: after *Sixtus* came *Telephorus*, then *Higinus*, then *Pius*, then *Anicetus*. And when *Soter* took the place after him, then the twelfth Bishop of Rome was *Eleutherius*. Thus after *Clement* followed (as is said) *Evaristus* in the second or third year of *Trajanus*, as saith *Eusebius*; or as *Nicephorus* saith, the fourth year of the said Emperor. But howsoever the count of years standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the Acts and Monuments either of this, or of other Bishops of Rome in those days. Whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of Roman Bishops in those days, whose Acts and Deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to History. Notwithstanding, certain decretal Epistles are re-

maining, or rather thrust upon us in their names, containing in them little substance of any Doctrine, but altogether stuffed with Laws, Injunctions, and stately Decrees, little to the purpose, and less favouring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbered the two Epistles of this *Evaristus*.

And when he had given these Orders, and had made six Priests, two Deacons, and five Bishops for sundry places (saith the story) he suffered Martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancy he shewed, what was the order or conversation of his life, is nothing touched, and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new Histories do say: because the old ancient Writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not have passed such things over in silence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the Authors fully agree in the time of his Martyrdom, which *Naucletus* witnesseth to be in the last year of *Trajanus*: but *Platina* thinketh rather that he suffered under *Hadrianus*, *Fascicul. temporum* referreth it to the third year of *Hadrian*; *Volateranus* to the beginning of the Reign of *Hadrian*. Contrary, *Eusebius* coming near to the simple truth (as seemeth) doth affirm that *Evaristus* succeeded *Clement* in the third year of *Trajanus*, and so giving to him nine years, it should follow thereby that *Evaristus* deceased the twelfth year of *Trajanus*.

After whom succeeded next *Alexander* in the Governance of that Church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the Writers. *Marianus Scotus* saith he was the fourth Bishop from *Peter*: but that could not be. Some say he was the sixth, and some the seventh: but they likewise were deceived; for the most part all do grant *Sixtus* to be the sixth: *Damasus* affirmeth, that he was in the Reign of *Trajan*. And how can that be? when the said *Damasus* affirmed before that *Evaristus* his Predecessor suffered in the last year of *Trajan*, and then the Bishoprick stood at least a month void: except he mean that the said *Alexander* succeeded *Evaristus* in the last year of *Trajanus*. But then how can that stand with *Bede* and *Marianus Scotus*? which say that he suffered under *Trajanus*, or with *Otho Frisingensis*; which saith he suffered the fourth year of *Hadrian*, when he had been Bishop ten years by the general consent of most Writers?

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed Bishop, as *Bergomensis*, *Antoninus*, *Equilinus*, and such as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the Senators to the Faith of Christ, amongst whom was *Hermes* a great man in Rome, whose Son being dead *Alexander* raised again to life, and likewise restored sight to his Maid being blind. *Hadrian* the Emperor then absent, hearing this, sent word to *Aurelianus* Governor of Rome, to apprehend *Alexander*, with *Euentius* and *Theodulus*, otherwise called *Theodorus*, as *Platina* saith, his two Deacons, and *Hermes*, and to commit them to ward with *Quirinus* the Tribune: which being done, as their story recordeth, *Alexander*, inclosed in a divers Prison from *Hermes*, notwithstanding, by the guiding of an Angel through three doors with three locks a piece, was brought with Candle-light to the lodging of *Hermes*; and so returning to the Prison again cured the Daughter of *Quirinus* his Keeper, named *Balbina*, by reason whereof the said *Quirinus*, with his whole Household, were all baptized, and suffered also for the Faith of Christ.

Thus then (saith the story) about the second year of *Hadrian*, *Aurelianus* the Ruler took *Alexander* the Bishop, with *Hermes*, his Wife, Children, and his whole Household, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, and threw them in Prison. And not long after the said *Alexander*, with *Euentius* his Deacon, and *Hermes*, and the rest were burned in a Fornace. *Theodulus* another Deacon of *Alexander*, seeing and rebuking the cruelty of the Tyrant, suffered also the same Martyrdom.

Quirinus also the same time (as saith *Antoninus*) having first his Tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs: *Equilinus* saith, that he was beheaded and cast into *Tiber* in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*; but that cannot be: albeit *Platina* maketh relation but only of *Alexander* with his two Deacons aforesaid, declaring moreover, that in the time of this Bishop, *Saphira* of *Antioch*, and *Sabina* a Roman suffered Martyrdom.

Naucletus
Platina
Volateranus
Ambrosius
Eusebius
cap. 24.

Alexander
Bishop of
Rome and
Martyr.

Authors
disagree.

Alexander,
Euentius,
Theodulus,
Hermes
with his
Household,
Quirinus
with his
Household,
Martyrs.

Ex Platina
in vita
Alexandri.

Saphira and
Sabina mar-
tyrs.
Ex Flori-
lego.

Florilegus.

Florilegus, the Author of *Flores historiarum*, affirmeth, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome* was beheaded seven miles out of *Rome* (where he lieth buried) in the year one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the *Chronicles* above recited. *Eusebius* recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of *Hadrian*, he ended his life and office, after he had been Bishop ten years.

Divers Miracles are reported of this *Alexander*, in the Canon Legends, and lives of Saints; which as I deny not, but they may be true, so because I cannot avouch them by any grave testimony of ancient Writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the Authors and Patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of his Miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous Bishop.

And as I say of his Miracles, the like judgment also I have of the Ordinances both of him and of *Evaristus* his Predecessor, testified in the Popes Decrees by *Gratianus*, as *Dist. 93. cap. Diaconi*, where is said that *Evaristus* divided divers Titles in the City of *Rome* to the Priests, also ordained in every City seven Deacons to associate and assist the Bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witness of truth. Notwithstanding, if probable conjectures might stand against the authority of *Gratianus* and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this absolute ordination of Priests was first forbidden by *Evaristus*, and whether the intitulation of Priests was first by him brought in or not: wherein an instance may be given to the contrary, that this intitulation seemeth to take his first beginning at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and of Pope *Urban* in the Council of *Placentia*. In the which Council of *Chalcedon* the words of the Canon (making no mention of *Evaristus* at all) do expressly forbid, that any Ecclesiastical person either Priest or Deacon should be ordained absolutely; otherwise the imposition of hands, without some proper title of the party ordained, to stand void and frustrate, &c. And likewise *Urbanus* in the Council of *Placentia* doth decree the same, alledging no name of *Evaristus*, but the statutes of former Councils.

Moreover, in the time of *Evaristus*, the Church then being under terrible Persecutions, was divided into no peculiar Parishes or Cures whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselves. And as the Church of *Rome* in those days was not divided into several Parishes or Cures (as I suppose) so neither was then any such open or solemn preaching in Churches, that the assistance or testimony of seven Deacons either could avail among the multitude of the heathen, or else needed amongst the Christian secret Congregations. Again, the constitution of seven Deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the Council of *Neocaesarea* long after *Evaristus*, where it was appointed that in every City, were it never so small, there should be seven Deacons after the rule. And this rule the said Council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, making no word or mention of *Evaristus* at all, *Dist. 93*. But But these (as is said) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only shewing what may be doubted in their Epistles Decretal.

More unlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of *Alexander*, whereof we read, *De consecr. dist. 2*. that he should be the first founder and finder of holy water mixt with salt, to purge and sanctifie them upon whom it is sprinkled. The words of the *dist.* be these: *Aquam sale confusam in populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus, &c.* that is, We bless water mixt with salt among the people, that all men being sprinkled therewith may be sanctified and purified; and this we command all Priests to do, &c.

The opinion is also, but how true I have not to affirm, that by him first was ordained water to be mixt with Wine in the Chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the Mass Canon, beginning, *Qui pridie &c.* And thus much of these foresaid Bishops of *Rome*, martyred in the days of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*.

The Third Persecution,

Between the second Roman Persecution and the third, was but one year, under the Emperor *Nerva*, after whom succeeded *Trajanus*: and after him followed the third Persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This *Trajanus*, if we look well upon his Politick and Civil Governance, (might seem, in comparison of others) a right worthy and commendable Prince, much familiar with inferiors, and so behaving himself toward his subjects, as he himself would have the Prince to be to him, if he himself were a Subject. Also he was noted to be a great observer of Justice, inasmuch that when he ordained any Pretor, giving to him the Sword, he would bid him use the sword against his enemies in just causes: and if he himself did otherwise than justice, to use then his power against him also. But for all these Vertues, toward Christian Religion he was impious and cruel, who caused the third Persecution of the Church. In the which Persecution *Pliny* the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to *Trajanus* of the pitiful persecution: certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy persecution: saving that they used to gather together in the morning before day, and sing Hymns to a certain God whom they worshipped, called Christ. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Whereby the Persecution by commandment of the Emperor was greatly stayed and diminished. The Form and Copy of which Epistle of *Pliny* I thought here not inconvenient to set down, as followeth.

The third Persecution of the church. Anno 100.

Plinius secundus wrote to *Trajan* to stop the persecution.

The Epistle of *Pliny*, an Heathen Philosopher, to *Trajan* the Emperor.

It is my property and manner (my Sovereign) to make relation of all those things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my slackness, or instruct mine ignorance, than you? I was never yet present my self at the examination and execution of these Christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administered, and how far, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am plain ignorant, not able to resolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and person, whether the young and tender ought to be with like cruelty intreated as the elder and stronger, whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to deny, which hath been a Christian, whether the name only of Christians without other offences, or whether the offences joyned with the name of a Christian ought to be punished. In the mean season, as touching such Christians as have been presented unto me, I have kept this order. I have enquired the second and third time of them, whether they were Christians, menacing them with fear of punishment; and such as did persevere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatsoever their profession was, yet their stubbornness and obstinacy ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madness; whom, because they were Citizens of *Rome*, I thought to send them back again to the City. Afterward, in further process and handling of this matter, as the Sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

The Epistle of *Pliny* to *Trajanus*.

There was a Libel offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themselves to be Christians, contented to do Sacrifice with Incense and Wine to the Gods, and to your Image (which Image I for that purpose caused to be brought) and to blaspheme Christ: whereunto none such as were true Christians indeed could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let go. Others confessed that they had been Christians, but afterward denied the same, &c. affirming unto me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed, to convent before day, and to sing certain Hymns to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all Theft, Murder, and Adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man: which done,

The use of Christians in the primitive Church. The testimony of the Heathen of the Christians.

The ordinances of *Evaristus*. *Dist. 93. cap. Diaconi*.

Ex Dist. 70. cap. Nemib. item.

Ibidem cap. Sanctorum.

Ex dist. 93. cap. Diaconi.

The Institution of *Alexander*. Holy water first invented. *De consecr. dist. 2.*

The mixing of water with the Wine in the Chalice. *Qui pridie* put in the Mass Canon.

then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort again to take meat in companies together both Men and Women one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

Two Maidens racked for Christ.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two Maidens to be laid on the Rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but only lewd and immoderate superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquiry, till time that I might be further advertised in the matter from you; for so the matter seemed unto me worthy and needful of advisement, especially for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both Men and Women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the same peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only in Cities, but Villages also and Boroughs about, which seemeth that it may be stayed and reformed. For as much as we see in many places that the Temples of our Gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring Sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured, what multitudes of Men may be amended, if space and time be given them, wherein they may be reclaimed.

The Epistle of Trajanus to Pliny.

The answer of Trajan to Pliny, letter.

The Act and Statute, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the Christians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no such general Law can be enacted, wherein all special cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution: so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himself to be a Christian, and do it unfeignedly in open audience, and do Sacrifice to our Gods, howsoever he hath been suspected before, let him be released, upon promise of amendment. Such Libels as have no names, suffice not to any just crime or accusation; for that should give both an evil president, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.

The flock of David feared and enquired for of the Roman Emperors. Ex Egeffippus. Simeon son of Mary Cleophas. A just punishment of God upon the malicious accusers of the Christians.

Tertullian writing upon this Letter of Trajanus above prefixed, thus saith, O Sentence of a confused necessity; he would not have them to be sought for as men innocent, and yet causes them to be punished as persons guilty. And thus the rage of that Persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naughty disposed men and cruel officers there were, which upon false pretence to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers Provinces: and especially if any occasion were given never so little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the Provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Hierusalem after that the Emperor Trajanus had sent down his commandment, that whosoever could be found of the stock of David, he should be enquired out and put to death: Upon this Egeffippus writing, saith, that certain Sectaries there were of the Jewish Nation, that accused Simeon the Bishop then of Hierusalem and Son of Cleophas, to come of the stock of David, and that he was a Christian. Of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said Egeffippus) that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of David, and so right justly were put to execution themselves which sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed Bishop, the foresaid Egeffippus thus writeth, that Simeon the Lords Nephew, when he was accused to Attalus the Proconsul, by the malicious Sect of the Jews, to be of the Line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged, during the space of many days together, being of age an hundred and twenty years. In which his Martyrdom he endured so constant, that both the Consul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer, and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

The age of Simeon. The death and martyrdom of Simeon.

In this Persecution of Trajanus above specified (which Trajanus next followed after Nerva) besides the other afore mentioned, also suffered Phocas Bishop of Pontus, whom Trajanus, because he would not do Sacrifice to Neptunus, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kilne: and afterward to

be put into a scalding Bath, where the constant godly Martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life. Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.

In the same Persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Servilianus, two Romans; whose Wives are said to be Euphrosina and Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the Faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which Sabina, Jacobus Philippus, Author of the Book called Supplementum, reporteth that, in the Mount of Aventine in Rome, she was beheaded of Clepidus the Governour, in the days of Hadrian. Under whom also suffered Seraphia a Virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus witnesseth.

Salpitiu, Servilianu, Euphrosina, Theodora, Sabina, Martyr. Ex supp. ch. Seraphia.

The forenamed Authors Antoninus and Equilius make mention moreover of Nereus and Achilleus, who, in this Persecution of Trajan, had the Crown of Martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius in his fourth book, cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the same time suffered Martyrdom in Asia, Servilius Paulus being then Proconsul in that Province.

Nereus and Achilleus, Martyr.

In this Persecution, beside many others, suffered the blessed Martyr of Christ Ignatius, who unto this day is had in famous reverence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the Bishoprick of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do say, that he being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was given to the Wild beasts to be devoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being under the most strict custody of his Guarders, he strengthened and confirmed the Parishers through all the Cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the Word of God: and admonished them especially and before all other things, to beware and shun those Heresies risen up and sprung newly among them, and that they should cleave and stick fast to the tradition of the Apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing very necessary to travel in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one Epistle to the Congregation of Ephesus, wherein he made mention of Onesimus their Pastor, and another he wrote to the Congregation of Magnesia, being at Meandre; wherein also he forgetteth not Dama their Bishop. Also another he wrote to the Congregation of Trallis, the Governour of which City at that time he noteth to be one Polybius. Unto which Congregation he made an exhortation, lest they refusing Martyrdom, should lose the hope that they desired.

Ignatius Martyr. Anno 111. Ex Euseb. l. 3. cap. 33, 34.

Ex Hist. in catalogo script. eccles.

Onesimus Pastor at Ephesus.

But it shall be very requisite that I alledge somewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore, as the words lie, in this sort. From Syria (saith he) even till I came to Rome, had I a battel with Beasts, as well by Sea as Land, both day and night, being bound in the midst of ten cruel Libards (that is, the Company or Band of the Souldiers) which, the more benefits that they received at my hands, became so much the worse unto me. But I, being exercised, and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more; but hereby am I not yet justified. And would to God I were once come to the Beasts, which are prepared for me, which also I wish with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke that they without delay may devour me, and forbear me nothing at all, as those whom before they have not touched or hurt for fear! And if they will not unless they be provoked, I will then inforce them against my self. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficial it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a Scholar; I force or esteem no visible things, nor yet invisible things, so that I may get or obtain Christ Jesus. Let the Fire, the Gallows, the devouring of Wild-beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the bruising or pressing of my whole body, and the torments of the Devil or Hell it self come upon me, so that I may win Christ Jesus.

The words of Ignatius. The stile handling of Ignatius.

The notable constancy and burning zeal to Christ in this blessed Martyr to be marked.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid City unto the Congregations which we have recited. And when he was even now judged to be thrown to the beasts, he spake, for the burning desire that he had to suffer, what time he heard the Lions roaring: I am the Wheat or Grain (saith he) of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of Wild Beasts, that I may be found pure bread. He suffered in the eleventh year of Trajan the Emperor. Hæc Eusebius & Hieronym.

Besides

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same Persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius secundus above recited, written unto the Emperor. Hierome in his Book intituled *De viris illustribus* maketh mention of one Publius Bishop of Athens, who for the faith of Christ, the same time during this Persecution, was put to death and martyred.

Ex Hier. lib. De viris illustribus. Publius Bishop of Athens martyred.

Hadrian Emperor.

Next after this Trajanus succeeded Hadrian the Emperor, under whom suffered Alexander the Bishop of Rome, with his two Deacons Euentius and Theodorus: also Hermes and Quirinus with their families, as late before was declared.

Zenon with 10000 martyrs slain for Christ. Ex Hier. de Erfordia & Bergomensis lib. 8.

It is signified moreover in the Histories, that in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon a Noble Man of Rome with ten thousand two hundred and three were slain for Christ. Hiericus de Erfordia, and Bergomensis lib. 8. make mention of ten thousand in the days of this Hadrian to be crucified in the Mount Hararat, crowned with Crowns of thorne, and thrust into the sides with sharp darts, after the example of the Lords Passion, whose Captains (as Antoninus and Vincentius in spec. histor. declare) were Achaius, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this story be the same with the other above of Zenon or not, it is doubted. As touching the Miracles done, and the speaking of the Angel, I refer the certainty thereof to Vincentius, and such other like Authors, where more things seem to be told than to be true.

Achaius, Heliades, Theodorus, Carcerius, with ten thousand Martyrs.

There was one Eustachius a Captain, whom Trajanus in time past had sent out to War against the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace valiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with Victory; Hadrian for joy meeting him in his journey to bring him home with Triumph, by the way first would do Sacrifice to Apollo for the Victory gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his Wife and Children he suffered Martyrdom under the foresaid Adrian. It were a long process here to recite all the Miracles contained or rather suspected in this story of this Eustachius concerning his Conversion and Death. How the Crucifix appeared to him between the Horns of an Hart. Of the saving of his Wife from the Shipmen. Of one of his Sons saved from the Lion, the other saved from the Wolf. Of their miraculous preservation from the Wild-beasts, from the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomensis, Vincentius, and others. All which as I find them in no ancient Records, so I leave them to their Authors, and compilers of the Legends.

Eustachius with his Wife and Children martyred for Christ.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita Citizens of the City of Brisia, which suffered Martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof one Calocerius, seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these Words; Vere magnus Deus Christianorum: that is, Verily great is the God of Christians: Which Words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their Execution, was made partaker of their Martyrdom. Ex Ant. Equilin.

Faustinus and Jobita, Citizens, Martyrs.

The History of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly Woman, who committed her Son Eleutherius to Anicetus Bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the Doctrine of Christian Faith, who afterwards being Bishop in Apulia was there beheaded with his foresaid Mother Anthia. Onomast.

Eleutherius with his Mother Anthia martyrs. Ex Niceph. & ex Onom.

Justus also and Pastor two brethren, with like Martyrdom ended their lives in a City of Spain, called Complutum, under the said Adrian the Emperor.

Justus and Pastor brethren and Martyrs.

Likewise Symphorissa the wife of Getulus the Martyr, with her 7 Children, is said about the same time to suffer: who first was much and often beaten and scourged, afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at last having an huge stone fastened unto her, was thrown headlong into the River, and after that her seven Children in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment diversly martyred by the Tyrant.

Symphorissa with her seven children martyred.

The story of M. Hermannus, and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children also; also of Seraphia and Sabina, to suffer under the said Emperor, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and thirty.

Sophia with her three children martyred.

As concerning Alexander Bishop of Rome, with his two Deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphira and Sabina, some Writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus record that they suffered under Trajanus. Others again, as Otto, Frisingensis with like more, report that they suffered in the fourth year of this Emperor Adrian, but of these Martyrs sufficiently hath been said before.

While Adrian the Emperor was at Athens, he purposed to visit the Country of Elusina, and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles Gods, after the manner of the Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the Christians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no less excellent zeal, than of famous learning, being then Bishop of Athens, and Disciple of the Apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the Apostles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ) did offer up and exhibit unto Adrian the Emperor a learned and excellent Apology in the defence of the Christian Religion. Wherein he declared the Christians, without all just cause or desert to be so cruelly intreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides another no less excellent Philosopher in Athens, who for his singular learning and eloquence, being notified to the Emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent Oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the said Emperor a memorable Apology for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to see Wit and Learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius a man of great Nobility, who likewise did write very pithy and grave Letters to Adrian the Emperor, shewing and declaring therein that it was consonant with no right nor reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the Name and Sect that they followed.

Quadratus Bishop of Athens offered an Apology of Christian Doctrine.

Aristides, a Philosopher of Athens, defendeth before the Emperor the religion of Christ.

Serenus Granius a defender of Christian religion. Esf. l. 4. c. 3.

Thus the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the Emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the Christians, became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the same directed his Letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mentioned) Proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the Christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them, but only their name. The Copy of which his Letter, because that Justin in his Apology doth alledge it; I thought therefore to express the same in his own words, as followeth.

The Emperor writeth for the Christians.

The Letter of Adrian the Emperor to Minutius Fundanus.

I Have received an Epistle written unto me from Serenus Granius, our right worthy and welbeloved, whose Office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further advisement and circumspection to pass, lest our Subjects be molested, and malicious Sycophants boldned and supported in their evil. Wherefore if the Subjects of our Provinces do bring forth any accusation before the Judge against the Christians, and can prove the thing they object against them, let them do the same and no more, and otherwise for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out against them. For so, more convenient it is, that, if any man will be an accuser, you take the accusation quietly, and judge upon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the Christians, and complain of them as Malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But notwithstanding whosoever upon spite and maliciousness shall commence or carvil against them, see you correct and punish that man for his unordinate and malicious dealing.

The Letter of Adrian the Emperor to Fundanus the Proconsul.

Thus by the merciful providence of God, some more quiet and rest was given to the Church, although Hermannus thinketh these halcion days did not very long continue, but that the Emperor changing his Edict, began to renew again Persecution of Gods People, albeit this foundeth not to be so by the words of Melito in his Apology to Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the mean time this

Respite from Persecutions

The second destruction of the Jews. Jerusalem reedified and enlarged. Some write that the place where Christ was crucified was taken into the Walls. Jerusalem called by a new name *Eliopolis*.

Antoninus Pius Emperor. Anno 140.

this is certain, that in the days of this *Adrian*, the *Jews* rebelled again and spoiled the Country of *Palestin*. Against whom the Emperor sent *Julius Severus*, who overthrew in *Fewry* fifty Castles, and burnt and destroyed nine hundred and fourscore Villages and Towns, and slew of the *Jews* fifty thousand; with Famine, Sickness, Sword and Fire, *Juda* was almost desolate. But at length *Adrian* the Emperor, which otherwise was named *Elivs*, repaired and enlarged the City again of *Jerusalem*, which was called after his name *Eliopolis*, or *Elia Capitolina*, the inhabitance whereof he granted only to the Gentiles, and to the Christians, forbidding the *Jews* utterly to enter into the City.

After the death of *Adrian* who died by bleeding at the Nose, succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and forty, and reigned twenty and three years, who for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of *Pius*, and is for the same in Histories commended. His saying was, *that he had rather save one Citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries*. At the beginning of his Reign, such was the state of the Church, as *Adrian* his Predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no Edict set forth to persecute the Christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the Heathen multitude for the causes above specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and ascribing to the Christians whatsoever misfortune happened contrary unto their desires: moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof, divers there were in sundry places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the Emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no Persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed the same being moved. As well may appear by his Letter sent down to the Countries of *Asia*, the tenor whereof here insueth.

The Epistle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Asia.

The Letter of Antoninus Pius to the Commons of Asia.

A notable argument of the Emperor to prove the good Conscience of Christians, and the false conscience of the Heathen.

Emperor and Caesar, Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleven times, Consul thrice, unto the Commons of Asia greeting. I am very certain that the Gods have a care of this, that they which be such, shall be known, and not lie hid. For they do punish them that will not worship them more than you, which so sore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have conceived, and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their joy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they covet to die for their God, than to live. Whereby they are Victors, and do overcome you, giving rather their lives, than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconvenient to advertise you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen among us, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your case with them. For they upon a sure confidence of their God, are bold and fearless, much more than you: who in all the time of this your ignorance, both do worship other Gods, and neglect the Religion of immortality, and such Christians as worship him, them you do drive out, and persecute them unto death. Of these and such like matters many Presidents of our Provinces did write to our Father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his answer again, willing them in no case to molest the Christians, except they were found in some trespass prejudicial against the Empire of Rome. And to me also many there be, which write signifying their mind in like manner. To whom I have answered again, to the same effect and manner as my Father did. Wherefore if any hereafter shall offer any vexation or trouble to such, having no other cause, but only for that they are such, let him that is appeached, be released and discharged free, yea although he be found to be such (that is a Christian) and let the accuser sustain the punishment, &c.

He meaneth *Adrian* which adopted this *Antoninus* of his son in law to be his son and heir. O notable Edict.

This godly Edict of the Emperor was proclaimed at *Ephesus*, in the publick Assembly of all *Asia*, whereof *Melito* also Bishop of *Sardis*, who flourished in the same time, maketh mention in his Apology written in defence of our Doctrine to *M. Antoninus Verus*, as hereafter (Christ

willing) shall appear. By this means then the Tempest or Persecution in those days began to be appeased, through the merciful Providence of God, which would not have his Church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

The fourth Persecution.

After the decease of the foresaid quiet and mild Prince *Aurelius Antoninus Pius* (who among all other Emperors of that time made the most quiet end) followed his Son *M. Antoninus Verus*, with *Lucius* his brother, about the year of our Lord one hundred threescore and two, a man of nature more stern and severe. And although in study of Philosophy, and in Civil Government no less commendable: yet toward the Christians sharp and fierce, by whom was moved the fourth Persecution after *Nero*. In whose time a great number of them which truly professed Christ, suffered most cruel torments and punishments both in *Asia* and *France*. In the number of whom was *Polycarpus*, the worthy Bishop of *Smyrna*, who in the great rage of this Persecution in *Asia*, among many other most constant Saints was also martyred. Of whose End and Martyrdom I thought it here not unexpedient to commit to History, so much as *Eusebius* declareth to be taken out of a certain Letter or Epistle, written by them of his own Church to the brethren of *Pontus*: the tenor of which Epistle here followeth.

The Congregation which is at *Smyrna*, to the Congregation which is at *Philomilium*, and to all the Congregations throughout *Pontus*, mercy to you, peace and the love of God our Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied, Amen. We have written unto you brethren of those men which have suffered Martyrdom, and of blessed *Polycarpus* which hath ended and appeased this Persecution, as it were, by the shedding his own blood. And in the same Epistle before they enter into further matter of *Polycarpus*, they discourse of other Martyrs, describing what patience they abode and shewed in suffering their torments: which was so great and admirable (saith the Epistle) that the lookers on were amazed, seeing and beholding how they were so scourged and whipped, that the inward Veins and Arteries appeared, yea, even so much that the very intrails of their bodies, their bowels and members were seen, and after that, were set upon sharp shells taken out of the Sea, edged and sharp, and certain nails and thorns for the Martyrs to go upon, which were sharpened and pointed, called *Obelisci*. Thus suffered they all kind of punishment and torment that might be devised: and lastly, were thrown unto the wild beasts to be devoured. But especially in the aforesaid Epistle, mention is made of one *Germanicus*, how he most worthily persevered and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is ingrafted in the common nature of all men, whose notable patience and sufferance was so notable, that the whole multitude wondring at this beloved Martyr of God, for this his so bold constancy, and also for the singular strength and virtue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Christians, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, Destroy the wicked men, let *Polycarpus* be sought for. And whilst a great uprore and tumult began thus to be raised upon those cries, a certain *Phrygian* named *Quintus*, lately come out of *Phrygia*, seeing and abhorring the wild beasts, and the fierce rage of them, of an over-light mind betrayed his own safety. For so the same Letter of him doth report, that he, not reverently, but more malipertly than was requisite, together with others rushed into the Judgment place, and so being taken, was made a manifest example to all the beholders, that no man ought rashly and unreverently with such boldness to thrust in himself, to intermeddle in matters wherewith he hath not to do.

But now we will surcease to speak more of them, and return to *Polycarpus*, of whom the foresaid Letter consequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginning, when he heard of these things, was nothing at all afraid nor disquieted in mind, but purposed to have tarried still in the City, till being persuaded by the intreaty of them that were about him (which desired him instantly that he would convey himself away) hid himself in a Grange or Village not far off from the City, and there abiding with a few more in his company, did nothing else (night nor day) but abode in supplication, wherein he made his humble petition

M. Antoninus Verus Emperor. Anno 162.

Polycarpus the blessed Martyr, Bishop of Smyrna.

Ex Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 15. Hieron. in catalogo.

Twelve martyrs in Asia.

The cruel and beastly handling of the Christian martyrs.

The singular patience and constancy of the Christians.

Germanicus a most constant Martyr.

Quintus a Phrygian too hardy and bold.

Polycarpus fleeth Persecution.

Polycarpus prayeth for the Church.

tion for the obtaining of peace unto all the Congregati-
ons throughout the World, for that was his accustomed
manner so to do. And as he was thus making his prayers
three days before he was apprehended, in a Vision by night
he saw the bed set on Fire under his Head, and suddenly to
be consumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and
expounded unto them that were present his Vision, and
told them before what thing should come to pass, that is,
how that in the fire he should lose his life for Christs cause.
It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand,
which so narrowly sought for him, that he was enforced for
the affection and love of his brethren to fly into another
Village, to which place notwithstanding within a little
while after the pursuers came, and when they had taken a
couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they so beat one
of them with Whips, that by the bewraying or confession
of him they were brought unto the Inn where Polycarpus
was. And they say that the pursuers making no great haste
to enter, found him in the uppermost place of the house,
from whence he might have escaped into other houses, if
he would; but this he would not do, saying, *The will of
God be done.* Furthermore, when he knew that they were
come, as the said History sheweth, he came down, and spake
unto them with a cheerful and pleasant countenance, so that
it was a wonder to see those which awhile agoe knew not
the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and
his grave and constant countenance, lamented that they had
so much employed their labour, that so aged a man should
be apprehended. To conclude, he commanded that straight-
way without any delay the Table should be laid for them,
and perswaded them that they would eat and dine well,
and required of them boldly, that he might have an hours
respite to make his prayers. Which thing, after it was grant-
ed, he arose and went to pray, so being replenished with the
grace of God, that they which were present, and hearing
the prayers that he made, were astonied at it, and now many
of them were sorry that so honest and godly an aged man
should be put to death.

After this the aforefaid Epistle or Letter, prosecuting the
History, addeth more, as followeth: After he had made
an end of his prayers, and had called to his remembrance
all those things which ever happened unto him, and to the
universal Catholick Church throughout all the world (whe-
ther they were small or great, glorious or else inglorious) and
that the hour was now come, in which they ought to set
forward, they set him upon an Ass, and brought him to the
City upon a Solemn Feast day. And there met him Irenar-
chus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which causing him
to come up into the Chariot where they fate, perswaded
him, and said, *What hurt I pray thee, (shall come thereof to
thee, if thou say (by the way of salutation) My Lord Ce-
sar, and do Sacrifice, and thus to save thy self?* But he at
the beginning made them none answer, till that when they
inforced him to speak, he said, *I will not do as ye counsel
me I should.* When as they saw he could not be perswaded,
they gave him very rough language, and of purpose mole-
sted him, that in going down the Chariot from them, he
might hurt or break his Legs. But he forcing very light of
the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merrily
and diligently forward, making haste unto the place appoin-
ted. And when there was such uprore in the place of exe-
cution, that he could not be heard but of very few, there
came a voice from Heaven to Polycarpus, as he was going
into the Stage or appointed place of Judgment, saying: *Be
of good cheer, Polycarpus, and play the man.* No man
there was which saw him that spake, but very many of
us heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there
was a great noise made by them which understood that Po-
lycarpus was apprehended. The Proconsul asked him when
he was come, whether his name was Polycarpus or not?
And when he said, yea it was, he gave him counsel to deny
his name, and said unto him, *Be good unto thy self, and fa-
vour thine old age;* and many other such like words which
they accustomed to speak; *Swear, saith he, by the Emperors
good fortune, look upon this matter; say thou with us: De-
stroy these naughty men.* Then Polycarpus beholding with
constant countenance the whole multitude which was in
the place appointed, and giving a great sigh, looked up to
Heaven, saying: *Thou, thou it is that wilt destroy these
wicked men.* And the Proconsul thus being earnestly in
hand with him, said: *Take thine Oath, and I will discharge*

thee, desie Christ. Polycarpus answered, *Four score and six
years have I been his servant, yet in all his time hath
he not so much as once hurt me: how then may I speak evil
of my King and sovereign Lord, which hath thus preserved
me?* Then the Proconsul again inforced him and said:
Swear thou, I advise thee, by Cesar's Prosperity. Polycarpus
replieth, *If thou require of me this fond word of vain boast-
ing, feigning not to know (as thou sayest) who I am, I do
thee to wit that I am a Christian: and if thou desire to
know the Doctrine of Christianity, appoint a day, and thou
shalt hear.* Perswade the people unto this, said the Procon-
sul. Truly, saith Polycarpus, I have thought it my part thus
to say unto you, for so much as we are commanded to give
unto the Governors and Powers ordained of God, the honour
meet and due to them, and not hurtful unto us: but as
for those, I do judge them unworthy, to purge my self unto
them. Hereupon the Proconsul stood up; I have, saith he,
*Wild-Beasts to whom I will throw thee, unless thou take a
better way.* Whereunto Polycarpus answered, *Let them
come, we have determined with our selves, that we will
not by repentance turn us from the better way to the worse,
but rather convenient it is, that a man turn from things
that be evil, unto that which is good and just.* Again, saith
the Proconsul, *I will tame thee with fire, if that thou set not
by the wild beasts, nor yet repent.* Then said Polycarpus, *Thou
threaten me with fire, which shall burn for the space of an
hour, and shall be within a little while after put out and ex-
tinguished; but thou knowest not the fire of the judgment
that is to come, and of everlasting punishment, which is re-
served for the wicked and ungodly. But why make you all
these delays? Give me what death soever ye list.* These,
and many other such like things being by him spoken, he
was replenished with joy and boldness, and his countenance
appeared so full of grace and favour, that not only he was
not troubled with those things which the Proconsul spake
unto him, but contrarily, the Proconsul himself began to be
amazed, and sent for the Crier, which in the middle of the
stage was commanded to cry three times; *Polycarpus hath
confessed himself to be a Christian:* which words of the
Crier were no sooner spoken, but all the whole multitude
both of Gentiles and Jews inhabiting at Smyrna, with a
vehement rage, and loud voice cried; *This is that Doctor or
Teacher of Asia, the Father of the Christians, and the de-
stroyer of our Gods, which hath instructed a great number;
that our Gods are not to be worshipped:* and after this they
cried unto Philip the Governor of Asia, and required him
that he would let loose the Lion to Polycarpus. To whom he
made answer, that *he might not so do, because he had al-
ready his prey.* Then they cried again all together with one
voice, that he would burn Polycarpus alive. For it was re-
quisite that the Vision, which he saw as concerning his Pil-
low or Bolster, should be fulfilled: which when he had seen
burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himself unto the
faithful sort which were with him, saying, by the way of
Prophecy, *it will so come, that I shall be burned alive.* And
the Proconsul had no sooner spoken, but it was out of hand
performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out
of their Shops, Workhouses and Barns, wood and other dry
matter for that purpose, and especially the Jews were most
serviceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

And thus the Pile being laid, and when he had now put
off his garments and undone his girdle, and was about to
pull off his shoes, which he had not done before, for that all
the faithful sort among themselves strived (as it were) who
should first touch his body at their farewell, because for the
good conversation of his life, even from his younger age, he
was had in great estimation of all men: Therefore straight-
way those instruments which are requisite to such a Bone-
fire, were brought unto him, and when they would have
nailed him to the Stake with Iron Hoops, he said, *let me
alone as I am, for he that hath given me strength to suffer
and abide the fire, shall also give power, that without this
your provision of Nails, I shall abide, and not stir in the
midst of this fire or pile of Wood.* Which thing when they
heard, they did not nail him, but bound him. Therefore
when his hands were bound behind him, even as the chief-
est Ram taken out of the Flock, he was sacrificed as an ac-
ceptable burnt offering to God, saying, *O Father of thy well-
beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ; by whom we have
obtained the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and Pow-
ers, and of every creature, and of all just men which live
before*

A faithful
servant of
Christ his
Lord.

Polycarpus
ready to
give a rea-
son of his
doctrine.

Polycarpus
obedient to
higher pow-
ers.

Polycarpus
threatened
with wild
beasts.

An example
of brotherly
love.

The willing
mind of Po-
lycarpus to
suffer.

His prayer
before his
death.

Polycarpus
hath a Visi-
on of his
burning.

Polycarpus
pursued and
taken.

Polycarpus
might ef-
cape and
would not.

Polycarpus
faileth to
prayer.

Polycarpus
refuseth to
do sacrifice.

Polycarpus
comforted
by a voice
from Hea-
ven.

Polycarpus
allured to
change his
name, and
would not
consent.

before thee, I give thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to grant me this day that I may have my part among the number of the Martyrs in the Cup of Christ unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of body and soul, through the operation of thy Holy Spirit; among whom I shall this day be received into thy fight for an acceptable sacrifice: and as thou hast prepared and revealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same. O thou most true God, which canst not lie. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, and blest thee, and glorifie thee by our everlasting Bishop, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory evermore, Amen.

The thanksgiving of Polycarpus.

A Miracle shewed.

An example of much cruelty.

The Jews enemies always to the Christians.

Mark that he saith, we love them, and worship them not.

Twelve Martyrs put to death in Smyrna.

Ex Irenaeo lib. 3. cap. 3. Euseb. lib. cap. 14.

Anno 167.

And as soon as he had ended this word Amen, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flashed out vehemently, we, to whom it was given to discern the same, saw a marvellous matter, which were also to this purpose preserved, that we might shew the same to others. For the fire being made like unto a roof or vault of a house, and after the manner of a shipmans sail, filled with wind, compassed about the body of the Martyr, as with a certain Wall, and he, in the middle of the same, not as flesh that burned, but as gold and silver when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a favour so sweet, as if myrrh or some other precious balm had given a sent. At the last, when those wicked persons saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come unto him, and thrust him through with his sword. Which being done, so great a quantity of blood ran out of his body, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marvelled that there was so much diversity between the infidels and the elect, of whom this Polycarpus was one, being a disciple of the Apostles, and a prophetic instructor of our times, and Bishop of the Catholick Church of Smyrna: for what word soever he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the subtil and envious adversary when he saw the worthiness of his Martyrdom, and that his conversation even from his younger years could not be reprov'd, and that he was adorned with the Crown of Martyrdom, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit, gave in charge that we should not take and divide his body, for fear lest the remnants of the dead corps should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon divers whispered Niceta the father of Herod, and his brother Dalces in the ear, to admonish the Proconsul, that in no case he should deliver his body, lest (saith he) they leave Christ, and begin to worship him. And this spake they, because the Jews had given them secret warning, and provoked them thereunto; who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we meant at no time to forsake Christ, which gave his life for the salvation of the whole world (as many I mean as are elected to salvation by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the Son of God, but the Martyrs do we love as Disciples of the Lord (and that worthily) for their abundant love towards their King and Master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his Disciples. When therefore the Centurion saw and perceived the labour of the Jews, the corps being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to do.

Thus good Polycarpus with twelve others that came from Philadelphia suffered Martyrdom at Smyrna; which Polycarpus specially above the rest is had in memory, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthy Disciple of the Apostles; whose History the brethren of the Congregation of Smyrna have written in this their Epistle, as is above recited.

Irenaeus in his 3d. Book against Heresies, the 3d. Chap. and Eusebius in his 4th. Book and 14th. Chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, reporteth this worthy saying of Polycarpus: This Polycarpus (saith he) meeting at a certain time Marcion the Heretick, who said to him: Dost thou not know me? made answer, I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan. So little fear what evil might ensue thereof, had the Disciples of the Apostles, that they would not speak to them whom they knew to be the depravers of the verity, even as S. Paul saith, The Heretick after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing, that he which is such a one, is perverse or forward, and damnable himself. This most holy Confessor and Martyr of Christ, Polycarpus, suffered death in the fourth Persecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus reigned, in the year of our Lord 167, as Ursperg affirmeth, in the year 170, as

Eusebius witnesseth in his Chronicles, the seventh before the Kalends of February.

Of Germanicus mention is made above in the story of Polycarpus, of whom writeth Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 15. noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christs Doctrine; whom when the Proconsul went to persuade to remember his age, and to favour himself, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his own accord incited and provoked the wild beasts to come upon him, and to devour him, to be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life. Hæc Euseb. an. 170.

Thus have you heard out of the Epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarpus: whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the Ministry about the space of 70 years. This Polycarpus was the Scholar and Hearer of John the Evangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his Epistle which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his Martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his Church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarpus was then in the Ministry. Likewise Irenaeus writeth of the said Polycarpus after this manner: He always taught (saith he) those things which he learned of the Apostles (leaving them to the Church) and are only true. Whereunto also all the Churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Polycarpus to this day bear witness. And the same Irenaeus witnesseth also that the said Polycarpus wrote an Epistle to the Philippians, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarpus, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said Epistle divers things are found very wholesome and Apostolick: as where he teacheth of Christ, of Judgment, and of the Resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by Grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

In Eusebius we read in like manner a part of an Epistle written by Irenaeus to Florinus, wherein is declared, how that the said Irenaeus being yet young, was with Polycarpus in Asia; at what time he saw and well remembered what Polycarpus did, and the place where he fate teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his body, with the sermons and words which he said to the People. And furthermore, he perfectly remembered, how that the said Polycarpus often times reported unto him those things which he learned and heard them speak of the Lord his doings, power and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their own ears, all which were more constant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture. This, with much more, hath Irenaeus concerning Polycarpus.

Hierome also writing of the same Polycarpus, hath, how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was Scholar to the Apostles, and to them which did see, and were conversant with Christ himself: whereby it is to be conjectured, his authority to be much, not only with them of his own Church, but with all other Churches about him.

Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said Irenaeus, that Polycarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus Bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and seven in the Reign of Antoninus Pius, whose cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controversy of Easter day: wherein the Asians and the Romans something disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said Polycarpus, in the behalf of the brethren and Church of Asia, took his long journey thither, to come and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth also Nicephorus lib. 4. declaring, that Polycarpus and Anicetus something varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and that notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in so much that Anicetus in his Church gave place to Polycarpus to minister the Communion and Sacrament of the Lords Supper for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of Ceremonies, was at that time retained in the Church without any offence of stomach, or breach of Christian peace in the Church.

This Polycarpus (as is above mentioned) suffered his Martyrdom even in his own Church at Smyrna, where he had laboured so many years in planting of the Gospel of Christ.

Germanicus
Ex Euseb.
lib. 4. cap. 15.
Hist. Eccl.

The old age of Polycarpus.

Polycarpus was the scholar of John.

Irenaeus lib. 3. cap. 1.

The Epistle of Polycarpus to the Philippians.

Justification by faith.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 22. Irenaeus conversant with Polycarpus.

Polycarpus conversant with the Apostles.

The authority of Polycarpus in the Churches of Asia.

Polycarpus came to Rome.
Polycarpus conferred with Anicetus.

The East Church and Roman Church differ about Easter day.

Ex Niceph. lib. 4. cap. 35.

Difference of ceremonies caused no breach of charity in the primitive Church.

Christ, which was about the year of our Lord, an hundred threescore and ten, as *Eusebius* reckoneth in his Chronicle, and in the seventh year of *Antoninus Verus* his Reign, whereby it appeareth that *Socrates* in *Historia tripartita* was much deceived, saying, That *Polycarpus* suffered in the time of *Gordianus*.

In this fourth Persecution, besides *Polycarpus* and others mentioned before, we read also in *Eusebius* of divers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at *Smyrna*.

Over and besides, in the same Persecution suffered moreover *Metrodorus* a Minister, who was given to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthy *Pionius*, which after much boldness of speech, with his Apologies exhibited, and his Sermons made to the people in the defence of *Christian* Faith, and after much relieving and comforting of such as were in Prisons, and otherwise discomfited, at last was put to cruel Torments and Afflictions, then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed Martyrdom.

After these also suffered *Carpus*, *Papilus*, and *Agathonica*, a woman, who after their most constant and worthy Confessions, were put to death at *Pergamopolis* in *Asia*, witnessing *Eusebius*, lib. 4. cap. 7.

And as these suffered in *Asia*, so in *Rome* suffered *Felicitas* with her seven Children, who under this *M. Antoninus Verus* sustained also the cruelty of this Persecution. The names of whose Children *Bergomensis* and other Histories do thus recite, *Januarius*, *Felix*, *Philip*, *Silvanus*, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, *Martialis*. Of whom her first and eldest Son *Januarius*, after he was whipped and scourged with Rods, was prest to death with leaden weights. *Felix* and *Philip* had their brains beaten out with mauls. *Silvanus* was cast down headlong, and had his Neck broken. Furthermore, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, and *Martialis*, were beheaded. Last of all, *Felicitas* the Mother (otherwise than the accustomed manner was for such as had born Children) was slain with the Sword, *Ex Supplem.*

In the rage of this fourth Persecution, under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, suffered also good *Justinus*, a man in Learning and Philosophy excellent, and a great Defender of *Christian* Religion, who first exhibited unto the Emperor, and to the Senate, a Book or Apology in the defence of the *Christians*, and afterward himself also died a Martyr. Of whom in the History of *Eusebius*, lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded, that about what time, or a little before that *Polycarpus* with divers other Saints suffered Martyrdom in *Pergamopolis* a City of *Asia*, this *Justinus* (as is aforesaid) presented a Book in defence of our Doctrine to the Emperor, to wit, unto *Antoninus*, and to the Senate. After which he was also crowned with like Martyrdom unto those, whom he in his Book had defended, through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of *Crescens*.

This *Crescens* was a Philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the *Cynical* Sect, whom because this *Justinus* had reprov'd in open audience, and had born away the victory of the truth which he defended; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this Crown of Martyrdom. And this did also *Justin* himself a Philosopher, no less famous by his Profession, foresee and declare in his foresaid Apology, telling almost all those things beforehand which should happen unto him, by these words, saying, And I look after this good turn, that I be slain going by the way, either of some of those whom I have named, and to have my brains beaten out with a Bat, or else of *Crescens*, whom I cannot call a Philosopher, but rather a vain Boaster. For it is not convenient to call him a Philosopher, which openly professeth things to him unknown, and whereof he hath no skill, saying and reporting of us, that the *Christians* be ungodly and irreligious, and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by Error.

For whether he objecteth against us the Doctrine of the *Christians* which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worse than the unlearned Idiots, who for the most part use not to dispute, or judge of things they know not, and to bear witness of the same. Or put the case that he had read it, yet understandeth he not the majesty of the matters therein contained: or, if peradventure he understandeth them, and doth it for this purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them; then is he so much the

more wicked and malicious, and the bondslave of vile and beastly, both fame and fear. For this I testify of him, giving you truly to understand, that for a truth, which I declare unto you, how that I have apposed him, and have put unto him many questions, whereby I know and perceive, that he understandeth nothing. But if so be that this our Disputation with him hath not come unto your ears, I am ready to communicate unto you again those questions which I demanded of him, which things shall not be unfit for your Princely honour to hear. But if ye know and understand both what things I have examined him of, as also what answer he hath made, it shall be apparent unto you, that he is altogether ignorant of our Doctrine and Learning; or else if he knoweth the same, he dare not utter it for fear of his Auditors, which thing, as I said before, is a proof that he is no Philosopher, but a slave to vain glory, which maketh none account of that, which his own Master *Socrates* had in so great estimation. And thus much of *Justin*, out of *Justin* himself.

Now, to verifie that which *Justin* here of himself doth Prophesie, That *Crescens* would and did procure his death: *Tacianus* (a man brought up of a Child in the Institutions of the *Gentiles*, and obtained in the same not a little fame, and which also left behind him many good Monuments and Commentaries) writeth in his Book against the *Gentiles* in this sort, And *Justin* (saith he) that most excellent learned man, full well spake and uttered his mind, that the afore recited men were like unto Thieves or Liers by the High-way side. And in the said Book speaking afterward of certain Philosophers, the said *Tacianus* inferreth thus, *Crescens* therefore (saith he) when he came first into that great City, passed all others in the vicious love of Children, and was very much given to covetousness; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himself doth fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppress *Justin* with death, as with the most greatest evil that was, and all because that *Justin*, speaking truth, reprov'd the Philosophers to be men only for the Belly, and deceivers: and this was the cause of *Justines* Martyrdom. *Hierome* in his Ecclesiastical Catalogue thus writeth, *Justin*, when in the City of *Rome* he had his Disputations, and had reprov'd *Crescens* the *Cynick* for a great Blasphemer of the *Christians*, for a Belly-god, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery; at last by his endeavour and Conspiracy was accused to be a *Christian*, and for Christ shed his blood in the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and four, under *Marcus Antoninus*, as the Chronicles do witness; *Abbas Urspergensis*, and *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, in the thirteenth year of the Emperor *Antoninus*.

Among these above recited, is also to be numbred *Praxedis*, a blessed Virgin, the Daughter of a Citizen of *Rome*, who in the time of *Anicetus* there Bishop, was so brought up in the Doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his Religion, that she, with her sister *Potentiana*, bestowed all her Patrimony upon the relieving of poor *Christians*, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the Martyrs. And after she had made free all her Family with her Servants after the death of her sister, she also departed, and was buried in peace.

Under the same *Antoninus* also suffered *Prolomus* and *Lucius* for the Confession of Christ, in a City of *Egypt*, called *Alexandrina*, whose History, because it is described in the Apology of *Justinus* Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alledged in *Eusebius*, declaring the manner and occasion thereof, Lib. 4. cap. 17. in words and effect as followeth, &c.

There was (saith he) a certain Woman married unto a Husband, who was given much to lasciviousness, whereunto she herself in times past was also addicted. But she afterward being instructed in the *Christian* Religion, became chaste herself, and also perswaded her Husband to live chastly; oftentimes telling him, that it was written in the Precepts of the *Christians*, that they should be punished eternally which lived not chastly and justly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthiness, thereby caused his Wife to estrange herself from his company. For why? the Woman thought it not convenient to continue in her Husband's company, which concerning the law of Nature, sought otherwise to satisfy his filthy appetite. Therefore she was purposed to be divorced from him. But her

E Neigh

Crescens proved an unlearned Philosopher

Tacianus commend-ed.

The praise of *Justin* Martyr.

Ex Catalogo Hieron.

The death and martyrdom of *Justin* the noble Philosopher and *Christian* Martyr. *Praxedis*, *Potentiana*, *Christiana* Virgins.

Prolomus *Lucius* Martyrs. *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

Socrates deceived in his *Tripartita* hist.

Ex Euseb. 4. cap. 17.

Metrodorus *Pionius*.

Carpus, *Papilus*, *Agathonica*, Martyrs.

Felicitas with her seven children.

Januarius, *Felix*, *Philippus*, *Silvanus*, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, *Martialis*, Martyrs.

Justinus Martyr. *Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

Crescens a Philosopher procurer of the death of *Justinus*.

Crescens a railing Philosopher, and a malicious railer.

A slave of fame and fear.

Neighbours and Kinsfolk provoked her, by promising his amendment, to keep company again with him, and so she did. But he after this took his Journey into *Alexandria*, and when it was shewed her, that there he lived more licentious than at any time before, for that she would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life, by coupling her self any longer with him, she gave him a Letter of Divorce, and so departed from him. Then her Husband, who ought rather to have rejoiced to have so honest and chaste a Wife, which not only would not commit any dishonest thing her self, but also could not abide any lewd or misordered behaviour in her Husband, and that by this her separation she went about to reclaim him from his incest and wickedness to better amendment of life: he, in recompence to his Wife again, accused her to be a *Christian*, which at that time was no less than death. Whereupon she, being in great peril and danger, delivered up unto the Emperor (as *Justinus* in his *Apology* writing to the Emperor himself declareth) a supplication, desiring and craving of his Majesty, first, to grant her so much licence as to let her Family in order, and that done, afterward to come again and make answer to all that might or should be laid against her: whereunto the Emperor condescended. Then her Husband seeing that he could have no advantage against her, devised with himself, how he might bring *Proteus* (which was her Instructor in the Faith of Christ) in trouble and accusation: using the means of a certain Centurion, who was his very friend, whom he perswaded to examine *Proteus*, whether he were a Christian or not. *Proteus* (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his Profession) confessed no less then to the Examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the verity of Christian Doctrine. For who so denieth himself to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himself unworthy of that, the Confession whereof he flyeth, which thing is never found in a true and sincere Christian. Thus then he being brought before *Urbicius* the Judge, and by him condemned to suffer: one *Lucius* being also a Christian, standing by, and seeing the wrong Judgment, and hasty Sentence of the Judge, said to *Urbicius*, *What reason I pray you or equity is this, that this man who neither is Adulterer, nor Fornicator, nor Homicide, nor Felon; neither hath committed any such Crime, wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned only for his Name and Confession of a Christian? This Condemnation, and this manner of Judgments (O Urbicius) are neither seemly for the vertuous Emperor, nor to the Philosopher his Son, nor yet for the Estate of his Senate of Rome.*

The boldness and Christian constancy of *Lucius*.

Lucius condemned and martyred.

The third man also condemned and martyred.

A place of *Gratianus* suspected.

Concordus martyr.

Concordus spitteth in the face of the Idol.

Which words being heard, *Urbicius* making no further Examination of the matter, said unto *Lucius*, *Me thinketh thou art also a Christian.* And when *Lucius* had given him to understand that he was also a Christian, the Judge without further delay, commanded him to be had away to the place of Execution. To whom he answered, *I thank you with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked Governors, and send me unto my good and most loving Father, being also the King of all Gods.* And in like manner the third man also, coming unto him, and using the like liberty of Speech, had also the like sentence of Death and Condemnation, and was crowned also with the same Crown of Martyrdom. And thus much out of the *Apology* of *Justinus*, by the which story it may appear not to be true that *Gratianus* attributeth unto *Higinus*, Bishop of Rome, the deciding of Causes Matrimonial, seeing that in *Justinus* time (who was in the same age of *Higinus*) the divorcement of this Woman in this History above touched, was not decided by any Ecclesiastical Law, or brought before any Bishop, but was brought before an Heathen Prince, and determined by the Law Civil.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the *Martyrology* of *Isuardus*, of one *Concordus* a Minister of the City of *Spolet*, who in the Reign of this *Antoninus Verus*, because he would not Sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, but did spit in the face of the Idol, after divers and sundry Punishments sustained, at last with the Sword was beheaded. *Vincen-tius* in his tenth Book, Chap. 108. reciteth a long story of his Acts and Life, whereof some part perhaps may seem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing besides his Sepulchre in the forenamed City of *Spolet*, unto the which water was

given (saith *Vincen-tius*) by the vertue of him, for whose Name he suffered, to restore sight to the blind, to heal the sick, and to cast out Devils, &c. Which kind of vertue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expel Devils, neither doth God give to any Creature of water, neither is it like that *Concordus* the blessed Martyr did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

The story of *Vincen-tius* suspected of untruth.

Isuardus and *Bede*, *Vincen-tius* and *Henricus de Erfordia*, with other Authors more, make relation of divers other Martyrs that by sundry kinds of Torments were put to death, under the aforesaid *Antoninus Verus*: the names of whom be *Symmetrius*, *Florellus*, *Pontianus*, *Alexander*, *Caius*, *Epipodus*, *Victor*, *Corona*, *Marcellus*, *Valerianus*. The cause of whose Martyrdom was the reprehending of Idolatry, and because at the Emperors Commandment they would not sacrifice to Idols. Many sorts of Punishments and Miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected, the Histories of these Writers not to be certain or true, as well touching these as also other Martyrs, as may appear in *Vincen-tius*, in *Petrus de Natalibus*, and other Authors of like sort. In which Authors they which list to read more of their Miracles there may find them.

Ex *Isuardus*, *Vincen-tius*, & *Henricus de Erfordia*, *Symmetrius*, *Florellus*, *Pontianus*, *Alexander*, *Caius*, *Epipodus*, *Victor*, *Corona*, *Marcellus*, *Valerianus*, Martyrs. Authors in the writing of Miracles of Martyrs suspected.

A little before mention was made of *Symphorissa*, other-wise named *Symphorosa*, Wife of *Getulus*, with her seven Sons. This *Getulus* or *Getulius* was a Minister or Teacher (as witnesseth *Martyrol. Adonis*) in the City of *Tiber*, which *Getulus*, with *Cerealis*, *Amantius*, and *Primitivus*, by the Commandment of *Adrian*, were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moreover of the seven Sons of this *Symphorosa*, I find to be *Crescens*, *Julianus*, *Nemesius*, *Primitivus*, *Justinus*, *Stattus*, and *Eugenius*, whom the Chronicle of *Ado* declareth to be put to death at the Commandment of *Adrian*, being fastened to seven Stakes, and so racked up with a pulley, and at last were thrust thorow, *Crescens* in the Neck, *Julianus* in the Breast, *Nemesius* in the Heart, *Primitivus* about the Navil, *Justinus* cut in every joyn of his body, *Stattus* run thorow with Spears, *Eugenius* cut asunder from the Breast to the lower parts, and then cast into a deep Pit, having the name by the Idolatrous Priests, entituled, *Ad septem Biotbanatos*. After the Martyrdom of whom also *Symphorosa* the Mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Getulus, *Cerealis*, *Amantius*, *Primitivus*, *Martyrs*. The seven Sons of *Symphorosa*, *Crescens*, *Julianus*, *Nemesius*, *Primitivus*, *Justinus*, *Stattus*, *Eugenius*, Martyrs.

Under the said *Antoninus Verus*, and in the same Persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other Countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant Martyrs of *Lions* and *Vienna*, two Cities in France, giving to Christ a glorious Testimony, and to all Christian men a Spectacle or Example of singular Constancy and Fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The History of whom, because it is written and set forth by their own Churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2*. I thought here to express the same in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be seen. The title of which their Epistle written to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia thus beginneth.

The Persecution in *Lions* and *Vienna*, two Cities in France. Ex *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2*.

The Servants of Christ inhabiting the Cities of Vienna and Lions, to the Brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same Faith and Hope of Redemption with us: Peace, Grace, and Glory from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord.

The greatness of this our Tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against us, and the Torments which the blessed Martyrs suffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deserve, set forth. For the Adversary with all his force, gave his endeavour to the working of such Preparatives, as he himself lifted, against his tyrannous coming, and in every place practised he and instructed his Ministers, how in most spiteful manner to set them against the Servants of God: so that not only in our Houses, Shops and Markets, we were restrained, but also were universally commanded, that none (so hardly) should be seen in any place. But God hath always mercy in store, and took out of their hands such as were weak amongst them, and other some did he set up as firm and im-

A Letter of the brethren of France to the brethren of Asia.

immovable Pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the Enemy, enduring all their opprobrious punishment they could devise: to conclude, they fought this battel for that intent to come unto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light: thereby shewing that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to countervail the great Glory which shall be shewed upon us after this life. And first they patiently suffered whatsoever the multitude of frantick people running upon head did unto them, as Railings, Scourgings, Drawings and Halings, flinging of Stones, Imprisonings, and what other thing soever the rage of the multitude is wont to use and practise against their professed Enemies. Then afterward they being led into the Market-place, and there judged of the Captain and rest of the Potentates of the City, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to prison, until the return of their chief Governor. After this they being brought before him, and he using all extremity that possibly he might against them: One *Vetus Epagathus*, one of the Brethren, replenished with fervent Zeal, both towards God and his Brethren, (whose Conversation, although he were a young man,) was counted as perfect as was the life of *Zachary* the Priest. For he walked diligently in all the Commandments and Justifications of the Lord, and in all Obedience towards his Brethren, blameless. He having within him the fervent zeal of Love, and Spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked Judgment which was given upon the *Christians*; but being vehemently displeased, desired that the Judge would hear the excuse which he was minded to make in the behalf of the *Christians*, in whom (saith he) is no impiety found. But the people cried again to those that were assistants with the chief Justice, that it might not be so (for indeed, he was a Nobleman born) neither did the Justice grant him his lawful request, but only asked him, *Whether he himself was a Christian or not?* And he immediately with a loud and bold voice answered and said, *I am a Christian*. And thus was he received into the Fellowship of the Martyrs, and called the Advocate of the *Christians*. And he having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time, than had *Zachary*, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gave his life in the defence of his Brethren, being a true Disciple of Christ, following the Lamb wheresoever he goeth.

By this mans example, the rest of the Martyrs were the more animated to Martyrdom, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were unready and not so well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to bear the vehemency of so great a conflict; of whom ten there were in number that fainted, ministering to us much heaviness and lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest, which were not yet apprehended, to be less willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variableness of confession not a little astonished: not that we feared the punishment intended against us, but rather as having respect to the end, and fearing lest any should fall. Every day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen: in so much that of two Churches, such as were chiefest, and which were the principal Governors of our Churches, were apprehended. With these also certain of the *Ethnicks*, being our Men-servants, were apprehended (for so the Governor commanded, that all of us in general without any respect should be taken) which Servants be overcome by Satan, and fearing the Torments which they saw the Saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the means of the Souldiers, fained against us that we kept the Feastings of *Thiestes*, and Incest of *Oedipus*, and many such other Crimes, which are neither to be remembered, nor named of us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

These things being now bruted abroad, every man began to shew cruelty against us, inso much that those which before for familiarity-sake were more gentle towards us, now vehemently disdained us, and waxed mad against us. And thus was now fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, *The time will come, that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he doth God great good service*. Then suffered the Martyrs of God such bitter Persecution as is passing to be told: Satan still shooting at this mark, to make them to utter some blasphemy by all means possible. Marvelous therefore was the rage both of the people and Prince, espe-

cially against one *Sanctus*, which was Deacon of the Congregation of *Vienna*, and against *Maturus*, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy Souldier of Christ, and also against *Attalus*, being born in *Pergama*, which was the Foundation and Pillar of that Congregation, and also against *Blandina*: by whom Christ sheweth those things, which the World esteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in Gods sight, for the very love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and specially her Mistress in the flesh, who also was her self one of the number of the aforesaid Martyrs, left haply for the weakness of body she would not stand strongly to her Confession, the foresaid *Blandina* was so replenished with strength and boldness, that they which had the tormenting of her by course, from morning to night, for very weariness gave over, and fell down, and were themselves overcome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and marveled that yet she lived, having her body so torn and rent: and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have plucked the life from her body. But that blessed Woman, fighting this worthy battel, became stronger and stronger, and as often as she spake these words (*I am a Christian, neither have we committed any evil*) it was to her a marvelous comfort & boldning to abide the torments.

Sanctus also, another of the Martyrs, who in the midst of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might away with, at what time the wicked supposed to have heard him utter some blasphemous words, for the greatness and intolerableness of his torments and pains that he was in, abode notwithstanding in such constancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what Country-man he was, nor in what City brought up, neither whether he was a Free-man or a Servant: but unto every question that was asked him, he answered in the Latin Tongue, *I am a Christian*, and this was all that he confessed both of his Name, City, Kindred, and all other things in the place of Execution: neither yet could the *Gentiles* get any more of him: whereupon both the Governor and Tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to vex him withall, they clapped plates of bras red hot to the most tenderest parts of his body, wherewith his body indeed being scorched, yet he never shrunk for the matter, but was bold and constant in his Confession, being strengthened and moistened with the Fountain of lively water, flowing out of Christs side. Truly his body was a sufficient witness what torments he suffered: for it was all drawn together and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had therewith lost the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable Glory, for that he overcame his Adversaries, and, to the instruction of others, declared that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared where the love of God is, and nothing grievous wherein the Glory of Christ is manifested.

And when those wicked men began after a certain time again to torment the Martyr, and hoped well to bring it to pass, that either they should overcome him in causing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his body was so sore and swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hand, or else, that he died under their hands, yet that thereby they should strike such fear into the hearts of the rest, as to cause them to deny Christ: they were not only disappointed herein, but also contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the later punishment and torments suppled and restored, and took the first shape and use of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the Grace of Christ (instead of punishment) a safe Medicine.

Also Satan now thinking to have settled himself in the heart of one *Bibides*, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to have caused her, being a weak and feeble woman in Faith, to have damned her Soul, in blaspheming the Name of God, brought her to the place of Execution: enforcing to wrest some wicked thing out of the mouth of the *Christians*. But she in the middle of her torments, returning to her self, and waked as it were out of her dead sleep by that temporal pain, called to her remembrance the pains of Hell fire, and against all mens expectations reviled the Tormentors, saying, *How should we Christians eat young Infants (as ye reported of us) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any Beast?*

The cruel handling and great patience of *Blandina*.

Sanctus a Martyr.

The notable constancy of *Sanctus*.

The cruel torments of *Sanctus*.

A miraculous working of God.

Bibides an holy Martyr

Vetus Epagathus Martyr.

The stoutness of a godly young man.

The fainting of certain weak Christians.

False slanderers against the Christians.

The rage of the Heathen against the Christians.

Upon that, so soon as she had confessed her self to be a Christian, she was martyred with the rest. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannical Torments, by the patience and sufferance of our Saints, the Devil yet invented other Engines and Instruments. For when the Christians were cast into prison, they were shut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a Rack or Engine made for that purpose, even unto the fifth hole. And many other such punishments suffered they, which the furious Ministers, stirred up with devilish fury, are wont to put men unto: so that very many of them were strangled and killed in prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlasting life, and set forth his Glory. And surely these good men were so pitifully tormented, that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to live, and to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison, destitute of all humane help, were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed that they comforted and stirred up the minds of the rest: the younger sort of them, which were later apprehended, and put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt the lash of the Whip, were not able to endure the sharpness of their imprisonment, but died for the same.

Eccl. ad quintum foramen.

Divers Martyrs strangled in prison.

Other Martyrs died in prison.

Photinus a blessed Martyr.

The rage of the people against Photinus.

The comfort of the godly standing to their Confession. The deniers of their confession comfortless, and notwithstanding punished.

The blessed *Photinus*, who was Deacon to the Bishop of *Lions*, about fourscore and nine years old, and a very feeble or weak man, and could scarcely draw breath for the imbecillity of his body: yet was he of a lively courage and spirit, and for the great desire he had of Martyrdom, when he was brought unto the Judgment-Seat, although his body was feeble and weak, both because of his old age, and also through sickness, yet was his Soul or life preserved to this purpose, that by the same Christ might triumph and be glorified. He, being by the Souldiers brought to the place of Judgment, many Citizens and men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude crying upon him devilishly, as though he had been Christ himself, gave a good testimony. For being demanded of the chief Ruler, what was the Christian mans God? He answered, If thou be worthy to know thou shalt know. He, being with these words somewhat near touched, caused him to be very sore beaten. For those that stood next him, did him all the spite and displeasure that they could both with hand and foot, having no regard at all to his old age or white hairs. And they which were further off, whatsoever came next to hand, they threw at him, and every man thought that he did very wickedly refrain, that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this means they thought that they did revenge the quarrel of their gods. *Photinus* now, even as it were gasping after life, was thrown into prison, and within two days after died.

And here is the mighty Providence of God, and the unspeakable mercy of Jesus Christ declared, which providence, being assured amongst a fraternity, is never destitute of the aid of Jesus Christ. For those which in their first Persecution denied Christ, they also were put in prison, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Christ, but they which confessed him were imprisoned as Christians, neither was there any other Crime objected against them; but the other sort taken like Homicides and wicked Doers, were laid hand on, and had double more punishment than the others had. These men were refreshed with the joy of Martyrdom, the hope of Gods Promises, the love towards Christ, and the Spirit of God: the others, their Consciences accused them, and that very sore, inasmuch that by their gate, their Countenances bewraied unto the rest their guilty Consciences. For the Christians went forth having cheerful Countenances, very much adorned with Glory and Grace, inasmuch that the very Bonds wherewith they were tied, set them out as men in seemly Apparel, and like as Brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay Garments, and therewithal favoured as of the redolent smell of Christ, so that it might be supposed them to be anointed with some sweet Balm: whereas the others were doubtful and sad, abject, ill favoured, filled with all shame, and furthermore reviled of the Gentiles themselves, as wretches degenerate having the Crime of Homicide, and destitute of the most precious, glorious, and lively Calling of the Christian name. And truly by these sights the rest were confirmed, and being apprehended, confessed Christ without any staggering, not having so much as the thought of any such devilish mind of denial. And in the same Epistle of

the foresaid Brethren of France, writing to the Brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner: After these things done, the Martyrdom of these holy Saints was divided diversly into divers kinds and forms, as the offering to God the Father a Garland decked with divers and sundry kinds of colours and flowers. For it so behoved the worthy Champions of God, after they had suffered divers kinds of torments, and so won a triumphant Victory, to obtain great reward of Immortality.

Then *Maturus*, *Blandina*, and *Attalus* were brought together to the common Scaffold, there in the face of the people to be cast and devoured of the Beasts. And *Maturus*, with *Sanctus*, being brought the second time to the Scaffold, suffered again all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing at all: yea rather the Adversary being oftentimes put to the worst, they as striving for the Crown, suffered again more scourgings, the tearing of wild Beasts, and what thing else soever the frantick people on every side cryed for and willed. And above all the rest they brought an Iron Chair, in the which their bodies being set, were so fried and scorched, as on a Grid-Iron fried on the coals, and filled with the favour of the frying all the people that stood by. And yet for all that the torments ceased not, but waxed more fierce and mad against them, labouring to overcome the patience of the Saints. Notwithstanding all this, they could not get out of *Sanctus* mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning he declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alive in this their most horrible conflict, at the length were slain, being made all that whole day a spectacle unto the world, in place and in stead of the games and fights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning *Maturus* and *Sanctus*.

The spiteful handling of Gods people.

Maturus and Sanctus martyred.

Blandina brought forth again.

Now concerning *Blandina*, she being fastned upon stake, was cast to the ravening Beasts to be devoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God: to this end, that while she seemed to hang as it were upon a Cross, by the ferventness of her prayer she might comfort the rest of the Saints, as beholding their Christ with their bodily eyes, which in that Agony suffered for them all; and that all which believe in him, and suffer for the Glory of Christ, might be assured to live with him for ever. And when they saw that no Beast would come near her thus hanging, they took her down from the Tree, and cast her again into prison till another time, that she, having the victory of many battels, might triumph over that ugly Serpent the Devil, and that she being a weak and silly woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ the invincible Conqueror, might encourage her Brethren, and by the enduring of this battel might win a Crown of Incorruptible Glory.

Now to *Attalus*; who, being also required and called for of the people to punishment already prepared (for his Conscience sake) cometh forth to the sight. For he being worthily exercised in the Christian Profession, was always a witness and a maintainer of our Doctrine. Therefore when the press of people was about the Scaffold, and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the Roman Tongue, *This is Attalus the Christian*: then the people were in a marvellous rage against him. But the Governor, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him again to prison, with the rest of his Prison-Fellows: whereof he wrote to the Emperor, and waited for answer what his pleasure herein was. The Prisoners were not idle in the mean season, nor unprofitable to their Brethren, but by their patience the unspeakable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before were now revived by them that lived, and they which were Martyrs profited them which were none, and the Church did much rejoyce, as receiving them again alive, whom she had lost before as dead. For many of them, which before had denied, now by their denial were restored and stirred up, and learned to be Confessors. And now being revived and strengthened, and tasting the sweetness of him which desireth not the death of a Sinner, but is merciful to the Penitent, came of their own accord to the Judgment-Seat again, that they might be examined of the Judge. And for that the Emperor had written back again to him, that all the Confessors should be punished, and the others let go, and that Sessions or Sizes were now begun, which, for the multitude that had repair thither out of every quarter, was marvelous great: he caused all the the holy Martyrs to be brought

Attalus commanded to prison.

The deniers returning again to their confession.

brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once again examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the Roman freedom he beheaded, the residue he gave to the Beasts to be devoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those which a little before had denied him, which again, contrary to the expectation of the Infidels, confessed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the rest, because of their delivery; which being found confessors, were joyned to the company of the Martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then some abroad which had no Faith at all, neither yet so much as the feeling of the Wedding Garment, nor any cogitation at all of the fear of God, but blasphemed his ways by the lewd conversation of their life, even such as were the Children of damnation. All the residue joyned themselves to the Congregation: which when they were examined, one

Alexander
the Phrygian
as martyred

Alexander a Phrygian born, and a Physitian which had dwelt long in France, and known almost of all, for the love he had to God, and boldness of speaking (neither was he void of the Apostolical love) one Alexander, I say, standing somewhat near to the Bar, by signs and beckes perswaded such as were examined, to confess Christ: so that by his countenance sometime rejoycing, some other while sorrowing, he was descried of the standers by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted by and by again to stick to their first Confession, they cried out against Alexander as one that was the cause of all this matter. And when he was enforced by the Judge, and demanded what Religion he was of? he answered, *I am a Christian*. He had no sooner spoken the word, but he was judged to the Beasts of them to be devoured.

The next day following, Attalus, of whom I made mention a little before, and Alexander, were brought forth together. For the Governor granting Attalus unto the people, he was baited again of the Beasts. When these men were brought to the Scaffold, and had taken a taste of all the Instruments that there were prepared for their Execution, and had suffered the greatest Agony they could put them to, they were also at the length slain: of whom Alexander never gave so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottom of his heart praised and prayed to the Lord. But Attalus, when he was set in the Iron Chair, and began to fry, and the frying savour of his burning body began to smell, he spake to the multitude in the Roman Language; Behold (saith he) *this which you do is to eat mans flesh; for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickedness*. And being demanded what was the name of their God? *Our God (saith he) hath no such name as men have*. Then said they, *Now let us see whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands or not*.

The worthy
patience
and constancy
of Alexander.

After this being the last day of the Spectacle, Blandina again, and one Ponticus, a Child of fifteen years old was brought forth, and this was every day, to the intent that they seeing the punishment of their Fellows might be compelled thereby to swear by their Idols. But because they constantly abode in their purpose, and defied their Idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the Child, nor favouring the Sex of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and pain they could devise, and often times enforced them to swear, and yet were not able to compel them thereunto. For Ponticus, being so animated of his sister, as the *Etruricks* standing by did see, after that he had suffered all torments and pains gave up the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore being the last that suffered, after she had like a worthy Mother given exhortations unto her Children, and had sent them before as Conquerors to their heavenly King, and had called to her remembrance all their battels and conflicts, so much rejoyced of her Childrens death, and so halined her own, as though she had been bidden to a Bridal, and not in case to be thrown to the wild Beasts. After this her pitiful whipping, her delivery to the Beasts, and her torments upon the Grid-Iron, at the length she was put in a Net, and thrown to the wild Bull; and when she had been sufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the same Beast, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heavenly things, was thus slain, inasmuch that the very Heathen men themselves confessed that there was never woman put to death of them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus asswaged against the Christians:

Blandina
and Ponticus
again brought
forth.

Ponticus
martyred

Blandina
martyred.

For the cruel barbarous people, like wild Beasts, when they be moved, knew not when the time was to make an end, but invented new and sundry torments every day against our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the Christians to death, for that they wanted the sense of men: for which cause both the Magistrate and people were vexed at the very hearts, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, *He that is wicked, let him be wicked: still, and he that is just, let him be more just*. For those which in their Prisons they strangled, they threw after to the dogs, setting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some half burned, some left of the wild Beasts, and some all to be mangled, also bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to see them remain unburied.

Apoc. 20

The Gentiles grinded and gnashed at the Christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplify their punishment: some other flouted and mocked them, extolling their Idols, attributing unto them the cause of this cruelty and vengeance shewed to us. Such as were of the meeker sort, and seemed to be moved with some pity, did hit us in the teeth, saying, *Where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your Religion for which you give your lives?* These were the sundry passions and affects of the Gentiles, but the Christians in the mean while were in great heaviness, that they might not bury the bodies and relics of the holy Martyrs. Neither could the dark night serve them to that purpose, nor any intreaty nor waging them with money, which were appointed for watch-men: but they so narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they should have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the Martyrs made a wondrous flock, and lay six days in the open streets; at length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the river of Rodes; so that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they as though they had been able to have pulled God out of his Seat, and to have let the regeneration of the Saints, and taken from them the hope of the Resurrection, whereof they being perswaded (saith they) bring in this new and strange Religion, and set thus light by death and punishment. *Atque hæc ex Epistola Viennensium, &c.*

Among others that suffered under Antoninus, mention was made also of Justine, who (as it is said before) exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of Christian Doctrine, the one to the Senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the Emperor, concerning whose suffering, and the causes thereof is partly before declared: this Justine was born in Neapoli, in the Country of Palestine, whose Father was Priscus Bachius, as he himself doth testify, by whom in his youth he was set to School to learn, where in process of time, he became a famous and worthy Philosopher, of whose excellency many learned and notable men do record. For first he being altogether inflamed and ravished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten Instructors singularly seen in all kind of Philosophy, whereupon he writeth of himself in the beginning of his Dialogue *Cum Tripstone* thus, declaring that in the beginning he being desirous of that Sect and Society, applied himself to be the Scholar to a certain Stoick, and remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in Divine knowledge (whereof the Stoick had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessary) he forsook him, and went to another of the Sect of the Peripateticks, a sharp-witted man, as he thought; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon Justine, accounting him as no Philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind, but desirous to hear of further learning in Philosophy, adjoynd himself to one that professed the Pythagorean Sect, a man of great fame, and one who made no small account of himself. Whom after he had followed a time, his Master demanded of him whether he had any sight in Music, Astronomy, and Geometry, without the sight of which Science, he said he could not be apt to receive the Knowledge of Vertue and Felicity, unless before he had used to apply his Mind from sensible matters to the Contemplation of things intelligible. And

Justine;

Priscus Bachius
Justine's Father.

Justine desirous
of Philosophy.

Justine professeth
all sorts of Philosophy.

speaking much in the commendation of these Sciences, how profitable and necessary they were: after that *Justine* had declared himself not to be seen therein, the Philosopher gave him over, which grieved *Justine* not a little, and so much the more, because he thought his Master to have some knowledge in those Sciences. After this *Justine* considering with himself what time was requisite to the learning of these Sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the Sect of the *Platonists*: for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that Sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernal things, and invisible forms, insomuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpness of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might achieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of *Plato* his Philosophy. And in this manner he bestowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said *Justine* came to the knowledge and profession of Christianity, it followeth likewise in his said first *Apology*: where he affirmeth of himself (as witnesseth *Eusebius* in his fourth Book) that when he did behold the Christians in their Torments and Sufferings to be so constant in their Profession, was therewith marvelously moved: after this manner reasoning with himself, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subject to any Vice or Carnality, which Vices of their own nature are not able to sustain any sharp Adversity, much less the bitterness of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the searching of true Knowledge and Vertue) to begin thereby to love and embrace Christian Religion, for so he doth witness of himself in the end of the first *Apology*: signifying there how it was his seeking and endeavour to attain to Christianity: understanding how the Christians by malice of wicked Persons were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himself, he became a Christian, through this occasion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietness to go aside to some Desert and solitary place void of Concourse of People, unto a Village or Grange near to the Sea side: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old ancient Father of a comely Visage and gentle Behaviour, who following him a little off, began to reason with him: where after long Disputation, when the old man had declared unto him, that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the Philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghost: and further had reasoned with him of the immortality of the Soul, of the reward of the Godly and punishment of the Wicked: then *Justine* being confirmed with his Reasons and Arguments, yielded to him of his own accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken: who then counselled him to read and search the Prophets, adjoining therewith prayer. But what Master (quoth *Justine*) should I use for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to help us if these Philosophers (as you say) lack the truth, and are void of the same? To whom the old Father answered, There have been (said he) many years before these Philosophers, other more ancient than all these, which being accounted for Philosophers were just and beloved of God: who spake by the Spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to pass, and therefore they are called Prophets. These only have known the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any; who were seduced with no Opinions of mans Invention, but only spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the holy Spirit of God: whose Writings and Works yet to this day remain, out of which the Reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things as concerning the first Creation of the World, and end of the same, with all other things necessary to be known of every true Philosopher which will give credit unto them. Neither in their teaching do they use any demonstration, as being more certain of themselves, than that they need any such Demonstration to be made, forasmuch as the accomplishing and the end of things both past and now present, constrain-

eth us of necessity to believe the words and Doctrine which they taught: which men not only therefore are to be believed, but also for their Miracles and Wonders done, are worthy of Credit; for that they both preached of God the Maker and Creator of all things, and also did Prophecie before of Christ his Son to be sent of Him; the which, the false Prophets being seduced with false and wicked Spirits, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious Wonders for men to gaze at, setting out thereby to the World false and unclean Spirits. But then afore all things, make thy prayer that the Gate of Light may be opened unto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained unto of every man, but only of such to whom God and his Christ giveth understanding.

These things, with much more (which now leisure serveth not to prosecute) after the foresaid old Father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken: and after that *Justine* (as he himself witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediately after this, *Justine* being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his Breast, began to conceive a Love and Zeal towards the Prophets and all such as were favoured of Christ: And thus he, revolving in his mind more and more these words, found only this Philosophy among all other Professions both sure and profitable, and so became he a Philosopher, and in time by these means afterwards he was made a Christian and baptized. But where he received this holy Sacrament of Baptism it is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his Country and came to Rome. This only we read in *Jerome*, that he was in Rome, and there used certain Exercises which he called *Diatribas*, disputing there with *Crescens* a Cynical Philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that *Justine* after he had received the Profession of Christian Religion, became an earnest Defender of the same, travelling and disputing against all the Adversaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the Doctrine of Christ against the malicious Blasphemers, and also augment the number of Christian Believers, as may appear by his vehement Disputations against the Heathen Philosophers: also moreover it well appeareth in that long disputation which he had with one *Tripbo* at *Ephesus*, as also in his Confutations of *Hereticks*. Furthermore, his Conflicts and Apologies which with great courage and security he exhibited against the Persecutors of the Christians, both to the Emperor and the Magistrates, yea and the whole Senate of Rome, do testify the same.

Of the which *Apologies*, the first he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and after to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, as is before mentioned; where in the first writing with great liberty to the Senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and Conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to *Urbicius* Lieutenant of the City, said, That he put men to death and torments for no Offence committed, but for the Confession only of the Name of Christ; which proceedings and judgments neither became the Emperor, nor his Son, nor the Senate: defending moreover in the said *Apology*, and purging the Christians of such Crimes as falsely were laid and objected against them by the *Esh-nicks*.

And likewise in his second *Apology* writing to *Antoninus* the Emperor, and his Successors, with like gravity and free liberty declareth unto them how they had the Name, commonly being reputed and taken as virtuous Philosophers, Maintainers of Justice, Lovers of Learning; but whether they were so, their Acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was constrained thus to write unto them; but only to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their Judgments and Sentences (for it becometh Princes to follow Uprightness and Piety in their Judgments, not Tyranny and Violence,) and also in plain words chargeth as well the Emperor as the Senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the Christians that which is not denied to all other Malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the Name. Other men which be appeached (said he) in Judgment,

Justine a Platonist.

The end of *Plato* his Philosophy.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.

Justine began to favour Christian Religion.

Justine goeth into a desert.

Justine miraculously converted by an old man.

The vanity of the old Philosophers reproved.

The doctrine of the Prophets commended.

The utility of reading the Prophets

Prophets to be credited for two causes.

Justine baptized.

Diatribas.

Justine an earnest defender of Christ.

Two apologies of *Justine*.

The sum of his apologies.

The second apology of *Justine*.

ment, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on Us you take our Name only for the Crime, when as indeed you ought to see Justice done upon our Accusers. And again (saith he) If a Christian being accused only deny that Name, him you Release, being not able to Charge him with any other Offence: but if he stand to his Name, only for his Confession you cast him; where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confess or deny, and according to their Demerits to see Justice done.

The Lord take away this spirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be convicted.

And in the same further he saith, You examine not the Causes, but incensed with rash Affections, as with the spur of Fury, ye slay and murder them not convicted, without any respect of Justice. And further he addeth, Some peradventure will say, certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil Doings: as though (saith he) you used to enquire upon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their Offence for the Cause above mentioned. Where also in the end of the said Apology after this manner he reprehendeth them, You do degenerate (quoth he) from the goodness of your Predecessors, whose Example you follow not, for your Father Adrian of famous Memory caused to be proclaimed, That Christians accused before the Judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some Notorious Crime. I find that all his vehement and grave Apology standeth upon most strong and firm probations, denying, that the Christians ought by Conscience at the Will and Commandment of the Emperor and Senate to do sacrifice to the Idols: for the which they being condemned, affirm, that they suffer open wrong; affirming moreover, that the true and only Religion is the Religion of the Christians, whose Doctrine and Conversation hath no fault. *Justinus*, although with these and such like Persuasions, he did not so prevail with the Emperor, to cause him to love his Religion, and become a Christian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that *Antoninus* writing to his Officers in *Asia* in the behalf of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians only which were found guilty of any Trespas should suffer, and such as were not convicted, should not therefore only for the Name be punished, because they were called Christians. By these it is apparent with what Zeal and Faith this *Justinus* did strive against the Persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

This *Justinus* by the means and malice of *Crescens* the Philosopher (as is before declared) suffered Martyrdom under *Marcus Antoninus Verus*, a little after that *Polycarpus* was martyred in *Asia*, as witnesseth *Eusebius*, lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how *Epiphanius* was deceived in the time of his death, saying, That he suffered under *Rusticus* the President, and *Adrian* the Emperor, being of thirty years of age; which indeed agreeth neither with *Eusebius*, nor *Hierome*, nor *Suide*, nor others more, which manifestly declare and testify how he exhibited his Apology unto *Antoninus Pius* which came after *Adrian*. Thus hast thou (good Reader) the life of this learned and blessed Martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply discoursed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable Vertues, of whose final end thus writeth *Photinus*, saying, That he suffering for Christ, died cheerfully and with honour.

Thus have ye heard the whole Discourse of *Justinus* and of the blessed Saints of France, *Vetius*, *Zacharias*, *Sanctus*, *Maturus*, *Attalus*, *Blandina*, *Alexander*, *Alcibiades*, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certain Christian-Brethren of the same Church and place of France. In the which foresaid writing of theirs, moreover appeareth the great meekness and modest constancy of the said Martyrs described in these words; Such Followers were they of Christ (who when he was in the Form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the same Glory with him,) that they not once nor twice, but oft times suffered Martyrdom; and taken again from the Beasts, and bearing Wounds, Tearings and Skars in their Bodies, yet neither would count themselves Martyrs, neither would they suffer us so to call them: but if any of us either by word or Letter would call them Martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying, That the name of Martyrdom was to be given to Christ the

faithful and true Martyr, the first born of the Dead, and the Captain of Life; testifying moreover, That Martyrdom belongeth to such, who by their Martyrdom were already passed out of this life: and whom Christ by their worthy Confession hath received unto Himself, and hath sealed up their Martyrdom by their end finished: as for them which were not yet consummated, they (said they) were not worthy the names of Martyrs, but only were humble and worthy Confessors, desiring also their Brethren with Tears to pray without ceasing for their Confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true Martyrs, in resisting the Heathen with much liberty and great patience, without all fear of man, being replenished with the fear of God, refused to be named of their Brethren for Martyrs. And after in the said writing it followeth more, They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they rendred to all men a reason of their Faith, they accused no man, they loosed all, they bound none, and for them which so evil did entreat them they prayed, following the example of *Stephen* the perfect Martyr, which said, O Lord, impute not their sin to them. And after again, Neither did they proudly disdain against them which fell, but of such as they had imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentiful tears for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and salvation; and as God gave it them, they also did communicate to their Neighbours, and thus they as Conquerors of all things departed to God. They loved peace, and leaving the same to us, they went to God, neither leaving any molestation to their Mother, nor Sedition or trouble to their Brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love to all.

Out of the same writing moreover concerning these Martyrs of France afore mentioned, is recorded also another History not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same Book of *Eusebius* cap. 3. which History is this:

There was among these constant and blessed Martyrs, one *Alcibiades*, as is above specified: which *Alcibiades* ever used a very strict diet, receiving for his food and sustenance nothing else but only Bread and Water. When this *Alcibiades* now being cast into Prison, went about to accustom the same strictness of diet, after his usual manner; it was before revealed by God to *Attalus* afore mentioned, one of the said Company, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict upon the Scaffold, that *Alcibiades* did not well in that he refused to use and take the Creatures of God, and also thereby ministered to others a pernicious occasion of offensive example. Whereupon *Alcibiades* being advertised, and reformed, began to take all things holdly, and with giving thanks. Whereby may appear to all scrupulous Consciences, not only a wholesome Instruction of the Holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those days they were not destitute of the Grace of God, but had the Holy Spirit of God to be their Instructor. *Hæc Euseb.*

The foresaid Martyrs of France at the same time commended *Ireneus*, newly then made Minister, with their Letters unto *Eleutherius* Bishop of Rome, as witnesseth *Euseb.* in the tenth Chapter of the said Book, which *Ireneus* first was the hearer of *Polycarpus*, then made Minister (as is said) under these Martyrs: and after their death made Bishop afterward of *Lions* in France, and succeeded after *Photinus*. Besides this *Justinus*, there was also the same time in *Asia*, *Claudius Apollinaris*, or *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Hieropolis*, and also *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of *Tertullian*, who succeeding after the time of the Apostles, in the Reign of this *Antoninus Verus*, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent Apologies in defence of Christ's Religion, like us *Quadratus* and *Aristides* above mentioned did unto the Emperor *Adrian*, whereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his Persecution. In like manner did this *Apollinaris* and *Melito* (stirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cause of the Christians unto this *Antoninus*. Of this *Melito* *Eusebius* in his fourth Book making mention, excepteth certain places of his Apology in these words, as followeth, Now, saith he, which was never seen before, the godly suffer Persecution by occasion of certain Proclamations and Edicts proclaimed throughout Asia, for villanous Sicophants, Robbers

The holy Martyrs refused to be called Martyrs.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 3. Alcibiades. The strict fasting of Alcibiades corrected by the Holy Ghost.

A Lesson for scrupulous Consciences.

Ireneus newly made Minister, and commended to Eleutherius.

Apollinaris and Melito exhibited Apologies to the Emperor for the Christians.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26. The sum of the Apology of Melito.

Robbers and Spoilers of other mens Goods, grounding themselves upon those Proclamations, and taking occasion of them, rob openly night and day, and spoil those which do no harm. And it followeth after, Which if it be done by your Commandment, be it so, well done; for a good Prince will never command but good things, and so we will be contented to sustain the honour of this death. This only we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that calling before you and examining the Authors of this tumult and contention, then your Grace would justly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death, or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceedeth not by your occasion (which indeed against your barbarous Enemies were too bad) the more a great deal we are Petitioners to your Highness, that hereafter you will vouchsafe to bear Us thus so vexed and oppressed with these kind of Villainous Robberies. And verily our Philosophy and Doctrine did first among the barbarous take place, which Doctrine first in the days of Augustus your Predecessor, when it did Reign and Flourish, thereby your Empire became most famous and fortunate: and from that time more and more the State of the Roman Empire increased in Honour, whereof you most happily were made Successor, and so shall your Son too. Honour therefore this Philosophy which with your Empire sprang up, and came in with Augustus, which your Progenitors above all other honoured and most esteemed. And verily this is no small Argument of a good beginning, that since our Doctrine flourished in the Empire, no misfortune or loss happened from Augustus's time: but contrary, always Victory, good and honourable years, as ever any man would wish: only among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian, being kindled by divers naughty and spiteful persons, cavillingly objected against our Doctrine; of whom this sycophantical slandering of Us by naughty custom first came and sprang up. But your godly Fathers, espying the ignorance of these, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerarious Attempts in that behalf: among whom your Grandfather Adrian with many others is read of, to have written to Fundane the Proconsul and Lieutenant of Asia: and your Father, your own Father, I say, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the Cities under his Signet, as the Laerens, Thesalonicens, Atheniens, and Grecians, rashly to innovate or alter nothing. Of your Highness therefore, who in this case is of that Sect as your Predecessors were, yea and of a more benigne and Philosophical Mind, we are in good hope to obtain our Petition and Request.

The Books of the Old Testament authentick and received.

Thus much out of the Apology of Melito, who writing to Onesimus, giveth to us this benefit, to know the true Catalogue and the names of all the authentick Books of the Old Testament, received in the ancient time of the Primitive Church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Melito in his Letter to Onesimus declareth; how that he returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the Books approved of the Old Testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, and sendeth unto him as followeth, The five Books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Nave, The Judges, Ruth, Four Books of Kings, Two Books Paralipomenon, The Psalms, Proverbs of Solomon, The Book of Wisdom, The Preacher, The Song of Songs, Job, The Prophets, Esay, Hieremy, Twelve Prophets in one Book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Efdras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for these later times to understand, what in the first times was received and admitted as authentick, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the Apologies of Apolinarius and Melito, in the story so it followeth; that whether it was by the occasion of these two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a Philosopher, and a Legat of the Christians, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that the Persecution the same time was stayed. Some do think, which most probably seems to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this Persecution did arise upon a wonderful Miracle of God shewed in the Emperors Camp by the Christians, the story whereof is this; At what time the two Brethren Marcus Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Commodus Emperors, joyning together, warred against the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germans, in the Expedition against them; their Army by reason of the

imminent assault of their Enemies, was cooped and shut in within the straits and hot dry places, where their Souldiers, besides other difficulties of battel, being destitute of water five days, were like to have perished, which dread not a little discomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this so great distress and jeopardy, suddenly withdrew from the Army a Legion of the Christian Souldiers for their succor, who falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleasant Showers from the Element, whereby as their Souldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their Enemies discomfited and put to flight by continual Lightnings which shot out of the Air. This Miracle so pleased and won the Emperor, that ever after he waxed gentler and gentler to the Christians, and directed his Letters to divers of his Rulers (as Tertullian in his Apology witnesseth) commanding them therein to give thanks to the Christians, no less for his Victory, than for the Preservation of Him and all his men. The Copy of which Letter infueth.

A miraculous rain obtained by the Christians.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor, to the Senate and people of Rome.

I Give you hereby to understand what I intend to do, as also what success I have had in my Wars in Germany, and with how much difficulty, I have vittailed my Camp, being compassed about with seventy and four fierce Dragons, whom my Scouts descried to be within nine miles of us, and Pompeianus our Lieutenant hath viewed, as he signified unto Us, by his Letters. Wherefore I thought no less but to be overrun and all my bands of so great multitude, as well my Va-ward, Main-ward, as Rere-ward, with all my Souldiers of Ephrata; in whose Host there were number of fighting-men, nine hundred seventy and five thousand. But when I saw my self not able to Encounter with the Enemy, I craved Aid of our Country gods: at whose hands I finding no comfort, and being driven of the Enemy unto an Exigent, I caused to be sent for those men which we call Christians, who being mustered were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage than I had good cause, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous Power; who forthwith did their endeavour, but without either Weapon, Munition, Armor, or Trumpets, as men abhorring such Preparation and Furniture, but only satisfied in trust of their God, whom they carry about with them in their Consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts. For they falling prostrate upon the Ground, prayed not only for me, but for the Host also which was with me, beseeching their God for help in that our extremity of Vittuals and fresh water: for we had been now five days without water, and were in our Enemies Land, even in the midst of Germany; who thus falling upon their Faces, made their prayers to a God unknown of me. And there fell amongst us from Heaven a most pleasant and cold shower, but amongst our Enemies a great storm of Hail mixt with Lightning, so that immediately we perceived the Invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us: Therefore we give those men leave to profess Christianity, lest, perhaps, by their prayers we be punished with the like, and thereby I make my self the Author of such hurt as shall be received by the Christian profession. And if any shall apprehend one that is a Christian, only for this cause, I will that he being apprehended, without Punishment may have leave to confess the same, so that there be none other cause Objected against him, more than that, he is a Christian; but let this accuser be burned alive. Neither will I that he confessing and being found a Christian, shall be enforced to alter the same his opinion by the Governor of any of our Provinces, but left to his own choice. And this Decree of mine I will to be ratified in the Senate-house, and command the same publicly to be proclaimed and read in the Court of Trajanus: and that further from thence it may be sent into all our Provinces by the diligence of Veratius Governour of our City Polione. And further, we give leave to all men to use and write out this our Decree, taking the same out of our Copy publicly in the Common Hall set forth.

Thus

I. Eusebius, ibidem.

Thus the Tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians, began for a time to assuage, partly by the occasion hereof, partly also upon other causes incident, compelling the Enemies to surcease their persecution, as great Plagues and Pestilence lying upon the country of Italy; likewise great Wars, as well in the East parts, as also in Italy and France, terrible Earthquakes, great floods, noisome Swarms of flies and Vermin devouring their Corn-fields, &c. And thus much of things done under Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus in the beginning of his Reign, joyned with him in the Government of the Empire his brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Christians, as Eusebius cap. 5. lib. 5. recordeth. Contrary, Platina in vita Soteris, and the book intituled Flores Historiarum, refer the same to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his son Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus his brother. But howsoever the truth of years doth stand, certain it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus, the son of Verus, who Reigned thirty Years.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incommensurable Prince to the Senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietness universally through the whole Church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certain. Some think, of whom is Xiphilinus, that it came through Marcia the Emperors Concubine, which favoured the Christians: But howsoever it came (saith Eusebius) the fury of the raging Enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Christ unto the Church throughout the whole world: At what time, the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people unto the true Religion of God, in so much that many, both rich and to noble Personages of Rome, with their whole families and households, to their salvation, adjoynd themselves the Church of Christ.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man, and a Senator of Rome, mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 5. cap. 21. who being maliciously accused unto the Senate, by one whom Hierome writeth to be the servant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Severus: But whose servant soever he was, the wretched man came soon enough before the Judge, being condignly rewarded for that his Malicious diligence: For by a law which the Emperor made, that no man upon pain of Death, should falsely accuse the Christians, he was put to Execution, and had his Legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perennius the Judge, which being an heathen man, he Pronounced against him: But the beloved Martyr of God, when the Judge, with much ado had obtained of him to render an account, before the honourable Senate, of his Faith, under whose defence and warrant of life he did the same, delivered unto them an eloquent apologie of the Christian belief: But the former warrant notwithstanding, he by the decree of the Senate was beheaded, and so ended his life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and therefore arraigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is said in stories to be so fure and steddily handed in casting the dart, that in the open Theater before the people, he would encounter with the Wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in the place where appointed. Among divers other his vicious and Wild parts, he was so far surprised in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would shew himself to the people in the skin of a Lion, to becounted thereby the King of men, like as the Lion is of the Beasts.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in a great Royalty, having his Lions skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cryed through the City, that Hercules was the Patron and defender of the City. There was the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, and instructors of the people, who, following the steps of the Apostles, went about from place to place where the Gospel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the Emperor, and of the people, began to reprove their Idolatrous blindness, teach-

ing in Villages and Towns, all that heard them to believe upon the true and only God, and to come away from such Worshipping of Devils, and to give honour to God alone, which only is to be Worshipped, willing them to repent and to be Baptized, lest they perished with Commodus. With this their preaching they converted one Julius, a Senator, and others, to the Religion of Christ. The Emperor hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended of Vitellus his Captain, and to be compelled to sacrifice unto Hercules, which when they stoutly refused, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death. Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Esfordia.

This Peregrinus above mentioned had been sent before by Xistus, Bishop of Rome, into the parts of France, to supply there the room of a Bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continual and horrible persecutions thereabout touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of Ministers and instructors, where after he had occupied himself with much fruit among the flock of Christ, and had stablished the Congregation there, returning home again to Rome, there he finished at last (as it is said) his Martyrdom.

Now remaineth likewise to speak of Julius: which Julius being (as is afore described) a Senator of Rome, and now won by the Preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did effoones invite them and brought them home to his house, where being by them more fully instructed in Christian Religion, he believed the Gospel. And sending for one Rufinus a Priest, was with all his family by him Baptized, who not (as the common sort was wont to do) kept close and secret his faith, but incensed with a marvellous and sincere zeal, openly professed the same, altogether wishing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the Emperor hearing how that Julius had forsaken his old Religion, and become a Christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, unto whom he spake on this wise: O July, what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common Religion of thy Forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules their Gods, and now dost embrace a new and fond kind of Religion of the Christians? At which time Julius, having good occasion to shew and open his faith, gave straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false Gods, and how the Worshippers of them should Perish with Eternal damnation and Punishments. Which the Emperor hearing how that he condemned and despised his Gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very cholerick) committed him forthwith to Vitellius, the Master of the Souldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to see Julius either to sacrifice to mighty Hercules, or refusing the same, to slay him. Vitellius (as he commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the Emperors commandment, and to worship his Gods, alledging how that the whole Empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained by them: which Julius denied utterly to do, admonishing sharply in like manner Vitellius to acknowledge the true God, and obey his Commandments, lest he with his Master, should die some grievous Death: whereat Vitellius being moved, caused Julius with cudgels to be beaten unto Death.

These things being thus briefly recited, touching such holy Martyrs as hitherto have suffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the Roman Bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, or whom we left, whose succeder next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixth Bishop counted after Peter, who governed the Ministry the space of Ten years, as Damascus and others do write. Uspersensis maketh mention but of nine years. Platina recordeth that he died a Martyr, and was buried at Vaticane. But Eusebius speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any Martyrdom. In the second tome of the Councils certain Epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damascus, Hierome, and other old authors, as they make no relation, so seem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit Epistles, and in Platina it appeareth that Xistus was the first author of these ordinances. First, that the holy mysteries and holy Vessels, should be touched but only of persons holy and consecrated, especially of no Woman. Item, that the

Julius a Senator converted to Christ.

Ex Vincent lib. 10. cap. 119. Henr. de Esfordia. Peregrinus sent to France and martyred at Rome. Ex Platina in vita Sixti.

Julius with his family baptized and after martyred.

Xistus Bishop of Rome.

The trifling ordinances of Xistus.

Antoninus Verus, M. Aurelius Commodus Emperors.

The difference between Eusebius and Platina.

ANNO 175

Quietness given to the Church.

Apollonius martyr.

Apollonius accused by his own servant.

Apollonius exhibiteth an apologie of his faith to the Senate.

An old wicked law of the Romans.

The ridiculous pride of the Emperor.

Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, Martyrs.

Cor

Corporas cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linnen. Item, that such Bishops as were called up to the Apostolic See, returning home again, should not be received at their return, unless they brought with them letters from the Bishop of Rome, saluting the People. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be sung this verse, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabboth*. Where moreover it is to be noted, that the said Platina, in the life of this Xistus, doth testifie that Peter ministered the celebration of the Communion only with the Lords Prayer. These trifling ordinances of Xistus, who is so rude that teach not, or may not easily conjecture to be falsely fathered of Xistus, or of any father of that time? First by the uniform rudeness and stile of all those decretal letters, nothing favoring of that age, but rather of the later dunsical times that followed; also by the matter and argument in those letters contained nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome days. Neither again is it to be supposed, that any such recourse of Bishops was then to the Apostolic See of Rome, that it was not lawful to return without their letters: when as the Persecution against the Christians was then so hot, in the days of Adrian, that the Bishops of Rome themselves were more glad to fly out of the City, than other Bishops were to come to them unto Rome. And if Xistus added the *Sanctus* unto the mass canon, what piece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xistus? And if they came after Xistus that added the rest why did they set their pieces before his, seeing they that began the first piece of the canon, came after him?

The same likewise is to be judged of the Epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next unto Xistus, and being Bishop of that Congregation the term of eleven years, the first year of the Reign of Antoninus Pius, died Martyr about the year of our Lord, one hundred thirty and eight. His Epistle, like unto the rest, containing in it no great matter of Doctrine, hath these ordinances. First, he commandeth all that were of the Clergy to fast and abstain from flesh-eating seven week before Easter. That three Masses should be said upon the nativity day of the Lord. That no man should accuse either Bishop or Priest. He ordained moreover, *Gloria in excelsis*, to be added to the Mass, &c. But these things falsely to be feined upon him may easily be conjectured. For as touching the seven weeks fast, neither doth it agree with the old Roman term commonly received, calling it *Quadragesima*, that is, the forty days fast: neither with the example of our Saviour, who fasted not seven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning this forty days fast, we read of the same in the Epistle of Ignatius, which was long before Telesphorus: whereby it may appear that this Telesphorus was not the first inventor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but untruly as by many conjectures may be proved) there it is read, that in the days of S. Matthew, this Lent fast of forty days was observed long before Telesphorus, by these words that follow: In the days (saith he) either of Lent, or in the time of other lawful fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from eating meat as also from the mixture of Bodies, doth incur in so doing, not only pollution, but also committeth offence, which must be washed away with the tears of Repentance. Again, Apollonius affirmeth, that Montanus the Heretick was the first deviser and bringer in of these laws of fasting into the Church, which before was used to be free, *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18*. But especially by Socrates, Writer of the Ecclesiastical story, who lived after the days of Theodosius, it may be argued, that this seven weeks fast is falsely imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates in his first Book, speaking of this time, hath these words: *Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas præter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas jejunt*, that is, The Romans (saith he) do fast three weeks continually before Easter, beside the Sabbath and Sunday. And moreover, speaking of divers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and divers Churches, he addeth these words: *And because that no man can bring forth any Commandment written of this matter, it is therefore apparent, that the Apostles left this kind of fast free to every mans will and judgment, lest any should be constrained by fear and necessity to do that which is good, &c.* With this of Socrates agree also the words of Sozomenus, living much about the same in his seventh Book, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some comprehend in six weeks, as

do the Illirians, and west Churches, with all Libia, Egypt and Palestina: Some in seven weeks, as at Constantinople, and the parts bordering to Phenicia: Other some in three weeks, next before the day of Easter, and some again in two weeks, &c. By the which it may be collected, that Telesphorus never ordained any such fast of seven weeks: Which otherwise never would have been neglected in Rome, and in the west Churches: Neither again would have been unremembered of these ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his constitutions, but also of the other ancient Bishops and Martyrs which followed after him, as of Higinus in the year of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who succeeding him and dying also a Martyr, as Volateranus, lib. 22. declareth, is said, or rather fained to bring in the Cream, one Godfather and Godmother in Baptism, to ordain the dedication of Churches: When as in his time so far it was off, that any solemn Churches were standing in Rome, that unneth the Christians could safely convent in their own Houses. Likewise the distinguishing the orders of Metropolitans, Bishops and other degrees, favor nothing less than of that time.

After Higinus followed Pius, who, as Platina reporteth, was so precisely devout about the holy Mysteries of the Lords Table, that if any one crum thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the Priest should do penance forty days: If any fell upon the super-altar, he should do penance three days: If upon the linnen corporas cloath, four days: if upon any other linnen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the Blood (saith he) should chance to be spilled, wheresoever it fell, it should be licked up, if it were possible: If not, the place should be washed or pared, and so being washed or pared, should be burned and laid in the Vestry. All which toys may seem to a wise man more vain and trifling, than to favor of those pure and strict times of those holy Martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conversant with Hermes, called otherwise Paster. Damasus, saith he, was his brother. But how is that like, that Hermes being the disciple of Paul, or one of the three-score disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes, and of the revelations, the aforesaid Pius in his Epistle decretal (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaring that unto him appeared the Angel of God in the habit of a shepherd, commanding him that Easter day should be celebrated of all men upon no other day, but on Sunday: Whereupon, saith the Epistle, Pius the Bishop, by his authority Apostolic decreed and commanded the same to be observed of all men.

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourscore. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, King of Britain, sent to him Damianus and Fugatus, by whom the King was converted to Christs faith, and Baptized about the year of our Lord one hundred threescore and nineteen. *Nauclerus, lib. Cron. Gen. 6.* saith, it was in the year one hundred fifty and six. *Henr. de Erfordia*, saith, it was in the year one hundred threescore and nine, in the nineteenth year of Verus the Emperor. Some say it was in the sixth year of Commodus, which should be about the year of our Lord one hundred fourscore and five. Timotheus in his story thinketh, that Eleutherius came himself: But that is not like. And as there is a variance among the Writers for the count of years; so doth there rise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this Land or not. *Nicephorus, lib. 4. cap. 4.* saith that Simon Zelotes came into Britain. Some other alledge out of Gildas de Victoria, *Aurel. Ambrosi.* that Joseph of Arimatby, after the dispersion of the Jews, was sent by Philip the Apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord threescore and three, and here remaineth in this Land all his time, and so with his fellows, laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the Britain people. Whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scottishmen, and so doth count them as more ancient Christians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the Testimony of Origen, of Tertullian, and the words also of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no less but that the Faith of Christ was here in England among the Britain people, before Eleutherius time, and before the King was converted:

But

S. Peter celebrated the Lords Supper only with the Lords Prayer. Platina in vita Sixti.

The ordinance of Xistus suspected.

Telesphorus Bishop of Rome and martyr.

The ordinance of Telesphorus.

Lent fast and the original thereof examined.

Montanus first brought in the laws of fasting.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18.

Ex Socrate. Ecc. Hist. lib. 5. c. 30.

Ex Sozomeno, lib. 7. cap. 19.

The ordinances of Telesphorus falsely attributed.

Higinus Bishop of Rome and Martyr.

Ex Volat. lib. 22. Cream One Godfather and Godmother in baptism.

Dedication of Churches. Pius Bishop of Rome. The danger of letting the holy mysteries fall from the Lords Table.

The revelation of Hermes. The decretal Epistle of Pius.

Anicetus Bishop of Rome and martyr. Soter Bishop. Eleutherius Bishop. England converted to the faith of Christ.

Ex Niceph. lib. 4. cap. 4. Ex Gildas de Victoria. Aurel. Ambrosi. Whether this land of Britain received the Gospel before King Lucius days.

But hereof more shall be spoken hereafter (Christ willing) when after the tractation of these Ten Persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

About this time of *Commodus* afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous Teachers whom God stirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raise up some) in his Church, to confound the Persecutors by Learning and Writing, as the Martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was *Seraphion* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Egesippus* a Writer of the Ecclesiastical History from Christs Passion to his time, as witnesseth *Hierome* and *Eusebius*, lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which Books of his be now remaining: and those that be remaining (which be five *De excidio Hierosol.*) be not mentioned, neither of *Hierome*, *Eusebius*, nor of *Miltiades*, which also wrote his Apology in defence of Christian Religion, as did *Melito*, *Quadratus*, and *Aristides* before mentioned. About the same time also wrote *Heraclitus*, who first began to write Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Testament, and Epistles of the Apostles. Also *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, a man famously learned, which wrote divers Epistles to divers Churches, and among others writeth, exhorting *Penitus*, a certain Bishop, *Ne grave servandæ castitatis unus necessario fratribus imponatur, sed multorum sese imbecillitati attemperet*; that is, That he would lay no yoke of Chastity of any necessity upon his Brethren; but that he would consider the infirmity of others, and bear with it, *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23.* Moreover, the said *Dionysius* in his Epistles writing of *Dionysius Areopagita*, declareth of him how that he was first converted to the Christian Faith by Saint Paul, according as in the Acts is recorded, and afterward was made the first Bishop of *Athens*, but maketh there no mention of his Book *De Hierarchia*. Whereby it may easily appear, what is to be judged of that Book. Furthermore, by the Epistles of the said *Dionysius* of *Corinth*, this we have to understand, to be the use at that time in Churches, to read the Letters and Epistles, such as were sent by learned Bishops and Teachers unto the Congregations, as may appear by these words of *Dionysius*, who writing to the Church of the *Romans*, and to *Soter*, faith, *This day we celebrate the holy Dominical-day, in which we have read your Epistle, which always we will read for our Exhortation; like as we do read also the Epistle of Clement sent to us before, &c.* *Eusebius ibid.* Where also mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient Authors, before his time, except only in *Iustinus* Martyr, who in his Description declareth two times most especially used for Christian men to congregate together: first, when any Convert was to be baptized, the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont for two Causes then to be hallowed: first, because (faith he) upon that day God made the World: secondly, because that Christ upon that day first shewed himself, after his Resurrection, to his Disciples, &c.

Over and beside these above named, about the days of *Commodus*, wrote also *Clement Alexandrinus*, a man of notable and singular Learning, whose Books, although for a great part be lost, yet certain of them yet remain, wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the Books and Gospels of the New Testament, &c.

The same time moreover lived *Pantenus*, which was the first in *Alexandria*, that professed in open School to read, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the Christians to read and profess in Universities. This *Pantenus* for his excellency of Learning, was sent by *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, to Preach to the *Indians*, where he found the Gospel of *S. Matthew* written in Hebrew, left there by *S. Bartholomew*, which Book afterward he brought with him from thence to the Library of *Alexandria*.

During all the Reign of *Commodus*, God granted rest and tranquility, although not without some bloodshed of certain holy Martyrs, as is above declared unto his Church. In the which time of tranquility, the Christians having now some leisure from the foreign Enemy, began to have a little contention among themselves about the Ceremony of Easter: which contention albeit of long time before had been stirring in the Church, as is before mentioned of *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus*: yet the variance and difference

of that Ceremony brought no breach of Christian concord and society among them: neither as yet did the matter exceed so far, but that the bond of Love, and Communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the Ceremony of the day. For they of the West Church pretending the tradition of *Paul* and *Peter*, but indeed being the tradition of *Hermes* and of *Pius*, kept one day, which was upon the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the first month. The Church of *Asia*, following the Ordinance of *John* the Apostle, observed another, as more shall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth Persecution, let this hitherto suffice.

The fifth Persecution.

After the death of *Commodus* reigned *Pertinax* but a few months, after whom succeeded *Severus*, under whom was raised the fifth Persecution against the Christian Saints: who reigning the term of eighteen years, the first ten years of the same was very favourable and courteous to the Christians: afterward through sinister Suggestions and malicious Accusations of the malignant, was so incensed against them, that by Proclamations he commanded no Christians any more to be suffered. Thus the rage of the Emperor being inflamed against them, great Persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby an infinite number of Martyrs were slain, as *Eusebius* in his sixth Book recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred and five. The Crimes and false Accusations objected against the Christians are partly touched before; as Sedition and Rebellion against the Emperor, Sacrilege, murdering of Infants, incestuous Pollution, eating raw Flesh, Libidinous Commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then *Gnostici*, were infamed. Item, it was objected against them for worshipping the head of an *Asi*: which whereof it should rise, I find no certain cause, except it were, perhaps, by the Jews. Also they were charged for worshipping the Sun, for that peradventure before the Sun did rise, they convened together, singing their morning Hymns unto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the East: but specially for that they would not with them worship their Idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The Captains and Prelidents of this Persecution under the Emperor were *Hilerianus*, *Vigellius*, *Claudius*, *Hermianus* Ruler of *Cappadocia*, *Cecilius*, *Capella*, *Vespronius*, also *Demetrius* mentioned of *Cyprian*, and *Aquila* Judge of *Alexandria*, of whom *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5.* maketh relation.

The place where the force of this Persecution most raged, were *Africa*, *Alexandria*, *Cappadocia* and *Carthage*. The number of them that suffered in this Persecution, by the report of the Ecclesiastical story, was innumerable. Of whom the first was *Leonides* the Father of *Origen*, who was beheaded: with whom also *Origen* his Son, being of the age then of Seventeen years, should have suffered (such a fervent desire he had to be martyred for Christ) had not his Mother privily in the night season conveyed away his Clothes and his shirt. Whereupon more for shame to be seen, than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home: and when he could do nothing else, yet he writeth to his Father a Letter with these words, *Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quam Martyrii constanter faciendi propositum cogites*; that is, Take heed to your self, that you turn not your thought and purpose for our sake, &c. Such a fervency had this *Origen*, being yet young, to the Doctrine of Christs Faith, by the operation of Gods heavenly Providence, and partly also by the diligent Education of his Father, who brought him up from his Youth most studiously in all good Literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy Scripture, wherein he had such inward and mystical Speculation, that many times he would move questions to his Father of the meaning of this place or that place in the Scripture. In so much that his Father divers times would uncover his breast being asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God which had made him so happy a Father of such a happy Child. After the death of his Father, and all his Goods confiscated to the Emperor, he with his poor Mother, and six Brethren were brought to such extrem Poverty, that he did sustain both himself and them by teaching a School:

Severus Emperor. Anno 195. The fifth Persecution

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 2.

Anno 205. The false Accusations against the Christians.

The Captains and Ministers of this Persecution. *Ex Tertul. ad capulama*

Leonides Father of *Origen* Martyr.

Origen kept from Martyrdom by his Mother

Origen commended. *Ex Euseb. lib. 6 cap. 3.*

Ex Euseb. Antonino Simoniag &c.

Seraphion Bishop of *Antioch*, *Egesippus* Ecclesiastical Writer.

Miltiades Ecclesiastical Writer. *Heraclitus* Ecclesiastical Writer. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, *Eusebius* Ecclesiastical Writer. The yoke of chastity not to be laid upon the infirm Brethren.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23. The Book of *Dionysius Areopagita* de hierarchia suspected.

Celebration of the Sunday.

Clement Alexandrinus.

The Gospel of *S. Matthew* written in Hebrew.

Difference about the Ceremony of Easter.

till at length, being weary of the Profession, he transferred his study only to the knowledge and seeking of Divine Scripture, and such other learning conducible to the same. So much he profited both in the Hebrew and other Tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew Text with the translation of the threefold: and moreover did confer and find out the other translations which we call the common translation of *Aquila*, of *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*. Also he adjoyned to these aforefaid other four translations, whereof more is in the story of *Eusebius* expressed.

They that write of the life of *Origen*, testifie of him that he was of wit quick and sharp, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the Tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great faster; his teaching and his living were both one: his going was much barefoot: a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, *Bidding to have but one Coat, &c.* He is said to have written so much as seven *Notaries*, and so many Maids every day could pen. The number of his Books, by the account of *Hierome*, came to seven thousand Volumes, the Copies whereof he used to sell for three pence, or a little more, for the sustentation of his living. But of him more shall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christs Martyrs, that he nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kiss them, inasmuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes by the provocation of Christian men had his house guarded about with Souldiers, for the safety of them which daily resorted to hear his Readings. And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the Providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of *Severus*. Among others which resorted unto him, and were his Hearers, *Plutarchus* was one, and died a Martyr; and with him *Serenus* his Brother, who was burned. The third after these was *Heraclides*, the fourth *Heron*, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another *Serenus*, also beheaded; *Rhais* and *Potamiena* who was tormented with Pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her Mother *Marcella*, who died also in the fire. This *Potamiena* was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who because she could not be removed from her Profession, was committed to *Basilides* one of the Captains there in the Army, to see the execution done. *Basilides* receiving her at the Judges hand, and leading her to the place, shewed her some Compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked Adversaries: for the which *Potamiena* the Virgin, to requite again his kindness, had him be of good comfort, saying, *That she would pray the Lord to shew mercy upon him*, and so went she to her Martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustain.

Plutarchus, Scholar of *Origen* and *Serenus* his Brother, martyred. *Heraclides*, *Heron*, *Rhais*, *Potamiena*, *Marcella*, Scholars of *Origen* and Martyrs.

Basilides of a Persecutor made a Martyr.

Ex *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 5.

Alexander Confessor and Bishop of *Jerusalem*. The notable age of *Narcissus*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

Not long after it happened that *Basilides* was required to give an Oath in a matter concerning his fellow Souldiers, which thing he denied to do, plainly affirming that he was a Christian: for their Oath then was wont to be by the Idols and the Emperor. At the first he was thought dissemblingly to jest, but after, when he was heard constantly and in earnest, to confirm the same, he was had before the Judge, and so by him committed to Ward. The Christians marveling thereat, as they came to him in the Prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden Conversion. To whom he answered again, and said, *That Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and so he saw a Crown put upon his head; adding moreover, That it should not be long but he should be received.* Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of Execution, and there beheaded, *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5.* Albeit the said *Eusebius* giveth this story of no credit, but only of hear-say, as he there expresseth.

As divers and many there were that suffered in the days of this *Severus*, so some there were again, which through the Protection of God his Providence being put to great torments, yet escaped with life: Of whom was one *Alexander*, who, for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made Bishop afterward of *Jerusalem*, together with *Narcissus*: who being then an old man of an hundred and threescore years and three, as saith *Eusebius*, was unwieldy for his age to govern that Function alone.

Of this *Narcissus* it is reported in the *Ecclesiastical History*, that certain Miracles by him were wrought, very

notable, if they be true. First, of Water by him turned into Oil, at the solemn Vigil of *Easter*, what time the Congregation wanted Oil for their Lamps. Another Miracle is also told of him, which is this, There were three evil disposed persons, who seeing the soundness and grave constancy of his vertuous life, and fearing their own punishment, as a Conscience that is guilty is always fearful, thought to prevent his Accusations, in accusing him first, and laying an hainous Crime unto his Charge. And to make their Accusation more probable before the people, they bound their Accusation with a great Oath, one willing to be destroyed with fire, if he said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes if they did lie. *Narcissus*, although having his Conscience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withstand their Accusation, bound with such Oaths, gave place, and removed himself from the multitude into a solitary Desert by himself, where he continued the space of many years. In the mean time, to them which so willingly and wickedly forswore themselves, this happened:

The first, by casualty of one little small sparkle of fire, was burnt with his Goods and all his Family. The second was taken with a great sickness from the top to the toe, and devoured with the same. The third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears, that he lost both his eyes; and thus was their false Perjury punished. *Narcissus*, after long absence returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the Fact, and received into his Bishoprick again: to whom as is said, for impotency of his age, *Alexander* was joyned in execution of the Function. *Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 10.* Of this *Alexander* is recorded in the said *Ecclesiastical History*, that after his Agonies and constancy of his Confession shewed in the persecution of *Severus*, he was admonished by a Vision in the night season to make his journey up to *Jerusalem* and *Palestina* (for that place remained free from this Persecution) to see there the Congregation, and to pray. Thus he taking his Journey, and drawing near to the City, a Vision with plain words was given to certain chief Heads of *Jerusalem*, to go out of the Gate of the City, there to receive the Bishop appointed to them of God. And so was *Alexander* met and received, and joyned Partner with aged *Narcissus*, as is before expressed, in the City of *Jerusalem*, where he continued Bishop above forty years, until the Persecution of *Decius*, and there erected a famous Library, where *Eusebius* had his chiefest help in writing his *Ecclesiastical History*. He wrote also divers Epistles to divers Churches, and licensed *Origen* openly to teach his Church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from *Jerusalem* to *Cesarea* before the Judge under *Decius*, where after his constant Confession the second time, he was committed to Prison, and there died.

Besides these that suffered in this Persecution of *Severus*, recited of *Eusebius*, *Vincentius* also, *Lib. 11. cap. 6.* *Martyrologio*, speaketh of one *Andoclus*, whom *Polycarpus* before had sent into France: which *Andoclus*, because he had spread there the Doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of *Severus*, and first beaten with Staves and Bats, and after was beheaded.

To these above named, may also be added *Asclepiades*, who, although he was not put to death in this Persecution of *Severus*, yet constantly he did abide the Trial of his Confession, and suffered much for the same, as *Alexander* before mentioned did. Wherefore, afterward he was ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, where he continued the space of seven years, of whom *Alexander* writes unto the Church of *Antioch* out of Prison, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their Bishop.

About the same time, during the Reign of *Severus*, died *Ireneus*, *Henr. de Erfordia*, *Ado*, and other Martyr-Writers do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the Confession and Doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth year of *Severus*. This *Ireneus*, as he was a greater Writer, so was he greatly commended of *Tertullian* for his Learning, whom he calleth *Omnium Doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem*. A great Searcher of all kind of Learning. He was first Scholar and Hearer of *Polycarpus*, from thence either was sent, or came to France, and there by *Phoebus*, and

A miracle of water turned into oil. Ex *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 9.

A terrible Example of perjury punished.

Narcissus and *Alexander* joyned together in one Bishoprick.

Alexander ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* by Gods miracle. Ex *Euseb.* lib. 6. ca. 11.

The constancy and death of *Alexander* Bishop.

Andoclus Martyr.

Asclepiades Bishop of *Antioch* Confessor.

Ireneus Bishop of *Lyons*, and Martyr.

and the rest of the Martyrs, was instituted into the Ministry, and commended by their Letter to Eleutherius as is before premonished. At length, after the Martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed Bishop of Lions, where he continued about the space of three and twenty years. In the time of this *Ireneus* the state of the Church was much troubled, not only for the outward Persecution of the foreign enemy, but also for divers Sects and Errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few Books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he ever loved peace, and fought to set agreement when any controversie rose in the Church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the *Easter* day was renewed in the Church between *Victor* Bishop of Rome, and the Churches of Asia, and when *Victor* would have excommunicated them as Schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein: *Ireneus*, with other brethren of the French Church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, convented themselves together in a common Council, and directing their Letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto *Victor*, intreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing the Sunday *Easter* as he did: yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient Custom of their Country in manner in that behalf. And besides this, he wrote divers other Letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of *Victor* to be of no force.

Not long after *Ireneus* followed also *Tertullian* about the time of this *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla* his Son, a Man both in Greek and Latine well expert, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his Books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testify no less. To whom *Vincentius Lirinensis* giveth such praise, that he calleth him the flower of all Latine Writers: and of the eloquence of his stile he thus writeth, that with the force of his reasons, he saith, whom he could not persuade, them he compelled to consent unto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many victories he had, &c.

Such men of doing and writing God raised up from time to time, as pillars and staies for his poor Church, as he did this *Tertullian* in these dangerous days of Persecution. For when the Christians were vexed with wrongs, and falsely accused of the Gentiles, *Tertullian* taking their cause in hand, defendeth them against the Persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. First, that they never minded any stir or rebellion, either against the Empire or Emperors of Rome: for so much as the use of Christians was to pray for the state of their Emperors and Governors. And whereas they were accused falsely to be enemies of all Mankind, how could that be (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula*) seeing the proper office of the Christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, when as all other do love but only their friends, and scarcely them? As touching the horrible slander of murdering Infants, how can that be true in the Christians (saith he) whose order is to abstain from all blood and strangled; inasmuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beast at their Tables when they feed? from filthy copulation no sort more free than they, which are, and ever have been, the greatest observers of chastity, of whom, such as may, live in perpetual virginity all their life; such as cannot contract Matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication. Neither can it be proved that the Christians do worship the Sun: which false surmise *Tertullian* declareth to rise hereof, for that the manner of the Christians was to pray toward the East. Much less was there any of them so mad as to worship an Asses head; whereof the occasion being taken only of the Jews, the slander thereof therefore he proveth to be falsely and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

And likewise against all other lies and slanders objected of the Heathen against the Christians, the said *Tertullian* purgeth the Christians, declaring them falsely to be belied, and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same Persecutions, he proveth

in the same Apology, the Religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. The more (saith he) we are mown down of you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is Seed. For what man (saith he) in beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is the cause? And when hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus (saith he) this Sect will never die, which the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the Saints, is moved the more thereby to search the cause; in searching, he findeth it, and finding he followeth it. *Tertullian*, in eodem Apolog.

Thus *Tertullian*, in this dangerous time of Persecution, being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries; and moreover, for the instruction of the Church he compiled many fruitful works, whereof some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous virtues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemishes are noted in his Doctrine, as were before both of *Origen* and *Ireneus*, and likewise of them, were they never so excellent that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this story to prosecute. This by the way shall be sufficient to admonish the Reader, never to look for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular soever he be (Christ only excepted) but some blemish or other joyneth it self withal, whereof more, perchance, shall be said when we come to *Cyprian*.

And now, to return again to the order of Bishops of Rome intermitted: After *Eleutherius* afore mentioned, next in the Bishoprick of Rome succeed *Victor*, who, as *Platina* saith, died quietly in the days of *Severus*. But *Damasus* supplem. lib. 8. and such as do follow the common Chronicles, affirm that he died a Martyr, after he had sitten ten (or as some say twelve) years. This *Victor* was a great stirrer (as partly before is signified) in the controverlie and contention of *Easter* day, for the which he would have proceeded in Excommunication against the Churches of Asia, had not *Ireneus*, then Bishop of Lions, with the counsel of other his brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence. As touching that controverlie of *Easter* in those days of the Primitive Church, the original thereof was this, as *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Platina*, and others record. First, certain it is, that the Apostles, being only intensive and attendant to the Doctrine of Salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of days and times, neither bound the Church to any Ceremonies and Rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as strangled and blood, which was ordained then of the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause, touched partly in the History before. For when the murdering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the Heathen Persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to re-
fel the adversary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abstain, not only from all mens blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seemeth by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the Church, so long as the cause, that is, the Persecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Besides these, we read of no other Ceremonies or Rites, which the Apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his own discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial observations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others: of all these things neither was the diversity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. In so much that *Ireneus* writing to *Victor* of the tradition of days, and of fastings, and of the diversity of these things then used among the Primitive fathers, saith: *Nihil tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt & retinemus etiamnum, & juncti dissimilia fidei concordiam commendat, &c.* that is, Notwithstanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themselves, and yet we keep it still, and this difference of fasting among us commendeth more the concord

Tertul. in apologetica.

The errors and imperfections in learned men noted.

Victor Bishop of Rome. *Victor* reported of some to die a Martyr.

The cause discussed why the Holy Ghost forbade blood and strangled in the Primitive Church.

Ex *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26.* The doctrine of Christian liberty in outward usages.

cord of faith. And so long did the Doctrine of Christian Liberty remain whole and sound in the Church till the time of *Victor*, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred; although the diversity of these usages began before also in the days of *Pius* and *Anicetus*, about the year of Christ one hundred sixty and three, to be disliked; yet restraint hereof was not so much urged before, as in the time of *Victor*. And yet neither did the violence of *Victor* take such place, but that the Doctrine of Christian Liberty was defended and maintained by means of *Irenaeus* and others, and so continued in the Church till after the Council of *Nice*. And thus much concerning the Doctrine of Christian liberty, and of the differences of Rites and Ceremonies.

Now to return to *Victor* again, to shew what diversity there was in observing the day of *Easter*, and how it came, thus is the story. First, in the time of *Pius* and *Anicetus* in the year of Christ one hundred sixty and three, the question of *Easter day* began first to be moved, at what time *Pius*, by the revelation of *Hermes*, decreed the observation of that day to be changed from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the Moon in the first Moneth unto the next Sunday after. After him came *Anicetus*, *Soter* and *Eleutherius* Bishops of *Rome*, which also determined the same. Against these stood *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Polycarpus*, and as some think, *Egesippus*, with other learned men of *Asia*. Which *Polycarpus*, being sent by the brethren of *Asia*, came to *Rome* as is aforesaid, to confer with *Anicetus* in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of *Easter day* remained *adiaphoron*, as a thing indifferent in the Church, till the time of *Victor*; who following after *Anicetus* and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, endeavoured by all means and might to draw, or rather subdue the Churches of *Asia* unto his opinion; thinking moreover to excommunicate all those Bishops and Churches of *Asia*, as Hereticks and Schismatics, which disagreed from the *Roman* order: had not *Irenaeus* otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the year of our Lord one hundred fourscore and eleven, in the Reign of *Commodus*. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessary, and all they accounted as Hereticks and Schismatics, which dissented from the Bishop and tradition of *Rome*.

With *Victor* stood *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea*, *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*, *Irenaeus* of *Lions*, *Palmas* of *Pontus*, *Banchilus* of *Corinth*, the Bishop of *Ostroena*, and others more. All which condescended to have the celebration of *Easter* upon the Sunday, because they would differ from the *Jews* in all things as near as they might, and partly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

On the contrary side, divers Bishops were in *Asia*, of whom the principal was *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who being assembled with a great multitude of Bishops and brethren of those parts, by the common assent of the rest, wrote again to *Victor*, and to the Church of *Rome*, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning observed that day, according to the rule of Scripture unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same: alledging moreover for them the examples of the Apostles and holy Fathers their Predecessors, as *Philip* the Apostle, with his three daughters at *Hieropolis*; Also *John* the Apostle and Evangelist at *Ephesus*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, *Thraseas* at *Eumenia* Bishop and Martyr; likewise of *Sagaris* at *Laodicea* Bishop and Martyr, holy *Papirius* and *Melito* at *Sardis*. Beside these, Bishops also of his own kindred, and his own ancestors, to the number of seven which all were Bishops before him, and he the eighth now after them. All which observed (saith he) the solemnity of the same day, after the same wise and sort as we do now.

Victor, being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounceth against them (more bold upon authority, than wise in his commission) violent excommunication, albeit by the wise handling of *Irenaeus*, and other learned men, that matter was staid, and *Victor* otherwise perswaded. What the perswasions of *Irenaeus* were, partly may appear in *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26.* the sum whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of Ceremonies is no strange matter in the Church of

Christ, when as this variety is not only in the day of *Easter*, but also in the manner of fasting, and in divers other usages among the Christians. For some fast one day, some two days, some others fast more. Others there be, which counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full days fast. And this so divers fashion of fasting in the Church of Christ began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet notwithstanding, they with all this diversity were in unity among themselves, and so be we; neither doth this difference of Ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the Fathers, of *Telephorus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, *Soter*, *Eleutherius*, and such others, who neither observed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept Christian Charity with such as came to communicate with them, not observing the same form of things which they observed, as well appeared by *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus*, which although they agreed not in one uniform custom of Rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other. Thus the controversy being taken up between *Irenaeus* and *Victor*, remained free to the time of the *Nicene* Council. *Hac ex Irenaeo. Eusebius.* And thus much concerning the controversy of that matter, and concerning the doings of *Victor*.

After *Victor*, succeeded in the See of *Rome*, *Zephyrinus*, in the days of the fore said *Severus*, about the year of our Lord two hundred and three. To this *Zephyrinus* be ascribed two Epistles, in the first Tome of the Councils. But as I have said before of the Decretal Epistles of other *Roman* Bishops, so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the stile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time doth otherwise give to think of these Letters, but that they be verily bastard Letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by some, which, to set up the Primacy of *Rome*, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient Fathers, to deceive the simple Church. For who is so rude, but that in considering only the state of those terrible times he may easily understand (except affection blind him) beside a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor persecuted Bishops in that time would have been glad to have any safe covert to put their heads in: so far was it off, that they had any lust or leisure then to seek for any Primacy or Patriarchship, or to drive all other Churches to appeal to the See of *Rome*, or to exempt all Priests from the accusation of any Lay-man; as in the first Epistle of *Zephyrinus* is to be seen, written to the Bishops of *Sicilia*: and likewise the second Epistle of his to the Bishops of the Province of *Egypt*, containing no manner of doctrine, nor consolation necessary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpose, argueth no less, but the said Epistles neither to favour of that man, nor to taste of that time.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patins of glass, which *Damasus* saith that the same *Zephyrinus* ordained to be carried before the Priest at the celebration of the Mass. Again *Platina* writeth that he ordained the administration of the Sacrament to be no more used in vessels of Wood, or of Glass, or of any other Metal, except only Silver, Gold and Tin, &c. But how these two testimonies of *Damasus* and *Platina* joyn together, let the Reader judge: especially, seeing the same Decree is referred to *Urbanus* that came after him. Again, what needed this Decree of Golden Chalice to be established afterward in the Council of *Tiber* and *Rhenes* if it had been enacted before by *Zephyrinus*? How long this *Zephyrinus* fate, our Writers do vary. *Eusebius* saith, he died in the Reign of *Caracalla*, and fate seventeen years. *Platina* writeth that he died under *Severus*, and fat eight years, and so saith also *Nauclerus*. *Damasus* affirmeth that he fat sixteen years and two moneths.

Matheus Author of the Story intituled *Flores historiarum*, with other later Chronicles, maketh mention of *Perpetua*, and *Felicitas*, and *Revocatus* her brother, also of *Saturninus* and *Satyrus* brethren, and *Secundulus*, which in the Persecution of this *Severus* gave over their lives to Martyrdom for Christ, being thrown to Wild beasts, and devoured of the same in *Carthage* and in *Africk*, save that *Saturninus* brought again from the beasts was beheaded, and *Secundulus* died in Prison about the year of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth *Florilegus*.

This

Anno 200.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.

Polycarpus and Anicetus disagreed in controversy, yet agreed in charity.

Uniformity in ceremonies not to be required as a thing necessary.

Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus.

Bishops in those days married.

Victor excommunicating the Churches of Asia.

Irenaeus to Victor.

Diversity commendeth the concord of faith.

Zephyrinus Bishop of Rome.

The Epistle and Ordinance of Zephyrinus, suspected to be counterfeit.

The first Epistle of Zephyrinus to the Bishops of Sicilia.

Patins of glass born before the Priest. The Ordinance of Zephyrinus of small credit.

Golden Chalices. Concilium Tiburtinum. Rhenensis.

Ex Florilegio. Perpetua. Felicitas. Revocatus. Saturninus. Satyrus. Secundulus. Martyrs.

This *Severus* the Persecutor reigned, as the most part of Writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who about the later time of his Reign came with his Army hither into *Britain*, where after many conflicts had with the *Britains*, in the borders of the North, he cast up a Ditch with a mighty Wall made of earth and turfs, and strong stakes, to the length of one hundred thirty and two miles from the one side of the Sea to the other, beginning at *Time*, and reaching to the *Scotish* Sea: which done, he removed to *York*, and there by the breaking in of the Northern men and *Scots*, was besieged and slain, about the year of our Lord two hundred and fourteen, leaving behind him two sons, *Bassianus* and *Geta*. Which *Bassianus*, surnamed *Caracalla*, after he had slain his brother *Geta* here in *Britain*, governed the Empire alone, the space of six years. After whose death, he being slain also of his servants (as he had slain his Brother before) succeeded *Macrinus* with his Son *Diadumenus*, to be Emperor, who, after they had reigned one year, were both slain of their own people.

After them followed *Varius Heliogabalus* in the Empire, rather to be called a Monster than a Man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthiness, and ribaudry. Such was his pomp, that in his Lamps he used Balm, and filled his Fish-ponds with Rose water. To let pass his sumptuous Vestures which he would not wear but only of Gold, and most costly silks; his shoes glistering with precious Stones finely ingravened, he was never two days served with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickedness, some days his company was served at Meal with the Brains of Ostriches, and a strange Fowl called *Phenocoptery*, another day with the tongues of *Poppingais*, and other sweet singing Birds. Being nigh to the Sea, he never used Fish: in places far distant from the Sea, all his house was served with most delicate Fishes: at one Supper he was served with seven thousand Fishes, and five thousand Fowls. At his removing in his progress, often there followed him six hundred Chariots laden only with Bawds, common Harlots and Ribauds. He sacrificed young children, and preferred to the best advancements in the common Weal most light Performances, as Bawds, Minstrels, Carters, and such like: in one word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was foretold by his Sorcerers and Astronomers, that he should die a violent death, he provided Ropes of Silk to hang himself, Swords of Gold to kill himself, and strong Poyson in Jacinths and Emrods to poyson himself, if needs he must thereto be forced; moreover, he made an high Tower, having the Floor of Boards covered with Gold Plate, bordered with precious stones, from the which Tower he would throw himself down, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain of the Soldiers, drawn through the City, and cast into *Tiber*, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witnesseth *Eutropius*, others say four years.

This *Heliogabalus*, having no issue, adopted to his Son and Heir *Aurelius Alexander Severus*, the Son of *Mammaea*, who entering his Reign the year of our Lord one hundred twenty and four, continued thirteen years, well commended for virtuous, wife, gentle, liberal, and to no man harmful. And as he was not unlearned himself, through the diligent education of *Mammaea* his Mother, so he was a great favourer of men wise and learned. Neither did he any thing in the Commonweal, without the assistance of learned and sage Counsellors. It is reported of him to bear such stomach against corrupt Judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would cast up choler, being so moved with them that he could not speak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his Court he dismissed all superfluous and unneedful servants, saying, that he was no good Pupil, which fed idle servants with the bowels of his Commonweal.

Among his other good virtues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and favourable unto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the Christians had occupied a certain publick place in some good use, belike for the assembling and convening together of the Congregation; the company of the Cooks or Tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the Emperor, he judged it more honest,

the place to be continued to the worship of God, howsoever it were, than the dirty slubbing of Cooks and Scullions.

By this it may be understood, that in *Rome* no Christian Churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this favour of the Emperor,) no publick house could quietly be obtained for the Christians. So that by the reason hereof may appear the Decretal Epistle and Ordinance of Pope *Higinus* concerning the Dedication of Churches above mentioned to be falsified. And likewise the Ordinance of *Pius* his successor, concerning the Altar, or *Superaliare* to be also false. For what *Superaliare* was it like they had in the time of *Higinus* and *Pius*, when at this time, which was long after, no publick place almost could be granted them for the Christians to assemble together.

Of this *Alexander Platina* writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him, and bringeth in a story of one *Turinus*, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people believe that he was of great authority with the Emperor, and that he could help them to have whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the Emperor being certified, caused him in the open Market to be fastned to a Stake, and there killed with smoke, where the Crier stood thus crying to the People, *Smoke be sold, and with smoke he is punished.*

Mammaea the Mother of this *Alexander* above mentioned (whom *Hierome* calleth a devout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of *Origen*, being then at *Alexandria*, sent for him to *Antioch*, desirous to hear and see him: unto whom the foresaid *Origen* according to her request resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the Emperor and his Mother, returned again to *Alexandria*.

And thus continued this good Emperor his Reign the space of 13 years; at length at a commotion in *Germany*, with his Mother *Mammaea* he was slain. After whom succeeded *Maximinus*, contrary to the mind of the Senate, only appointed by the Souldiers to be Emperor. During all this time between *Severus* and this *Maximinus*, the Church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some mean tranquillity from Persecution. Albeit some Martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof *Nauclerus* giveth this reason: For although (saith he) *Alexander* being persuaded through the intreating of his Mother *Mammaea*, did favour the Christians: yet notwithstanding, there was no publick Edict or Proclamation provided for their safeguard. By reason whereof, divers there were which suffered Martyrdom under *Almachius* and other Judges. In the number of whom, after some stories, was *Calixtus* Bishop of *Rome*, who succeeded next unto *Zephirinus* above mentioned; and after him *Urbanus* also, which both being Bishops of *Rome*, did both suffer, by the opinion of some Writers, under *Alexander Severus*.

This *Calixtus* in his two Decretal Epistles, written to *Benedictus*, and to the Bishops of *France*, giveth these ordinances, that no actions or accusations against the Prelats or Teachers of the Church should be received, that no secret conspiracies should be made against Bishops: Item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate: also no Bishop to excommunicate or to deal in anothers Diocesis. And here he expoundeth the Diocesis, or the Parish of any Bishop or Minister to be his Wife. The wife (saith the Apostle) is bound to the law, as long as the husband liveth; when he is dead, she is free from the law: So (saith *Calixtus*) the wife of a Bishop (which is his Church) so long as he liveth, is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or disposed by any other man, without his will and judgment: after his death she is free from the law, so marry to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is regularly, regularly. In the end of the said his Epistle Decretal, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen are not to be received again. Which Heresie, after the time of *Calixtus* or *Calistus*, came in first by *Novatus*, in the days of *Cornelius*. Moreover, in his said first Epistle Decretal is contained the fast of the four times, commonly called the *Ember* fast, whereof also *Marianus Scotus* maketh mention. But *Damasus* speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increafe of Corn, Wine and Oyl.

By these hitherto premised, it is not hard for a quick Reader to smell out the crafty juggling of that person or persons, whosoever they were, that falsly have ascribed these Decretal

Severus
warreth in
Britain.

A wall was
erected
in England
builted
one hundred
thirty
and two
miles in
length.

Severus the
Persecutor
slain at York
Anno
215
Bassianus
Emperor.
Macrinus
with his son
Diadumenus
Emperor.
Anno
219.

The monstrous
life of Heliogabalus
Emperor.

A prodigious
belly-
God.

Heliogabalus
slain of his
souldiers.
Ex Eutrop.

Alexander
Severus
Emperor.
Anno
224.

Against corrupt
Judges.
The saying
of Alexander
to be noted
and followed.
Idle servants
eat up the bowels
of the Common-
weal.

A note worthy
to be
marked.

Platina
vita Ponsi-
ani.

Punished
with smoke
that sold
smoke.

Mammaea
the Mother
of the Em-
peror.

Ex Naucler.

Calixtus Bi-
shop of
Rome and
Martyr.

The decre-
tal Epistles
of Calixtus
examined.

The place
of St. Paul
unjustly ex-
pounded.

Ember Fast
first ordain-
ed.

institutions to those holy Fathers. For first, what leisure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their Bishops, when we never read or find in any story any kind of variance in those days among them, but all love, mutual compassion, and hearty communion among the Saints? And as we read of no variance among the people in those days, nor of any fault or backsliding among the Bishops, who for the most part then died all constant Martyrs: so neither do we read of any Tribunal Seat or Consistory used or frequented then about any such matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of those bulie days, he shall see the poor flock of the Christians so occupied and pitifully oppressed by the cruel accusations of the Heathen Infidels, that though the cause did, yet the time would not serve them to commence any Law against their Bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against Bishops, What conspiracy either would they then practice against them, which always gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when never a true Christian man durst once put his head out of his doors? neither was there in the Church any Christian man in those perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, such as was far from all false conspiracies. And when as all the World almost in all places conspired against them: what time, what cause, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that Heresie, how standeth the confutation with the time of *Calixtus*, when *Novatus* the Author of that Heresie was after him in the time of *Cornelius*? Fourthly, if by the law of *Calixtus*, every Diocess be the proper Wife of every Bishop or Minister, then how many Bishops Wives, and Parsons Wives, had the adulterous Pope of *Rome* deflowered in these later days of the Church, which so proudly and impudently hath intermeddled and taken his pleasure, and his own profit, in every Diocess and Parish almost through all *Christendom*, without all leave and licence of the good man, who hath been in the mean time, and yet is compelled still, wheresoever the Popes holiness cometh, *Vigilante fertere naso*, and to give him leave unasked to do what he list? Wherefore if this Canon Decretal be truly his, why is it not observed, so as it doth stand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsly forged upon him, and the Church of Christ deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions, under the false pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the Church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained so long undetected. For, as I think, the Church of Christ will never be perfectly reformed, before these Decretal Constitutions and Epistles, which have so long put on the Visor of Antiquity, shall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour, wherein they were first painted.

And yet neither do I say this, or think contrary, but that it may be, that Bishops of *Rome* and of the same name have been the true authors of these traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly suppose) that when other later Bishops of the like name have devised these ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitive fathers, although being of another time, yet bearing the same name with the true inventors thereof. But of *Calixtus* enough: who, as *Damasus* saith, in the days of this *Alexander Severus* died a Martyr. *Vincentius* affirmeth, that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a Window was thrown into a ditch. *Eusebius*, speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his Martyrdom, and saith he sate five years, *Platina* saith six years, *Sabellicus* giveth him seven years, and so doth *Damasus*.

After *Calixtus* followed *Urbanus*, about the year of our Lord two hundred twenty seven, who in his Epistle Decretal (coming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all Bishops, making no mention of the heavy Persecutions of the Church, nor ministring any exhortation of comfort or constancy to the brethren, only giveth many strict precepts, for not transporting or alienating the goods of the Church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow: also to have all common among the Clergy. Moreover, about the end of his Epistle he instituteth the confirmation of Children after Baptism (which the *Papists* be wont to take into the number of their seven Sacraments;) affirming and denouncing more than Scripture will bear, that

the imposition of the Bishops hand bringeth the Holy Ghost, and that thereby men be made full Christians, &c. But of these Decretal Epistles enough is said before, more may be considered of the discreet Reader. *Marianus Scottus*, *Sabellicus*, *Naclerus*, and other late story Writers do hold, as is aforesaid, that he died a Martyr in the days of *Alexander Severus*, after he had governed that seat four years, as *Damasus* and *Platina* do witness, as *Marianus* saith, eight years.

The same *Damasus* and *Platina* do testifie of him, that he by his preaching and holiness of life, converted divers Ethniks to the faith. Among whom were *Tiburtius*, and *Valerianus* the Husband of *Cecilia*, which both, being Noblemen of *Rome*, remained constant in the faith unto the end and Martyrdom. Of this *Cecilia* thus it is written in the Martyrology by *Ado*, that *Cecilia* the Virgin, after she had brought *Valerian* her Husband espoused, and *Tiburtius* his brother to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and with her exhortations had made them constant unto Martyrdom; after the suffering of them she was also apprehended by *Almachius* the Ruler, and brought to the Idols to do sacrifice: which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the Judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the Serjeants and Officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her conversation, began with many persuasions of words to sollicite her mind to favour herself, and that so excellent beauty, and not to cast her self away, &c. But she again so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that Religion, which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiving desired of the Judge *Almachius* a little respite: which being granted, she sendeth for *Urbanus* the Bishop home to her house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they with divers others at the same time baptised, both men and women, to the number (as the story saith) of 400 persons, among whom was one *Gordianus* a Nobleman. This done, this blessed Martyr was brought before the Judge, where she was condemned; then after was brought to the house of the Judge, where she was inclosed in a hot bath; but the remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commandment given that in the Bath she should be beheaded. The Executer is said to have four strokes at her neck; and yet her head being cut off, she (as the story giveth) lived three days after, and so died this holy Virgin Martyr, whose body in the night season *Urbanus* the Bishop took and buried among the other Bishops. *Ado* the compiler of this Martyrology addeth that this was done in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Commodus*. But that cannot be, for so much as *Urbanus* by all Histories was long after those Emperors, and lived in the days of this *Alexander*, as is above declared. *Antoninus Bergomensis*, *Equilinus*, with such other Writers set forth this History with many strange Miracles wrought by the said *Cecilia*, in converting her Husband *Valerianus* and his brother, in shewing them the Angel which was the keeper of her Virginity, and of the Angel putting on Crowns upon their heads. But as touching these Miracles, as I do not dispute whether they be true or fabulous, so because they have no ground upon any ancient or grave Authors, but are taken out of certain new Legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

Under the same *Alexander* divers other there be, whom *Bergomensis* mentioned to have suffered Martyrdom, as one *Agapetus* of the age of fifteen years, who being apprehended and condemned at *Preneſte* in *Italy*, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundry torments: first with Whips scourged, then hanged up by the feet, after having hot water poured upon him, at the last cast to the wild beasts: with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally, with sword was beheaded. The Executer of these punishments (as by *Henricus Erford* may be gathered) was one *Antiochus*; who in the executing of the foresaid torments suddenly fell down from his Judicial Seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gave up the breath. *Henr. de Erfordia*, lib. 6. cap. 29.

Against the decretal epistles and constitutions.

Calixtus a Martyr. Ex *Vincen.* in *ſpec. hiſt.* Ex *Anon.* lib. 7. cap. 6.

Urbanus Bishop of *Rome*. Anno 227.

Confirmation of Children instituted.

Tiburtius Martyr.

Valerianus Martyr.

Cecilia Martyr. Ex *Marianus* lib. 1. c. 6.

The Martyrdom of *Cecilia*.

Agapetus a blessed Martyr. Ex *Bergomensis* lib. 1. c. 6.

A notable example of Gods just plague upon a persecutor. Ex *Henr. de Erfordia*, lib. 6.

Also

Calepodius
martyr.

Also with the same *Agapetus* is numbred *Calepodius* a Minister of *Rome*, whose body first was drawn through the City of *Rome*, and after cast into *Tiber*. *Bergo*. *Ibidem*.

Pammachius
with his
wife and
children
martyrs.
Forty and
two
martyrs.
Simplicius
martyr.

Then followeth *Pammachius* a Senator of *Rome*, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two.

Item, another noble Senator of *Rome* named *Simplicius*, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged up in divers gates of the City for a terrour of others, that none should profess the name of Christ.

Quirinus,
false his
mother,
martyr.

Besides these suffered also *Quirinus* a noble man of *Rome*, who, with his mother *Julia* and a great number more, were put likewise to death.

Tiberius,
Valerianus,
brethren
and
martyrs.

Also *Tiberius* and *Valerianus* Citizens of *Rome*, and brethren, suffered (as *Bergomensis* faith) the same time, who, first being bruised and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Martina a
virgin and
martyr.

Also *Vincentius*, *Bergomensis*, and *Erfordiensis* make mention of *Martina* a Christian Virgin, which, after divers bitter Punishments being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

Albeit as touching the time of these forenamed Martyrs, as I find them not in older writers: So do I suppose them to suffer under *Maximinus* or *Decius*, rather than under *Alexander*.

The sixth Persecution.

Maximinus
Emperor
and persecu-
tor.
The sixth
persecution.
Anno
237

After the death of *Alexander* the Emperor, who with his mother *Mammaea* (as is said) was murdered in *Germany*, followed *Maximinus*, chosen by the will of the Souldiers, rather than by the authority of the Senate, about the year of our Lord, two hundred thirty and seven; who for the hatred he had to the house of *Alexander* (as *Eusebius* recordeth) raised up the sixth Persecution against the Christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the Church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the Captains of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose the Martyrdom of *Urbanus* the Bishop, and of the rest above specified, to have happened rather under the Tyranny of this *Maximinus* than under *Alexander*.

Origenes de
martyris.

In the time of this Persecution *Origen*, wrote his Book. *De Martyrio*: which book if it were extant would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this Persecution did suffer, which now lie in silence unknown, and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have been, had not the provident mercy of God, shortened his days and bridled his Tyranny, for he Reigned but three years. After whom succeeded *Gordianus* in the year of our Lord two hundred and forty, a man no less studious for the utility of the Common-wealth, than mild and gentle to the Christians. This *Gordianus*, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the Monarchy of *Rome* the space of six years, was slain of *Philip* Emperor after him.

Gordianus
Emperor.
Anno
240.Pontianus
Bishop of
Rome.
Diversity
between
Damasus
and Eusebi-
us.

In the days of these Emperors above recited was *Pontianus* Bishop of *Rome*, who succeeded next after *Urbanus* above rehearsed, about the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and six, in the twelfth year of *Alexander*, as *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28.* noteth, declaring him to sit six years. Contrary *Damasus* and *Platina* write, that he was Bishop nine years and a half, and that in the time of *Alexander* he with *Philippus* his Priest was banished into *Sardinia*, and there died. But it seemeth more credible that he was banished rather under *Maximinus*, and died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gordianus*. In his Epistles decretal (which seem likewise to be fained) he appeareth very devout, after the common example of other Bishops, to uphold the dignity of Priests, and of Clergy men, saying; that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, he forgiveth their sins, and reconcileth them unto him: Also, that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others, &c. which doctrine how it standeth with the testament of God and glory of Christ, let the Reader use his own Judgment.

This doc-
trine seem-
eth derogat-
ory to
Christ and
blasphemo-
us.

Other notable Fathers also in the same time were raised up in the Church, as *Philetus* Bishop of *Antioch*, which succeeded after *Asclepiades* afore mentioned, in the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty, and after him *Ze-*

benus Bishop of the same place, in the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and one.

To these also may be added *Ammonius* the schoolmaster of *Origen*, as *Suidas* supposeth, also the kinsmen of *Porphyrie*, the great Enemy of Christ: Notwithstanding, this *Ammonius* indued with better grace as he left divers Books in defence of Christs Religion; so did he constantly persevere (as *Eusebius* reporteth) in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received, who was about the days of *Alexander*.

Ammonius
a Christian
writer.

Julius Aphricanus also, about the time of *Gordianus* afore said, is numbred among the old and ancient writers, of whom *Nicephorus* writeth that he was the scholar of *Origen*, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Julius
Aphricanus
writer.

Unto these Doctors and confessors may be adjoined the story of *Natalius* mentioned in the first Book of *Eusebius*. This *Natalius*, had suffered Persecution before like a constant cofessor, and was seduced and perswaded by *Asclepiodotus* and *Theodorus* (which were the disciples of *Theodocus*) to take upon him to be Bishop of their sect, promising to give him every month an hundred and fifty pieces of silver: And so joyning himself to them, was admonished by vision and revelation from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Christ Jesus, that he would not have his Martyr, which had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his Church: For the which cause (faith *Eusebius*) God by certain visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto; being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged of the Angels, in so much that he being made thereby very sore, and early on the morrow putting on sack-cloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to *Zephirinus* the Bishop above mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Christian Congregation, shewed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had sequestred himself before, and so was admitted according as he desired.

Natalius,
confessor.
Ex Euseb.
lib. 5. cap.
28.The Lord
will not
lose them
which have
done or suf-
fered any
thing for
him.

After the decease of *Pontianus* Bishop of *Rome* afore mentioned, succeeded next in that place *Anterius*, of whom *Isuardus* writeth, that *Pontianus* departing away did substitute him in his room: But *Eusebius* writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. *Damasus* faith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the Martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to Martyrdom himself by *Maximinus* the Judge. Concerning the time of this Bishop our writers do greatly jar. *Eusebius* and *Marianus Scotus* affirm that he was Bishop but one month; *Sabellicus* faith that not to be so. *Damasus* assigneth to him twelve years and one month. *Volateranus*, *Bergomensis*, and *Henricus Erford* give to him three years and one month. *Naclerus* writeth that he sat one year and one month. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this Bishop was *Fabianus*, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Anterius
Bishop of
Rome
martyr.Authors
disagree.

Of *Hippolytus* also both *Eusebius* and *Hieronymus* maketh mention that he was a Bishop; but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth *Theodoretus* witness him to be a Bishop, and also a Martyr, but naming no place. *Geladius contra Eutichen* faith, he died a Martyr, and that he was Bishop of an head City in *Arabia*. *Nicephorus* writeth, that he was Bishop of *Ostia*, a port town near to *Rome*. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the Church, which *Eusebius* and *Hierome* do recite: By the supputation of *Eusebius*, he was about the year of our Lord, two hundred and thirty.

Hippolytus
Bishop and
martyr.

Prudentius in his *Peristephanon*, making mention of great heaps of Martyrs buried by threescore together, speaketh also of *Hippolytus*, and faith that he was drawn with wild Horses through fields, dales and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitiful story.

Prudentius
Peristepho.

After the Emperor *Gordianus*, the Empire fell to *Philippus*, who with *Philip* his son governed the space of seven years, in the year of our Lord, two hundred forty and six. This *Philippus* with his son and all his family was Christened and converted by *Fabianus* and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him and *Severa* his wife to be Baptised, being the first of all the Emperors that brought in Christianity into the Imperial seat. Howsoever *Pom-*

Philippus
Emperor.
Anno
246.Philippus
the first
Christian
Emperor.

ponius Letus reporteth him to be a dissembling Prince, this is certain, that for his Christianity he with his Son was slain of Decius, one of his Captains, *Sabellicus Bargomensis, lib. 8.* sheweth this hatred of Decius against *Philippus* to be conceived, for that the Emperor *Philip* both the father and the Son had committed their Treasures unto *Fabianus*, then Bishop of Rome.

The seventh Persecution.

Decius Em-
peror.
Anno 250.
The seventh
Persecution.
The cause
and occasi-
on of this
persecution.

Fabianus
Bishop of
Rome.
Euseb. lib. 6.

The mira-
culous elec-
tion of
Fabianus.

Fabianus
Martyr.

The Ordi-
nances of
Fabianus
pretended.
Oyl and
Cream.
Accusing of
Bishops.
Appealing
to the See
Apostolical.
Marriage
not within
the fifth
degree.

False Doctrines
detected.

Origen.

Ex Euseb.
lib. 6. cap. 29.
The Perse-
cutions of
Origen.

Thus *Philippus* being slain, after him *Decius* invaded the Crown about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moved a terrible Persecution against the Christians, which *Orosius* noteth to be the seventh Persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and Persecution of this Tyrant, conceived against the Christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the Emperor which were committed to *Fabian* the Bishop.

This *Fabian* first being a married man (as *Platina* writeth) was made Bishop of Rome after *Anterius* above mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, which *Eusebius* doth thus describe in his sixth Book. *When the brethren* (saith he) *were together in the Congregation about the election of their Bishop, and had purposed among themselves upon the nomination of some noble and worthy personage of Rome, it chanced that Fabianus among others was there present, who of late before was newly come out of the Country to inhabit in the City. This Fabian (as is said) thinking nothing less than of any such matter, there suddenly cometh a Dove flying from above, and sitteth upon his head, whereupon all the Congregation being moved, with one mind and one voice to choose him for their Bishop, in the which Function he remained the space of thirteen years, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marianus and Sabellicus say fourteen years unto the time of Decius: who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treasures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his Reign caused him to be put to death, sending out moreover his Proclamation into all quarters, that all which professed the name of Christ should be slain.*

To this *Fabian* be ascribed certain Ordinances, as of consecrating new Oyl once every year, and burning the old, of accusations against Bishops, of appealing to the Sea Apostolick, of not marrying within the fifth degree, of communicating thrice a year, of offering every Sunday, with such other things more in his three Epistles Decretal; the which Epistles, as by divers other evidences may be supposed to be untruly named upon him, giving no signification of any matter agreeing to that time: so do I find the most part of the third Epistle word for word standing in the Epistle of *Sixtus* the third, which followed almost two hundred years after him, beside the unseemly Doctrine also in the end of the said Epistles contained, where he contrary to the tenor of the Gospel applieth remission of sins (only due to the blood of Christ) unto the Offerings of Bread and Wine by men and women every Sunday in the Church.

To this *Fabianus* wrote *Origen de Orthodoxia sua fidei*, that is, Of the righteousness of his faith: whereby is to be understood, that he continued to the time of *Decius*: some say also to the time of *Gallus*. Of this *Origen* partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of *Severus*, in assisting, comforting, exhorting and kissing the Martyrs that were imprisoned and suffered for the Name of Christ, with such danger of his own life, that had not been the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times of the Heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily at his house to be catechised and instructed in the Christian faith by him, that Soldiers were hired of purpose to defend the place where he taught them. Again, such search sometime was set for him, that scarce any shifting of place or Country could cover him. In whose laborious travels and affairs of the Church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting and expounding, he continued about the space of fifty two years, unto the time of *Decius* and *Gallus*. Divers and great Persecutions he sustained, but especially under *Decius*, as testifieth *Eusebius* in his sixth Book, declaring that for the Doctrine of Christ, he sustained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, Dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffered in the Persecution of *Decius*, as *Euse-*

bis recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But *Suidas* and *Nicephorus* following the same, saith further concerning him, that the said *Origen*, after divers and sundry other torments which he manfully and constantly suffered for Christ, at length was brought to an Altar, where a foul filthy *Ethiop* was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him, whether he would sacrifice to the Idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly *Ethiop*. Then *Origen* (saith he) who with a Philosophical mind ever kept his Chastity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his body, condescended to their request: whereupon the Judge, putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire upon the Altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the Church. *Epiphanius* writeth, that he being urged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the Boughs in his hand, wherewith the Heathen were wont to honour their Gods, called upon the Christians to carry them in the honour of Christ. The which fact the Church of *Alexandria* mistaking, removed him from their Communion: whereupon *Origen*, driven away with shame and sorrow out of *Alexandria*, went into *Jury*, where being in *Jerusalem* among the Congregation, and there requested of the Priests and Ministers (he being also a Priest) to make some exhortation in the Church, he refused a great while to do. At length by importunate petition being constrained thereunto, he rose up, and turning the Book, as though he would have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only read the Verse of the forty ninth Psalm; *But God said to the sinner, why dost thou preach my justifications, and why dost thou take my testament in thy mouth? &c.* Which Verse being read, he shut the Book, and fate down weeping and wailing, the whole Congregation also weeping and lamenting with him: *Suidas*, *Nicephorus*. More what became of *Origen* it is not found in History, but only that *Suidas* addeth, he died and was buried at *Tyrrus*, *Eusebius* affirmeth, that he departed under the Emperor *Gallus*, about the year of our Lord 255; and the 70th. year of his age, in great misery (as appeareth) and poverty.

In this *Origen* divers blemishes of Doctrine be noted, whereupon *Hierome* sometimes doth inveigh against him; albeit in some places again he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apology against *Ruffi*. And in his Epistle to *Pammachius* and *Ocean*, where he praiseth *Origen*, although not for the perfection of his Faith and Doctrine, nor for an Apostle, yet for an excellent Interpreter, for his wit, and for a Philosopher: and yet in his Prologue upon the Homilies of *Origen* on *Ezekiel*, he calleth him another Master of the Churches after the Apostles. And in another Preface upon his questions upon *Genesis*, he willeth to himself the knowledge of the Scriptures, which *Origen* had, also with the envy of his name. *Athanasius* moreover calleth him singular and laborious, and useth also his testimonies against the *Arrians*. *Socrates* lib. 6. cap. 13.

After *Origen*, the congrue order of History requireth next to speak of *Heraclas* his Ulther; a man singularly commended for his knowledge, not only in Philosophy, but also in such faculties as to a Christian divine do appertain. This great towardness of wit and learning when *Origen* perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his Ulther or Under-teacher, to help in his School or University of *Alexandria* in the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla* Son of *Severus*. And after in the tenth year of *Alexander*, *Origen* departing unto *Cesarea*, he succeeded in his room to govern the School in *Alexandria*. Further also in the time of *Gordianus*, after the decease of *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, this *Heraclas* succeeded to be Bishop of the said City: *Eusebius* lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which function he ministered the term of sixteen years. *Eusebius* lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this *Heraclas* writeth *Origen* himself, that he, although being Priest, yet ceased not to read over and peruse the Books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their own Books confute their error, &c.

After *Heraclas* succeeded *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, like as he succeeded him in the School before: which *Dionysius* also writeth of the same *Heraclas* unto *Philemon* a Priest of Rome, thus saying: *Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla Papa nostro accepimus, &c.* That is, This Canon and Type I received of blessed *Heraclas* our Pope, &c. This *Heraclas* was no Martyr, which

Ex Euseb.
Nireph. lib.
3. cap. 32.

The fall of
Origen.
Origen ex-
communicated.

The reputation
of Origen.

Blemishes
noted in
Origen.

Origen com-
mended for
his learning.

Ex Socrus.
lib. 6. cap. 13.

Heraclas Bi-
shop of
Alexandria.
Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 29.

Heraclas
called Pope,
yet no Bil-
op of Rome.

Anno 250.

which died three years before *Decius*, about the year of our Lord, two hundred and fifty. After whom succeeded next in the same seat of *Alexandria*, *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, who also suffered much under the Tyranny of *Decius*, as hereafter shall be shewed (Christ willing) when we come to the time of *Valerian*.

Nicephorus in his first Book, and others which write of this Persecution under *Decius* declare the horribleness thereof to be so great, and so innumerable Martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith, it is as easie to number the sands of the Sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this Persecution did devour. In the which Persecution the chiefest doers and tormentors under the Emperor appear in the history of *Vincentius* to be these: *Optimus* the under-consul, *Secundianus*, *Verianus*, and *Marcellianus*, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and singular Persons in order that died in this Persecution, yet such as remain most notable in stories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whose cause they suffered.

In the former tractation of the first Persecution, mention was made before of *Alexander*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, and of his troubles suffered under *Severus*, and how afterward by the miracle of God, he was appointed Bishop of *Hierusalem*, where he continued a very aged man, above the term of forty years Governor of that Church, till the time of the first year of *Decius*, at what time he being brought from *Hierusalem* to *Cesarea* into the Judgment place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the Judge, was committed unto prison, and there finished his life, as testified *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in the sixth Book of *Eusebius*. After whom succeeded in that seat *Mexabanus* the thirty and sixth Bishop of that City, after *Jamas* the Apostle.

Mention was made also before of *Asclepiades* Bishop of *Antioch*, who succeeded after *Serapion*, and in the Persecution of *Severus* did likewise persevere a constant confessor, and, as *Vincentius* testifieth in his eleventh Book, suffered Martyrdom at last under this *Decius*. But this computation of *Vincentius* can in no wise agree with the truth of time; for so much as by probable writers, as *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and others, the said *Asclepiades* after *Serapion* entered the Bishops seat of *Antioch*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred and fourteen, and fate seven years before the time of *Gordianus*, after whom succeeded *Philetus*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred twenty and one, governing the function twelve years. And after him *Zebinus* followed in the year of our Lord, two hundred thirty and two, and so after him *Babylas*; which *Babylas*, if he died in this Persecution of *Decius*, then could not *Asclepiades* also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared.

Of this *Babylas*, Bishop of *Antioch*, *Eusebius* and *Zonaras* record, that under *Decius* he died in prison, as did *Alexander*, Bishop of *Hierusalem* above rehearsed.

We read in a certain treatise of *Chrysostom*, intituled *Contra Gentiles*, a noble and long History of one *Babylas* a Martyr, who about these times was put to death for resisting a certain Emperor, not suffering him to enter into the Temple of the Christians after a cruel murder committed, the story of which murder is this: There was a certain Emperor, who upon conclusion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hostage or surety of peace the son of the King, being of young and tender age, with conditions upon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should ever be vexed of him. Upon this the Kings son was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the Emperor, whom the cruel Emperor, contrary to promise, caused in short time without all just cause to be slain. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all hast would enter into the Temple of the Christians, where *Babylas* being Bishop or Minister withstood him that he should not into that place approach. The Emperor therewith not a little incensed, in great rage bad him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many Irons as he could bear, and from thence shortly after to be brought forth to death and Execution. *Babylas*, going constantly and boldly to his Martyrdom, desired after his death to be buried with his Irons and bands, and so he was. The story proceedeth moreover, and saith; that in the continuance of time in the reign of *Constantinus*, *Gallus*, then made the

overseer of the East parts, caused his body to be translated into the Suburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphnes*, where was a Temple of *Apollo*, famous with devillish oracles and answers given by that Idol, or by the Devil rather in that place. In the which Temple, after the bringing of the body of *Babylas*, the Idol ceased to give any more oracles, saying, that for the body of *Babylas* he could give no more answers, and complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead mens Bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the coming of *Julianus*; who inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy Martyr to be removed again from thence by the Christians, whom he then called *Galileans*. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens and children, to the tombe of *Babylas*, transported his bones according to the commandment of the Emperor, singing by the way as they went, the verse of the Psalm in words, as followeth: *Confounded be all that worship Images, and all that glory in Idols, &c.* Which coming to the Emperors ear, let him in great rage against the Christians, stirring up Persecution against them. Albeit *Zonaras* declareth the cause something otherwise, saying, that so soon as the body of him and other Martyrs were removed away, incontinent the Temple of the Idol, with the image, in the night was consumed with fire: For the which cause (saith *Zonaras*) *Julianus* stirred up with anger, persecuted the Christians, as shall be shewed (Christ willing) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of *Babylas*, which whether it was the same *Babylas* Bishop then of *Antioch*, or another of the same name, it appeareth not by *Chrysostom*, which neither maketh mention of the Emperors name, nor of the place where this *Babylas* was Bishop. Again, the stopping of the Emperor out of the Church importeth as much, as that Emperor to have been a Christian: For otherwise, if he had come in as an heathen, and as a Persecutor, it was not then the manner of Christian Bishops violently to withstand the Emperors, or to stop them out. Over and beside the testimony of *Eusebius*, *Zonaras* doth witness contrary in his sixth Book, that this *Babylas*, which was then Bishop of *Antioch* after *Zebinus*, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison: Wherefore it is not impossible, but this *Babylas*, and this Emperor which *Chrysostom* speaketh of, may be another *Babylas* than that which suffered under *Decius*. *Nicephorus* in his fifth Book maketh mention of another *Babylas* beside this that suffered under *Decius*, which was Bishop of *Nicomedia*.

In the forenamed City of *Antioch*, *Vincentius*, lib. 11. speaketh of forty virgins Martyrs, which suffered in the Persecution of *Decius*.

In the Country of *Phrygia*, and in the Town of *Lampsar*, the same *Vincentius* also speaketh of one *Peter* which there was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christs Name under *Optimus* the Proconsul: And in *Troada* likewise of other Martyrs that there suffered, whose names were, *Andrew*, *Paul*, *Nicomachus*, and *Dionysia* a virgin, lib. 11. cap. 46.

Also in *Babylon* (saith he) divers Christian confessors were found of *Decius*, which were led away into *Spain*, there to be executed: lib. eodem, cap. 43.

In the country of *Cappadocia* at the City *Cesarea*, in like manner of the said author is testified, that *Germanus*, *Theophilus*, *Cesarius*, and *Vitalis* suffered Martyrdom for Christ. Eodem cap. 52. and in the same Book mention is also made of *Polychronius*, Bishop of *Babylon*, cap. 89. and in *Pamphilia* of *Nestor* there Bishop that died Martyr, cap. 52.

At *Periside*, in the town of *Cardala*, *Olympiades* and *Maximus*; in *Tyrus* also *Anatolia* virgin, and *Andax* gave their lives likewise to death for the testimony of Christs Name.

Eusebius moreover in his sixth Book reciteth out of the Epistles of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, divers that suffered diversly at *Alexandria*; the which places of *Dionysius*, as they be cited in *Eusebius*, I thought here good for the antiqueness of the author, to insert and notice in his own words, and in our language, as he wrote them to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, as followeth.

The body of *Babylas* stoppeth the oracles of Idols.

Ex *Zonaras* tom. 3.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39.

Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 25. *Babylas* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, martyr.

Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52. Forty virgins martyrs. *Peter* of *Phrygia* martyr. *Andrew*, *Paul*, *Nicomachus*, *Dionysia* virgin martyrs.

Martyrs of *Babylon*, *Germanus*, *Theophilus*, *Cesarius*, *Vitalis*, *Polychronius*, *Nestor*.

Olympiades, *Maximus* noble men.

Anatolia virgin, *Andax*, martyrs. Ex *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

This

The Epistle
of Dionysius
Bishop of
Alexandria
to Fabius.

A commo-
tion of the
people of
Alexandria
against the
Christians.

Metra,
martyr.

Quinta a
faithful
woman and
martyr.

Patience
and joy in
affliction.
The con-
stancy of
the martyrs
of Alexan-
dria.

Apollonia a
blest vir-
gin and
martyr.

Serapion
martyr.

The just
punishment
of God
turning the
cruelty of
adversaries
upon them-
selves.

This persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the Emperor, but began a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a South-sayer, and a follower of wicked arts: Who, coming to our City here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own old superstition and gentility of their country; whereby they being set agog, and obtaining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no less declared, all their piety and Religion to consist only in Idolatrous worship of Devils, and in our destruction. And first flying upon a certain Priest of ours, named *Metra*, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speak after their wicked Blasphemy; which, when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the Suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called *Quinta*, and brought her to the Temple of their Idols, to compel her to worship with them: Which when she refused to do, and abhorred their Idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole street of the City upon the hard stones, and so dashing her against Millstones, and scourging her with whips, brought her to the same place of the Suburbs, as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burst into houses of the Religious and Godly Christians, spoiling, sack and carrying away all that they could find of any price. The rest of things, such as were of less value and of wood, they brought into the open Market, and set them on fire. In the mean time the brethren voided aside, and withdrew themselves, taking patiently and no less joyfully the spoiling of their goods, than did they of whom Saint *Paul* doth testify: Neither do I know any of them all (only excepted) apprehended of them, which revolting from his profession denied the Lord yet to this present day.

Amongst the rest that there were taken, there was a certain virgin well stricken in years, named *Apollonia*, whom they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the City, threatening to cast her into the same, unless she would Blaspheme with them and deny Christ: whereat she staying a little with her self, as one that would take a pause, suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

There was also one *Serapion*, whom they took in his own house, and after they had assayed him with sundry kinds of Torments, and had broken almost all the joyns of his body, they cast him down from an upper loft, and so did he complete his Martyrdom. Thus was there no way neither privy nor publick, nor corner, nor alley left for us, neither by day nor by night to escape, all the People making an outcry against us, that unless we uttered words of Blasphemy, we should be drawn to the fire and burned. And this outrageous tumult indured a certain space, but at length, as the Lord would, the miserable wretches fell at dissention among themselves, which turned the cruelty they exercised against us, upon their own heads. And so had we a little breathing time for a season, while the fury of the heathen people by this occasion asswaged.

Shortly then after this, word was brought unto us that the state of the Empire, which before was something favourable to us, was altered and changed against us, putting us in great fear. And consequently upon the same followed, the edict of the Emperor so terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might have been thereby subverted. Upon that edict such fear came over us all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for fear came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawn by their neighbours being cited by name, to those unpure and Idolatrous sacrifices. Othersome came trembling and shaking, as men not which should do sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselves, the multitude laughing them to scorn. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have been of that profession, of whom it is said, that hardly they shall be saved. Of the residue, some followed one part, some another, some ran away, some were taken;

of whom certain continued to bands and torments constant; others again after long Imprisonments, before they should come before the Judge, renounced their faith. Some also, after they suffered torments, yet after revolted. But others being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillars of the Lords, fortified with constancy agreeing to their faith, were made faithful Martyrs of the Kingdom of God.

Of whom the first was *Julianus*, a man diseased with the Gout, and not able to go, being carried of two men, of whom the one quickly denied the other, *Cronion*, surnamed *Eunus*, with the foresaid *Julianus* the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon Camels, and there scourged, at length cast into the fire, and with great constancy were so consumed.

As these aforesaid were going to their Martyrdom, there was a certain Souldier, who in their defence, took part against them that railed upon them. For the which cause the People crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and being constant in his Profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Likewise one *Macar*, a man born in *Libia*, being admonished and exhorted of the Judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions, was burned alive.

After these suffered *Epimachus*, and one *Alexander*, who being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with Razors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with four other women with them, which all there ended their Martyrdom.

Also *Ammonarion*, an holy virgin, whom the cruel Judge, had long and bitterly tormented, for that she promising the Judge before, that for no punishment she would yield to his request, and constantly performing the same, suffered likewise Martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged *Matron*, named *Mercuria*, the other was called *Dionysia*, being a Mother of many fair Children, whom yet notwithstanding she loved not above the Lord. These, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel Judge, but he rather ashamed and confounded to be overcome of silly women, at length being past feeling of all torments, were slain with the sword; first *Ammonarion*, like a valiant Captain, suffering before them.

Heron, *Ater* and *Isidorus*, Egyptians, and with them *Dioscorus* also a Child of fifteen years, were Crowned with the same Crown of Martyrdom. And first the Judge began with the Child, thinking him more easie to be won with words to intice him, than with torments to constrain him. But he persisted immovable, giving neither place to persuasions nor punishment. The rest, after he had grievously tormented them, being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. The Judge, greatly marvelling at *Dioscorus* for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him, sparing (as he said) his age to a longer respite: Which *Dioscorus* is yet also with us at this present, waiting for a long Tryal.

Nemesion, being also an Egyptian, first was accused for a Companion of Thieves, but being purged thereof before the Centurion, was then accused of Christianity, and for that cause being in bands, was brought to the President; who most Unrighteously tormenting and scourging him double, to all other Thieves and Felons, at length among the Thieves burned him to Death, making him a blessed Martyr.

There were standing before the Tribunal seat certain of the Warriors or Knights, whose names were *Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Prothomus*, *Ingenius*, and with them a certain aged man called *Theophilus*; who standing by, at what time a certain Christian man was before the Judge examined, and there seeing him for fear ready to decline and fall away, did burst almost for sorrow within themselves, making signs to him with their hands, and all gestures of their body, to be constant. This being noted of all the standers by, they were ready to lay hold upon them; but they preventing this matter, pressed up of their own accord before to the bench of the Judge, professing themselves to be Christians. Infomuch that both the President with the benchers, were all astonished, the Christians, which were judged, more imboldened to suffer, and the Judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad

Julianus
martyr.

A certain
Souldier
martyr.

Macar a
blest
martyr.

Epimachus,
Alexander
with four
women,
martyrs.

Ammonarion
on virgin,
martyr.

Mercuria,
Dionysia,
martyrs.

Heron, *Ater*,
Isidorus,
Dioscorus,
martyrs.

Nemesion,
martyr.
Thieves in
the old
time a-
mongst the
Romans
burned.

Ammon,
Zenon,
Prothomus,
Ingenius,
Theophilus,
confessors.

A notable
example of
a Christian
courage is
confessing
Christ.

glad and rejoicing for the testimony that they had given of their Faith. Many other besides, were in other Cities and Towns rent and torn asunder by the Heathen, among whom one I will speak of for cause worthy of memory.

Ischirion, one that was in service with a certain Noble man, was commanded of his Master to make Sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after persisting in the same, was grievously threatened with sharp and menacing words. At last his Master, when he could not prevail against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him thorow in the body and slew him.

What shall I speak of the multitude of them, which wandering in Defarts and Mountains, were consumed with Hunger, Thirst, Cold, Sickness, Thieves or wild Beasts, of whose blessed Victory they which be alive are yet Witnesses? In the number of whom, one I will speak of, among divers others, named *Cheremon*, Bishop of the City called *Nilus*, an aged man: he with his wife, flying to the Mountain of *Arabia*, never returned again, nor ever could be seen after. And though they were sought for diligently by their Brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found: many others there were, which flying to these Mountains of *Arabia* were taken of the barbarous *Arabians*: of whom some with much money could scarce be ransomed, some were never heard of yet to this present day. Thus much out of the Epistles, of *Dionysius* in

Moreover, the foresaid *Dionysius* in another place writing to *Germanus*, of his own dangers and of others, sustained in this Persecution, and before this persecution of *Decius*, thus inferreth as followeth, I (saith he) behold before the sight of God, I lye not, and He knoweth, I lye not, how that I having no regard of mine own life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this Persecution. Yea, and also before that this Persecution of *Decius* did rage against us, *Sabinus* the same hour sent a Farmer to seek me, at what time I remaining at home waited three days for his coming. But he searching narrowly for me by all Ways, Fields, Floods, and Corners, where he thought I might best have hid my self, or have passed by, was stricken with such blindness, that he could not find my house, thinking with himself nothing less than that I would abide at home in such and so dangerous Persecution. Thus these three days being past, upon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to fly, and also marvellously opening to me the way, I with my Children and many other Brethren went out together. And this not to come of my self, but to be the work of Gods Providence, the sequel of those things declared, where-in afterward I was not unprofitable peradventure to some, &c.

Again, in another place shortly after, the foresaid *Dionysius* proceeding in the Narration of himself, thus inferreth, Then I coming to Jerusalem with them which were with me, was brought by Souldiers unto *Tapolixis*, where as *Timotheus* (by the Providence of God) neither was present, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his House desert, and Officers watching about the same, and us within taken, &c. And again shortly after it followeth, And to see (saith he) the admirable disposing of God his Works; as *Timotheus* was thus flying with much haste and great fear, a certain man, as hapned, a dweller near by met him by the way, and asked whither he went so hastily? to whom *Timotheus* answering, declared all the matter simply as it was. Which done, the man proceeded on his journey, whither he was purposed to go, which was to a Marriage, the manner of which Marriage then was to sit up all the night long feasting and drinking. Thus, as he was come, sitting with them at the Feast, he telleth his Companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forthwith upon a head, as stricken with a sudden fury, rushing out together, made toward Us as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seem very terrible. At the first hearing whereof, the Souldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying upon Formes and Benches. I then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my self that they had been Thieves, which came to spoil and rob, being in my Couch, lay still in my shirt only as I was, the rest of my Garments lying by me I

offered to them: they then willed me in all haste to rise and get away; whereby I then, perceiving the cause of their coming, cried unto them, desiring that they would suffer us so to do: and if they would do any benefit for me, for so much as I could not escape the hands of them which would pursue me and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, casting my self grovelling upon the pavement, as my Companions can testify, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doors, and led me away. There followed me *Gaius*, *Fauftus*, *Petrus*, *Paulus* (who were Witnesses of all the same) which brought me also out of the City, and so setting me upon a bare Asse, conveyed me away. Thus much writeth *Dionysius* of himself, the example of whose Epistle is cited in the Ecclesiastical story of *Eusebius*, lib. 6. cap. 40. also lib. 7. cap. 11.

Nicephorus in his first Book; cap. 27. maketh mention of one named *Christophorus*, which also suffered in this Persecution of *Decius*. Of which *Christophorus*, whether the Fable riseth of that mighty Giant set up in Churches, wading through the Seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a Tree in his hand for a walking-Staff, &c. it is uncertain. *Georgius Wicelius* alledgeth out of *Ruggerus Fuldensis*. and mentioneth of one *Christophorus*, born of the Nation of *Canaanites*, which suffered under *Decius*, being, as he saith, of twelve cubits high. But the rest of the History painted in Churches, the said *Wicelius* derideth as Fables of Centaurs, or other Poetical Fictions.

Bergomensis in his eighth Book maketh relation of divers martyred under *Decius*, as *Meniatius* which suffered at Florence, of *Agatha* an holy Virgin of Sicily, who is said to suffer divers and bitter torments under *Quintilianus* the Proconsul, with Prisonment, with Beatings, with Famine, with Racking, rolled also upon sharp shells and hot coals, having moreover her Breasts cut from her Body, as *Bergomensis* and the Martyrology of *Ado* record. In the which Authors as I deny not but that the rest of the story may be true, so again, concerning the Miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a filken Vesture, with an hundred young men after him, and of the Marble Table with the Inscription, *Mentem sanctam*, &c. I doubt.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this Persecution, when as whole multitudes went into Wilderhesses and Mountains, wandering without succour or comfort, some starved with Hunger and Cold, some with Sickness consumed, some devoured of Beasts, some with barbarous Thieves taken and carried away. *Vincentius* in his eleventh Book, speaking of *Afclepiades*, writeth also of forty Virgins and Martyrs, which by sundry kinds of torments were put to death about the same time, in the Persecution of this Tyrant.

Likewise in the said *Vincentius* mention is made of *Triphon*, a man of great holiness, and constant in his suffering, who being brought to the City of *Nice*, before the Pretident *Aquilus* for his constant Confession of Christs Name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the Sword put to death.

At what time *Decius* had erected a Temple in the midst of the City of *Ephesus*, compelling all that were in the City there to sacrifice to the Idols: Seven Christians were found, whose names were *Maximianus*, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionysius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion* and *Constantinus*, who, refusing the Idolatrous Worship, were accused for the same unto the Emperor to be Christians. Which when they constantly professed and did not deny; notwithstanding, because they were Souldiers, retaining to the Emperors Service, respite was given them for a certain space, to deliberate with themselves, till the return again of the Emperor, which then was going to War. In the mean space, the Emperor being departed, they taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret Caves of the Mount *Celius*. The Emperor returning again, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed up with heaps of stones, that they, not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they

Ischirion, Martyr.

Cheremon, Martyr. *Cheremon*, a Bishop had a wife.

Euseb. lib. 6. ca. 40. 41, 42. The Epistle of *Dionysius* to *Germanus*. The *Germanus* was a Bishop in that time, which charged *Dionysius* for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himself. God willed *Dionysius* to fly in Persecution.

Euseb. lib. 6. ca. 40. 41, 42. The Epistle of *Dionysius* to *Germanus*. The *Germanus* was a Bishop in that time, which charged *Dionysius* for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himself. God willed *Dionysius* to fly in Persecution.

The Providence of God in preserving his. The story of the deliverance of *Dionysius* and his fellows.

Dionysius, *Gaius*, *Fauftus*, *Petrus*, *Paulus* delivered from the Centurion and the Souldiers.

Euseb. lib. 6. ca. 40. lib. 7. ca. 11.

Niceph. lib. 5. ca. 27. *Christophorus*, Martyr. The Fable of great S. *Christophorus*.

Meniatius, *Agatha*, Martyrs. *Euseb.* lib. 8. *Euseb.* Martyrologio *Adonis*.

Martyrs wandering in Mountains.

Forty Virgins Martyrs. *Triphon* Martyr.

Maximianus, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionysius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion*, *Constantinus*, seven Martyrs.

The Fable
of the a-
waking of
these seven
Martyrs.
Ex Vincen.
Nicostr.
Erfordiens.

they continued the space of certain Ages after, till the time of *Theodosius* the Emperor, before they did awake, as reporteth *Vincentius*, *Nicephorus*, lib. 5. cap. 27. and partly also *Henricus Erfordiens.* But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list to believe it. Certain it is, that at the last day they shall awake indeed without any Fable.

A Souldier
Martyr.
Ex Hieron.
in vita Pauli
Eremita.

Hieronymus in the life of *Paulus* the Heremite reciteth a story of a certain Souldier, whom when the Pretor could not otherwise with torments remove from his Christianity; he devised another way, which was this; He commanded the Souldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant Garden among the flourishing Lillies and red Roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himself there left alone, a beautiful Harlot came to him, who embraced him and with all other Incitements of an Harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtiness. But the godly Souldier fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own Tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the Harlot, as she was kissing him, and so got he the Victory, by the constant Grace of the Lord assisting him.

A notable
example of
a chaste souldier
biting off his
tongue, and
spitting it in
the face of
an Harlot.

A like ex-
ample of
Chastity be-
tween two
Christians.
Ex Ambros.
lib. 2. de
virgin.

Another like Example of singular Chastity is written of the Virgin *Theodora*, and another Souldier, by *Ambros.* lib. 2. de *Virginibus*. At *Antioch*, this *Theodora* refusing to do sacrifice to the Idols was condemned by the Judge to the Stews, and notwithstanding by the singular Providence of God was well delivered. For as there was a great Company of wanton young men ready at the door to press into the house where she was, one of the Brethren named *Didymus* (as *Ado* saith) moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a Souldiers habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who rounding her in the ear told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a Christian as she was: his counsel was that she should put on the Souldiers habit, and so slip away; and he putting on her Garments would there remain to abide their force, and so did, whereby the Virgin escaped unknown. *Didymus* left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man in stead of a woman, was presented unto the President, unto whom without delay he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing him, so as he was, to be a Christian, and thereupon was condemned to suffer. *Theodora* understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing her self, offered her self as the party guilty unto the Judge, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other as innocent to be discharged. But the cruel Judge (crueller than *Dionysius*, which spared *Damon* and *Pithias*) neither considering the vertue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanely proceeded in execution against them both, who, first having their heads cut off, after were cast into the fire: *Ambros.* *Ado*. Although what time, or in what Persecution these did suffer, in the Authors of this Narration it doth not appear.

Theodora,
Didymus,
Martyrs.

Agathon,
Martyr.

Agathon, a man of Arms in the City of *Alexandria*, for rebuking certain lewd persons scornfully deriding the dead bodies of the Christians, was cried out of and railed on of the people, and afterward accused to the Judge, was condemned to lose his head. *Erfordiensis*.

Paulus, *Andreas*,
Martyrs.

The said *Erfordiensis* also maketh mention of *Paulus*, *Andreas*, whom the Proconsul of *Troada* gave to the people; who being scourged, and after drawn out of the City, were troden to death with the feet of the people. *Henr. de Erford.*

Justinus,
Nicostratus,
Portius,
Martyrs.

Among others that suffered under this wicked *Decius*, *Bergomensis* also maketh mention of one *Justinus* a Priest of *Rome*, and of another *Nicostratus* a Deacon. To these *Vincentius* also addeth *Portius* a Priest of *Rome*, whom he reporteth to be the Converter of *Philip* the Emperor aforementioned.

Abdon, *Sennas*,
Martyrs.

Of *Abdon* and *Sennas* we read also in the foresaid *Bergomensis* and *Vincentius*, two Noble men, who because they had buried the Christians, whom *Decius* had brought from *Babylon* to *Corduba*, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to *Decius*, and brought to *Rome*; where they, being commanded to sacrifice to dead Idols, would not obey; and for the same were given to the wild Beasts to be devoured: but when the wild Beasts, more gentle than the Men, would not touch them, they were at length with the Sword beheaded. *Bergom. Vin-*

cent. lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to me it seemeth not impossible nor unlike, this *Abdon* and *Sennas* to be the same, whom in other stories we find, and before have mentioned to be *Ammon* and *Zenon*.

One *Secundianus* was accused to *Valerian* a Captain of *Decius*, to be a Christian, which Profession when he stoutly did maintain, he was commanded to prison. By the way as the Souldiers were leading him to the Gaol, *Valerianus* and *Marcellianus* seeing the matter, cried to the Souldiers, asking them whither they drew the Innocent? At the which word, when they also confessed themselves to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a City named *Centumcellas*: where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit upon the Idols, and so after Sentence and Judgment given, first they were beaten with Whips or Trunchions, after that were hanged and tormented upon the Gibbet, having fire set to their sides. *Vincentius* addeth moreover that some of the Tormentors falling suddenly dead, other some being taken with wicked Spirits, the Martyrs with the Sword at length were beheaded. *Vin. lib. 11. cap. 51.*

Secundianus,
Valerianus,
Marcellianus,
Martyrs.

Ex Vincent.
lib. 11. c. 51.

To prosecute in length of History the Lives and Sufferings of all them, which in this terrible Persecution were martyred, it were too long, and almost infinite: briefly therefore to rehearse the Names of such as we find alledged out of a certain brief Treatise of *Bede*, intituled, *De Temporibus*, cited by *Henricus de Erford*, it shall be at this time sufficient. Under *Decius* suffered *Hippolytus* and *Concordia*, *Hiereneus* and *Abundus*, *Victoria* a Virgin, being noble Personages of *Antioch*, *Bellias* Bishop of the City of *Apollonia*, *Leacus*, *Tirsus*, and *Gallinetus*. *Nazanzo*, *Triphon* in the City of *Egypt*, called *Tamas*, *Phileas* Bishop, *Philocomus*, with many other in *Perfide*, *Philcromius* Bishop of *Babylon*; *Theophrastus* Bishop of *Pamphilia*, *Neffor* Bishop in *Corduba*, *Parmenius* Priest, with divers more. In the Province called *Colonia*, *Circensis*, *Marianus* and *Jacobus*: In *Africa*, *Nemesianus*, *Felix*, *Rogatianus* Priest, *Felicissimus*. At *Rome*, *Jovinus*, *Basileus*, also *Ruffina*, and *Secunda* Virgins, *Tertullianus*, *Valerianus*, *Nemesius*, *Sempronianus* and *Olympius*. In *Spain*, *Teragon*. At *Verona*, *Zeno* Bishop. At *Cesarea*, *Marinus* and *Archeminus*. In the Town of *Milaine*, *Privatus* Bishop, *Theodorus*, surnamed *Gregorius* Bishop of *Pontus*. *Hæc Beda.*

Ex lib. Bede
de Temporibus,
citant
Henricus de Erfordia.
A brief Catalogue
of divers which
suffered under
Decius.
Ex Beda.

Vincentius in his eleventh Book maketh mention, citing *Ex Hugone*, of certain Children suffering Martyrdom under the same Persecution, in a City of *Tuscia*, called *Aretium*, whose names I find not, except they be *Pergecius* and *Laurentius* mentioned in *Equilinus*, lib. 5. cap. 80.

Children
martyred.
Ex Vincent.
lib. 11. c. 80.

Now that I have recorded of them sufficiently, which under this tempest of *Decius* constantly gave their lives to Martyrdom for the Testimony of Christ: it remaineth that a few words also be spoken of such as for fear or frailty in this Persecution did shrink and slide from the truth of their Confession. In the number of whom first cometh in the remembrance of *Serapion* an aged old man. Of whom writeth *Dionysius Alexandrinus* unto *Fabius*, declaring that this *Serapion* was an old man, which lived amongst them a sincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell. This *Serapion* oft and many times desired to be received again, but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this, not long after, he fell into Sickness, where he remained three days dumb, and benumbed of all Senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his Sisters Son, and said, *How long, how long (my Son) do ye hold me here? Make haste, I pray you, that I were absolved. Call hither some of the Ministers to me: and so, saying no more, held his peace as dumb and speechless. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the Minister, who, at the same time being sick, could not come with the Messenger, but said, For so much as he willed heretofore (as he said) that such as lay a dying, if they covet to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence: therefore he gave to the boy a little of the *Eucharist, willing him to crumble it into the Cup, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy Eucharist. As he was now near at hand, before he had entred in, *Serapion* the old man, speaking again,*

Such as re-
volved and
fell in this
Persecution

Serapion

Ex Euseb.
lib. 6. c. 44.

* Note here
the Sacra-
ment to be
called the
Eucharist,
and not the
body of
Christ.

The holy Eucharist in time of great need and distress committed to a boy. The repentance and reconciliation of Scapion. The goodness of God showed to Scapion. Ex Henr. de Erford. A terrible example of denying, shewed upon Nicomachus. Dionysius ad Fabianum.

Cyprianus Sermon de lapsis.

The weakness of Christians denying their Faith.

Examples of God his punishment after denial.

S. Cyprian, de lapsis.

Cyprian, lib. de mortalitate.

A notable voice of God to a Priest of Carthage.

The occasion and rising up of Novatus Heretic.

again, *Comest thou (said he) my Son? The Priest, quoth the Messenger, is sick and cannot come, but do as he will-eth you, and let me go.* And the boy immixed the Eucharist, and dropt it in softly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had tasted a little, immediately gave up the ghost, &c. *Hæc Dionysius ex Euseb.*

In the City of Troad, as the Proconsul was grievously tormenting one *Nicomachus*, he cried out, *That he was no Christian*, and so was let down again. And after, when he had sacrificed, he was taken off soon with a wicked Spirit, and so thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his Tongue with his teeth, so departed. *Henr. de Erford.*

Dionysius in his Epistles also writing to *Fabius*, and lamenting the great terror of this Persecution, declareth, how that many worthy and notable Christians, for fear and horror of the great Tyranny thereof, did shew themselves feeble and weak men. Of whom some for dread, some of their own accord, others after great Torments suffered, yet after revolted from the constancy of their Profession. Also Saint *Cyprian* in his Treatise *De Lapsis* reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth how that a great number at the first threatening of the Adversary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the Enemy, but of their voluntary weakness fell down themselves. Neither (saith he) tarrying while the Judge should put Incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, turned their backs, and played the Cowards; not only coming to their Sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreover their Infants and Children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example.

Of this weakness and falling, the said Author sheweth two Causes, either love of their Goods and Patrimony, or fear of Torments: and addeth moreover examples of the Punishments of them which revolted; affirming, that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked Spirits; and that one man among other, after his voluntary denial, was suddenly stricken dumb. Again, another after his Abjuration, as he should communicate with others, in stead of bread received ashes in his hand. *Item*, a certain Maiden being taken and vexed with a Spirit, did tear her own Tongue with her teeth, and tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts so deceased.

Amongst others of this sort, *S. Cyprian. lib. 2. cap. 8.* maketh also mention of one *Euaristus* a Bishop in *Africa*, who leaving his Charge, and making shipwreck of his Faith, went wandering about in other Countries, forsaking his own Flock. In like manner, he maketh also mention of *Nicostratus* a Deacon, who forsaking his Deaconship, and taking the Goods of the Church with him, fled away into other Countries, &c. *Albeit Bergomensis* affirmeth, that this *Nicostratus* the Deacon afterward died a Martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there was, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cause them to betray their Confession, but they stood like glorious Martyrs unto the end. *Cyprian.*

The same *Cyprianus* also, in another Book *De Mortalitate*, reciteth a notable story of one of his own Collegues and fellow Priests, who being oppressed with weakness, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leave to depart, and to be discharged. As he was thus intreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent Majesty, of a tall stature, and comely behaviour, so bright and clear to behold, that scarce mans carnal eyes were able so to do, which was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man speaking with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus said, *Pari timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?* To suffer ye dare not, to go out ye will not, what would ye have me to do unto you?

Upon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this Persecution of *Decius*, rose up first the quarrel and heretic of *Novatus*, who in these days made a great disturbance in the Church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the Faith, and for fear of torments had offered Incense to the Idols, although they repented

therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Christ. This *Novatus* being first Priest under *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, afterward by stirring up Discord and Factions began to disturb the Bishoprick of *Cyprian*, to appoint there a Deacon called *Felicissimus*, against the Bishops mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certain of the Brethren from the Bishop; all which *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 8.* doth well declare. After this the said *Novatus* going to *Rome*, kept there the like stir with *Cornelius* (as the same *Cornelius* in *Eusebius. lib. 6. cap. 43.* doth testifie) setting himself up as Bishop of *Rome* against *Cornelius*, which was the lawful Bishop of *Rome* before. The which to bring to pass, he used this practice. First he had allured to him, to be his Adherents, three or four good men and holy Confessors, which had suffered before great torments for their Confession, whose names were *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Celerinus*. After this he inticed three simple Bishops about the Coasts of *Italy* to repair to *Rome*, under pretence to make an end of certain Controversies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counsel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him Bishop, and so they did. Wherefore the one of those three Bishops hardly was received to the Communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two by Discipline of the Church were displaced from their Bishopricks, and others possessed with their rooms. Thus then were there two Bishops together in one Church of *Rome*, *Novatus* and *Cornelius*, which was unseemly, and contrary to the Discipline of the Church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of *St. Cyprian*, writing in his Epistles so much of one Bishop, and of the unity to be kept in Ecclesiastical Regiment, as appeareth, *Lib. 4. Epist. 2. de simplicit. praelat. Item, lib. 3. Epist. 11. &c.* And in like sort writeth also *Cornelius* himself of one Bishop, saying, *Itaque vindex ille Evangelii ignoravit unum esse debere Episcopum in Catholica Ecclesia, &c.* that is, He knew not that there ought to be one Bishop in a Catholick Church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I trust, I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wresting of the *Papists*, which falsely apply these places of *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* to maintain the Popes supreme Mastership alone, over the whole Universal Church of Christ in all places; when their meaning is otherwise, how that every one Catholick Church or Diocese ought to have one Bishop over it, not that the whole World ought to be subject to the Dominion of him only that is Bishop of *Rome*. Now to the story again. *Novatus* being thus Bishop, took not a little upon him, going about by all means to defeat *Cornelius*, and to allure the people from him. Inasmuch that (as in the foresaid Book of *Eusebius* appeareth) when *Novatus* came to the distributing of the Offerings, and should give every man his part, he compelled the simple persons every man to swear, before they should receive of the Benediction, and of the Collects or Oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long, speaking these words unto them (*Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt not leave me and go to Cornelius*) till that they swearing unto him, in stead of *Amen* (to be said at the receiving of the * Bread) should answer, *I will not return to Cornelius, &c.* Where note by the way, that the *Latine* Book of *Christofersons* translation, in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of Bread. This story being written in *Eusebius*, also contained in *Nicephorus*, although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him, doth declare in plain words in both the Authors (who so will mark the same) that the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is termed with the plain name of Bread, after the Consecration.

It followeth more in the story, that *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Celerinus*, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty Dissimulation and Arrogancy of *Novatus*, left him; and with great Repentance returned again to the Church, and were reconciled to *Cornelius*, as they themselves writing to *Cyprian*, and *Cyprian* likewise writing to them an Epistle gratulatory doth declare, *lib. 3. Epist. 3.* and *Cornelius* also in his Epistle to *Fabianus* witnesseth the same. In this Epistle the said *Cornelius* moreover writeth of one *Moses* a worthy Martyr, which once being also a Follower of *Novatus*, after

Cornelius Epist. ad Fabianum. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

The meaning of *Cyprian* opened, writing of one Bishop only to govern in a Catholick Church falsely wrested of the *Papists* for the Papacy. Ex *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.*

*Note here the Sacrament of the Body to be called bread. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. Nicephorus. lib. 6. cap. 3.* The *Latine* translation of *Eusebius* corrupted by *Christoferson. lib. 6. cap. 43.*

Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus Confessors.

Ex *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 3.* *Moses Martyr.*

per-

perceiving his wickedness, forsook him, and did Excommunicate him. Of whom Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth him a blessed Confessor. *Lib. 2. Epist. 4.* Damasus in his Pontifical faith, That he was apprehended with Marimus and Nicostratus above mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life. And thus much of Novatus, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a Synod was holden at Rome of threescore sundry Bishops in the time of Cornelius, under the Reign of Decius, in the year of our Lord, two hundred fifty and five; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the Persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

A Synod at Rome.
Anno 255.

Cornelius Bishop of Rome, and Martyr. Bishops were chosen then not without the voice of the people. A censure of the decretal Epistles of Cornelius.

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Flavianus) next succeeded into the Bishoprick of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthy Bishop, and for his great vertue and maidenly continency much commendable, chosen to that room not so much by his own consent, as by the full agreement, both of the Clergy-men, and also of the people. Hierome addeth also, That he was a man of great Eloquence: whereby it may appear those two Epistles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeness of the barbarous and gross stile, and also for the matter therein contained, nothing tasteful of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the Church. Whereof in the first he writeth to all Ministers and Brethren of the Church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul, *De Cathecumbis*, and transposed to *Vaticanum*, at the instance of a certain devout Woman named Lucina, having no great argument or cause to write thereof unto the Churches, but only that he in that Letter doth desire them to pray unto the Lord, that through the Intercession of those Apostolical Saints, their sins might be forgiven them, &c. In the second Epistle written to Rufus a Bishop of the East Church, he decreeth and ordaineth, that no Oath ought to be required or exacted of any head or chief Bishop, for any cause, or by any power. Also that no cause of Priests or Ministers ought to be handled in any strange or foreign Court, without his Precinct, except only in the Court of Rome by Appellation: whereby who seeth not the train of our later Bishops, going about craftily to advance the Dignity of the Court of Rome, under and by the pretended Title of Cornelius, and of ancient Bishops? If Cornelius did write any Epistles to any indeed in those turbulent times of Persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would have touched in the said his Letters, either in ministering Consolation to his Brethren, or in requiring Consolation and Prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given some touch also of the matter of Novatus, with whom he had so much to do; as indeed he did: for so we find it recorded both in Eusebius, and Hierome, that he wrote unto Fabius Bishop of Antioch, of the decrements of the Council of Rome, and another Letter of the manner of the Council, the third also of the cause of Novatus, and again of the Repentance of such as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in these foresaid Epistles decretal.

The constancy of Cornelius in his trial.

Cyprian, lib. 1. Epist. 1.

Cornelius accused for writing Letters to Cyprian.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Novatus, sufficiently is before signified. In this Persecution of Decius, he demeaned himself very constantly and faithfully, which sustained great Conflicts with the Adversaries, as Saint Cyprian giveth witness, *lib. 1. Epist. 1.* Hierome testifieth that he remained Bishop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, and so appeareth also by Saint Cyprian, which hath these words, *Et tyrannum armis & bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicat.* But Damasus and Sabellicus, his Followers, affirm, that he was both exiled and also martyred under the tyrannous Reign of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this story, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and faith, That Cornelius by the Commandment of Decius, was banished to a Town called Centumcellas, bordering on Hetruria, from whence he sent his Letters to Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian again to him. This coming to the ears of Decius the Emperor, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him, How he durst be so bold to shew such stubbornness, that he neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his Princes, durst against the Commonwealth give and receive Letters from others? To whom Cornelius answering again, thus purged himself, declaring to the Emperor, That Letters indeed he had written,

and received again concerning the Praises and honouring of Christ, and the Salvation of Souls, but nothing as touching any matter of the Common-wealth. And it followeth in the story: Then Decius moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with Plumbats (which, as faith Sabellicus, is a kind of scourging) and so to be brought to the Temple of Mars: either there to do Sacrifice, or to suffer the extremity. But he rather willing to die, than to commit such Iniquity, prepared himself to Martyrdom, being sure that he should die. And so commending the Charge of the Church unto Stephanus his Archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faithful Martyrdom. Eusebius in one place faith that he sat two years, in another place he faith that he sat three years, and so doth Marianus Scotus, following also the diversity of the said Eusebius. Damasus giveth him only two years.

Plumbatis scadi.

Cornelius martyred.

In this foresaid Persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some Writers also that Cyprian was banished; but I suppose rather his Banishment to be referred to the Reign of Gallus next Emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in his place hereafter. In the meantime the said Cyprian in his second Book, *Epist. 5. & 6.* maketh mention of two that suffered either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his Confession, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the Adversary till he was banished, and also after: and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certain Brethren to have him for their Lecturer, as in the forenamed Epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who in the day before he suffered, declaring to the Proconsul in the midst of his torments, and saying, *Videbas cras agonem*: that is, To morrow you shall see the running for a wager, &c. Was brought forth, according as he forepoken, to Martyrdom, and there with no less constancy than patience did suffer.

Aurelius Martyr.

Mappalicus Martyr.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God his Saints. Now to touch also the Power of God, his Vengeance and Punishment against him. Like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement, not long to continue: so it happened with this tyrannical Tormentor, who reigning but two years, as faith Eusebius, or three at most, as writeth Orosius, among the middle of the Barbarians, with whom he did war, was there slain with his Son. Like as he had slain Philippus and his Son his Predecessors before, so was he with his Son slain by the righteous Judgment of God himself. Eusebius, *lib. 7. cap. 1.* Platin. Pomponius affirmeth, that he warring against the Gothians, and being by them overcome, left he should fall into their hands, ran into a Whirl-pit, where he was drowned, and his body never found after.

The death and destruction of Decius.

Orosius, lib. 4. cap. 14.

Neither did the just hand of God plague the Emperor only, but also revenged as well the Heathen Gentiles and Persecutors of his Word throughout all Provinces and Dominions of the Roman Monarchy; amongst whom the Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a Plague and Pestilence, lasting for the space of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almost incredible to believe. Of this Plague or Pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hierax a Bishop in Egypt, *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 21, 22.* where he declareth the mortality of this Plague to be so great in Alexandria where he was Bishop, that there was no house in the whole City free. And although the greatness of the Plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the Heathen Idolaters much more: beside that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much divers. For as the foresaid Dionysius doth record, the Christians through brotherly love and piety, did not refuse one to visit and comfort another: and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger: for divers there were who in closing up their eyes, in washing their bodies, and interring them in the ground were next themselves which followed them to their graves. Yet all this stayed not them from doing their duty, and shewing mercy one to another: whereas the Gentiles contrarily, being extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the Plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their Neighbour, but every man shifting for himself, neither cared one for

The just revenge of God against Persecutors.

The just punishment of God upon the Heathen multitude for persecuting of his people.

The plague and hand of God.

The brotherly love and pity among the Christians shewed in the time of Plague.

A terrible
pestilence
reigning
through all
the Roman
Monarchy.

for another, but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doors half dead to be devoured of Dogs and wild Beasts, some they let die within their houses without all succour, some they suffered to lie unburied, for that no man durst come near them: and yet notwithstanding for all their voiding and shifting, the Pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them. Inasmuch that *Dionysius* Bishop the same time of *Alexandria*, thus reporteth of his own City, that such a mortality was then among them, that the said City of *Alexandria* had not in number so many of all together both old and young, as it was wont to contain before of the old men only from the age of threescore to seventy, and as were found in time past commonly almost in that City. *Pomponius Letus* and other *Latine* Writers also making mention of the said Pestilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they think) out of *Ethiopia*, and from the hot Countries, and so invading and waisting first the South parts, from thence spread into the East, and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially whereforever the Edicts of the Emperor went against the *Christians*, it followed after and consumed the most part of the Inhabitants; whereby many places became desolate and void of all Concourse, and so continued the term of ten years together.

Cyprianus
lib. de mor-
tali-
tate.
Gallus and
Volusianus
Emperors.
Anno
255.

This pestiferous Mortality (by the occasion whereof *Cyprian* took the ground to write his Book *De mortalitate*) began as is said, immediately after the death of *Decius* the Persecutor, in the beginning of the Reign of *Vibius Gallus*, and *Volusianus* his Son, who succeeded through treason next unto *Decius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and five, and continued their Reign but two years.

The first ban-
ishment of
Cyprian.

This *Gallus*, although the first beginning of his Reign was something quiet, yet shortly after following the steps of *Decius*, by whom rather he should have taken better heed, set forth Edicts in like manner for the persecution of *Christians*, albeit in this Edict we find no number of Martyrs to have suffered, but only all this Persecution to rest only in the exilement of Bishops or Guides of the Flock. Of other sufferings or Executions we do not read, for the terrible Pestilence following immediately kept the barbarous Heathen otherwise occupied. Unto this time of *Gallus*, rather than to the time of *Decius*, I refer the banishment of *Cyprian*, who was then Bishop of *Carthage*, of the which banishment he himself testifieth in divers of his Epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise upon a Commotion or Sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himself, lest the Sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding the said *Cyprian*, though being absent, yet had no less care of his Flock, and of the whole Church, than if he had been present with them, and therefore never ceased in his Epistles continually to exhort and call upon them to be constant in their Profession, and patient in their Afflictions. Amongst divers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himself, writing to cer-

The Bishops
and Priests
condemned
to metals.
Nemesianus,
Felix, Lu-
cius.
Bishops con-
demned for
the name
of Christ.

tain that were condemned to mining for metals, whose Names were *Nemesianus*, *Felix*, *Lucius*, with other Bishops, Priests and Deacons, he declareth unto them; How it is no shame but a glory not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at, to suffer banishment or other pains for Christ; and commending them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth how worthily they do shew themselves to be as valiant Captains of virtue, provoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of the Brethren to *Christian* Martyrdom, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both Maids and Children to follow the like: as for Punishment and Suffering, it is (saith he) a thing not execrable to a *Christian*: for a *Christian* mans breast, whose hope doth wholly consist in the Tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and scars of the body be Ornaments to a *Christian* man, such as bring no shame nor dishonesty to the party, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the Mines where the metals be digged there be no beds for *Christian* mens bodies to take their rest, yet they have their rest in Christ: and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Christ. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but happily he is bound of man, whom the Lord Christ doth loose:

That is, in
the passion
of him that
died on the
tree.

St. Cyprian
exhorteth
and com-
firmeth the
Christian
Martyrs.
Cyp. lib. 3.
Epist. ult.

happily doth he lie tied in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to Heaven. Neither can any man tie a *Christian* so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They have no garments to save them from cold, but he that putteth on Christ is sufficiently coted. Doth bread lack to their hungry bodies? But man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformity (saith he) shall be turned to honour your mourning to joy, your pain to pleasure, and felicity infinite. And if this do grieve you that you cannot now employ your Sacrifices and Oblations after your wonted manner, yet your daily Sacrifice ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious Sacrifice unto the Lord, which is the Sacrifice that pleaseth God. And though your travel be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certain to follow: for God beholding and looking down upon them that confess his Name, in their willing mind approve them, in their striving helpeth them, in their Victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which he hath performed and crowning that which he hath in us perfected. With these, and such like comfortable words he doth animate his Brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a joyful journey, hastening apace to the mansions of the Martyrs, there to enjoy after that darkness a stable light and brightness greater than all their Passions, according to the Apostles saying, These sufferings of this present time be nothing like comparable to the brightness of the Glory that shall be revealed in us, &c.

The Church
an main ob-
ject.

And after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation writing to *Seagrins* and *Rogatianus*, which were in prison and bonds for the testimony of truth, doth encourage them to continue stedfast and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run: for that they have the Lord with them their Helper and Defender, who promiseth to be with us to the Worlds end; and therefore willet them to see before their eyes in their death Immortality, in their pain everlasting Glory, of the which it is written, Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. Item, although before men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of Immortality, and being vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters: For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. And writeth moreover, admonishing that it is appointed from the beginning of the World, that Righteousness here should suffer in secular Conflicts; for so just Abel was slain in the beginning of the World, and after him all just and good men, the Prophets also and the Apostles sent of the Lord himself; unto whom all the Lord first gave an example in himself, teaching that there is no coming to his Kingdom, but by that way which he entered himself, saying by these words, He that loveth his life in this World shall lose it, &c. And again, Fear ye not them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul. And Saint Paul likewise admonishing all them whosoever covet to be Partakers of the Promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord, saith, If we Suffer together with him, we shall Reign together, &c.

Cyprian lib. 4.
Epist. 1.
Seagrins, Rog-
atianus, Mar-
tyrs.

Sapientia.

Furthermore, as the same *Cyprian* doth encourage here the holy Martyrs which were in Captivity to persist: so likewise writing to the Priests and Deacons which were free, he exhorteth them to be serviceable and obsequious with all care and love, to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds, *Cyprian*, lib. 3. Epist. 6. Whereby may appear the fervent zeal and care of this good Bishop toward the Church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this Emperor *Gallus*.

Cyprian lib. 3.
Epist. 6.

In the same time, and under the said *Gallus* reigning with his Son *Volusianus*, was also *Lucius* Bishop of *Rome* sent to banishment, who next succeeded after *Cornelius* in that Bishoprick, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and six. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his Church, as by the Epistle of Saint *Cyprian*, lib. 3. Epist. 1. may appear. As to all other Bishops of *Rome* in those Primitive days certain decretal Epistles with several Ordinances be ascribed, bearing their Names and Titles, as hath been before declared: So also hath *Lucius* one Epistle fathered upon him, in the which Epistle he writing to the Brethren of *France* and of *Spain*, appointeth such an order and form of the Church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present: for so he declareth in that Epistle,

Lucius Bish-
shop of
Rome ba-
nished.
Anno
256.

The Epistle
decretal of
Lucius Bish-
shop.
The Ord-
nances of
Lucius.

that a Bishop in all places, whithersoever he goeth, should have two Priests with three Deacons waiting upon him to be witnesses, of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I see not how that time of *Lucius* could serve then for a Bishop to carry such a pomp of Priests and Deacons about him, or to study for any such matter: For so much as Bishops commonly in those days were seldom free to go abroad, went they never so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in Prison, or else in banishment. Moreover in the said Epistle how pompously writeth he to the Church of *Rome*? *This holy and apostolical Church of Rome (saith he) the mother of all Churches of Christ, by the Grace of God omnipotent hath never been proved to swerve out of the path of Apostolical tradition, neither hath ever fallen or been depraved with heretical innovations: But even as in the first beginning it received the rule of the Apostolical faith by his first instructors, the Princes of the Apostles, so it continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end.*

The pompous stile of the Church of Rome.

Dist. 81. ministri. Ministers restrained from their own Wives. Eusebius and Damasus vary in time. Lucius Bishop of Rome martyr.

Stephanus Bishop of Rome martyr.

The censure of the decretal Epistles and ordinances of Stephanus.

No Bishop ought to be accused, after he be expelled, before he be restored again.

The number of the poor found at Rome by the Church goods.

Unto this *Lucius* also is referred in the decrees of *Gratian* this constitution, that no Minister whatsoever after his ordination, would at any time reenter into the chamber of his own wife, in pain of losing his Ministry in the Church, &c. *Eusebius* in his seventh Book making mention of the death of *Lucius*, and not of his Martyrdom, saith that he sat but eight months: But *Damasus* in his Martyrologe holdeth that he sat three years, and was beheaded the second year of *Valerian* and *Galienus* Emperors, and so doth also *Marianus Scotus* and *Naucerus*, with other that follow *Damasus*, affirm the same.

After him came *Stephanus* next Bishop of *Rome* following *Lucius*, whom *Damasus*, *Platina*, and *Sabellicus* affirm to have sit seven years and five months, and to die a martyr. Contrary *Eusebius*, and *Volateranus* holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh most near to the truth, I leave to the Readers Judgment. Of his two Epistles decretal, and of his Ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to say, for two respects; either for that concerning these decretal Epistles suspiciously intitled to the names of the Fathers of the primitive Church sufficiently hath been said before; or else because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue, and also the matter it self therein contained is such, that although no testimony came against it, yet it easily refelleth it self. As where in the second Epistle he decreeth. *That no Bishop being expelled out of his seat, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answer for himself, before that by the Law regularly he be restored again fully to his former state, and that the Primates and the Synod, render unto him again all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the Law canon and also secular.* First here I would desire the Reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himself, who be these here meant which either used or might depole these Bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their seats for such wrongful causes, but only Kings and Emperors, which at this time were not yet Christned, nor used any such proceedings against these Bishops, in such sort as either Primates or Synods could restore them again to their places and possessions: Again, what private goods or possessions had Bishops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the Church, it pertained not properly to the Bishop, but went in general to the subvention of the poor in the Church, as in the Epistle of *Cornelius* to *Fabius* may appear, alledged in *Eusebius*, lib. 6. cap. 43. where he speaking of his Church, and declaring how there ought to be but one Bishop in the same, intereth mention of forty and six Priests, seven Deacons, with seven Subdeacons, forty two Acoluthes, of Widows and poor afflicted persons, to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and nourished in the same by the merciful benignity and providence of God: *Eusebius*, lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth more in the end of the said Canon, *Which thing is forbidden both by the Law Ecclesiastical, and also secular, &c.* Now what Laws secular were in the time of *Stevens*, for Bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored again to their

state, let any Reader marking well the state of the heathen Laws that then were, Judge; and in judging I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to describe the untruth hereof.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the said second Epistle of *Stephanus* it may be easily espied, this Epistle to be fained and misauthorised, especially by the six canon of the said Epistle, where he so solemnly entreatheth of the difference between Primates, Metropolitans, and Arch-Bishops: Which distinction of degrees and titles, favouring more of ambition than of persecution, giveth me verily to suppose this Epistle not to be written by this *Stephanus*, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the Church began to be settled in more prosperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and limits of his authority, according as is specified by the sixth and seventh canon of the *Nicene* council, decreeing of the same matter.

Primate, Metropolitans, Arch-bishops.

The like estimation may be conceived also of the seventh canon of the said Epistle, where he willett and appointeth all causes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper Province, and not to pass over the bounds thereof, unless (saith he) the Appeal be made to the apostolical See of *Rome*; which favoureth in my nose rather of a smack of *Papery*, than of the vain of Christianity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among the Bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretal Epistle of *Stephanus*, although of the first Epistle also written to *Hilarinus*, something may be said; as where he speaketh in the said Epistle of holy Vestiments, and holy Vessels; and other ornaments of the Altar serving to divine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, saving of Priests alone. Concerning all which implements my opinion is this; I think the Church of *Rome*, not to have been in so good state then, that either *Stephanus* or *Sixtus* before him, being occupied about other more earnest matters, and scarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to study upon such unnecessary inventions serving in public Churches: Neither do I see how the Heathen in those days would have suffered those ornaments to be unconsumed, which would not suffer the Bishops themselves to live amongst them, notwithstanding *Isidorus* and *Polydorus* judge the contrary. Between this *Stephanus* and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* was a great contention about rebaptizing Hereticks, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Lawful to appeal to Rome.

Vestments and holy vessels serving for the altar.

Besides these Bishops above specified, divers other there were also sent into banishment under the forenamed Emperors, *Gallus* and *Valerianus*, as appeareth by *Dionysius* writing to *Hermanus* on this wile: That *Gallus* not seeing the evil of *Decius*, nor forgetting the occasion of his seduction and ruin, stumbled himself also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes: For when at the first beginning his Empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drave out holymen, which prayed for his peace and safeguard, and so with them rejected also the prayers which they made for him, &c. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1.* Otherwise of any bloodshed, or any Martyrs that in the time of this Emperor were put to death, we do not read.

Bishops banished in the time of Gallus.

After the Reign of which Emperor *Gallus*, and of his son *Valerianus* being expired (who Reigned but two years) *Emilianus*, which slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place, who Reigned but three months, and was also slain. Next to whom *Valerianus* and his son *Galienus* were advanced to the Empire.

Gallus and Valerianus Emperors slain. Emilianus Emperor three months. Valerianus and Galienus his son Emperor.

About the changing of these Emperors the persecution which first began at *Decius*, and afterward slackened in the time of *Gallus*, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great Plague reigning in all places, partly by the change of the Emperors, although it was not very long. For *Valerianus* in the first entrance of the Empire, for the space of three or four years, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the Senate.

Persecution ceased for a time. The good beginning of Valerian.

Neither was there any of all the Emperors before him, no not of them which openly professed Christ, that shewed himself so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did: In so much that (as *Dionysius* writing to *Hermanus* doth testify) all his whole court was replenished with holy Saints and servants of Christ and Godly persons, so that his

As Dionysius doth.

his house might seem to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days endured not very long. For in process of time this *Valerian* being charmed or incensed by a certain Egyptian, a chief Ruler of the Heathen Synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the Charmers or Inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his Magical feats for the Christians, was so far infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable provocations of that devilish Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in sacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the intrails of children new born; and so, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth Persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his Magical Inchantings, about the year of our Lord 259.

The eighth Persecution.

IN the which Persecution the chief administrators and executors were *Emilianus* President of Egypt, *Paternus* and *Galerius Maximus*, Proconsuls in Africa. *Bergomensis* also maketh mention of *Paternus* Vicegerent of Rome, and of *Perennius*. *Vincentius* speaketh also of *Nicerius* and *Claudius* Presidents, &c.

What was the chief original cause of this Persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and political cause, so *S. Cyprian* sheweth other causes more special and Ecclesiastical in his fourth book, *Epist. 4.* whose words be these: But we (saith he) must understand and confess that this turbulent oppression and calamity, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole company, and doth daily consume it, riseth chiefly of our own wickedness and sins, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left unto us for our institution. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points, but we observe not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and study set upon lucre and possessions, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this World in word only, but nothing in deed, every man pleasing himself, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the Confessors themselves (such as have bid the trial of their confession) and such as ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore because some such there be, proudly puffed up with this swelling and unmannerly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send us to the Crown, except by the mercy of God, some, being taken away by quickness of death, do prevent the tediousness of punishment. These things do we suffer for our sins and deserts, as by the Lords censure we have been forewarned, saying: If they shall forsake my Law, and will not walk in my Judgments; if they shall prophane my Institutions, and will not observe my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (saith he) we feel, which neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent in our evil deeds. Wherefore the said *Cyprian* adding this exhortation withal, exhorted them to pray and intreat from the bottom of their heart and whole mind, the mercy of God, which promiseth, saying: But yet my mercy I will not scatter from them, &c. Let us ask, and we shall obtain; and though (saith *Cyprian*) it be with variance, yet for so much as we have grievously offended, let us continue knocking, for to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if our prayers, sighings and weepings knock still at the door with continuance, and if our prayers be joynt together with brotherly agreement, &c. Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the Christians, he further specifieth in the said *Epistle*, which chiefly were division and dissension among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a Vision by these words, *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is, *Pray and ye shall obtain*: afterward it was required of the Congregation there present, to direct their prayers for certain persons assigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condescend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissident in their consent and petition: which

thing (saith *Cyprian*) did greatly displease him that spake unto them, *Pray*, and ye shall obtain, for that there was no uniform equality of voice and heart, nor one simple and joynt concord among the brethren, whereof it is written in the sixty seventh Psalm, God which maketh to dwell in the house together men of one accord, &c. And so by the occasion hereof, he writeth unto them in the foresaid *Epistle*, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement. For (saith he) if it be promised in the Gospel to be granted whatsoever any two consenting together shall ask, what shall then the whole Church do agreeing together? Or what if this unanimity were among the whole Fraternity? Which unanimity (saith *Cyprian*) if it had been then amongst the brethren, Non venissent fratribus hæc mala, si in unum fraternitas fuisset animata: that is, These evils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had joyned together in brotherly unanimity, &c.

After the causes thus declared of this and other Persecutions, the said Saint *Cyprian* moreover in the forenamed *Epistle* (worthy to be read of all men) describeth likewise a certain Vision, wherein was shewed unto him by the Lord before the Persecution came, what should happen. The Vision was this. There was a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a young man very sad and pensive, as one with an indignation sorrowful, holding his hand upon his breast, his countenance heavy and unbearful. On the left hand sat another person, having in his hand a Net, which he threatened to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marvelling that saw the sight thereof, it was said unto him: The young man, whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad and sorry that his precepts be not observed. But he on the left hand danceth, and is merry, for that occasion is given him to have power of the aged father to afflict men. And this Vision was seen long before this tempest of Persecution happened, wherein is declared the same that before is said: the sins of the People to be the cause why Satan, in this Persecution and all others, hath had and hath still such power with his net of destruction to rage against the blood of Christian men, and all because (saith *Cyprian*) we foreslack our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as we should: wherefore the Lord, because he loveth us, correcteth us: correcteth us to amend us, amendeth us to save us, &c. *Cyprian*.

Furthermore, the same *Cyprian*, and in the same *Epistle*, writing of his own revelation or message sent to him, thus saith: And to his least servant both sinful and unworthy (meaning himself) God of his tender goodness hath vouchsafed to direct this word: Tell him (saith he) that be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come, albeit a little stay there is for a while, for that some remain yet to be proved and tried, &c. And sheweth also in the same place of another revelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drink, lest his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements, or oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinks, should be less apt or able to prayer and spiritual exercise.

Finally, in the later end of the foresaid *Epistle* mention also followeth of other revelations or shewings: Wherein the Lord (saith *Cyprian*) doth vouchsafe to many of his servants to fore-shew to come the restoring of his Church, the stable quiet of our health and safeguard; after rain, fair weather, after darkness light, after stormy tempest peaceable calm, the fatherly help of his love, the wont and old glory of his divine Majesty, whereby both the blasphemy of the Persecutor shall be repressed, and the repentance of such as have fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shall rejoyce and glory. Thus much hath *S. Cyprian* written of these things to the Clergy. *Lib. 4. Epist. 4.*

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this Persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, this was the principal: First, because they refused to do worship to their Idols and to the Emperors; then for that they professed the Name of Christ: besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the World, as Wars, Famine and Pestilence, were imputed only to the Christians. Against all which quarrelling Accusations *Cyprian* doth eloquently defend the Christians in his Book *Contra Demetrium*.

Psal. 67.

A Vision foretelling persecution to come. *Cyp. lib. 4. Epist. 4.*

Our sins give Satan power to afflict us.

Another revelation shewed to *S. Cyprian*.

Spare diet and sober drink convenient in Christian Bishops.

The peace of the Church to come, fore-shewed by the Lord.

Crimes and causes falsely laid to the Christians.

The Apology of *Cyprian* for the Christians.

Cyp. Contra
Demetrian.
nam. Cyp. de
idolatorum va-
nitate.

Demetrianum : like as Tertullian had done before, writing contra Scapulam. And first touching the objection, for not worshipping Idols, he cleareth the Christians both in his Book Contra Demetrian. And also De vanitate idol. proving those Idols to be no true Gods, but images of certain dead Kings, which neither could save themselves from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the testimony of Sosthenes, Plato and Trimegistus, the which God the Christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be the cause of publick calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles Idols, he purgeth the Christians thereof, proving that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of Nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Again for that it hath been so foretold and prophesied, that towards the end of the World should come Wars, Famine and Pestilence. Moreover, if there be any cause thereof more proper than other, it is most like to be imputed to their vain Idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such evils be increased by the wickedness of the people, so that to speak in his own words, Famen majorem facit rapacitas quam siccitas, that is, Famine cometh more by avarice of men, than by drought of the Air; but especially the cause thereof to proceed of the cruel shedding of the innocent blood of the Christians, &c.

The Country and education of Cyprian.

The Conversion of Cyprian.

Cyprian made first Priest, then Bishop of Carthage.

The virtues of Cyprian's life described.

The care of Cyprian toward the afflicted brethren.

The modesty of Cyprian in conferring with his fellow brethren.

Thus with many other more probations doth Cyprian defend the Christians against the barbarous exclamations of the Heathen Gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for so much as he suffered in the time of this Persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here in ample discourse the full sum, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and Martyrdom, as the worthiness of that man deserveth to be remembered. Of this Cyprian therefore, otherwise named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Jacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and others; that he being an African, and born in Carthage, first was an Idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the Magical Arts; of whose parentage and education in Letters from his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy Rhetorician in Africa: of whose Conversion and Baptism he himself in his first Book and second Epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent History. Which his conversion unto the Christian Faith, as Hieronymus affirmeth in his Commentary upon Jonas, was through the grace of God, and the means of Cecilius a Priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the History of the Prophet Jonas. The same Hierome moreover testifieth how he immediately upon his Conversion distributed among the poor all his substance, and after that, being ordained a Priest, was not long after constituted Bishop of the Congregation of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus of whom he often maketh mention (which also was the first author of Rebaptism) or some other Bishop of Carthage, it remaineth uncertain. But this is most true, he himself shined in his office and dignity with such good gifts and virtues, that, as Nazianzenus writeth, he had government of the whole East Church, and Church of Spain, and was called the Bishop of the Christian men.

And to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly Vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy Writers: he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewithal sharp and severe in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first Book and third Epistle. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the Martyrs, as appeareth by his Letters to the Elders and Deacons of his Bishoprick, that with all study and endeavour they should gently entertain and shew pleasure unto the Martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The third Epistle of his first Book doth declare of what stomach and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the consent of his fellow

Bishops and other inferior Ministers: and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth Epistle of his third Book witness. He was of a marvelous liberal disposition towards the poor brethren of other Countries: for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poor men to his fellow officers, and wrote to them, that of their own proper goods they would help their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the twenty fourth Epistle of his third Book. He recited among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the Visions and heavenly admonitions of the Persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the government of the Church in his first book and third epistle, and fourth book and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain Vision which we have before sufficiently expressed.

He had moreover great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the sixth Epistle of his fourth book. Also Augustine doth attribute unto him many worthy virtues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humility in his second book of Baptism, the fourth Chapter against the Donatists; and in his seventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also of his courtlesie and meekness: by which virtues he concealed nothing that he understood, but uttered the same meekly and patiently. Also that he kept the ecclesiastical peace and concord with those that were of another opinion than he was of. Lastly, that he neither circumvented nor did prejudice any man, but followed that thing which seemed good in his judgment, it is manifest in St. Augustine his first book, De baptismo contra Donatistas. Neither is this to be passed with silence, that Hierome writeth, that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian: for he saith, that he saw a certain old man whose name was Paulus, which told him he saw the Notary of blessed Cyprian, being then an old man, when he himself was but a springling in the City of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprian's wont, never to let one day pass without some reading of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say unto him: Give me my Master, meaning thereby Tertullian.

Now a few words touching his Exile and Martyrdom. Of his Epistles which he wrote back to his Congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he sheweth the vertue befitting a faithful Pastor, in that he took no less care as well of his own Church, as of other Bishops being absent, than he did being present. Wherein also he himself doth signify that voluntarily he absented himself, lest he should do more hurt than good to the Congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epistle is manifest, which thing seemeth to be done in the Reign of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned again out of exile in the Reign of this Valerianus, he was also after that the second time banished of Paternus the Proconsul of Africa into the City of Thurbin, as the Oration of Augustine touching Cyprian sheweth; or else, as Pontius the Deacon saith, into a City named Furabitanana, or Curabitanana. But when Paternus the Proconsul was dead, Galienus Maximus succeeded in the room and office of Paternus, who finding Cyprian in a Garden, caused him to be apprehended by his Serjeants, and to be brought before the Idols to offer Sacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the Proconsul breaking forth in these words, said, Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast shewed thy self an enemy to the Gods of the Romans, and to their holy laws: neither could the sacred Emperors Valerianus and Galienus revoke thee to the Seat of their ceremonies. At length the wicked Tyrant condemned him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the Sword, as Hieronymus affirmeth. And so this blessed Martyr ended this present life in the Lord; Xistus then being Bishop of Rome, as Eusebius noteth, in the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and nine, Sabellicus saith that he was martyred in the Reign of Gallus and Volusianus, Lucius being Bishop of Rome: but that seemeth not like.

Now

Visions concerning the troubles and peace of the Church, recited and expounded by Cyprian.

Cyprian meek and patient.

Cyprian a great reader of Tertullian.

The second banishment of Cyprian.

The apprehension of Cyprian.

The Martyrdom of Cyprian.

Ando 259

The Books
of Cyprian.

Now remaineth to speak something likewise of his Works and Books left behind him, although all peradventure that he wrote do not remain: whereof some are missing, some again, in the livery of his Name and Title, are not his: but such as be certainly his, by the stile and sense may soon be discerned: such is the eloquence of his phrase, and gravity of his sentence, vigor of wit, power in perswasion, so much differing from many others, as he can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the which his Books with use extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the School of Rhetoricians, so is the authority thereof no less of Reputation, not only among us of this age of the Church, but also among the ancient Fathers. Whereof St. Augustine speaking in his commendation, saith, *Ego (inquit) literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis considero: & quod in eis divina-rum Scripturarum auctoritati congruit cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respuo, &c.* By which words it may appear that Augustine, although he did not repute the Books and Writings of Cyprian to be equivalent with the Holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding, next after the Holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

The Judge-
ment of
Augustine
upon the
Books of
Cyprian.
Augustine
contra
Crescenti-
um.
lib. 12. c. 32.

Sentences
of Cyprian
collected.
Ex Vincent.
lib. 12. c. 63.

Vincentius and Lactantius reciting the names of divers Books, bearing the Title of Cyprian (more chance than be truly his) do collect out of them a certain extract of his most pithy Sentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taste of the special, I thought it not impertinent. As where he speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth saying:

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest. Let it not sleep in thy treasures, that may profit the poor.

Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: cor semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis varias conceptiones proferendo.

Two things never wax old in man, the heart ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue ever in uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro divina remuneratione distribuendum est.

That which a man must needs forgo of necessity, wisdom it is for a man to distribute so, that God may everlastingly reward him.

Disciplina est morum presentium ordinata correctio, & malorum preteritorum regularis observatio.

Discipline is an ordinate amendment of manners present, and a regular observation of evils past.

Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi, qui improbos damnent, desunt: & soli, qui damnentur, occurrunt.

There can be no integrity, whereas they which should condemn the wicked, are ever wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are ever present.

Avari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent, ut ne alteri possidere liceat.

A covetous man only possesseth his goods for this, because another should not possess them.

Sericum & purpurum induit Christum induere non possunt.

Women, that advance themselves in putting on silks and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.

Famina crines suos inficiunt malo præagio: capillos enim sibi flammeos auspiciari non metuant.

They which colour their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to prognosticate of what colour their hair shall be in Hell.

Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit deus; metuant, ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.

They which love to paint themselves in this world otherwise than God hath created them: let them fear, lest when the day cometh of resurrection, the Creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi elemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem sacrificat.

He that giveth an alms to the poor, sacrificeth to God an odor of sweet smell.

Contemnenda est omnis injuria presentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

All injury of evils present, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, & factis destruere.

To set out virtue in words, and to destroy the same in facts, is nothing worth.

Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recon-dendum, sed erogandum est, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purganda conscientia.

The more children and greater household thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hoord up, but to disperse abroad, for that many sins are to be redeemed, many Consciences are to be purged.

Moreover lest the Papists here should take an occasion by this Text, grounded upon the Text of Tob. cap. 4. *Alms* (saith he) *delivereth from all sin and death: to build up the works of satisfaction, the said Cyprian, Lib. 4. Epist. 2.* more plainly expoundeth both himself, and that place of Scripture, writing in these words: *Quia scriptum est, Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat: Tob. 4. Non utique ab ea morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, & a qua nos salutaris baptismi & redemptoris nostri gratia liberavit, sed ab illa quæ per delicta postmodum serpit, &c.* that is, *Alms do deliver from all sin and from death, Tob. 4. Not from that (saith Cyprian) which the blood of Christ hath once extinguished, and from which the wholesome grace of our Baptism, and of our Redeemer hath delivered us, but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by sin, &c.* Cyprian. Lib. 4. Epist. 2. By which words it is apparent, that Cyprian meaneth this deliverance (which cometh by Alms giving) from death and sin, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlasting, from which only the blood of Christ doth save us: but for temporal or transitory punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of sin. For so it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal virtues may have their temporal rewards in this life, and likewise sins committed, may have temporal punishments both in us and in our families, our eternal salvation standing evermore firm in Christ yet notwithstanding.

The foresaid Vincentius moreover speaking of another Book of Cyprian (although the said Book be not numbred in the Catalogue of his Works) maketh mention of twelve abuses, or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these:

1. *Sapiens sine operibus.* A wise man without good works.
2. *Senex sine Religione.* An old man without Religion.
3. *Adolescens sine obedientia.* A young man without obedience.
4. *Dives sine eleemosyna.* A rich man without Alms.
5. *Femina sine pudicitia.* A woman shameless.
6. *Dominus sine virtute.* A guid without virtue.
7. *Christianus contentiosus.* A Christian man contentious.
8. *Pauper superbus.* A poor man proud.
9. *Rex iniquus.* A King unrighteous.
10. *Episcopus negligens.* A Bishop negligent.
11. *Plebs sine Disciplina.* People without Discipline.
12. *Populus sine lege.* Subjects without Law.

As we have hitherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian this blessed Martyr: so must we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger, which the Papists are commonly accustomed to run into, whose fault is always almost to be immoderate and excessive in their proceedings, making too much almost of every thing. So in speaking of the Holy Sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of Sacraments require: not using them, but abusing them, not referring or applying them, but adorning them, not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himself, turning Religion into Superstition, and the creature to the Creator, the things signifying to the things themselves signified, &c. To the Church likewise and ceremonies of the Church, to General Councils, to the blessed Virgin Mary Mother of Christ, to the Bishop of Rome, and to all other in like case; not contented to attri-

The place
of Scripture
expounded.
Eleemosyna
ab omni peccato
& morte
liberat.
Tob. 4.
Epist. 2.

Twelve abuses
in the
life of man
noted out
of Cyprian

The learn-
ing of Cypri-
an joined
with his
blemishes.

The fault of
Papists to
make too
much of e-
very thing.

bute that which is sufficient, they exceed moreover, the bounds of judgment and verity, judging so of the Church, and General Councils, as though they could never, or did never err in any jot. That the blessed Mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a Virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth doth give: but to say that she was born without all original sin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve but only for order sake, unto the which they have attributed so much at length, that they have set in them a great part of our Religion, yea, and also of Salvation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein the Papists have not exceeded?

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the Papists, we must beware in commending the Doctors and Writers of the Church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration, go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed Martyrs were holy Men; yet notwithstanding, they were Men, that is, such as might have, and had their falls and faults; Men, I say, and not Angels, nor Gods; saved by God, not favours of Men, nor Patrons of Grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthy Doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their Books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said, it must stand for a truth. That preeminence of authority only belongeth to the Word of God, and not to the Pen of Man. For of Men and Doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of his reprehension. In

The blemishes and errors of Doctors noted.

Origen.

Polycarpus.

Ignatius.

Irenaeus.

Tertullian.

Justinus.

Cyprian.

Contention between Cyprian and Stephanus Bishop of Rome.

Origen (although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular) yet how many things be there, which the Church now holdeth not? But examining him by Scriptures, where he said well, they admit him, where otherwise, they leave him. In Polycarpus, the Church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter day after the Jews. Neither can holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings; as where he maketh the fasting upon the Sunday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kill Christ himself: Ignat. Epist. ad Philip. contrary to this saying of Saint Paul, Let no man judge you in meat and drink: also where the said Ignatius speaketh De Virginitate, and of other things more. Irenaeus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free will in man, in those things also that be spiritual. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fifty years old, abusing this place of the Gospel, Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c. Tertullian (whom Saint Cyprian never laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chiliasist: also to have been of Montanus Sect. The same did hold also with Justine, Cyprian, and others, that the Angels fell first for the concupiscence of women: Lib. de habitu mulierum. He defendeth free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of them, which defend the possibility of keeping Gods Law. Concerning Marriage: Unum matrimonium (inquit) novimus, sicut unum Deum: that is, We know (saith he) one Marriage, as we know one God; condemning the second Marriage, Lib. de Monogam. Divers other things of like absurdity in him be noted. Justinus also seemeth to have inclined unto the error of the Chiliasists, of the fall of certain Angels by Women, of free will of man, of possibility of keeping the Law, and such others. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great Scholar of Tertullian, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, did hold with rebaptising of such as were before baptised of Hereticks, whereof speaketh Saint Augustine, mistaking the same error of Cyprian, in these words contained in his second Book Contra Cresconiam. Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego consequi non valeo, ejus multis literis mea scripta non comparo, ejus ingenium diligo, ejus ore delector, ejus charitatem miror, ejus martyrium veneror: non accipio quod de baptisandis haereticis & schismaticis sensit. &c. Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the said Cyprian and Stephanus Bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himself likewise, of Ambrose, Hierome, Chrysostome, the same may be said, that none of them all so clear-

ly passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose at this present to intreat. And thus much concerning the story of Cyprian, the holy learned Martyr of Christ.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he whom the narration of Nazianzen speaketh of (as is above mentioned) who from Art Magick was converted to be a Christian, which Cyprian was a Citizen of Antioch, and afterward Bishop of the same City, and was martyred under Dioclesian: whereas this Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage, and died under Valerianus, as is said, &c. By the decrees of Gratian, dist. 10. quoniam, it appeareth moreover that there was also a third Cyprian in the time of Julianus the Emperor Apostata, long after both these aforementioned: for so giveth the title prefixed before the said distinction, Cyprianus Juliano Imperatori: the distinction beginning: Quoniam idem Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Jesus, sic actibus propriis, & dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discernit, &c. Upon the which distinction the gloss cometh in with these words, saying, that the Popedom, and the seat Imperial, have both one beginning of one, that is Christ: who was both Bishop, and King of Kings. And that the said dignities be distinct, albeit the Pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both sometime. And therefore although they be distinct, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally under the other, so that the imperial dignity is subject under the Papal Dignity, as the inferior is subject under the superior: that as there is one ruler over the whole World, which is God: so in the Church is one Monarch, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion. Hæc glossa.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered upon Cyprian, which is false: for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred years, and so likewise the other Cyprian, which died Martyr under Dioclesian, Of any Cyprian besides these two we read not; neither is it credible, that, if there were any such Cyprian, he would ever have written of any such matter, of the difference and mutual need of Christian Emperors and Christian Popes; when as that Emperor being an Apostata, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any Pope.

About this time, and under the same Emperor Valerianus suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, Bishop of Rome, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six Deacons to the place of execution, where he with Nemesius and other his Deacons were beheaded and suffered Martyrdom. Lawrence in the same time, being also Deacon, followed after, complaining to Xistus (as one being grieved) that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the son from the father. To whom the Bishop answering again, declared that within three days he should follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any, unto the poor. The Judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be given to the poor, and thinking that Lawrence had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of the story here under written more fully may appear. Which History, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other Writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the Reader; we have therefore with the more diligence, here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glory shewed in him.

Now then, as order required, let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous Martyr of Christ S. Laurence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in Christian hearts, as is the flourishing Laurel tree. This thirsty heart longing after the water of life, delirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd Xistus, led as an harmless Lamb, of harmful Tyrants to his Death, cried out with open mouth and heart invincible, saying,

Cyprian divers of that name.

Dist. 10. Quoniam.

Glossa ibid. A blind gloss challenging both the swords to the Pope's hand.

A distinction of Gratian disproved.

Xistus the second Bishop of Rome Martyr.

Six Deacons with Xistus Martyrs.

The story & martyrdom of Lawrence. Ex Ambrosio lib. 1. offic. cap. 41. Ex Prudentio lib. peristephan.

The words of Lawrence to Xistus. saying: O dear Father, Whither goest thou, without the company of thy dear son? Whither hastest thou, O reverend Priest, without thy Deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy Minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved unnatural? Now try, sweet Father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful Minister or not? Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lords blood? See that thy Judgment be not mistaken, whilst thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abusing of the scholar is the disgracing of the Master. What? Have we not learned that worthy Masters have obtained most worthy fame by the worthy acts of their Disciples and scholars? Finally, Abraham sacrificed his only begotten Isaac; stoned Stephen, prepared the way to Preaching Peter: Even so Father declare thy manifold virtues by me thy son. Offer thou him that proffereth himself; grant that the body of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified. These words with tears Saint Lawrence uttered, not because his Master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to taste of Deaths, cup which he thirsted after.

The answer of Xistus to Lawrence. Then Xistus to his son shaped this answer: I forsake thee not, O my son; I give thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. O feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier Death: But lusty and young thou art, and more lustily, yea more gloriously shalt thou triumph over this Tyrant: Thy time approacheth, cease to weep and lament, three days after thou shalt follow me: Decent it is that this space of time come between the Priest and the Levite. It may not be seem thee, O sweet pupil, to triumph under thy Master, lest it be said, he wanted an helper. Why cravest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So Helias left behind him his beloved Heliseus. I yield up into thy hands the succession of my virtues. Such was their contention, not unmeet for so Godly a Priest, and so zealous a Minister; striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical Histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration, people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himself Orestes; Orestes (as truth it was) affirmed himself to be Orestes: Pilades willing to die for Orestes, Orestes not suffering Pilades to lose his life for his sake; but neither of them might escape Death; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Lawrence, the Martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only by his ardent zeal and fervent spirit, who thirsting after the Cup of Martyrdom, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.

Some say that this Tyrant was Decius the Emperor, but that cannot be, except Gallienus or some other Judge now was called by the name of Decius. Now let us draw near to the fire of Martyred Lawrence, that our cold Hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless Tyrant, understanding this vertuous Levite, not only to be a Minister of the Sacraments, but a distributor also of the Church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Xistus) promised to himself a double prey, by the apprehension of one silly Soul. First with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the Treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of Tyranny, so to toss and turmoil them, that they should wax weary of their Profession: With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolfe demanded where this Deacon Lawrence, had bestowed the substance of the Church? Who craving three days respite, promised to declare where the Treasure might be had. In the mean time, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be Congregated. So when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Lawrence stretching out his Arms over the poor, said: These are the precious Treasure of the Church, these are the Treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ Reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave

me to drink; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me. And again; Look what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me. What greater riches can Christ our Master possess, than the poor People, in whom he loved to be seen? Oh, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrants Heart! Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: His eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a Bore formed, his teeth like a hellhound grinned. Now not a reasonable man, but a roaring Lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no spare. Hath this villain deluded the Emperor? Away with him, away with him: Whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffit him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traitor with the Emperor? Pinch him with fiery Tongues, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of Iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: Roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him: on pain of our high displeasure do every man his office, O ye tormentors. The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done.

After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid. I will not say on his fiery bed of Iron, but on his soft bed of Down. So mightily God wrought with his Martyr Lawrence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it unto Lawrence. Not Lawrence, but the Emperor might seem to be tormented: The one broyling in the flesh, the other burning in the Heart. When this triumphant Martyr had been pressed down with fire-picks for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished Tyrant.

This side is now roasted enough, turn up O Tyrant great: Assay whether roasted or raw, thou thinkest the better meat.

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only not burnest, but by means unspeakable dost recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in Gods promises infallible. By thee this glorious Martyr overcometh his torments, vanquisheth this Tyrant, confoundeth his Enemies, confirmeth the Christians, sleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace by the life of Lawrence to learn in Christ to live, and by his death to learn for Christ to die, Amen.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear Saints (like good seed) never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth some increase: So it pleased the Lord to work at the Martyrdom of this holy Lawrence, that by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a certain Soldier of Rome being therewith compuncted, and converted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be Baptized of him: For the which he, being called for of the Judge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

Under the same Valerianus, suffered also Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, much affliction and banishment, with certain other brethren: Of the which he writeth himself, and is alledged in the Ecclesiastical story of Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11. the words wherof tend to this effect. Dionysius with three of his Deacons, to wit, Maximus, Faustus and Cheremon, also with a certain Brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then pretident, who were declared unto them in circumstance of words, how he had signified unto them the clemency of his Lords and Emperors; who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Empery, asking them what answer they would give him thereunto: Trusting as he said that they would not shew themselves ingrateful, to the clemency of them which so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said: All men worship not all Gods, but divers men, divers Gods; so as every one hath in himself a mind or Phantasié to worship. But we worship not many, nor divers Gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things; and hath committed to our Lords, Valerianus and Gallienus, the government of their Empery, making to him our prayers incessantly for

Lawrence tormented on the fiery gridiron.

The singular patience of Lawrence in his pain.

The martyr do n and end of blessed Lawrence.

A Roman soldier converted by Lawrence, and martyred.

Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, with his fellowes banished.

Maximus, Faustus, Cheremon, a certain Roman banished.

The examination of Dionysius before the President.

The constant confession of Dionysius and his Deacons.

Dionysius banished to Cephro.

Infidels converted by Dionysius in his banishment. Ex Dionysio contra Germanum. Ex Euseb. lib. 7.

Ex Dionysio ad Domitium & Didymum. Euseb. ibid.

Martyrs of all sorts and ages.

Commentation of Eusebius the Deacon.

for their prosperous health and continuance. Then the President said: And what hurt is it, sith that you may both worship your God, what God soever he be, and these our Gods also? For you are commanded to worship such Gods, as all men know to be Gods. *Dionysius* answered, We worship none other, but as we have said. *Emilianus* the President said; I see you are ingrateful men, and consider not the benignity of the Emperor; wherefore you shall remain no longer in this City, but shall be sent out to the parts of *Libya*, unto a Town called *Cephro*: For that place by the commandment of the Emperor I have chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawful for you to convent your assemblies, or to resort as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you. And it followeth more in the said *Dionysius*, speaking of himself: And as for me (saith he) although I was sick, yet he urged me so strictly to depart, that he would not give me one days respite. And how (saith he, writing to *Germanus*) could I congregate, or not congregate any assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth; And yet neither am I altogether absent from the Corporal society of the Lords flock, but I have collected them together, which were in the City, being absent, as though I had been present; absent in body, yet present in Spirit. And in the same *Cephro*, a great Congregation remained with me, as well of those brethren which followed me out of the City, as also of them which were remaining there out of *Egypt*. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his Word: Although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their Idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And so by us the Word was preached to them which before were infidels: Which Ministry after that we had accomplished there, the Lord removed us to another place. For *Emilianus* translated us from thence to more sharp and stricter places of *Libya*, and commanded us to meet all together at the City *Mareota*: Thinking there to separate us severally into sundry Villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent us by the way. After we were come thither, it was assigned to me (saith *Dionysius*) to go to *Colluthian*, which place I never heard of before: Which was the more grief to me; yet some solace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was near to a City named *Paretonium*. For as my being at *Cephro* got me the acquaintance of many brethren of *Egypt*, so my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I should be) to the City, might procure the familiarity and concourse of certain loving brethren, which would resort and assemble with us, and so it came to pass, &c.

Moreover, the said *Dionysius* in his Epistle, *Ad Domitium & Didymum*, making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of *Valerian*, recordeth in these words, saying: *It were superfluous (saith he) here to recite the names, peculiarly of all our brethren slain in this persecution, which both were many, and to me unknown.* But this is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, souldiers, simple innocents, and of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword obtain victory, and got the Crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved. In the which number am I reserved hitherto, to some other opportune time known unto the Lord, which saith: *In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee, &c.* Now as concerning my self in what state I am, if thou desire to know first how I and *Caius*, and *Fauftus*, *Petrus* and *Paulus*, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certain of the Town of *Mareota*, I have declared to you before. Now I and *Caius*, and *Petrus* alone are left here included in a West place of *Libia*, distant the space of three days journey from *Paretonium*, &c. And in process further he addeth: In the City (saith he) were certain which privily visit the brethren: Of Priests, *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetrius* and *Lucius*. For they which were more notable in the world, *Fauftus* and *Aquila*, do wander abroad in *Egypt*. Of the Deacons besides them whom sickness hath consumed, *Fauftus*, *Eusebius*, and *Cberemon* are yet alive. *Eusebius* hath God raised

and stirred up to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed Martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the President cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as be brought before him; tearing some with torments, imprisoning and keeping some in custody, commanding that no man should come to them, enquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding God with cheerfulness, and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. *Hæc Dionysius.*

Concerning these Deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that *Eusebius* afterward was made Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. *Maximus* the Priest aforesaid, had the ministration of the Church of *Alexandria* after *Dionysius*. *Fauftus* long after continued in great age, unto the later persecution, where he being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a Martyr.

As touching *Dionysius* himself, thus the stories report, that he surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of *Valerian*, unto the twelfth year of the Reign of *Galerius*, which was about the year of our Lord, two hundred threescore and eight; and so departed in peace in great age, after that he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* the space of seventeen years, and before that had taught the School of the said City of *Alexandria*, the term of sixteen years, after whom succeeded *Maximus*, as is above specified. And thus much touching the full story of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and of other also, Martyrs and confessors of *Alexandria*.

In *Cesarea Palestine* suffered also the same time *Priscus*, *Malchus* and *Alexander*, the which three dwelling in the Country, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent and accuse their so great sluggishness, and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the Crown of Christian martyrdom: And first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to *Cesarea*, and there stepping to the Judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also and in the same City of *Cesarea*, a certain woman, whose name *Eusebius* expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of *Marcion*, was brought before the President, and likewise obtained the same Martyrdom. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.*

Neither was the City of *Carthage* all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be given to the speculative glass of *Vincentius*, who citing it out of *Hugo*, recordeth of three hundred Martyrs, of which three hundred Martyrs, the story saith thus, that the President setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice by a lime-kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition, either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to *Jupiter*, or else to go into the furnace of lime: Whereupon they all together with a general motion, suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered. *Vincent. Erford.*

In *Africa* also, in the City of *Tuburba*, the said *Vincentius* out of the Martyrology inferreth mention of three constant virgins, *Maxima*, *Donatilla*, and *Secunda*; who, in the persecution of this *Valerian* and *Galerius*, first had given for their drink vinegar and gall, then with scourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime, then were scorched upon the fiery grid-iron, at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded. *Vincent. Erford.*

In *Simela*, a City in *Italy*, under the *Alps*, one *Pomptius* being there apprehended, by the commandment of *Claudius* the President, was hanged first upon the rack, then was cast to the wild beasts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally, not touched therewith (if the story of *Vincentius* be true) was beheaded by the rivers side, and his body thrown into the flood, where immediately the same hour, the foresaid *Claudius*, with his assistant *Anabius*, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Zenon,

Eusebius the Deacon made Bishop of *Laodicea*. *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Fauftus* long preserved, at last a martyr.

The end and death of *Dionysius*.

Priscus, *Malchus*, *Alexander*, a woman, Martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Three hundred martyrs in *Carthage*. Ex *specul. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 38.*

Maxima, *Donatilla*, *Secunda*, virgins, Martyrs.

Pomptius martyr.

Ex *Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 77.* Ex *Bege. man. lib. 5. Erford. lib. 6. cap. 17.*

Zenon Mar-
tyr.

Zenon Bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to sustain Martyrdom.

Bergomensis
explored.

Moreover, in the same City of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomensis in his eighth Book, writing of the story of Valerianus Emperor, maketh mention of Philippus, Bishop of the said See of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was under the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such Philip was then Bishop of Alexandria, or any other, except only Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteen years, and after him Theonas, &c. So that, by the ancient Records of old Writers, it appeareth not that Philippus, or any other of that name was Bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Ex. Anonim.
part. 1. cap. 6.The story of
Philippus
and Eugenia

Although in some other later Writers, as Equilinus, Anonimus, and Bergomensis, I find a certain History of one Philippus, President of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the Emperor and Senate of Rome, to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the Christian Faith, and after made Priest or Bishop (as they say) of Alexandria: but that not to be so, the testimony of ancient Writers doth manifest. The History of this Philippus, witnessed in our later Chronicles, is this, Philippus being promoted to the Presidentship of Alexandria, came down with his wife Claudia, and his two Sons, Avirus and Sergius, and with his Daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long History full of strange and prodigious Miracles is written of Anonimus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story, leaving to the judgment of the Reader the credit of mine Authors, as he shall see cause.

Eugenia,
Prothas,
Hiacintus,
converted.

This Eugenia Daughter of Philippus, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her Parents in the study of Science and Learning, was by occasion of hearing Christians reduced and brought up to Christianity, with two other Eunuchs her School-Fellows, called Prothas and Hiacinthus: with whom she taking counsel, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of Persecution, or refusing to marry with a Pagan) unknown to her Parents and Friends did fly away; and because the more boldly she might resort to hear the Readings of Helenus then an aged Bishop, and of others, she changed her self into mans Apparel, and named her self Eugenius, under the which name she was at length admitted unto a certain Monastery, or a Society of Christians in the Suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly believe that any Monastery of Christians was then in the Suburbs of Alexandria permitted) where also at the last, for her excellency of Learning and Vertue, she was made Head of the Place.

Helenu
Bishop of
Hieropolis.

Here by the way I omit the Miracles of the foresaid Helenus, Bishop (as the story saith) of Hieropolis, how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himself to go in the burning fire, to rescue wicked Zereas a Pagan, remaining in the same unburned. Here also I omit the careful search of her Parents for her, and of the answer of the Pythonisse again unto them, that she was taken up to Heaven among the goddesses. I omit moreover the Miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the Diseases and Sickneses of such as came to her, &c. The story proceedeth thus, Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certain Matron of Alexandria, named Melancia; who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the lust of her Concupiscence. Inasmuch that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to break her mind, and to intice her to her lewdness. Eugenius contrarily exhorted her to vertue and honesty, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the peril of that folly. Melancia seeing that by no means she would be allured, nor by force drawn to her desire, and fearing moreover, that she in detecting of her, would bring her to shame, beginning first to make an Out-cry of Eugenius, declaring how that she went about corruptly to deflower her; and so presented her Accusation before Philippus the President, as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that Company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the Crime be-

Eugenia ac-
cused of
Melancia.

gan to seem suspicious, and so much the more, because it was objected against the Christians. By reason whereof Eugenia with her fellow Christians was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius purging her self and her honestly, although with sufficient probation; yet notwithstanding, perceiving that whatsoever she said could take no place, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own self, as specially of her Brethren, which troubled her more: she desired of the Judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and so shewed her self what she was, and how she was his Daughter, the other to be Prothas and Hiacinthus, the two Eunuchs, her School-Fellows, uttering moreover to him and to her Brethren, the cause of her departing from them. At the Narration whereof, Philippus her Father, and her two Brethren coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy, in receiving their Eugenia again, whom they thought had been lost. No less gladness was among the people, to see the evidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falseness of the other. Whereat the malignant Accuser was with double shame confounded, first, for her dishonesty falsely cloaked; secondly, for the untruth of her Accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth moreover, that the said Accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia trying her honesty to her Parents and Friends, was not only received of them again, but also by the Grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby Philippus the Father of her by Nature, now by Grace was begotten of his own Daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been lost, not only he found again, but also with her found his own Soul, and his own life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philippus (saith the story) was made afterward Bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered Martyrdom. Concerning whose Martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was Bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proved out of Eusebius and other ancient Historians.

Eugenia
known of
her ParentsFalse accu-
sation con-
victed.Philippus by
his daughter
converted
unto Christ.Philippus
Martyr.

Likewise it is said, that Eugenia, after the Martyrdom of her Father, returning to Rome with Prothas and Hiacinthus, by occasion of converting Bassila (who should have been married to a Pagan Husband, and was then beheaded) to the Christian Faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death: first, being tied to a great stone and cast into Tiber, where she was carried up from drowning, then put in the hot Baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved: afterward by famishment in Prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary Miracles I leave to the Reader to judge of them as shall seem good unto him. At last the story saith, she was with the Sword beheaded. Anonim. Bergom. Ado.

Bassila,
Eugenia's
Martyr.

And because in this present History mention was made of Helenus, whom Anonimus with his Fellows noteth to be the Bishop of Hieropolis, here is to be understood and observed by the way, that as Philippus in the foresaid History is falsely said to be Bishop of Alexandria: so likewise untrue it is, that Helenus was Bishop of Hieropolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, lib. 7. cap. 5. alledging the words of Dionysius, that he was Bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and had there oversight of that Church from the time of our Lord God, two hundred fifty and four, to the year of our Redemption two hundred seventy and four.

Corrections
In the story
above
touch'd.
Ex. Euseb.
lib. 7. cap. 5.Helenu
Bishop of
Tarsus.

The sixth year of Valerianus and Galienus we read in the History of Herfordiensis, cited out of Isuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in Prison the space of three years with Claudignus and Bassa his wife, are said to have sustained great Torments and Martyrdom for the testimony and Name of Christ, Ex. Isuardor.

Anno
262.Victor, Victor-
inus, Clau-
dignus, Bas-
sa, Martyrs.

Aurelius Prudentius, in his Book, Intituled, Peristephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuosus Bishop of Tarragonia in Spain, who, with his two Deacons, Augurinus and Eulogius, suffered also Martyrdom, being burned after six days Imprisonment under the foresaid Emperors in this Persecution. The cause of their Punishment was for the Profession of Christs Name; their Judge and Condemner was Emilianus; their Imprisonment endured six days; the kind of death ministered unto them was fire; wherein they being all together cast with their Arms bound be-

In Spain,
with his two
Deacons,
Augurinus,
Eulogius,
Martyrs.
Ex. Prudent.
Peristepha.

hind them; their Bands (as *Prudentius* writeth) were dissolved, their Hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this Judge unto the Bishop was this, *That he should worship the gods whom the Emperor Galienus worshipped.* To whom *Fruetusus* the Bishop answering, *Nay* (saith he) *I worship no dumb god of Stocks and Blocks, whom Galienus doth worship, but I worship the Lord and Master of Galienus, the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent down to us, of whose Flock I am here the Pastor and Shepherd.* At this word *Emilianus* answering again, *Nay* (saith he) *say not thou art, but say thou wast.* And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their bands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to Heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the Element, which seemed to fly from them, might work his full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the mean space, as they were in the fire, there was a certain Souldier in the house of *Emilianus*, who did see the Heavens above to open, and these foresaid Martyrs to enter into the same, which Souldier likewise shewed the sight the same time unto the Daughter of *Emilianus* the President, who, beholding the same sight with the Souldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom her cruel Father had condemned.

Fruetusus and his Deacons strengthened in the fire.

The favour of God toward his Martyrs openly declared.

The modesty of *Fruetusus*.

The notable plague of God against *Valerian* the Persecutor.

Gods punishment to be noted.

Ex Euseb. in sermone ad conventum Sandorum. *Valerian* the persecuting Emperor ex-cori- at the Persians.

As this godly Bishop was preparing to his death (saith *Prudentius*) the Brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, desiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refused to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readiness the Brethren also were diligent about him to pluck off his shoes and hose, as he was addressing himself to the fire: but neither would he suffer any Servants help in that wherein he was no less willing than able to help himself. And thus this blessed and fruitful Bishop *Fruetusus*, with his two Deacons *Augurinus* and *Eulogius*, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant Confession of the Name of Christ with the shedding of their blood. *Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.*

And thus far continued wicked *Valerian* in his tyranny against the Saints of Christ. But as all the Tyrants before, and Oppressors of the Christians had their deserved reward at the just hand of God, which rendreth to every man according to his Works: so this cruel *Valerian*, after he had reigned with his Son *Galienus* the term of six or seven years, and about two years had afflicted the Church of Christ, felt the just stroke of his hand, whose Indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witness *Entropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus*: for making his Expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud and treason of some about him, or whether by his own rashness, it is doubtful: but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his Enemies, being about the age of fourscore years; where he led his wretched age in a more wretched Captivity. Inasmuch that *Sapores* the King of the Persians used him (and well worthy) not for his riding-fool, but for his riding-block: for whensoever the King should light upon his Horse openly in the sight of the people, *Valerian*, Emperor *Quondam*, was brought forth in stead of a block for the King to tread upon his back in going to his horseback. And so continued this blockish butcherly Emperor with shame and sport enough unto his final end, as witnesseth *Letus* and *Aurelius Victor*.

Albeit *Eusebius*, in a certain Sermon to the Congregation, declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was slain, writing in these words, *Sed & tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum servitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, justum Dei iudicium declarasti, dum captivus ac vinctus una cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo Imperatorio ornatu abductus ac tandem a Sapore Persarum Rege exco- rari iussus saepeque conditus perpetuum infelicitatis tue trophaeum erexisti, &c.* that is, And thou *Valerian*, for so much as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering of the Subjects of God, therefore hast proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thy self hast been bound in Chains, and carried away for a Captive Slave with thy gorgeous Purple, and thy imperial Attire, and at length also, being commanded of *Sapores*, King of the Persians to be slain and powdered with salt, hast set up

unto all men a perpetual Monument of thine own wretchedness, &c. *Euseb.*

The like severity of God his terrible judgment is also to be noted in *Claudius* his President and Minister of his Persecutions. Of which *Claudius Henricus de Erfordia* thus writeth, that he was possessed and vexed of the Devil, in such sort, that he biting off his own Tongue in many small pieces, so ended his life. *Erford.*

The punishment of God upon *Claudius*, President to the Emperor

Neither did *Galienus* the Son of *Valerian*, after the Captivity of his Father, utterly escape the righteous hand of God: for beside the miserable captivity of his Father, whom he could not rescue, such portents strange and out of the course of nature, such Earth-quakes did happen; also such Tumults, Commotions and Rebellions did follow, that *Trebellio* doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in sundry places all at one time took upon them to be Tyrants and Emperors over the Monarchy of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to succour his Father, though he would. Notwithstanding, the said *Galienus*, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his Father, did remove, at least did moderate the Persecution stirred up by the Edicts of *Valerian* his Father, directing forth his Imperial Proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be seen in *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13.* Emperor and Caesar, *Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus*, unto *Dionysius*, to *Pinna*, and to *Demetrian*, and to all other the like Bishops. The bountiful benignity of my gifts I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed through the whole World, to the intent that such, which are detained in banishment for discipline sake, may safely return home again from whence they came, and for the same cause I have here sent to you the example of my rescript for you to peruse and to enjoy; so that no man be so hardy to vex or molest you; and this, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the same, I have committed the exemplar hereof to the custody of *Aurelianus Cirenus* my chief Steward, where you may fetch the Copy to see at your pleasure.

Galienus plagued for his persecution.

Peace granted to the Church.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13.

This Mandate above prefixed did *Galienus* send to *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and other Bishops, as is premised. Another rescript also the said Emperor sent to other Christian Bishops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places where they were wont to associate together, called of them *Camiteria*.

Another grant of *Galienus* unto the Christian Bishops. Anno 263.

By this it may appear that some peace was granted then under this *Galienus* to the Church of Christ: albeit not so, but that some there were which suffered, of whom was one *Marinus* mentioned in *Eusebius, lib. 7.* This *Marinus*, being a Warrior and a Nobleman in *Cesarea*, stood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of course was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him, that should follow next after him, supplanted him both of office and life; for he accused him to be a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was against their Religion. Whereupon *Achaisus*, then being Judge, examined him of his Faith; who finding him to be a Christian indeed, and constantly to stand to his Profession, gave him three hours to deliberate and advise with himself. There was the same time in *Cesarea* a Bishop named *Theosechnus*, otherwise called *Theodisus*, who perceiving him to stand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himself, took him by the hand and brought him into the House or Church of the Christians, laying before him a Sword (which he had under his Cloke for the same purpose) and a Book of the New Testament, and so willed him to take his free choice which of them both he would prefer. The Souldier immediately without delay ran to the Book of the Gospel, taking that before the Sword. And thus, he being animated by the Bishop, presented himself boldly before the Judge, by whose Sentence he was beheaded, and died a Martyr. *Eusebius ibidem.*

Marinus Martyr. *Ex Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 14.*

Theosechnus Bishop of *Cesarea*.

Marinus animated by the Bishop to die.

Euseb. lib. 7.

Whose body being dead, one *Asyrius* a noble Senator of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that Order (who in the same time was there present at his Martyrdom) took up and bare upon his own shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous Weed, and so honourably committed it to the burial. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

Asyrius a rich Senator and Confessor.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Of which *Afyrus* the said Author writeth moreover this story, How that in the foresaid City of *Cesarea*, the *Gentiles* used thereof an ancient custom to offer up a certain Sacrifice by a Fountain side, the which Sacrifice by the working of the Devil was wont suddenly to vanish out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the Inhabiters by. *Afyrus* seeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the Devil any longer: by the virtue of whose prayer the Sacrifice was seen to swim in the water of the Fountain; and so the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.*

And because mention is made here of *Cesarea*, there followeth in the next Chapter of the same Author a strange Miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the same City was the woman which in the Gospel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody Issue, her house being in the City of *Cesarea*. Before the door thereof was set up a certain pillar of stone, and upon the Pillar an Image was made of brass, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had some suit. Against the which there was another Image also of a man proportioned of the same metal, cunningly engraven in a short seemly Vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which Pillar grew up a certain herb of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation, which growing up to the hem of his Vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have such virtue, that it was able to cure all manner of Diseases. This picture of the man (they say) represented the Image of Christ. The History is written in *Eusebius*, as is said; the credit whereof I refer to the Reader, whether he will think it true or false. If he think it false, yet I have shewed him mine Author: if he think it true, then must he think withall that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the virtue of the Picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumb Pictures, and engraven no doubt at that time by the hand of Infidels; but to be wrought by some secret permission of God his wisdom, either to reduce the Infidels at that time to the belief of the story, or to admonish the *Christians* to consider with themselves what strength and health was to be looked for only of Christ and no other Advocate; seeing the dumb Picture, engraven in brass, gave his efficacy to a poor herb to cure so many Diseases. This Picture (saith *Eusebius*) remained also to his time, which was under *Constantinus* the Great.

As touching the line and order of the *Roman* Bishops hitherto intermitted; after the Martyrdom of *Xistus* above specified, the government of that Church was committed next to one *Dionysius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred sixty and six: Who continued in the same the space of nine years, as *Eusebius* saith; as *Damasus* recordeth, but only six years and two months. Of his decretal Epistles, because sufficient hath been said before concerning that matter, I omit to speak. After whom succeeded *Felix* in the first year of *Probus* the Emperor, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty, who governed that Church five years, and died, as *Platina* saith, a martyr. After him followed *Eusebianus*, and then *Gaius*, both Martyrs, as the Histories of some do record.

About the time of these Bishops lived *Theodorus* Bishop of *Neocesarea*, who is otherwise called *Gregorius Magnus*, whom also *Nicephorus* for his miracles calleth *Sauvatorpylus*.

Thus *Galerius* the foresaid Emperor reigned, as is declared, with his Father *Valerian* seven years, after whose Captivity he ruled the Monarchy alone about nine years, with some peace and quietness granted to the Church.

The days of this *Galerius* being expired, followed *Claudius* a quiet Emperor, as most stories do record. Although *Vincentius* affirmeth that he was a mover of Persecution against the *Christians*, and maketh mention of two hundred sixty and two Martyrs, which in his time did suffer; but because no such Record remaineth to be found in *Eusebius*, who would not have omitted some memorial thereof, if it had been true, therefore I refer the same to the free judgment of the Reader, to find such credit as it may. This *Claudius* reigned but two years, after whom came

Quintilianus his Brother, next Emperor, and a quiet Prince, who continued but only seventeen days, and had to his Successor *Aurelianus*; under whom *Orosius* in his seventh Book doth number the ninth Persecution against the *Christians*.

The ninth Persecution.

Hitherto from the Captivity of *Valerian*, the Church of Christ was in some quietness till the death of *Quintilianus*, as hath been declared; after whom *Aurelianus* the next Successor possessed the Crown; who in the first beginning of his Reign (after the common manner of all Princes) shewed himself a Prince moderate and discreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was severe, and rigorous in correcting, dissolute in manners; inasmuch as it was said of him in a vulgar Proverb, *That he was a good Physician, saving that he gave too bitter Medicines*. This Emperor being sick, never sent for Physician, but cured himself with abstinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitful to the Commonwealth, so neither was he any great Disturber of the *Christians*, whom he did not only tolerate in their Religion, but also their Councils; and they being the same time assembled at *Antioch*, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding in continuance of time, through sinister motion and instigation of certain about him, (as commonly such are never absent in all places from the ears of Princes) his nature, somewhat inclinable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny first he shewed, beginning with the death of his own Sisters Son, as witnesseth *Eutropius*. After that he proceeded either to move, or at least to purpose Persecution against the *Christians*; albeit that wicked purpose of the Emperor the merciful working of God his hand did soon overthrow. For as the Edict or Proclamation should have been denounced for the persecuting of the *Christians*, and the Emperor now ready to subscribe the Edict with his hand, the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above did stop his purpose, binding, (as a man might say) the Emperors hands behind him, declaring (as *Eusebius* saith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence against the Servants of God, unless his permission do suffer them, and give them leave. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.* *Eutropius* and *Vopiscus* affirm, that as the said *Aurelianus* was purposing to raise Persecution against us, he was suddenly terrified with Lightning, and so stopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the fifth or sixth year of his Reign, he was slain between *Bisance* and *Hieraclea*, in the year of our Lord two hundred seventy and eight. Thus *Aurelianus* rather intended than moved persecution. Neither is there any more than this found concerning this Persecution in ancient Histories and Records of the Church: wherefore I marvel the more that *Vincentius*, collecting out of the *Martyrologies*, hath comprehended such a great Catalogue of so many Martyrs, which in *France* and in *Italy* (saith he) suffered death and torments under this Emperor *Aurelianus*; whereunto *Orosius* also seemeth to agree in numbring this to be the ninth Persecution under the said *Aurelian*.

Next after *Aurelianus* the succession of the Empire fell to *Pablius Annus Tacitus*, who reigned but six months; him succeeded his Brother *Florianus*, who reigned but three-score days; and after him followed *Marcus Aurelius*, surnamed *Probus*. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appear.

In the mean time, within the compass of these Emperors falleth in a story recorded of *Eusebius*, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to understand the faithful diligence of good Ministers, what good it may do in a Commonwealth.

Mention is made before of *Eusebius* the Deacon of *Dionysius*, whom God stirred up to visit and comfort the Saints that were in prison and bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed Martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made Bishop (as is said) of *Laodicea*. But before he came to *Laodicea* to be Bishop there, it chanced, the said *Eusebius* remaining as yet at *Alexandria*, the City to be besieged of the *Romans*, *Pyruchius* being their Captain. In which siege half of the City

The work of Satan disappointed by the prayer of *Afyrus*. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.*

A miracle noted in *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 18.*

A miraculous operation of an herb, touching the hem of Christ's picture to heal diseases.

No virtue to be ascribed to pictures.

Dionysius Bishop of *Rome*. Anno 286. *Felix* Bishop of *Rome* and Martyr. *Eusebianus* Bishop of *Rome* and Martyr. *Gaius* Bishop of *Rome* and Martyr.

Claudius Emperor. Anno 273.

Quintilianus Emperor.

The ninth persecution. *Aurelianus* Emperor.

A Proverb: A good Physician, but he giveth too bitter medicines. Abstinence the best physick.

The Council of *Antioch*.

The good beginning of *Aurelianus*. The Emperor altered by wicked counsel.

A notable example of Gods hand stopping persecutions.

Euseb. lib. 7. ca. 30. No power against the people of God, except God give leave. The death of *Aurelianus*.

Anno 276.

Eutropius, *Tacitus* Emperor. *Florianus* Emperor.

Eusebius
Dacon of
Alexandria,
Anatolius
Rector of
the Univer-
sity of Alex-
andria.

The piety
of *Anato-
lius* and *Euse-
bius* to
their Coun-
try.

*Euseb. lib. 7.
cap. 32.*
The Pre-
lates of
Rome are
clean con-
trary to
their good
Prelates.

*Marcus Au-
relius Pro-
bus* Empe-
ror.

Peace in the
Church.

The saying
of *Marcus
Aurelius*.

Souldiers
brought up
in idleness
can abide
no labour.
*Marcus Au-
relius* slain.

Anno 284
Carus with
his two sons
Carinus and
Numerianus
Emperors.
Carus Em-
peror slain
with light-
ning.

City did hold with the Romans, the other half withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman Captain was *Eusebius*, being also in great favour with the Captain for his worthy fidelity and service shewed: with the other half that resisted the Romans was *Anatolius* Governor or Moderator then of the School of Alexandria, who also was Bishop, after the said *Eusebius*, of Laodicea. This *Anatolius*, perceiving the Citizens to be in miserable distress of Famine and Destruction, by reason of penury and lack of sustenance, sendeth to *Eusebius* being then with the Romans, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the City, instructing him moreover what to do in the matter: *Eusebius*, understanding the case, repairerth to the Captain, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would fly out of the City from their Enemies, might be licensed to escape and freely to pass, which was to him easily granted. As *Eusebius* was thus labouring with the Captain; on the other side *Anatolius* for his part laboured with the Citizens, moving them to assemble together, and persuading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the Citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; Yet (said *Anatolius*) with this, I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you in this miserable lack of things to avoid out of your City all such superfluities and unnecessary Impediments unto you, as old Women, young Children, aged Men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, and not suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they die, and less if they live, for spending the Victuals which otherwise might serve them that be more able to defend the City. The Senate hearing this Sentence, and understanding moreover the grant of the Captain promising them their safety, were well consenting thereunto. Then *Anatolius* having a special care to them that belonged to the Church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and persuading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to void the City, and not only them, but also a great number of other more; who persuaded by him under that pretence, changing themselves in womens Apparel, or faining some impotency, so escaped out of the City. At whose coming out, *Eusebius* on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole City of Alexandria was preserved from destruction. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 32.*

By this little History of *Eusebius* and *Anatolius*, described in the seventh Book of *Eusebius*, cap. 32. and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle Reader) thou mayst partly understand the practise of the Prelates, what it was in those days in the Church, which was then only employed in saving of life, and succouring the Common weals wherein they lived, as by these two godly persons *Eusebius* and *Anatolius* may well appear. Unto the which practise if we compare the practice of our later Prelates of the Church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appear.

The next Emperor to *Florianus* (as is said) was *Marcus Aurelius Probus*, a Prince both wise and vertuous, and no less valiant in martial Affairs, than fortunate in the success of the same. During his time we read of no Persecution greatly stirring in the Church, but much quietness as well in matters of Religion, as also in the Commonwealth. Inasmuch that, after his great and many Victories, such peace ensued, that his saying was, *There needed no more Souldiers, seeing there were no more Enemies to the Commonwealth to fight against.* It was his saying also, *That his Souldiers need not to spend Corn and Victual, except they laboured to serve the Commonwealth.* And for the same cause he caused his Souldiers to be set a work about certain Mountains in *Smyrna* and in *Messia* to be planted with Vines, and not so much as in Winter suffered them to be at rest; therefore by them at length he was slain, after he had reigned the space of six years and four months, in the year of our Lord two hundred eighty and four, *Eutrop.*

Carus, with his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, succeeded next after *Probus* in the Empire: the Reign of which Emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which Three first *Carus*, warring against the *Persians*, was slain with Lightning. Of *Numerianus* his Son, being with his Father in his Wars against the *Persians*, we

find much Commendation in *Eutropius*, *Vopiscus*, and other Writers, which testified him to be a valiant Warrior, and an eloquent Orator, as appeared by his Declamations and Writings sent to the Senate; thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This *Numerianus*, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his Father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great soreness of his eyes; by reason whereof he keeping close was slain not long after of his Father in law, named *Aper*; who, traitorously aspiring to the Empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people asking for him, saying, *For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather, till at length by the stinch of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.*

In the life this Emperor *Carus* aforesaid, written by *Eutropius* in the later Edition set forth, by *Frobenius*, I find (which in other Editions of *Eutropius* doth not appear) that *Numerianus*, the Son of this *Carus*, was he that slew *Babylas* the holy Martyr, whose History before we have comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like, both by the Narration of *Chrysostome*, and also for that *Urspergensis* declaring the same History, and in the same words, as it is in *Eutropius*, faith that it was *Cyrellus* whom *Numerianus* killed, the story whereof is this; What time *Carus* the Emperor, in his Journey going toward the *Persians*, remained at *Antioch*, *Numerianus* his Son would enter into the Church of the *Christians*, to view and behold their Mysteries. But *Cyrellus* their Bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the Church, saying, *That it was not lawful for him to see the Mysteries of God, who was polluted with Sacrifices of Idols.* *Numerianus* full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of *Cyrellus*, in his fury did slay the godly Martyr. And therefore justly (as it seemed) was he himself slain afterward by the hands of *Aper*.

Thus *Carus* with his Son *Numerianus* being slain in the East parts, as is declared, *Carinus* the other Son reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame *Sabinus* striving for the Empire, and reigned there with much wickedness, till the returning home of the Army again from the *Persians*, who then set up *Dioclesian* to be Emperor; by whom the foresaid *Carinus* for the wickedness of his life, being forsaken of his Host, was overcome, and at length slain with the hand of the Tribune, whose wife before he had deflowered. Thus *Carus* with his two Sons, *Numerianus* and *Carinus*, ended their lives, whose Reign continued not above three years.

All this mean space we read of no great Persecution stirring in the Church of Christ, but it was in mean quiet state and tranquility, unto the nineteenth year of the Reign of *Dioclesian*; so that in counting the time from the later end of *Valerian* unto this aforesaid year of *Dioclesian*, the peace of the Church, which God gave to his people, seemeth to continue above four and forty years. During the which time of peace and tranquility, the Church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by Persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the *Gentiles* in all quarters, both *Greeks* and barbarous; inasmuch that (as *Eusebius* in his seventh Book describeth) amongst the Emperors themselves, divers there were which not only bare singular good will and favour to them of our Profession, but also did commit unto them Offices and Regiments over Countries and Nations, so well were they affected to our Doctrine, that they privileged the same with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to speak of them which not only lived under the Emperors in liberty; but also were familiar in the Court with the Princes themselves, intertained with great honour and special favour beyond the other Servitors of the Court? As was *Dorotheus*, with his Wife, Children, and whole Family, highly accepted and advanced in the Palace of the Emperor; also *Gorgonius* in like manner with divers others more, who, for their Doctrine and Learning which they professed, were with their Princes in great estimation. In like reverence also were the Bishops of Cities and Diocesses with the Presidents and Rulers where they lived: who not only suffered them to live in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God his favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and Congregations assembling toge-

Correction
of a certain
place of
Eutropius.
Ex editione
Frobeniana.

Cyrellus re-
sisteth the
Emperor.

Cyrellus Bi-
shop of An-
tioch slain
by *Numerianus*.

Ex *Chrys.*
Urspergen.

Carinus per-
secut. *Dioc-*
letianum
pauit.

Anno 284.

The peace
of the
Church
from the
end of
Valerian
to the
beginning
of *Dioclesian*
lasted
four
and
forty
years.

Eusebius
lib. 7.
cap. 1.
Dorotheus
Gorgonius,
Christians
of great
reputation
in the
Emper-
ors Court.

The peace
of the
Church
describeth.

together in every City, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common Oratories to pray? For the which cause they, being not able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great Churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith *Eusebius*) by process of time did the Church of Christ grow and shoot up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could inchant, neither the crafty policy of mans wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God his heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Christian life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of it self unruly and untoward, always seeketh and desireth prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace always abuseth the same: so here likewise it hapned with these men, which through this so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish unto idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves, for every occasion, with railing words after most despiteful manner; Bishops against Bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another, besides also cursed hypocritie and simulation with all extremity increasing more and more.

Corruption through much peace and prosperity crept into the Church.

By reason whereof the judgment of God after his wonted manner (whilst yet the congregation began to multiply) began by a little and a little to visit our men with Persecution, falling first upon our Brethren, which were abroad in warfare; but when that toucht the other nothing or very little, neither did they seek to appease Gods wrath and call for his mercy; but wickedly thinking with our selves, that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they which seemed to be our Pastors, refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one against another. And thus whilst they were given only to the study of contentions; threatnings, emulations, mutual hatred and discord, every man seeking his own ambition, and persecuting one another after the manner of tyranny: then, then, I say, the Lord according to the voice of *Jeremy*, took away the beauty of the Daughter of *Sion*, and the glory of *Israel* fell down from Heaven, neither did he remember the footstool of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord overturned all the comely ornaments of *Israel*, and destroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and according to the saying of the Psalm, subverted and extinguished the Testament of his servant, and prophaned his Sanctuary in destruction of his Churches, and in laying waste the buildings thereof, so that all passengers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the dwellers about. For he exalted the strength of his enemies, and turned away the help of his sword from her, nor aided her in the battel, but ceased from the purging of her and her seat. He stroke down to the ground, and diminished her days, and over all this poured upon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the Temples raced from the top to the ground, and the Sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market-place, and the Pastors of the Church to hide themselves, some here, some there; some other, taken prisoners with great shame, were mocked of their enemies, when also according to the saying of the Prophet in another place, Contempt was poured out upon the Princes, and they caused to go out of the way, and not to keep the straight path.

Christian persecuting one another

The wrath of God toward his people.

The Tenth Persecution.

BY reason whereof (the wrath of God being kindled against his Church) ensued the Tenth and last Persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it maketh the Pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so tedious that never was any Persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten years together. This Persecution although it passed through the hands of divers Tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of *Dioclesian*, who was Emperour, as is above noted, next after *Carus* and *Numerianus*. This *Dioclesian*, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be Emperour. To

Dioclesian Emperour. See, *Vopisc.*

whom *Drusus* his Concubine said, That first he should kill a wild Boar before he should be Emperour. He, taking effect at these words, used much with hands to kill wild Boars: but seeing no success to come thereof, he used this Proverb, *Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitor*, that is, *I kill the Boars, but others do eat the flesh*. At length the said *Dioclesian* being nominated to be Emperour, and seeing *Aper* (who had killed *Numerianus* the Emperour) standing thereby, sware to the Souldiers that *Numerianus* was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running upon *Aper* with his sword slew him: *Vopisc.* After this, he being established in the Empire, and seeing on every side divers and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himself to sustain, in the first beginning of his reign he chose for his Colleague *Maximianus*, Sirnamed *Herculius*, Father of *Maxentius*. Which two Emperours, because of divers Wars that rose in many Provinces, chose to them two other Noblemen, *Galerius* and *Constantius*, whom they called *Cæsars*. Of whom *Galerius* was sent into the East parts against the *Perfians*. *Constantius* was sent over to *Britain*, to this our Country of *England*, to recover the tribute, where he took to Wife *Helena* the Daughter of King *Coill*, which was a Maiden excelling in beauty, and no less famously brought up in the study of learning, of whom was born *Constantinus* the Great.

Aper slain which slew *Numerianus* Anno 290.

Maximianus *Herculius*, fellow Emperour with *Dioclesian*.

Galerius *Constantius* *Cæsars*, under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*.

Helena Daughter of *Coill*, married to *Constantinus*.

All this while hitherto no Persecution was yet stirred of these four Princes against the Church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they governed the Commonwealths; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great Victories: *Dioclesian* in *Egypt*, *Maximian* in *Africke*, and in *France*, *Galerius* in *Perfia*, *Constantius* in *England*, and in *France* also. By reason of which Victories, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* putt up in pride, ordained a solemn Triumph at *Rome*, after which Triumph *Dioclesian* gave commandment that he should be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the Sun and Moon, and adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kiss his feet.

Pride in *Dioclesian*.

And not long after by the judgment of God, for certain enormities used in the Church, above touched, began the great and grievous Persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of *Dioclesian*, which was about the Nineteenth year of his reign, who in the Month of *March*, when the Feast of *Easter* was nigh at hand, commanded all the Churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the Books of holy Scripture to be burned.

Cruelty followed pride.

Anno 308.

Persecution against the Christians.

Thus most violent Edicts and Proclamations were set forth, for the overthrowing, as is said, of the Christians Temples throughout all the *Roman* Empire. Neither did there want in the Officers any cruel execution of the same Proclamations. For their Temples were defaced even when they celebrated the Feast of *Easter*, *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2*. And this was the first Edict given out by *Dioclesian*. The next Proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the Books of the Holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open Market-place as before: then next unto that were Edicts given forth for the displacing of such as were Magistrates, and that with great ignominy, and all other whosoever bear any office, imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the Heathen Religion: *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras* also in his second Tome. And these were the beginning of the Christians evils.

Christian Temples destroyed. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2*.

Books of the Scriptures burned.

Christian Magistrates displaced. Christian subjects imprisoned. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras* Tom. 2.

It was not long after but that new Edicts were sent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferior to the first: for the casting of the Elders and Bishops into prison, and then constraining them with sundry kinds of punishments to offer unto their Idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution amongst the Governours of the Church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversly, some scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges, some with racks and railings of the flesh intolerable were cruciated, some one way, some another way put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the unpure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Other some neither coming at all to their Altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifices, yet were born in hand of them that stood by, that they had sacrificed,

Bishops and Elders constrained with torments to sacrifice.

sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies quietly went away. Other, as dead men, were carried and cast away being but half dead. Some they cast down upon the Pavement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying, that neither they had nor would ever be partakers of that Idolatry: and those, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the Souldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the Saints did seem never so little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpose of the adversary did nothing prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weak sort innumerable there were, which for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first brunt.

The noble
courage and
constancy of
a Christian
Martyr.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 3. & 4.

Persecution
first begin-
ning in the
Emperors
Camp.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 4.

A notable
Religion
and faith in
Soldiers.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 7.

Martyrs of
Tyre in Phœ-
nicia.

Pamphilus
Bishop of
Cæsarea
Martyr.
Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 12.

At the first coming down of these Edicts into *Nicomedia*, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Christian, being a noble man born; which moved by the zeal of God, after the Proclamation made at *Nicomedia* was set up, by and by ran and took down the same, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two Emperors, then being in the City. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancy endured even to the last gasp. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & 5.*

After this the furious rage of the malignant Emperors, being let loose against the Saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making havock of Gods people throughout all quarters of the world. First, *Dioclesian* (which had purposed with himself to subvert the whole Christian Religion) executed his Tyranny in the East, and *Maximianus* in the West. But wily *Dioclesian* began very subtilly; for he put the matter first in practise in his own Camp, among whom the Marshal of the field (as *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4.* affirmeth) put the Christian Souldiers to this choice, whether they would obey the Emperors commandment in that manner of sacrifice he commanded, and so both to keep their offices, and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the Christian men courageously answered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the Emperor.

There might a man have seen very many which were desirous to live a simple and poor life, and which regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godliness. And this was no more but a subtil and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the Persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifestly to burst out into persecution. It can hardly be expressed with words what number of Martyrs, and what blood was shed throughout all Cities and Regions for the name of Christ. *Eusebius* in his Eighth Book, and seventh Chapter saith, that he himself knew the worthy Martyrs that were in *Palestina*. But in *Tyre* of *Phœnicia* he declareth, in the same, a marvellous Martyrdom made, where certain Christians being given to most cruel wild Beasts, were preserved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those Lions, Bears, and Leopards (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to devour them: which notwithstanding most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the Stage, who standing as they thought without danger of them, were first devoured. But the Christian Martyrs, because they could not be hurt of the Beasts, being slain with the sword, were afterward thrown into the Sea. At that time was martyred the Bishop of *Sidon*. But *Sylvanus* the Bishop of *Gazensis*, with nine and thirty others were slain in the Metal-mines of *Phœnicia*. *Pamphilus* the Elder of *Cæsarea*, being the glory of that Congregation, died a most worthy Martyr; whose both life and most commendable Martyrdom, *Eusebius* oftentimes declareth in his Eighth

Book, and thirteenth Chapter, inasmuch that he hath written the same in a Book by it self. In *Syria* all the chief Teachers of the Congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heavy and cruel spectacle to behold; as also the Bishops, Elders, and Deacons, which all were esteemed as men-killers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6.* After that we read of another whose name was *Tirannion*, which was made meat for the Fishes of the Sea, and of *Zenobius* which was a very good Physician, which also was slain with Brickbats in the same place. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

Furthermore, he maketh mention in the same place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and feared without ceasing: of some others that were brought to the sacrifices, and commanded to do sacrifice, which would rather thrust their right hand into the fire, than touch the prophane or wicked sacrifice; also of some others, that before they were apprehended, would cast down themselves from steep places, lest that being taken they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two Virgins very fair and proper, with their Mother also, which had studiously brought them up, even from their infancy in all godliness, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their Keepers; who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves down headlong into a River: also of other two young Maidens being Sisters, and of a worshipful flock, indued with many goodly virtues, which were cast of Persecutors into the Sea; and these things were done at *Antioch*, as *Eusebius* in his eighth Book, and thirteenth Chapter affirmeth. But *Sylvanus* the Bishop of *Emissa*, the notable Martyr together with certain others was thrown to the Wild Beasts, *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

Divers and sundry torments were the Christians in *Mesopotamia* molested with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the smoke of a small fire strangled; and also in *Cappadocia*, where the Martyrs had their legs broken: *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the Martyrs of *Tharsus* in *Cilicia*, as *Tharatus*, *Probus* and *Andronicus*: but yet the Martyrs in the Region of *Pontus* suffered far more passing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention, *Eusebius ibid.* So outrageous was the beginning of the Persecution which the Emperor made in *Nicomedia* in *Bitunia*, as before is said, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the Children of Emperors, neither yet from the slaughter of the most chief Princes of his Court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own Children. Such another was *Peter*, which among divers and sundry torments (among whom he being naked, was lifted up, his whole body being so beaten with Whips and torn, that a man might see the bare bones; and after they had mingled Vinegar and Salt together, they poured it upon the most tender parts of his body, and lastly, roasted him at a fust fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat) as a victorious Martyr ended his life. *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, being in a great Authority and Office under the Emperor, after divers torments were strangled with a Halter: both which being of the Privy Chamber to him, when they saw and beheld the grievous punishment of *Peter* their household companion, Wherefore (say they) O Emperor, do you punish in *Peter* that opinion which is in all us? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confess? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almost with like pains to be tormented as *Peter* was, and afterwards hanged. *Euseb. Ruffin. lib. 8. cap. 6.* After whom *Anthimus* the Bishop of *Nicomedia*, after he had made a notable Confession, bringing with him a great company of Martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus dispatched, the Emperor vainly thought that he might cause the rest to do whatever him listed. To this end came *Lucianus* the Elder of the Congregation of *Antioch*, and was martyred, after he had made his Apology before the Emperor. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

Hermanus also, that monster, caused *Serena* the Wife of *Dioclesian* the Emperor to be martyred for the Christian Religion:

Niceph. li. 7. cap. 14. Religion: so much did the rage of Persecution utterly forget all natural affects. Other Martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his Seventh Book, and fourteenth Chapter recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, and Anastasia, who under Illyricus, chief Officer, were bound hand and foot to a post and burnt. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 66. and also Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth such another like matter full of horror and grief. There assembled together in their Temple many Christian men to celebrate the memory of the Nativity of Christ, of every age and sort some. There Maximianus thinking to have been given a very fit occasion to execute his tyranny upon the poor Christians, sent thither such as should burn the Temple; the doors being shut and closed round about, thither come they with fire, but first they commanded the Crier with a loud voice to cry, That whosoever would have life should come out of the Temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter, they came to: and unless they would do this they should all be burnt with the Temple. Then one stepping up in the Temple, answered in the name of all the rest with great courage and boldness of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God, and King, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghost; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled and compassed about the Temple, and there were burnt of men, women and children, certain thousands. There were also in Arabia very many Martyrs slain with axes, as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phrygia a City, unto which the Emperor sent his Edicts, that they should do sacrifice to the Gods, and worship Idols; all which Citizens, the Mayor himself, the Questor, and chief Captain, confessed that they were all Christians. The City upon this was besieged and set on fire, and all the people. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina a Region of Armenia, the Bishops and Elders were cast in prison. Euseb. eodem cap. 6. In Arabace a Region near adjoining to Armenia, Eustratus was martyred, as Nicephorus declareth, lib. 7. cap. 14. This Eustratus was that Countryman born, and very skillful in the Greek Tongue, executing by the Emperors commandment the Sheriffs Office at Licia in the East, which also did execution there upon the Christians, and was a Scribe of great estimation, called Ordinis Ducalis. This man beholding the marvellous constancy of the Martyrs, thirsted with the desire of Martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the Christian Religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accusers, detected himself, and worthily professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked Echnicks. He therefore being carried away, was tyed up, being first most bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire being put unto his bowels, and then basted with salt and vinegar, and lastly so scorched and bemangled with the shards of sharp and cutting shels, that his whole body seemed to be all one continual wound; howbeit, by Gods great goodness, afterward it was restored to the first integrity. After this he was carried away to Sebastia, where with his companion Orestes he was burnt. At that time also suffered Eugenius, Aurentius, Mardarius. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no less wise raged this persecution throughout all Egypt, where Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13. maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus Martyrs and Bishops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable conflicts of Christian and true constant Martyrs that suffered; which Phileas the Bishop of Thumitan describeth, as after (God willing) shall be declared. In this Persecution of Alexandria, the principal that then suffered was Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, with the Elders of the same, most worthy Martyrs: as Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius, also Phileas, Hesichius, Pachimirus, and Theodorus; which all were Bishops of the Congregations within Egypt, and besides them many other both famous and singular men. The whole Legion of Christian Souldiers, which lay at Thebes in Egypt, under the Christian Captain Mauritius, when they would not obey the Emperors commandment touching the worshipping of Images, were tyed to death once, and then again: and at last, through the exhortation of Mauritius, died all together like constant Martyrs. Vincentius in Speculo, lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewise at Antino divers Christian Souldiers, notwithstanding they were seriously dissuaded, suffered death together, among whom were Ascla, Phile-

mon, and Apollonius, Ibidem cap. 50. And also in the other parts of Africa, and Mauritania, was great Persecution, as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. Also in Samnium, of which place Chironian maketh mention, and Sicilia, where were seventy nine Martyrs slain for the profession of Christ. Henr. de Erfordia.

Now let us come unto Europe: Nicephorus in his Seventh Book, and fourteenth Chapter saith, that at Nicopolis in Thracia, the Martyrs were in most miserable and pitiful wise handled, where Lissas had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon suffered Euphemia under Priscus the Proconsul. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia saith, that at Rome, Joannes and Crispus being Priests, had the execution of Martyrs. And at Bohemia, Agricola and Vitalis. Vincent lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the Emperor commanded every man to kill the Christians. Vincent. lib. eodem cap. 58. And among those Martyrs he maketh mention of Felices and Fortunatus. Reginus also writeth that in other places of Italy the Persecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Naples, Campania, Beneventus, at Venusia in Apulia, and in Tuscany. Henricus de Erfordia saith, also at Verona. In France doubtless Rectionarius appointed to that office, played the cruel Helbound, of whose great cruelty against the Christians many Histories are full. At Mediolanum suffered Victor. And at Massilia, Maximianus set forth his Decree, that either they should all do sacrifice unto the Gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many Martyrs there died for the glory of Christ. Antoninus & Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 2. In Beluacus suffered Lucian.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spain, where was great Persecution, as at Emerita, where suffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth hereafter; and Adula, where also suffered Vincentius, Sabina, and Christina. At Toletum suffered Leucadia the Virgin, at Cesarea Augusta, where were put to death eighteen, besides a great number of other Martyrs which suffered under Decianus the Governor, which afflicted with Persecution all the Coasts of Spain, as saith Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 123, 124, 128, 130, 134. The foresaid Rectionarius made such Persecution at Trevers near the river of Mosella, that the blood of the Christian men that were slain ran like small Brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this suffice him, but from thence he sent certain Horsemen with his Letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death. Vincentius lib. 13. cap. 136.

Also Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus, make mention of great persecution to be at Colonia, where Agrippina and Augusta were martyred, as also in the Province of Rhetia.

Beda also saith, that this Persecution reached even unto the Britans, in his Book, De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Nefegay of Time do declare, that all the Christians in Britany were utterly destroyed. Furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, as no mans tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the Emperor by his subtilty and wiliness rather dallied than shewed his rigor, he threatened them with bands and imprisonment; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments, as whippings, and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire and shipboats, wherein a great number being put were sunk and drowned in the bottom of the Sea. Euseb. lib. 8. c. 6. & 7. Also hanging them upon Croffes, binding them to the bodies of dead Trees, with their heads downward, hanging them by the middles upon Gallows, till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to such kind of wild Beasts as would devour them; as Lions, Bears, Leopards, and wild Bulls. Euseb. lib. 8. c. 8. Pricking and thrusting them in with bodkins and talents of Beasts till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in Thebaide they did unto the women being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tyed and lifted on high, and so hanging down with their bodies, which thing to see was very pitiful; with other devised sorts of punishments most tragical, or rather tyrannical and pitiful to describe: As first, the binding of them to Trees, and to the boughs thereof; the pulling and tearing asunder of their

Seventy nine Martyrs.

The Persecution in Europe. Euphemia.

Persecution in France.

Victor, Martyr.

Lucian, Martyr.

The Persecution in Spain.

Eulalia, Sabina, Christina, Leucadia, Martyrs.

Eighteen Martyrs in Spain.

Rectionarius a notable Tyrant. The blood of the Christians made rivers.

Agrippina, Augusta, Martyrs. The Persecution of Britany, or England. Beda de ratione temporum.

Disciplinarius did but dally in the beginning of the Persecution.

Sundry sorts of torments devised against the Christians. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6, 7, 8.

The Women of Thebaide Martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 9.
The Persecution in Antioch.

Persecution in Pontus.

Persecution in Alexandria.

The Contents of the Epistle of Phileas sent to his Congregation.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 10.

Strange kinds of torments.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 10.
Ex Sabell. lib. 7.
cap. 9.

members and joints, being tyed to the boughs and arms of trees. Euseb. lib. 8. c. 9. The mangling of them with axes, the choaking of them with smoke by small and soft fires, the dismembering of their hands, ears and feet, with other joints; as the holy Martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed. With such kind of torments the Martyrs at Antioch were afflicted: But in Pontus, other horrible punishments; and fearful to be heard, did the Martyrs of Christ suffer; of which some had their fingers ends under the nails thrust in with sharp bodkins; some all to besprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members cut from them; some other suffering most filthy, intolerable, and undurable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members. Euseb. eodem cap. 12.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the Persecution which reigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundry kinds of new devised punishments the Martyrs were afflicted, Phileas the Bishop of the Thumitans, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his Epistle to the Thumitans, the Copy whereof, Euseb. hath, lib. 8. c. 10. out of the which we mean here briefly to recite somewhat. Because (saith he) every man might torment the holy Martyrs as they listed themselves, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords; and this example of beating was in sundrywise executed, and with much cruelty. For some of them having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up upon timber logs, and with certain instruments their members and joints were stretched forth, whereupon their whole bodies hanging were subject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their sides only (like as homicides were) but upon their bellies, thighs and legs, they scratched them with the talens and claws of wild beasts. Some others were seen to hang by one hand upon the Engin, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the rest of their joints and members. Some others were in such sort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no stay under their feet, and were violently weighed down with the poise of their bodies, that by reason of their strict binding, they being drawn out might be more grievously tormented. And this suffered they, not only during the time of their examination, and while the Sheriff had to do with them, but also the whole day long. And whilst the Judge went thus from one to another, he by his authority appointed certain Officers to attend upon those he left, that they might not be let down, until either through the intolerableness of the pain, or by the extremity of cold, they being near the point of death should be let down, and so were they baled upon the ground. And further they were commanded that they should shew not so much as one spark of mercy or compassion upon us, but so extremely and furiously did they deal with us, as though our souls and bodies should have died together. And therefore yet another torment our adversaries devised, to augment our former plagues. After that they had most lamentably beaten them, they devised moreover a new kind of rack, wherein they lying upright were stretched by both the feet above the fourth step or bole with sharp shels or shares strewn under them, after a strange kind of Engin to us here unknown. Other some were cast down upon the pavement, where they were oppressed so thick, and so grievously with torments, that it is not almost to be thought what afflictions they suffered.

Thus they lying in pains and torments, some died therewith not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular patience. Some half dead and half alive, were thrust into prison, where shortly after by pains and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again being cured of their wounds by their endurance in prison, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their cursed sacrifice, and enjoy their wicked liberty, or else sustain the sentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity, remembering with themselves what is written in the Scriptures: He that sacrificeth (saith he) to strange gods, shall be exterminated, &c. Item, Thou shalt have no strange gods besides me, &c. Thus much wrote Phileas to the Congregation where he was Bishop, before he received the sentence of death, being yet in bands; and in the same he exhorteth his brethren constantly to persist after his death, in the truth of Christ professed. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Sabellius in his Seventh Enead, and Eighth Book, saith that that Christened man which tore and pulled down the wicked Edict of the Emperor in Nicomedia, being stript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vinegar, was then slain with this cruel kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Doroteus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.

But as all their torments were for their horribleness marvellous and notable, and therewithal so studiously devised, and no less grievous and sharp; so notwithstanding, therewith were these Martyrs neither dismayed nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened; so merrily and joyfully sustained they whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius saith, that he himself beheld and saw the huge and great Persecution that was done in Thebaide; inasmuch that the very swords of the Hangmen and Persecutors being blunted with the great and often slaughter, they themselves for weariness sat down to rest them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet all this notwithstanding the murdered Christians shewed their marvellous readiness, willingness and divine fortitude, which they were endued with; with stout courage, joy, and smiling, receiving the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sing even unto the last gasp, Hymns and Psalms to God. So did also the Martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas above mentioned. The holy Martyrs (saith he) keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, sustained not only at one time whatsoever labour and devised punishments they had to lay upon them; but now also the second time have done the same, and have born all the menaces of the cruel Souldiers, not only in words wherewith they threatened them, but also whatsoever in deed and work they could devise to their destruction, and that with most manly stomachs, excluding all fear, with the perfection of their unspeakable love towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed. And Sulpicius saith in the Second Book of his Sacred History, that then the Christians with more greedy desire, pressed and sought for Martyrdom, than now they do desire Bishopricks.

Although some there were also, as I have said, that with fear and threatnings, and by their own infirmities were overcome and went back, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. among whom Socrates nameth Miletius, lib. 1. cap. 6. and Athanasius in his second Apology, nameth the Bishop of Licus, a City in little Egypt, whom Peter the Bishop of Alexandria Excommunicated, for that in this Persecution he sacrificed unto the Gentiles gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus, the Bishop of Rome, I will speak afterwards; for he being persuaded by others, and especially of the Emperor Dioclesian himself, did sacrifice, whereupon he was Excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the same, was again received into the Congregation, and made Martyr, as Platina, and the compiler of the Book of the General Councils affirm. The number of the Martyrs increased daily, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty were slain at once; some whiles thirty, and oftentimes threecore, and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Also Damasus, Beda, Orosius, Honorius, and others do witness, that there were slain in this Persecution by the names of Martyrs, within the space of thirty days, seventeen thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the Metal-mines and Quarries with like cruelty.

At Alexandria with Peter the Bishop, of whom I have made mention before, were slain with axes three hundred and above, as Sabellius declareth, Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with three hundred of his fellows, as saith Henricus de Erfordia, Mauritius the Captain of Christian Religion, with his fellows, six thousand six hundred sixty and lix. Victor in the City of Troy, now called Xanthus, with his fellows three hundred and threecore were slain, as saith Otto Phrisingenfis, lib. 2. cap. 45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other Martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

And for so much as mention here hath been made of Mauritius and Victor, the particular description of the same History I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado, and other Story-writers, as ensueth.

Mauritius

An holy Martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

Eusebius beholder and a witness of their suffering.

The sword blunted, and the Hangmen wearied with slaughter.

The marvellous constancy of the Martyrs of God in persecution, and at the time of death.

Martyrdom more desired in the old time than Bishopricks are now.

Christians that desired in this Persecution. Miletius revolteth from the Faith, and is Excommunicated. Marcellinus the Bishop revolteth, and cometh again to the Faith, and is Martyred.

An hundred Martyrs in one day.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

17000 Martyrs in one month.

300 slain at one time in Alexandria. Gereon Martyr.

Mauritius with 6666 Martyrs. Victor with 260 Martyrs slain.

The History
of Mauri-
us Captain
of the The-
ban Souldi-
ers.

Mauritius came out of Syria into France and Italy, being Captain of the band of the Theban Souldiers, to the number of Six thousand six hundred and threescore, being sent for of Maximianus, to go against the rebellious Bangandes; but rather, as it should seem, by the reason of the Tyrant, which thought he might better in these quarters use his tyranny upon the Christians, than in the East part. These Thebans, with Mauritius the Captain, after that they had entred into Rome, were there of Marcellus the blessed Bishop, confirmed in the faith, promising by Oath, that they would rather be slain of their enemies, than forsake that faith which they had received; who followed the Emperors Host through the Alps even into France. At that time the Cefareans were encamped not far from the Town called Ottodor, where Maximianus offered sacrifice to his Devils, and called all the Souldiers both of the East and West to the same, strictly charging them by the Altars of his gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bangandes, and persecute the Christian enemies of the Emperors gods: which his commandment was shewed to the Thebans host, which were also encamped about the river of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne; but to Ottodor they would in no wise come, for that every man did certainly appoint and perswade with themselves, rather in that place to die, than either to sacrifice to the gods, or bear armour against the Christians. Which thing indeed, very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their Oath before taken to Maximianus, when he sent for them. Wherewith the Tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, whereto strivingly and with great rejoycing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, Mauritius himself was a great encourager, who by and by with a most grave Oration, exhorted and animated his Souldiers both to fortitude and constancy. Which, being again called of the Emperor, answered in this wise, saying, We are, O Emperor, your Souldiers, but yet also, to speak freely, the servants of God. We owe to thee service of war, to him innocency: of thee we receive for our travel, wages: of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wise obey thee, O Emperor, to deny God our Author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewise, will ye, will ye. If we be not so extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtless, as we have hitherto before, we will yet obey you: but otherwise we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands against any other enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies: but to spoil and murder the Godly and Citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance how we took armour in hand, for the defence of the Citizens, and not against them. We fought always for justice sake, piety, and for the health of innocents. These have been always the rewards of our perils and travel. We have fought in the quarrel of faith, which in no wise we can keep to you, if we do not shew the same to our God. We first swear upon the Sacraments of our God, then afterward to the King: and do you think the second will avail us, if we break the first? By us you would plague the Christians, to do which feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confess God the Author of all things, and believe in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellows, and partakers of our labours and travels, to be put to the sword, and we sprinkled with their blood: of which our most blessed companions and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have been glad, and have rejoyced thereat, for that they have been counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreme necessity of death cannot move us against your Majesty, neither yet any desperation, O Emperor, which is wont in venturous affairs to do much, shall arm us against you. Behold here we cast down our weapons, and resist not, for that we had rather to be killed, than kill, and guiltless to die, than guilty to live. Whatsoever more ye will command, appoint and enjoin us, we are here ready to suffer, yea, both fire and sword, and whatsoever other torments. We confess our selves to be Christians, we cannot persecute Christians, nor will do sacrifice to your Devillish Idols.

Every tenth
man in the
Legion
slain.

The Oration
of the
Souldiers to
the Empe-
ror.

With which their answer, the King being altogether incensed and moved, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the Christian Souldiers would in no wise condescend unto his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both footmen and also horsemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force set upon them; they making no resistance, but throwing down their armour, yielded their lives to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any Souldier; but being an old Souldier, was dismissed for his age. At which time he coming suddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoils of the holy Martyrs, was bidden to sit down with them: who first asking the cause of that their so great rejoycing, and understanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a Christian or no? openly confessed and denied not but that he was a Christian, and ever would be. And thereupon they rushing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

Beda in his History writeth, that this persecution, being under Dioclesian, endured unto the seventh year of Constantinus. And Euseb. lib. cap. 6. faith, that it lasted until the tenth year of Constantinus. It was not yet one year from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the Christians rather to increase than to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that ever they could shew, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at the last of their own accord to put any more Christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a searing Iron, condemning them to the mines of metals, not so much for the use of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and release of the cruelty of those Princes, which said that it was not meet that the Cities should be defiled with the blood of Citizens, and to make the Emperors Highness to be distained with the name of cruelty, but to shew his Princely beneficence and liberality to all men, Eusebius, lib. 8. cap. 10.

When Dioclesian and Maximian had reigned together Emperors one and twenty years (Nicephorus faith, two and twenty years) at length Dioclesian put himself from his Imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona; Maximian at Mediolanum; and led both of them a private life in the three hundred and ninth year after Christ. This strange and marvellous alteration gave occasion (and so it came to pass) that within short space after, there were in the Roman Commonwealth many Emperors at one time.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Dioclesian being made Emperor took to him Maximian. Also how these two governing as Emperors together, chose out other two Cefars under them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius the father of Constantine the Great. Thus then Dioclesian reigning with Maximian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious persecution against the Christians, whose reign after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the Tyrants mouth, that within two years after, he caused both him and Maximian (for what cause he knoweth) to give over their Imperial function, and so to remain not as Emperors any more, but as private persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the Imperial Dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two divided the whole Monarchy between them: so that Maximinus should govern the East Countries, and Constantius the West parts. But Constantius as a modest Prince, only contented with the Imperial title, refused Italy and Africk, contenting himself only with France, Spain, and Britain. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to him his two Sons, Maximus and Severus. Likewise Constantius took Constantinus his Son Cefar under him. In the mean

Mauritius
and his
Company
martyred.

The con-
stant bold-
ness of Vi-
ctor in re-
fusing to eat
with the
cruel per-
secutors, for
the which
he was also
slain.
Victor Mar-
tyr.

The number
of the Chri-
stians en-
creased for
all this per-
secution.

Dioclesian
and Maxi-
minian, were
tired with
persecution,
and gave up
their King-
doms.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 10.

{ Ann
309 }

The names
of the Ty-
rants.
Dioclesian
and Maxi-
minian Em-
perors de-
posed.
Galerius,
Maximianus,
Constantius
Emperors.

Maximianus
Severus
Constanti-
nus, Cefar.

Maximinus
Emperor.
Licinius
Cesar.

Anno
318.
The com-
mendation
of Constan-
tius.

Happy
Constantius.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 31.
Constantius
gracious to
the Christi-
ans.

Sozomenus,
lib. 1. cap. 6.

Constantius
proveh
who were
true Christi-
ans in his
Court, and
who were
not.
Ex Euseb.
de vita Con-
stanti. 1.
Ex Sozome-
no. lib. 1.
cap. 6.

False Chri-
stians dis-
cerned
from true.

time while Maximinus with his two Cesars were in Asia, the Roman Souldiers set up for their Emperor Maxentius the son of Maximinian, who had before deposed himself. Against whom Maximinus the Emperor of the East sent his son Severus, which Severus was slain in the same Voyage of Maxentius, in whose place then Maximinus took Licinius. And these were the Emperors and Cesars, which succeeding after Dioclesian and Maximinian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximinian before begun, during near the space of seven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen; save only that Constantius with his son Constantinus was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the Christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Clorus for his paleness, was the son of Eutropius, a man of great nobility of the Roman nation, as Letus affirmeth. He came of the line of Eneas and Claudia the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man had not the desire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the Empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britain and Spain, refusing the other Kingdoms for the troublesome and difficult government of the same. Otherwise he was a Prince, as Eutropius maketh description of him, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good unto those that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure enough, when he made his friends rich: Even so it is said that Constantius would oftentimes say, that it were better that his subjects had treasure, than he to have it in his treasure House. Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, in so much that he used to eat and drink in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation) and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. To these virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the Word of God, as Eusebius in his eighth Book and thirteenth Chapter affirmeth: After which virtues ensued great peace and tranquility in all his Provinces. By which word he being guided, neither levied any wars contrary to piety and Christian Religion, neither aided he any other that did the same, neither destroyed he the Churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended, and kept them safe from all conrumelious injuries. And when that in the other jurisdictions of the Empire the Congregations were molested with persecution, as Sozomenus declareth in his first Book and sixth Chapter, he only gave licence unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, besides others, do shew that he was a sincere Worshipper, and of the Christian Religion.

Those which bare the chief offices amongst the Ethnikes drave out of the Emperors Court all the Godly Christians: Whereupon this ensued, that the Emperors themselves, at the last, were destitute of help, when such were driven away, which dwelling in their courts, and living a Godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the prosperous estate and health both of the Empire and Emperor. Constantius therefore, minding at a certain time to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in his Court, called together all his officers and servants in the same, faining himself to chuse out such as would do sacrifice to Devils, and that those only should dwell there and keep their offices, and that those which would refuse to do the same, should be thrust out and banished the Court. At this appointment, all the Courtiers divided themselves into companies: The Emperor marked which were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, other some openly and boldly denied to do the same; then the Emperor sharply rebuked those which were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false Traytors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his Court, which were such Traytors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended them which refused to do sacrifice, and confessed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a Prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they should be the trusty Counsellors and defenders both of his

Person and Kingdom; saying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends; and that he meant to have them in more estimation, than the substance he had in his treasury. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first Book of the like of Constantinus, and also Sozomenus in his first Book and sixth Chapter.

With this Constantius was joyned (as hath been afore said) Galerius Maximinus, a man, as Eutropius affirmeth, very civil and a passing good souldier: Furthermore, a favourer of wise and learned men, of quiet disposition, not rigorous, but in his Drunkenness, whereof he would soon after repent him, as Victor writeth; whether he meaneth Maximinus the Father or Maximinus his Son, it is uncertain. But Eusebius far otherwise describeth the conditions of him in his eighth Book and first Chapter. For he saith he was of a Tyrannical disposition; the fearfulest man that might be, and curious in all magical superstition; in so much that without the Divinations and answers of Divels, he durst do nothing at all, and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner of the Citizens; liberal to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious Drunkenness most like a mad-man, a ribaud, and adulterer, which came to no City, but he ravished virgins, and defiled mens Wives. To conclude, he was so great an Idolater, that he built up Temples in every City, and repaired those that were fallen in great decay: And he chose out the most worthy of his political Magistrates to be the Idols Priests, and devised that they should execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pomp. But unto Christian piety and Religion, he was most incensive, and in the East Churches exercised cruel persecution, and used as executioners of the same, Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theoctebmus, besides others.

Notwithstanding he was at length revoked from his cruelty by the just Judgment and Punishment of God. For he was suddenly vexed with a fatal disease most filthy and desperate, which disease to describe was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For in the privy members of his body, there happened unto him a sudden putrefaction, and after in the bottom of the same a botchy corrupt bile, with a Fistula consuming and eating up his inwards, out of the which came swarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with such a pestiferous stink, that no man could abide him; and so much more, for that all the grossness of his body by abundance of meat before he fell sick, was turned also into fat; which fat now putrified and stinking, was so ugly and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the Physicians which had him in cure, not able to abide the intolerable stink, some of them were commanded to be slain. Other some, because they could not heal him, being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that this disease was sent of God, he began to forethink the wickedness that he had done against the Saints of God, and so coming again to himself, first confesseth to God all his offences, then calling them unto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecutions of the Christians: Requiring moreover that they should set up his Imperial proclamations, for the restoring and reedifying of their Temples, and that they would obtain of the Christians in their assemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the Emperor. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the Imperial Proclamations in every City were set up, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the Christians were before decreed, the copy whereof ensueth.

Amongst other things, which for the benefit and commodity of the commonweal we established, we commanded to reform all things according to the ancient Laws and publick Discipline of the Romans, and also to use this policy, that the Christians, which had forsaken the Religion of their forefathers, should be brought again to the right

Ref. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Maximinus
an Enemy
to the
Christians.

The wicked-
ness of
Maximinus
described.

A terrible
plague sent
by God to
Maximinus.

Maximinus
killeth his
Physicians.

Maximinus
his counter-
mand in the
behalf of
the Christi-
ans.

right way. For such phantastical singularity was amongst them, that those things which their Elders had received and allowed, they rejected and disallowed, devising every man such Laws as they thought good, and observed the same, assembling in divers places great multitudes of People.

Therefore, when our foresaid decree was proclaimed, many there were that felt the penalty thereof, and many being troubled therefore, suffered many kinds of death. And because we see yet that there be many which persevere in the same, which neither give due worship unto the celestial Gods, neither receive the God of the Christians, we have respect to our accustomed benignity, wherewith we are wont to shew favour unto all men, think good in this cause also to extend our clemency, that the Christians may be again tolerated, and appoint them places where again they may meet together, so that they do nothing contrary to the publick order disciplin. By another Epistle we mean to prescribe unto the Judges, what shall be convenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountifull clemency deserveth, let them make intercession to God for our health, commonweal, and for themselves; that in all places the state of the commonweal may be preserved, and that they themselves may be able safely to live within their bounds. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

But one of his inferior officers, whose name was also Maximinus, was not well pleased, when this countermmand was published throughout all Asia, and the Provinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not convenient for him to repugne the pleasure of those Princes which had the chief authority, as Constantinus and Maximinus, set forth of himself no edict touching the same; but commanded his officers in the presence of others, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians: Of which commandment of the inferior Maximinus, each of them gave intelligence unto their fellows by their letters. But Sabinus, which then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignity, to the substitutes of every Country wrote by his letter, the Emperors pleasure in this wise.

The Majesty of our most gracious and sovereign Lords the Emperors, hath lately decreed with special diligence and devotion, to induce all men to an uniform life, so that they, which seemed to dissent from the Roman custom by a strang manner of living, should exhibit to the immortal Gods their due and proper worship; but the wilful and obstinate mind of divers so much and so continually resisted the same, that by no lawful means they might be revoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terror or punishment. Because therefore it so came to pass, that by this means many put themselves in peril and jeopardy: The Majesty of our sovereign Lords the Emperors, according to their Noble piety, considering that it was far from the meaning of their Princely Majesties that such things should be, whereby so many men and much people should be destroyed, gave me in charge, that with diligence I should write unto you, that, if any of the Christians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exercise of their Religion, in no wise ye molest the same, neither for that cause you do judge any man worthy of Punishment; for that in all this time it hath evidently appeared, that by no means they might be allured from such wilfulness. It is therefore requisite that your wisdom write unto the Questors, Captains, and Constables of every City and village, that they may know it not to be lawful for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the prescript of this commandment, neither that they presume to attempt the same, Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

The Governors therefore of every Province, supposing this is to be the determinate pleasure (and not fained) of the Emperor, did first advertise thereof the rustical and pagan multitude: After that they released and set at liberty, all such prisoners as were condemned to the metal mines, and to perpetual imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would please the Emperor. This therefore seemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to Travellers in a dark night. They gather themselves together in every City, they call their Synods and Councils, and much marvel at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extol the only and true God of the Christians. The Christians receive again all their former liberties; and such as

fell away before in the time of persecution repent themselves, and after penance done, they returned again to the Congregation. Now the Christians rejoiced in every City, praising God with Hymns and Psalms: Eusebius ibidem. This was a marvellous sudden alteration of the Church, from a most unhappy state into a better: But scarce suffered Maximinus the Tyrant the same six months unviolated to continue. For whatsoever seemed to make for the subversion of the same peace (yet scarcely hatched) that did he only mediate. And first of all he took from the Christians all liberty and leave for them to assemble and Congregate in Churchyards under a certain colour. After that he sent certain miscreants unto the Athenians, to solicit them against the Christians, and to provoke them to ask of him, as a recompence and great reward, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabit in their country: And amongst them was one Theotechnus, a most wicked miscreant, and inchanter, and a most deadly Enemy against the Christians. He first made the way whereby the Christians were put out of credit and accused to the Emperor; to which fraud also he erected a certain Idol of Jupiter to be worshipped of the inchanters and conjurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies, full of deceivable witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same Idol to give this sound out of his mouth, that is: Jupiter commandeth the Christians to be banished out of the City and suburbs of the same, as Enemies unto him. And the same sentence did the rest of the Governors of the Provinces publish against the Christians, and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appointed and instituted high Priests and Bishops in every City to offer sacrifice unto Idols, and inveigled all those that were in great offices under him, that they should not only cease to pleasure them and to do for them, but also that they should with new devised accusations against them, at their pleasure, put as many to death as by any means they might. They also did counterfeit certain practices of Pilate against our Saviour Christ full of blasphemy, and sent the same into all the Empire of Maximinus by their letters, commanding that the same should be published and set up in every City and suburbs of the same, and that they should be delivered to the School-masters, to cause their Scholars to learn by rote the same.

After that, one named Praefectus castrorum, whom the Romans do call Captain, allured certain light women, partly by fear, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus and Phenicia, and taken out of the Court wherein they were accused, that they should openly say in writing, that they were once Christians, and that they knew what wicked and lascivious acts the Christians were wont to execute amongst themselves upon the sundays, and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the slander of the Christians. The Captain sheweth unto the Emperor their words, as though it had been so indeed: And the Emperor by and by commanded the same to be published throughout every City. Furthermore, they did hang in the midst of every City (which was never done before) the Emperors edicts against the Christians, graven in tables of Brasse. And the Children in the Schools with great noise and clapping of hands, did every day resound the contumelious Blasphemies of Pilate unto Jesus, and what other things fover were devised of the Magistrates, after a most despiteful manner. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And this is the copy of the Edict, which Maximinus caused to be fastened to the Pillers, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ.

The weak and imbecil rebellion of mans mind (all obscurity and blindness of ignorance set apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the minds of impious and miserable men, in the pernicious darkness of Ignorance) is now at the length able to discern, that the same is governed, as also corroborated by the providence of the immortal Gods, the lovers of virtue: Which thing, how acceptable it is to us, how pleasant and grateful, and how much proof the same hath declared of your well disposed willing minds, is incredible to be told: Although this was not unknown before, with what diligence and devotion ye served the immortal Gods, whose wonderful and constant faith is not known by bare and naked words, but by your worthy and notable deeds. Wherefore worisbly, is your City called the Habita-

One alteration upon another.

The devilish practices of Theotechnus.

The vain practices of the heathen against Christ and his Religion.

A devised accusation against the Christians by harlots.

Maximinus recountermand made in brass.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3.

The copy of the recountermand made against the Christians.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

Sabinus in the favour of the Christians publisheth the decree.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Persecution ceased for a time.

The Infidels acknowledge the God of the Christians.

Habitation and Seat of the immortal gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth, and prospereth by the presence of the celestial gods. For behold, your City not regarding your private businesses, nor esteeming that which should have been for the special Commodity thereof, when it perceived that cursed vanity to begin again to creep, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brands thereof began to kindle and make a great flame: by and by without delay yet having recourse unto our Piety, as unto the Metropolitan of all Divine Worship and Religion, craved remedy and help; which wholesome mind, for your Pieties sake, it is most manifest that the gods have induced you with. Therefore he, even that most mighty Jupiter, I say, which preserveth your most famous City, to that intent he might deliver and make free your Country-gods, your Wives and Children, your Household gods and houses, from all detestable Corruption, hath inspired you with this wholesome and willing mind, shewing and declaring how worthy, notable, and healthful a thing it is, to Worship and to Sacrifice to the immortal gods. For who is so void of reason and understanding that knoweth not that this thing happeneth unto us by the careful study of the goodness of our gods, that the ground denieth not to give her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the Husbandmans hope, nor that wicked War dare shew her face upon the Earth, nor that the Corruption of the Air is now cause of Pestilence; neither that the Sea swelleth with immoderate Winds, neither that sudden Storms are cause of hurtful Tempest: to conclude, that the Ground, which is as the Nurse and Mother of all things, is not swallowed up of her deep chaps and gapings, by terrible Earthquakes; neither that the Hills, made level with the Earth, are not with gaping clifts devoured; all which Evils, and greater than these, before this time to have happened, every man knoweth. And all these mischiefs came upon us for the pernicious Errors sake of the extreme folly of those wicked men the Christians, when filibines it self (as I may call it) so occupied their minds and over-ran the World. Let them behold the Fields now all about full of Corn, and overflown, as it were, with Ears of Corn. Let them view the pleasant Meadows clothed with Flowers, and moistened with Showers from Heaven, and also the pleasant and temperate Weather. Therefore let all men rejoyce, that by your Piety, Sacrifices and Worshipping, the majesty of the most stern god of Battel, Mars, is appeased, and that therefore we enjoy pleasant and firm peace. And how many soever have left that blind Error and straying of the Christians unfainedly, and be of a better mind, let them specially rejoyce, as men delivered out of a sudden great Tempest, and from a grievous Disease, and have afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtless if they had remained in that execrable vanity, far off had they been chased from your City and Suburbs of the same (according to your desire) that your City by that means, according to your commendable diligence, cleansed from all Impurity and Impiety, may offer Sacrifices according to the meaning of the same; with due reverence of the immortal gods. And that you may perceive in how good part your Supplication was unto us (yea unasked and undesired) we are most willing and ready to further your honest Endeavours, and grant unto you for your Devotion, whatsoever ye ask of our Magnificence. And that this thing may be accomplished, forthwith ask and have. And this thing with all speed endeavour you to obtain, which shall be a perpetual Testimony of Piety exhibited of your City to the immortal gods, and shall be a President to your Children and Posterity, and with all you shall obtain of us, for this your willing desire of Reformation, condigne and worthy Rewards, Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 7.

Thus came it to pass that at the length Persecution was as great as ever it was, and the Magistrates of every Province were very disdainful against the Christians, which condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three Christians at Emisa in Phenicia, with whom Sylvanus the Bishop, a very

old man, being forty years in the Ecclesiastical Function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia Lucianus the elder of Antioch, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the Emperor his Apology concerning the Doctrine of the Christians, was cast in Prison, and after put to death. In Amasea a City of Cappadocia, Bringes, the Lieutenant of Maximinus, had at that time the executing of that Persecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a most worthy Bishop, was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian Bishops also died, Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44. Quirinus the Bishop of Scecanus, having a Hand-Mill tied about his Neck, was thrown headlong from the Bridge into the Flood, and there a long while floated above the water, and when he opened his mouth to speak to the Lookers on, that they should not be dismayed with that his punishment, was with much ado drowned, Chron. Euseb. At Rome died Marcellus the Bishop, as faith Platina, also Timotheus the elder, with many other Bishops and Priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sundry places every where were martyred, whose names the Book, Intituled, Fasciculus temporum declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Castorius with his wife, Castulus, Cesarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorothus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable Martyrs, Erasmus, Bonifacius, Juliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basilianus, with seven others. Dorotha, Theophilus, Theodotia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hirenus, Januarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenus, Theodora, and two hundred threecore and ten other Martyrs. Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modestus, Crescentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the Virgin, and Ambrose the King, with many thousand Martyrs more. Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Justus, Leocandia, Antonia, and other more (to an infinite number) suffered Martyrdom in this Persecution, whose names God hath written in the Book of Life. Also Felix, Victor with his Parents, Lucia the widow, Gemenianus, with threecore and nineteen others. Sabinus, Anastasia, Chrysogonus, Felix and Audactus, Adrianus, Naibolia, Eusebia. Agnes also, when she was but thirteen years old, was martyred. Eusebius in his eighth Book and fifteenth Chapter, rehearseth these kinds of Torments and Punishments; that is to say, Fire, wild Beasts, the Sword, Crucifixings, the bottom of the Sea, the cutting and burning of Members, the thrusting out of Eyes, dismembering of the whole Body, Hunger, Imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the Magistrates could devise. All which notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do Sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they, being enticed to the filthy use of their Bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves, neither yet could the Christians live safely in the Wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, inasmuch that this was a more grievous Persecution under Maximinus the Tyrant, than was the former cruel Persecution under Maximianus the Prince, Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6.

And for so much as ye have heard the cruel Edict of Maximinus proclaimed against the Christians, given in brass, which he thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ and his Religion: now mark again the great handy work of God, which immediately fell upon the same, checking the proud presumption of the Tyrant, proving all to be false and contrary that in the brazen Proclamation was contained. For where the foresaid Edict boasted so much of the Prosperity and Plenty of all things in the same time of this Persecution of the Christians, suddenly befel such unseasonable Drought, with Famine and Pestilence among the people, besides also the Wars with the Armenians, that all was found untrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which Famine and Pestilence the people were greatly consumed, inasmuch that one measure of Wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Athens Coin, by reason whereof innumerable died in the Cities, but many more in the Country and Villages, so that most part of the Husbandmen and Countrymen died up with the famine and Pestilence

Wicked blasphemy.

The works of the living God fallily imputed to dead stocks and idols.

Horrible blasphemy.

The like argument of weather and corn, and plenty, made the unfainful Jews, and also make now our faithless Papists.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.

Persecution renewed again.

Sylvanus Bishop, Lucianus Elder, Antioch, Nicomedia, Emperor, Apology, Doctrine, Christians, Prison, death, Amasea, Cappadocia, Bringes, Lieutenant, Maximinus, executing, Alexandria, Petrus, Bishop, Egyptian, Bishops, died, Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44. Quirinus, Bishop, Scecanus, Hand-Mill, Neck, Flood, Bridge, floated, water, mouth, Lookers on, punishment, drowned, Chron. Euseb., Rome, Marcellus, Bishop, Platina, Timotheus, elder, Bishops, Priests, martyred, conclusion, sundry places, everywhere, martyred, names, Book, Fasciculus temporum, declareth, Victorianus, Symphorianus, Castorius, wife, Castulus, Cesarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorothus, Gorgonius, Petrus, innumerable, Martyrs, Erasmus, Bonifacius, Juliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basilianus, seven others, Dorotha, Theophilus, Theodotia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hirenus, Januarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenus, Theodora, two hundred threecore and ten other Martyrs, Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modestus, Crescentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the Virgin, Ambrose the King, thousand Martyrs more, Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Justus, Leocandia, Antonia, other more, infinite number, suffered Martyrdom, names, God, written, Book of Life, Felix, Victor, Parents, Lucia the widow, Gemenianus, threecore and nineteen others, Sabinus, Anastasia, Chrysogonus, Felix and Audactus, Adrianus, Naibolia, Eusebia, Agnes, thirteen years old, martyred, Eusebius, eighth Book, fifteenth Chapter, rehearseth, Torments and Punishments, Fire, wild Beasts, the Sword, Crucifixings, the bottom of the Sea, the cutting and burning of Members, the thrusting out of Eyes, dismembering of the whole Body, Hunger, Imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the Magistrates could devise, notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do Sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured, neither were the women any thing at all behind them, being enticed to the filthy use of their Bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves, neither yet could the Christians live safely in the Wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, inasmuch that this was a more grievous Persecution under Maximinus the Tyrant, than was the former cruel Persecution under Maximianus the Prince, Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6.

Ex fasciculus temporum.

Cosmas, Damianus, Basilianus, with other Martyrs. Two hundred threecore and ten Martyrs.

Gemenianus with threecore and nineteen Martyrs.

Several kinds of torments. Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6. 10. The work of God against the forehead & did.

The proud and blasphemous proclamation of the Emperor proved false and contrary.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 8.

Pestilence. Divers there were which bringing out their best Treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others selling away their Possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreme poverty and beggary. Certain eating Grass, and feeding on other unwholesome Herbs, were fain to relieve themselves with such food as did hurt and poison their bodies. Also a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extreme misery and penury, were constrained to depart the City, and fall to begging thorow the Country. Some others were weak and faint (as Images without breath) wandering up and down, and not able to stand for feebleness, fell down in the middle of the streets, and holding up their hands most pitiful, cried for some scraps or fragments of bread to be given them, and being at the last gaspe, ready to give up the ghost, and not able to utter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungry. Of the richer sort divers there were, who being weary with the number of beggars and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves, as they which begged. By reason whereof, the Market-place, Streets, Lanes, and Alleys lay full of dead and naked bodies, being cast out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that saw them, wherefore many were eaten of Dogs, for which cause they that lived fell to the killing of Dogs, lest they running mad, should fall upon them, and kill them.

In like manner the Pestilence scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no less consume them, especially those which through plenty of Victuals escaped Famine. Wherefore the rich Princes and Presidents, and other innumerable of the Magistrates, being the more apt to receive the Infection, by reason of their plenty, were quickly dispatched, and turned up their heels. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with Famine and with Pestilence, all places were full of Mourning, neither was there any thing else seen, but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for Famine and Pestilence, in short time brake up and consumed whole Houholds, two or three dead bodies being born out together from one house to one funeral.

These were the rewards of the vain brags of Maximianus and his Edicts, which he did publish in all Towns and Cities against us, when it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the Christians were to them all in this their miserable extremity. For they only in all this time of distress, shewing compassion upon them, travelled every day, some in curing the sick, and some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their own sort were forsaken. Other some of the Christians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of Famine, distributed Bread unto them, whereby they ministered occasion to all men to glorifie the God of the Christians, and to confesse them to be the true Worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reason hereof, the great God and Defender of the Christians, who before had shewed his anger and indignation against all men, for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his Providence, so that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, which easily perceive God himself to be a perpetual Director of our doings, who many times chasteneth his people with Calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction again sheweth himself merciful and favourable to them which with trust call upon him.

By the Narration of these things heretofore premised, taken out of the story of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so it is wonderful to mark and note, how those counsels and rages of the Gentiles achieved against Christ and his Christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselves. And whereby they thought most to confound the Church and Religion of Christ, the same turned most to their own confusion, and to the profit and praise of the Christians (God of his marvelous Wisdom so ordering and disposing the end of things.) For where the brazen Edict of the Emperor promised temperate weather, God sent drought: where it promised plenty, God immediately sent upon them Famine and penury: where it promised health, God strook them even

upon the same, with grievous Pestilence, and with other more Calamities, in such sort that the most relief they had, was chiefly by the Christians, to the great praise both of them, and to the honour of our God.

Thus most plainly and evidently was then verified the true Promise of Christ to his Church, affirming and assuring us, That the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against his Church builded upon his Faith: as sufficiently may appear by these ten Persecutions above specified and described. Wherein as no man can deny, but that Satan and his malignant World have assayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the Church of Jesus: so must all men needs grant, that read these stories, that when Satan and the gates of Hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against this Mount of Sion, nor ever shall. For else what was here to be thought, where so many Emperors and Tyrants together, Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus, Severus, Maxentius, Licinius, with their Captains and Officers, were let loose, like so many Lions, upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of all Christianity, and especially also when Laws were set up in brags against the Christians, as a thing perpetually to stand: what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the Name and Religion of Christians? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the story followeth.

I shewed before how Maxentius, and the Son of Maximian, was set up at Rome by the Pretorian Souldiers to be Emperor. Whereunto the Senate, although they were not consenting, yet for fear they were not resisting. Maximian his Father, who had before deprived himself with Dioclesian, hearing of this, took heart again to him, to resume his dignity, and so laboured to perswade Dioclesian also to do the same: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repairth to Rome, thinking to wrest the Empire out of his Sons hands. But when the Souldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he flieth to Constantinus in France, under pretence to complain of Maxentius his Son, but in very deed to kill Constantinus. Notwithstanding that Conspiracy being detected by Fausta the Daughter of Maximian, whom Constantinus had married, so was Constantinus through the grace of God preserved, and Maximian retired back. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximian.

Now let us return to Maxentius again, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero. For he slew the most part of his Noble men, and took from them their goods. And sometime in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his Souldiers, as Eusebius declareth, lib. 8. cap. 14. Also he left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womanly chastity, which used to send the honest wives, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonesty unto their Husbands (being worthy Senators) after that he had ravished them. He abstained from no Adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable lust of deflowring of women. Let us declareth that he being that time far in love with a noble and chaste Gentlewoman of Rome, sent unto her such Courtiers of his, as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation than any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the Common weal. These first fell upon her Husband and murdered him within his own house; then when they could by no means neither with fear of the Tyrant, or with threatening of death pull her away from him: at length she being a Christian desired leave of them to go into her Chamber, and after her prayers she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her Chamber, under this pretence, she killed her self. But the Courtiers when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they being displeased therewith, brake open the doors, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the Emperor, who was so far past shame, that in stead of Repentance he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

The promise of Christ verified. Math. 6. The gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church builded upon the Faith of Christ.

The death and end of Maximian

The wickedness of Maxentius described.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 14.

A shameful act of incontinency.

A Christian Matron sayeth here self to avoid the lust of Maxentius.

He

A Monster
in the like-
lihood of
an Empe-
peror.

A Holy
pattern
of an Hypo-
crite.

Euseb. lib. 8.
cap. 25.

The Romans
send to Con-
stantine for
succour.

{ Anno }
318.

Maximian
feared for
his Magick
and Sorcery

A Miracle
of a Cross
appearing
to Constan-
tine in
Heaven.

In hoc vince.
Euseb. lib. 2.
Niceph. lib. 7.
cap. 29.
Eutrop. lib. 11.
Sozom. l. 1.
cap. 3.
Socrat. lib. 1.
cap. 2.
Uspenski.
Chronica.
Paul.
Diac. l. 11.
This Vision
reported
and testified
by Constan-
tine himself
to be true.

He was also much addict to the Art Magical, which to execute, he was more fit than for the Imperial Dignity. Also sometime he would rip women when they were in labour, and would search the place where the infant lay, being born a little before. Often he would invoke Devils in a secret manner, and by the answers of them he sought to break the Wars, which he knew Constantinus and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his Reign he feigned himself to be a favourer of the Christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the People of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting the Christians. And he himself in the mean season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to shew himself an open persecuter of them: at which time as Zonaras writeth, he most cruelly raged against the Christians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries. Which thing he in no less wise did, than Maximinus, as Eusebius in his eighth Book and fifteenth Chapter seemeth to affirm. And Plinius declareth in the life of Marcellus the Bishop, that he banished a certain Noble Woman of Rome, because she gave her goods to the Church.

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of this Maxentius, the Citizens and Senators of Rome, being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with Letters unto Constantinus, with much suite and most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their Country and City of Rome: who hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by Letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to restrain his corrupt doings, and great cruelty. But when no Letters nor exhortations would prevail, at the length pitying the woful case of the Romans, gathered together his power and Army in Britain and France, therewith to repress the violent rage of that Tyrant: thus Constantinus sufficiently appointed with strength of Men, but especially with strength of God, entered his journey coming towards Italy, which was about the last year of the Persecution, three hundred and eighteen.

Maxentius understanding of the coming of Constantinus, and trusting more to his devilish Art of Magick, than to the good will of his Subjects, which he little deserved, durst not shew himself out of the City, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy Garrisons laid in wait for him by the way, in sundry straits as he should come. With whom Constantinus had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding Constantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto Rome) for the Magical Charms and Sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus sent by Galerius against him, as hath been declared, which made also Constantinus the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming, which used to cut Women great with Child, to take his devilish Charms by the intrails of the Infants, with such other like feats of devilishness which he practised: these things (I say) Constantinus doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the City, and casting up his eyes many times to Heaven, in the South part, about the going down of the Sun, saw a great brightness in Heaven, appearing in the similitude of a Cross, with certain Stars of equal bigness, giving this Inscription like Latine Letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is, In this overcome. Eusebius de vita Constant. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Urspergensis, Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. This miraculous Vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus in his first Book De vita Constantini, doth witness moreover, that he had heard the said Constantinus himself oftentimes report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in Heaven, and also his Souldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonished, and consulting with his Men upon the meaning thereof, behold in the Night season in his sleep, Christ appeared to

him with the sign of the same Cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his Wars before him, and so should he have the Victory.

¶ Wherewith is to be noted (good Reader) that this sign of the Cross, and these Letters added thereto, *In hoc vince*, was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the Cross, as though the Cross itself had any such power or strength in it, to obtain Victory: but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is to be an admonition to him, to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified upon the Cross for the salvation of him, and of all the World, and so to set forth the glory of his Name, as afterward it came to pass. This by the way. Now to the matter.

The next day following after this Night's Vision, Constantinus caused a Cross after the same figuration to be made of Gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his Standard, and so with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from Heaven, speedeth himself toward his enemy. Against whom Maxentius being constrained perforce to issue out of the City, sendeth all his power to joyn with him in the field beyond the River of Tyber, where Maxentius craftily breaking down the Bridge called *Pons Milvius*, caused another deceitful Bridge to be made of Boats and Whirries, being joyned together, and covered over with Boards and Planks, in manner of a Bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But here it came to pass which in the seventh Psalm is written, *He digged a pit, and fell therein himself: let his working return upon his own head, and his unrighteousness upon his own pate*. Which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two Hosts did meet, he being not able to sustain the force of Constantine fighting under the Cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigent, that in retiring back, for haste thinking to get the City, upon the same Bridge which he did lay for Constantine, was overturned by the fall of his Horse into the bottom of the flood, and there with the weight of his Armour, he with a great part of his beaten men, were drowned. Representing unto us the like example of Pharaoh and his Host drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly seemeth to bear a Prophetical figuration of this Maxentius. For as the Children of Israel were in long thralldome and Persecution in Egypt under Tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharaoh their last Persecuter: so was this Maxentius and Maximinus and Licinius the last Persecuter in the Roman Monarchy of the Christians, whom this Constantinus, fighting under the Cross of Christ did vanquish and set the Christians at liberty, who before had bin persecuted now three hundred years in Rome, as hath been hitherto in this History declared.

Wherefore as the Israelites with their Moses at the drowning of their Pharaoh, sung gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast down the Horse and Horsemen into the Sea, so no less rejoicing and exceeding gladness was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his People, and vanquishing his Enemies and Persecuters.

In Histories we read of many Victories and great Conquests gotten: yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any Victory so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to Mankind as this was, which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the Posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some Persecution was yet stirring in the East Countreys by Maximinus and Licinius, as shall be declared; yet in Rome, and in all the West parts, no Martyr died after this heavenly Victory gotten. And also in the East parts the said Constantinus with the said Cross borne before him, consequently upon the same, so vanquished the Tyrants, and so established the peace of the Church: that for the space of a just thousand years after that, we read of no set Persecution against the Christians, unto the time of John Wickliffe, when the Bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true Members of Christ, as in further process of this History (Christ granting) shall appear. So happy, so glorious (as I said) was this Victory of Constantine, named

An admonition concerning the material cross not to be worshipped, but to be a means to bring the soul to the faith of him which was crucified.

Constantine with his Army approached toward Rome.

Psalm. 7. Maxentius taken in his own trap.

Maxentius beaten in the field.

Maxentius drowned by his own Bridge.

Pharaoh a figure of Maxentius the last persecuter in Rome.

Pharaoh and Maximinus compared.

Exo. 15. The figure of the Old Testament verified in the new.

The glorious and glorious host of Christ.

Persecution in the West ceased for a thousand years till the time of Wickliffe.

named the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the Citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the City of Rome, where he with the Cross was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together, having moreover in the Market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the Cross, with this Inscription: *Hoc salutare signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio civitatem nostram iugo tyranni ereptam liberavi*: that is, With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our City from the yoke of the Tyrant.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

By this heavenly Victory of *Constantinus*, and by the death of *Maxentius* no little tranquillity came unto the Church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the East Churches the storm of this Tenth Persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some tail thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three years. But of this we mind to speak (Christ willing) hereafter. In the mean season to return again to the West parts here in Europe, where *Constantinus* then had most to do, great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the Church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together (to the time of *John Wickliff* and *Waldenses*, as is before touched) by the means of the godly beginning of good *Constantinus*, who with his fellow *Licinius*, being now established in their dominion, bestowed forth their general Proclamation or Edict, not constraining therein any man to any Religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoin with them, whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly allowed of the Romans, and all wise men. The Copy of the Edict or Constitution here en-
fuech.

The Copy of the Imperial Constitution of *Constantinus* and *Licinius*, for the establishing of the free worshipping of God after the Christian Religion.

The Copy of the Imperial Constitution of *Constantinus* and *Licinius*, Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

Not long ago We weighing with Our Selves, that the liberty and freedom of Religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to do therein according to his will and mind, We have given Commandment to all men to qualifie matters of Religion as they themselves thought good, and that also the Christians should keep the Opinions and Faith of their Religion: but because that many and sundry Opinions by the same our first licence, spring and increase through such liberty granted, We thought good manifestly to add therunto, and make plain such things whereby perchance some of them in time to come, may from such their observance be let or hindered. When therefore by prosperous success, I *Constantinus Augustus*, and I *Licinius Augustus* came to *Mediolanum*, and there sate in Council upon such things as served for the utility and profit of the Commonwealth, these things amongst others We thought would be beneficial to all men, yea and before all other things We purposed to establish those things wherein the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended; that is, to give unto the Christians free choice to follow what Religion they think good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestial grace, which is in every place received, may also be embraced and accepted of all Our loving Subjects. According therefore unto this our pleasure upon good advisement and sound judgment We have Decreed, that no man so hardly be denied to choose and follow the Christian Observance or Religion: but that this liberty be given to every man, that he may apply his mind to what Religion he thinketh meet himself, whereby God may perform upon us all his accustomed care and goodness. To the intent therefore you might know that this is Our pleasure, We thought it necessary this to write unto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in Our former Letters (being sent unto you in the behalf of the Christians) are contained, and which seem very

undiscreet and contrary to our clemency, may be made frustrate and annihilate. Now therefore firmly and freely We will and command, that every man have a free liberty to observe the Christian Religion, and that without any grief or molestation he may be suffered to do the same. These things have we thought good to signifie unto you by as plain words as we may, that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keep and use their Religion: And for so much as this liberty is absolutely given of us unto them, to use and exercise their former observance, if any be disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establish the publick tranquillity of our time, every man to have licence and liberty to use and choose what kind of worshipping he list himself. And this is done of us only for the intent, that We would have no man to be enforced to one Religion more than another. And this thing also amongst others We have provided for the Christians, that they may have again the possession of such places, in which heretofore they have been accustomed to make their Assemblies: so that if any have bought or purchased the same either of us, or of any other; the same places without either money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay We will to be restored again unto the said Christians. And if any man have obtained the same by gift from Us, and shall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalf, then let the Christians repair to the President (being the Judge appointed for that place) that consideration may be had of those men by Our benignity: All which things We will and command, that you see to be given and restored freely, and with diligence, unto the society of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certain other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to the right of their Congregation and Society: you shall see also all those to be restored unto the Christians, that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them, according to the Decree, whereof We have made mention, all delay set apart, Provided that the Order We have taken in the mean time be observed, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same Lands and Possessions, they shall not mistrust, but be sure to be saved harmless by Us. In all these things it shall be your part to imploy your diligence in the behalf of the foresaid company of the Christians, whereby this our Commandment may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by Our Clemency the common and publick peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this means, as before We have said, the good will and favour of God towards Us (whereof in many cases We have had good experience) shall always continue with us. And to the intent that this Our Constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the Copy of these Our Letters be set up in all places, that Men may read and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof.

By these Histories I doubt not (good Reader) but thou dost right well consider and behold with thy self the marvellous working of Gods mighty power; to see so many Emperors at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose Names before we have recited, as *Dioclesian*, *Maximinian*, *Galerius*, *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, *Severus*, *Licinius*, who having the subjection of the whole World under their Dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices, to extirpate the Name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of Man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented, which was not attempted? If Laws, Edicts, Proclamations, written not only in Tables, but ingraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord, note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his Church doth stand. First, of the taking away of *Maximinian* you have heard, also of the death of *Severus*, of the drowning moreover of *Maxentius*, enough hath been said. What a terrible Plague was upon *Galerius*, consuming his Privy Members with Lice, hath been also described. How *Dioclesian*

The consideration of Gods work in defending his Christians.

The Kings of the earth have risen, and Princes together against the Lord, and against his Christ. Psalm. 2. No counsel standeth against God.

The destruction of the cruel Emperors.

the

the *Quondam* being at *Salona*, hearing of the proceedings of *Constantinus*, and this Edict, either for sorrow died, or as some say, did poyson himself. Only *Maximinus* now in the East parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no less expressed the same with mortal Persecution, to whom *Constantine* and *Licinius* caused this Constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight whereof although he was somewhat appaled, and defeated of his purpose: yet for so much as he saw himself too weak to resist the authority of *Constantinus* and *Licinius* the superiour Princes, he dissembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himself had tendered the quiet of the Christians, directing down a certain Decree in the behalf of the Christians, wherein he pretendeth to write to *Sabinus* aforementioned, first repeating unto him the former Decree of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* in few words, with the commandment therein contained touching the Persecution against the Christians. After that, he reciteth the Decree which he himself made against them, when he came first to the Imperial Dignity in the East part joyned with *Constantinus*. Then the countermand of another Decree of his again, for the rescuing of the Christians, with such feigned and pretended causes, as is in the same to be seen. After that, he declareth how he coming to *Nicomedia*, at the suit and supplication of the Citizens (which he also feigned, as may appear before) he applying to their suit, revoked that his former Edict, and granted them that no Christian should dwell within their City or Territories. Upon which *Sabinus* also had given forth his Letters, rehearsing withal the general countermand sent forth by him, for the Persecution again of the Christians. Last of all now he sendeth down again another surrecountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safety of the Christians, and tranquility of them: commanding *Sabinus* to publish the same. Which Edict of his is at large set forth of *Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 9.* But this surrecountermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he making Wars, and fighting a Battel with *Licinius*, wherein he lost the Victory, coming home again, took great indignation against the Priests and Prophets of his Gods, whom before that time he had great regard unto, and honoured: upon whose answers he trusting, and depending upon their enchantments, began his War against *Licinius*. But after that he perceived himself to be deceived by them, as by wicked inchanters and deceivers, and such as had betrayed his safety and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preservation of them, with franchise and liberty: the Copy whereof ensueth:

The effect of the Decree which Maximinus made against his will, or surrecountermand for fear of Con. and Licin. In the behalf of the Christians.

Ex Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. The surrecountermand of Maximinus dissembled.

The unforgotten repentance and final Decree of Maximinus for the Christians.

Imperator Cæsar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus. It is necessary that We always carefully provide and see unto the benefit and commodity of such as be Our Subjects, and to exhibit such things unto them, whereby they may best obtain the same. But we suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but know and understand what things make best for the profit and commodity of the Commonwealth, and best please every mans disposition. But it is meet and convenient that every man have recourse to that which they have seen done before their eyes, and that all sorts of men consider the same, and bear it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, upon the occasion that *Dioclesianus*, and *Maximinianus*, our progenitors of famous memory, commanded the Assemblies and Meetings of the Christians to be cut off, there were many of them spoiled and robbed of our Officials; which thing we also perceive is now put in practice against our Subjects, that they in like case may be spoiled of their Goods and Substance, which thing chiefly to prevent is our only endeavour. By our Letters sent to the Governors of our Province the year past, we ordained, that if any man were disposed to lean unto the Christian Religion, he might without any injury done unto him, accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested, and that he might without any fear or suspicion, do whatsoever he therein thought good. But now also we understand that there be certain Judges which have neglected our com-

mandment, and have put Our Subjects in doubt, whether that hath been Our pleasure or not; which thing they did, that such men might be the better advised, how they entered into such Religion: wherein they followed their own phantasie. To the intent therefore, that after this, all suspicion, doubt and fear may be taken away: We have thought good to publish this our Edict, whereby it may be made manifest to every man, that it shall be lawful for all such as will follow that Religion, by the benefit of this Our Grant and Letters Patents, to use what Religion they like best: And also hereby we grant to them licence to build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that this Our Grant may more amply extend unto them, We vouchsafe to Appoint and Ordain, That whatsoever Lands and Substance before belonging and appertaining to the Christians, and by the commandment of our Predecessor were transposed to our Revenue and Exchequer, or else be in the possession of any City, by means of the franchises of the same, or else otherwise sold or given to any man: All and every parcel thereof We command shall be restored unto the proper use of the Christians again, whereby they may all have in this matter more experience of our godly devotion and providence. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.*

A large Grant of Maximinus to the Christians.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

Maximinus then being conquered of *Licinius*, and also plagued with an incurable Disease in the Guts, sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adversity to confess the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this Edict in the favour of those Christians whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never so stern and stout, at length to stoop, and mangle their hearts to confess him, as this *Maximinus* here did, who not long after, by the vehemency of his Disease ended his life. Whereby no more Tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the Church, but only *Licinius*. Of which *Licinius* and of his Persecutions stirred up in the East parts against the Saints of God, now remaineth in order of story to prosecute.

5 Anno 319. God punish his enemies to confound him.

The end of Maximinus.

This *Licinius* being a Dane born, and made first Cæsar by *Galerius*, as is above specified, was afterwards joyned with *Constantinus* in government of the Empire, and in setting forth the Edicts, which before we have described: although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all Histories described, to be a man passing all others in desire of insatiable riches, given to lechery, hasty, stubborn and furious. To Learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poyson and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the Laws. He thought no Vice worse became a Prince than Learning, because he himself was unlearned. *Eutropius, Latius, Ignatius, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

The Persecution of the Church under Licinius.

An enemy to learning.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

There was between him and *Constantinus* in the beginning great familiarity, and such agreement, that *Constantinus* gave unto him his Sister *Constantia* in Matrimony, as *Aurelius Victor* writeth. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other Religion than *Constantinus* was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a Decree with *Constantinus*, in the behalf of the Christians, as we have shewed: *Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 9.* And such was *Licinius* in the beginning; but after arming himself with Tyranny, began to conspire against the person of *Constantinus*, of whom he had received so great benefits; neither favourable to the law of Nature, nor mindful of his Oaths, his Blood, nor promises. But when he considered that in his Conspiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he saw *Constantinus* was preserved and safely defended of God: and partly being puffed up with the Victory against *Maximinus*, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the Christian Religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said he would become an enemy to the Christians, for that in their Assemblies and Meetings they prayed not for him, but for *Constantinus*. Therefore first by little and little, and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them his Court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his Kingdom. Then he commanded that all those should be deprived which were Knights of the honourable Order, unless they would do

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. Licinius a Apostate.

The fountain of Apostacy.

Knights of the order deprived for not doing their duty.

do sacrifice to Devils: *Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8.* The same Persecution afterward stretched he from his Court, into all his Provinces, which with most wicked and devised laws he set forth. First, that for no cause the Bishops should in any matter communicate together: neither that any man should come at the Churches next unto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and utility of the Church.

After, that the Men and Women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the Women should come in those places where they used to preach and read the Word of God, neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the Bishop, but should choose out such Women amongst them as should instruct them. The third most cruel and wickedest of all was, that none should help and succour those that were cast in prison, nor should bestow any Alms or Charity upon them, though they should die for hunger; and they which shewed any compassion upon those that were condemned to death, should be as greatly punished, as they to whom they shewed the same should be, *Eusebius libro primo de vita Constantini.* These were the most horrible Constitutions of *Licinius*, which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

After this he used violence against the Bishops, but yet not openly, for fear of *Constantinus*, but privily and by conspiracy, by which means he slew those that were the worthiest men amongst the Doctors and Prelates. And about *Amasea* and other Cities of *Pontus*, he rased the Churches even with the ground. Other some he shut up, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray and worship God; and therefore, as we said before, his Conscience accusing him, all this he did, for that he suspected they prayed for *Constantinus*, and not at all for him. And from this place in the East parts to the *Lybians*, which bordered upon the *Egyptians*, the Christians durst not assemble and come together for the displeasure of *Licinius*: which he had conceived against them. *Sozomenus lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Furthermore, the flattering Officers that were under him, thinking by this means to please him, slew and made out of the way many Bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and hainous offenders; and such rigorousness used they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small pieces in manner of a Butcher, and after that threw them into the Sea to feed the Fishes, *Eusebius lib. 10. cap. 8.* What shall we speak of the exiles and confiscations of good and vertuous Men? For he took by violence every mans substance, and cared not by what means he came by the same; but threatened them with death, unless they would forgo the same. He banished those which had committed none evil at all. He commanded that both Gentlemen and Men of Honour should be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gave their daughters, that were unmarried to Varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered. And *Licinius* himself (although that by reason of his years his body was spent) yet shamefully did he vitiate many Women, Mens Wives and Maids. *Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constantini.* Which cruel outrage of him caused many godly men of their own accord to forsake their houses; and it was also seen, that the Woods, Fields, desert places and Mountains were faine to be the habitations and resting-places of the poor and miserable Christians. *Eusebius lib. 10. cap. 14.* Of those worthy men and famous Martyrs which in this Persecution found the way to Heaven, *Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 10.* first speaketh of *Theodorus*, who first being hanged upon the Cross, had Nails thrust into his Arm-pits, and after that, his head stricken off. Also of another *Theodorus* being the Bishop of *Tyre*; the third was a man of *Perga*; *Basilus* also the Bishop of *Amasenus*, *Nicobolus* the Bishop of *Mirorus*, *Gregorius* of *Armenia* the great; after that *Paul* of *Neocesarea*, which by the impious commandment of *Licinius*, had both his hands cut off with a searing iron. Besides these were in the City of *Sebastia* forty worthy men, and Christian Souldiers in the vehement cold time of Winter fowled and drowned in a Horse-Pond, when *Locias* as yet, of whom we spoke before, and *Agricolaus* executing the Sheriffs office under *Licinius* in the East parts, were alive, and were in great estimation, for inventing of new and strange torments against the Christians. The Wives of those forty good

men were carried to *Heraclea* a City in *Thracia*, and there, with a certain Deacon whose name was *Amonei*, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly indured) slain with the sword. These things writeth *Nicephorus*. Also *Sozomenus* in his ninth Book and second Chapter maketh mention of the same Martyrs. And *Basilus* in a certain Oration seemeth to intreat of their History, saving that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And surely *Licinius* was determined, for that the first face of this Persecution fell out according to his desire, to have overrun all the Christians, to which thing neither counsel, nor good will, nor yet opportunity perchance wanted, unless God had brought *Constantinus* into those parts where he governed; where, in the Wars which he himself began (knowing right well that *Constantinus* had intelligence of his Conspiracy and Treason) joyning Battel with him he was overcome.

Divers Battels between them were fought, the first fought in *Hungary*, where *Licinius* was overthrown; then he fled into *Macedonia*, and repairing his Army was again discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by Sea and Land, he lastly, at *Nicomedia* yielded himself to *Constantine*, and was commanded to live a private life in *Thessalia*, where at length he was slain by the Souldiers.

Thus have ye heard the end and conclusion of all the seven Tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last Persecution against the true People of God. The chief Captain and incitor of which Persecution was first *Dioclesian*, who died at *Salena*, as some say, by his own poison, in the year of our Lord three hundred and nineteen. The next was *Maximinian*, who (as is said) was hanged of *Constantine* at *Masilia*, about the year of our Lord three hundred and ten. Then died *Galerius*, plagued with an horrible Disease sent of God. *Severus* was slain by *Maximinian*, father of *Maxentius* the wicked Tyrant, who was overcome and vanquished of *Constantine*, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen. *Maximinus* the sixth Tyrant not long after, who being overcome by *Licinius*, died about the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty. Lastly, how this *Licinius* was overcome by *Constantine* and slain, in the year of our Lord, Three hundred twenty and four, is before declared. Only *Constantius* the Father of *Constantine* being a good and a godly Emperor, died in the third year of the Persecution, in the year of our Lord Three hundred and ten, and was buried at *York*. After whom succeeded after his godly Father *Constantinus*, as a second *Moses* sent and set up of God to deliver his people out of this so miserable captivity, into liberty most joyful.

Now remaineth after the end of these Persecutors thus described, to gather up the names and stories of certain particular Martyrs, which now are to be set forth worthy of special memory, for their singular constancy and fortitude, shewed in their sufferings and cruel torments. The names of all which that suffered in this foresaid tenth Persecution, being in number infinite, in vertue most excellent, it is impossible here to comprehend; but the most notable, and in most approved Authors expressed, we thought here to insert, for the more edification of other Christians, which may and ought to look upon their examples, first beginning with *Albanus*, the first Martyr that ever in *England* suffered death for the name of Christ.

At what time *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* the Pagan Emperors had directed out their Letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians; *Alban* being then an Infidel, received into his house a certain Clerk, flying from the Persecutors hands, whom when *Alban* beheld, continually both day and night to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life; whereupon by little and little he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his Idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian. And when the forenamed Clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked Prince, that this good man and Confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in *Alban's* house, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the Souldiers to make more diligent inquisition of the matter. Who as soon as they came to the house of *Alban* the Martyr, he by and by putting on the apparel wherewith his guest and master was apparelled

Licinius overcome in Battel by Constantine.

The end & death of the Tyrants which were the authors of this Tenth persecution.

A brief story of the most notable Martyrs that suffered in this Tenth Persecution.

Albanus Martyr.

Fruit of Hospitality to be noted.

Albanus first converted, and by what occasions.

relled (that is, a garment at that time used, named *Caracalla*) offered himself in the stead of the other to the soldiers; who binding him, brought him forthwith to the Judge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed *Alban* was brought unto the Judge, they found the same Judge at the Altars offering sacrifice unto Devils, who as soon as he saw *Alban*, was straight ways in a great rage, for that he would presume of his own voluntary will, to offer himself to peril, and give himself a Prisoner to the Soldiers, for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured, and commanded him to be brought before the images of the Devils whom he worshipped saying, *For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a Rebel, than to deliver him to the Officers, and that (as a contemner of our Gods) he should not suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemy; look what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping.* But blessed *Alban*, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the Persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the menaces of the Prince, but being armed with the spiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the Judge, *Of what stock or kindred art thou come? Alban answered, What is that to you? of what stock soever I came of, if you desire to hear the verity of my Religion, I do ye to wit, that I am a Christian, and apply my self altogether to that calling.* Then said the Judge, *I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay.* Then said he, *My Parents named me Alban, and I worship the true and living God, which hath created all the World.* Then said the Judge, fraught with fury, *If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of this present life, do sacrifice (and that out of hand) to these mighty Gods: Alban replieth, These Sacrifices which ye offer unto Devils, can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants; but rather shall they, whatsoever they be, that offer Sacrifice to these Idols, receive for their meed everlasting pains of Hell fire.* The Judge when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy Confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes, which had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay, rather joyfully for the Lords sake. Then when the Judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be reduced from the worship of Christian Religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

Albanus offereth himself to death for another.

The words of the Judge to Alban.

The constancy and zeal of Alban.

The confession of Alban.

The suffering and Martyrdom of Alban.

Superfluous Miracles in his story written by Bede omitted.

The legend of St. Alban disproved.

The rest that followeth of this story in the narration of *Beda*, as of drying up the River, as *Alban* went to the place of his execution; then of making a Well-spring in the top of the Hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with such other prodigious Miracles mentioned in his story) because they seem more Legend-like than Truth-like; again, because I see no great profit nor necessity in the relation thereof, I leave them to the free judgment of the Reader, to think of them as cause shall move him.

The like estimation I have of the long story, wherein is written at large, a fabulous discourse of all the doings and Miracles of *St. Alban*, taken out of the Library of *St. Albans*, compiled (as there is said) by a certain Pagan, who (as he saith) afterward went to *Rome*, there to be baptised. But because in the beginning or Prologue of the Book, the said Writer maketh mention of the ruinous Walls of the Town of *Verolanium*, containing the story of *Albanus*, and of his bitter punishments; which Walls were then falling down for age, at the writing of the said Book, as he saith; thereby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the Martyrdom of *Alban*, either by a *Britain*, or by an *English* man. If he were a *Britain*, how then did the *Latine* Translation take it out of the *English* Tongue, as in the Prologue he himself doth testify: If he were an *English* man, how then did he go up to *Rome* for Baptism, being a *Pagan*, when he might have been baptised among the Christian *Britains* more near at home.

But among all other evidences and declarations sufficient to disprove this Legendary Story of Saint *Alban*, nothing maketh more against it, than the very story it self: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy Martyr to speak

unto the people after it was smitten off from the body. Also where he bringeth in the Angels going up, and coming down in a Pillar of Fire, and singing all the night long. Item, in the River which he saith *St. Alban* made dry, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottom were found alive. With other such like Monkish-Miracles and gross fables, wherewith these Abby-Monks were wont in times past to deceive the Church of God, and to beguile the whole World for their own advantage. Notwithstanding this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithful Martyr of God, who was the first that I did ever find in this Realm, to suffer Martyrdom for the testimony of Christ. And worthy no doubt of condign condemnation, especially of us here in this Land; whose Christian Faith in the Lord, and Charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish moreover, that the stories both of him, and of all other Christian Martyrs might have been delivered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these Abbey-like additions of Monkish-Miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such Saints to the most, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receive most advantage.

As touching the name of the Clerk mentioned in this story, whom *Alban* received into his house, I find in the *English* stories to be *Amphibalus*, although the *Latine* Authors name him not, who the same time flying into *Wales*, was also fetcht from thence again to the same Town of *Verolanium*, otherwise called *Verlancafter*, where he was Martyred, having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawn out, then thrust in with swords and daggers; and at last was stoned to death, as the foresaid Legend declareth.

Moreover the same time with *Alban* suffered also two Citizens of the aforesaid City of *Verlancafter*, whose names were *Aaron* and *Julus*; beside others, whereof a great number the same time no doubt, did suffer, although our Chronicles of their names do make no rehearsal.

The time of Martyrdom of this blessed *Alban* and the other, seemeth to be about the second or third year of this Tenth Persecution, under the Tyranny of *Dioclesian*, and *Maximianus Herculus*, bearing then the rule in *England*, about the year of our Lord three hundred and one, before the coming of *Constantius* to his Government. Where, by the way is to be noted, that this Realm of *Britain* being so christened before, yet never was touched with any other of the Nine Persecutions, before this Tenth Persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. In which Persecution our stories and Polychronicon do record, that all Christianity almost in the whole Island was destroyed, the Churches subverted, all Books of the Scripture burned, many of the faithful, both Men and Women were slain; among whom the first and chief Ring-leader (as hath been said) was *Albanus*. And thus much touching the Martyrs of *Britain*. Now from *England* to return again unto other Countries, where this Persecution did more vehemently rage; we will add hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that suffered in this Persecution, (which were impossible) but of certain most principal, whose singular constancy in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in later Histories; beginning first with *Romanus* the notable and admirable Soldier and true Servant of Christ, whose History set forth in *Prudentius*, doth thus proceed; so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard for any man, almost with dry Cheeks to hear it.

Pitiless *Galerius* with his grand Captain *Asclepiades* violently invaded the City of *Antioch*, intending by force of Arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure Religion. The Christians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom *Romanus* hastily ran, declaring that the Wolves were at hand which would devour the Christian Flock; But fear not, said he, neither let this imminent peril disturb you my brethren. Brought was it to pass, by the great grace of God working in *Romanus*, that old Men and Matrons, Fathers and Mothers, young Men and Maidens were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their Christian profession. Word was brought unto the Captain, that the band of armed souldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith cut of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason

St. Alban the first Martyr in this Realm of England.

The flouting of the Saturs corrupted with him.

Amphibalus Martyred.

The Martyrdom of Amphibalus.

Aaron, Julius Martyrs.

Persecution in this Realm of Britain.

The invincible story of Romanus Martyr.

The exhortation of Romanus to the Christians.

reason that one *Romanus* so mightily did encourage them, that they stick not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. Seek out that Rebel (quoth the Captain) and bring him to me that he may answer for the whole Sect. Apprehended he was, and bound as a Sheep appointed to the Slaughter-house, was presented to the Emperor, who with wrathful countenance beholding him, said, *What? Art thou the Author of this Sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the Gods I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the pains, whereunto thou hast incouraged the hearts of thy fellows.*

The Christian boldness of *Romanus*.

Romanus answered, Thy sentence, O Emperor, I joyfully embrace, I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren and that by as cruel means as thou mayst invent: and whereas thy Souldiers were repelled from the Christian Congregation, that so hapned, because it lay not in Idolaters and worshippers of Devils, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then *Aselepiades*, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The Executioners themselves more pitiful in heart than the Captain, said, Not so, Sir, this man is of Noble Parentage, unlawful it is to put a Nobleman to so un-noble a death. Scourge him then with Whips (quoth the Captain) with knaps of lead at the ends. Instead of tears, sighs and groans, *Romanus* sung Psalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for Nobility sake; Not the blood of my Progenitors (said he) but Christian Profession maketh me Noble. Then with great power of Spirit he inveighed against the Captain, laughing to scorn the false Gods of the Heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created Heaven and Earth, before whose Judicial Seat all Nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the Martyr were as oyl to the fire of the Captains fury. The more the Martyr spake, the madder was he, in so much that he commanded the Martyrs lides to be lanced with Knives, until the bones appeared white again. Sorry am I, O Captain, (quoth the Martyr) not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others. The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jesus Christ his wellbeloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expressing therewith the abomination of Idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words *Aselepiades* commanded the tormentors to strike *Romanus* on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronunciation at least wise might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his Eye-lids torn with their Nails, his Cheeks scotched with Knives, the Skin of his Beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh; finally, his seemly Face was wholly defaced. The meek Martyr said, I thank thee O Captain, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, wherein I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look how many Wounds I have, so many Mouths I have lauding and praising God. The Captain astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threatneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble Martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying, Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterdays God, the Gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity.

The noble patience of *Romanus* in his suffering.

Here again *Romanus* taking good occasion, made a long Oration of the Eternity of Christ, of his Humane Nature, of the Death and Satisfaction of Christ for all Mankind. Which done, he said, Give me a Child, O Captain, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say. His request was granted. A pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. Tell me my babe (quoth the Martyr) whether thou think it reason that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we worship infinite Gods? Unto whom the Babe answered, That certainly, whatsoever it be that Men affirm to be God, must needs be one; which with one, is one and the same; and in as much as this one is Christ, of necessity Christ must be the true God; for that there be many Gods, we children cannot believe. The Captain hereat clean amazed, said,

The preaching of *Romanus* to the Captain.

Antiquity alleged of the Pagans.

The confession of a child against Idolatry.

Thou young Villain and Traitor, where, and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother (quoth the child) with whose milk I sucked in this Lesson, that I must believe in Christ. The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The Captain commanded the Child to be horrid up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act, could not temper themselves from tears; the joyful and glad mother alone stood by with dry cheeks: yea she rebuked her sweet Babe for craving a draught of cold water, she charged him to thirst after the Cup that the infants of *Bethlehem* once drank of, forgetting their Mothers Milk and Paps; she willed him to remember little *Isaac*, who beholding the Sword wherewith, and the Altar whereon he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender Neck to the dint of his Fathers Sword. Whilst this counsel was in giving, the butcherly tormentor plucked the skin from the Crown of his head hair and all. The Mother cried, Suffer my child, anon thou shalt pass to him that will adorn thy naked head with a Crown of eternal glory. The mother counselleth, the child is counselled; the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The Captain perceiving the Child invincible, and himself vanquished, committeth the filly soul, the blessed babe, the child uncherished, to the stinking Prison, commanding the torments of *Romanus* to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

A Child martyred for the testimony of Christ.

An example of vertuous education.

A godly mother of a godly child.

Thus was *Romanus* brought forth again to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received upon his old sores, in so much as the bare bones appeared, the flesh all torn away; wherein no pity was shewed, but the raging Tyrant puffing out of his blasphemous mouth, like a mad-man these words, cried out to the tormentors, saying:

Where is (quoth the Captain) Where is your might? What? are ye not able one body to spill? Scant may it, so weak is it, stand upright: And yet in spite of us, shall it live still?

The cruel words of the Tyrant.

The Griph with Talen, the Dog with his Tooth, Could soon, ye dastards, this corps rent and tear: He scorneth our Gods in all that he doth, Cut, prick and pounce him, no longer forbear.

Yea, no longer could the Tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. Is it painful to thee (saith he) to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of Rebellion shall be consumed into ashes. *Romanus* and the Babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on *Romanus*, he looked back, saying, I appeal from this thy Tyranny, O Judge unjust, unto the righteous Throne of Christ that upright Judge; not because I fear thy cruel torments and merciless handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody. Now when they were come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for she had taken it up in her Arms; and the only kissing it, delivered the Babe; Farewel, she said, my sweet child. And as the Hangman applied his Sword to the babes neck, she sang on this manner:

The Christian Child beheaded for confessing of Christ.

All laud and praise with heart and voice, O Lord we yield to thee: To whom the death of all thy Saints, We know most dear to be.

Nature overcome of Religion.

The innocents head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, wherinto *Romanus* was cast, who said that he should not burn: wherewith a great storm arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The Captain gave in commandment that his Tongue should be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots and cut off: nevertheless he spake, saying, He that speaketh Christ, shall never want a tongue; think not that the voice that uttereth Christ, hath need of the tongue to be the Minister. The Captain at this, half out of his Wit, bare in hand that the Hang-man deceived the sight of the People by some subtil sleight and crafty conveyance.

The fire quenched with rain that should burn *Romanus*.

Romanus speaketh after his tongue was plucked out.

Romanus after long torments strangled in prison. Prudent in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

The story of Gordius a Centurion Martyr.

Gordius of his own accord uttered himself to be a Christian.

Gordius brought to examination. The confession of Gordius.

The bold constancy, and courageous spirit of Gordius.

Gordius attempted with false promises and good gifts.

Gordius condemned to be burnt.

The answer of Gordius to his friends.

A subtil kind of diluders.

ance. Not so (quoth the Hangman) if you suspect my deed, open his mouth, and diligently search the roots of his tongue.

The Captain at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled. Where his sorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be restored again, with his soul, into a better life, where no Tyrant shall have any power: Prudentius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

Gordius was a Citizen of Cesarea, a worthy Souldier, and Captain of an hundred men. He in the time of extreme Persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert many years a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn Feast of Mars was celebrated in the City of Cesarea, and much People were assembled in the Theater to behold the Games, he left the desert, and got him up into the chief place of the Theater, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the Apostle, Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me have I openly appeared. By which words he let it to be understood, that of his own accord he came unto those Games. At this noise, the multitude little regarding the fights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be Gordius, and that the Crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the Sheriff, who at that instant was present, and ordained the Games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was; I am come, saith he, to publish, that I set nothing by your Decrees against the Christian Religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and safety; and when I understood with what cruelty he handled other men, I took this as a fit time to accomplish my desire. The Sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revenged all his displeasure upon poor Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with courges, while Gibbet, and whatsoever torments else might be devised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, that it should be to him an hindrance and damage, if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Christ his cause. The Sheriff being more offended with his boldness, commanded him to feel as many kind of torments as there were. With all which, Gordius, notwithstanding, could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto Heaven, singeth this saying out of the Psalms, The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me: and also this saying, I will fear none evil, because thou Lord art with me.

After this, he against himself provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the Sheriff saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleness and inticing words, to turn the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will deny Christ; as to make him a Captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he desireth. But in vain (as the Proverb is) pipeth the Minstrel to him, that hath no ears to hear, for he deriding the foolish madness of the Magistrate saith, that it lieth not in him to place any in authority, which be worthy to have a place in Heaven. The Magistrate with these words thoroughly angered and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the City to be burnt. There run out of the City great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution, some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, perswading him to take a better way, and save himself, and that with weeping tears. To whom Gordius answered, Weep not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which always make War against the Christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for us a fire, purchasing Hell fire for themselves in the day of vengeance; and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my seiled mind. Truly (saith he) I am ready for the name of Christ, to suffer and endure a thousand deaths if need were. Some other came unto him, which perswaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his Conscience to himself,

My tongue (saith he) which by the goodness of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation. Many more such like words he spake; but especially uttering to them such matter, whereby he might perswade the beholders to death, and to the desire of Martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave himself to be burnt. Basilus in sermone in Gordium militem Casariensem.

Not much unlike to the story of Gordius is the story also of Menas an Egyptian, who being likewise a Souldier by his profession, in this Persecution of Dioclesian forsook all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching and meditation of the Scriptures. At length returning again to the City Cotis, there in the open Theater, as the people were occupied upon their Spectacles or Pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian, and upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the President; of whom he being demanded of his faith, made this answer, Convenient it is that I should (saith he) confess God, in whom is light and no darkness, forasmuch as Paul doth teach that with heart we believe to righteousness, with Mouth confession is given to salvation. After this the innocent Martyr was most painfully pinched and cruciat with sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible, having these words in his mouth being in the midst of his torments: There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven; neither is all the World, if it were weighed in ballance, able to be conferred with the price of one soul; and said, who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? Shall affliction or anguish? And moreover, (saith he) I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body and have no power to kill the soul, but to fear him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soul in Hell fire. To make the story short, after manifold torments born of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded;

Menas being then had to the place of Execution, said, I give thee thanks my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remain constant in thy pure faith unto this my later end. And so this blessed Souldier fighting valiantly under the Banner of Christ, lost his head, and won his soul. Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 5. In the which Author there followeth a long narration of the Miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I do omit.

Basilus in a certain Sermon of forty Martyrs rehearseth this Story, not unworthy to be noted. There came (saith he) into a certain place (of which place he maketh no mention) the Emperors Marshal or Officer, with the Edict which the Emperor had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death. And first they did privily suborn certain which should detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the Sword, the Gibbet, the Wheel, and the Whips were brought forth; at the terrible sight whereof, the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for fear did flie, some did stand in doubt what to do; certain were so terrified at the beholding of these Engines, and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the Game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of Martyrdom, but vanquished at length, by the intolerable pain of their torments, made shipwreck of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, forty there were at that time, young Gentlemen, all Souldiers, which after the Marshal had shewed the Emperors Edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely and boldly of their own accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared to him their names. The Marshal somewhat amazed at this their boldness of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life, for a cruel and untimely death: after

None ought to deny Christ with his mouth, and confess him with his heart.

The Martyrdom of Gordius. Ex Basil. in sermone in Gordium militem Casariensem. Menas Martyr. Ex Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 9.

The confession of Menas.

The words of Menas in his torments. All the world here to be weighed with one soul saved.

The prayer of Menas at his death.

Menas martyred.

Simeon Metaphrast.

The story of 40 Martyrs.

Torments brought out to terrify the Christians.

The courageous boldness, and Christian confession of these 40 Martyrs.

after that he promiseth them Money and honourable Offices in the Emperors name. But they little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold Oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignity, nor money, but only the Celestial Kingdom of Christ, saying further, that they are ready for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the Wheel, the Cross and the Fire. The rude Marshal being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment. He spied out in the middle of the City a certain great Pond, which lay full upon the cold Northern Wind, for it was in the Winter-time, wherein he caused them to be put all that Night; but they being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their Cloaths: *We put off (said they) now not our Cloaths, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of Concupiscence; We give thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparel we may also put off by thy grace, the sinful man; for by means of the Serpent we once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ we now put him off.* When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they left most vehement cold; inasmuch that all the parts of their bodies were stark and stiff therewith. As soon as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so near dead as the rest, of whom the Executioners taking pity, said unto his Mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her own hands taking up her Son, brought him to the Pile of Wood, where the residue of his fellows (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey he had taken in hand with his companions.

The Martyrs taken out of the Pond were cast into the fire.

A good mother caring more for the soul, than for the body of her son. Ex Basil, in serm. de 40 martyribus. Another story of 40 martyrs in a cold Pond at Sebasteia.

Basil. A like story of forty Martyrs, which were married men, we read of in *Nicephorus & Sozom.* l. 9. c. 2. which were killed likewise in a Lake or Pond at *Sebasteia*, a Town of *Armenia*, under *Licinius*, if the story be not the same with this. *Niceph. Sozom.*

In this fellowship and company of Martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of *Cyrus*. This *Cyrus* was a Physician born in *Alexandria*, which flying into *Egypt*, in the Persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, led a solitary life in *Arabia*, being much spoken of for his Learning and Miracles, unto whose company after a certain time did *Joannes* born in the City of *Edessa*, beyond the River *Euphrates*, joyn himself, leaving the souldiers life which before that time he had exercised. But whilst as yet the same Persecution raged in a City in *Egypt* called *Canope*, there was cast into Prison for the confession of their faith, a certain godly Christian woman, called *Athanasia*, and her three daughters, *Theoctiste*, *Theodota* and *Eudoxia*; with whom *Cyrus* was well acquainted: at whose infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother *John*, came and visited them for their better confirmation; at which time *Lirianus* was chief Captain and Lieutenant of *Egypt*, of whose wickedness and cruelty, especially against Women and Maidens, *Athanasia* maketh mention in his Apologies, and in his Epistle to those that lead a solitary life. This *Cyrus* therefore and *Joannes*, being accused and apprehended of the Heathen Men, as by whose persuasions the Maidens and Daughters of *Athanasia* contumeliously despised the Gods and the Emperors Religion, and could by no means be brought to do sacrifice, were after the publication of their constant confession put to death by the sword: *Athanasia* also and her three daughters being condemned to death. This History writeth *Simeon Metaphrastes*.

Cyrus, Joannes.

Athanasia with her 3 daughters. *Theoctiste*, *Theodota*, *Eudoxia*, Martyrs. The loving care of one Christian toward another.

Cyrus to do others good lost his life.

The story of *Sebastian* Martyr. A worthy example of a Captain to be followed.

Sebastian being born in the part of *France* called *Gallia Narbonensis*, was a Christian, and was Lieutenant General of the Vaward of *Dioclesian* the Emperor, who also encouraged many Martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the Emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his own souldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable Arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a Jakes or Sink. *Ambrosius* maketh mention of this *Sebastian* the Martyr in his Commentary upon the hundred and eighteenth Psalm; and *Simeon*

Metaphrastes amongst other Martyrs that suffered with *Sebastian* numbrell also these following: *Nicostratus* with *Zoe* his Wife, *Tranquillinus* with *Martia* his Wife, *Traglinus*, *Claudius*, *Castor*, *Tibertius*, *Castellus*, *Marcus* and *Marcellinus*, with others more.

Marcus, *Martia*, *Tranquillinus*, *Martia* his Wife, *Traglinus*, *Claudius*, *Castor*, *Tibertius*, *Castellus*, *Marcus*, *Marcellinus*.

Basilus in another Sermon also maketh mention of one *Barlaam*, being a noble and famous Martyr, which abode all the torments of the Executioners even to the point of death; which thing when the Tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him upon the Altar, where they did use to offer sacrifices to their Idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had yet some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning Incense upon the Altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope, the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same endured as though it had been covered with hot Embers, when as *Barlaam* recited out of the Psalms this saying: *Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.*

Traglinus, *Claudius*, *Castor*, *Tibertius*, *Castellus*, *Marcus*, *Marcellinus*. What desire the Heathen had by some means to allure the Christians to offer sacrifice.

To this Narration of *Basilus*, touching the Martyrdom of *Barlaam*, we will annex consequently another story of *Ambrose*. He making a certain exhortation to certain Virgins, in the same Oration commendeth the Martyrdoms of *Agricola* and *Vitalis*, who suffered also in the same Persecution under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* (as they affirm) at *Bonony*. This *Vitalis* was servant to *Agricola*, who both together between themselves had made a compact to give their lives with other Martyrs for the Name of Christ. Whereupon *Vitalis* being sent before of his Master, to offer himself to Martyrdom, fell first into the hands of Persecutors, who laboured about him by all means to cause him to deny Christ. Which when he would in no case do, but stoutly persisted in the Confession of his Faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So *Vitalis*, in the midst of the agony, and painful torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himself to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon *Agricola* his Master, whose virtuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his suffering therefore was the longer deferred. But *Agricola* not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking moreover the adversaries to quicker speed, at length was fastened unto the Cross, and so finished his Martyrdom, which he so long desired. *Ambrosius* in exhortatione ad Virgines.

Agricola with his servant *Vitalis* martyred. Ex *Ambrosius* in sermone de Virginitate. *Vitalis* first Martyred.

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdom of *Vincentius*, whose History here followeth: This *Vincentius* was a Spaniard, and a Levite most godly and virtuous, who at this time suffered Martyrdom at *Valence* under *Dacianus* the President, as we may gather by *Prudentius* in his Hymn. *Bergomensis* in his supplement reciteth these words concerning his Martyrdom, out of a certain Sermon of *St. Augustine*. Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitless sight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but certainly a great sight and marvellous, and there with singular pleasure received it, when the painful passion of victorious *Vincentius* was read unto us. Is there any so heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immovable Martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtilty of that Serpent, against the Tyranny of *Dacianus*, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, *Dacianus* caused the Martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joynts of his body to be distended and racked out, until they crackt again. This being done in most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly, (that his dolours and griefs might be augmented) they miserably vexed his flesh with iron Combs sharply filed. And to the end the Tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild Martyrs flesh, the tormentors themselves also were vilely scourged at the Presidents commandment. And lest his passion through want of pains might seem imperfect or else too easie, they laid his body, being all out of joint, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery Plates, with hot

Agricola desirous of Martyrdom, *Agricola* desired Martyrdom upon the Cross.

The cruel Martyrdom of *Vincentius*. Ex *Augustine* in sermone.

The torments exercised upon *Vincentius*.

burning Salt, sprinkling the same. Last of all, into a vile Dungeon was this mighty Martyr drawn, the floor whereof first was thick spread with the sharpest shells that might be gotten, his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with joy and gladness. Hast thou prepared a terrible Rack (O cruel tyrant, O devouring Lion) for the Martyrs bed? the Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joints all asunder? His bones, his joints, his hairs are all numbred. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal wounds? the Lord shall pour abundantly into all his sores of his oyl of gladness. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp fleshhooks, thine hot searing irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shells, thy pinching stocks shall turn to this patient Martyr to the best. All together shall work contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of joy shall he reap into the Barn of his soul, out of this mighty harvest of pains that thou hast brought him into. Yea, thou shalt prove him *Vincens* indeed; that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madness by his meekness, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

The comfort of the Lord upon his Salutes.

Philoromus Martyr.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. the confession and martyrdom of Philoromus.

The torments and constancy of Procopius to death. Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15.

Georgius martyr, the sundry torments of Georgius.

Sergius, Bacchus, Panthaleon, Theodorus, Faustus, Gereon with 318 fellows.

Hermogenes, Menas a man of Athens, Eutraphus, Samonas, Gurius, Abibus, Hieron with his fellows Judeus, Domnus.

Evelasius, Maximinus, Thirius, Lucius, Callimicus, Apollonius, Philemon, Afilas, Leonides, with Arrianus, President of Thebaide. Cyprianus likewise, a Citizen of Antioch, who after he had continued a long time a filthy Magician or Sorcerer, at length was converted and made a Deacon, then a Priest, and at last the Bishop of Antioch, Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 120. of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This Cyprian with Justina a Virgin suffered among the Martyrs. Item Glicerius at Nicomedia, Felix a Minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, Deacons in the City of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Ciriacus Deacon to Marcellus the Bishop, Carpophorus Priest at Thufcia, with Abundus his Deacon. Item, Clandius

In this catalogue or company of such holy Martyrs, as suffered in this foresaid tenth Persecution, many more, and almost innumerable, there be expressed in Authors, beside them whom we have hitherto comprehended, as *Philoromus*, a man of noble birth, and great possessions in *Alexandria*, who being persuaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his Wife, to consider his Children and Family, did not only reject the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and torments of the Judge, to keep the confession of Christ inviolate unto the death, and losing of his head: *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 9.* of whom *Eusebius* beareth witness that he was there present himself.

Of like estate and dignity was also *Procopius* in *Palestina*, who after his conversion brake his images of Silver and Gold, and distributed the same to the poor, and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of goring and stabbing in, of firing, at length had his head also smitten off, as witnesseth *Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

To this may be joyned also *Georgius* a young man of *Cappadocia*, who stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the Emperors, was apprehended and cast into Prison, then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords, after that his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at last with a sword had his head cut off. *Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

With these aforementioned, add also *Sergius* and *Bacchus*, *Panthaleon* a Physician in *Nicomedia*, mentioned in *suppl. lib. 8. Theodorus* of the City of *Amasia* in *Hellepont*, mentioned in *Vincentius lib. 3. Faustus* a Martyr of *Egypt*, mentioned in *Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon*, with three hundred and eighteen fellow Martyrs, which suffered about *Calour*, *Petr. de nat. lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes* the President of *Athens*, who being converted by the constancy of one *Menas*, and *Eutraphus* in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, *Samonas* *Gurius* and *Abibus*, mentioned in *Simeon Metaphrastes*. *Hieron* also, with certain of his Confessors, under *Maximinus*, mentioned in *Metaphrastes*, *Judeus* and *Domnus*, who suffered with many other Martyrs above mentioned at *Nicomedia*, as recordeth *Metaphrastes*. *Evelasius*, *Maximinus*, the Emperors officers, whom *Fausta* the Virgin in her torments converted. Also *Thirius*, *Lucius*, *Callimicus*, *Apollonius*, *Philemon*, *Afilas*, *Leonides*, with *Arrianus*, President of *Thebaide*. *Cyprianus* likewise, a Citizen of *Antioch*, who after he had continued a long time a filthy Magician or Sorcerer, at length was converted and made a Deacon, then a Priest, and at last the Bishop of *Antioch*, *Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 120.* of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This Cyprian with *Justina* a Virgin suffered among the Martyrs. Item *Glicerius* at *Nicomedia*, *Felix* a Minister, *Fortunatus*, *Achilleus*, Deacons in the City of *Valent*. *Arthemius* of *Rome*, *Ciriacus* Deacon to *Marcellus* the Bishop, *Carpophorus* Priest at *Thufcia*, with *Abundus* his Deacon. Item, *Clandius*

Sirinus Antoninus which suffered with *Marcellinus* the Bishop, *Sabel. Enead. lib. 8. Cucufatus* in the City of *Barcellona*. *Felix* Bishop of *Apulia*, with *Adanctus* and *Januarius* his Priest, *Fortunatus* and *Septimus* his Readers: who suffered in the City *Venusina* under *Dioclesian*, *Bergom. lib. 8.*

It were too long a travel or trouble to recite all and singular names of them particularly, whom this Persecution of *Dioclesian* did consume. The number of whom being almost infinite, is not to be collected or expressed. One story yet remaineth not to be forgotten of *Cassianus*, whose pitiful story being described of *Prudentius* we have here inserted, rendring Meter for Meter, as followeth.

The lamentable history of Cassianus Martyr. Ex Jov. Prudent. lib. 1. Persiph.

THrough Forum, as in Italy, I passed once to Rome, Into a Church by chance came I, and stood fast by a Tomb; Which Church sometime a place had been, where causes great in law Were scand and tried, and judgment given, to keep brut men in awe. This place Sylla Cornelius, first built, he rais'd the frame, And call'd the same Forum, and thus that City took the name. In prayer fervent as I stood, casting mine eye aside, A picture in full piteous mood (imbrude) by chance I sp'd; A thousand wounded marks full bad, all mangled rent and torn; The skin appear'd as though it had been jagg'd and prickt with thorn. A scull of pictured boys did band, about that loathsome sight, That with their sharpened gads in hand, his members thus had light. These gads were but their pens, wherewith their Tables written were, And such as Scholars often sit, unto the Schools do bear. Whom thou seest here thus pictur'd sit, and firmly dost behold, No fable is, I do thee wit, unaskt a Prelate told That walks there by; but doth declare, the History of one, Which written, would good record bear, what faith was long ago, A skilful Schoolmaster this was, that here sometime did teach; The Bishop once of *Brixia* was, and Christ full plain did preach. He knew well how to comprehend, long talk in a few lines, And it at length how to amend, by order and by times. His sharp precepts and his stern looks, his beardless boys did fear, When hate in heart (yet for their books) full deadly they did bear. The child that learns, I do ye weet, terms aye his Tutor cruel; No discipline in youth seems sweet, count this a common rule. Behold the raging time now here, oppressing so the faith, Doth persecute Gods children dear, and all that Christ bewraith. This trusty teacher of the swarm, profess the living God; The chief good thing they count their harm, perhaps he shakes his rod. What Rebel (askt the President) is he I hear so loud? Unto our youth an instrument they say, and loe they bow'd. Go, bring the Caitiff forth, he bids, and make no long delay; Let him be set the boys amidst; they do as he doth say. Let him be given unto them all, and let them have their will, To do to him what spite they shall, so that they will him kill. Even as they list let them him fray, and him deride so long, Till weariness provokes their play, no longer to prolong. Let them, I say, then uncontroul'd, both prick and scotch his skin; To bathe their hands let them be bold, in the hot blood of him. The Scholars bereat make great game, it pleaseth them full well; That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a bell. They bind his hands behind his back, and naked they him strip; In Bodkin wise at him they wack, they laugh to see him skip. The private hate that each one bath in heart, it now appears, They pour it forth in gawdy wrath, they wreak them of their tears. Some cast great stones, some other break their tables on his face; Lo, here thy Latin and thy Greek (oh barren boys of grace) The blood runs down his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leams, Where notes by them were made (though loth) and well proposed themes. Some wet, some sharp their pensels points serving to write withal; Some other gage his flesh and joints, as with a pointed nail. Sometime they prick, sometime they rent; his worthy Martyrs flesh, And thus by turns they do torment this confessor afresh. Now all with one consent on him their bloody hands they lay, To see the blood from limb to limb drop down they make a play. More painful was the pricking pang, of children oft and thick, Than of the bigger boys that stang, and near the heart did stick. For by the feeble strokes of th'one, death was denied his will, Of smart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill. The deeper strokes the great ones gave, and nearer toucht the quick, The welcomer he thought the same, whom longing death made sick. God make you strong, he saith, I pray, God give you might at will, And what you want in years, I say, let cruelly fulfil. But whilst the Hangman breatheth still, and me with you doth match, That weakly work, yet want no will, my life for to dispatch; My

My griefs was great: what grievest thou now? said some of them again,
In school, advised well art thou, whom there thou putst to pain?
Behold we pray, and now make good, as many thousands stripes:
As when with weeping eyes we stood, in danger of thy gripes.
Art thou now angry at thy hand, that always criedst write, write,
And never wouldst that our right hand should rest in quiet plite?
We had forgot our playing times, thou churle deniedst us of:
We now but prick and point our lines, and thus they grin and scoffe,
Correct good Sir, your viewed verse, if ought amiss there be:
Now use thy power and then rehearse, that have not marked thee.
Christ pitying this groaning man, with torments torn and tired,
Commands his heart to break even then, and life that was then hired,
He yields again to him that gave, and thus he makes exchange:
Immortal for mortal to have, that in such pain did range.
This is, saith he, that this picture, thou so beholdest, oh guest,
Of Cassianus martyr pure, doth Preach I do Protest.
If thou prudence have ought in store, in piety to deal,
In hope of just reward therefore, now shew thy loving zeal.
I could not but consent, I weep, his tomb I do embrace:
Home I return, and after sleep, this pitiful Preface.
I write as a memorial, for ever to endure,
Of Cassianus School-master, all others to allure,
To constancy under the cross, of their profession:
Accounting gain what ever loss for Christ they take upon.

Cassianus
martyr.

No less admirable than wonderful was the constancy also of Women and Maidens, who in the same persecution gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the Testimony of Christ, with no less boldness of spirit, than did the men themselves above specified, to whom how much more inferior they were of bodily strength, so much more worthy of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here we mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our Stories and Chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with *Eulalia*, whose story we have taken out of the foresaid *Prudentius*, as followeth.

In the West part of Spain, called Portugal, is a City great and Populous, named *Emerita*, wherein dwelt, and was brought up a Virgin, born of Noble Parentage, whose name was *Eulalia*, which *Emerita* although for the situation thereof, was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof, by the Martyrdom, Blood, and Sepulchre of this blessed Virgin *Eulalia*. Twelve years of age was she, and not much above, when she refused great and Honorable offers in Marriage, as one not skilful, nor yet delighting in Courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleasure in Purple and gorgeous Apparel, or else in Precious Balms, or Costly Ornaments and Jewels: But forsaking and despising all these and such like Pompous allurements, then shewed she her self most bulie in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance, and heavenly Patronage. Which *Eulalia*, as she was modest and discreet in behaviour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also witty and sharp in answering her Enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution inforced her to joyn her self amongst Gods Children in the household of faith, and when the Christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to Devils or dead Gods: Then began the blessed spirit of *Eulalia* to kindle, and being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a courageous Captain) to give a charge upon this so great and disordered a battel: And so the silly woman, pouring out the Bowels of her innocent heart before God, more provoketh thereby the force and rage of her Enemies against her. But the godly care of her Parents, fearing lest the willing mind of this Damsel, so ready to die for Christs cause, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her and kept her close at their house in the Country, being a great way out of the City. She yet misliking that quiet life, and also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great hast leaving the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) passed through the thorny and briary places, accompanied yet with spiritual guard: And although dark and dreadful was the silent night, yet had she with her, the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Israel coming out of Egypt, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guid in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; so had this Godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when she flying and forsaking the place where all filthy Idolatry abounded, and hastened

her Heavenly journey, was not oppressed with the dreadful darkness of the night: But yet she before the day appeared in this her speedy journey, with her self considered and mused on a thousand matters and more.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage she goeth unto the tribunal or Judgment-seat, and in the midst of them all with a loud voice crying out, said: I pray you what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without advisement to destroy and kill mens Souls, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you unfortunate) what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an Enemy to your devillish sacrifices, I spurn your Idols under my feet, I confesse God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. *Isis*, *Apollo*, and *Venus*, what are they? *Maximinus* himself, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of mens hands; the other but a castaway, because he worshippeth the same work. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be set by: *Maximinus* is a Lord of substance, and yet he himself falleth down before a stone, and voweth the honour of his dignity unto those that are much inferior to his Vassals. Why then doth he oppress so tyrannically, more worthy stomachs and courages than himself? He must needs be a good guid and an upright Judge, which feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing in the bodies of Godly men, doth rent and tear their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in destroying and subverting the faith.

Go to therefore thou Hang-man, burn, cut and mangle thou these earthly members. It is an easie matter to break a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst do. The Pretor then or Judge, with these words of hers, set in a great rage, saith, Hang-man take her and pull her out by the hair of her Head, and torment her to the uttermost, let her feel the power of our country Gods, and let her know what the imperial Government of a Prince is. But yet, O thou sturdy girle, fain would I have thee (if it were possible) before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedness. Behold what pleasures thou maiest enjoy by the honourable house thou comest of, thy fallen house and progeny followeth thee to death with lamentable tears, and the heavy nobility of thy kindred maketh doleful lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thy self so young a flower, and so near these Honourable marriages and great Doweries thou maist enjoy? Doth not the glistering and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of rhine ancestors prick thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy rashness and weakness grieveth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: Either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beasts shalt thou be pulled in pieces, or else thou being cast into the fiery flames, shalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy Friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incensers into the Censers, thou shalt be delivered from all these punishments. To this *Eulalia* made no answer, but being in a great fury, she spitteth in the Tyrants face, she throweth down the Idols, and spurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incense prepared to the Censers. Then without further delay the Hang-men with both their strengths took her, and puld one joyn from another, and with the talons of wild beasts scotched her sides to the hard bones: She all this while singing and praying God in this wise; Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee: What a pleasure is it for them, O Christ, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain unto these high dignities? and still calleth upon that holy name, all stained and imbrued with her own blood. This sang she with a bold stomach, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merry abandoning from her mind all heaviness and grief, when as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with fresh blood bathed her white and fair skin. Then proceed they to the last and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the Iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burnt on every side with flaming Torches, her tormented breasts and sides: Her hair hanging about her shoulders in two parts divided (wherewith her shamefaced chastity and virginity was covered) reaching down to the

Eulalia discoveth the heathen Judge.

The godly confession of *Eulalia*.

Eulalia allured with false persuasions.

Eulalia singeth and prayeth God in her torment.

Eulalia put in the fire. The end and martyrdom of *Eulalia*.

the

the ground. But when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head: then she desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame, and so rested she in Peace.

Ex Pruden.

Then said *Prudentius* and *Ado*, also *Aquilinus* add moreover, writing of a white Dove issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body, also of her body covered miraculously with snow, with other things more, whereof let every reader use his own Judgment.

Agnes Martyr.

Strange and unnecessary miracles omitted.

As ye have heard now the Christian life, and constant death of *Eulalia*, much worthy of praise and commendation: So no less commendation is worthy to be given to blessed *Agnes*, that constant damoel and martyr of God, who as she was in *Rome* of honorable Parents begotten, so lieth she there as honorably intombed and buried. Which *Agnes* for her unspotted and undefiled virginity, deserved no less praise, and commendation than for her willing death and Martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long discourse, more in my judgment than necessary, reciting divers and sundry strange miracles by her done in the process of her History; which partly for tediousness, partly for the doubtfulness of the author (whom some father upon *Ambrose*) and partly for the strangeness and incredibility thereof, I omit, being satisfied with that which *Prudentius* briefly writeth of her, as followeth: She was (saith he) young and not marriageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked Edicts of the Emperor; lest that through Idolatry she might have denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet first proved by divers and sundry policies to induce her to the same (as now with the flattering and inticing words of the Judge, now with the threatnings of the storming Executioner) she stood notwithstanding stedfast in all courageous strength: And willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer whatsoever it should be, yea though it were death itself. Then said the cruel tyrant, *If to suffer pain and torment be so easie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worthy, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee.* Wherefore this is determined, that unless thou wilt make obeysance to the Altar of *Minerva*, and ask forgiveness of her for thy arrogancy, thou shalt be sent or abandoned to the common stews or brothel-house.

Ex Pruden. lib. de coronis.

Agnes constant in the confession of her faith.

Agnes the virgin with more spirit than vehemency inveigheth against both *Minerva* and her virginity: The youth in skuls flock and run together, and crave that they may have *Agnes* their ludicrous prey. Then, saith *Agnes*, Christ is not forgetful of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastity, neither will he leave them so destitute of help: He is always at hand and ready to fight for such as are shamefaced and chaste Virgins, neither suffereth he his gifts of holy integrity or chastity to be polluted. Thou shalt, saith she, willingly bath thy sword in my blood if thou wilt, but thou shalt not deile my body with filthy lust for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but he commanded that she should be fet naked at the corner of some street (which place at that time, such as were strumpets commonly used) the greater part of the multitude both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameless a sight, went their ways, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with uncircumcised eyes beholding the damsel, and that in such opprobrious wise; behold a flame of fire like unto a flash of lightning falleth upon him, and striketh his eyes out of his head: whereupon he for dead falling unto the ground, sprawleth in the kennel-durt; whose companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewayled him as a dead man: But the Virgin for this her miraculous delivery from the danger and shame of that place, singeth praises to God and Christ.

Agnes threatened to the brothel-house. Agnes hold upon the help of Christ.

The innocent eyes of a young man, beholding *Agnes*, stricken out.

The young man restored again to his health by the prayer of *Agnes*.

There be (saith *Prudentius*) that report, how that she being desired to pray unto Christ for the party, that a little before with fire from Heaven for his incontinency was stricken, was restored by her prayer both unto his perfect health and sight. But blessed *Agnes* after that she had climbed this her first greese and step unto the heavenly pallee, forthwith began to climb another: For fury ingendring now the mortal wrath of her bloody Enemy,

wringing his hands he crieth out saying: I am undone, O thou the Executioner draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the Emperor hath appointed thee. And when *Agnes* saw a sturdy and cruel fellow (to behold) stand behind her, or approaching near to her with a naked sword in his hand: I am now gladder, saith she, and rejoyce, that such a one as thou, being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy soul-dier art come, than one more feeble, weak, and faint should come, or else any other young man sweetly imbalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might destroy me with funeral shame. This, even this, is he, I now confesse, that I do love. I will make hast to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus I being married unto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkness of this world, that reacheth even unto the skies. O eternal Governour, vouchsafe to open the gates of Heaven, once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive (oh Christ) my soul that seeketh thee. Thus speaking and kneeling upon her knees she prayeth unto Christ above in Heaven, that her neck might be the readier for the sword, now hanging over the same. The executioner then with his bloody hand finished her hope, and at one stroke cutteth off her head, and by such short and swift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.

Agnes desirous of Martyrdom.

The prayer of *Agnes*.

Agnes beheaded.

The History of *Katharine* Martyr. All things be not true and probable that be written of Saints lives.

I have oftentimes before complained, that the stories of Saints have been powdered and sauced with divers untrue additions, and fabulous inventions of men, who either of a superstitious devotion, or of a subtil practise have so mangled-mangled their stories and lives, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and uncorrupt, as in the usual portues wont to be read for daily service, is manifest and evident to be seen; wherein few Legends there be able to abide the touch of History, if they were truly tryed. This I write upon the occasion specially of good *Katharine*, whom now I have in hand: In whom although I nothing doubt, but in her life was great holiness, in her knowledge excellency, in her death constancy: Yet that all things be true that be storied of her, neither do I affirm, neither am I bound so to think: So many strange fictions of her be fained diversly of divers writers, whereof some seem incredible, some also impudent. As where *Petrus de natalibus* writing of her conversion declareth, how that *Katharine* sleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his Mother *Mary* appeared unto her: And when *Mary* had offered her unto Christ to be his wife, he first refused her for her blackness. The next time she being baptised, *Mary* appearing again, offered her to marry with Christ, who then being liked, was espoused to him and married, having a Golden ring the same time put on her finger in her sleep, &c. *Bergomensis* writeth thus, that because she in the sight of the people openly resisted the Emperor *Maxentius* to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore she was commanded and committed upon the same to prison, which seemeth hitherto not much to digress from truth. It followeth moreover, that the same night an Angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto the Martyrdom, for that she was a Maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with her for whose honour she did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wisdom which her Enemies should not withstand: With many other things more which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning the fifty Philosophers, whom she in disputation convicted, and converted unto our Religion, and dyed Martyrs for the same. Item, of the converting of *Porphyrius*, kinsman to *Maxentius*, and *Faustina* the Emperors wife. At length (saith the story) after she proved the rack, and the four sharp cutting wheels, having at last her head cut off with the sword, so she finished her Martyrdom, about the year of our Lord (as *Antoninus* affirmeth) three hundred and ten. *Simcon Metaphrastes*, writing of her, discourseth the same more at large, to whom they may resort which covet more therein to be satisfied.

Petrus de natalibus lib. 104.

Katharine resisteth the Emperer openly to his face.

Katharine committed to prison and comforted by an Angel.

The time, moments and end of *Katharine*.

Among the works of *Basil* a certain oration is extant concerning *Julitta* the Martyr, who came to her Martyrdom (as he witnesseth) by this occasion. A certain avaricious and greedy person of great authority, and (as it may appear)

appear) the Emperor his Deputy, or other like Officer (who abused the Decrees and Laws of the Emperor against the Christians, to his own lucre and gain) violently took from this *Julitta* all her Goods, Lands, Chattels, and Servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the Judges: a day was appointed when the Cause should be heard. The spoiled woman and the spoiling Extortioner stood forth together; the woman lamentably declareth her cause, the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When she had proved that of good right the Goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her: the wicked and blood-thirsty Wretch preferring vile worldly substance, before the precious substance of a Christian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that she was an Outlaw in not observing the Emperors gods, since her Christian Faith hath been first abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon Incense and Fire were prepared for her to worship the gods, which unless she would do, neither the Emperors Protection, nor Laws, nor Judgment, nor Life should she enjoy in that Common weal. When this Hand-Maid of the Lord heard these words, she said, Farewel Life, welcome Death; farewel Riches, welcome Poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, than to speak one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield thee thanks most hearty, O my God, for this gift of Grace, that I can condemn and despise this frail and transitory World, esteeming Christian Profession above all Treasures. Henceforth when any question was demanded, her answer was, I am the Servant of Jesus Christ. Her Kindred and Acquaintance flocking to her, advertised her to change her mind. But that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their Idolatry. Forthwith the Judge with the sharp Sword of Sentence, not only cutteth off all her Goods and Possessions, but judgeth her also to the fire most cruelly. The joyful Martyr imbraceth the Sentence as a thing most sweet and delectable. She addresseth her self to the flames, in countenance, gesture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her, sententiously she spake, *Stick not, O sisters, to labour and travel after true Piety and Godliness. Cease to accuse the fragility of Feminine nature. What? are not we created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after Gods Image and Similitude are we made, as lively as they. Not flesh only God used in the creation of the Woman, in sign and token of her infirmity and weakness, but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and living God, all false gods forsaken; constant in Faith, all Infidelity renounced; patient in Adversity, all worldly ease refused. Wax weary (my dear Sisters) of your lives led in darkness, and be in love with my Christ, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, which is the true Light of the World. Perswade your selves, or rather the Spirit of the living God perswade you, that there is a World to come, wherein the Worshippers of Idols and Devils shall be tormented perpetually, the Servants of the High God shall be crowned eternally. With these words she imbraced the fire, and sweetly slept in the Lord.*

There have been moreover beside these above recited, divers godly women and faithful Martyrs, as *Barbara* a Noble woman in *Thufcia*, who after miserable Prisonment, sharp Cords, and burning Flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also *Fausa* the Virgin which suffered under *Maximinus*, by whom *Eusebius* a Ruler of the Emperors Palace, and *Maximinus* the Pretident were both converted, and also suffered Martyrdom, as witnesseth *Metaphrastes*. Item, *Juliana* a Virgin of singular beauty in *Nicomedia*, who after divers Agonies suffered likewise under *Maximinus*. Item, *Anasia* a Maid of *Thessalonica*, who under the said *Maximinus* suffered, *Metaph. ibid.* *Justina* which suffered with *Cyprianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, not to omit also *Tecla*; although most Writers do record that she suffered under *Nero*. *Platina in vita Caii* maketh also mention of *Lucia* and *Agatha*. All which holy Maids and Virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant Martyrdom, in this tenth and last Persecution of *Dioclesian*.

During the time of which Persecution, these Bishops of *Rome* succeeded one after another, *Caius* who succeeded

next after *Xistus* before mentioned, *Marcellinus*, *Marcellus* (of whom *Eusebius* in his story maketh no mention) *Eusebius*, and then *Miltiades*: all which died Martyrs in the tempest of this Persecution. First, *Marcellinus* after the Martyrdom of *Caius*, was ordained Bishop; he being brought by *Dioclesian* to the Idols, first yielded to their Idolatry, and was seen to Sacrifice: wherefore being Excommunicated by the Christians, he fell into such Repentance, that he returned again to *Dioclesian*, where he standing to his former Confession, and publicly condemning the Idolatry of the Heathen, recovered the Crown of Martyrdom, suffering with *Claudius*, *Cyrinus*, and *Antoninus*.

Marcellus likewise was urged of *Maxentius* to renounce his Bishoprick and Religion, and to Sacrifice with them to Idols; which when he constantly refused, was beaten with Cudgels, and so expelled the City. Then he entering into the house of *Lucina* a widow, assembled there the Congregation; which when it came to the ears of *Maxentius* the Tyrant, he turned the house of *Lucina* into a stable, and made *Marcellus* the Keeper of the Beasts; who with the stink thereof and miserable handling, was put to death. *Eusebius* late Bishop of *Rome*, as *Euseb. in Chro.* faith, seven months, *Marianus Scotus* faith eight months, *Damasus* affirmeth six years, *Sabellicus* alledgeth certain Authors that say, that he was slain by *Maximianus*, but correcteth that himself, affirming that *Maximianus* died before him.

Miltiades by the testimony of *Platina*, and others that follow him, sat three years and seven months, and suffered under *Maximianus*. But that seemeth not to be true, as both *Sabellicus* doth rightly note, affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time: for so much as the said *Galerius Maximianus* reigned but two years, and died before *Miltiades*. Also *Eusebius* manifestly expresseth the example of a Letter of *Constantine* written to this *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, plainly convicting that to be false which *Platina* affirmeth.

In the Book collected of general Councils, among the decretal Epistles, there is a long tractation about the judgment and condemnation of *Marcellinus*: whereof the Masters and Patrons of Popery in these our days take great hold to prove the Supremacy of the Pope to be above all general Councils, and that he ought not to be subject to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written, *Nemo unquam judicavit pontificem, nec presul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam, &c.* Although this sentence of *Miltiades* seemeth apparently to be patched in rather by some *Helidibrandus* than by *Miltiades*, both for that it hangeth with little order of sense upon that which goeth before; and again, because that *Prima sedes* here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the See of *Rome* before the Council of *Nice*, where the order and placing of Bishops was first established. But to let this sentence pass, yet notwithstanding the circumstance and proceeding of this judgment, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the Bishops of this Council of *Simuesse*, did not condemn *Marcellinus*, for the words of the Council be plain, *Subscripserunt igitur in ejus damnationem & damnaverunt eum extra civitatem*; that is, They subscribed therefore to his Condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the City. Moreover by the said Council were brought in the forty two Witnesses against *Marcellinus*. In the said Council, the Verdict of the same witnesses was demanded, and also received. Furthermore, *Quirinus* one of the Bishops there openly protested, that he would not depart the Council, before the malice of the Bishops was revealed: What doth all this declare, but that the Bishop of *Rome* was called there, and did appear before the Judgment Seat of the Council, and there stood subject to their Sentence and Authority, by the which he was expelled out of the City? As for the words of the Council, whereupon our Papists stand so much, *Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius iudicio condemnaberis, &c.* Item, *Two ore iudica causam tuam, &c.* These words import not here the Authority of the *Roman* Bishop to be above the Council, neither do they declare what the Council could not do, but what they would and wished rather to be done; that is, that he should rather acknowledge his Crime before God and them,

Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Eusebius, Miltiades, Bishops of Rome and Martyrs. Marcellinus deneth and repenteth. Ex lib. Concilio. & Platina.

Euseb. in Chro.

Authors dissent. Ex Sabel. Enchirid. 7. lib. 8.

Sabel. ibid.

A place of Platina consulted.

The order and proceeding described in judgment against the Bishop of Rome.

An objection of the Papists answered unto.

The Bishop of Rome cited up and appeareth before the Council.

The Bishop
of Rome
condemned
by the
Council.

them, with a voluntary yielding of his heart, then that the Confession of such an hainous Fact should be extorted from him through their condemnation, for that they saw to be expedient for his Souls health; otherwise their condemnation should serve him to small purpose; and so it came to pass: For he being urged of them to condemn himself, so did: prostrating himself and weeping before them. Whereupon immediately they proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the City. Now whether by this may be gathered that the Bishops of Rome ought not to be cited, accused and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent Reader judge simply.

The decretal
Epistles
and constitu-
tions of
these Bi-
shops of
Rome exa-
mined.
The chief
scope of the
constitu-
tions decretal,
to magni-
fice the
Church of
Rome.
The Epistle
of Caius.
A great part
of the Ep-
istle of Caius
taken out of
the Epistle
Leo, to Leo
the Empe-
ror.

As touching the decretal Epistles, which be intituled under the names of these foresaid Bishops, who so well adviseth them, and with judgment will examine the stile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the Constitutions in them contained (little serving to any purpose, and nothing serving for those troublesome days then present) may easily discern them, either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times; especially seeing all the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting up, and to exalt the See of Rome above all other Bishops and Churches, and to reduce all Causes and Appeals to the said See of Rome. So the Epistle of Caius beginning with the Commendation of the Authority of his See endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all Provinces whatsoever emerging, to be referred to the See Apostolical. Moreover the greatest part of the said Epistle from this place (*Quicumque illi sunt, ita obsecrati, &c.* to the end of this period, *Quoniam sicut ait B. Apostolus, magnum est Pietatis, &c.*) is contained in the Epistle of Leo, unto Leo the Emperor: and so rightly agreeth in all points with the stile of Leo, that evident it is the same to be borrowed out of Leo, and to be patched into the Epistle of Caius out of Leo.

The Epistle
of Marcelli-
nus.

Likewise the Epistle of Marcellinus, to get more Authority with the Reader, is admired with a great part of Pauls Epistle to the Ephesians, word for word. And how it is like that Marcellinus, which died in the twentieth year of Dioclesian, could write of consubstantiality of the Divine Persons, when that controvertie and term of consubstantiality was not heard of in the Church before the Nicen Council, which was twenty three years after him? But especially the two Epistles of Marcellus bewray themselves, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more than only the reading of the same. Such a glorious stile of ambition therein doth appear, as it is ealie to be understood, not to proceed either from such an humble Martyr, or to favour any thing of the misery of such a time. His words of his first Epistle written unto the Brethren of Antioch, and alledged in the Popes Decrees by Gratianus are these:

24. 9. 1. Ro-
gamus vos
fratres.

In what
Chapter or
leaf of all
the Bible
doth the
Lord com-
mand the
See of Peter
to be trans-
lated from
Antioch to
Rome?

We desire you Brethren, that you do not teach nor conceive any other thing but as ye have received of the blessed Apostle Saint Peter, and of other Apostles and Fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed, wherefore you must not forsake your own Father and follow others. For he is the Head of the whole Church, to whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. Whose Seat was first with you in Antioch, which afterward by the Commandment of the Lord, was translated from thence to Rome, of the which Church of Rome I am this day placed (by the Grace of God) to be the Governor. From the which Church of Rome, neither ought you to separate your selves, seeing to the same Church all manner of Causes Ecclesiastical, being of any importance (Gods Grace so disposing) are commanded to be referred: by the same to be ordered regularly, from whence they took their first beginning, &c. And followeth consequently upon the same, And if your Church of Antioch, which was once the first, will not yield her self unto the See of Rome, there is no other Church else that will not subject it self to our Dominion: to whom all other Bishops whatsoever, as they must needs do (according to the Decrees of the Apostles and of their Successors) ought to fly, as to have their Head, and must Appeal to the same, and there to have their Redress and their Protection, from

The Church
of Rome su-
eth to the
Church of
Antioch to
yield unto
her.

whence they took their first Instruction and Consecration, &c.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus that blessed Martyr in those so dreadful days, I say no more, but only desire the (gentle Reader) to judge.

The second
Epistle of
Marcellus
written to
Maxentius.

In his second Epistle moreover, the said Marcellus writing to Maxentius the bloody Tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his cruelty, sharply admonishing him how and what to do: to learn and seek the true Religion of God, to maintain his Church, to honour and reverence the Priests of God, and especially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would cease from Persecution, &c. All this is possible and like to be true. But now mark (good Reader) what blanced stuff here followed withall: as where he alledging the Statutes and Sanctions of his Predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no Bishop nor Minister ought to be persecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their possessions and places again restored by the Law, before they were bound by the Law to answer to their Accusations laid in against them: and so after that, in convenient time, to be called to a Council; the which Council notwithstanding without the Authority of the holy See, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it remain in his power to assemble certain Bishops together. Neither can he regularly condemn any Bishop, appealing to this his Apostolical See, before the Sentence definitive do proceed from the foresaid See, &c. And it followeth after, *And therefore (saith he) let no Bishop of what Crime soever be be attached, come to his Accusation, or be heard, but in his own ordinary Synod at his convenient time: the Regular and Apostolical Authority being joyned withall.* Moreover in the said Epistle writing unto Maxentius, he decreeth that no Lay-men, or any suspected Bishop ought to accuse Prelates of the Church: *So that if they be either Lay-men, or men of evil Conversation, or proved manifest Enemies, or incensed with any hatred, their Accusations against any Bishops ought not to stand.* With other such matters more, concerning the disposition of judicial Court. Which matter, if Pope Gregory the seventh had written unto Henry the third Emperor, or if Pope Alexander the third had written to the Emperor Fredericus the first, it might have stood with some reason and opportunity of time. But now for Marcellus to write these Decrees in such Persecution of the Church, to Maxentius the Heathen and most cruel Emperor, how unlike it is to be true, and how it served then to purpose, the Reader may soon discern. And yet these be the Epistles and Constitutions decretal, whereby (under the pretended Title of the Fathers) all Churches of late time, and all Ecclesiastical Causes have been, and yet are in this Realm of England to this day governed, directed, and disposed.

The Epistle
of Marcelli-
nus to Ma-
xentius
blanced.

The Church
of England
governed by
the Popes
Canon Law
without
sufficient
ground of
antiquity.
The Epistles
decretal of
Eusebius
and Miltiades.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other Epistles that follow of Eusebius and Miltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no Prelate or Bishop ought to come to his answer (or *Ad litem contestatam*, as the words of their writing do term it) before they be orderly and fully restored again to their possessions. Who moreover in the said their Epistles still harp upon this Key of the Scripture, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam.* Declaring moreover that this priviledge of judging all men, and to be judged of no man, but only to be left to the judgment of the Lord, was given to this foresaid holy See of Rome, from time of the Apostles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy Key-keeper: so that although the election of the Apostles was equal, yet this was chiefly granted to S. Peter, to have Preheminence above the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, *Quod semper majores causae, sicut sunt Episcoporum, & potiorum curae negotiorum, ad unam beati Principis Apostolorum Petri sedem consuerunt;* that is, That always all greater Causes, as be the matters of Bishops, and such other cares of weighty Importance, should be brought to the See of Saint Peter, the blessed Prince of the Apostles, &c. These be the words of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly be smelled of him that hath any Nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these Writings and Letters upon these ancient holy Martyrs.

Ex Epistola
decretal. Mil-
tiadis.

This I cannot but marvel at, in the third Epistle of Eusebius the Bishop of Rome, that whereas Marcellinus his

A place of the third Epistle decretal of Innocentius.

his late Predecessor before, in his own time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same justly to be expelled the City by the Council of three hundred Bishops: yet notwithstanding the foresaid *Eusebius* in his third Epistle alledging that place of *Tu es Petrus*, bringeth in for a proof of the same, and faith, *Quia in sede Apostolica extra maculam semper est Catholica servata Religio, &c.* that is, For in the Apostolical See always the Catholick Religion hath been preserved without any spot or blemish.

Miltiades the last Bishop of Rome in danger of Persecution.

But howsoever the Forgers of these decretal Epistles have forgotten themselves, most certain it is, that these holy Bishops, unto whom they were and are ascribed, lived perfect good men, and died blessed Martyrs. Of whom this *Miltiades* was the last among all the Bishops of Rome here in the West Church of Europe, that ever was in danger of Persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

The end of these Persecutions in all the West Churches.

And thus have ye heard the stories and names of such blessed Saints, which suffered in the time of Persecution, from the nineteenth year of *Dioclesian* to the seventh and last year of *Maxentius*, described with the deaths also and plagues upon these Tormentors and cruel Tyrants, which were the Captains of the same Persecution. And here cometh in (blessed be Christ) the end of these Persecutions here in these West Churches of Europe, so far as the Dominion of blessed *Constantinus* did chiefly extend.

The Persecution under Licinius, Hermilus, Stratonice, Theodorus, Captain, Martyr.

Yet notwithstanding in Asia all Persecution as yet ceased not for the space of four years, as above is mentioned by the means of wicked *Licinius*, under whom divers there were holy and constant Martyrs, that suffered grievous Torments; as *Hermilus* a Deacon, and *Stratonice* a Keeper of the Prison, both which after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the Flood *Iffer*, of *Licinius*. Also *Theodorus* the Captain, who being sent for of *Licinius*, because he would not come, and because he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poet; therefore was fastened to the Cross, and after being pierced with sharp Pricks or Bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Add to these also *Miles*, who being first a Souldier, was afterward made Bishop of a certain City in Persia; where he seeing himself could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the City and departed. Which City shortly after by *Sapores* King of Persia was destroyed.

Miltiades the King of Persia were commonly called by the name of Sufferers.

Persecution in Persia, Licinius, Paganus, Ananias, Epiphanius, Simeon, Archibishop, Cressphon, Bishop, Martyr, 228 Martyrs in Persia. The story of Simeon Archibishop of Seleucia, in Simeon, lib. 2. cap. 8, 9, 10.

In the same Country of Persia, about this time suffered under *Sapores* the King (as recordeth *Simeon Metasthenes*) divers valiant and constant Martyrs, as *Acidimius*, *Pegasus*, *Anempodistus*, *Epidephorus*, also *Simeon* Archibishop of Seleucia, with *Cressphon* another Bishop of Persia, with other Ministers and religious men of that Region, to the number of one hundred twenty eight. Of this *Simeon* and *Cressphon* thus writeth *Sozomen*, lib. 2. That the Idolatrous Magicians in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, accused *Simeon* and *Cressphon* to *Sapores* the King, for that they were grateful and accepted unto the Roman Emperor, and bewraided to him such things as were done in the Land of Persia. Whereupon *Sapores*, being moved, took great displeasure against the Christians, oppressing them with Taxes and Tributes unto their utter impoverishing, killing all their Priests with the Sword: after that calleth for *Simeon* the Archibishop, who there before the King declared himself a worthy and a valiant Captain of Christs Church. For when *Sapores* had commanded him to be led to suffer Torments, he neither shrunk for any fear, nor shewed any great humble suit of submission for any pardon: whereat the King partly maveling, partly offended, asked *Why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do?* *Simeon* to this answered, *For that, faith he, before this time I was not brought unto you in Bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the Order and Custom of the Realm of me required; but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our Religion and true Doctrine.* When *Simeon* thus had answered, the King persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship with him after his manner (promising to him many great Gifts, if he would so do) or

The worthy answer of Simeon to the King.

if he would not, threateth to him and to all the other Christians within his Land, destruction. But *Simeon*, neither allured with his Promises, nor terrified with his Threatnings, continued constant in his Doctrine professed, so as neither he could be induced to Idolatrous Worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his Religion. For the which cause he was committed into Bonds, and there commanded to be kept, to the Kings pleasure further known.

The constancy of Simeon.

It befel in the way as he was going to the Prison, there was sitting at the Kings Gate a certain Eunuch, an old Tutor or School-Master of the Kings, named *Ustbazaes*, who had been once a Christian, and afterward falling from his Profession, fell with the Heathenish multitude to their Idolatry. This *Ustbazaes* sitting at the door of the Kings Palace, and seeing *Simeon* passing by led to the prison, rose up and revered the Bishop. *Simeon* again with sharp words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, which being once a Christian, would so cowardly revolt from his Profession, and to return again to the Heathenish Idolatry. At the hearing of these words the Eunuch forthwith bursting out into tears, laying away his Courtyl Apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a black and mourning Weed, sitteth before the Court Gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himself, *Woe is me, with what hope, with what face shall I look hereafter for my God, which have denied my God, when as this Simeon my familiar Acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?*

The fall of Ustbazaes.

The fruit of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Chastisement.

The repentance of Ustbazaes.

These words being brought to the ears of the King (as such Tale-carriers never lack in Princes Courts) procured against him no little Indignation. Whereupon *Sapores* the King sending for him, first with gentle words and courtyl Promises began to speak him fair, asking him, *What cause he had so to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his house, which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking?* Whereunto *Ustbazaes* answering again, said, *That there was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire stood. Yea would God (said he) O King, any other grief or calamity in all the World, whatsoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do most justly mourn and sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since, and that I see this Sun, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to Worship; for which cause double-wise I am worthy of death: First, for that I have denied Christ. Secondly, because I did dissemble with you. And incontinent upon these words, swearing by Him that made both Heaven and Earth, affirmed most certainly, that although he had played the Fool before, he would never be so mad again, as instead of the Creator and Maker of all things, to Worship the Creatures which he had made and cheated. *Sapores* the King being astonished at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himself whether to be angry with those Inchanters or with him; whether to intreat him with gentleness or with rigor: at length in this mood commanded the said *Ustbazaes* his old ancient Servant, and first Tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of Execution, he desired of the Executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message unto the King, which was this (sent in by certain of the Kings most trusty Eunuchs) desiring him, that for all the old and faithful Service he had done to his Father, and to him, he would now requite him with this one office again, to cause to be cried openly by a publick Crier in these words following, *That Ustbazaes was beheaded, not for any Treachery or Crime committed against the King or the Realm, but only for that he was a Christian, and would not at the Kings pleasure deny his God.* And so according unto his request, it was performed and granted. For this cause did *Ustbazaes* so much desire the cause of his death to be published: because that as his shrinking back from Christ, was a great occasion to many Christians to do the like; so now the same, hearing that *Ustbazaes* died for no other cause but only for the Religion of Christ, should learn likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they profess. And thus the blessed Eunuch did consummate*

The answer of Ustbazaes to the King.

Ustbazaes the Kings Tutor, condemned to be beheaded.

The message of Ustbazaes to the King.

The cause openly cried, why Ustbazaes was beheaded.

The end and martyrdom of Ustbazaes.

The Mar-
tyrdom of
Simeon
Archbishop.

consummate his Martyrdom. Of the which his said Martyrdom, *Simeon* being in prison hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks; who in the next day following, being brought forth before the King, and constantly refusing to condescend unto the Kings request, to worship visible creatures, was likewise by the commandment of the King beheaded, with a great number more, which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of an hundred and more; all which were put to death before *Simeon*, he standing by and exhorting them with comfortable words: Admonishing them to stand firm and stedfast in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, Resurrection, and true piety; and proved by the Scriptures that to be true which he had said, declaring moreover that to be true life indeed, so to die, and that to be death indeed, to deny or betray God for fear of punishment: And added further, that there was no man alive, but needs once must die: *For so much as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end. But those things, which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternal, which neither shall come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life in divers men doth differ, and is not in all men like: So the time shall come, when all men in a moment shall render and receive according to their doings in this present life immortal rewards: Such as have here done well, of life and glory; such as have done contrary of perpetual punishment. As touching thereof our well doing, here is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and virtuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, than if a man here lose his life for his Lord God.* With these words of comfortable exhortation, the holy Martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed *Simeon*, with two other Priests or Ministers of his Church: *Abedecalaas* and *Ananias*, which also with him were partakers of the same Martyrdom.

Abedecalaas
Ananias,
Martyrs.
The story of
Pufices,
Martyr.

At the suffering of those above mentioned, it happened that *Pufices* one of the Kings officers, and overseers of his artificers, was there present, who seeing *Ananias* being an aged old Father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered: O father (said he) a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God. Upon these words thus spoken, *Pufices* immediately was apprehended and brought unto the King, who there confessing himself constantly to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the King in this cause of Christs faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his Martyrdom. For in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and pluckt out his tongue out of his mouth, and so he was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of *Pufices*, a Godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The free
speech and
boldness of
Pufices.

The cruel
Martyrdom
of *Pufices*.

The Daugh-
ter of *Pufi-
ces* Martyr.

A cruel
Edict of
Sapores against
the Christians.

Innumera-
ble Martyrs
in Persia.

Azades a
noble Coun-
tyer.

The provi-
sion of God
to save the
Christians.

Trabula
with her
sister Mar-
tyrs.
Trabula the
sister of *Si-
meon*.
False accu-
sation rash-
ly believed.
Trabula and
her sister
were in fun-
der.

The next year following, upon the same day, when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lords passion, which we call good friday before *Easter* (as witnesseth the said *Sozomenus*) *Sapores* the King directed out a cruel and sharp Edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them, whosoever confessed themselves to be Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant Magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in City and in Town: Some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, lest they should seem by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians, that could be found, without pity were slain, and divers also of the Kings own Court and household. Amongst whom was also *Azades* an Eunuch, one whom the King did intirely love and favour; which *Azades* after that the King understood to be put death, being greatly moved with the sorrow thereof, commanded after that no Christians should be slain, but them only which were the Doctors and Teachers of Christian Religion.

In the same time it happened that the Queen fell into a certain disease; upon the occasion whereof, the cruel *Jews*, with the wicked Magicians, fallily and maliciously accused *Trabula*, the sister of *Simeon* the Martyr, a Godly Virgin, with another sister also of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the Queen, for the revenging of the death of *Simeon*. This accusation being received and believed, innocent *Trabula*, with the others were con-

demned, and with a saw cut in sunder by the middle; whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the Queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her sickness. This *Trabula* was a Maid of a right comely beauty and very amiable, to whom one of the Magicians cast great love, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards, sent into the prison to win her to his pleasure; promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be delivered and set at liberty. But she utterly refusing to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did choose rather to die, than to betray either the Religion of her mind, or the Virginity of her body. *Sozom.*

Now for so much as the King had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only such as were the teachers and leaders of the flock; The Magicians and Archmagicians left no diligence untried to set forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and persecution was among the Bishops and teachers of the Church, which in all places went to slaughter, especially in the country of *Dio-benor*; for that part of *Persia* above all other, was most Christian. Where *Acepsimas* the Bishop with a great number of his flock and Clergy were apprehended and taken: Upon the apprehension of whom, the Magicians, to satisfy the Kings commandment, dismissed all the rest, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only *Acepsimas* the Bishop they retained, with whom one *Jacobus* a Minister, or Priest of his Church was also joyned; not of any compulsion, but only as himself so desired and obtained of those Magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the same bonds to serve the aged Bishop, and to relieve (so much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been fore scourged before of the Magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the Sun: Which thing, because he would not do, they cast him into prison again, where this *Jacobus* was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise *Athabalas* a Priest or Minister, also *Azadanes* and *Abdiasus* Deacons, were imprisoned, and miserably scourged for the testimony of the Lord Jesus. After this the *Archimagus*, spying his time, complaineth unto the King of them, having authority and commission given him (unless they would worship the Sun) to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received of the King, the Master *Magnus* doth declare to them in prison. But they answered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the Sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; where *Acepsimas* strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, induced to death. The other being no less rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marvellously alive; and because they would in no case turn from their constant sentence, were turned again into prison. Of whom *Athabalas* in the time of his whipping, was so drawn and rackt with pulling, that both his arms being loosed out of the joynts, hanged down from his body: Which he so carried about without use of any hand to feed himself, but as he was fed of others.

Miserable, and almost innumerable were the slaughters under the reign of this *Sapores*; of Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, Religious men, holy Virgins, and other Ecclesiastical persons, such as did then cleave to the Doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same, the names of the Bishops besides the other multitude taken in the persecution, are recited in *Sozom. lib. 2.* and in *Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37.* in this order following: *Barbasimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Joannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sapores, Isaac, Dasas, Bicos* also with *Maureanda* his fellow Bishop, and the rest of his Churches under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty persons, which were the same time apprehended of the Persians, &c. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelness of their torments, how, and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any History to discharge. Neither are the Persians themselves (as *Zozomenus* recordeth) able to recite them. In sum, the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name, cometh to the sum of sixteen thousand men and women.

The

The blind
charm of
the wicked
queen.
Example of
maldenly
chastity in
Trabula.

*Ex Ecclie
Hist. lib. 2. cap.
13.*

Persecution
against the
Bishops and
teachers of
the Church
in Persia.
Acepsimas
Bishop Mar-
tyr.
Jacobus
Priest Mar-
tyr.
Example of
true Christi-
an charity,
and singu-
lar piety in
Jacobus.

Athabalas
Deacon,
Azadanes
Deacon,
Abdiasus
Deacon,
Martyrs.
This *Archimagus*
and *Magi* (as
Xenophon
saith) was
an order of
Religious
men among the
Persians
which had
the ground
sacred in the
land next
to the King.
The end of
Martyrdom
of *Acepsimas*
Athabalas till
the use of
both his
arms being
plucked from
the joynts
of his body.
Ex Soz.
lib. 2. cap. 37.
Ex Niceph.
lib. 8. cap. 37.
Barbasimes,
Paulus, Gaddiabes,
Sabinus, Mareas,
Mocius, Johannes,
Hormisdas, Papas,
Jacobus, Romas,
Maares, Agas,
Bochres, Abdas,
Abiesus, Joannes,
Abramius, Agdelas,
Sapores, Isaac,
Dasas, Bicos
also with
Maureanda
his fellow
Bishop, and
the rest of
his Churches
under him,
to the num-
ber of two
hundred and
fifty persons,
which were
the same time
apprehended
of the Persians,
&c.

The rumor and noise of this so miserable affliction of the Christians in the Kingdom of Persia, coming to the ears of *Constantinus* the Emperor, put him in great heaviness, musing and revolving with himself, how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It so befell the same time, that certain Ambassadors were then at *Rome* from *Sapor* King of Persia; to whom *Constantinus* did easily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands: thinking thereby to obtain the more friendship at the Kings hands, that at his request he would be good to the Christians; to whom he writeth his Epistle in their behalf, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus:

Divinam fidem servans veritatis lucem fortior. Veritatis luce doctus divinam fidem cognosco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agendas confirmat, sanctissimum religionem cognitam reddo & hunc me cultum doctorem cognovit Sancti Dei habere confiteor, &c. *Eusebius, De vita Constantini, lib. 4.* The contents whereof, briefly do tend to this effect. Declaring unto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request he would shew some quiet and rest to the Christians, in whose Religion there was nothing which he could justly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they use to kill nothing, nor to shed blood, but only to offer up unbloody sacrifices, to make their prayers unto God; who delighteth not in bloodshedding; but only in the soul that loveth virtue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing unto true piety. And therefore such men as do lead him, and learn so to believe and to worship God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he assureth him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would embrace the Godly piety and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the stories of *Galienus* and *Valerianus*, who so long as they were favourers of the Christians, did prosper and flourish. But as soon as they moved any persecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other Emperors before them, that all went backward with them: As specially might appear by *Valerianus*, who after he had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was afterwards overcome of the Persians; the revenging hand of God falling upon him. Where he led ever a miserable life, in wretched captivity. Further also for the more evidence of the same, he referreth the examples of those Emperors and Tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battels, and triumph over great Tyrants; whereby he hath so enlarged the Dominion of the Roman Monarchy, from the West ocean unto the uttermost parts well near of all the East. To the doing and working whereof, he neither called to him the help of any charmer, or damnation of Southsayer, nor used the killing of any sacrifice, but only the following of the cross, and prayer made to Almighty God, without any other bloody sacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame, &c. And in the end of the Epistle addeth these words. What joy (saith he) what gladness would it be to my heart, to hear the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by embracing this sort of men, the Christians. I mean? So that both you with them, and they with you in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together as your hearts would desire, and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you have God, which is the Author and Creator of all this universal world, to be merciful and gracious to you. These men therefore, I commend unto you upon your Kings honor, and upon your clemency and piety, whereunto you are induced. I commend them unto you, desiring you to embrace and receive them according to your humanity and benignity, agreeing and convenient to your estate. If ye in so doing shall now both procure to your self grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthy of thanks.

This example wrote *Constantinus* to King *Sapor*; with care had this godly Prince for them that believed in Christ, not only in his own Monarchy, but also in all places of the world. Neither is it to be doubted, but this intercession of the Emperor, did something mitigate the heat of the Persians persecution, although thereof we read no certain thing in our Histories.

Of other troubles and persecutions we read, which hapned afterward in the said Country of Persia, under *Isdigerdes* the King, but these followed long after about the time of the Emperor *Theodosius*. At which time suffered *Andas* their Bishop, and *Hormisdas*, a great noble mans son, and of great reputation among the Persians; whom when the King understood to be a Christian, and to deny to turn from his Religion, condemned him to keep his Elephants naked. In process of time, the King looking out, and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the Sun, commanded him to have a shirt put on, and to be brought before him; whom then the King asked, if he would deny Christ. *Hormisdas* hearing this tore off his shirt from his body and cast it from him, saying *If ye think this I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift again, &c.* And so was upon that expelled the Country: *Theodor. lib. 5.*

Another there was that same time, named *Suenes*, which had under him an hundred servants. The King taking displeasure with him for that he would not alter from his Religion and Godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his servants, and him the King made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him with his Masters wife, brought also *Suenes* under his subjection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of *Suenes*: But it was builded upon a sure foundation.

Of *Benjamin* the Deacon, thus writeth the said *Theodor* in his first Book, that after two years of his imprisonment, at the request of the Roman Legate he was delivered; who afterward contrary to the Kings commandment preached and taught the Gospel of Christ, and was most miserably excruciate, having twenty sharp pricks of reeds thrust under his nails; but when he did laugh at that, then in his privy yard he had a sharp reed thrust in with horrible pain; after that a certain long stalk ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him; with the horribleness of the pain whereof, the valiant and invincible souldier of the Lord gave over his life. *Theod. ibid.* And thus much concerning the Martyrs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, which came (as it is said) long after the days of *Constantinus*, about the year of our Lord, 425.

Likewise under *Julian* the wicked Apostata, certain there were which constantly suffered Martyrdom by the heathen Idolaters: as *Emilianus* who was burned in *Thracia* and *Domitius* which was slain in his cave. *Theodor* also for limping of a Palm at the removing of the body of *Babilas* (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciate from morning almost to noon, that hardly he escaped with life. Who being asked afterward of his friends, how he could abide so sharp torments, said, That at the first beginning he felt some pain, but afterward there stood by him a young man, who as he was sweating, wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oftentimes: Wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, he grievously him more than before: *Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

Artemius also, the Captain of the Egyptian souldiers, the same time lost his head for his Religion: indeed: Although other causes were pretended against him: *Theodor. Nicopol. lib. 10. cap. 13.*

Add unto these moreover *Eusebius* and *Nestorius*, two brethren, with *Nestor* also, who for their Christianity were dragged through the streets and murdered of the Idolatrous people of *Gaza*: *Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 11.*

But especially the cruelty of the *Aretians*, a people of Syria, exceeded against the Christian Virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned; after that being shaven, they covered them with swill and draffe wont to be given to their Hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be devoured of the hungry swine. This rage and fury of the wicked *Aretians*, *Sozom.* supposed to come of this, because that *Constantinus* before had broken them from their Country manner of setting forth and exposing their Virgins filthily to whomsoever lusted, and destroyed the Temple of *Venus* in *Heliopolis*, restraining the people there from their filthiness and vile whoredom. *Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

Other foreign persecutions in Persia. *Andas* Bishop, Martyr. *The story of Hormisdas, Martyr. See Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 26. The faithfull constancy of Hormisdas, Martyr. The story of Benjamin, Deacon and Martyr.*

Suenes Martyr.

The constancy of *Suenes*.

The story of *Benjamin*, Deacon and Martyr.

Benjamin tormented. The Martyrdom of *Benjamin*.

The Martyrs under *Julian* Apostata. *Emilianus*, *Domitius*, Martyrs.

The story of *Theodor* Martyr. *Ruff. lib. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10. A miracle to be noted.*

Artemius Martyr.

Eusebius, *Nestorius*, brethren *Nestor*, Martyrs. *Eusebius*, with other men of *Cesarea*, Martyrs.

Miserable cruelty of the Aretians against the Christian Virgins of Syria. The people had to be plucked from their old customs though it be never so wicked.

Of the lamentable story, or rather tragedy of *Marcus Arethusius* their Bishop, thus writeth the said *Socrumenus*, and also *Theodoretus* in his third Book in these words as follow.

The story of
Marcus Arethusius.

The true
confidence
of *Marcus Arethusius*.

Great cru-
elty shew-
ed.

Covetous-
ness the
cause of
cruelty.

A notable
saying.

Hieron in
Abaco cap. 1.

The wicked
in this
world do
most flour-
ish and
prevail.

This tragedy (saith he) of *Marcus Arethusius*, doth require the eloquence and worthiness of *Eschilus* and *Sophocles*, which may, as the matter deserveth, set forth and beautifie his great afflictions. This man, at the commandment of *Constantinus*, pulled down a certain Temple dedicated to Idols, and in stead thereof built up a Church where the Christians might congregate. The *Arethusians* remembering the little good will that *Julianus* bare unto him, accused him as a Traytor and Enemy to him. At the first, according as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared himself to flie: But when he perceived that there were certain of his kinsmen or friends apprehended in his stead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himself to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at his virtuous conversation, being a man so adorned both with Doctrine and manners, first stript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a while after, they cast him into a foul filthy sink, and from thence being brought, they caused boys to thrust him in with sharpened sticks made for the nonce, to provoke his pain the more. Lastly, they put him in a basket, and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the Sun, as meat for wasps and flies to feed upon. And all this extremity they shewed unto him, for that they would inforce him to do one of these things; that is, either to build up again the Temple which he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as should pay for the building of the same: But even as he purposed with himself to suffer and abide their grievous torments, so refused he to do that they demanded of him. At length they taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, promised to forgive him the one half, so that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he hanging in the basket wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boys and children, and all to be bitten with wasps and flies, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himself to be exalted and set on high. At length they demanding of him but a small sum of money, he answered thus: It is as great wickedness to confer one half penny in case of impiety, as if a man should bestow the whole. Thus they being not able to prevail against him, let him down, and leaving him, went their way, so that every man might learn at his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulness.

Although the tractation of these foresaid stories and persecutions of *Persia*, above premised, do stray somewhat out of the order and course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of *Constantine*, nor be pertinent to the Monarchy of *Rome*: Yet because in this present History we are in hand with the holy Martyrs and Saints of Christ; for so much as these also gave such a faithful testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought therefore not to pass them over without some testimony in this our Catalogue of holy Martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the Primitive Church.

It may peradventure be marvelled of some, reading the History of these so terrible persecutions above specified, why God Almighty director of all things, would suffer his own people and faithful servants, believing in his own and only begotten son Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many years together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appear. To this which admiration I have nothing to answer, but to say with the words of *Hieron*, *Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c.* We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prevail against the body: For so much as in the beginning of the World, we see *Abel* the just to be killed of wicked *Cain*, and afterward *Jacob* being thrust out, *Esau* to Reign in his fathers house: In like case the *Egyptians* with brick and tile afflicted the sons of *Israel*: yea, and the Lord himself, was he not crucified of the *Jews*, *Barabas* the thief being let go? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to

wrack, the wicked flourishing and prevailing: *Hieron*. Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sins here in this life, or how else soever; yet this is to us, and may be to all men a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old Law, by the affliction of the children of *Israel*, he hath prefigured these persecutions of the Christians. So by the words of Christs own mouth in the Gospel he did forewarn his Church of these troubles to come. Again, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall upon his servants, before that he had premonished them sufficiently by special revelation in the *Apocalyp*s of *John* his servant; in the which *Apocalyp*s he declared unto his Church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them; where and by whom they should come, but also in plain number, if the words of the prophesie be well understood, assigneth the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For as there is no doubt, but by the beast with seven heads, bearing the Whore of *Babylon*, drunken with the blood of Saints, is signified the City of *Rome*: So in my Judgment the power of making of forty two months (in the thirteenth of the *Apocalyp*s) is to be expounded, taking every month for a Sabbath of years, that is, reckoning a month for seven years, so that forty and two such Sabbaths of years being gathered together, make up the years just, between the time of Christs death to the last year of the persecution of *Maxentius*, when *Constantinus* fighting under the banner of Christ, overcame him, and made an end of all persecution within the Monarchy of *Rome*. The number of which years by plain computation, come to two hundred ninety and four; to the which two hundred ninety and four years, if ye add the other six years, under the persecution of *Licinius* in *Asia*, then it filleth up full the three hundred years. And so long continued the persecution of Christs people, under the heathen Tyrants and Emperors, of the Monarchy of *Rome*, according to the number of the forty and two months which the beast had power to make, specified in the thirteenth of the *Apocalyp*s. For the better explication whereof, because the matter being of no small importance, greatly appertaineth to the publick utility of the Church; and lest any should misdoubt me herein, to follow any private interpretation of mine own: I thought good to communicate to the Reader, that which hath been imparted unto me, in the opening of these mystical numbers in the foresaid Book of Revelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

As I was in hand with these Histories, and therein considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intolerable torments of the blessed Saints, so cruelly racked, rent, torn, and pluckt in pieces with all kind of tortures, pains and punishments that could be devised, more bitter than any death it self: I could not without great sorrow and passion of mind, behold their sorrowful afflictions, or write of their bloody passions. Wherein much like it hapned to me as did to *Titus Livius*; who writing of the wars of *Carthage*, was so moved in the writing thereof, *Ac si in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset*. Further, I proceed in the story; and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my grief with them, and for them increased: Not only pitying their woful case, but almost reasoning with God, thus thinking like a fool with my self, why God of his goodness would suffer his children and servants so vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly providence (as must needs be granted) why did the wicked so rage and flourish, and the godly go so to wrack? If sins deserved punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death above all other so sharp and bitter? At least why would the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to endure so long time against his poor Church, shewing unto them no certain determined end of their tribulations, whereby they knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more consolation might indure out the same? As the *Israelites* in the captivity of *Babylon* had seventy years limited unto them: And under *Pharaoh* they were promised a deliverance out. Also under the *Syrian* Tyrants threescore and two weeks were abridged unto them. Only in these persecutions I could

find no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliverance. Whereupon much marveling with my self, I searched the Book of *Revelation*, to see whether any thing there, might be found; where although I well perceived the Beast there described to signify the Empire of *Rome*, which had Power to overcome the Saints; yet concerning the time and continuance of these Persecutions under the Beast, I found nothing to satisfy my doubt. For albeit I read there of forty two months, of a time, times, and half a time, of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; yet all this by computation coming but to three years and a half, came nothing near the long continuance of these Persecutions, which lasted three hundred years. Thus being vexed and troubled in spirit, about the reckoning of these numbers and years: it so hapned upon a Sunday in the morning, I lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a Majesty, thus inwardly saying within me, *Thou Fool, count these months by Sabbaths, as the weeks of Daniel are counted by Sabbaths.* The Lord I take to witness, thus it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the forty two months by Sabbaths: first of months, that would not serve: then by Sabbaths of years, wherein I began to feel some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to have the matter more sure, efforts I repaired to certain Merchants of mine acquaintance: of whom one is departed a true faithful Servant of the Lord, the other two be yet alive, and witnesses hereof. To whom the number of these foresaid forty two months being propounded and examined by Sabbaths of years, the whole sum was found to surmount unto two hundred ninety and four years, containing the full and just time of these foresaid Persecutions, neither more nor less.

Now this one Clasp being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifest to the Intelligent Reader to be understood. For where mention is made of three years and a half, of one time, two times and half a time, also of one thousand two hundred and threescore days, all these come to one reckoning and signify forty and two months, by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these Primitive Persecutions, as here in order may appear.

The mystical Numbers in the *Apocalyps* opened.

1. One thousand two hundred and sixty. *Rev. 11. 12.*
First, where mention is made, *Apocalyps, Chapter eleven, that the two Prophets shall Prophecie 1260 days; and also that the woman flying into the Desert, shall there be fed 1260 days: who knoweth not that 1260 days make three years and a half? that is, months* 42
2. Three days and a half. *Rev. 11.*
Secondly, where we read, *Chap. 11. the bodies of the two foresaid Prophets shall lie in the streets of the great City unburied the space of three days and a half, and after the said three days and a half they shall revive again, &c. let the hours of these three days and a half, (which be 42) be reckoned every day for a Sabbath of years, or else every day for a month, and they come to months* 42
3. A time, times, and half a time. *Rev. 12.*
Thirdly, whereas in the same Book is expressed that the Woman had two wings given her to fly unto the Desert for a time, times and half a time: give for one time one year, or one day: for two times, two years or two days; for half a time, half a year, or half a day; and so it is manifest, that these three years and a half, mount to months 42
4. Forty two months or three years and a half. *Rev. 11.*
Fourthly, account these forty two months aforesaid (which the Beast had Power to make, *Apoc. 11.*) by Sabbath of years; that is, seven years for a month, or every month for seven years, and it amounteth to the sum of years 294

And so have ye the just years, days, times, and months of these foresaid Persecutions under the Beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of *John Baptist* under *Herod the Roman King*, to the end of *Maxentius*, and of *Licinius*, the two last great Persecutors, the one in the West, the other in the East: who were both vanquished by godly *Constantinus*. And so peace was given to the Church, albeit not in such ample wise, but that divers Tumults and Troubles afterward ensued, yet

they lasted not long: and the chief brunt, to speak of these *Roman* Persecutions which the Holy Ghost especially considered above all other in this his *Revelation* thus ended in the time of *Constantinus*. Then was the great Dragon the Devil, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting, tied short for a thousand years after this, so that he could not prevail in any such sort, but that the Power and Glory of the Gospel by little and little increasing and spreading with great joy and liberty, so prevailed that at length it got the upper hand and replenished the whole Earth, rightly verifying therein the water of *Ezekiel*, which issuing out of the right side of the Altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole Ocean Sea, and healed all the Fishes therein. No otherwise the course of the Gospel proceeding of small and hard beginnings, kept still his stream: the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran: by blood it seeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprung: till at last out of Thralldom and Oppression so brast forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all Prosperity: had it so been that the *Christians* wisely and moderately could have used this liberty, and not abused the same, forgetting their former Estate to their own pride, pomp, and worldly ease, as it came afterward to pass: whereof more is to be seen and said (the Lord willing) in place and time convenient.

And thus much touching the propheticall numbers in the *Apocalyps*. Wherein is to be noted, and magnified, the eternal Wisdom and high Providence of Almighty God, so disposing and governing his Church, that no adversity or perturbation happeneth at any time to it, which his provident wisdom doth not fore-see before, and pre-ordain; neither doth he preordain or determine any thing, which he doth not most truly perform, both fore-seeing the beginning of such persecutions, and limiting the end thereof, how long to continue, and when to cease. In much like sort we read in the Books of *Genesis*, how the stock of *Israel* was four hundred years in the Land of *Egypt*. During the space of which four hundred years, after the death of *Joseph* (who beareth a plain figure of Christ) they were hardly intreated, and cruelly afflicted of the *Egyptians*, about the space of three hundred years, reckoning from after the death of *Joseph*, to their deliverance out of the bondage of *Egypt*: semblably as these *Christians*, after Christ's time suffered the like bondage under the *Roman* Tyrants.

Thus much by the way I thought to insinuate, lest any should muse or take any offence in himself to see or read of the Church so long and so many years, to be under so miserable and extreame Afflictions: wherein neither chance nor fortune, nor disposition of man, hath had any place, but only the fore-counsel and determination of the Lord so governed and disposed the same: who not only did suffer them to fall, and foresaw those Persecutions before they fell, but also appointed the times and years how long they should last, and when they should have an end, as by the foresaid forty two months in the thirteenth and eleventh Chapters of *St. Johns Apocalyps* hath been declared. Which months, containing two hundred ninety and four years, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time between the first year of the Persecution of Christ under the *Jews* and *Herod*, till the last year of Persecution under *Licinius*; which was from the Nativity of Christ, in the year of our Lord three hundred twenty and four: from the first Persecution of Christ, in the year of our Lord, two hundred ninety and four, as is aforesaid. After the which year according to the preordained Council of God, when his severity had been sufficiently declared upon his own house, it pleased him to shew mercy again, and to bind up Satan the old Serpent, according to the twentieth Chapter of the *Revelation*, for the space of a thousand years; that is, from this time of *Licinius*, to the time of *John Wickliffe* and *John Husse*. During all which time, albeit certain Conflicts and Tumults have been among *Christian* Bishops themselves in the Church: yet no universal murdering Persecution was stirring before the Preaching of *John Wickliffe*, of *Husse*, and such others, as in the further process of this History (Christ willing and aiding us) shall more appear hereafter.

Thus having at large discoursed these horrible Persecutions past, and heavy Afflictions of Christian Martyrs:

The persecuted *Israel* bearing a figure of the persecuted Church of Christ.

From the first Persecution of the Primitive Church to the last Persecution two hundred ninety and four years. Universal Persecution ceased for one thousand years in the Church. *Apoc. 10.* From the time of *Licinius* to *Wickliffe* one thousand years. Satan bound up for a thousand years. The time of Satans binding opened.

now by the Grace of God, coming out of this Red-Sea of bloody Persecution, leaving Pharaoh and his Host behind: let us sing gloriously to the worthy Name of our God, who through the blood of the Lamb after long and tedious Afflictions, at length hath visited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan's throat, hath sent his meek Moses (gentle Constantine I mean) by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to work Deliverance to his Captive people, to set his Servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnifie the Church of his Son, to destroy the Idols of all the World, to grant life and liberty (and would God also not so much riches) unto them which before were the objects of all the World, and all by the means of godly Constantine, the meek and most Christian Emperor, of whose divine Victories, against so many Tyrants and Emperors, Persecutors of Christs people, and lastly, against Licinius, in the year of our Lord, three hundred twenty and four, of whose other noble Acts and Prowesses, of whose blessed Vertues and his happy Birth and Progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaining (Christ willing) to be declared.

Dionysius.

The good qualities of Constantine.

The cause of all his prosperous Success.

Constantine sometimes by means of his wife was an Idolator.

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constantini.

The common saying of Constantinus.

August. contra Cresconius. Epist. 49. & 50.

The Reign of Constantinus.

The effect of some of his Constitutions.

This Constantine was the Son of Constantius the Emperor, a good and virtuous Child of a good and virtuous Father; born in Britain (as saith Eutropius) whose Mother was named Helena, Daughter indeed of King Cordus: although Ambrosius in his Funeral Oration of the death of Theodosius saith, she was an Inholders Daughter. He was a most bountiful and gracious Prince, having a desire to nourish Learning and good Arts, and did oftentimes use to read, write, and study himself: He had marvellous good success and prosperous achieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) supposed to proceed of this, for that he was so great a Favourer of the Christian Faith. Which Faith when he had once embraced, he did ever after most devoutly and religiously reverence, and command by special Commission and Proclamation, that every man should profess the same Religion throughout all the Roman Monarchy. The worshipping of Idols, (whereunto he was addict by the allurements of Fausta his wife, inasmuch that he did sacrifice to them) after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battle, he utterly abjured: but his Baptism he deferred even unto his old age, because he had determined a journey into Persia, and thought in Jordan to have been baptized, Euseb. lib. 4. De vita Constantini.

As touching his natural disposition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good Philosopher, and in disputation sharp and ingenious. He was accustomed to say, that an Emperor ought to refuse no labour for the utility of the Common-weal; yea, and to adventure the mangling of his body for the remedy thereof; but if otherwise it may be holden, to cherish the same. This do Aurelius, Victor, Pomponius Letus, and Ignatius write of him. And Aelius Lampridius saith, writing upon the life of Heliogabalus; that Constantine was wont to say, That an Empire was given by the determinate purpose of God, that he to whom it was given, should so imploy his diligence, as he might be thought worthy of the same at the hands of the Giver; which same saying also Augustine noteth in his third Book against Cresconius, Epist. 49. & 50.

He first entered into the Empire by the mercifulness of God, minding after long waves of doleful Persecution to restore unto his Church peace and tranquility, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eleven, as Eusebius accounteth in his Chronicle. His Reign continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirty years, Letus saith thirty and two years, lacking two months. Great peace and tranquility enjoyed the Church under the Reign of this good Emperor, which took great pain and travel for the Preservation thereof. First, yea, and that before he had subdued Licinius, he set forth many Edicts for the restitution of the goods of the Church, for the revoking of the Christians out of exile, for taking away the dissention of the Doctors out of the Church, for the setting of them free from publick Charges, and such like, even as the Copy of his Constitutions here under declareth, which Eusebius in his tenth Book and fifth Chapter repeateth in this wise.

The Copy of an Epistle of Constantinus, sent to his Subjects inhabiting in the East.

Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to our loving Subjects inhabiting throughout the East parts, sendeth greeting. The thing it self, which in the same and most firm law of Nature is contained, doth give unto all men (even as God hath ordained the same) sufficient perceivance and understanding, both of such things as man ought to fore-see, as also what things presently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted of such as have their minds directed to the scope or mark of perfect understanding: so that the perfect comprehending of sound reason; and the perceivance thereof be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherefore let no wise man be troubled, although he sees divers men of divers dispositions: for wisdom which springeth of vertue, cannot abide or acquaint her self with fond notions, unless that (on the other side) the malice of perverse filthiness prolong her days, and cause the same Idiot to survive. Wherefore assuredly the crown and price of vertue lieth open unto all men; and the most mighty God ordereth the judgment of the same. I undoubtedly (as manifestly as possible is) will endeavour my self to testify and confess unto you all the hope which is in me. I think verily that the Emperors which before this time have lately been, even for their tyranny had the Empire taken from them: and my Father only exercising and using all meekness and lenity in his affairs, calling upon God the Father with great devotion and humility, hath been exalted to the same: and all the rest, as men wanting their wits, and in comparison as savage Beasts, rather did give themselves to like cruelty, than to any lenity and gentleness towards their Subjects: in which tyranny every one for his time being muzzled, utterly subverted the true and unsullied Doctrine; and so great malice was there kindled in their breasts, that when all things were in peaceable tranquillity, they made and raised most cruel and bloody intestine or civil Wars. It is credibly informed us, that in those days Apollo gave Answers, but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certain Cave and dark place (saying) That he was much disquieted by those that were the just men and lovers upon the earth; so that he could or would not for them declare the truth of such things as others demanded. And hereby it came to pass, that such false Divinations were given from the Golden Tables in Apollos Temple. And this thing did his Prophetical Priest complain of, when he took up again the hair of his head, that other had contemptuously cast down; and said, That the neglecting of his divination was the cause of so many evils amongst men. But let us see what was the end hereof. We now boldly, and without fear, invoke and worship the Omnipotent God. When I was a Child, I heard, that he which then was chief Emperor of Rome, unhappy, yea, most unhappy man, being seduced and brought into error by his Soldiers, curiously inquired who were those just men upon the earth that Apollo meant? And one of his Priests which was near about him, made answer, That they were the Christians. This answer unto him being as delectable as honey unto the mouth, drew the Sword (given unto him to be a Revenger of evil Doers and Malefactors) against the Professors of the irreprehensible Sanctimony and Religion; and straightway he gave forth a Commission (to bloody Homicides, as I may well call them) and gave Commandment to all the Judges that they should endeavour themselves with all the cunning they had, to the devising of more grievous and sharper Punishments against the poor Christians. Then, then I say, a man might have seen how greatly the honest Professors of that Religion were molested with cruelty, and daily suffered no small Injuries and Contumelies, and that also they suffered and sustained the same with such temperance, as though they had had no Injuries at all done unto them. Which temperance and patience of theirs was the cause why the furious Citizens were the more mad and raging against them. What Fires, what Tortures, what kind of Torments were there, but they without respect either of Age or Sex were enforced to feel them?

Then did the Earth, without doubt, her self bewail her Children, and the round World which containeth all things, being sprinkled and imbrued with their blood, made doleful lament.

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 3.

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Litheness the mark of Ignorance, and Ignorance the enemy to Wisdom.

Tyranny deprived Emperors.

Bloody Tyrants make civil Wars.

Apollo gave answer out of a Cave in the ground, that he was disquieted by the Christians.

The Sword given to be avenged upon Malefactors.

A great commendation of the Christians.

The Earth bewailed the Martyrs deaths.

lamentation for them, and the day it self provoked to mourn, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpose? Now the very barbarous Nations rejoyce for their sakes which received and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from us, keeping them, as it were, in most loving and amiable Captivity: and they saved not only their lives, but also were a defence for their Religion. And now also the Roman Nation remembreth and bath before their eyes this blame and spot, which the Christians, that were of that time worthily gave unto them, when they by them were banished (as unfit members of that Common-wealth) amongst the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearsal of the mourning lamentation, which the Heathen people themselves throughout all the world made for the pitiful murder and slaughter of them? After this it came to pass, that they which were Authors of all these mischiefs died also, and were committed for their reward to the most filthy and horrible dungeon of Hell. They being so intangled with intestine and civil Wars, left alive neither Name nor Kinsmen of their own, which thing undoubtedly had not chanced unless the wicked Divinations of Apollo's Oracles had deceived and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I pray: Oh most mighty God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be merciful, and pardon all the East Parts and Inhabitants of the same, being oppressed with Calamity: and that by me thy Servant thou wilt of thy goodness help and relieve the same. And these things rashly crave I not at thy hands, O Lord, most mighty and holiest God of all. For I being persuaded by the only Oracles, have both begun and also finished wholesome and profitable things: and further, by the bearing and shewing of thine Ensign, have overcome a mighty and strong Host: and when any necessity of the Common-weal (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto (following those signs and tokens of thy Vertues) I boldly go forth and fight against mine Enemies: and for this cause have I sacrificed my Soul unto thee, purified and cleansed both with thy love and fear. Yea truly, thy Name do I sincerely love, and thy Power do I reverence, which by many Tokens and Wonders hast shewed and confirmed thereby my Belief and Faith. Therefore will I do my endeavour, and bend my self thereunto, that I may re-edifie thy most holy House, where those wicked and ungodly Emperors have with so great ruine laid waste: thy people do I desire to bring, and stablish in firm peace and tranquillity, and that for the publick utility of all the Inhabitants of the Earth. Those which yet err, and are out of the way, enjoy the benefit of peace and quietness, with and amongst the number of the faithful sort: for I trust the restitution of the like society and participation may be a means to bring them also that err into the perfect way of verity. Let no man therefore be grievous one unto another, but what every man thinketh best, that let him do: for such as are wise, ought thoroughly to be persuaded, that they only mean to live holily, and as they should do, whom the Spirit of God moveth to take their delight and recreation in reading his holy Will: and if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleaving to the Synagogues of false Doctrine, they may at their own peril. As for us, we have the most worthy House or Congregation of Gods verity, which be according to his own goodness and nature hath given us. And this also we wish unto them, that with like participation and common consent, they may feel with us the same delectation of mind. For this our Religion is neither new, nor newly invented, but it is as old as we believe the Creation of the World to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with such Worship as both seemed and pleased him: but all living men are liars, and are deceived with divers and sundry Illusions. Thou, O God, for Christ thy Sons sake, suffer not this wickedness again to root: thou hast set up a clear burning light, that thereby as many as thou hast chosen may come unto thee, these thy Miracles approve the same. It is thy Power that keepeth us in innocency and fidelity. The Sun and the Moon run their appointed course. Neither yet in ranging-wise wander the Stars to what place of the World they list themselves. The days, years, months, and times keep their appointed turns. The Earth abideth firm and unmoveable at thy Word: and the Wind at the time (by thee directed) stormeth and bloweth. The streaming

watry Floods ebb in time according as they flow. The raging Sea abideth within her bounded limits: and for that the Ocean Sea stretcheth out her self in equal length and breadth with the whole Earth, this must be wrought with some marvelous Workmanship of thine own hand. Which thing, unless it were at thy Will made and disposed: without all doubt so great difference and partition between, would ere this time have brought utter ruine and destruction both to the life of man, and to all that belongeth to man beside. Which for that they have such great and huge Conflicts amongst themselves, as also the invisible Spirits have; we give thee thanks, O Lord most mighty, God of all gods, that all Mankind hath not been destroyed thereby. Surely even as greatly as thy benignity and gentleness is manifested by divers and sundry Benefits bestowed upon us, so much also is the same set forth and declared in the Discipline of thy eternal Word, to those that be heavenly wise, and apply themselves to the attainment of sincere and true Vertue. But if any such there be that little regard, or have but small respect unto the consideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the same: for that Physick whereby Health is obtained, is manifestly offered unto all men. Now therefore let no man go about to subvert that, which experience it self doth shew (of necessity) to be pure and good. Let us therefore altogether use the participation of this Benefit bestowed upon us; that is to say, the Benefit of Peace and Tranquillity, setting apart all Controversie. And let no man hurt or be prejudicial to his Fellow for that thing wherein he thinketh himself to have done well. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, he thinketh he may profit his Neighbour, let him do the same: if not, let him give over and remit it till another time: for there is a great diversity betwixt the willing and voluntary embracing of Religion, and that when a man is thereunto inforced and coerced. Of these things have I made a more large Discourse, than indeed the scope of mediocrity requireth; especially because I would not have my Faith (touching the verity) to be hid; for that I hear there be some which complain that the old accustomed haunting of their Temples, and that the power of such Darknes is cut off and taken away. Which thing surely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent Rebellion of flagitious Error were so fixed in many mens hearts, whereby they thirst after the utter subversion of the Common-weal and Empire.

Such was the goodness of this Emperor Constantinus, or rather such was the providence of Almighty God toward his Church in stirring him up, that all his care and study of mind was set upon nothing else, but only how to benefit and enlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him enough to deliver the Church and people of God from outward vexation of foreign Tyrants and persecutors. No less beneficial was his godly care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance within the Church, among the Christian Bishops themselves; according as we read of Moses the deliverer of the Israelites, in agreeing the brethren together when he saw them at variance: Exod. 2. No less also did his vigilant study extend in erecting, restoring, and enriching the Churches of God in all Cities, and in providing for the Ministers of the same. And therefore writing to Anilinus his chief Captain, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertain to the Churches of the Christians, that he should procure vigilantly for the same: that all such goods, houses, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, should again be restored in all speedy wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.

Moreover, he writing to the said Anilinus in another letter, signifieth unto him in this effect: that for so much as the contempt of God his reverend Religion, is and hath been ever the greatest decay to the name and people of Rome, as contrarily the maintaining and reverencing the same hath ever brought prosperity to all Common weals: therefore he in consideration thereof hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that Province where he hath to do, which was in Africa where Cecilianus was Bishop, he should there

The earth
stayed up by
the power
of God.

Who they
be that
Constantine
accounteth
wise indeed.

Experience
a trial of
the truth.

Constantine
neither for
fear dilem-
bleth his
Faith, nei-
ther through
policy de-
fecteth Gods
glory.

Constantine
compared to
Moses in de-
livering the
people, and
agreeing
them toge-
ther.

The letter
of Constanti-
nus to Ani-
linus his
Captain.

Another
letter of
Constantine
to Anilinus.
The con-
tempt of
Gods Reli-
gion chiefly
decay of
common
weals.

see and provide that all such Ministers and Clerks, whose Vocation was to serve in the Church, should be freed and exempted from all publick duties and burdens, whereby they being so privileged, and all Impediments removed which should hinder their divine ministration, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flourish, &c.

Another letter of Constantine to Miltiades Bishop of Rome.

Furthermore the said Constantine in an other Letter writing to Miltiades Bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his Letters to them how Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage hath been accused unto him by divers of his Colleagues and fellow Bishops. Wherefore his will is, that the said Cecilianus with ten Bishops his Accusers, with ten other his Defendants should repair up to him at Rome; where in the present assistance of the foresaid Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellow Colleagues, the cause of Cecilianus might be heard and rightly examined, so that all Schism and Division might be cut off from among them, wherein the fervent desire of Constantine to peace and unity may well appear.

The fervent desire of Constantine to peace and unity.

The letter of Constantine to Chrestus Bishop of Syracuse.

Upon the like cause and argument also, he writeth to Chrestus Bishop of Syracuse; being so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the Church, that he offereth to him; with his under Ministers and three Servants, his free carriage to come up to him unto the Council of other Bishops, for the agreeing of certain matters belonging to the Church.

He writeth also another Letter to the forenamed Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage.

The edict of Constantine to the rulers of the Province of Palestine.

To the Provinces likewise of Palestine and those parts about, he directeth his Edict in the behalf of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in Captivity, and for the restoring again of them which had sustained any loss in the former Persecution before, and for the refreshing of such as heretofore had been oppressed with any ignominy or molestation for their confession sake; declaring in the said Edict how that this whole body, life and soul, and whatsoever is in him, he oweth to God and to the service of him, &c.

The letter of Constantine to Eusebius. The Council of Nice. The effect of the letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius. Ex Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 2.

Moreover an other Letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the edifying of new Christian Churches, and restoring of them which had been wasted before by foreign Enemies. And after he had collected the Synod of Nice for the study of peace and unity of the Church, he writeth upon the same to Alexander and Arius. In which his Letters he most lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to see and hear of their contention and division, whereby the peace and common harmony of the Church was broken, the Synod provoked and resisted, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duty were rather to nourish concord, and to seek tranquility. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others; yet the example of Philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or piece of a question, some might dissent from others, yet in the unity of their Profession they did all joyn as fellows together. In like case were it their duty in such fruitless questions (or rather pieces of questions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in silence unto themselves, and not to bring them forth into publick Synods, to break therefore from the communion of the reverend Council: declaring moreover in the said Epistle, the first origin and occasion of this their contentious dissention to rise upon vain and trifling terms, vile causes and light questions, and pieces rather of questions; about such matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be answered unto, being moved; more curious to be searched, and perilous to be expressed, than necessary to be enquired. *Magisque puerilibus ineptiis, quam sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentia convenientia*; as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all manner of means he doth labour them, doth intreat them, and persuade them, not only with reasons, but also with tears and sighing sobbs, that they would restore peace again unto the Church, and quietness to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet unto him) and they would return again to the communion of the reverend Council; who in so doing should open his way and purposed journey into the East parts: which otherwise hearing of their discord and dissention, would be sorry to see with his eyes that which grieveth him now to hear with his ears: with

much more in the same Epistle contained, but this is the effect of the whole, Eusebius. de vita Constant. lib. 2. Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, whereby the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meek and religious Constantine might more notoriously appear to all Princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal and care they ought to bear toward the Church of Christ, and how gently to govern, and how to be beneficial to the same.

Constantine set forth a spectacle to all Princes to follow.

Many other Edicts and Epistles writing to other places and parties, be expressed at large in the second Book of Eusebius, De vita Constantini; wherein the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperor toward the Church of Christ may appear: whereof in a brief recapitulation such Specialties we have collected as here followeth, and is to be seen in Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 8, 9.

First, he commanded all them to be set free, whosoever for the confession of Christ had been condemned to banishment, or to the Mines of metal, or to any publick or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominy. Souldiers which before were deprived either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty either to serve again in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatsoever honour, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man, should be restored to them again. The Goods and Possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoever they were alienated, should return to their Heirs or next of Kin, or for lack of them should be given to the Church. He commanded moreover that only Christians should bear Office; the other he charged and restrained, that neither they should Sacrifice nor exercise any more Divinations and Ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor set up any Images, nor keep any Feasts of the Heathen Idolaters. He corrected moreover and abolished all such unlawful manners and dishonest usages in the Cities as might be hurtful any ways to the Church; as the custom that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people used to run together like brut Beasts, both Men and Women, and with all kind of Filthiness and Sodomitry to pollute their Cities in celebrating the increase of that River. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked Order called Androgyne, to be killed: by reason whereof the River afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, than it did before.

A brief recapitulation of such benefits as were wrought by Constantine upon the Church.

Where wickedness is punished, there goodness followeth.

Among the Romans was an old Law, that such as were barren, having no fruit of Children, should be amerced of half their Goods. Also, that such as being above the years of twenty and five unmarried, should not be numbered in the same Priviledges with them that were married, neither should be Heirs to them, to whom notwithstanding they were next in kin. These Laws, because they seemed unreasonable (to punish the defect of Nature, or gift of Virginity by mans Law) he abrogated and took away. An other Order was among the Romans, that they which made their Wills being sick, had certain prescribed and conceived words appointed to them to use, which unless they followed, their Wills stood in no effect. This Law also Constantine repealed, permitting to every man in making his Testament to use what words or what Witneses he would. Likewise among the Romans he restrained and took away the cruel and bloody spectacles and fights, where men were wont with Swords one to kill another. Of the barbarous and filthy fashion of the Aethusians in Phenicia, I have mentioned before, where they used to expose and set forth their Virgins to open Fornication before they should be married: which custom also Constantine removed away. Where no Churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too little, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to the same, great Gifts and Revenues, not only of such Tributes and Taxes coming to him from certain fundry Cities, which he transferred unto the Churches, but also out of his own Treasures. When any Bishops required any Council to be had, he satisfied their Petitions; and what in their Councils and Synods they established, being godly and honest, he was ready to confirm the same.

The liberality of Constantine in giving to Churches.

The

The armour of his Souldiers, which were newly come from gentility, he garnished with the arms of the Cross, whereby they might learn the sooner to forget their old superstitious Idolatry. Moreover, like a worthy Emperor he prescribed a certain form of prayer, in stead of a *Catechism* for every man to have and to learn how to pray and to invoke God. The which form of prayer is recited in the fourth Book of *Eusebius De vita Constantini*, in words as followeth:

Te solum novimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adiutorem invocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum constituimus, tibi presentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: imperatorem nostrum Constantinum, ac piensissimos ejus filios, in longissima vita incolantes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus, per Christum Dominum nostrum: Amen. In English.

We acknowledge thee only to be our God, we confess thee to be our King, we invoke and call upon thee our only Helper, by thee we obtain our Victories, by thee we vanquish and subdue our Enemies, to thee we attribute whatsoever present Commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we direct all our Suits and Petitions, most humbly beseeching thee to conserve *Constantine* our Emperor and his noble Children in long life to continue, and to give them Victory over all their Enemies, through Christ our Lord: Amen.

In his own Palace he set up an house peculiar for Prayer and Doctrine, using also to pray and sing with his people. Also in his Wars he went not without his Tabernacle appointed for the same. The *Sunday* he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary Causes, from Markets, Marts, Fairs, and all other manual Labours, only Husbandry excepted: especially charging that no Images or Monuments of Idolatry should be set up.

Men of the Clergy and of the Ministry in all places he indued with special Privileges and Immunities, so that if any were brought before the civil Magistrate, and listed to appeal to the Sentence of his Bishop, it should be lawful for him so to do, and that the Sentence of the Bishop should stand in as great force as if the Magistrate or the Emperor himself had pronounced it.

But here is to be observed and noted by the way, that the Clerks and Ministers then newly creeping out of Persecution, were in those days neither in number so great, nor in order of life of the like disposition to these in our days now living.

No less care and provision the said *Constantinus* also had for the maintenance of Schools pertaining to the Church, and to the nourishing of good Arts and liberal Sciences, especially of Divinity: not only with Stipends and Subsidies furnishing them, but also with large Privileges and Exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his own Law is to be seen and read as followeth, *Medicos, Grammaticos, & alios Professores literarum, & Doctores legum, cum uxoribus & liberis, &c.* In English; Physicians, Grammarians, and other Professors of liberal Arts, and Doctors of the Law, with their Wives and Children, and all other their Possessions which they have in Cities, we command to be freed from all civil Charges and Functions, neither to receive foreign strangers in Provinces, nor to be burthened with any publick Administration, nor to be cited up to civil Judgment, nor to be drawn out or oppressed with any Injury. And if any man shall vex them, he shall incur such punishment as the Judge at his discretion shall award him. Their Stipends moreover and Salaries we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely instruct others in Arts and Sciences, &c.

Over and besides this, so far did his godly Zeal and Princely Care and Provision extend to the Church of Christ, that he commanded and provided Books and Volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remain in publick Churches to the use of Posterity. Whereupon writing to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* in a special Letter (recorded in the fourth Book of *Euseb. De vita Constant.*) he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty Volumes of Parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out of the Scripture in a fair legible hand, such things

as he thought necessary and profitable for the Instruction of the Church, and alloweth him for that business two publick Ministers: he also writeth concerning the same to the General of his Army, to support and further him with such Necessaries, as therunto should appertain, &c.

In viewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the Christian Zeal of this Emperor, I wish that either this our printing and plenty of Books had been in his days, or that this so heroical heart toward Christian Religion, as was in this so excellent Monarch, might something appear in inferior Princes reigning in these our printing-days, &c.

The liberal hand of this Emperor born to do all men good, was no less also open and ready toward the needy Poverty of such, which either by loss of Parents or other occasions were not able to help themselves: to whom he commanded and provided due subvention both of Corn and Rayment to be ministered out of his own Coffers, to the necessary relief of the poor Men, Women, Children, Orphans, and Widows, *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4.*

Finally, among all the other Monuments of his singular Clemency and Munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the Empire of *Rome* and Provinces belonging to the same, not only he diminished such Taxes, Revenues and Impost, as publickly were coming to him, but also clearly remitted and released to the Contributors the fourth part of the same.

This present place would require something to be said of the Donation of *Constantine*, whereupon as upon their chiefest Anchor-hold, the Bishops of *Rome* do ground their supremacy and Right over all the political Government of the *West* parts, and the Spiritual Government of all the other Sees and Parts of the World. Which donation to be falsely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from *Constantine*, many Arguments might here be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.

First, for that no ancient History, nor yet Doctor, maketh any mention thereof.

Naucerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the History of *Isidorus*. But in the old Copies of *Isidorus* no such thing is to be found.

Gratianus the Compiler of the Decrees, reciteth that Decree, not upon any ancient Authority, but only under the Title of *Papal*.

Gelasius is said to give some testimony thereof, in *Dist. 15. Sancta Romana*. But that Clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient Books is not extant.

Orto Phrysingensis, who was about the time of *Gratian*, after he hath declared the Opinion of the Favourers of the Papacy, affirming this donation to be given of *Constantine* to *Silvester* the Pope, induceth consequently the Opinion of them that favour the Empire, affirming the contrary.

How doth this agree, that *Constantine* did yield up to *Silvester* all the Political Dominion over the *West*, when as the said *Constantine* at his death, dividing the Empire to his three Sons, gave the *West* part of the Empire to one, the *East* part to the second, the middle part to the third?

How is it like that *Theodosius* after them, being a just and a religious Prince, would or could have occupied the City of *Rome*, if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the Pope, and so did many other Emperors after him?

The phrase of this Decree, being conferred with the phrase and stile of *Constantine* in his other Edicts and Letters above specified, doth nothing agree.

Seeing the Papists themselves confess that the Decree of this Donation was written in *Greek*, how agreeth that with truth, when as both it was written not to the *Grecians*, but to the *Romans*, and also *Constantine* himself for lack of the *Greek*-Tongue, was fain to use the *Latine*-Tongue in the Council of *Nice*?

The contents of this Donation (whoever was the Forger thereof) doth bewray it self: for if it be true which there is confessed, that he was baptized at *Rome* of *Silvester*, and the fourth day after his Baptism this Patrimony was given (which was before his battel against *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, in the year of our Lord three hundred and seventeen, as *Nicephorus* recordeth) how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the Donation, for him to have Jurisdiction given over the other four Principal Sees

With the authority of the author, admonitory to Princes.

The liberality of *Constantine* towards the poor and needy.

Constantine remitted the fourth part of his rents and revenues.

Donation of *Constantine*.

Reasons and arguments proving the donation of *Constantine* to be falsified.

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Sees

Sees of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, and *Hierusalem*? when as the City of *Constantinople* was not yet begun before the death of *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, and was not finished before the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of *Constantine*, in the year of our Lord three hundred thirty and nine; or if it be true, as *Hierome* counteth, it was finished the three and twentieth year of his Reign, which was the year our of Lord three hundred thirty and four, long after this donation by their own account.

11. Furthermore, where in the said Constitution it is said that *Constantine* was baptized at *Rome* of *Silvester*; and thereby was purged of *Leprosie*; the Fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of History, for so much as *Eusebius*, lib. 4. de *vita Constantini*, *Hieronymus* in *Chron. Ruffin*, lib. 2. cap. 11. *Socrates*, lib. 1. cap. 39. *Theod.* lib. 1. cap. 31. *Sozomenus*, lib. 2. cap. 34. do all together consent that he was baptized not at *Rome*, but at *Nicomedia*; and that moreover, as by their testimony doth appear, not of *Silvester*, but of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, not before his battel against *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, but in the thirty first year of his Reign, a little before his death.

12. Again, whereas *Constantine* in this donation appointed him to have the Principality over the other four Patriarchal Sees, that maketh *Constantine* contrary to himself; who in the Council of *Nice* afterward agreed with other Bishops, that all the four Patriarchal Sees should have equal Jurisdiction, every one over his own Territory and Pre-
dict.

13. In sum, briefly to conclude: who so desireth more abundantly to be satisfied touching this matter, let him read the Books of *Marsilius Patavinus*, intituled, *Defensor pacis*, in the year of our Lord, 1324. of *Laurentius Valla*, Anno 1440. of *Antoninus* Archbishop of *Florence*, who in his History plainly denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old Books of the Decrees. Of *Cusanus Cardinalis*, lib. 3. cap. 2. writing to the Council of *Basil*, Anno 1460. of *Aeneas Silvius* in *dialogo*: of *Hier. Paulus Cattalanus*, Anno 1496. of *Raphael Wolateranus*, Anno 1500. of *Lutberus*, Anno 1537. &c. All which, by many and evident probations, dispute and prove this donation taken out of a Book, *De gestis Silvestri*, and translated (as they say) by one *Bartholomeus Picernus* out of *Greek* into *Latine*; not to proceed from *Constantinus*, but to be a thing unquely pretended, or rather a Fable imagined, or else to be the deed of *Pipinus* or *Charles*, or some such other, if it were ever the deed of any.

And thus hast thou (beloved Reader) briefly collected the Narration of the noble Acts and heavenly Vertues of this most famous Emperor *Constantine* the great; a singular Spectacle for all *Christian* Princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual Memory in all Congregations of *Christian* Saints: whose fervent Zeal and Piety in general, to all Congregations and to all the Servants of Christ, was

notable; but especially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the Confession of Christ in the Persecutions before; them had he principally in price and veneration, in-
somuch that he embraced and kissed their Wounds and Stripes, and their Eyes, being put out. And if any such Bishops or any other Ministers brought to him any Complaints one against another (as many times they did) he would take their Bills of Complaint and burn them before their faces; so studious and zealous was his Mind to have them agree, whose discord was to him more grief than it was to themselves. All the vertuous Acts and memorable Doings of this divine and renowned Emperor to comprehend or commit to History, it were the matter alone of a great Volume: wherefore contented with these above premised, because nothing of him can be said enough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the way of a note) I thought good to admonish the learned Reader, such as love to be conversant in reading of ancient Authors; that in the Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius*, where in the latter end of the Book is added a certain Oration, *Ad conventum Sanctorum*, under the name of *Eusebius Pamphilus*, here is to be understood, that the said Oration is wrongfully intituled upon the name of *Eusebius*, which in very truth is the Oration of *Constantinus* himself. For the probation whereof, (beside the stile and matter therein contained, and tractation heroicall lively declaring the religious vein of *Constantine*) I alledge the very testimony of *Eusebius* himself in his fourth Book *De vita Constantini*, where he in expresse words not only declareth that *Constantine* wrote such an Oration, intituled, *Ad conventum Sanctorum*, but also promiseth in the end of his Book, to annex the same: declaring moreover what difficulty the Interpreters had to translate the same from the *Roman* Speech, to their *Grecian* Tongue, *Euseb. de vita Constantini*, lib. 4. pag. 211.

And here an end of these lamentable and doleful Persecutions of the Primitive Church, during the space of three hundred years from the Passion of our Saviour Christ, till the coming of this *Constantinus*; by whom as by the elect Instrument of God, it hath so pleased his Almighty Majesty, by his determinate purpose, to give rest after long trouble to his Church, according to that Saint *Cyprian* declareth before to be revealed of God unto his Church: that after darkness and stormy tempest, should come peaceable, calm, and stable quietness to his Church, meaning this time of *Constantine* now present. At which time it so pleased the Almighty, that the murdering malice of Satan should at length be restrained, and himself tied up for a thousand years, through his great mercy in Christ, to whom therefore be Thanks and Praise now and for ever, Amen.

The End of the First Book.

T H E

THE SECOND BOOK, CONTAINING

The next Three hundred Years following, with such things specially touched as have happened in *England*, from the time of King *Lucius*, to *Gregorius*, and so after to the time of King *Egbert*.

BY these Persecutions hitherto in the Book before precedent thou mayest understand (Christian Reader) how the fury of Satan and rage of men have done what they could to extinguish the Name and Religion of Christ: for what thing did lack that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of Hell could devise, all was to the uttermost attempted. And yet all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wisdom of the world and strength of men, doing, devising, practising what they could; notwithstanding the Religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the upper hand: which thing I with thee greatly (gentle Reader) wisely to note and diligently to ponder in considering these former Histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them, unless thou do first read and peruse them; let me crave therefore thus much at thine hands, to turn and read over the said Histories of those Persecutions above described, especially above all the other Histories of this present Volume, for thy especial edification, which I trust thou shalt find not unworthy the reading.

Now because the tying up of Satan giveth to the Church some rest, and to me some leisure to address my self to the handling of other Stories, I mind therefore (Christ willing) in this present Book, leaving a while the tractation of these general affairs pertaining to the universal Church, to prosecute such Domestical Histories as more nearly concern this our Country of *England* and *Scotland* done here at home, beginning first with King *Lucius*, with whom the Faith first began here in this Realm, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. And for so much as here may rise, yea and doth rise a great controversy in these our Popish days, concerning the first origine and planting of the Faith in this our Realm, it shall not be greatly out of our purpose somewhat to stay and say of this question, Whether the Church of *England* first received the Faith from *Rome* or not? The which although I grant so to be, yet being so granted, it little availeth the purpose of them which would so have it. For be it that *England* first received the Christian Faith and Religion from *Rome*, both in the time of *Eleutherius* their Bishop 180 years after Christ, and also in the time of *Augustine* whom *Gregory* sent hither, 800 years after Christ, yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore fetch our Religion from thence still, as from the chief well-head and fountain of all godliness. And yet as they are not able to prove the second, so neither have I any cause to grant the first: that is, That our Christian Faith was first derived from *Rome*, which I may prove by six or seven good conjectural reasons. Whereof the first I take of the testimony of *Gildas* our Countryman, who in his History affirmeth plainly, that *Britain* received the Gospel in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, under whom Christ suffered. *Lib. de victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*. And saith moreover, that *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, after dispersion of the *Jews*, was sent of *Philip* the Apostle from *France* to *Britain*, about the year of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time; and so with his fellows laid the first foundation of Christian Faith among the *Britain* people, whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same and increased it.

The second reason is out of *Tertullian*, who living near about, or rather somewhat before the time of this *Eleutherius*, in his Book *Contra Judaeos*, manifestly importeth

the same; where the said *Tertullian* testifying how the Gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the Apostles; and there reckoning up the *Medes*, *Persians*, *Parthians*, and dwellers in *Mesopotamia*, *Fenry*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Egypt*, *Pamphilia*, with many more, at length cometh to the Coast of the *Moorians*, and all the borders of *Spain*, with divers Nations of *France*; and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of *Britain*, which the *Romans* could never attain to, and reporteth the same now to be subject to Christ; as also reckoneth up the places of *Sarmatia*, of the *Danes*, the *Germanes*, the *Scythians*, with many other *Provinces* and *Isles* to him unknown; in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ, which now beginneth to be common. This hath *Tertullian*. Note here how among other divers believing Nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of *Britain* to be of the same number, and these in his time were Christened, who was in the same *Eleutherius* time, as is above said. Then was not Pope *Eleutherius* the first which sent the Christian Faith into this Realm, but the Gospel was here received before his time either by *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, as some *Chronicles* record, or by some of the Apostles, or of their Scholars, which had been here preaching Christ before *Eleutherius* wrote to *Lucius*.

My third Probation I deduct out of *Origen*, *Hom. 4. in Exechielem*, whose words be these, *Britanniam in Christianam convertire religionem*. Whereby it appeareth that the Faith of Christ was sparsed here in *England* before the days of *Eleutherius*.

For my fourth Probation I take the testimony of *Beda*, where he affirmeth, that in his time, and almost a thousand years after Christ here in *Britain*, *Easter* was kept after the manner of the East Church, in the full of the Moon, what day in the week so ever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the first Preachers in this land have come out from the East part of the world, where it was so used, rather than from *Rome*.

Fifthly, I may alledg the words of *Nicephorus*, *lib. 2. cap. 40.* where he saith that *Simon Zelotes* did spread the Gospel of Christ to the West Ocean, and brought the same unto the *Isles* of *Britain*.

Sixthly, may be here added also the words of *Petrus Cluniacensis*, who writing to *Bernard*, affirmeth that the *Scots* in his time did celebrate their *Easter*, not after the *Roman* manner, but after the *Greeks*, &c. And as the said *Britains* were not under the *Roman* order in the time of this Abbot of *Cluniack*; so neither were they nor would be under the *Roman* Legat, in the time of *Gregory*, nor would admit any primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* to be above them.

For the seventh argument moreover I may make my Probation by the plain words of *Eleutherius*, by whose Epistle written to King *Lucius* we may understand that *Lucius* had received the Faith of Christ in this land, before the King sent to *Eleutherius* for the *Roman* Laws; for so the expresse words of the Letter do manifestly purport, as hereafter followeth to be seen. By all which conjectures it may stand probably to be thought that the *Britains* were taught first by the *Grecians* of the East Church, rather than by the *Romans*.

Peradventure *Eleutherius* might help something either

A Petition to the Reader diligently to read over the former Book of the Ten Persecutions.

The first planting of Christian Faith in *England*.

Question.

Whether Christian Religion in this Realm came first from *Rome*.

Answer.

1. *Gildas*.

2. *Ex Tertul. contra Judaeos*.

3. *Ex Origen. hom. 4. in Exech.*

4. *Ex Beda.*

5. *Ex Nicepho. lib. 2. c. 40.*

6. *Ex Pet. Cluniacensis ad Bernardum.*

7. *Ex Epist. Eleutherii ad Lucium.*

What difference between the late Church of Rome and the old Church of Rome, and in what matters.

De consecr. dist. 2.

Fabian. esp. 119. & 120.

Eleutherius Bishop of Rome.

Augustine 2. The faith of Christ brought in to this Realm.

Lucius first christened of the Britains. Ex Monumentis & aliis.

to convert the King, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung among the People, but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English stories confess, neither will I greatly stick with them therein; yet what have they got thereby when they have cast all their gain? in few words to conclude this matter, if so be that the Christian Faith and Religion was first derived from Rome to this our Nation by Eleutherius, then let them but grant to us the same Faith and Religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence derived hither by the said Eleutherius, and we will desire no more; for then neither was any Universal Pope above all Churches and Councils, which came not in before Bonifacius time, which was 400 years after; neither any name or use of the Mass, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this Book following appeareth to be seen. Neither any sacrifice Propitiatory for the scowring of Purgatory was then offered upon hallowed Altars, but only the Communion frequented at Christian Tables, where Oblations and Gifts were offered as well of the People as of the Priests to God, because they should appear neither empty nor unkind before the Lord, as we may understand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any Transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand years after. Neither were then any Images of Saints departed set up in Churches; yea, a great number of the Saints worshipped in this our time were not as yet born, nor the Churches wherein they were worshipped were yet set up, but came in long after, especially in the time of Irene and Constantine the Emperor. Likewise neither Relicks nor Peregrinations were then in use. Priests Marriage was then as lawful (and no less received) as now; neither was it condemned before the days of Hildebrand, almost a thousand years after that. Their service was then in the vulgar tongue, as witnesseth Hierome; the Sacraments ministered in both kinds as well to Lay-men as to Priests, the witness whereof is Cyprian. Yea and temporal men which would not then communicate at Easter, Whitsontide, and Christmass, were not then counted for Catholics, the Popes own distinction can testify. In Funerals, Priests then flocked not together, selling Trentals and Diriges for sweeping of Purgatory; but only a Funeral Concion was used, with Psalms of praises and songs of their worthy deeds, and Hallelujah sounding on high, which did shake the gilded Ceelings of the Temple, as witnesseth Nazianzen, Ambrose, with Hierome, &c.

In the Supper of the Lord, and at Baptism, no such Ceremonies were used, as now of late have been intruded: inso much that as in this Story is shewed hereafter; both Augustine and Paulinus baptised then in Rivers, not in hallowed Fonts, as witnesseth Fabianus. The Portues of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, with Mattens and Even-song of the day; again, neither the Orders and Religions of Monks and Friars were not yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand years after, &c. So that, as I said, if the Papists would needs derive the Faith and Religion of this Realm from Rome, then let them set us and leave us there where they had us; that is, let them suffer us to stand content with that Faith and Religion, which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothing from the same) and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the wise Reader judge where the fault is, in us, or them, which neither themselves will persist in the Antiquity of the Romish Religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit us so to do.

And thus much by the way to satisfy the foresaid objection, whereby we may have now a more ready passage into the order and course of the History. Being therefore granted unto them which they so earnestly stick upon, that the Christian Faith and Religion of this Realm was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterward by Augustine; thus write the Chronicles of that matter.

About the time and year of the Lord 180. King Lucius son of Coilus, which builded Colchester, King of the Britains, who then were the Inhabiters and Possessors of this Land (which now we English men call England) hearing of the Miracles and Wonders done by the Christians at that time in divers places (as Monumentensis wri-

teth) directed his Letters to Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, to receive of him the Christian Faith; although about the computation of the year and time, great difference there is in Authors when this should be. Nauclerus saith it was Anno 156. but that cannot be, for so much as Eleutherius was not yet Bishop by the space of twenty years after that. Henricus de Erfordia saith, it was Anno 169. in the nineteenth year of Verus Emperor; but that agreeth not with approved Histories, which all consent that Verus reigned not nineteen years; and if he had, yet that year cometh not to the year of our Lord 169. but to the year 181. Some others say, that Eleutherius was made Bishop in the sixth year of Commodus, which was the year of our Lord 180. but that seemeth to go too far; but let the Authors agree as they can. Let us return to Eleutherius the good Bishop, who hearing the request of this King, and glad to see the godly towardness of his well disposed mind, sendeth him certain Teachers and Preachers called Fugatus, or by some Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus, which converted first the King and People of Britain, and baptised them with the Baptism and Sacrament of Christs Faith. The Temples of Idolatry and all other Monuments of Gentility they subverted, converting the People from their divers and many Gods, to serve one living God. Thus true Religion with sincere faith increasing, Superstition decayed, with all other Rites of Idolatry. There were then in Britain 28 Head Priests which they called Flamines, and three Archpriests among them, which were called Arch-Flamines, having the oversight of their manners, and as Judges over the rest. These 28 Flamines they turned to 28 Bishops, and the three Arch-Flamines to three Archbishops, having then their seats in three principal Cities of the Realm; that is, in London, in York, and in Glamorgantia, Videlicet in urbe legionum, by Wales. Thus the Countries of the whole Realm being divided every one under his own Bishop, and all things settled in a good order; the foresaid King Lucius sent again to the said Eleutherius for the Roman Laws, thereby likewise to be governed, as in Religion now they were framed accordingly; unto whom Eleutherius again writeth after the tenor of these words ensuing:

The Epistle of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, sent to King Lucius.

Anno 169. a passione Christi scripsit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniae, ad correctionem Regis & procerum Regni Britanniae, and so forth as followeth in English.

Ye require of us the Roman Laws, and the Emperors to be sent over to you, which you may practise and put in use within your Realm. The Roman Laws and the Emperors we may ever reprove, but the Law of God we may not. Ye have received of late through Gods mercy in the Realm of Britanny, the Law and Faith of Christ; ye have with you within the Realm, both the parts of the Scriptures. Out of them by Gods grace, with the Council of your Realm take ye a Law, and by that Law (through Gods sufferance) rule your Kingdom of Britain. For you be Gods Vicar in your Kingdom, according to the saying of the Psalm, Deus judicium tuum Regi da, &c. that is, O God give thy judgment to the King, and thy righteousness to the Kings son, &c. He said not, the judgment and righteousness of the Emperor, but thy judgment and justice; that is to say, of God. The Kings sons be the Christian people and folk of the Realm, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your Kingdom, as the Gospel saith, Like as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings, so doth the King his People. The people and folk of the Realm of Britain be yours: whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the Faith and Law of Christ, and to the holy Church, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from such as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A King hath his name of ruling, and not of having a Realm. You shall be a King while you rule well; but if you do otherwise, the name of a King shall not remain with you, and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the Realm of Britain, that you may Reign with him for ever, whose Vicar you be in the Realm,

After

After this manner (as you have heard) was the Christian Faith either first brought in, or else confirmed in this Realm of Britain by the sending of Eleutherius, not with any Cross or Procession, but only at the simple Preaching of Egan and Damian, through whose Ministry this Realm and Island of Britain was at first reduced to the Faith and Law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Isaiah, as well of that as other Islands more, where he saith, Chap. 42. He shall not faint nor give over, till he hath set judgement in earth, and Islands shall wait for his Law, &c. The Faith thus received of the Britains continued among them and flourished the space of 216 years, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were Pagans; wherefore more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ assisting thereunto. In the mean time something to speak of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first coming in of the Saxons: First, it is to be understood that all this while as yet, the Emperors of Rome had not received the Faith, what time the Kings of Britain and the subjects thereof were converted now, as is said, to Christ; for the which cause much trouble and perturbation was sought against them, not only here in Britain, but through all parts of Christendom by the Heathen Infidels. Inasmuch that in the Persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximianus, reigning both together within one month, 17000 Martyrs are numbered to have suffered for the name of Christ, as hath been hitherto in the Book before sufficiently discoursed.

Thus therefore, although the foresaid Lucius the Britain King, through the merciful Providence of God was then Christened, and the Gospel received generally almost in all the land, yet the state thereof, as well of the Religion as of the Commonwealth, could not be quiet, for that the Emperors and Nobles of Rome were Infidels, and enemies to the same; but especially for this cause, it so happening that Lucius the Christian King died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the Britains (as it happeneth in all other Realms, and namely in this Realm of England, whenever Succession lacketh) that not only they brought upon them the Idolatrous Romans, and at length the Saxons, but also intrapped themselves in such misery and desolation, as yet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is when a Prince or a King is in a Kingdom, that so little Succession, as especially in this case may appear. For after the death of Lucius, when the Barons and Nobles of the land could not accord within themselves upon Succession of the Crown, the Romans stepped in and got the Crown into their own hands, whereupon followed great misery and ruin to the Realm. For sometimes the Idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Britains reigned and ruled as violence and victory would serve; one King murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and deprived them both, as in proofs hereafter followeth to be seen.

In the mean season touching the story of King Lucius, here is to be reproved the fable of some Writers falsely signing of him that he should after his Baptism received, put off all his Kingly honour, forsake the land, and be made a Preacher, who after long travel in Preaching and teaching in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in Saxe, at length was made Doctor and Rector of the Church of Carac, where (as this Fable saith) he suffered Martyrdom. But this fable of whomsoever it first did spring, disagreeeth from all our English Stories, who with a full consent do for the most part concur in this, that the said Lucius after he had founded many Churches, and given great riches and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillity in his own land, and was buried at Gloucester the fourteenth year after his Baptism, as the Book of Pontifical Historians doth count, which was the year of our Lord, as he saith 101, and reckneth his conversion to be in the year 87. In some I find his death to be the fourth, and in some the tenth year after his Baptism, and some hold that he reigned all the space of 27 years. And thus much concerning King Lucius.

Now to proceed in order of the story, lately to touch the state of the foresaid land of Britain, betwixt the time of King Lucius, and the entering of the Saxons, who were the Kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded, or rather invaded one another, this Catalogue here under written will testify.

Lucius,
Severus,
Raffianus,
Ceraustus,
Alectus,
Asclepiodorus,
Coilus,
Constantius,
Constantinus,

Britain.

Roman.

Roman by the Father.

Britain.

Roman.

Britain.

Britain.

Roman.

Britain by the Mother, named Helena, who being the daughter of Coel and married to Constantius, father of Constantinus, is said to make the walls first of London, also of Colchester, much about the year of our Lord 305, and born in Britain.

Gewissian.

Roman born, but his Mother a Britain.

Roman.

Britain by the Mother.

Roman by the Father.

Gewissian or Britain.

Britain.

Again.

Octavius,
Maximianus,

Gratianus,
Constantius,
Constant,
Vortigerus,
Vortimerus,
Vortigerus,

Kings of Britain from the time of Lucius, till the coming of the Saxons.

By this Table may appear a lamentable face of a Commonwealth so miserably rent and divided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in Country as in Religion; for when the Romans reigned, they were governed by the Infidels; when the Britains ruled, they were governed by Christians. Thus what quietness was or could be in the Church in so unquiet and doubtful days, may easily be conceived.

And notwithstanding all these foretold Heathen Rulers of the Romans which here governed, yet (God be praised) we read of no Persecution during all that time. Persecutions above mentioned, that touched the Christian Britains, before the last Persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximianus, which here then exercised much cruelty. This Persecution, as it was the last against the Roman Christians, so it was the first of many and divers that followed after in this Church and Realm of England; whereof we will hereafter Entreat (Christ willing) in order of the matter shall lead us. In the mean time this rage of Dioclesian as it was universally through all the Churches in the world, fierce and vehement, so in this Realm of Britain also it was so long, that as all our English Chronicles do testify and record, all Christianity almost in the whole land was destroyed. Churches were subverted, all Books of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithful, both men and women were slain. Among whom the first and chief was Albanus, then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how many they were that suffered besides, I make no rehearsal. And thus much thereof.

Now as concerning the Government of these above-said Kings of Britain, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this Ecclesiastical History, yet this is not to be put over. First, how in the order of their Rulers cometh Constantine the Great and worthy Emperor, who was the only a Briton born by his Mother Helena, being King Coel's daughter, but also by the help of the Britons, many (under the power of God) won the Kingdom of Rome, and drove out of Britain the Romans, and made him a most victorious and triumphant King. Having done these things, he was crowned Emperor of the whole world, and his name was Constantine the Great. And thus much of this Story.

After this manner, the Saxons came into Britain, with him and his people, and the power of

Ex Beda. Polychron. Monaster.

Ann. Dini. 390. secunda. Fab. Bed. Ann. 433. Fab. Bed. 443. Ann. 444. Ann. 445.

The Britains never troubled with any Persecution before the time of Dioclesian.

Constantine the Great born and bred in Britain.

The cruel now the Realm of Britain was left weak.

Strength

Britain spoiled of Soldiers, Ursula with 11000 Virgins.

strength which was left, and whatsoever he could make of able and fighting men to subdue France; besides the Garisons which he had out with him before, finding for more to the number of an hundred thousand Soldiers at once to be sent to him out of Britain into France. At which time also Conanus his partner, being then in France, sent over for Virgins from Britain, to the number of 11000, who with Ursula, the Prince Diomedes daughter being shipped over, many perished in the Sea, some were taken of the Infidels marching upon the borders; with whom because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserably dispersed (some one way, some another) so that none escaped.

Thus poor Britain being left naked and destitute on every side, as a maimed body without might or strength, was left open to his enemies, not able to succour it self without help of foreign friends; to whom they were then constrained to fly, especially to the Romans, to whom the Britains sent this word or message, *Esio ter consuli genitus Britannorum. Repellant nos Barbari ad mare: repellat nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut submergimur.* But the Romans then began to forsake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by Gwynus and Melga, had not Gwethelamus the Archbishop of London made over to lesser Britain, and obtaining their help, had brought Constantinus the Kings brother to rescue his Country against the Infidels. This Constantinus was brother to Aldroenus, King of little Britain, and father to Constance, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, who after reigned Kings in Britain.

Gwethelamus Archbishop of London, in Chronicon Monasterii Constantini, Constance, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uter, Pendragon. The Saxons sent for to Britain.

Thus by the means of the good Archbishop and Constantinus, the state of the Religion and Realm of Britain was in some measure quiet and safety, during the time of the said Constantinus, and of the good Archbishop. But as the

Realm of Britain almost from the beginning was never without Civil war, at length came the wicked Vortigern, who cruelly causing Constance his Prince to be murdered; ambitiously invaded the Crown; who then fearing the other two Brethren of Constance, which were Aurelius and Uter, being then in little Britain, did send over for the aid of the Saxons, being then Infidels; and not only that, but also married with an Infidel the daughter of Hengist, called Rowen. Whereupon the said Vortigern not long after by the said Hengist and the Saxons was with like treachery dispossessed of his Kingdom, and the people of Britain driven out of their Country, after that the Saxons had slain of their chief Nobles and Barons at one meeting (joining together subtilty with cruelty) to the number of 271; some stories say 480. This wicked act of the Saxons was done at Almsbury, or at a place called Stonebury. By the monument of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britains there were buried.

This fabulous story of the Welchmen, of bringing these stones from Ireland by Merlin, I pass over. Some stories record that they were slain being bid to a Banquet. Others say that it was done at a talk or assembly, where the Saxons came with privy Knives contrary to promise made; with the which Knives they giving a privy watch-word in their Saxon speech, *Nenne your sexes*, slew the Britains unarmed. And thus far concerning the History of the Britains. As this great Plague could not come to the Britains without Gods permission, so Gildas sheweth in his Chronicle the cause thereof, writing thus, *Quod Britones propteravaritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem & injustitiam judicum, propter desidiam predicationis Episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse, &c.*

King Constantine slain by Vortigern.

A violent murder of the Saxons.

Heptarchia Angliae Saxonica: Or, a Description of England, as it was divided in the Saxons time into Seven Kingdoms.



The

The Entering and Reigning of the Saxons in the Realm of England,

THIS was the coming in first of the *Angles* or *Saxons* into this Realm, being yet Unchristened and Infidels, which was about the year of our Lord, as *William Malmesbury* testifieth, 469; the Captains of whom were *Hengist* and *Horsus*. Although the said *Hengist* and *Saxons* at their first coming, for all their subtil working, and cruel attempt, had no quiet settling in *Britain*, but were driven out divers times by the valiantnes of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and his Brother *Uter* above mentioned, who reigned after that among the *Britains*; yet notwithstanding they were not so driven out, but that they returned again, and at length possessed all, driving the *Britains* (such as remained) into *Cambria*, which we call now *Wales*. *Hengist* (as some *Chronicles* record) reigned three and forty years, and died in *Kent*. *Galfridus in suo Britannico* saith, that he was taken in War by *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and beheaded at *Coningsburgh*, after he had reigned nine and thirty years.

After the death of *Hengist*, his Son *Osa* reigned four and twenty years, leaving his Son *Otha*, to whose reign with his Son *Imenricus*, *Histories* do attribute three and

fifty years, who also were slain by *Uter Pendragon*. *Poly-chronicon, lib. 5. cap. 4.*

The *Saxons* after they were settled in the possession of *England*, distributed the Realm among themselves first in seven parts, every part to have his King; that is, the first to be the King of *Kent*; the second to be King of *Suffex* and *Southbery*, holding his Palace at *Cicester*; the third King was of *Westsex*; the fourth King of *Essex*; the fifth King was of the *Eastangles*, that is, of *Cambridgeshire*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; the sixth King of *Merceland*, or *Mercia*, and in his Kingdom were contained the Countries of *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Derby*, *Warwick*, &c. the seventh King had all the Countries beyond *Humber*, and was called King of *Northumberland*.

Of the Seven Kingdoms, although they continued not long, but at length joyned all in one, coming all into the possession and subjection of the *West Saxons*; yet for the space they continued (which was with continual trouble and wars among themselves) this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be seen.

A TABLE describing the Seven Kingdoms of the Saxons reigning here in ENGLAND.

IN the time of *Vortiger* above mentioned, began the Reign of the Saxons in this Land, the which coming out of three sorts of the German people (to wit) the *Saxons*, the *Jutes* and *Angles*, replenished the Land, of them called now *Anglia*. Of whom first *Hengist* reigned in *Kent*, which Country of *Kent* he had obtained by *Rowen* his daughter, of King *Vortiger*, which was about the year of our Lord (as some do count) 476, or (as I find) in the computation of our English Tables 456, in some 463. After *Hengist* came in *Otha*, with *Eosa*, or *Ute* his Kinsman; who afterwards succeeded the said *Hengist* in *Kent*. Not long after came in another company of the *Saxons*, with *Elle* their Captain, which planted themselves in *Southfax*. And after them again another *Garrison* of the *Saxons*, with *Cerdice* their Captain, which did occupy the West part of the Land, called by them *Westfaxon*. And so likewise the other multitude of the *Saxons* after them, which as yet being Unchristened and Infidels, divided the whole Land among themselves into Seven Kingdoms, as in this Table followeth.

(456) KENT.

The Kings of Kent, with the years how long they reigned.

Hengist slain. 31
Eosa, or *Ute*. 24
Otha, or *Otha*.
Emenricus, or *Emenricus*. 26
Ethelbert, the 1st of the Saxon Kings that received the Faith by *Augustin*, *Arcg.* 35.
Edwaldus. 24
Ercmberhtus. 24
Egbertus, or *Egbert*, slain. 9
Lotharius, slain. 12
Eadricus. 6

The Kings of Kent.

Nidredus. 7
Wilhardus. 33
Wibredus. 23
Egbert, or *Egbert*. 11
Alricus. 34
Eadbertus, Surnamed *Pren*. 2
Cuthredus. 18
Baldredus, expelled. 18

This *Ethelbert* first of all the *Saxons* received the Faith, and subdued all the other six Kings, except only the King of *Northumberland*.

Ercmberht commanded *Kent* first to be fasted in his Dominion. *Egbert* killed two Sons of his Uncle.

Unto the time of *Eadrick* all the Bishops of *Canterbury* were *Italians*. Some *Chronicles* do place these two, *Nidredus* and *Wilhardus* after *Eadrick* and give to them seven years, some again do omit them.

Between the reign of *Alrick* & *Cuthred*, some stories do insert the reign of *Eadbert*, which reigned two years.

In the reign of this *Baldred*, the Kingdom of *Kent* was translated to *Egbertus*, otherwise called *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*; who subduing the foresaid *Baldred*, in the year 822, gave the said Kingdom to *Athelstan* his younger Son. After whose decease it came to *Ethelwolf*, the Elder Son of *Egbert*, and so was united to the *West Saxons*, who then began to be the Monarch of the whole land. This Kingdom began near about the year of our Lord 456, and continued 342 years, and had fifteen Kings.

(478) Southfax, now called Suffex.

The Kings of Southfax, with the years of their Reign.

Elle, or Alle. 31 Cissa.

Nananleus, or Nancanleus.

Porib.

The Kings of Suffex.

Ethelwolfus.

Redwallus.

Condebertus.

Ethelredus, or Esherous.

Of this *Cissa* came *Cicester*, which he builded, and where he reigned.

This *Nathanleod* seemeth by some old stories to be a *Britain*, and the chief Marshal of King *Uter*, whom *Porib* the Saxon slew.

This *Porib* a Saxon came in at the Haven, which now is called of him *Portsmouth*.

Because it find but little mention of these two, I think it rather like to be the same *Ethelwald*, or *Ethelwaldus*, which after followeth.

Of *Condebertus* & *Ethelred* I find no mention but in one table only, supposing therefore that the true names of these

Adelwold

		were <i>Ercombertus</i> , and <i>Egbertus</i> , which were Kings of <i>Kent</i> the same time, and peradventure might then rule in <i>Sussex</i> .			fix Children. <i>Adda</i> , <i>Elricus</i> , <i>Ofmerus</i> , <i>Theodledus</i> ; of Concubines other fix.
		This <i>Adelwold</i> was the first King of <i>Sussex</i> Christened, and as <i>Fabian</i> saith, the fourth Kin. of the <i>Southsaxons</i> ; as others say the seventh, so uncertain be the Histories of this Kingdom.			
		This Kingdom endured the shortest season of all others, and soonest passed into other Kingdoms, in the days (as some write) of <i>Ine</i> King of <i>Westfax</i> , and so endured not above an 112 years under seven, or at most eleven Kings, beginning first in the year of the Lord 478, and about the thirtieth year of the first coming of the <i>Saxons</i> .			
(522)	The Principal Kingdom of the Westfaxons, and of their Reigns.				
Westfax.	<i>Cerdicus</i> , or <i>Credicus</i> . 17 <i>Kenricus</i> . 26 <i>Chelingus</i> . 30, 33 lib. cycl. <i>Celricus</i> , or <i>Ceolfricus</i> . 5 <i>Celwulfus</i> , or <i>Ceolulfus</i> . 14 <i>Kinigilsus</i> , and } <i>Quicelinus</i> . } 32 <i>Kinewalkins</i> . 31 <i>Sexburga</i> . 1 <i>Escwinus</i> , <i>Ascwinus</i> , or <i>Elkwinus</i> . 2 <i>Centwinus</i> died at <i>Rome</i> . 7 <i>Cedwallus</i> . 3 <i>Ina</i> , or <i>Iue</i> . 35 <i>Edelardus</i> , or <i>Atthelardus</i> . 14 <i>Cuthredus</i> , or <i>Cuthbert</i> . 16 <i>Sigebertus</i> , or <i>Sigberus</i> , slain. 1 <i>Kinulfus</i> , or <i>Kinewulfus</i> , slain. 31 <i>Britbricus</i> . 13 <i>Egbertus</i> , or <i>Egbrichtus</i> , otherwise <i>Atthelbertus</i> , or <i>Atthelbrich</i> , &c. 37	<p>This Kingdom contained <i>Somersetshire</i>, <i>Barkshire</i>, <i>Dorsetshire</i>, <i>Devonshire</i>, <i>Cornwall</i>, &c.</p> <p>This <i>Kinigilsus</i> was first King Christened in that Province, converted by <i>Birinus</i>, after made Monk.</p> <p><i>Cedwalla</i> went to <i>Rome</i>, and there was Christened, and died.</p> <p><i>Ina</i> also went to <i>Rome</i>, and was made Monk.</p> <p><i>Sigebert</i> for his pride and cruelty was depoted of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faithful Counsel, giving him wholesome counsel; so after was he slain of the same Counsellors Swineherd, as he hid himself in a Wood.</p> <p>This <i>Egbert</i> was first expelled by <i>Britbricus</i>, who after returned again and reigning, was much derided and scorned with mocking rimes (for a Coward) of <i>Bernulfus</i> K. of <i>Mercia</i>. At length the said <i>Egbert</i> subdued him first, then all the rest to his Kingdom: causing the whole land to be called no more <i>Britain</i>, but <i>Anglia</i>. Concerning the other Kings after him in that Lordship, hereafter followeth.</p>			
The Kings of Westfax.					
		The Kings of Northumberland.			
				<i>Edwinus</i> Northumberland slain. 17	<i>Alfricus</i> Deirorum slain.
				<i>Eaufridus</i> Bernicia, slain.	<i>Osfricus</i> Deirorum slain.
				<i>Oswaldus</i> , of Northumberland, slain.	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Osfridus</i> Northumberland. 28	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Osfridus</i> reigned together with <i>Osfridus</i> in <i>Deira</i> , slain. 7	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
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				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain. 15	<i>Osfridus</i> Bernicia, slain.
				<i>Egfridus</i> Northumberland, slain.	

<i>Alfridus, Northumberland, slain.</i>	20	Scots, was slain in the field by a train of the Scots, fainting themselves to fly.
<i>Ofredus, Northumberland, slain.</i>	11	Of this <i>Alfride</i> , Beda in his History testifieth, that he was exactly and perfectly seen in the holy Scriptures, and recovered much that his Predecessors had lost before. <i>Bed. lib. 4. c. 24.</i> Some say he reigned not 18 years.
<i>Kewredus, North.</i>	2	<i>Ofred</i> began his reign being but eight years old, and reigned the space of ten years.
<i>Ofricus, North.</i>	20	Some affirm that <i>Ofricus</i> reigned but 11 years.
<i>Celulfus, Northumberl. made a Monk.</i>	9	This <i>Celulfe</i> after he had reigned eight years, was made a Monk. To him Beda wrote his Story.
<i>Egbertus, or Eadbertus, Northumberla. Monk.</i>	21	
<i>Osulfus, Northumberland, slain.</i>	1	
<i>Mollo, or Ethebwold, Northumb.</i>	11	<i>Mollo</i> by the subtil train of <i>Alfredus</i> was made away, which <i>Alfredus</i> also himself after he had reigned ten years, was expelled by his own people.
<i>In some Chronicles fix years.</i>		
<i>Alfredus, Northumber. expelled.</i>	10	In some Chronicles this <i>Alfredus</i> reigned but eight years.
<i>Ethelbertus, or Edelredus, Northumberland, expelled.</i>	5	
<i>Alfwoldus, Northumberland, slain.</i>	11	
<i>Ofredus.</i>		
<i>Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus, North. slain.</i>	16	

After this *Ethelbert*, the Kingdom of Northumberland ceased the space of 25 years, till *Egbertus* King of the West Saxons subdued also them, as he did the other Saxons to his Dominion. After the which *Egbert* K. of the West Saxons succeeded in Northumberland his Son.

Ethelwulfus. Ethelbaldus. } Kings of West Saxons, reigning in
Ethelbertus. Ethelredus. } Northumberland.

In the time of this *Ethelredus*, there were two under-Kings in Northumberland, *Ella* and *Osbricht*, whom the Danes overcame, and reigned in their place, whose names were these:

Erbertus. Gurtbed. } Danes.
Richi. Gurtbrid. }
Egbert.

After the reign of these foresaid Danes, the Kingdom of Northumberland came into the hands of the West Saxons, in the time of *Alfredus*, and his Brother *Edmund*. It began first in the year 547, and so endured 409 years. It contained *Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, the Bishoprick of Durham, Copeland*, and others.

(561)
Mercia.

The Kings of Mercia, Merceland, with the years of their Reign.

<i>Grida, or Creodda.</i>	35	
<i>Wibba.</i>	20	
<i>Ceorlus.</i>	10	
<i>Penda, slain.</i>	30	<i>Penda</i> slew in battle, <i>Edwin</i> and <i>Oswald</i> Kings of Northumberland. Also <i>Sigebert</i> , <i>Edrike</i> and <i>Anna</i> , Kings of the East Angles. Also he drove out <i>Kerwalkins</i> , King of the West Saxons.
<i>Peda, or Weda, slain by his Wife.</i>		Under <i>Peda</i> and <i>Wiferus</i> Christ's Faith was received in those parts, they being converted by <i>Finnianus</i> , Bishop. The same <i>Peda</i> reigned in a part of Mercia, with his Brother <i>Wiferus</i> , who were both the Sons of <i>Penda</i> .

<i>Wiferus.</i>	29	
<i>Adelredus, or Ethelred, made a Monk.</i>	30, or 19	
<i>Kewredus made also Monk at Rome.</i>	5	
<i>Ceolredus, or Kelredus.</i>		

This *Wiferus* by his Wife *Ermeburg*, had three Daughters, *Milburg*, *Mildritb*, and *Mildgith*, holy Virgins.

This *Adelredus*, or *Ethelredus*, was Monk of *Bardneise*, whose Sisters were *Kinedrid*, and *Kinswith*, holy Virgins.

In the time of this *Ceolred* was *Guthlake*, otherwise called *St. Guthlake*, the Popish Hermit of *Crowland*.

Under *Ethelbaldus* died Beda. *Ethelbald* gave that all Churches should be free from all exactions and public charges.

This *Bernred* for his pride and stoutness toward his people, was by them deposed, and the same year by the just judgment of God burned. *Histor. Carient.*

Offa causing or consenting to the death of good *Ethelbert* King of the East Angles, peaceably coming to marry his Daughter, for repentance caused the *Peter-pence* first to be given to Rome, and there did his penance.

This *Kenelm* being of seven years of age, was wickedly slain, after he had reigned six months.

This *Ludecanus* after the second year of his reign, was slain of *Egbert*, King of the West Saxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were also subdued.

Ethelbaldus, slain.

Bernredus.

Offa.

Egfredus.

Kenulphus, slain.

Kenelm murthred.

Ceolwulfus expelled.

Bernulfus slain.

Ludecanus slain.

Some Chronicles here insert *Milefred*, *Wilsus*, or *Witlacus* beheaded.

The Kings of Mercia.

This *Witlacus* in the beginning of his reign was vanquished by *Egfrid* King of West Sax, to whom he became Tributary with his Successors here following.

Berthulfe 12. Celustus 1. } Some Writers say that these Kings
Butbredus 20. Elfredus 1. } were subdued by the Danes.

After this *Elfride* the Kingdom of the Mercians was translated unto the West Saxons, in the later time of King *Alfred*, or in the beginning of *Edwardus Senior*, and so was adjoined to the West Saxons, beginning in the year 561. It endured for the space of 250 years, till about the later end of *Alfredus*, by whom it was joined to the Kingdom of West Saxons. This Kingdom stretched out to *Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcester, Warwick, Litchfield, Coventry, Chester, Darbyshire, Staffordshire, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Buckingham, Dorceter, Lincoln, Leicefter*, &c.

(561)
East Saxons.

The Kings of the East Saxons, with the years of their Reign.

<i>Erchwinus.</i>	35	
<i>Sledda.</i>	17	
<i>Sebertus, or Sigebertus.</i>	14	This <i>Sebertus</i> , Nephew to <i>Ethelbert</i> King of Kent, among these Kings was first Christianized by <i>Melitus</i> , which made the Church of <i>Pauls</i> .
<i>Sexredus and Sewardus, Brethren, slain.</i>		<i>Sexred</i> and <i>Seward</i> , and <i>Sigebert</i> expelled <i>Melitus</i> , the Bishop, because he would not minister to them the Sacramental Bread, they being not Baptized.
<i>Sigebertus Parvus.</i>	23	This <i>Sigebertus Parvus</i> with his Brother <i>Sebertus</i> were slain of <i>Kinegilfus</i> , and <i>Gwithelmus</i> his Brother.

The Kings
of East Sax-
ons.

Segebertus Bonus, or Si-
bertus, slain.

Switbelinus. 14

Sigberius, Son of Sige-
bertus Parvus.

Sebbi Son of Sewardus,
which was made a
Monk.

Sigehardus, and Suefri-
dus, Brethren. 8

Offa. 5

Selredus, or Colredus,
slain. 38

Switbredus.

by the just judgment of God,
for they revolted again from
their faith, and expelled
Melitus Bishop of London.

This Segebertus Bonus,
or Sibertus, much refor-
ting to Oswie King of
Northumberland, by his
perswasion was brought to
Christian Baptism, Bapti-
fied of Finianus Bishop, to
whom also was sent Cedde
with other Ministers to
Preach and to Baptise in his
Country. At last he was
slain of his men about him,
using too much to spare
his enemies, and to forgive
their injuries that repented.
Flor.

This Sigberius and Sebbi
first fell to Idolatry, then
through the means of Wol-
ferus King of Mercia were
reduced, and at last Sebbi
became a Monk.

Offa after he had reigned
a while became a Monk at
Rome.

Anna, slain. 3
Adelbere, or Adelredus,
slain. 2
Adelwoldus, or Esbel-
baldus. 9
Adulphus. 25
Elkwoldus. 12
Beorna. 26
Etelredus, slain. 52

Ethelbritus, slain. 5

The Daughters of Anna
were Sexburga, Etelberga,
and St. Eteldreda.

This Etelredus for his
holiness and godly vertus
is counted for a Saint; he
innocently coming to Offa
King of Mercia, to marry
with Althrid his Daughter,
by the sinister suspicion of
Offa, and wicked counsel of
Kinefwin his Wife, was
cruelly put to death in the
house of Offa. For the which
cause Offa afterward re-
penting went to Rome,
where he made himself a
Monk.

After this sinful murder of Etelbert, the Kingdom of
East Angles, during the time of certain years, was in great
trouble and desolation, under divers Kings and Tyrants;
sometimes the King of West Sax, sometimes of Kent, or of
Mercia, having dominion over them, till the coming of
St. Edmund, which was the last King there ruling under
the West Saxons.

St. Edmund, Mar-
tyred. 16

After the death of St. Edmund, being slain of the In-
del Danes, the Kingdom remained with the Danes fifty
years, till at length Edward King of the West Saxons ex-
pelled the Danes, and joined it to his Kingdom. It began
about the year of our Lord 561, and continued near about
377 years, Fabian numbred but twelve Kings, but in others
I find more.

The Metropolitan See of this Province of East Angles
was first at a Town called Dunmoke, or Dunwich, which
in times past hath been a famous and populous Town,
with a Mayor and four Bailiffs, and also divers Parishi-
Churches and Hospitals, whereunto great Priviledges by
divers Kings have been granted: which Town is now fal-
len into ruin and decay, and more than half consumed by
the eating in of the Sea, as also greatly impoverished by
loss of the Haven, which heretofore hath flourished with
divers tall Ships belonging to the same, (the inhabitants
thereof being not able of themselves to repair it without
the help of other good people); where the first Bishop
was Felix, a Burgundian, who sat there fourteen years.
After this, unto the time of Egebert King of West Sax, this
Province was ever ruled by two Bishops, whereof the one
had his See at Dunmoke, now called Dunwich; the other
at Hemham, where twelve sat one after another. From
thence it was translated to Thetford, where sat three Bi-
shops. At last by Bishop Herbert it was removed to Nor-
wich, where he erected a Monastery of Monks.

And thus standeth the order and race of the Saxon
Kings, reigning together with the Britains in this Realm.
Now followeth the description of the Britain Kings, reign-
ing with the Saxons in like manner.

Although the miserable Britains thus were bereaved of
their land, by the cruel subtilty of the Saxons, yet were
they not so driven out or expelled, but that a certain King-
dom remained among them in some part of the land, name-
ly about Cornwall, and the parts of Cambria, which is
divided in two parts, Southwales called Demetia, and
Northwales called Venedocia. The said Britains moreover
through the valiant acts of their Kings, sometimes reign-
ed also in other Countries, displacing the Saxons, and re-
covering again their own, sometimes more, sometimes
less, till the time of Carecius, when as the Britains being
deposed by Gormundus (whose help they themselves sent
for out of Ireland against Carecius their wicked King) ut-
terly lost their Land and Kingdom; being thence driven
utterly into Wales and Cornwall, in the year of our Lord
570. What the order of these Kings was, what were their
acts, their names and times when they reigned, in this brief
Table under written is expressed. Wherein first is to be
premonished that Constantinus secundus had three Children,
to wit, Constans, which was made a Monk in Winchester,
and after made a King; the second was Aurelius Ambro-
sius;

This Switbredus was subdued unto Egbert King of West Saxons,
albeit London remained under the Mercians to the time that they
also were subdued to the West Saxons. This Kingdom began in the
year 561, and so continued till the time of Egbertus. Some Stories
say it continued to the time of Edward Son of Aluredus, about the
coming of the Danes, and contained under it the Lordship of Mid-
dlesex and London. The Metropolitan See of this Province of Essex
was London, where the famous Church of St. Paul was builded by
Etelbert King of Kent, and Sigebert King of Essex, whom Etel-
bert had lately before turned to Christs faith; whereof the first Bi-
shop was Melitus, the second Bishop was Ceddes, the third came in
by Simony, whose name was Wine. Malmesb. de vitis Pont. After
him was Erkenwaldus, of whom writeth Beda, that he being di-
seased in his legs that he could not go nor ride, yet would be car-
ried about in a Litter to preach in his Diocess, &c. Although Will-
iam Malmesbury writing of the Bishops of London in his Book De
vitis Pont. saith that Maurisius, first the Kings Chancellor, then
Bishop there, did first begin this so large and famous building of the
Church of St. Paul in London; which work after him Richard his
Successor did prosecute, bestowing all the rents of his Bishoprick up-
on the same, and yet was scarcely seen. Yet herein may be answer-
ed peradventure, that the Church builded before by King Etelbert
and King Sigebert, might be overthrown by the Danes, and after-
ward was re-edified by these Bishops above mentioned.

(561) The Kings of East Angles, with the years of
East Angles. their Reign.

Uffa, or Uffa. 30
Titulus, or Titila. 13

Redwaldus. 12
Of this Uffa the people
of Northfolk were then
called Uskins.
Redwaldus first was con-
verted in Kent; afterward
through the wicked per-
suasions of his Wife and
others, he joined Idolatry
with Christianity.

The Kings of
the East Ang-
les. Erpwaldus, or Corpwa-
lous, slain. 38
Notwithstanding his Son
Erpwaldus through the
means of Edwin King
of Northumberland, was
brought to the perfect faith
of Christ, and therein faith-
fully did continue.

Sigebertus or Sibrect,
first a Monk, slain. 3

Egnicus, or Egricus,
slain. 3
This Sigebert made him-
self a Monk, and afterward
brought out to fight against
Penda with a white stick in
his hand, was slain in the
field.

sius; the third was *Uter Pendragon*. This being premised, we will now enter the description of our Table, beginning with *Vortiger*.

A Table declaring the Kings of Britain which reigned together with the Saxons after their coming into their land.

Kings of Britain which here reigned in the time of the Saxons.	<i>Vortiger.</i> <i>Vortimer.</i> <i>Vortiger again.</i> <i>Aurelius Ambrosius.</i> <i>Uter Pendragon.</i> <i>Arthur.</i>	<i>Constantinus 3.</i> <i>Aurelius.</i> <i>Conanus.</i> <i>Vortimerius.</i> <i>Malgo.</i> <i>Carecius.</i>
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Here is to be understood that these Britain Kings above mentioned did not so reign here in this land, from the time of *Vortiger*, that they had the full Government over all the whole Realm, but only over parcels or parts, such as by force of Arms they could either hold or win from the Saxons; which coming in daily, and growing upon them, did so replenish the land with multitudes of them, that the Britains at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recover that which they lost; leaving example to all Ages and Countries, what it is first to let in foreign Nations into their Dominion, but especially what it is for Princes to joyn in Marriage with Infidels, as this *Vortiger* did with *Hengist's* daughter, which was the mother of all this mischief; giving to the Saxons not only strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this unconsidered before of the Britain Lords and Nobility, who worthily being therewith offended, justly deposed their King, and Enthroned *Vortimer* his Son in his room. By the which *Vortimer* being a puissant Prince, the Saxons were then repulsed, and driven again into Germany, where they stayed a while till the death of *Vortimer*, whom *Rowen* daughter of *Hengist* caused traitorously to be poisoned. Then *Vortiger* being restored again to his Kingdom, through the entreaty of *Rowen* his wife, sent into Germany again for *Hengist*, who afterwards making his return, came in with a Navy of 300 Ships well appointed. The Nobles of Britain hearing this, prepared themselves on the contrary side in all forceable wise to put them off. But *Hengist* through *Rowen* his daughter so laboured the King, excusing himself, and saying that he brought not the multitude to work any violence either against him or against his Country, but only thinking that *Vortimer* had yet been alive, whom he minded to impugn for the Kings sake, and to take his part. And now forso much as he heareth of the death of *Vortimer* his enemy, he therefore committeth both himself and his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remain within his land; the rest should return. And if it so pleased the King to appoint day and place where they might meet and talk together of the matter, both he and his would stand to such order as the King with his Council should appoint. With these fair words the King and his Nobles well contented, did assign to them both day and place, which was in the Town of *Ambry*, where he meant to talk with them; adding this condition withal, that each part should come without any manner of weapon. *Hengist* shewing himself well agreed thereto, gave privy intelligence of his side, that each man should carry with him secretly in his Hise a long Knife, with their watch-word also given unto them when they should draw their Knives, wherewith every Saxon should (and so did) kill the Britain with whom he talked, as is above declared. The Britain Lords being slain, the Saxons took *Vortiger* the King and bound him; for whose ransom they required to be delivered to them the Cities of *London*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Winchester*, with other the most strongest holds within the land; which being to them granted, they begin to make spoil and havock of the Britain Nation, destroying the Citizens, plucking down Churches, killing up the Priests, burning the Books of the holy Scripture, leaving nothing undone that tyranny could work, which was about the year of our Lord 462. The King seeing this miserable slaughter of the people fled into Wales.

This while *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and *Uter Pendragon*, Brethren to King *Constans* above mentioned, whom *Vortiger* wickedly caused to be killed, were in little Britain. To whom the Britains sent word desiring their aid in

helping their Country. *Aurelius* understanding the woful state of the Realm, speedeth him over to satisfy their desire, and to rescue (what in him was) their necessity. Who at his first coming afterwards being Crowned for their King, seeketh out wicked *Vortiger*, the cause of all this trouble and murder of King *Constans* his Brother. And finding him in Wales in a strong Tower, wherein he had immured himself, setteth him and his Castle on fire. That done he moved his power against the Saxons, with whom and with *Elle* Captain of the South Saxons (who then was newly come over) he had divers Conflicts.

Our English old Chronicles make record that *Horfus* the Brother of *Hengist* was slain before in the time of *Vortimer*. The same also do record that this *Hengist* was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against *Aurelius Ambrosius*; who then consulting with his Nobles and Barons what was to be done with him, the Bishop of Gloucester, called *Eldadus*, standing up, gave this counsel, saying, That if all men would deliver him, yet he with his own hands would cut him in pieces; alledging the example of *Samuel* against *Agag* King of the Amalekites, taken by King *Saul* in the field, whom the said *Samuel* caused to be cut in pieces. Even so (saith he) do you to this *Agag* here; that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, so his mother may be made this day of him likewise. And so was *Hengist* taken out of their City by *Eldo* Consul or Mayor of Gloucester, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be given to these our old Britain Stories, whereof I have nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may suspect the truth thereof, which was about the year of our Lord 480. *Henr. Hunting. Galf. cum aliis.*

A certain ancient written History I have in Latin, compiled in the fourteenth year of King *Richard* the Second, and by him caused to be written as the Title declareth; which because it beareth no name of the Author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this Book, with many other likewise without name, *Historia Cariana*. This History recordeth that *Hengist* died in Kent the two and thirtieth year of his reign; which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at *Cuninburgh*, and slain in the North. This *Aurelius Ambrosius* before mentioned, is thought of *Polydorus Virgilius*, citing the authority of *Bede*, to descend of the stock of the Romans; which as it is not impossible to be true, so this is certain by the full accord of all our old written Stories, that both the said *Aurelius* and his Brother *Uter Pendragon*, being the Sons of *Constantinus*, Brother to *Andonius* King of little Britain, were nursed and brought up in England in their tender age, and instructed by *Guistelinus* Archbishop of London, and after the murder of *Constans* their Elder Brother were conveyed from hence to little Britain; whereby it is manifest that they were born in this land; and though their Father were a Roman, as *Polidorus* pretendeth, yet like it is that they were Britains born, and had a Britain to their Mother.

After the death of *Aurelius*, who (as the Story saith) was poisoned by the crafty means of *Pascentius* Son of *Vortiger* (suborning one under the weed of a Monk to play the Physician, and so to poison him); next succeeded his Brother *Uter*, surnamed *Pendragon*, about the year of our Lord 497, who fighting against *Oeta* and *Cosa*, took them and brought them to London there to be kept; but they breaking out of prison returned into Germany for more aid. In this mean time daily recourse was of Saxons, with great Companies coming out of Saxony, with whom the Britains had divers and sundry conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Not long after *Oeta* and *Cosa* renewing their power in Germany, in all most speedy haste did return again and joyn with the other Saxons against the Britains. Here began the state of miserable Britain more and more to decay, while the Idolatrous Saxons prevailed in number and strength against the Christian Britains; oppressing the people, throwing down Churches and Monasteries, murdering the Prelates, sparing neither age nor person, but wasting Christianity almost through the whole Realm. To these rueries it fell moreover, that *Uter* their King was sick and could not come out; notwithstanding being grieved with the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused his Bed to

Aurelius Ambrosius returneth into Britain. *Aurelius* Crowned King of Britain.

Vortiger butted in his Tower.

Horfus slain. *Hengist* taken in the field.

The counsel of *Eldadus* Bishop of Gloucester.

Hengist beheaded.

Anno 490. *Henr. Hunting. Galf. cum aliis.*

The uncertainty of our old Britain Stories.

Ex Historia Cariana.

Aurelius Ambrosius King.

Anno 490. *Uter Pendragon* Britain King.

Remember the words of *Gildas*, 633. *Hills Caria.*

The Christian Britains persecuted by the Heathen Saxons.

be brought into the Camp, where God gave him Victory, *Osa* and *Cosa* there being slain. After this Victory in short space *Uter* died of poyson (as is said) put into a fountain, whereof the King was wont to drink, about the year of our Lord 516. *Flor. Hist.*

{ Ann.
516. }

King Arthur

The tales of
King Arthur

Constantine
the third,
Aurelius
Conanus,
Vortiporius,
Malgo, Cere-
cius Kings
of Britain.

The Arch-
bishop of
London and
the Archbi-
shop of York
fly into
Wales.

Ex Historia
quodam Ce-
trius.

The causes
of the de-
struction of
the Britains
declared.

About which time and year came in *Stupb* and *Wigari-
us* two Nephews of *Certhice* King of *West Saxons*, with
their companies, so violently upon the *Britains*, that they
of the West part of the Realm were not able to resist them.
Then the merciful providence of Almighty God raised up
for them King *Arthur*, the son of *Uter*, who was then
Crowned after him, and victoriously reigned. To this
Arthur the old *Britain* Histories do ascribe twelve great
Victories against the Heathen *Saxons*; whose notorious
and famous Conquests mentioned in the *Britain* Sto-
ries, I leave as I find them, referring them to the credit
of their Authors in whom they are found. Notwithstand-
ing, as I do not think contrary, but God by the foresaid
Arthur gave to the *Britains* some stay and quietness during
his life, and certain of his successors; so touching cer-
tain of his great Victories and Conquests, not only over
this Land, but also over all *Europe*. I judge them more
fabulous, than that any credit should be given unto them;
and more worthy to be joyned with the *Iliads* of *Ho-
mer*, than to have place in any Ecclesiastical History. Af-
ter *Arthur* next King of the *Britains* was *Constantinus*
the third. After him *Aurelius Conanus*. Then *Vortipori-
us*; after whom followed *Malgo*, noted in stories to be a
Sodomite. And after him the last King of the *Britains*
was *Carecius*, all given to Civil War, execrable to God
and Man. Who being chased out by the *Britains* them-
selves, the Land fell to possession of the *Saxons*, about the
year of our Lord 568, by whom all the Clergy and the
Christian Ministers of the *Britains* were then utterly dri-
ven out: inasmuch that *Theonius* Archbishop of *London*,
and *Thadeosus* Archbishop of *York*, seeing their Church-
es all wasted, and Parishes dispersed with their carriages and
monuments, left their Sees in *Britain*, and fled into *Cam-
bria*, which we now call *Wales*. Touching which mat-
ter, and touching also the cause of this desolation and ru-
ine of the *Britains* Kingdom, the first fountain and origi-
ne thereof partly before is declared; where was shewed
in the time of *Constantinus Magnus* and *Maximian*, how
these Noble Princes with other more, achieving their
venturous affairs in other Countries, took with them great
Multitudes and Armies out of *Britain*; through the occa-
sion whereof the Land was greatly impaired and deprived
of the most chief and principal Nobles, being carried away
to serve in Foreign Wars (which was no small cause, why
the Realm of *Britain* being so wasted) was the less
able to help it self against their enemies. Although this
was not the chief occasion, but other causes there were
greater, wherefore God by his just judgment suffered
this plague and overthrow to fall upon that people; as
here out of an old Author, and partly out of *Gildas* I have
found it, so I thought to annex it in his own words,
first in *Latine*, then afterward *Englishing* the same for
the more credit of that which shall be alledged, in tenor
as followeth:

*Nobiliores totius Regni prædictos Duces sequuti fuerunt,
& ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere
capissent, extulerunt se ultra quod dignitas expetebat. Es
ob affluentiam divitiarum superbi caperunt tali & tanta
fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est.
Et, ut Gildas historicus testatur, non solum hoc vitium,
sed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere solent, & præci-
pue quod totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis, amor
mendacii, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro
benignitate, exceptatio Sathanæ pro Angelo lucis: ungeban-
tur reges, non propter dominium, sed qui cæteris crudeliores
essent. Si quis vero eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus
proprior videretur, in hunc quasi Britannia subversorem
omnia odia telæque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo pla-
cebant & displicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur.
Et non solum hoc seculares viri, sed & ipse grex Domi-
ni, ejusque pastores sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur
admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amitte-
re, quam prædicto modo maculabant.*

In English thus:

The Nobles of this Realm, following the Princes and Captains above named; by reason thereof the vulgar and rascal sort remained behind at home. Who, when they had gotten the rooms and places of the Nobles, they advanced themselves above that their dignity required. And through their abundance of riches, they surprised with pride, began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was never heard of even among the Gentiles. And as *Gildas* the Historiographer witnesseth, not into vice only, but also into all manner of wickedness, whereto mans nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the overthrow of all good estates, the hatred of the truth, love of lies, embracing of evil instead of goodness, regarding of mischief instead of virtue, receiving of the Devil instead of an Angel of light. They animated Kings, not such as could well rule a Commonwealth, but those which exceeded all other in cruelty. And if any might be perceived to be somewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to favour the truth than the residue, him did every one hate and backbite as the overthrower and destroyer of Britain. All things whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alike. And not secular men only did this, but also the Congregation of the Lord and their Bishops and Teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marvelled that such people so degenerating and going out of kind should lose that Country, which they had after this manner desiled.

And thus much hitherto concerning the History of the *Britains*, till (by the grace of Christ) the order of time shall bring us hereafter to the Treatise of *Cedwalla* and *Calwalladus*. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the *Saxons*, to discourse particularly, that which before in the Table above we have summarily comprehended.

In this order and race of the *Saxon* Kings above specified, which had thus thrust out the *Britains*, and now divided their Land in seven Kingdoms; as there were many naughty and wicked Kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on War and bloodshed, are greatly to be detested and eschewed, of all true godly Princes) so some there were again (although but few) very sincere and good. But none almost from the first to the last, which was not either slain in war, or murdered in peace, or else constrained to make himself a Monk. Such was the rage then, and the tyranny of that time. Whether we should impute it to the corruption of Mans Nature, or to the just judgment of Gods hand, so disposing the matter, that as they had violently and falsely dispossessed the *Britains* of their right; so they most miserably were not only vexed of the *Danes*, and conquered at last by the *Normans*; but also more cruelly devoured themselves, one warring still against another, till they were never able to help themselves, nor yet to resist others. Of them which are noted for good among these *Saxon* Kings, the first and principal is *Esbelbertus*, or *Esbelbert* the first King in *Kent* above specified: who by the means of *Aufin*, and partly through his Wife named *Berda*, first received and preferred the Christian Faith in all this Land of the *English Saxons*, whereof more followeth hereafter to be said (the Lord so permitting) as place and opportunity shall require. The next place I give to *Oswaldus* of *Northumberland*, who not only did his endeavour in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his People; but also being King, disdained not himself to stand up, and interpret to his Nobles and Subjects the preaching of *Aidanus*, preaching Christ to them in his *Scotish* language. In the same commendation also like as in the same line, cometh his Uncle *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, a good Prince, and the first receiver of Christs faith in that Land, by the means of his Wife, and *Paulinus* Bishop. Add to these also *Sigebert*, first christened King of the *East Angles*, and *Sebert*, first christened King of *Essex*: of whom the one was a great furtherer of Religion, and setter up of Schools; the other, which is *Sebert* or *Serbricht*, was Nephew to *Esbelbert* of *Kent*, under whom he ruled in *Essex*. By the which *Esbelbert*, in the time of the said *Sebert*, the Church of *Pauls* was builded at *London*, and Christian Faith much enlarged, &c. Of the same name there was also another *Esbelbert* King of the *East Angles*, a good Prince; who by the advice of his Council perswaded to marriage (though against his will)

In English thus.

This Berda being a Christian was married unto Esbelbert upon the condition that she should be suffered to enjoy her religion. Esbelbert King of Kent. Oswaldus King of Northumberland. Edwin King of Northumberland. Sigebertus King of the East Angles. Sebert or Serbricht King of Essex. The first building of the Church of Pauls in London.

Esbelbert King of the East Angles.

went

went peaceably to King Offa for dispoſage of *Arbilrid* his Daughter; where the good King meaning innocently, through the finifter and devilish counſel of King Offa's Wife, was ſecretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa, through repentance thereof, made the firſt *Peter-pence* to be given to *S. Peters Church* in *Rome*.

Peter-pence, how they firſt came up to be paid to Rome.

Kenelmus King of the Mercians, St. Edmund King of the Eaſt Angles.

In the Catalogue of theſe good Kings is alſo to be numbered *Kenelmus* King of the *Mercians*, and *Edmundus* King of the *Eaſt Angles*; of the which two, the firſt was fallily and abominably circumvented and beheaded, by the means of his cruel Siſter and his Tutor, as he was in his hunting at *Corſecafle*. The other which is called King *Edmund* the Martyr, was ſlain at *Bury*, or (as ſome write) at the Caſtle of *Haleſdon* by the *Danes*: upon what occaſion, Hiſtories do vary. The Author of *Flores Hiſtoriarum* ſaith, it was by reaſon of one *Lothbroke* a *Dane*, who being of the Kings blood, and being with his Hawk on the Sea ſide in a little Boat, was driven by the force of the Weather into the Coaſt of *Northfolk*, where he being preſented to King *Edmund*, was retained in the Court with great favour; till at length one *Berick* the Kings Falconer, envying and deſpighting him for his great dexterity in that faculty, privily did murder him in a Wood. This being at laſt ſpied, as Murder lightly will come out, *Berick* was ſet in *Lothbroke's* Boat alone, without all tackling, to be committed unto the Sea; and, as it chanced, was driven into *Denmark*, who there being ſeen in *Lothbroke's* Boat, was ſtrictly examined of the party. He then to excuſe himſelf, fallily ſaid he was ſlain by the commandment of the King. Upon the occaſion whereof, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, ſons to the ſaid *Lothbroke*, gathering an Army of *Danes*, invaded firſt *Northumberland*, after that buſting into *Northfolk* on every ſide, ſent this Meſſage to King *Edmund* after this tenor: Signifying that King *Inguar* the victorious Prince (dread both by Sea and Land) as he had ſubjected divers other Lands under him, ſo arriving now to the Coaſts of *Northfolk*, where he intendeth to Winter, chargeth and commandeth him to divide with him his old treaſures, and his fathers riches, and ſo to rule under him; which if he would not do, but would contemn his power ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with ſuch an Army, he ſhould be judged as unworthy both of Kingdom and Life, &c. The King hearing this Meſſage, not a little aſtoniſhed hereat, calling his Council about him, conſulted with them, eſpecially with one of his Biſhops being then his Secretary, what was beſt to be done; who fearing the Kings life, exhorteth him by words and divers examples to agree to the Meſſage. At this the King a while holding his peace, at length thereto made answer again in theſe words, ſaying, Go (ſaith he) tell your Lord, and let him know that *Edmundus* the Chriſtened King, for the love of this temporal life, will not ſubject himſelf to a Pagan Duke, unleſs before he become a Chriſtian, &c. The Meſſenger taking his Answer was not ſo ſoon out of the Gates, as *Inguar* meeting him and bidding him to be ſhort in declaring his answer, cauſed all the Kings Garriſon to be ſet round about. Some ſay, that the King flying to *Thetford* there pitched a Field with the *Danes*; but the *Danes* prevailing, the good King, from thence did fly to the Caſtle of *Haleſdon* above mentioned; where he being purſued of the *Danes*, was there taken, and at length being bound to a ſtake, there, of the raging *Danes* was ſhot to death. And thus much for the good Kings.

The Meſſage of Inguar to King Edmund.

A queſtion. Whether Kings which made themſelves Monks did well in ſo doing or not?

Now as concerning theſe Kings which made themſelves Monks, which in number be ſeven or eight, although the example be rare and ſtrange, and much commended of the Chroniclers of that time; yet I cannot raſhly aſſent to their commendation, albeit the caſe thereof is no matter of our Hiſtory. Firſt, in altering their eſtate from Kings to Monks, if they did it to find more eaſe, and leſs trouble thereby, I ſee not how that excuſe ſtandeth with the office of a good man, to change his publick vocation for reſpect of private commodity. If fear of jeopardy and danger did drive them thereunto, what praiſe or commendation deſerve they in ſo doing? let the Monkish Hiſtories judge what they liſt. Me ſeemeth ſo much praiſe as they deſerve in providing their own ſafety, ſo much they deſerve again to be diſcommended in forſaking the Commonwealth. If they did it (as moſt like it is) for holineſs ſake, thinking in that kind of life to ſerve and pleaſe God better, or to merit more toward their ſalvation, than in the eſtate of a King,

therein they were far deceived; not knowing that the ſalvation which cometh of God, is to be meaſured and eſtimated, not by Mans merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation, more of one than another, but only by the free grace of the Goſpel, which freely juſtiſieth all them that faithfully believe in Chriſt Jeſus. But here will be ſaid again; peradventure, in the ſolitary life of Monckery be fewer occaſions of evils than in Kings Courts, wherefore that life ſerveth more to holineſs, and is more to be preferred than the other. To this I answer, To avoid the occaſions of evil is good where ſtrength lacketh to reſiſt; but otherwiſe, where duty and charge bindeth to tarry; there to avoid the occaſions of evil, where rather they are to be reſiſted, rather declareth a weakneſs of the Man than deſerveth any praiſe. As is it truly ſaid of *Tully*, Out of *Asia* (ſaith he) to live a good life is no *Godamercey*; but in *Asia*, where ſo great occaſions of evils abound, there to live a good man, that is praiſe worthy. With the like reaſon I may infer, if a Man be called to be a King, there not to change the vocation for avoiding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to keep his vocation, declareth a good and perfect Man. But of theſe by-matters hitherto ſufficient.

Answer. Where vocation bindeth, to tarry; but to reſiſt the occaſions of evil it is a good man's part.

Theſe things now thus premiſed, concerning the order and reign of Kings, as is above prefixed; conſequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of ſuch things, as in the time and reign of the aforeſaid Kings happened in the Church; firſt putting the Reader again in mind of the former Perſecutions within the Realm, partly before touched in the time of the *Britain* Kings, which eſpecially were three or four before the coming of *Auſtin* into *England*.

Four Perſecutions in Britain before the coming of Auſtin into England.

1. The firſt was under *Diocleſian*, and that not only in *England*, but generally throughout all the *Roman* Monarchy, as is above ſpecified. In this Perſecution *Albanus*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, with a great number more of other good Chriſtian *Britains* were Martyred for Chriſts Name.

The Perſecution of Diocleſian about the year of our Lord 310.

2. The ſecond Perſecution or deſtruction of Chriſtian Faith, was by the invading of *Gnauius* and *Melga*, whereof the firſt was Captain of the *Huns*, the other of the *Picta*. Theſe two Tyrants, after the cruel ſlaughter of *Urſula*, and other 11000 noble Virgins made their Rode into *Britain*, hearing the ſame to be deſtitute of the ſtrength of Men. At what time they made miſerable murder of Chriſts Saints, ſpoiling and waſting Churches, without mercy either of Women or Children, ſparing none.

The Perſecution of Gnauius and Melga.

3. The third Perſecution came by *Hengiſt*, and the *Saxons*; who likewiſe deſtroyed and waſted the Chriſtian Congregations within the Land, like raging Wolves flying upon the Sheep, and ſpilling the blood of Chriſtians, till *Aurelius Ambroſius* came, and reſtored again the Churches deſtroyed.

The Perſecution of Hengiſt in Britain.

4. The fourth deſtruction of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion was by *Gurmundus* a Pagan King of the *Africans*; who joyning in League with the *Saxons*, wrought much grievance to the Chriſtians of the Land. Inſomuch that *Theonus* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thadoceus* Biſhop of *York*, with the reſt of the People, ſo many as were left, having no place wherein to remain with ſafety, did fly ſome to *Cornwall*, and ſome to the Mountains of *Wales* about the year of our Lord 350. and this Perſecution remained to the time of *Eſhelbert* King of *Kent*, in the year five hundred eighty nine.

The fourth deſtruction of Chriſtian faith in Britain by Gurmundus in the year 350.

In the Reign of this *Eſhelbert*, which was then the fifth King of *Kent*, the Faith of Chriſt was firſt received of the *Saxons* or *English* Men, by the means of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome*, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old Hiſtories collected and recorded.

This Gurmundus, ſo ſome ſtories record, leaving his Kingdom at home to his brother, ſaid he would poſſeſs no Kingdom but which he ſhould win with his Sword.

Firſt then to joyn the order of our Hiſtory together; the Chriſtian Faith firſt received of King *Lucius*, indured in *Britain* till this time, near upon the ſeaſon of 400 years and odd, when by *Gurmundus Africanus*, (as is ſaid) fighting with the *Saxons* againſt the *Britains*, it was near extinct in all the Land, during the ſpace of about forty four years. So that the firſt ſpringing of Chriſts Goſpel in this Land, was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the *Saxons* was in the year of 449. or 469. The coming of *Auſtin* was in the year 596. From the firſt entering in of the *Saxons* to their compleat Conqueſt, and the driving out of the *Britains* (which was about

King Lucius died 418 years before the coming of Auſtin.

The computation of times concerning the continuance and decay of Chriſts Goſpel between the Britains and the Saxons about

about the later time of *Cadwalader*) were two hundred and forty years. In sum, from Christ to *Lucius* were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the Gospel from *Lucius* to the entering of the *Saxons*, was three hundred and two years. The decay of the same to the entering of *Austin*, was one hundred forty three years, which being added together make from *Lucius* to *Austin* four hundred forty five years; from Christ to *Austin* they make five hundred ninety eight years. In this year then five hundred ninety eight, *Austin* being sent from *Gregory*, came into *England*; the occasion whereupon *Gregory* sent him hither was this:

Anno 598.

Beda. Polychron. lib. 1. ca. 8. Malmsburienf. de regib. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3. Fabian. p. 5. cap. 119. Liber bibliobica Torn.

Deirham in Northumberland.

Episcopus Arelatensis.

Ex Henr. Huntin. l. 3.

The Epistle of Gregory to them which went to preach in England.

In the days of *Pelagius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Gregory* chancing to see certain Children in the Market-place of *Rome* (brought thither to be sold out of *England*) being fair and beautiful of visage, demanded out of what Country they were? And understanding they were heathenish out of *England*, lamented the case of the Land, being so beautiful and Angelical, so to be subject under the Prince of darkness. And asking moreover out of what Province they were? It was answered out of *Deira*, a part of *North-saxons*; whereof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call *Deirham* taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of *Deira*, *These people* (saith he) *are to be delivered De Dei ira*, which is, *From Gods Wrath*. Moreover understanding the Kings name of that Province to be *Alle* (above mentioned) alluding likewise to his name, *There* (saith he) *ought Alleluja to be sung to the living God*. Whereupon he being moved, and desirous to go and help the Conversion of that Country, was not permitted of *Pelagius* and the *Romans* for that time to accomplish his desire. But afterward, being Bishop himself next after *Pelagius*, he sent thither the foresaid *Austin* with other Preachers near about to the number of forty. But by the way, how it happened I cannot say, as *Austin* with his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden fear entred into their hearts that (as *Antoninus* saith) they returned all. Others write that *Austin* was sent back to *Gregory* again, to release them of that Voyage so dangerous and uncertain, amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Then *Gregory*, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him again with Letters both to the Bishop of *Arelatensis*, willing him to help and aid the said *Austin* and his company, in all whatsoever his need required. Also other Letters he directed to the foresaid *Austin*, and to his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lords work, as by the tenor of the said Epistle here following may appear.

In English:

Gregory the servant of Gods servants, to the servants of the Lord. Forasmuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun to think to revolt back from the same again, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dear Children) but with all fervent study and labour must needs go forward in that good business, which through the help of God you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey, nor the slanderous tongues of men appall you, but that with all instance and fervency ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand; knowing that your great travel shall be recompensed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here *Austin* to you again, whom also we have ordained to be your Governour, so do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable so for your souls, whatsoever at his admonition ye shall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal Country the fruit of your labour; that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keep you safe, most dear and welbeloved Children. Dated the Tenth before the Kalends of Au-

gust, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Mauricius* most virtuous Emperor, the fourteenth of his Empire.

The Bishop of Rome calleth the Emperor his Lord.

Austin and his company cometh to England.

Estelbert King of Kent.

What good, nest cometh to have a good and godly Wife.

The Kings answer to *Austin*.

The King saith upon old custom.

The Letany of *Austin*.

Miracles wrought by God, for the conversion of the Land.

Austin and his company cometh to England.

Thus they emboldned and comforted through the good words of *Gregory*, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the Isle of *Thanet*, lying upon the East side of *Kent*. Near to the which landing place was then the Manory or Palace of the King, not far from *Sandwich* (Eastward from *Canterbury*) which the Inhabitants of the Isle then called *Richborough*, whereof some part of the ruinous Walls is yet to be seen. The King then Reigning in *Kent*, was *Estelbert*, as above appeareth, the fifth King of that Province, who at that time had married a Wife a French Woman, being christened, named *Berda*, whom he had received of her Parents upon this condition, that he should permit her with her Bishop committed unto her, called *Lebardus*, to enjoy the freedom of her Faith and Religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace the preaching and Doctrine of Christ. Thus *Austin* being arrived, sent forth certain messengers and interpreters to the King, signifying that such a one was come from *Rome*, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and salvation eternally to Reign in Heaven, with the only true and living God for ever, if he would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

The King who had heard of this Religion before by means of his Wife, within a few days after cometh to the place where *Austin* was, to speak with him; but that should be without the House, after the manner of his Law. *Austin* against his coming, as stories affirm, erected up a Banner of the Crucifix (such was then the grossness of that time) and preached to him the Word of God. The King answering again, saith in effect as followeth, *The words be very fair that you preach and promise; nevertheless, because it is to me uncouth and new, I cannot soon start away from my Country Law wherewith I have been so long inured, and assent to you. Albeit, yet notwithstanding for that ye are come (as ye say) so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be right well intreated, having all things to you ministered necessary for your sustentation. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our People and Subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your Religion.*

When they had received this comfort of the King, they went with Proceffion to the City of *Dorobernia*, or *Canterbury*, singing *Alleluja* with the Letany, which then by *Gregory* had been used at *Rome* in the time of the great Plague reigning then at *Rome* mentioned in old stories. The words of the Letany were these, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a civitate ista, & de domo sancta tua quoniam peccavimus, Alleluja*; that is, *We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercies, that thy fury and anger may cease from this City, and from thy holy House, for we have sinned, Alleluja*. Thus they entering into the City of *Dorobernia*, the head City of all that Dominion at that time, where the King had given them a Mansion for their abode: there they continued preaching and baptizing such as they had converted in the East side of the City in the old Church of *Saint Martin* (where the Queen was wont to resort) unto the time that the King was converted himself to Christ. At length, when the King had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the Miracles wrought through Gods hand by them, he heard them more gladly; and lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and christened in the year above specified five hundred eighty six, and the thirty sixth year of his Reign. After the King was thus converted, innumerable other daily came in and were adjoynd to the Church of Christ; whom the King did specially embrace, but compelled none; for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not coerced. Then he gave to *Austin* a place for the Bishops See at Christs Church in *Dorobernia*, and builded the Abby of *S. Peter and Paul* in the East side of the said City, where after *Austin* and all the Kings of *Kent* were buried, and that place is now called *St. Austin*.

In

In this while *Austin* failed into *France* unto the Bishop *Arelatensis*, called *Esberus*, by him to be consecrated Archbishop by the commandment of *Gregory*, and so was. Also the said *Austin* sent to *Rome* *Laurentius* one of his company, to declare to *Gregory* how they had sped, and what they had done in *England*; sending withal to have the counsel and advice of *Gregory* concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenor of his Questions or Interrogations, with the Answers of *Gregory* to the same, here follow in *English* briefly translated.

The Questions of *Austin* an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent to *Gregory*, with the Answer again of *Gregory* to the same.

The first Interrogation.

My first Question (reverend Father) is concerning Bishops, how they ought to behave themselves toward their Clerks; or of such Oblations, as the faithful offer upon the Altar, what portions or dividends ought to be made thereof?

The Answer.

How a Bishop ought to behave himself in the Congregation, the holy Scripture testifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well, especially in the Epistles of *St. Paul* to *Timothy*, wherein he laboureth to inform the said *Timothy* how to behave his conversation in the house of the Lord. The manner is of the See Apostolick to warn and charge all such as be ordained Bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is given to make four partitions. One to the Bishop for Hospitality and receiving comers in; another to the Clergy; the third to the Poor; the fourth to the repairing of Churches. But because your brotherhood instructed with rules of Monastical Discipline, cannot live separated from your Clerks about you, therefore in the *English* Church (which now through the Providence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you must observe this Institution concerning your Conversation, which was in the first Fathers in the beginning of the Primitive Church; among whom there was not one, which counted any thing to be his own proper of all that he did possess: but all was common among them.

The second Interrogation.

I desire to know and to be instructed, whether Clerks, that cannot contain, may marry: and if they do marry, whether then they ought to return to the Secular State again or no?

The Answer.

If there be any Clerks out of Holy Orders, which cannot contain, let them have their Wives, and take their stipends or wages without. For we read it so written of the foresaid Fathers, that they divided to every person according as their work was. Therefore as concerning the stipend of such, it must be provided and thought upon. And they must be also holden under Ecclesiastical Discipline, to live a godly Conversation, to employ themselves in singing Psalms, and to refrain their tongue, heart and body (by the grace of God) from all things unseemly and unlawful. As for the vulgar and common sort which live after the common condition of men, to describe what partitions to make, what Hospitality to keep, or what works of Mercy to exhibit, to such I have nothing to say, but to give (as our Master teacheth) in all our deeds of mercy of that which aboundeth: Of that (saith he) which aboundeth or is overplus, give Alms, and behold all things be clean unto you.

The third Interrogation.

Seeing there is but one Faith, how happeneth it then the Ceremonies and Customs of Churches to be so divers: as in the Church of *Rome* there is one custom and manner of Mass, and the French Church hath another?

The Answer.

The Custom of the Church of *Rome*, what it is you know, wherein you remember that you have been brought up from your youth; but rather it pleaseth me better, that whether it be in the Church of *Rome*, or any French Church, where ye find any thing that seemeth better to the service and pleasing of God, that ye choose the same, and so infer and bring into the *English* Church (which is yet new in the faith) the best and pickdest things chosen out of many Churches; for things are not to be beloved for the place sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good; wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those choose out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of *English* men.

The fourth Interrogation.

I pray you, what punishment judge you for him that shall steal or pilfer any thing out of the Church?

The Answer.

This your brotherhood may soon discern by the person of a Thief, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be, that having sufficient to live upon, yet do steal. Others there be which steal of meer necessity. Wherefore considering the quality and difference of the crime, necessary it is, that some be corrected by loss of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easily; yea, and when sharper correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with Charity, and with no fury; for in punishing offenders, this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saved, and not perish in Hell fire. And so ought Discipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good Fathers in punishing their Children, whom both they chasten for their evil, and yet being chastened, they look to have them their Heirs, and think to leave them all they have, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Therefore this Charity must be kept in mind; and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind never do any thing without the rule of reason. Ye add moreover, with what recompence of measure things ought to be required again, which be stolen out of Churches? But God forbid that the Church should ever require again, with increase, that which is lost in outward things, and to seek her gain by endamaging others.

The fifth Interrogation.

Item, Whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being far off from any part of kindred?

The Answer.

This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

The sixth Interrogation.

Item, To what degree of kindred may the matrimony of the faithful extend with their kindred, or whether it is lawful to marry with the Stepmother and her kinsfolks?

The Answer.

A certain terrene law amongst the old *Romans* doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the son and daughter of two brethren may marry together. But by the experience we learn, that the issue of such Marriage doth never thrive, nor come forward. Also the holy Law of God forbiddeth to reveal the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore necessary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithful may lawfully marry; for in the second (being an unlawful) they must needs refrain. To be coupled with the stepmother is utterly abominable, for it is written in the

The 3d. Interrogation

The answer

Note a worthy saying of Gregory

The 4th. Interrogation

The Answer

The 5th. Interrogation

The answer

The 6th. Interrogation

The answer

In what degree of kindred a man may marry.

the law: *Thou shalt not reveal the turpitude of thy father.* For so much then as it is so written in the law: *And they shall be two in one flesh:* the son then that presumeth to reveal the turpitude of his Step-mother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but reveal the turpitude of his own father? Likewise it was forbidden and unlawful to marry with thy kinswoman, which by her first Marriage was made one flesh with thy brother; for the which cause *John* the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a Martyr. Who, though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet for so much, as Christ saith, *I am the truth:* therefore in that *John* Baptist was slain for the truth, it may be said his blood was shed for Christ.

By this rule the Marriage of King Henry with Queen Katharine Dowager was unlawful.

The seventh Interrogation.

The 7th. Interrogation.

Item, *Whether such as so be coupled together in fleshy and unlawful Matrimony ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy Communion?*

The Answer.

The Answer

Because there be many of the Nation of *Englishmen*, which being yet in their infidelity, were so joynd and coupled in such execrable Marriage; the same coming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstain from the like, and that they know the same to be a grievous sin: that they dread the dreadful judgment of God, lest for their carnal delectation they incur the torments of eternal punishment. And yet notwithstanding they are not to be secluded therefore from the participation of Christ's body and blood: lest we should seem to revenge those things in them, which they before their Baptism through ignorance did commit. For in this time the Holy Church doth correct some faults more fervently, some faults she suffereth again through mansuetude and meekness; some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at and dissemble; that many times the evil, which she doth detest, through bearing and dissembling she may stop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they do, they are to be deprived of the Communion of the Lords Body and Blood. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this case is tolerable: so in them again it is strongly to be infused, which knowing they do nought, yet fear not to commit.

A discreet saying of Gregory to be noted.

The eighth Interrogation.

The 8th. Interrogation.

Item, *In this I desire to be satisfied, after what manner I should deal or do with the Bishops of France, and of Britain?*

The Answer.

The Answer

As touching the Bishops in *France*, I give you no authority or power over them. For the Bishops of *Aralas*, or *Orleance* hath by the old time of our Predecessors received the Pall, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Therefore when your brotherhood shall go unto the Province of *France*, whatsoever ye shall have there to do with the Bishop of *Orleance*, so do, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our fore-elders. But as concerning the Bishops of *Britain*, we commit them all to your brotherhood, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirm by persuasion may be confirmed, the wilful by authority may be corrected.

Quest. 25. cap. 2. in Galliarum.

The ninth Interrogation.

The 9th. Interrogation.

Whether a woman being great with child, ought to be baptised; or after she hath children, after how long time she ought to enter into the Church? Or else, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be prevented with death, after how many days it ought to receive Baptism? Or after how long time after her Child-birth it is lawful for her Husband to resort to her? Or else, if she be in her monthly course, after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the Church, and receive the Sacrament of the holy Communion? Or else her Husband after the lying with his Wife, before he be washed with water, whether it is lawful for him to enter the Church, and to draw unto the mystery of the holy Communion? All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen.

The Answer.

The childing or bearing Woman, why may she not be baptised, seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our first Parents in Paradise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortality by the just judgment of God, which they had taken before. Then because Almighty God would not mankind utterly to perish, because of his fall (although he lost now his immortality for his trespass) yet of his benign pity, left notwithstanding to him the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of mans nature, which is conserved by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptism?

The Answer

As concerning the Churching of Women, after they have travelled, where ye demand after how many days they ought to go to the Church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a Man child thirty three days, after a Woman child sixty and three days be appointed her to keep in: albeit this you must take to be understood in a Mytery. For if she should the hour after her travel enter into the Church to give thanks, she committed therein no sin: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the travel and pain of the flesh is sin. In the conjunction of the flesh is pleasure, but in the travel and bringing forth of the child is pain and groaning: as unto the Mother of all it is said, *In sorrow thou shalt travel.* Therefore if we forbid the Woman after her labour to enter into the Church, then what do we else but count the same punishment given unto her for sin? Therefore for the Woman after her labour to be baptised, either that which she hath travelled forth (if present necessity of death doth so require) yea, in the self same hour, either she that hath brought forth, either that which is born in the same hour when it is born, to be baptised we do not forbid.

The churching of women.

He speaketh here after the custom of the time.

Moreover, for the Man to company with his Wife, that he must not, before the Child that is born be wained. But now there is a lewd and naughty Custom risen in the condition of married folks, that Mothers do condemn to nurse their own children which they have born, but set them to other Women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontinency: for while they will not contain themselves, therefore they put from them their Children to nurse, &c.

Mothers that nurse not their own children reprehended.

As concerning the Women in their menstruous course, whether she ought to enter the Church? To this I answer: She ought not to be forbid. For the superfluity of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it just that she should be deprived of her access to the Church, for that which she suffered against her will. And if the woman did well, presuming in touching the Lords Coat in the time of her bloody Issue; why then may not that be granted unto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmity? Therefore to receive the Mytery of the Holy Communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so far presume in her great infirmity, she is to be praised, but if she do receive, she is not to be judged: for it is a point of a good mind in some manner to acknowledge her sins there, where is no sin: because many times that is done without fault, which cometh of fault. As when we be hungry, we eat without fault, notwithstanding it cometh by the fault of our first father to us that we are hungry, &c.

Where ye ask, if a man after the company with his Wife may resort to the Church, or to the holy Communion, before he be purged with water? The law given to the old people, commanded that a man (after the company with his Wife) both should be purified with water, and also should tarry the Sun-set before he came to the Congregation. Which seemeth to be understood spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is joynd to unlawful Concupiscence in his heart and cogitation. At that time, before the said fire of Concupiscence shall be removed, let the person think himself unworthy the entrance to the Congregation, through the viciousness of his filthy will. But of this matter sundry Nations have every one their sundry customs: some one way, and some another. The ancient manner of the Romans from our forefathers, hath been, that in such case, first they purge themselves

selves with water, then for a little they abstain reverently, and so resort to the Church, &c.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he ferreth. But if any person not for voluptuousness of the flesh, but for procreation of children do company with his Wife, that man concerning either the coming to the Church, or the receiving the Mysteries of the Lords Body and Blood, is to be left to his own judgment; for he ought not to be forbid of us to come, which when he lieth in the fire, will not burn, &c.

There is another question also to these adjoynd, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our English ears sufficient.

To return now to the story again: Gregory after he had sent these resolutions to the questions of Austin, sendeth moreover to the Church of England more coadjutors and helpers, as Melitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinus, with Books and such other implements as he thought necessary for the English Church. He sendeth moreover to the foresaid Austin a Pall with Letters, wherein he setteth an order between the two Metropolitan Sees, the one to be at London, the other to be at York. Notwithstanding, he granteth to the said Austin during his life, to be the only chief Archbishop of all the Land: and after his time, then to return to the two foresaid Sees of London and York, as is in the same Letter contained, the Tenor whereof here followeth in his own words, as ensueth.

The Copy of the Epistle of Gregory, sent to Austin into England.

Reverendissimo & sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Cum certum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia aeterni Regis premia reservari, nobis tamen eis necesse est bonorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare, &c.

As followeth here in English:

To the reverend and vertuous brother Augustine, his fellow Bishop, Gregorius the servant of the servants of God. Although it be most certain, that unspeakable rewards of the heavenly King be laid up for all such as labour in the Word of the Almighty God: yet it shall be requisite for us to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more encouraged to go forward in the study of their spiritual work. And for so much now, as the new Church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty help, and your travel, therefore we have granted to you the use of the Pall, only to be used at the solemnity of your Mass: so that it shall be lawful for you to ordain twelve Bishops, such as shall be subject to your Province or Dition. So that hereafter always the Bishop of the City of London shall be ordained and consecrated by his own proper Synod: and so to receive the Pall of honour from the holy and Apostolick See, wherein I here (by the permission of God) do serve. And as touching the City of York, we will send also a Bishop thither, whom you may think meet to ordain. So that if that City with other places bordering thereby, shall receive the Word of God, he shall have power likewise to ordain twelve Bishops, and have the honour of a Metropolitan: to whom also, if God spare me life, I intend by the favour of God, to send a Pall: this provided, that notwithstanding he shall be subject to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same Metropolitan, so to be over the Bishops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wise subject to the Metropolitan of London after you. And hereafter, betwixt these two Metropolitans of London and York, let there be had such distinction of Honour, that he shall have the priority, which shall in time first be ordained. With common counsel, and affection of heart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeal of Christ. Let them forethink and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wisely, let them accomplish concordly, nor jarring, nor swarving one from

the other. But as for your part, you shall be endued with authority, not only over those Bishops that you constitute, and over the other constituted by the Bishop of York; but also you shall have all other Priests of whole Britain, subject unto our Lord Jesus Christ: to the end that through your preaching and holiness of life, they may learn both to believe rightly, and to live purely, and so in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and vertuous manners; they may attain, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdom of Heaven. God preserve you in health, reverend brother. The tenth before the Kalends of July, in the Reign of our sovereign Lord Mauricius most vertuous Emperor.

Gregory call-
eth the Em-
peror his
Lord.

Besides this, the said Gregory sendeth also another Letter to Melitus concerning his judgment, what is to be done with the idolatrous Temples and Phanes of the English men newly converted, which Phanes he thinketh not best to pluck down, but to convert the use thereof, and so let them stand. And likewise of their Sacrifices, and killing of Oxen, how the same ought to be ordered, and how to be altered, disputing by the occasions thereof, of the sacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God unto the Israelites, the end and use thereof being altered, &c.

A Letter of
Gregory to
Melitus.

He sendeth also another Letter to the foresaid Austin, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puffed up for the Miracles wrought of God by him, in converting the People of England, but rather to fear and tremble, lest so much as he were puffed up by the outward work of Miracles, so much he should fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart: and therefore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of his heart, with the remembrance of his sins rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament, than to rejoice for the other. Not all the elect of God (saith he) work Miracles, and yet have they their names written in the Book of Life. And therefore he should not count so much of those Miracles done, but rather rejoyce with the Disciples of Christ, and labour to have his name written in the Book of Life, where all the Elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that rejoycing. And whatsoever Miracles it hath pleased God by him to have been done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their conversion, whose salvation God fought thereby, &c.

A Letter of
Gregory to
Austin.

Item, he directed another Epistle to King Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntington. lib. 3. in the which Epistle, first he praiseth God, then commendeth the goodness of the King, by whom it pleased God so to work such goodness of the People. Secondly, exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christs faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same; in converting the multitude; in destroying the Temples and works of idolatry, in ruling and governing the people in all holiness and godly conversation, after the godly example of the Emperor Constantine the great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come, with the Lord that reigneth and liveth for ever; premonishing him besides, of the terrors and distresses that shall happen (though not in his days) yet before the terrible day of Gods judgment. Wherefore he will-eth him always to be solicitous for his soul, and suspicious of the hour of his death, and watchful of the judgment, that he may be always prepared for the same, when that judgment shall come. In the end he desireth him to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send unto him from Rome, &c.

A Letter of
Gregory to
King Ethel-
bert.

Austin thus receiving his Pall from Gregory, as is above-said, and now of a Monk being made an Archbishop, after he had baptised a great part of Kent; he afterward made two Archbishops or Metropolitans, by the commandment of Gregory, as witnesseth Polychron, one at London, another at York.

Anno 600. Polychron. l. 5. cap. 9. Fabian. part. 3. cap. 119. Archbishops of London and of York made by Austin. Melitus Bishop of London.

Melitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent specially to the East Saxons in the Province of Essex, where after he was made Bishop of London, under Sigebert, King of Essex; which Sigebert, together with his Uncle Ethelbert first builded the Church and Minster of St. Paul in London, and appointed it to Melitus for the Bishops See. Austin (associate with this Melitus and Justus through the help of Ethelbert) assembled and gathered together the Bishops and Doctors of Britain

in a place, which taking the name of the said *Austin*, was called *Austins Oke*. In this Assembly he charged the said Bishops, that they should preach with him the Word of God to the *English* men; and also that they should among themselves reform certain Rites and Usages in their Church, specially for keeping of their *Easter-tide*, baptizing after the manner of *Rome*, and such other like. To this the *Scots* and *Britains* would not agree, refusing to leave the Custom which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which used the same. Here the stories both of *Beda*, *Cestrensis* in *Polychron.* *Huntingtonensis*, *Jornalensis*, *Fabianus*, and others more, write of a certain Miracle wrote upon a blind *Englishman*; whom when the *Britains* could not help, *Austin* kneeling down, and praying, restored the blind man to sight before them all, for a confirmation (as these Authors say) of his opinion in keeping of *Easter*. But concerning the credit of this Miracle, that I leave to the Authors of whom I had it.

Then *Austin* gathered another Synod, to the which came seven Bishops of *Britain*, with the wisest men of that famous Abbey of *Bangor*. But first they took counsel of a certain wise and holy man amongst them what to do; and whether they should be obedient to *Austin* or not. And he said, *If he be the servant of God, agree unto him. But how shall we know that, said they? To whom he answered again, If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is the servant of God.* To this they said again, *And how shall we know him to be humble and meek of heart? By this* (quoth he) *seeing you are the greater number, if he at your coming into your Synod rise up, and contemtnously receive you, perceive him to be an humble and a meek man; but if he shall contemn and despise you (being as ye are) the greater part, despise you him again.* Thus the *British* Bishops entering into the Council, *Austin* after the *Romish* manner keeping his Chair would not remove. Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdain and great displeasure departed thence. To whom then *Austin* spake, and said, *That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive War with their enemies; and if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English Nation, they should suffer by their hands the revenge of death.* Which not long after so came to pass by the means of *Ethelfrida*, King of *Northumberland*, who being yet a Pagan, and stirred with a fierce fury against the *Britains*, came with a great Army against the City of *Chester*, where *Brocmaile* the Consul of that City, a friend and helper of the *Britains* side, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the same time at *Bangor* in *Wales* an exceeding great Monastery, wherein was such a number of Monks, as *Galfridus* with other Authors, do testify, that if the whole company were divided into seven parts, in every of the seven parts were contained not so few as three hundred Monks; which all did live by the sweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their Ruler, named *Dino*. Out of this Monastery came the Monks of *Chester*, to pray for the good success of *Brocmaile*, fighting for them against the *Saxons*. Three days they continued in fasting and prayer. When *Ethelfrida* the foresaid King, seeing them so intentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of their coming thither in such a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their Consul; Then (saith he) *although they bear no weapon, yet they fight against us, and wish their prayers and preachings they persecute us.* Whereupon after that *Brocmaile* being overcome, did flee away, the King commanded his men to turn their weapons against the silly unarmed Monks, of whom he slew the same time, or rather martyred, eleven hundred, only fifty persons of that number did fly and escape away with *Brocmaile*, the rest were all slain. The Authors that write of this lamentable Murther, declare and say how the forespeaking of *Austin* was here verified upon the *Britains*, which because they would not joyn peace with their friends, he said should be destroyed of their enemies. Of both these parties the Reader may judge what he pleaseth; I cannot see but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot

defend the other. First *Austin* in this matter can in no wise be excused; who being a Monk before, and therefore a Scholar and professor of humility, shewed so little humility in this Assembly, to seven Bishops and an Archbishop, coming at his commandment to the Council, that he thought scorn once to stir at their coming in. Much less would his Pharisaical Solemnity have girded himself, and washed his brethrens feet after their travel, as Christ our great Master did to his Disciples; seeing his Lordship was so high, or rather so heavy, or rather so proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and an humble heart. Again, the *Britains* were as much or mote to blame, who so much neglected their spiritual duty, in revenging their temporal injury, that they denied to joyn their helping labour, to turn the idolatrous *Saxons* to the way of life and salvation, in which respect all private cases ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cause, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the stroke of Gods punishment did light upon them, according to the words of *Austin*, as is before declared. But especially the cruel King in this fact was most of all to blame so furiously to fly upon them which had neither weapon to resist him, nor yet any will to harm him. And so likewise the same or like happened to himself afterward. For so was he also slain in the field by Christian *Edwin*, who succeeded him, as he had slain the Christians before, which was about the year of our Lord six hundred and ten. But to return to *Austin* again, who by report of Authors was departed before this cruelty was done; after he had baptised and christened ten thousand *Saxons* or *Angles* in the West River, that is called *Swale*, beside *York* on a *Christmas* day, perceiving his end to draw near, he ordained a Successor named *Laurentius* to rule after him the Archbishops See of *Dorobornia*. Where note by the way, (Christian Reader) that whereas *Austin* baptised then in Rivers, it followeth, there was then no use of Fonts. Again, if it be true that *Fabian* saith, he baptised ten thousand in one day; the Rite then of baptising at *Rome* was not so ceremonial, neither had so many Trinkets at that time, as it hath had since: or else it could not be that he could baptise so many in one day.

In the mean season, about this time departed *Gregory*, Bishop of *Rome*, of whom it is said, that of the number of all the first Bishops before him in the Primitive time, he was the basest; of all them that came after him, he was the best. About which time also died in *Wales*, *David*, Archbishop first of *Kaerleon*, who then translated the See from thence to *Menevia*, and therefore is called *David of Wales*. Not long after this also deceased the foresaid *Austin* in *England*, after he had fit there fifteen or sixteen years; by the which count we may note it, not to be true that *Henry Huntington* and others do witness, that *Austin* was dead before that Battel of *Ethelfrida* against the Monks of *Bangor*. For if it be true that *Polychronicon* testifieth of this murther, to be done about the year of our Lord six hundred and nine, and the coming of *Austin* first into the Realm to be *Anno* five hundred ninety six, then *Austin* induring sixteen years, could not be dead at this Battel. Moreover *Galfridus Monmouthensis* declareth concerning the same Battel, that *Ethelbert* the King of *Kent*, being (as is said) converted by *Austin* to Christs faith: after he saw the *Britains* to disdain and deny their subjection unto *Austin*, neither would assist him with preaching to the *English* Nation; therefore stirred up he the foresaid *Ethelfrida* to war against the *Britains*; but that seemeth rather suspicious than true, that he being a Christian King, either could so much prevail with a Pagan Idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel deed; but of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, much less to judge.

About this present time above prefixed, which is *Anno* six hundred and ten. I read in the story of *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, the Writer of *Polychronicon*, of *John* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whom for his rare example of hospitality and bountifulness to the poor, I thought no less worthy to have place amongst good men, than I see the same now to be followed of few. This *John* (being before belike a hard and sparing man)

The Britains and Scots used not the Rites of Rome.

Abbey of Bangor. Ex libro Jornalenfis, Fabiano, & alib.

Ethelfrida King of Northumberland.

Brocmaile Consul of Chester.

The Monastery of Bangor. Galfridus Monmouthensis. Polychron. lib. 5. ca. 10. Liber biblioteca Jornalenfis. Guil. Malmeburienf. lib. 5. de reg. Fabian. p. 5. ca. 119, 120.

A pitiful slaughter of unarmed Monks of Bangor.

Whether Austin or the Britains in this case were more to blame.

Laurentius Archbishop after Austin.

Baptizing in Rivers, not in Fonts.

Baptizing among the old Romans was not used with so many ceremonies as since.

Anno 604.

S. David's Wales, otherwise called Dewi.

Computation of time examined.

Galfrid. Monmouthensis.

Anno 610.

Polychron. lib. 5. ca. 10.

A story of John Patriarch of Alexandria.

Mercy may live a maiden, for no man will marry her. This John was so beautiful in giving, that he could not live in a manner with the Lord, whether the Lord should give more, or he should distribute more of that which was given.

as he was at his prayer, upon a time, (it is said) there appeared to him a comely Virgin, having on her head a garland of Olive leaves, which named her self *Mercy*; saying to him, and promising, that if he would take her to wife, he should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or else invented for a morality; I would wish this flourishing daniel to be married to more than to this *John*, that she should not live so long a Virgin as now she doth, because no man will marry her. But to return to this Patriarch, who after that day (as the story recordeth) was so merciful and so beneficial, especially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his Masters, and himself as a servant and steward unto them: This Patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to sit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to set unity where was any variance. One day it hapned, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented, that all that day he had done no good: To whom his Deacon standing by, answered again, that he had more cause to rejoyce, seeing he had brought the City in that order and in such peace, that there needed no reconciliation amongst them. Another time as the said *John* the Patriarch was at service, and reading the Gospel in the Church, the people (as their used manner is) went out of the Church to talke and jangle: He perceiving that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they marvelled to see him do so. My children (said he) where the flock is, there ought the Shepheard to be: Wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you; or else if you tarry out, I will likewise tarry out together with you, &c.

The acts of Gregory the first.

As touching the acts and deeds of Gregory, above mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pride of *John* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, which would be the universal Priest, and only chief Bishop of all others, declaring him to be no less than the forerunner of Antichrist, that would take that name upon him: How, and with what reasons he answered again the letters of the Emperor *Mauricius* in that behalf, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entry and beginning of this Book. This Gregory amongst many other things induced into the Church (the specialties whereof hereafter shall follow, Christ willing, more at large) first began and brought in this title among the *Roman* Bishops, to be called, *Servus Servorum Dei*: Putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleness, and also of their duty in the Church of Christ. Moreover, as concerning his act for the sole life of Priests first begun, and then broken again: Also concerning the order of *Gregories* mass Book to be received in all Churches: Hereof who so lusteth to read more, shall find the same in other places hereafter, namely, when we come to the time of Pope *Adrian* the first.

Whereupon the Roman Bishops use in their title, *Servus Servorum Dei*.

After the death of Gregory above mentioned, first came *Sabinianus*, who, as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory, and of his Works, so he continued not long, scarce the space of two years. After whom succeeded next *Bonifacius* the third, which albeit he Reigned but one year, yet in that one year he did more hurt than Gregory with so much labors, and in so many years, could do good before. For that which Gregory kept out, he brought in, obtaining of *Phocas* the wicked Emperor, for him and his successors after him, that the See of *Rome* above all other Churches should have the preeminence, and that the Bishop of *Rome* should be the universal head of all Churches of Christ in Christendom: Alledging for him this frivolous reason, that Saint *Peter* had and left to his successors in *Rome*, the keys of binding and loosing, &c. And thus began first *Rome* to take an head above all other Churches, by the means of *Boniface* the third, who, as he lacked no boldness nor ambition to seek it, so neither lacked he an Emperor fit and meet to give such a gift. This Emperors name was *Phocas*, a man of such wickedness and ambition (most like to his own Bishop *Boniface*) that to aspire to the Empire, he murdered his own Master, the Emperor *Mauricius* and his Children. Thus *Phocas* coming up to be Emperor, after his detestable villany done, thinking to stablish his Empire with friendship and favour of his people, and especially with the Bishop of *Rome*, quickly condescended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be that he would, the universal and head Bishop over all Christian

How *Rome* began first to take an head above other Churches.

Phocas traytor and murderer of his Emperors.

Churches. But as blood commonly requireth blood again, so it came to pass on the said *Phocas*. For as he had cruelly slain the Lord and Emperor *Mauricius* before, so he in like manner (of *Heraclius* the Emperor succeeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the Sea. And thus wicked *Phocas*, which gave the first Supremacy to *Rome*, lost his own. But *Rome* would not so soon lose his Supremacy once given; as the giver lost his life: For ever since, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policy possible. And thus much concerning *Boniface*, whom by the words of Gregory, we may well call the runner before Antichrist. For as Gregory brought in their stile, *Servus Servorum Dei*: This *Boniface* brought in their heads first, *Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus ac precipimus*. That is: We will and command, We enjoyn and charge you, &c.

Blood revenged with blood.

Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus ac precipimus, brought in by *Boniface* the third.

Mention was made a little before of *Ethelbert* King of Kent, and also of *Ethelfrid*, King of Northsaxon or Northumbria. This *Ethelbert* having under his subjection all the other Saxon Kings unto *Humber*, after he had first received himself, and caused to be received of others, the Christian faith by the Preaching of *Austin*, confirmed afterward in the same faith, amongst other costly deeds, with the help of *Sigebert* King of *Essex* his nephew then Reigning under him, began the foundation of *Pauls* Church within the City of *London*, and ordained it for the Bishops See of *London*. For the Archbishops See which before time had been at *London*, was by *Austin* and this *Ethelbert* at the prayer of the Citizens of *Dorobernia* translated to the said City: *Malmesburienfis lib. de Pontific.* Wherefore such authors as say, that *Pauls* was builded by *Sigebert*, say not amiss, which *Sigebert* was the King of *Essex*, in which Province standeth the City of *London*. This *Ethelbert* also founded the Church of Saint *Andrew* in the City of *Dorubres* in Kent, now called *Rochester*, of one *Raf*, distant from *Dorobernia* four and twenty miles. Of this City *Justus* was Bishop, ordained before by *Austin*. Moreover the forenamed *Ethelbert* stirred up a dweller or Citizen of *London*, to make a Chapel or Church of Saint *Peter* in the West end of *London*, then called *Thorney*, now the Town of *Westminster*, which Church or Chapel was after by *Edward* the Confessor enlarged or new builded: Lastly, of *Henry* the third it was newly again reedified and made as it is now, a large Monastery, &c. After these Christian and worthy acts, this *Ethelbert*, when he had Reigned the course of fifty and six years, changed this mortal life about the year of our Lord, 616. whom some stories say to be slain in a fight between him and *Ethelfrid* King of Northsaxons.

Fabian. cap. 120.

Ethelbert and *Sigebert* builders of *Pauls* Church. The Archbishops See translated from *London* to *Dorobernia*. *Malmesburienfis, lib. de Pontific. H. Hunt. ing. lib. 3.*

This *Edward* was the third of that name before the conquest. The monastery of *Westminster*. Anno 616.

In the mean time the foresaid *Ethelfrid* King of Northumberland, after the cruel murder of the Monks of *Bangor*, escaped not long unto his hire: For after he had Reigned four and twenty years he was slain in the field of *Edwin*, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

Blood revenged with blood.

This *Edwin* being the son, not of *Ethelfrid* (as *Galsfridus Monumetensis* faith) but rather *Alla* (as *Giraldus Cambrensis* seemeth to witness more truly) was first a Panim or Idolater; afterward by *Paulinus* was Christened, and the first Christened King in Northumberland. The occasion of which his calling or conversion, as is in sundry stories contained, was this.

Edwin first Christened King in Northumberland. *Giraldus Cambrensis.*

Edwin being yet a Pagan, married the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of Kent, called *Edelburge* a Christian woman, otherwise called *Tace*. But before this marriage, *Edwin* being yet young, *Ethelfrid* the King conceiving envy against him, persecuted him so sore, that he was forced to flee to *Redwaldus*, King of *East Angles*, as in the table of the Kings is expressed: The which *Redwaldus* what for fear, what with bribes being corrupted of *Ethelfrid*, at length privily had intended to have betrayed *Edwin*. But as Gods Will was, *Edwin* having warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moved to flee, and to save himself, being promised also of his friends to be safe conveyed away, if he would thereto agree: To whom *Edwin* said, Whether shall I flee, that have so long steen the hands of mine Enemies, through all Provinces of the Realm? And if I must needs be slain, I had rather he should do it, than another unworthy person. Thus

The order and manner of the conversion of *Edwin* to the faith of Christ.

The trouble of *Edwin*.

he remaining by himself alone and solitary, sitting in a great study, there appeared unto him suddenly a certain stranger to him unknown, and said; I know well the cause of thy thought and heaviness. What wouldst thou give him that should deliver thee out of this fear, and should reconcile King Redwald to thee again? I would give him (said Edwin) all that I ever could make. And he said again: And what if I make thee a mightier King than was any of thy Progenitors? He answered again as before. Moreover (saith he) And what if he shew thee a better kind and way of life, than ever was shewed to any of thine Ancestors before thee; wilt thou obey him and do after his counsel? Yea, (said Edwin) promising most firmly with all his heart so to do. Then he laying his hand upon his head: When (said he) this token hapneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say unto thee. And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwin was sitting alone by himself pensive and sad, his foresaid friend, which moved him before to flee, cometh to him, bidding him be of good cheer; For the heart (said he) of King Redwaldus, which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsel of the Queen, and is fully bent to keep his promise with you, whatsoever shall fall thereupon. To make the story short, Redwaldus the King (although Fabian following Henry Huntington, saith it was Edwin) with all convenient speed assembled an host, wherewith he suddenly coming upon Ethelfrid, gave battel unto him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, with Reiner, Redwaldus son, was slain in the field. By reason whereof Edwin (his Enemies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwin remained in his old Paganism, albeit his Queen (as is above declared) King Ethelberts daughter, a Christian woman, with Paulinus the Bishop, ceased not to stir and persuade the King to Christian faith. But he taking counsel with his Nobles and Counsellors upon the matter, was hard to be won. Then the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose to bring all good things to pass, sent another trouble upon him, by means thereof to call him: For by affliction God useth commonly to call them whom he will save, or by whom he will work salvation unto others. So his divine wisdom thinketh good to make them first to know themselves before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with Paul (who was stricken down before he was lifted up) with Constantinus, Edwinus, and many more. How long was Joseph in prison before he bare rule? How hardly escaped this our Queen now being (Queen Elizabeth) by whom notwithstanding it hath pleased God to restore this his Gospel now Preached amongst us? In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his spirit was M. Luther, before he came to preach the justification of Christ openly? And so be all they most commonly, which come to any lively feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

But to return to Edwin again. The occasion of his trouble was this. Quicelinus with Kinegilfus his brother, Kings of Westsaxons (as above is mentioned in the table of the Saxon Kings) conspiring the death of Edwin, now King of Northumberland, upon envy and malice sent upon an Easter day, a sword-man, named Emmer, privily to slay the said Edwin. This sword-man or cut-throat, came to a City beside the water of Darwent in Derbyshire, there to wait his time: And lastly, found the King finally accompanied, and intended to have run the King thorow with a sword invenomed. But one Lilla, the Kings trusty servant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his Master, start between the King and the sword, and was stricken thorow the body and died, and the King was wounded with the same stroke. And after he wounded also the third, which was a Knight, and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to work that treason. The other Knight that was secondly wounded, died, and the King lay after long sick ere he were healed.

After this, about Whitsontide, the King being scanty whole of his wound, assembled his host, intending to make war against the King of Westsaxons, promising to Christ to be Christened, if he would give him victory over

his Enemies: and in token thereof caused his daughter, born of Edelburge the same Easter day when he was wounded, named Eufled, to be Baptised, with twelve others of his family, of Paulinus. Thus Edwin proceeded to the battel against Quiceline and Kinegilfus with Kenwoldus and other Enemies, who in the same battel being all vanquished and put to flight, Edwin through the power of Christ returneth home victor. But for all this victory and other things given to him of God, as he was in wealth with the world, he forgot his promise made, and had little mind thereof, save only that he by the Preaching of Paulinus forsook his Maumetry; and for his excuse said, that he might not clearly deny his old Law, which his Forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be Christened without authority and good advice of his counsel.

About the same season Pope Boniface the fifth sent also to the said Edwin letters exhortatory, with sundry presents from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the Queen: But neither would that prevail. Then Paulinus seeing the King so hard to be converted, poured out his Prayers unto God for his conversion; who the same time had revealed to him by the holy Ghost, the oracle above mentioned, which was shewed to the King when he was with Redwaldus, King of the Eastangles. Whereupon Paulinus coming after to the King on a certain day, and laying his hand upon the Kings head, asked him if he knew that token. The King hearing this, and remembering well the token, was ready to fall down at his feet. But Paulinus not suffering that, did lift him up again, saying unto him: Behold, O King, you have vanquished your Enemies, you have obtained your Kingdom; now perform the third thing which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon the King conferring with his Counsel and his Nobles, was Baptised of Paulinus at York, with many of his other Subjects with him. In so much that Coife, the chief of the Prelates of his old Maumetry, armed himself with his Idolatrous Bishops, and bestrode good Horses, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but only a Mare: And so destroyed all the Altars of the Maumetry, and their Temple of Idols, which was at Godmundham, not far from York. And this was in the eleventh year of his Reign.

From that time forth, during the life of Edwin, which was the term of six years more, Paulinus Christened continually in the rivers of Gwennie and Swala, in both provinces of Deira, and in Bernicia, using the said Rivers for his Fonts, and Preached in the shire of Lincolne, where he builded also a Church of stone at Lincoln.

In this time was so great peace in the Kingdom of Edwin after his conversion, that a woman laden with Gold, might have gone from the one side of the Sea to the other, and no man molest her. Moreover by the high way sides, through all his Kingdom he caused by every Well or spring to be chained a dish or boll of brass, to take up water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bolls of brass there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwin. Such was then the tender care and study of Christian Princes, for the refreshing of their Subjects. But that was then the brazen world, which now is grown to Iron and Lead, called *Ætas ferrea*, or rather *Plumbea*.

This Edwin who first brought in the faith, in the North parts continuing after his baptism six years, at length was slain in battel by Cedwalla, King of the Britains, and by wicked Penda, King of the Mercians, with his son Offricus also, in the field called Hatfield.

This Paulinus was the first Archbishop of York, and as he was of Justus Archbishop of Canterbury, ordained Archbishop of the See of York; so he again after the decease of Justus, ordained Honorius to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwin, seeing unmerciful Cedwalla or Cedwallon, with his Britains, and wicked Penda with the Idolatrous Mercians, to spoyl the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age, nor Sex, nor Religion, was compelled to fly with Edelburge the Queen and Eufled her daughter by water into Kent, where the said Archbishop Paulinus, remained Bishop of Rochester, the said space of nineteen years. And so the Church of Northumberland, lacked a Bishop for the space of thirty

The marvelous calling of Edwin.

Edwin miraculously delivered.

W. Malmesburyensis, lib. de reg.

This Queen was Edelburge, daughter to King Ethelbert the christened King of Kent.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

Another danger of Edwin. Anno 627 Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.

Fabianus part. 5. A part of a trusty servant.

Edwin forgetteth his promise to Christ. Prosperity forgetful. Old customs in matters of Religion not to be followed, but only truth. Old custom letteth Edwin to be Christened.

A miracle of God in the conversion of King Edwin.

The part of a godly Bishop exemplified in Paulinus.

Edwin baptised. He was baptised in S. Peters Church at York, which he first caused to be made of wood, which after by S. Oswald was builded of stone.

Anno 628.

Note Paulinus christened in Rivers.

What true justice of a good Prince may do in a realm. Great peace and truth among the people in the days of Edwin.

Anno 634.

Archbishop of Canterbury and York, the one ordaineth the other.

Ex Flur. Hist.

thirty years after. Notwithstanding he left there one *James* his Deacon, a good man, who continued there Baptizing and Preaching in the North parts, till that peace being recovered, and the number of the faithful increasing, the Church came again to his stay. *Huntinglib. 2.*

By means of this *Edwin*, *Ervwaldus* King of the *East-angles*, son to *Redwaldus* above mentioned, was reduced to Christ's faith.

After the decease of *Edwin* and his son *Offrick*, both slain in battel, Reigned *Ofriens* and *Eaufridus*, the one in *Deira*, the other in *Bernicia*. *Ofriens* was the son of *Elfricus* which was brother to *Ethelfrid*. *Eaufridus* was the Eldest son of *Ethelfrid*; for *Ethelfrid* had three sons, to wit, *Eaufridus*, *Ofwaldus*, and *Ofriens*. These two Kings of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, *Ofriens*, and *Eufriid*, being first christened in *Scotland*, after being Kings, returned to their Idolatry; and so in the year following were slain one after the other by the foresaid *Cadwallo* and wicked *Penda*, as is in the table above expressed.

After whom succeeded in *Northumberland*, the second son of *Ethelfrid*, named *Ofwaldus*, having rule on both the provinces, as well *Deira*, as *Bernicia*. Whereof when the foresaid *Cadwallo* (or *Cadwallo*) the *Britain* King had understanding, who before had made havock of the *Saxons*, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of *England*; he kept King *Penda* with a mighty host of the *Britains*, thinking to slay also *Ofwaldus* as he had before slain his brother *Eufriid*, and King *Edwin* before them. But *Ofwald*, when he was warned of the great strength of this *Cadwallo* and *Penda*, made his Prayers to God, and besought him meekly of help to withstand his Enemy, for the salvation of his people. Thus after *Ofwald* had prayed for the saving of his people, the two hosts met in a field named *Denesbury*, some say *Heavenfield*, where was fought a strong battel. But finally, the army and power of *Penda* and *Cadwallo*, which were far exceeding the number of *Ofwaldus* host, was chased, and most part slain of *Ofwaldus*: After he reigned over the *Britains* two and twenty years, leaving after him a son, whom *Gaufridus* called *Cadwaladrus*, the last King of the *Britains*.

Of this *Ofwald* much praise and commendation is written in Authors, for his fervent zeal in Christ's Religion, and merciful pity towards the poor, with other great virtues more. As touching the miracles of *S. Oswald*, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirm. This I find in stories certain, that he being welland virtuously disposed, to the setting forth of Christ's faith and Doctrine, sent into *Scotland* for a certain Bishop there called *Aidanus*, which was a famous Preacher. The King at what time he was in *Scotland* banished, had learned the *Scottish* Tongue perfectly: Wherefore as this *Aidanus* Preached in his *Scottish* Tongue to the *Saxons*, the King himself interpreting that which he had said, disdained not to preach and expound the same unto his Nobles and Subjects in the *English* Tongue.

Moreover, towards the poor and needy his pity and tenderness was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time being then *Easter* day, he sitting with the said *Aidanus* at meat, and served after the manner of Kings, in silver: There cometh to him one of the Servitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poor People sitting in the street, which desired some Alms of the King. He hearing this, comamandeth not only the meat prepared for his table to be carried unto them, but also taking a silver platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces and sent it amongst them, and so relieved his poor Subjects, not only with the meat of his table, but with dishes also. *Aidanus* the Bishop, seeing this and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: *This hand* (saith he) *I pray God may continue and never purrife*. What the stories say more concerning this hand of *Ofwald*, I intend not to meddle further than simple, true, and due probability will bear me out. In those days, and partly by the means of the said *Ofwald*, *Kinigilsus* King of the *West Saxons* was converted to Christ's faith; especially through the godly labour of *Berinus*, which was sent by Pope *Honorius* to Preach in *England*, and was then made Bishop of *Dorchester*. To whom *Quicilinus*, brother of *Kinigilsus*, after

he had also received Baptism of the said *Berinus*, gave to him the said City to make there his See. And as *Guido* witnesseth, the said *Quicilinus* gave after to the Bishop of *Winchester* seven miles compass of land, to build there the Bishop's See, the which was accomplished and finished by *Kemwalcus* his son.

Of this *Berinus*, *Malmesbury*, *Polychronicon*, with divers other writers do report a thing strange and miraculous; which if it be a Fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvel that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same: The matter is this, This *Berinus* being sent as is said, by *Honorius* to Preach in *England*, promiseth him to travel to the uttermost borders thereof, and there to Preach the Gospel, where the name of Christ was never heard: Thus he setting forward in his journey, passeth through *France*, and so to the Sea side; where he found a passage ready, and the wind served so fair, that he was called upon in such haste, that he had no leisure to remember himself to take all things with him which he had to carry: At length he was on the sea sayling and almost in the middle course of his passage, he remembered himself of a certain relick left behind him for haste, which *Honorius* had given him at his coming out. *Malmesburienfis* calleth it *Corporalia*, *Historia Jormalensis* calleth it *Pallulam super quam corpus Christi consecraret*, which we call a Corporas or such a like thing, and what else inclosed within it I cannot tell. Here *Berinus* in great sorrow could not tell what to do: If he should have spoken to the heathen Mariners to turn their course back again, they would have mocked him, and it had been in vain. Wherefore as the stories write, he boldly steppeth into the Sea, and walking on foot back again, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his company again, having not one thred of his garments wet. Of his miracle, or whether I should call it a fable rather, let the Reader judge as he thinketh; because it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holiness in the Man or in the Corporas, but a special gift for the conversion of the Heathen, for whose salvation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This *Berinus*, being received in the ship again with a great admiration of the Mariners, who were therewith converted and baptized, was driven at last by the weather to the coast of the *West Saxons*, where *Kinigilsus* and his brother *Quicilinus* above mentioned did reign. Which two Kings the same time by the Preaching of *Berinus* were converted and made Christian men, with the people of the Country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time when the foresaid Kings should be Christened, that *Ofwaldus* (mentioned a little before) King of *Northumberland*, was then present, and the same day married *Kinigilsus* his daughter, and also was Godfather to the King.

Thus *Ofwald* after he had Reigned nine years in such holiness and perfectness of life, as is above specified, was slain at length in the field called *Marfield* by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*: Which *Penda* at length after all his Tyranny was overcome and slain by *Ofwy* brother to *Ofwald* next King after *Ofwald* of *Northumberland*, notwithstanding he had thrice the people which *Ofwy* had. This *Penda* being a Pagan, had three sons. *Wolferus*, *Weda*, and *Egfridus*. To the second son *Weda*, *Ofwy* had before time married his daughter, by consent of *Penda* his Father: The which *Weda* by help of *Ofwy* was made King of *Southmercia*, the which Lordship is severed from *Northmercia* by the River of *Trent*. The same *Weda* moreover, at what time he married the daughter of *Ofwy*, promised to him that he would become a Christian man: Which thing he performed after the death of *Penda* his father; but afterward within three years of his Reign, he was by reason of his wife slain. And after him the Kingdom fell to *Wolferus* the other brother; who being wedded to *Ermenilda* daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was shortly after christened; so that he is counted the first christened King of *Mercia*. This *Wolferus* conquered *Kemwalcus* King of *Kent*, and got the *Isle of Wight*, which after he gave to *Sigbert* King of the *East Angles*, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the *East Angles* which before had expelled *Melitus* their Bishop, as is declared, recovered again the Christian faith under *Sigbert* their King.

James a godly Deacon. A Deacon then might baptize.

Ervwaldus otherwise named Corpwaldus King of East-angles converted to the faith of Christ.

S. Oswald King of Northumberland.

Anno 636.

Gaufridus Malmesburienfis. Polycron. Historia Jormalensis. Fabian.

Strength of prayer overcome an army.

Penda beaten in the field.

The commendation of King Oswald.

King Oswald disdained not to expound and preach the Gospel to his People.

The goodness and charity of Oswald towards the Poor.

Historia Jormalensis. Polychronicon. lib. 9. cap. 12.

Kinigilsus King of the West Saxons, converted to Christ's faith.

See Polychronicon. lib. 9. cap. 12. Fabian parts. Lands given to Winchester.

Malmesburienfis. lib. de gestis Angli. lib. 3. Hist. Jormalensis.

Hunting. lib. 3. Berinus walking on the Sea, with life and all.

Ofwaldus Godfather and son in law to Kinigilsus, and all in one day.

King Oswald slain in the field. Anno 643.

Penda King of Mercians slain. Ofwy King of Northumberland.

The converting of the Mercians to the faith of Christ. Wolferus first christened King of Mercia.

The East Angles reduced to the Christian faith.

King, who by the means of the foresaid *Wolferus* was reduced and baptised by *Finianus* the Bishop.

*Osry and
Oswine fel-
low Kings
in Northum-
berland.*

Note the
worthy li-
berality in
the King,
and no less
in the Bi-
shop.

H. Hunting-
de Historiis
Anglorum,
lib. 9.
Example of
true Alms.

A perfect
example of
humility in
a Prince.

*Oswine
traiterously
murdered*

{ Anno
1851 }

*Benedict or
Benet, the
bringer up
of Bede.*

The use of
glasfing first
brought in-
to this
Realm.

*Burghus,
Aidanus,
Finianus,
Colmannus,
Cuthbertus,
Jarumanus,
Cedda,
Wilfridus.*

O quam
mutatio!
Beda lib. 4.
cap. 5.
Hunting. Po-
lychron.
Jornalensis
fabia.

But to return again to *Osry*, from whom we have a little digressed, of whom we shewed before how he succeeded after *Oswald* in the Province of *Bernicia*, to whom also was joyned *Oswine* his Colin over the Province of *Deira*, and there, with his fellow *Osry* Reigned the space of seven years. This *Oswine* was gentle and liberal to his people, and no less devout toward God: Who, upon a time had given to *Aidanus* the Bishop above mentioned, a princely Horse with the Trappers, and all that appertained thereto, because he should not so much travel on foot, but sometimes ease himself withal. Thus *Aidanus* the Scottish Bishop as he was riding upon his kingly Horse, by the way meeteth him a certain poor man, asking and craving his charity. *Aidanus* having nothing else to give him, lighted down and giveth to him his Horse trapped and garnished as he was. The King understanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entering to dinner with the said *Aidanus*: *What meant you Father Bishop* (said he) *to give away my Horse I gave you, unto the beggar? Had not I other Horses in my stable that might have served him well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose was pickt out for you amongst the chiefest?* To whom the Bishop made answer again, saying, or rather rebuking the King: *What be these words* (O King said he) *that you speak? Why set you more price by an Horse, which is but the sole of an Horse, than you do by him which is the son of Mary, yea, which is the son of God?* He said but this, when the King forthwith ungirding his sword from about him (as he was then newly come in from Hunting) falleth down at the feet of the Bishop, desiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after speak word to him for any treasure he should afterward give away of his. The Bishop seeing the King so meekly affected, he then taking him up, and chearing him again with words, began shortly after to weep and to be very heavy. His Minister asking the cause thereof, *Aidanus* answered in his Scottish Language, saying to him: *I weep* (said he) *for that this King cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have such a Prince, as he is to Reign amongst them.* And so as *Aidanus* said, it came to pass. For not long after *Osry* the King of *Bernicia* disdaining at him, when *Oswine* either was not able, or not willing to joyn with him in battel, caused him Trayterously to be slain. And so *Osry* with his Son *Egfrid*, reigned in *Northumberland* alone.

In the time, and also in the house of this *Osry* King of *Northumberland*, was a certain man named *Benedict*, who was the bringer up of *Bede* from his youth, and took him to his institution when he was but seven years old, and so taught him during his life. This *Benedict* or *Benet*, descending of a noble stock and rich kin, and in good favour with *Osry*, forsook service, house, and all his kindred to serve Christ, and went to *Rome* (where he had been in his life time five times) and brought from thence Books into Monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serve for devotion. This *Benedict*, surnamed Bishop, was the first that brought in the Art and use of glasfing into this Land; for before that, Glasf-windows were not known either in Churches or in Houses.

In the Reign of the foresaid *Osry* and *Egfrid* his son, was *Borulfus* Abbat, which builded in the East part of *Lincoln* an Abbey. Also *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, and *Colmannus*, with three Scottish Bishops of *Northumberland* holy Men, held with the *Britains* against the Romish order for the keeping of *Easter* day. Moreover *Cuthbertus*, *Jarumanus*, *Cedda*, and *Wilfridus* lived the same time: Whom as I judge to be Bishops of holy conversation, so I thought it sufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made Saints in the Popes Kalender, seeing they are not written in the Gospel, nor in my Creed, but in certain old Chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my Faith: Notwithstanding as touching their conversation, this I read, and also do credit, that the Clergy both of *Britain* and *England*, at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gave themselves to Preaching and Teaching the Word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they Preached by giving of good example. And over that, as our Histories accord, they were so voyd of covetousness, that they

received no possessions or territories which were forced upon them.

About this season or not much before, under the Reign of *Osry* and *Oswine* Kings of *Northumberland*, another Synod or Council was holden against the *Britains* and the Scottish Bishops, for the right observing of *Saster* at *Sternbalt*. At what time *Agilbertus* Bishop *West-Saxons* came to *Northumberland*, to institute *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Ripon*, where this question for *Easter* day began to be moved: For *Colman*, then Bishop of *Northumberland*, followed not the custom of *Rome*, nor of the *Saxons*, but followed the *Britains* and the Scottish Bishops, his Predecessors in the same See before. Thus on the one side was *Colman* the Archbishop of *York*, and *Hilda* the Abbess of *Sternbalt*, which alleaded for them the doings and examples of their Predecessors, both godly and reverend Bishops, as *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, Archbishops of that See of *York* before them, and divers more, who had used always to celebrate the *Easter* from the fourteenth day of the first month, till the eight and twentieth of the same. And specially, for that *S. John* the Evangelist at *Ephesus* kept and observed that day, &c. On the other side was *Agilbert* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, *James* the Deacon of *Paulinus* above mentioned, *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Ripon*, and King *Alfrid*, *Oswies* son, with his Queen, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation here followeth, according as in the story of *Beda* at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides, as ensueth, &c.

The question of *Easter* and of shaving, and other ecclesiastical matters being moved, it was determined, that in the Abbey which is called *Sternbalt*, of the which *Hilda* a devout woman was Abbess, a Convocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the Kings, the Father and the Son, Bishop *Colman* with his Clergy of *Scotland*, *Agilbert*, with *Agathon* and *Wilfrid* Priests. *James* and *Roman* were on their sides, *Hilda* the Abbess with her company was on the Scottish part, and the reverend Bishop *Cedda* was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. King *Osry* began first with an Oration, declaring that it was necessary for such as served one God, to live in one uniform order, and that such as looked for one Kingdom in Heaven, should not suffer in celebration of the heavenly Sacraments, but should rather seek for the true Tradition, and follow the same. This said, he commanded his Bishop *Colman* to declare what the rite and custom was in this behalf that he used, and from whence it had the original. Then *Colman*, obeying his Princes commandment, said: *The Easter which I observe, I received of my Ancestors that sent me hither a Bishop, the which all our Forefathers, being men of God, did celebrate in like manner: And lest it should be contemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparent to be the very same which the holy Evangelist S. John (a Disciple especially beloved of the Lord) did accustomedly use in all Churches and Congregations where he had authority.* When *Colman* had spoken many things to this effect, the King commanded *Agilbert* to declare his opinion in this behalf, and to shew the order that he then used, from whence it came, and by what authority he observed the same. *Agilbert* requested the King that his Scholar *Wilfrid* a Priest might speak for him, in as much as they both with the rest of his Clergy were of one opinion herein, and that the said *Wilfrid* could utter his mind better, and more plainly in the English Tongue, than he himself could. Then *Wilfrid* at the Kings commandment began on this sort, and said: *The Easter which we keep, we have seen at Rome, whereas the holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, did live and teach, did suffer and were buried.* The same also is used in *Italy* and in *France*; The which Countries we have travelled for Learning, and have noted it to be celebrated of them all. In *Asia* also and in *Africk*, in *Egypt* and in *Greece*, and finally in all the world, the same manner of *Easter* is observed that we use, save only by these here present with their accomplices, the *Picts* and the *Britains*: With the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they condescend and strive foolishly in this order against the universal world. To whom *Colman* replied, saying: *I marvel you will call this order foolish, that so great an Apostle as was worthy to lie in the Lords lap,* did

Anno
654.

Controver-
sie about
Easter day.

Ex Bede.
lib. 2. cap. 23.

A disputa-
tion be-
tween the
Roman Bi-
shops, and
the Scottish
Bishops, for
the day
Easter and
other cere-
monies.

The King
beginning.

Colman
speakes.

Wilfrid re-
plieth.

Universali-
ty alleaded.

Colman
gain speak-
eth.

did use, whom all the World doth well know, to have lived most wisely. And Wilfrid answered, God forbid that I should reprove S. John of his Folly, who kept the rites of Moses Law, according to the letter (the Church being yet Jewish in many points) and the Apostles not as yet able to abrogate all the observations of the law before ordained. As for example, they could not reject Images invented of the Devil, the which all men that believe on Christ, ought of necessity to forsake and detest, lest they should be an offence to those Jews that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did S. Paul circumcise Timothy, for this cause did he sacrifice in the Temple, and did shave his head with Aquila and Priscilla, at Corinth: All which things were done to none other purpose, than to eschew the offence of the Jews. Hereupon also said James to Paul, Thou see'st Brother, how many thousand Jews do believe, and all these be Zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the Gospel is so manifestly Preached in the World, it is not lawful for the faithful to be Circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnal things to God. Therefore John according to the custom of the Law, the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, did begin the Celebration of the Feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabbath, or in any other Ferial day. But Peter when he Preached at Rome, remembering that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the Sabbath, giving thereby an hope to the world of the Resurrection, thought good to institute Easter on that day, and not after the use and precepts of the law (that was) the fourteenth day of the first month: Even so John looking for the Moon at night, if it did arise, and the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the Sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the evening, like as we use to do even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seventeenth, or on any other day unto the one and twentieth, he tarried always for it, and did begin the holy Solemnity of Easter on the evening next before the Sabbath. And so it came to pass, that Easter was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day unto the one and twentieth: Neither doth this tradition of the Apostle break the Law, but fulfil the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the same month at evening; the which manner all S. Johns successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the Catholick Church throughout the whole World. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all Christians to be observed, it was not newly decreed, but confirmed by the Council of Nice, as appeareth by the ecclesiastical History. Whereupon it is manifest that you (Colman) do neither follow the example of S. John, as ye think, nor of S. Peter, whose tradition you do willingly resist, nor of the Church, nor yet of the Gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For S. John, observing Easter according to the Precepts of the Law, kept it not on the first day after the Sabbath; but you precisely keep it only on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter did celebrate Easter from the fifteenth day of the Moon to the one and twentieth day, but you keep Easter from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day; so that you begin Easter oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which manner neither the Law nor the Gospel maketh any mention. But the Lord in the fourteenth day, either did eat the old Passover at night, or else did celebrate the Sacraments of the New Testament, in the remembrance of his death and passion. You do also utterly reject from the celebration of Easter, the one and twentieth day, the which the Law hath chiefly willed to be observed: And therefore as I said, in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree with S. John, nor with Peter, nor with the Law, nor yet with the Gospel. Then Colman again answered to these things, saying: Did then Anatholius a godly man, and one much commended in the foresaid ecclesiastical story, against the Law and the Gospel, who writeth that the Easter was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or shall we think that Columba, our reverend Father and his successors, being men of God, who observed the Easter after this manner, did against the holy Scripture? Whereas some of them were men of such godliness and virtue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles. (And I hereby no-

thing doubting of their holiness) do endeavour to follow their life, order and discipline. Then said Wilfrid: It is certain that Anatholius was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation; but what have you to do with him seeing you observe not his Order? For he following the true rule in keeping his Easter, observeth the circle of nineteen years; the which either you know not, or if you do, you condemn the common order observed in the universal Church of Christ. And moreover, the said Anatholius doth so count the fourteenth day, in the observation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fifteenth day at night, after the manner of the Egyptians, and likewise noteth the twentieth day, to be in the feast of Easter, the one and twentieth in the evening: The which distinction that you know not, by this may appear, for that you keep the Easter, on the thirteenth day before the full Moon. Or otherwise I can answer you touching your Father Columba and his successors, whose Order you say you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wise, that the Lord will answer to many that shall say in the day of Judgment, that in his name they have prophesied and cast out Devils, and have done many Miracles, &c. That he never knew them. But God forbid that I should say so of your Fathers, because it is much better to believe well of those we know not, than ill. Whereupon I deny not but they were the servants of God, and holy Men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicity: And I think that the Order which they used in the Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could shew them the right observation of the same for them to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your Fellows, if you refuse the Order of the Apostolical See, or rather, of the universal Church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture; without all doubt you do sin. And though your Forefathers were holy Men, what is their fewness, being but a corner of an Island, to be preferred before the universal Church, of Jesus Christ, dispersed throughout the whole World? And if Columba your Father (and ours also, being of Christ Jesus) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the Prince of the holy Apostles? To whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Wilfrid having thus ended his argument, the King said to Colman: Is it true that the Lord spake these things to S. Peter? And Colman answered, Yea. Then said the King, Can you declare any thing that the Lord gave to Colman? Colman answered, No. Then quoth the King, Do both of you agree and consent in this matter without any controversy, that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gave him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven? And they both answered, Yea. Then concluded the King on this wise, For so much as S. Peter is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will not gainsay him; But in that I am able, I will obey his Orders in every point, lest when I come to the gates of Heaven, he shut them against me.

Upon this simple and rude reason of the King, the multitude estoons consented, and with them also Cedda was contented to give over, only Colman the Scot, being then Archbishop of York, in displeasure left the Realm, and departed into Scotland, carrying with him the bones of Aidanus. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

After the decease of Oswy, Egfrid his Son was King after him in Northumberland fifteen years. By this Egfrid Cuthbert was promoted to the Bishoprick of the Isle of Farne: And Wilfrid which before had been Archbishop of York, was displaced through the means of Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cedda possessed that See. Wilfrid, when he was put out, went to Rome, and complained of him to Agathon the Bishop, and was well allowed in some things. But the King and Theodorus had there such Proctors and Friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Wherefore he returned into the South-Saxons, and builded an Abbey in Silesie, and Preached unto the South-Saxons, fifteen years. The King of

Wilfrid re-
plich.

The autho-
rity of men
is not to be
sticked unto
for their do-
ing of mi-
racles.

The ex-
ample of
them that
follow not
for lack of
teaching ex-
cuseth not
them which
being taught
will not
follow.

Yea Sir,
Suffragia
ecclesiarum
non numeranda
sunt, sed
ponderanda.
Aug.

The King
concludeth.

Nobile mu-
tatur semper
cum principis
vulgi.

Egfrid on
Egfrid of
Northumber-
land.

Malmesbu-
rien. Hysto-
ring. lib. 2. cap.
139.
Wilfrid
Archbishop
of York.

the South-Saxons at that time was *Ethelwold*, to whom we declared a little before that *Wolferus* King of the *Mercians* gave the Isle of *Wight* upon condition that he would be Christened, and so was baptized by *Berinus*: the said *Wolferus* being his Godfather, and Son in Law, both in one day. Wherefore *Wolferus* now being licensed by *Ethelwold* the King, preached unto his Nobles and people of *South-Sax*, and converted them to Christ. In the mean time of whose baptizing, the rain which before they lacked three years together, was given them plentifully, whereby their great Famine slackened, and the Country was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrenness: inasmuch that (as in some stories it is said) the people perished with Famine, would go forty together upon the Rocks by the Sea-side, and taking hands together would throw themselves down to the Sea. Moreover, where they lacked before the Art of Fishing, the foresaid *Wilfride* taught them how with Nets to fish.

Southsaxons
converted
to Christian
Faith.

H. Hunting.
lib. 3.

The Isle of
Wight last
converted
to Christ.

Alfrid King
of Northum-
berland.

Wilfride re-
stored again
to the See
of York.

Mercia di-
vided into
five Bishop-
ricks.

The wicked
Sect of Ma-
humet.

Apoc. 13.

Anno
666.

Ex Polycron.
Ex Gualdo
Cambrensi.
Ex Stephano
Canthuariensi.

Theodorus
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

And thus by process have we discoursed from time to time how and by what means the Idolatrous people were induced to the true Faith of Christ: of whom the South-Saxons with the Isle of *Wight* were the last.

After *Egfride*, who was slain in the straits of *Scotland*, next succeeded *Alfride* his Brother, and Bastard Son to *Oswy*, and reigned eighteen or nineteen years in *Northumberland*. This *Alfride* restored again the foresaid *Wilfride* to the See of *York*, whom his Brother had before expelled, and put in *Cedda*. Notwithstanding the same King within five years after, expelled the said *Wilfride* again, and so went he to *Rome*. But at length by *Osfrick* his Successor was placed again the Archbishop of *York*, and *Cedda* was ordained by *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mercia*. The which Province of *Mercia*, the said *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Authority of the Synod holden at *Hatfield*, did after divide into five Bishopricks: that is, one to *Chester*, the second to *Worcester*, the third to *Lichfield*, the fourth to *Cederna* in *Lindsey*, the fifth to *Dorchester*, which was after translated to *Lincoln*.

Near about this time in the year of our Lord, 666, the detestable Sect of *Mahumet* began to take strength and place. Although *Polycronicon* differing a little in years, accounteth the beginning of this Sect somewhat before, but the most diligent Searchers of them which write now, refer it to this year, which well agreeth with the number of that Beast, signified in the *Apocalypse*, xlv. that is, 666. Of this *Mahumet* came the Kingdom of *Agarens* (whom he after named *Sarazens*) to whom he gave sundry Laws, patched of many Sects and Religions together: he taught them to pray ever to the South; and as we keep the Sunday, so they keep the Friday, which they call the day of *Venus*. He permitted them to have as many Wives as they were able to maintain; to have as many Concubines as they list; to abstain from the use of Wine, except on certain solemn days in the year; to have and worship only one God Omnipotent, saying that *Moses* and the Prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the Prophets, as being born of the Virgin *Mary* by the Power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to Heaven, but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him, with many other wicked Blasphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the *Sarazens* began to be conquered of the *Turks*, and in process of time wholly subdued to them.

But now to return again to the time of our English Saxons: In this mean season *Theodorus* was sent from Italy into England, by *Vitellianus* the Pope, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with him divers other Monks of Italy, to set up here in England Latine Service, Masses, Ceremonies, Letanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This *Theodorus* being made Archbishop and Metropolitan of *Canterbury*, began to play the Rex, placing and displacing the Bishops at his pleasure. As for *Cedda* and *Wilfride* Archbishops of *York*, he thrust them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed against their wills. Wherefore *Wilfride*, as is before touched, went up to *Rome*, but could have no redress of his Cause. Yet to shew what modesty this *Wilfride* used against his Enemy being so violently

molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed in *William Malmesbury*, I thought here to express the same both for the commendation of the party, and also for the good Example of others, in case any such be, whom good Examples will move to well-doing. This *Wilfride* therefore, having such injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of *Theodore*, although he had just cause to do his uttermost; yet in prosecuting his Complaint how he tempered himself, what words of modesty he used, rather to defend his Innocency, than to impugn his Adversary, by this his suggestion offered up to the Bishop of *Rome*, may appear, whose words in effect were these, *Quid autem acciderit, ut Theodorus sanctiss. Archiepiscopus (me supersit in sede, quam licet indignus dispensabam) absque consensu cujuslibet Episcopi ex sua auctoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinaverit tres Episcopos: omittere magis quam urgere, pro ejusdem viri reverentia, concedet. Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac Apostolica sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo, &c.* In English: How it chanceth that *Theodorus* the most holy and reverend Archbishop (my self being alive in the See, which I thought unworthy did rule and dispose) hath of his own Authority without the consent of any Bishop (neither having any simple voice agreeing to the same) ordained three Bishops, I had rather pass over in silence, than to stir any further therein, because of the reverence of that man, and no less thought I it my duty so to do. The which man for that he hath been directed by the See Apostolical, I will not, nor dare not here accuse, &c. Thus the cause of the said *Wilfride* albeit it was sufficiently known in the Court of *Rome*, to be well allowed for just and innocent; yet it was not then redressed. In such estimation was this *Theodorus* then among the Romans. Upon this Controversie of these two Bishops I may well here infer the words of *William Malmesbury*, not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be these in his Latine story, *Ubi videri & doleri potest humana miseria, quod videlicet quantumlibet quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum pervicaces mores exuat, &c.* That is, In the which *Theodore* (saith he) the weak and miserable infirmity of man be seen and also lamented; considering, that although a man be never so holy, yet in the same man is found something, whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his stubborn conditions, &c.

Gali. Mal.
malmesburij
lib. 1. de
gestis pontif.
Anglorum.

Beda lib. 4.
c. 22.

Gali. Mal.
malmesburij
lib. 1. de
gestis pontif.
Anglorum.

Anno
680.
Beda lib. 4.
cap. 22.

In the time of this *Theodorus*, and by the means of him, a Provincial Synod was holden at *Thetford*, mentioned in the story of *Beda*: the Principal Contents whereof were these:

1. First, That *Easter-day* should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole Realm, upon one certain day, videlicet prima, 14. Luna mensis primi.
2. Secondly, That no Bishop should intermeddle within the Diocesis of another.
3. Thirdly, That Monasteries consecrated unto God should be exempt and free from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops.
4. Fourthly, That the Monks should not stray from one place (that is) from one Monastery to another, without the licence of their Abbot: also to keep the same Obedience which they promised at their first entering.
5. Fifthly, That no Clergy-man should forsake his own Bishop, and be received in any other place, without Letters Commendatory of his own Bishop.
6. Sixthly, That foreign Bishops and Clergy-men coming into the Realm, should be content only with the benefit of such Hospitality, as should be offered them: neither should intermeddle any further within the Precinct of any Bishop, without his special permission.
7. Seventhly, That Synods Provincial should be kept within the Realm at least once a year.
8. Eighthly, That no Bishop should prefer himself before another, but must observe the time and order of his Consecration.
9. Ninthly, That the number of Bishops should be augmented, as the number of the people increaseth.
10. Tenthly, That no Marriage should be admitted, but that which was lawful; no Incest to be suffered; neither any man to put away his Wife for any cause, except only for Fornication, after the rule of the Gospel. And these be the principal Chapters of that Synod, &c.

In

In the next year following was the sixth general Council kept at *Constance*, whereat this *Theodore* was also present under Pope *Agathe*: where marriage was permitted to *Greek* Priests, and forbidden to the *Latine*. In this Council the *Latine* Mass was first openly said by *John Porruensis*, the Popes Legat, before the Patriarch and Princes at *Constantinople*, in the Temple of Saint *Sophie*.

After the decease of *Alfride* King of *Northumberland* (from whom it was digressed) succeeded his Son *Osredus*, reigning eleven years, after whom reigned *Kennedus* two years, and next *Osricus* after him eleven years.

In the time and reign of these four Kings of *Northumberland*, King *Iva* or *Inga* reigned in *West-Sax*, who succeeding after *Cadwalader*, the last King of *Britains*, began his Reign about the year of our Lord, 689. and reigned with great valiantness over the *West-Saxons* the term of 37 years. Concerning whose Acts and Wars maintained against the *Kentish-Saxons* and other Kings, because I have not to intermeddle withall, I refer the Reader to other Chroniclers.

About the sixth year of the Reign of this *Iva*, or *Ive*, *Polychronicon* and others make mention of one *Cuthlacus*, whom they call *S. Cuthlake* a Confessor, who about the four and twentieth year of his age, renouncing the Pomp of the World, professed himself a Monk in the Abbey of *Repingdon*, and the third year after went to *Crowland*, where he led the life of an *Anchorite*. In the which Isle and place of his burying was builded a fair Abbey, called afterward for the great resort and gentle entertainment of Strangers, *Crowland the courteous*. But why this *Cuthlake* should be sainted for his doings, I see no great cause; as neither do I think the fabulous Miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to believe, that he inclosed the Devil in a boyling-Pot, and caused wicked Spirits to erect up houses, with such other Fables and lying Miracles. Among which lying Miracles also may be reckoned that which the stories mention in the eleventh year of the Reign of *Iva*, to be done of one *Brithwald* or *Drihtelme*, who, being dead a long season, was restored to life again, and told many wonders of strange things that he had seen, causing thereby great Alms and deeds of Charity to be done of the people: and so he, disposing of his goods given in three parts, went to the Abbey of *Mairtroos*, where he continued the rest of his life.

Moreover, about the sixteenth year of the said *Iva*, *Etheldred* King of *Mercia*, after he had there reigned thirty years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of *Bardney*.

And about the eighteenth year of the Reign of *Ive*, died the worthy and learned Bishop *Adelmus*, first Abbot of *Malmesbury*, afterwards Bishop of *Schirborne*, of whom *William Malmesbury* writeth plentifully with great commendation, and that not unworthily, as I suppose: especially for the noble praise of Learning and Vertue in him above the rest of that time (next after *Beda*) as the great number of Books and Epistles, with Poems by him set forth, will declare. Although concerning the Miracles which the said Author ascribeth to him; as first in causing an Infant of nine days old to speak at *Rome*, to declare Pope *Sergius*, which was then suspected the Father of the said Child; also in hanging his Casule upon the Sunbeams: *Item*, in making whole the Altar-stone of marble brought from *Rome*: *Item*, in drawing a length oite of the Timber pieces, which went to the building of the Temple in *Malmesbury*: *Item*, in saving the Mariners at *Dover*, &c. As concerning these and such other Miracles, which *William Malmesbury* to him attributeth, I cannot consent to him therein: but think rather the same to be Monkish devices, forged upon their Patrons to maintain the dignity of their houses. And as the Author was deceived (no doubt) in believing such Fables himself, so may he likewise deceive us through the dexterity of his stile and fine handling of the matter; but that further experience hath taught the World now adays more wisdom, in not believing such practices. This *Adelmus* was Bishop of *Schirborne*, which See after was united to the See of *Winton*. In which Church of *Winchester* the like Miracles also are to be read of Bishop *Adelwold* and *S. Swithine*, whom they have canonized likewise for a Saint.

Moreover, near about the five and twentieth of *Ive*,

by the Report of *Beda*, Saint *John of Beverly*, which was then Bishop of *York*, died, and was buried at the Porch of the Minster of *Deirwood* or *Beverley*. In the which Porch it is recorded in some Chronicles, that as the said *John* upon a time was praying, being in the Porch of Saint *Michael* in *York*, the Holy Ghost in the similitude of a Dove sat before him upon the Altar in brightness shining above the Sun. This brightness being seen of others, first cometh one of his Deacons running unto the Porch, who beholding the Bishop there standing in his Prayers, and all the place replenished with the Holy Ghost, was stricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithstanding the Bishop by and by cured the face of his Deacon again, charging them (as the story saith) not to publish what he had seen during his life time, &c. Which tale seemeth as true as that we read about the same time done of *S. Egwine*, in *Polychron*, Abbot of *Eusham* and Bishop of *Worcester* (then called *Wists*) who upon a time when he had fettered both his feet in Irons fast locked for certain sins done in his youth, and had cast the Key thereof into the Sea, afterward a Fish brought the Key again into the Ship, as he was sailing homeward from *Rome*.

But to leave these Monkish Phantasies, and return to the right course again of the story: In the time of this forefard *Ive*, began first the right Observing of *Easter-day* to be kept of the *Picts* and of the *Britains*. In the observation of which day (as is largely set forth in *Beda* and *Polychronicon*, lib. 5. cap. 17. & 22.) three things are necessary to be observed: First, the full Moon of the first month, that is, of the month of *March*. Secondly, the *Dominical* letter. Thirdly, the *Equinoctial* day, which *Equinoctial* was wont to be counted in the *East* Church, and especially among the *Egyptians*, to be about the seventeenth day of *March*. So that the full Moon on the *Equinoctial* day, or after the *Equinoctial* day being observed, the next *Dominical* day following that full Moon, is to be taken for *Easter-day*. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: First, the fullness of the Moon must be perfectly full, so that it be the beginning of the third week of the Moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the Moon. Secondly, it is to be noted, that the said perfect fullness of the Moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the *Equinoctial* day, or after the *Equinoctial* day: for else if it happen either on the *Equinoctial* day before the evening, or before the *Equinoctial* day, then it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed.

This rite and usage in keeping *Easter-day* being received in the *Latine* Church, began now to take place among the *Picts* and *Britains*, through the busie travel of *Theodorus Cuthlacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy Monk, as they term him, and of *Colfrid* Abbot of *Sirvin* in *Northumberland*, which wrote to *Narcamus*, or *Naitonus* the King of *Picts*, concerning the same: who also among other things writeth of the shaven Crowns of Priests, saying, that it was as necessary for the vow of a Monk, or the degree of a Priest, to have a shaven Crown for restraint of their lust; as for any Christian man to bless him against Spirits, when they come upon him, *Beda* lib. 5. The Copy of which Letter as it is in *Beda* I have here annexed, not for any great reason therein contained, but only to delight the Reader with some pastime, in seeing the fond ignorance of that Monkish age: the Copy of the Letter thus proceeded.

Of the shaving of Priests, out of the fifth Book of *Beda*, the 21. Chapter.

Concerning the shaving of Priests (whereof you writ also unto me) I exhort you that it be decently observed according to the Christian Faith. We are not ignorant that the Apostles were not all shaven after one manner, neither doth the Catholick Church at this day agree in one uniform manner of shaving, as they do in Faith, Hope and Charity. Let us consider the former time of the Patriarchs, and we shall find that Job (an example of Patience) even in the very point of his Afflictions, did shave his head: and he proveth also, that in the time of his Prosperity, he used to let his hair grow. And Joseph an excellent

S. John of Beverly.
Anno 717.

Another lying tale of S. Agnes.

Ranulphus in Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 23.

Beda lib. 3. 1 de gestis Angl. Polychron. lib. 9. cap. 22.

A general rule serving for the observation of Easter-day.

This rule of Easter seemeth to be taken out of the Book of Numbers. And they going out of Ramiss the fifth day of the first month, the next day after held their Easter, &c.

Why Priests Crowns were shaven
Beda de gestis lib. 5.

The Copy of a Monkish Letter of Elfrido to King of Natio for the shaving of Priests crowns. How proveth he that the Apostles, Job and Joseph were shaven. Much said, nothing proved.

ADDO 717.

Ofredus, Kennedus, Osricus Kings of Northumberland. The Kingdom of Britain ceaseth. Ios or Iva, or Iva King of West-Saxons. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 21.

S. Cuthlake a Popish Saint.

Crowland the courteous.

Lying Miracles.

What strange fights this Brithwald or Drihtelme did see after his death, read the ninth Book of Henry Huntingdon.

King Etheldred made Abbot of Bardney.

Adelmus.

Gail. Mal. m. lib. 5. de pontif.

Lying Miracles.

Malmesbury commended for his stile. Lying Miracles reproved. Adelmus Bishop, Swithine Bishop. Beda lib. 5. cap. 23. & c. Bishop Adelmus de regibus Northumb.

Diversity of
Rites hurteth
not the
Church.

See how
these shav-
ings would
further their
shaving up-
on Peter,
which is
neither
found in
Scripture,
nor any ap-
proved sto-
ry, but only
in painted
clothes.
Why Priests
and Monks
be shaven
in the
crown.
The shaving
of the
crown what
it represen-
teth.

How doth
the sight of
the cross
defend
Churches
from evil
spirits, when
it cannot
keep them
from evil
Priests?
If shaving
of the
crown doth
teach men
patience in
suffering,
how cometh
it that we
see none
more wasp-
ish and tre-
fous than
these shorn
generations
of Monkish
vipers?
Simon Ma-
gus shaven,
as he saith.

The differ-
ence be-
tween the
shaving of
Peter and
Simon Ma-
gus.
In outward
habit Chris-
tians ought
not to re-
semble
wicked
doers.

excellent Doctor and Executor of Chastity, Humility, Piety, and other Vertues, when he was delivered out of prison and servitude, was shaven: whereby it appeareth, that whilst he abode in prison he was unshaven. Behold both these, being men of God, did use an order in the habit of body one contrary to the other, whose Consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like Grace of Vertues. But to speak truly and freely, the difference of shaving hurteth not such as have a pure Faith in the Lord, and sincere Charity towards their Neighbour: especially for that there was never any Controversie amongst the Catholick Fathers about the diversity thereof, as there hath been of the difference of the Celebration of Easter and of Faith. But of all these shavings that we find, either in the Church or else-where, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and imbraced, as that which he used on his head, to whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And contrariwise there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which he used, to whom the same S. Peter said, Thy money be with thee to thy destruction, because thou thinkest to possess the Gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word. Neither ought we to be shaven on the crown only, because S. Peter was so shaven, but because Peter was so shaven in remembrance of the Lords Passion: therefore we that desire by the same Passion to be saved, must wear the sign of the same Passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. For as every Church, that is made a Church by the death of the Saviour, doth use to bear the sign of the holy Cross in the front, that it may the better by the defect of that Banner, be kept from the invasions of evil Spirits; and by the often admonition thereof is taught to crucifie the flesh with the concupiscence of the same: in like manner it behooveth such as have the vows of Monks, and degrees of the Clergy to bind themselves with a stricter bit of continency for the Lords sake. And as the Lord bare a Crown of Thornes on his head in his Passion, whereby he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our sins: so must every one of us, by shaving our heads, patiently bear, and willingly suffer the mocks and scorns of the world for his sake, that we may receive the Crown of eternal Life, which God hath promised to all that love him, and shall by shaving their corporal crowns, bear the Adversity, and contemn the Prosperity of this World. But the shaving which Simon Magus used, what faithful man doth not detest, together with his Magical Art? The which at the first appearance hath a shew of a shaven crown, but if you mark his neck, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say, it is rather meet to be used of the Simonists, than of the Christians. And such (of foolish men) be thought worthy of the Glory of the eternal Crown: whereas indeed for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same, but also of eternal Salvation. I speak not this against them that use this kind of shaving, and live Catholically in Faith and good Works, but surely I believe there be divers of them be very holy and godly men; amongst the which is Adamnan, the Abbot and worthy Priest of the Columbanians: who when he came Ambassador from his Country unto King Alfrid, desired greatly to see our Monastery: where he declared a wonderful Wisdom, Humility, and Religion both in his manners and words. Amongst other talk, I asked him, Why he that did believe to come to the Crown of Life that should never have end, did use contrary to his belief a definite Image of a Crown on his head? And if you seek (quoth I) the Fellowship of S. Peter, why do you use the fashion of his Crown whom S. Peter did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to live eternally? Adamnan answered, saying, You know right well Brother, though I use Simons manner of shaving, after the custom of my Country, yet do I detest, and with all my heart abhor his Infidelity. I desire notwithstanding to imitate the Footsteps of the holy Apostle as far forth as my power will extend. Then said I, I believe it is so: but then it is apparent you imitate those things which the Apostle Peter did from the bottom of your heart, if you use the same upon your face that you know he did; for I suppose your Wisdom

understandeth that it is right descent to differ in the trimming your face or shaving, from his, whom in your heart you abhor. And contrariwise, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to have a * Mediator between God and you, so it is meet you imitate the manner of his apparel and shaving. Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our Churches: insomuch that he returning into Scotland, reformed many of his Churches there after our Celebration, albeit he could not do so amongst the Monks, with whom he had special Authority. He endeavoured also to have reformed their manner of shaving if he had been able. And now (O King) I exhort your Majesty to labour together with your people, over whom the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords hath made you Governor, to imitate likewise in all these points the Catholick and Apostolical Churches. So shall it come to pass, that in the end of this your Temporal Kingdom, the most blessed Prince of the Apostles shall open you the Gates of the heavenly Kingdom, together with the other Elect of God. The Grace of the eternal King preserve you most dearly beloved Son in Christ, long time to Reign over us, to the great tranquility of us all.

When this Letter was read before King Naiton with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper Language, he seemed to rejoyce very much at the Exhortation thereof, insomuch as rising up from among his Noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deserved to receive so worthy a Present out of England, and so caused it forthwith by publick Proclamation to be written out, learned, and observed throughout all the Provinces of the Scots, defacing the Errors that had been used there by the space of 704 years. For all the Ministers of the Altar and all Monks were shaven on the Crown, and all the people rejoiced for the new Discipline of the most blessed Prince of the Apostle S. Peter, which they had received.

By this Monkish Letter above prefixed, void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of History; thou maist note, gentle Reader, how this vain tradition of shaven Crowns hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occasion: which in very deed was none other but the dreaming phantasies of Monks of that time, falsely grounded upon the example of Peter, when by no old Monument of any ancient Record they can ever prove, either Peter or Simon Magus to have been shaven. Moreover, in the said Letter also is to be noted, how the Scottish Clergy at that season, did wear no such Priestly crowns as our English Church-men then did.

But to cut off this matter of shaving, more worthy to be laughed at, than to be storied; let us now again return where as we left at King Iwe, of whom William Malmesbury and Fabian in his Chronicle do record, that when the foresaid Iwe had ruled the West-Saxons by the term of thirty seven years, by the importunate perswasion and subtil policy of his wife Ethelburga, he was allured to go to Rome, there to be made a Monk. Which Ethelburga after she had a long time laboured him to leave the World, and could not bring about her purpose, upon a season, when the King and she had rested them in a fair Palace richly hanged, and were upon the morrow thence departed; she by her commandment, caused the Palace to be replenished with all kind of filth and dung, and Hogs and vile Beasts therein to be laid, as well in the Chambers, as other Houses of Office; and in their own Chamber where they did lie, there was a Sow laid with her young Pigs. And when she knew that this Palace was thus deformed, being a certain space out of the Town, she besought the King to visit the said Palace. And when she had brought him thereunto, she said to him, I pray you my Lord, behold now this house, where are now the rich Tapets and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the Delicacies and pleasant Servitors and costly Dishes, that you and I lately were served with? Be not all these passed and gone? My Lord (said she) in like manner shall we vanish away, as suddenly as you see these worldly things be passed. And our bodies, which now be delicately kept, shall fall and turn into the filth of the earth. Wherefore have in mind my words that before time to you I have often shewed and

* There is but one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.

The Scottish Monks and the English Monks differed in their shaving.

If Peter shall let in the elect of God into Heaven, Christ then serveth in little stead.

A note to admonish the Reader.

Fabian, cap. 141. Gul. Malmesb. in Reg.

ANNO 724. Ethelburga the Queen persuaded her husband to be a Monk.

The only head of a woman.

This did M to be the first brought the of Glas-dow England Also th Benedi from R with bl John th Archde who first taught England sing in a quire of the man of Rome The num of the works an books w tes by B

and sold, and busie you to purchase that Palace that ever shall indure in joy without transmutation.

By means of these words and other, the Queen turned to the Kings mind, that shortly after he resigned the Governance of his Kingdom unto *Ethelardus* his Nephew; and for the love of Christ, took on him the habit of a poor man, and setting apart all the Pomp and Pride of this wicked World, associated himself in the fellowship of poor men, and travelled to *Rome* with great devotion, when he had been King of *West-Saxons* (as before is said) thirty seven years. After whose departing, the said *Ethelburga* his wife, went unto *Barking*, seven miles from *London*, where in the Nunnery of *Barking*, before of *Erkenwald* founded, she continued and ended the rest of her life, when she had been Abbess of the place a certain time. The said *Malmesbury* in his story also testifieth, that this *Iwe* was the first King that granted a peny of every fire-house through his Dominion, to be paid unto the Court of *Rome*, which afterward was called *Romescot*, or *Peterpence*, and long after was paid in many places of *England*.

This *Iwe*, like as for his time he was worthy and valiant in his Acts; so was he the first of the *Saxon* Kings (that I read of) which set forth any Laws to his Country: the rehearsal of which Laws, to the number of fourscore and odd, were not unprofitable here to be inserted, together with other Laws of the *West-Saxon* Kings after him, before the time of *William the Conqueror*; in case it were not for the length and prolixity of this present Volume. And thus much concerning the Reign of King *Iwe*, King of the *West-Saxons* by the way. Now to repair again to the course of *Northumberland* Kings something intermitted.

Next unto the foresaid *Ofricus*, followed *Celulfus*, whom he had adopted, Brother to *Kenred* above specified. This *Celulfus*, as he was himself learned, so were in his time divers learned men then flourishing in *England*, among whom was *Beda*, who unto the same King *Celulfus* offered his story, intituled, *Anglorum Historia*, not only to be ratified by his Authority, but also to be amended, as *Malmesburienis* writeth, by his knowledge and learning.

And for so much as I have here entred into the mention of *Beda*, a man of worthy and venerable memory, because of the certifying of the truth of that man: and for that I see all Writers, (as touching his life) do not agree, some saying that he was no *English* man born: I thought so much to report of him, as I find by his own words testified of himself in the later end of his Ecclesiastical History of *England*, offered to the said *Celulfus* above mentioned, the words of whom be these.

Thus much (by the help of God) *I Beda, the Servant of Christ, and Priest of the Monastery of Peter and Paul at Wire, have compiled and digested concerning the Britain History*. And so the same *Beda* proceeding further in his Narration, declareth that he being born in the Territory of the said Monastery, being of the age of seven years, was committed of his Parents and Friends, to the Tuition and Education of *Benedict* (of whom above relation is made) and of *Celfrid*, Abbots of the foresaid Monastery. In the which place or Monastery he continuing from that time forth, all his life long, gave himself and all his whole study to the meditating of holy Scripture. Whatsoever time or leisure he had from his daily Service in the Church, that he spent either in learning or teaching, or writing something. About the nineteenth year of his age, he was made Deacon, the thirtieth year of his age he was made Priest. From the which time, to the age of nine and fifty years, he occupied himself in interpreting the Works of the ancient Fathers for his own use, and the necessity of others: and in writing of Treatises: which came in all to the number of seven and thirty Volumes, which he digested into threecore and eighteen Books.

Some say, that he went to *Rome*, either there to defend his Books to be consonant to Catholick Doctrine: or else if they should be found faulty, to amend and correct the same, as he should thereto be commanded. Albeit the Reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirm that ever he was at *Rome*; but that he was invited and called thither to come, both it is manifest in stories, and also this Epistle of Pope *Sergius* doth sufficiently prove; declaring moreover in what price and estimation *Beda* was accepted, as well in the Court of *Rome*, as in other

places besides. The Epistle of *Sergius* sent to *Celfride* thus proceedeth, in tenor and form as followeth in *Latine*.

The Epistle of Pope *Sergius* sent to *Celfride*, Abbot of *Wire* Abbey, requiring *Beda* to be sent up to him to *Rome*, for the Fame of his worthy Learning.

Sergius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Celfrido religioso Abbati, Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, atque inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis ejus circa nos beneficiis persolvere, qui in tenebris & in umbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiae perducit? Et infra benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per praesentem portatorem tua devota misit religio, libenti & hilari animo sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse, cognosce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendae tuae sollicitudinis petitionibus arctissima devotione satisfacientes, hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuae bonitatem, ut quis exortis quibusdam Ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius immotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artes literaturae, sicut decet Deo devotum auxiliatorem sanctae matris universalis Ecclesiae obedientem devotionem huic nostrae exhortationi non desistas accommodare: sed absque ulla immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem Monasterii tui Presbyterum, ad limina Apostolorum principum Dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostrae mediocritatis conspectum non moveris dirigere. Quem, satisfaciendo Domino sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad redire (peracta praemissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate.) Erit enim ut confidimus, etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Ecclesiae generali claruerit per ejus praestantiam impartitum, &c.

So notable and famous was the Learning of this foresaid *Beda*, that the Church of *Rome* (as by this Letter appeareth) both stood in need of his help, and also required the same, about the discussing of certain Causes and Controversies appertaining to Learning. Moreover, the whole *Latine* Church at that time gave him the mastery in Judgment and Knowledge of the holy Scriptures. In all his Explanations, his chieftest scope and purpose did ever drive to instruct and inform his Reader, simply, and without all curiousness of stile, in the sincere love of God and of his Neighbour. As touching the holiness and integrity of his life, it is not to be doubted. For how could it be, that he should attend to any vicious Idleness, or had any leisure to the same, who in reading and digesting so many Volumes, consumed all his whole Cogitations in writing upon the Scriptures? for so he testifieth of himself in the third Book of *Samuel*, saying in these words, *If my Treatises and Expositions, faith he, bring with them no other utility to the Readers thereof; yet to my self they conduce not a little thus, that while all my study and cogitation was set upon them, in the mean while of slippery inticements and vain cogitations of this world I had little mind*. Thus in this travel of study he continued till the age of sixty two years: at length, drawing to his later end, being sick seven weeks together, besides other occupings of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit; he translated also the Gospel of *S. John* into *English*. At length, with great comfort of spirit, he departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable sayings to them that stood about him, upon *Ascension-day*, the same year when *Northelinus* was instituted Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And thus much concerning the story of *Beda*.

This *Celulfus*, King of *Northumberland*, afore mentioned, after he had reigned eight years was made a Monk in the Abbey of *Ferne*, otherwise called *Lindisfar*, or *Holy Island*: where by his means licence was given to the Monks of that House to drink Wine or Ale, which before, by the Institution of *Aidanus* above mentioned, drunk nothing but Milk and Water. After whom succeeded *Egbert* his Cousin, Brother to *Egbert* (the same time being Bishop of *York*) which brought again thither the Pall that his Predecessors had forgone, since the time that *Paulinus* had left the See, and fled to *Rocheester*, as

King Iwe resigning his kingdom, went to Rome and became a Monk.

Ethelburga the Queen made Nun of Barking.

Peterpence first granted and paid to Rome.

The Laws made by King Iwe to his people.

Celulfus King of Northumberland.

Beda.

Anno 739. The life of Beda briefly described.

This Beda did Master to Beda was the first that brought in the use of Glas-windowns into England. Also the said Beda brought from Rome with him, John the Archchaucer, who first taught in England to sing in the quire after the manner of Rome. The number of the works and books written by Beda.

An Epistle of Pope Sergius.

The famous learning of Beda.

Beda commended for integrity of life.

Anno 735.

Saint Johns Gospel translated into English by Beda.

Celulfus of a King made a Monk.

Egbert King of Northumberland.

as is before declared. The said *Egbert* also erected a noble Library in *York*, whose Example I with other Bishops now would follow.

Anno 747. *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who collected a great Synod of Bishops and Prelates, in the year of our Lord, 747. in the month of *September*, near to the place called *Clonsbo*. In the which Synod assembled these Decrees were Enacted.

1. First, That Bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their Office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.

2. That they should live in a peaceable mind together, notwithstanding they were in place dissevered asunder.

3. That every Bishop once a year should go about all the Parishes of his Diocess.

4. That the said Bishops every one in his Diocess should monish their Abbots and Monks to live regularly: and that Prelates should not oppress their Inferiors, but love them.

5. That they should teach the Monasteries which the secular men had invaded, and could not then be taken from them, to live regularly.

6. That none should be admitted to Orders, before his life should be examined.

7. That in Monasteries the reading of holy Scripture should be more frequented.

8. That Priests should be no Disposers of Secular business.

9. That they should take no money for baptizing Infants.

10. That they should both learn and teach the Lords Prayer and Creed in the *English-Tongue*.

11. That all should joyn together in their Ministry after one uniform Rite and Manner.

12. That in a modest Voice they should sing in the Church.

13. That all Holy and Festival days should be celebrated at one time together.

14. That the Sabbath-day be reverently observed and kept.

15. That the seven Hours Canonical every day be observed.

16. That the Rogation-days, both the greater and lesser should not be omitted.

17. That the Feast of *S. Gregory* and *S. Austin* our Patron should not be omitted.

18. That the Fast of the four times should be kept and observed.

19. That Monks and Nuns should go regularly apparelled.

20. That Bishops should see these Decrees not to be neglected.

21. That the Church-men should not give themselves unto drunkenness.

22. That the Communion should not be neglected of the Church-men.

23. Item, that the same also should be observed of Lay-men, as time required.

24. That Lay-men first should be well tried before they entered into Monastery.

25. That Alms be not neglected.

26. That Bishops should see these Decrees to be notified to the people.

27. They disputed of the profit of Alms.

28. They disputed of the profit of singing Psalms.

29. That the Congregation should be constitute, after the ability of their Goods.

30. That Monks should not dwell among Lay-men.

31. That publick Prayer should be made for Kings and Princes.

These Decrees and Ordinances being thus among the Bishops concluded, *Cuthbert* the Archbishop sendeth the Copy thereof to *Boniface*, which *Boniface*, otherwise named *Winfride*, an *English* man born, was then Archbishop of *Mentz*, and after made a Martyr, as the Popish stories term him.

This *Boniface* being, as is said, Archbishop of *Mentz* in the time of this foresaid Synod, wrote a Letter to *Ethelbald* King of *Merceland*: which *Ethelbald* was also present in the same Synod, of whom *Beda* maketh mention in his History, calling him proud *Ethelbald*, and the greatest of

the *Saxon* Kings in his time. First this *Ethelbald*, after the departing of *Celulfe* into his Monastery, invaded and spoiled the Country of *Northumberland*. Moreover, he exercised mortal and horrible War a long space with *Cudred*, otherwise of some named *Cuthbert*, King of *West-Saxons*: Furthermore, he with other *Saxon* Kings so impugned the *Britains*, that from that time they never durst provoke the *Saxons* any more. At length the said *Cudred*, refusing the intolerable Exactions of proud *Ethelbald*, doth encounter with him in battel: where notwithstanding the great Power that *Ethelbald* had to him adjoyned, of the *Mercians*, of the *East-Saxons*, of the *East-Angles*, and of the *Canuaries*; yet the said *Cudred* through Gods Power, and the means of a certain valiant Warrior, called *Edelhim*, a Consul, overthrew the pride of *Ethelbald*, after a fore and terrible conflict. Which *Ethelbald* notwithstanding repairing his Power again the next year after, renewed battel with the foresaid *Cudred*; in the which battel *Ethelbald* (after he had reigned one and forty years in *Mercia*) was slain by one *Beornered*, who after reigned in that *Dition* but a small time. For *Offa*, Nephew to the said *Ethelbald*, expelled the said *Beornered*, and succeeded King in that Province of *Mercia*, where he reigned nine and thirty years, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jesus speeding therein our purpose) to be declared, as place and time shall require. In the mean season, not to forget the Letter before mentioned of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, sent unto this *Ethelbald*; I thought the same not unworthy here to be inserted (at the least the effect thereof) not so much for the Authors sake, as for that some good matter, peradventure, may be picked thereout for other Princes to behold and consider.

The Copy and Tenor of the Letter of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, and Martyr of God (an *English* man) sent to *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, freely and yet charitably admonishing him of his Adulterous life, and Oppression of Churches.

REgi & filio charissimo, & in Christi amore ceteris regibus Anglorum praeferendo *Ethelbald*o, *Bonifacius* Archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanae Ecclesiae perpetuam in Christo charitatis salutem. Consistimus coram Deo, qui novit an vere atque ex animo dicam: quando prosperitatem vestram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, laetamur: quando autem aliquid adversum vel in eventu bellicorum, vel de periculo animarum, de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audivimus enim quod Eleemosynis intentus furis & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defensor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quod vero legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile & damnable. Nam & famam gloriae vestrae coram Deo & hominibus confundis, & inter Idolatras constituis, quia Templum Dei violasti. Quapropter fili charissime panitere, & memorare oportet, quam turpe sit, ut tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus sis libidinis servus. Audivimus praeterea quod opimates pene omnis gentis *Merciorum* tuo exemplo legitimas uxores deserant, & adulteras & Sanctimoniales constuprent. Quod quam sit peregrinum ab honestate, doceat vos aliena gentis institutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia ubi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, sub conjuge fuerit adultera, manu propria strangulatam cremant, & supra fossam sepulchra corruptorem suspendunt, aut singulo tenui (vestibus abscissis) flagellant eam castae matronae & cultellus pungunt: & de villa in villam misse occurrunt novae flagellatrices, donec interimant. Insuper & Viruli, quod est fudissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, ut mulier viro mortuo se in rogo cremantis pariter arsura praecipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum solum castitatis habent, quid tibi convenis fili charissime, qui Christianus & Rex es? Parce ergo animae tuae: parce multitudini populi tui percutis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus reddidurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quid si gens Anglorum (sicut in Francia, & Italia, & ab ipsis Paganis nobis impropnatur) spretus legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria deficiat, nascituraque sit ex ea commixtione gens ignava & Dei contemptrix, quae perditis moribus patriam pessundet: sicut

The Rogation days had not then that superstition in them which they had afterwards.

Boniface an *English* man Archbishop of *Mentz*.

Ethelbald King of *Merceland*.

Ethelbald a strong and valiant warrior. Pride overthrown.

The life of *not*

The *life* of *not*

The *life* of *not*

scut Burgundionibus & Provincialibus, & Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestantur propter pec-
cata præterita? Præterea nunciatum est nobis, quod
multa privilegia Ecclesiarum & Monasteriorum aufe-
rent, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo provocet. Sed
recogita quæso quam terribilem vindictam Deus in Ante-
riores Reges exercuit, ejusdem culpæ conscios, quam in te
arguimus. Nam Celredum prædecessorum tuum stuprator-
em Sanctimonialium, & Ecclesiasticorum privilegiorum
fractorem splendide cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus
malignus arripuit: & sine confessione & viatico, cum dia-
bolo sermocinanti, & legem Dei detestanti animam extorsit.
Ofredum quoque regem Deiorum & Bernicorum, earundem
culparum reum, ita effrenatum regem egit, ut regnum &
juvenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus
quoque princeps Francorum, Monasteriorum multorum
everfor, & Ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in usus proprios
commutator, longa torsione, & verenda morte consumptus
est. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili charissime, paternis
& obnoxie precibus deprecamur, ut non despicias consilium
patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinem tuam ap-
pellare satagunt. Nihil enim boni regi salubrius, quam si
italia commissa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia
per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit
sapientiam. Ideo, fili charissime, ostendentes consilium,
justum, contestamur & obsecramus per viventem Deum,
& per filium ejus Jesum Christum, & per spiritum san-
ctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva sit vita præsens, &
quam brevis & momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis: &
quam ignominiosum sit ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla
in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus vi-
tam componere, & præteritos errores juventutis corri-
gere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas & in futuro
eterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celsitudinem tuam, & in
bonis moribus proficere optamus.

In this Epistle here is to be seen and noted, first the corruption and great disorder of life which alway from time to time hath been found in these Religious Houses of Nuns, whose professed Vow of co-acted Chastity hath yet never been good to the Church, nor profitable to the Common-wealth, and least of all to themselves. Of such young and wanton Widows S. Paul in his time complaineth, 1 Tim. 5. which would take upon them the wilful Profession of single life, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxury, deserved worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it been for these lascivious Nuns not to have refused the safe yoke of Christian Matrimony, than to intangle themselves in this their superstitious Vow of perpetual Maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keep?

Secondly, No less are they also to be reprehended, which maintained these superstitious Orders of unprofitable Nuns and of other Religions. In the number of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwise called Winfride, who, although in this Epistle he doth justly reprehend the vicious Enormities both of secular and of religious Persons; yet he himself is not without the same or rather greater reprehension, for that he gave the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious Orders of such lascivious Nuns and other Religions, and restraining the same from lawful Marriage. For so we find of him in stories that he was a great setter up and upholder of such blind Superstition, and of all Popery. Who being admitted by Pope Gregory the second, Archbishop of Magunce, and indued with full Authority legantine over the Germans, brought divers Countries there under the Popes Obedience, held many great Councils, ordained Bishops, builded Monasteries, canonized Saints, commanded Relicks to be worshipped, permitted religious Fathers to carry about Nuns with them a preaching. Amongst all other he founded the great Monastery of Fluda in Germany of English Monks, into the which no women might enter but only Lieba and Tecla, two English Nuns. Item, by the Authority of the said Archbishop Boniface, which he received from Pope Zachary, Childericus, King of France, was deposed from the Right of his Crown, and Pipinus, betrayer of his Master, was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable Doctrine which now standeth registred in the Popes Decrees, Dist. 40. cap. Si

Papa. Which in a certain Epistle of his is this, that in case the Pope were of most filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himself, and of the whole Christianity, in such sort, that he led innumerable Souls with him to Hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again.

In the time of this Archbishop, Pope Gregory the second, also Gregory the third, and Pope Zachary, and before these also Pope Constantine the first, wrought great Masteries against the Greek Emperors Philippicus and Leo, and others for the maintaining of Images to be set up in Churches. Of whom Philippicus lost both his Empire, and also his eyes: Leo for the same cause likewise was Excommunicate of Gregory the third. This Gregory the third (so far as I can conjecture) was he that first wrote the four Books of Dialogues in Greek, falsely bearing the name of Gregory the first, which Books afterward, Zachary his Successor translated out of Greek into Latine. Item, the said Gregory the third, first brought into the Mass-Canon the Clause for Relicks, beginning Quorum solennitates hodie in conspectu, &c. Item, brought into the said Canon the Memorial, the Offering and Sacrifice for the Dead: like as Zachary brought in the Priests Vesture and Ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantinus also was the first that gave his feet to be kissed of the Emperors. But to turn again into the course of our English story.

In the time of this Egbert, King of Northumberland, Siebert or Sigbert reigned in West-Saxony, a man of so cruel tyranny to his Subjects (turning the Laws and Customs of his fore-Fathers after his own Will and Pleasure) that when he was somewhat sharply advertised by one of his Nobles, an Earl called Combranus, to change his manners, and to behave himself more prudently toward his people; he therefore maliciously caused him to be put to cruel death. Whereupon the said King Siebert continuing his cruel Conditions, by his Subjects conspiring against him, was put from his kingly Dignity, and brought into such desolation, that wandering alone in a Wood without comfort, was there slain, even by the Swine-herd of the said Earl, whom before he had so wrongfully murdered, as partly is above touched. Whereby is to be seen the cruel tyranny of Princes never to prosper well, without the just revenge both of God and man.

This Siebert being slain, in his place succeeded Kenulphus, in the year of our Lord, 748. who with the agreement of the West-Saxons, was one of the chief doers against Siebert his Master. This Kenulphus kept strongly his Lordship against Offa, and against the power of all his Enemies, till at length after that he had reigned, as Fabian saith, one and thirty years, he resorting to a Paramour which he kept at Merton, was there beset, and likewise slain by the train and means of a certain kinsman of the foresaid Siebert, named Clito or Cliton, in revengement of King Siebert's death.

Moreover, in the Reign of the foresaid Egbert, King of Northumberland, and in the eighth year of Kenulphus, King of West-Saxons; Offa, after he had slain the Tyrant Beorwredus, which before had slain Ethelbald, King of Mercia, and Uncle to this foresaid Offa, reigned King of that Province.

Of this Offa are told many notable Deeds; which because they concern rather Political Affairs, and do not greatly appertain to the purpose of this Ecclesiastical History, I omit here to recite; As his Wars and Victories against Egbert, King of the Northumbers, as also against Ethelred King of East-Angles. Item, against Egbert, King of Kent, otherwise called Wren, whom (as Fabian saith) he took Prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Malmesbury witnesseth otherwise this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Christ willing, hereafter shall appear. After these Victories, Offa had such displeasure unto the Citizens of Canterbury, that he removed the Archbishop's See, and Lands of Lambeth Archbishop of Canterbury (by the agreement of Pope Adrian) unto Litchfield. He also chased the Britains or Welshmen into Wales; and made a famous Ditch between Wales and the utter bounds of Mercia, or middle England, which was called Ofditch, and builded there a Church, which long time after was called Offkirke. This

Images in Churches subverted by Emperors, maintained by Popes. Philippicus for holding against images lost his Empire and his eyes. The Author of the Book called the Dialogues of Gregory. Memorial of relicks, offering and sacrifice for the dead, brought into the Mass-Canon. The Popes feet first kissed of the Emperors.

Sigbert King of West-Saxons.

Cruel tyranny with like cruelty revenged. Kenulphus King of West-Saxons. Anno 748.

Murder revenged with murther.

An untruth noted in the story of Fabianus.

The primacy of Canterbury removed to Litchfield. Lambeth Archbishop of Canterbury.

Offa

The Popish acts and doings of Boniface Archbishop of Magunce.

The Monastery of Fluda in Germany, builded by Boniface. Childericus the French King deposed, and Pipinus intruded. Dist. 40. cap. Si Papa.

Offa also married one of his Daughters to *Brigtricus* that was a King of *West-Saxons*. And for that in his time was variance between him and the *French-men*, inasmuch that the passage of Merchants was forbidden; therefore he sent *Alcuinus* a learned man unto *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, to commune the means of peace: which *Charles* had after that the said *Alcuinus* in great favour and estimation, and afterwards made him Abbot of *Tarunia* in *France*.

About the later time of the Reign of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, *Ethelbert* being then King of *East-Angles* (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the Court of *Offa*, provoked by the counsel of his Nobles to sue for the marriage of his Daughter, well accompanied like a Prince with his men about him. Whereupon the Queen conceiving a false suspicion, and fearing that which was never minded, that *Ethelbert* with his Company, under the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to work some violence against her Husband, and the Kingdom of *Mercia*; so she persuaded with King *Offa* and certain of her Council that night, that the next day following, *Offa* caused him to be trained into his Palace alone from his Company, by one called *Guimbertus*: who took him and bound him, and there struck off his head, which forthwith he then presented to the King and Queen. And thus the Innocent King *Ethelbert* was wrongfully murdered, about the year of our Lord, 793. but not without a just Revenge at Gods hands. For, as the story recordeth, the foresaid Queen, worker of this Villany, lived not three months after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was fain to bite and rent her Tongue in pieces with her own teeth. *Offa* understanding at length the Innocency of this King, and the hainous cruelty of his Fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy Church; and to the Church of *Hereford*, in the remembrance of this *Ethelbert*, he bestowed great Lands. Moreover, he builded the Abbey of *S. Albans*, with certain other Monasteries besides. And so afterward he went up to *Rome* for his Penance, where he gave to the Church of *S. Peter* a peny through every house in his Dominion, which was called commonly *Romeshot*, or *Peter-pence*, paid to the Church of *S. Peter*: and there at length was transformed from a King to a Monk, about the year of our Lord, 749. with *Kenredus* King of *Northumberland* above-mentioned, although some stories deny that he was a Monk.

After *Offa* King of *Mercia*, when he had reigned nine and thirty years, succeeded his Son *Egfretus*, who reigned but four months, of whom thus writeth the foresaid *Alcuinus*, *Non arbitror quod nobilissimus juvenis Egfretus propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione Regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit, &c.* that is, This Noble young man died not so much for offences of his own, as for that his Father had spilled much blood to confirm him in his Kingdom.

Next to which *Egfretus* succeeded *Kenulphus* in the said Kingdom of *Mercia*, which *Kenulphus* keeping, and retaining the hatred of *Offa* his Predecessor against the *Cantuarits*, made War upon them, where he took *Egbert* their King, otherwise called *Wren*, whom he bound and led Prisoner to *Mercia*. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with Princely Clemency in the Town of *Winchcombe*, where he had builded the same time a Church, upon the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteen Bishops, and of *Cuibert*, whom he had placed in the same Kingdom of *Canterbury* before, and ten Dukes, and many other great Estates, King *Kenulphus* brought the said *Egbert* King of *Kent*, out of Prison into the Church, where he enlarged him out of Imprisonment, and restored him to his place again. At the sight whereof, not only *Cuibert* the foresaid King rejoiced, but also all the Estates and people being there present, made such an Exclamation of joy and gladness, that the Church (and not only the Church, but also the Streets) rang withall. At which time such bountifulness of Gifts and Jewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something given, according as to every degree was thought meet. Although *Fabian* referreth this story to King *Offa*, yet causes there be why I assent rather unto *Malmesbury* and to *Polychronicon*, which attribute the same to *Kenulphus* the Second King of *Mercia* after *Offa*.

A little before in speaking of certain Bishops of *Rome*, mention was made of Pope *Constantine* the first, Pope *Gregory* the second, Pope *Gregory* the third, and of Pope *Zachary*, which deposed *Chiladerick*, and set up *Pipinus* the *French* King, &c. Next after this *Zachary* in order, followed Pope *Stephan* the second, to whom the foresaid *Pipinus*, to gratify again the See of *Rome* for this their benefit shewed to him, gave and contributed to the said See of *Rome*, the *Exarchat* or Princedome of *Ravenna*, the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and many other great Possessions of *Italy*, with all the Cities thereto adjoining unto the borders of *Venice*. And this donation of *Pipin*, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsely hath been thought to be the donation of *Constantine*. For else how could it be that the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna* could belong all this while to the Emperors of *Constantinople*, if *Constantine* before had given it and all *Italy* from the Empire of the See of *Rome*?

To this *Pipinus*, as witnesseth *Polychronicon*, was sent first into *France*, the invention of the *Organs* out of *Grecia*, by *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the year of our Lord, 757.

Next to this *Stephan* the second, succeeded *Paul* the first, who following his Predecessors, thundered out great Excommunication against *Constantinus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, for abrogating and plucking down Images set up in Temples. Notwithstanding this *Constantine* neglecting the Popes vain Curses, persevered in his blessed purpose, in destroying Idolatry till the end of his life. Then came to be Pope *Constantinus* the second, a Lay-man, and Brother to *Desiderius* the King of *Lombardy*; for the which cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a Monastery, having his eyes put out.

In whose stead succeeded *Stephan* the third, who Ordained after, That no Lay-man should be Pope: condemning moreover the Council of *Constantinople* the seventh for Heretical, because in that Council the worshipping of Images was reproved and condemned. Contrary to the which Council, this Pope not only maintained the filthy Idolatry of Images in *Christian* Temples, but also advanced their Veneration, commanding them most ethnically to be incensed, &c. At this time *Carolus Magnus*, called *Charles the Great*, a little before mentioned, began to Reign, by whom this Pope caused *Desiderius* the *Lombard* King to be deprived.

Then in this Race of Popes, after this *Stephan* the third, cometh *Adrianus* the first, who likewise following the steps of his Fathers the Popes, added and attributed to the Veneration of Images more than all the other had done before, writing a Book for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for *Laymens Kalendars*, holding moreover a Synod at *Rome* against *Felix*, and all others that spake against the setting up of such Stocks and Images. And as *Paul* the first before him made much of the body of *Petronilia S. Peters* Daughter: so this *Adrian* clothed the body of *S. Peter* all in silver, and covered the Altar of *S. Paul* with a Pall of gold. This Pope *Adrian* was he whom we declared in the former part of this Treatise, to ratify and confirm by Revelation the Order of *S. Gregories* Mass, above the Order of *S. Ambrose* Mass: for unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord, 780. the *Liturgy* of *S. Ambrose* was more used in the *Italian* Churches. The story is, whereof, because it is registred in *Durandus*, *Naucerus*, and *Jacobus de Voragine*. I thought here to insert the same to this especial purpose, for the Reader to understand the time when this usual Mass of the *Papists* began first to be Universal and Uniform, and generally in Churches to be received. Thus it followed in the story by the foresaid Authors set forth. *Jacobus de Voragine*, in the life of Pope *Gregory* the first, telleth a Tale concerning this matter.

In times past (saith he) when the Service which *Ambrose* made, was more frequented and used in Churches, than was the Service which *Gregory* had appointed, the Bishop of *Rome*, then called *Adrian*, gathered a Council together: in the which it was Ordained, That *Gregories* Service should be observed and kept universally. Which determination of the Council, *Charles* the Emperor did diligently put in Execution, while he ran about by divers Provinces,

This *Alcuinus* is commended for his learning next to *Adelmu*, and *Beda* above all Saxons.

Ethelbert King of *East-Angles* wrongfully murdered by *Offa*. The vain suspicion and wicked counsel of a woman.

Ex hift. *Jornalensis* & *Malmeburienfis*. Cruel murder revenge.

Offa and *Kenredus* Kings made Monks at *Rome*.

Egfretus King of *Mercia*. *Alcuinus* *Offa*berto patrio. The Fathers fault punished in the Child.

Egbert King of *Kent* taken prisoner. A Princely example of clemency in a noble King. The Church of *Winchcombe* builded by King *Kenulphus*. *Egbert* King of *Kent* released out of prison.

A place of *Fabian* doubted.

Pope *Stephan* the second.

The donation of *Pipinus* taken to be the donation of *Constantine*.

Ex Polychronicon.

Pope *Paul* the first. Images again maintained by the Pope against the Emperor.

A Layman, Pope, who was deposed and had his eyes put out.

Pope *Stephan* the third. The Council of *Constantinople* the seventh condemned of the Popes condemning Images.

The Pope also ordained, *Gregory* to be sung in the Mass at *S. Peters* Altar by the Cardinals.

Pope *Adrian* the first. Images again maintained by the Pope to be *Laymens Kalendars*.

The body of *St. Peter* clothed in silver.

The order of the *Mass* Book was the story it came to.

Ex Durandus, *Naucerus*, *Jacobus de Voragine*, & others.

Provinces, and informed all the Clergy, partly with threatenings, and partly with punishments to receive that Order. And as touching the Books of *Ambrose* Service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many Priests that would not consent and agree unto the matter. Blessed *Eugenius* the Bishop coming unto the Council, found that it was dissolved three days before his coming. Notwithstanding through his Wisdom, he so persuaded the Lord Pope, that he called again all the Prelates that had been present at the Council, and were now departed by the space of three days. Therefore when the Council was gathered again together, in this all the Fathers did consent and agree, that both the *Mafs-Books* of *Ambrose* and *Gregory* should be laid upon the Altar of blessed Saint *Peter* the Apostle, and the Church-doors diligently shut, and most warily sealed up with the Signets of many and divers Bishops. Again, that they should all the whole night give themselves to prayer, that the Lord might reveal, open, and shew unto them by some evident sign or token, which of these two Services he would have used in the Temples. Thus they doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the Church-doors, and found both the *Missals* or *Mafs-Books* open upon the Altar: or rather (as some say) they found *Gregories Mafs-Book* utterly plucked asunder, one piece from another, and scattered over all the Church. As touching *Ambrose* Book, they only found it open upon the Altar in the very same place where they before laid it. This Miracle Pope *Adrian*, like a wife Expounder of dreams, interpreted thus, That as the leaves were torn and blown abroad all the Church over, so should *Gregories* Book be used throughout the World. Whereupon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the Service which *Gregory* had made, ought to be set abroad and used throughout the World, and that *Ambrose* his Service should only be observed and kept in his own Church of *Mediolanum*, where he sometime was Bishop.

Thus hast thou heard (Brother Reader) the full and whole Narration of this mystical Miracle, with the Popes Exposition upon the same, which seemeth to be as true as that which *Daniel* speaketh of, how the Idol Bell did eat up all the meat that was set before him all the night, *Daniel* 14. Concerning the which Miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practises of these night-crows, to blind the World with forged inventions in stead of true stories. Albeit to grant the Miracle to be most true and unfallible, yet as touching the Exposition thereof, another man beside the Pope percase might interpret this great Miracle otherwise, as thus, That God was angry with *Gregories* Book, and therefore rent it in pieces, and scattered it abroad; and the other as good, lay found, untouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of this Miracle with the Exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that *Gregories* Service had only the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of *Europe*, the Service of *Ambrose* being excluded. And thus much touching the great Act of Pope *Adrian* for the setting up of the *Mafs*. By the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at least to understand how that commonly in Christian Nations abroad, as yet no uniform Order of any *Missal* or *Mafs-Book* was received, as hath been hitherto discoursed.

Now from the Popes to return again to the Emperors, from whence we digressed: like as *Pipinus* the Father of *Charles* (as hath been before sufficiently told) had given to the See-Papal all the Princedom of *Ravenna*, with other Donations and Revenues and Lands in *Italy*; so this *Carolus* following his Fathers devotion did confirm the same, adding moreover thereunto, the City and Dominion of *Venice*, *Histria*, the Dukedom *Forojulense*, the Dukedom *Spoletanum*, and *Beneventanum*, and other Possessions more, to the Patrimony of *S. Peter*, making him the Prince of *Rome* and *Italy*. The Pope again to recompence his so gentle kindness, made him to be intituled Most Christian King, and made him *Patricium Romanum*, moreover, ordained him only to be taken for Emperor of *Rome*. For these and other causes more, *Carolus* bare no little affection to the said *Adrian* above all other Popes: as may well appear by this Letter of *Carolus Magnus* sent to King *Offa*, what time the said *Offa* (as is above prefixed)

sent to him *Alcuinus* for Intreaty of Peace: whereto the foresaid *Carolus* answereth again to the Message of *Offa* in a Letter, the Contents whereof be these.

The tenor of a Letter sent by *Carolus Magnus* to King *Offa*, answering to his request concerning the treatise of peace between them.

Carolus Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, patricius Romanorum, viro venerando, & fratri charissimo Offa Regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias agimus Omnipotenti Deo, de Catholica fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum, beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non servientes, sed lucra sectantes inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrociniū habeant in regno nostro legitime, Et si in aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclamant se ad nos, vel nostros iudices, & plenam justitiam jubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes Episcopales Regni vestri vel Ethelredi direximus, in Eleemosynam Domini Apostolici Adriani, deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem & dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed & de thesauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Jesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per Metropolitanas civitates, direximus vestra quoque dilectioni unum balicum, & unum gladium, & duo Pallia serica, &c.

The cause why this *Carolus* writeth so favourably of *Adrian*, partly is touched before, partly also was, for that *Caroloman* his elder Brother being dead, his Wife called *Bertha* with her two Children came to *Adrian*, to have them confirmed in their Fathers Kingdom, whereunto the Pope to shew a pleasure to *Carolus* would not agree: but gave the Mother with her two Children, and *Desiderius* the Lombard King with his whole Kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the said *Carolus*, who led them with him Captive into *France*, and there kept them in servitude during their life.

Thus *Carolus Magnus* being proclaimed Emperor of *Rome*, through the preferment of *Adrian* and Pope *Leo* the third, which succeeded next after him, the Empire was translated from the *Grecians* about the year of our Lord, 801. unto the *Frenchmen*, where it continued about one hundred and two years, till the coming of *Conradus* and his Nephew *Otbo*, which were *Germans*: and so hath continued after them among the *Almans* unto this present time. This *Charles* builded so many Monasteries as there be letters in the row of *A B C*, he was beneficial chiefly to the Church-men, also merciful to the Poor, in his Acts valiant and triumphant, skil'd in all Languages; he held a Council at *Frankford*, where was condemned the Council of *Nice* and *Irene*, for setting up and worshipping Images, &c.

Concerning which Council of *Nice*, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall think the detesting of Images to be any new thing now begun) thus I find it recorded in an ancient written History of *Roger Hoveden*, called *Continuaciones Bede*: his words in *Latine* be these, Anno 792. *Carolus Rex Francorum misit Synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo lib. Heu prob dolor, multa inconvenientia, & vera fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium Doctorum non minus quam 300 vel eo amplius Episcoporum unanimi assensione confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus Episcopus ex auctoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro ex persona Episcoporum ac Principum nostrorum, Regi Francorum attulit. Hec ille: That is, In the year of our Lord, 792. Charles the French King sent a Book containing the Acts of a certain Synod, unto Britain, directed unto him from Constantinople. In the which Book (lamentable to be told) many things inconvenient, and clean contrary unto the true Faith are there to be found: especially for that by the common*

A Letter of Charles the Great sent to King Offa

How the Pope hears eth the cry of poor widows and Orphans.

The Empire translated from Greece to France.

Images written & gilded, as contrary to the true Faith.

This Albinus was Alcuinus & above mentioned.

The Bishops and Prince of England against Images.

consent of almost all the learned Bishops of the East Church, not so few as three Hundred, it was there agreed, that Images should be Worshipped; which thing the Church of God hath always abhorred. Against which Book *Albinus* wrote an Epistle, substantially grounded out of the Authority of holy Scripture, which Epistle with the Book, the said *Albinus*, in the name and Person of our Bishops and Princes, did present to the French King

King Egbert made a Monk.

Anno 759. Osulphus, Mollo, other wife called Adelwald. Alcredus or Aluredus. Eshelbert or Eshelbert called Adelred or Eardolph. Alfwold, Osfredus, Adelred again King of Northumberland.

Anno 764.

And thus much by the way of *Romish* matters: Now to return again to the *Northumberland* Kings, where we left at *Egbert*, which *Egbert* (as is before declared) succeeded after *Celulphus*, after he was made Monk. And likewise the said *Egbert* also following the devotion of his Uncle *Celulphus*, and *Kenredus* before him, was likewise thorn Monk, after he had Reigned twenty years in *Northumberland*; leaving his Son *Osulphus*, after him to succeed. About which time, and in the same year, when *Celulphus* deceased in his Monastery, which was the year of our Lord, 764. divers Cities were burnt with sudden fire, as the City of *Wenta*, the City of *London*, the City of *York*, *Doncaster*, with divers other Towns besides: *Roger Hoveden*, lib. contin. post *Bedam*. Who the first year of his Reign, which was the year of our Lord 757. being innocently slain, next to him followed *Mollo*, otherwise called *Adelwald*, who likewise being slain of *Alcredus*, after he had Reigned eleven years, departed. After, *Alcredus* when he had Reigned ten years, was expelled out of his Kingdom by his people; Then was *Eshelbert*, otherwise named *Adelred*, the Son of the foresaid *Mollo*, received King of *Northumberland*: Which *Eshelbert* or *Adelred* in like sort, after he had Reigned five years, was expelled. After whom succeeded *Alfwold*, who likewise, when he had Reigned eleven years, was unjustly slain. So likewise after him his Nephew, and the Son of *Alcredus*, named *Osfredus*, Reigned one year, and was slain. Then the foresaid *Eshelbert*, the Son of *Mollo*, after twelve years Banishment, Reigned again in *Northumberland* the space of four years, and was slain. The cause whereof (as I find in an Old written story) was, that forsaking his Old Wife, he married a new. Concerning the restoring of whom, *Alcuinus* writeth in this manner. *Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus*. Nuper *Edelredus*, filius *Edelwaldi* de carcere processit in solium, & de miseria in maiestatem, cuius regni novitate detenti sumus ne venerimus ad vos, &c. And afterward the same *Alcuinus* again speaking of his death, writeth unto King *Offa* in these Words, *Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra quod dominus Carolus amabiliter & fideliter saepe mecum locutus est de vobis, & in eo habetis fidelissimum amicum*. Ideo & vestra dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per episcopales sedes regni vestri, similiter & *Edelredo* regi, & ad suas episcoporum sedes direxit dona. Sed heu pro dolor, donis datis, & episcopis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos qui de Scotia per nos reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis, & nece regis. Ita *Carolus* retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam & perversam, & homicidam dominorum suorum, peiorem eam paganis aestimans, ut nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, & mali machinari, iam fecisset, &c.

The Kingdom of Northumberland ceaseth.

Northumberland Kingdom ceaseth.

Thus as you have heard, after the Reign of King *Egbert* before mentioned, such trouble and perturbation was in the Dominion of *Northumberland*, with slaying, expelling and deposing their Kings one after another, that after the murdering of this *Edelred* above specified, none durst take the Government upon him, seeing the great danger thereupon ensuing. Inasmuch that the foresaid Kingdom did lie void and waste, the space of three and thirty years together; after the term of which years, this Kingdom of *Northumberland*, with the Kingdoms also of the other Saxons besides, came altogether into the hands of *Egbert*, King of *West-Saxons*, and his Progeny; which Monarchy began in the year of our Lord 827. and in the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of the said *Egbert*; whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Of this troublesome and outrageous time of *Northumberland* people speaketh also the said learned man

Alcuinus otherwise called Albinus.

Alcuinus, otherwise called *Albinus*, in the same Country born, writing out of *France* into *England*, and complaining of the same in divers his letters, as first to *Offa*, where he thus writeth: *Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reverti. Sed melius visum est propter pacem gentis meae in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, ubi nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia sancta a paganis vastata, Altaria perjuris sedata, Monasteria adulteris violata, terra sanguine Dominorum & Principum sedata, &c.* Moreover, the said *Alcuinus* writing to the foresaid *Edelred* a little above mentioned, after the same Tenor reporteth: *Ecce Ecclesia sancti Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa (omnibus spoliata ornamentis) locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad depradandum. Et ubi primum, post decessum S. Cuthberti ab Eboraco, Christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseria & calamitatis caput initium, &c.*

The troubles of the Kingdom of Northumberland described by Alcuinus.

Item, writing to *Osbert* a Noble Peer of the *Mercians*, complaining on the same matter, saith: *Regnum Nostrum Northumbriorum pene periit, propter intestinas dissensiones, & fallaces conjurationes, &c.*

Item, in another place the said *Alcuinus* writing to *Adelard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, complaineth moreover: *Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus insulae nostrae, quae prope trecentis & quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildae sapientissimi Britonum, quod iidem Britones, propter avaritiam & rapinam Principum, propter iniquitatem & injustitiam Iudicum, propter desidia praedicationis Episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caveamus hac eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona quam nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus est, &c.*

Over and besides, the same Author *Alcuinus*, writing unto the foresaid *Edelred* King of *Northumberland*, maketh record of strange sight which he himself did see the same time in the City of *York*, it rained Blood: Whereof his words which he wrote, concerning the same unto the said King *Edelred* be these: *Quid significat pluvia sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco civitate, quae caput est totius regni, in ecclesia beati principis Apostolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus domus (sereno aere) de summitate minanter cadere? Nonne potest putari, a borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram? That is, What signifieth the rain Blood which in time of Lent, in the City of *York*, the chief City of that Dominion, and in the Church of *S. Peter* the chief of the Apostles, we our selves did see to fall from the Church top (the Element being clear) out of the North parts of the Temple, &c. This wondrous sight testified by *Malmesburienensis*, is thought of *Fabian* to happen in the second year of the Reign of *Brigtricus* (as with the time doth well agree) which was the year of our Lord, seven hundred and eighty, and is thought of some Expositors to betoken the coming of the *Danes* into this Land, which entered shortly after about seven years, in the ninth year, of the Reign of *Brigtricus* King of the *West-Saxons*. Which *Brigtricus* in defence thereof sent forth his Steward of his household with a small company, which shortly was slain: But by the strength of the said *Brigtricus* and the other Saxon Kings, they were compelled to void the Land for that time, which was in the year 790. To this *Brigtricus*, King *Offa*, as is aforesaid, gave his Daughter *Edelburga* to Wife, by whom he at length was impoisoned, besides certain other of his Nobles, upon whom the said Queen before him had Practised the same wickedness. Who then after that fled over to *Charles* the Great, into *France*: Where she being offered for her beauty to marry either to him or his Son, because she choosed rather his Son, married neither the one, nor yet the other; but was thrust into a Monastery, where she, then playing the Harlot with a Monk, was expelled from thence, and ended her life in Penury and misery.*

Ex Historia Malmesburienensi.

How it rained Blood in York.

Anno 780.

Brigtricus King of West-Saxons.

Edelburg Daughter to Offa poisoned her Husband.

Wickedness revenged.

In the mean time, while this *Edelburga* was thus working her Feats in *England*, *Irene* Empress of the *Greeks*, was as busie also for her part at *Constantinople*: Who first through the means of Pope *Adrian* took up the body of *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, her own Husbands Father. And when she had burned the same

Irene.

Anno 784.

same, she caused the Ashes to be cast into the Sea, because he dishonoured Images. Afterwards reigning with her Son Constantine the sixth, Son to Leo the fourth (whom also we declared before to be excommunicated for taking away Images) being at dissention with him, caused him to be taken and laid in Prison; who afterward through power of Friends being restored to his Empire again, at last she caused the same her own Son to be cast into Prison, and his eyes to be put out so cruelly, that within short space he dyed. After this the said Irene Empress, with the Council of Therasius Bishop of Constantinople, held a Council at Nicea, where it was decreed, that Images should again be restored unto the Church; which Council after was repealed by another Council holden at Franeford by Charles the Great. At length she was deposed by Nicephorus (who Reigned after) and was expelled the Empire: Who after the example of Edelburga above mentioned (condignly punished for her wickedness) ended likewise her life in much Penury and Misery.

About the time when the foresaid Brightricus was imprisoned by Edelburga his Wife, died also King Offa, which was about the year of our Lord 795, or (as some say) 802. After which Offa (as is aforesaid) succeeded Egbert, then Kenulphus, after whom succeeded Kenelmus his Son, who in his younger age was wickedly murdered by his Sister Quinreda, and Askebertus, about the year of our Lord 819. and in the Church of Winchcombe was counted for an holy Martyr. After him succeeded his Uncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the first year of his reign expelled, and reigned in his place. Who likewise in the third year of his Reign was overcome, and expelled by Egbert King of the West-Saxons, and afterward slain by the Eastangles. And the Kingdom of Mercia also ceased, and came into the hands of the West-Saxons.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou seest good Reader) the confused and turbulent reigns of these seven Saxon Kings, who after the expulsion of the Britains, ruled and reigned afunder in sundry quarters of this Land together, unto this present time of Egbert King of the West-Saxons, by whom it so pleased God to begin to reduce and unite all these scattered Kingdoms, into one Monarchical form of Dominion. Wherefore, as in the aforesaid Egbert, beginneth a new alteration of the Commonwealth, here in this Land among the Saxons: So my purpose is (the Lord willing) with the same Egbert, to enter a new beginning of my third Book, after a brief recapitulation first made of such things as in this second Book before are to be collected and noted, especially touching the Monasteries builded, the Kings who have entered the life and profession Monastick; also Queens and Queens Daughters, which the same time professed solitary life in Monasteries, which they or their Ancestors had Erected.

The conclusion of the story Precedent, concerning the seven Kingdoms of the Saxon Kings, above mentioned.

And thus hast thou (Gentle Reader) concerning the seven Kingdom of these Saxons, ruling all together in England, the course and Order of their doings briefly described, and discoursed unto thee, in such Order, as the matter being so intricate, in such confusion and diversity of things incident together, would permit: Following especially in this story hitherto the line of the Northumberland Kings, as the other stories most follow the line of West-Saxon Kings. The which seven Kingdoms of these said Saxons, after they had untruly expelled and chased out the Britains from their Land, like as they never were in quietness among themselves, Reigning thus together, till the time of this Egbert, so also after the Reign of Egbert, the whole Realm being reduced into one Regiment, no less were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continually from time to time, till the last Conquest of William the Norman. Thus it pleased God (ever lightly) to revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unjust dealings of men with just and like retribution. But of this let the Christian Reader consider, as Gods Grace shall work in him. In the mean time we, as much as in us did lie, satisfying the part of an Historian, have thus hitherto set forth and declared concerning these seven foresaid

Kingdoms: First, the names and lineal descent of the Kings severally by themselves, as by the Table Precedent may appear: Then what were the doings and acts of the same, how first being Pagans, they were converted to the Christian faith; what things in their time hapned in the Church, how many of them, of Kings were made Monks; how devout they were then to holy Church and to the Churchmen, and especially to the Church of Rome. But the Churchmen then were much otherwise, in life than afterward they declared themselves to be. Through which devotion of the said Kings, first came in the Peter-pence or Rome-schots in this Realm, as by Ivo first in his Dominion, then by Offa in his Lordship, and afterwards by Adelwulph brought in and ratified through the whole Realm: Where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid Kings and Queens of the said Saxons, the most part of the greatest Abbeyes and Nunneries, in this Realm, were first begun and builded, as partly by the names of some here follow to be seen.

First the Church or Minister of S. Paul in London, was founded by Ethelbert King of Kent, and Sigebert King of Essex, about the year of our Lord, 604.

The first Cross and Altar within this Realm, was first set up in the North-parts in Hevenfield, upon the occasion of Oswald King of Northumberland, fighting against Cadwalla, where he in the same place set up the sign of the Cross, kneeling and praying there for victory: Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The Church of Winchester was first begun, and founded by Kingulfus King of Mercians, having nine miles about it: After finished by his Son Kenwalcus, where Wine, of Englishmen was first Bishop, An. 636. Gualter. Malmesbury. de gestis. pont. Ang.

The Church of Lincoln first founded by Paulinus Bishop, An. 629.

The Church of Westminster began first by a certain Citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert King of Kent, which before was an Isle of Thornes, Red. An. 614.

The common Schools first Erected at Cambridge, by Sigebert King of Eastangles, An. 636.

The Abbey of Knowlburgh builded by Furcus the Heremit, An. 637.

The Monastery of Marmesbury by one Meldulphus a Scot, about the year of our Lord 640. afterward enlarged by Agilbert Bishop of Winchester.

The Monastery in Gloucester, first builded by Ofricus King of Mercia, as Caestrensis saith; but as William Malmesbury writeth by Ulferus and Etheldred, Brethren to Kineburga Abbess of the same House, An. 679.

The Monastery of Mailrose, by the Floud of Twide, by Aidanus a Scottish Bishop.

The Nunnery of Heorentan by Hevi, who was the first Nun in Northumberland, Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.

The Monastery of Heteley by Oswie King of Northumberland, who also with his Daughter Elfrid gave possessions for twelve Monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, An. 656.

The Monastery of S. Martin in Dover, builded by Whitred King of Kent.

The Abbey of Lestiny by Ceadda (whom we call S. Ced) through the Grant of Oswald, Son to S. Oswald, King of Northumberland, An. 651.

The Monastery of Whitby, called otherwise Stenhalt by Hilda, Daughter to the nephew of Edwin King of Northumberland, An. 657.

Item, another Monastery called Hacanos, not far from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same year.

The Abbey of Abbington, builded by Sissa King of South-Sex, An. 666.

Item, an Abbey in the East-side of Lincoln, called Joanno, by S. Botulph, Polych. lib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.

The Monastery in Ely, founded by Etheldred or Etheldrida Daughter of Anna King of Eastangles, and the Wife of Elfride, King of Northumberland, An. 674.

The Monastery of Chertsey in Southery, founded by Erkenwald, Bishop of London, An. 674. thrown down by the Danes, after reedified by King Edgar.

Images restored again by Irene at Constantinople. The second Council at Nicea.

The wickedness of Irene condignly rewarded.

Kenelmus King of Mercia, lately slain.

Ceolulphus, Bernulphus King of Mercia. The Kingdom of Mercia ceased.

Unjust dealings of men justly rewarded.

Paul's Church.

The first Altar and Cross set up in England.

The Church of Winchester.

The Church of Lincoln.

The Church of Westminster.

The Schools at Cambridge.

Abbey of Knowlburgh.

Abbey of Gloucester.

Mailrose.

Heorentan.

Heteley.

The Monastery of S. Martin at Dover.

Whitby.

This Hilda was first converted to the faith by Paulinus a godly and learned woman: out of her Monastery came five Bishops.

Offord, D. of Eborac, Joannes Wilfrid.

Hacanos, Abbington, Joannes at Lincoln.

Ely Abbey, Chertsey.

- Berking.** Item, The Nunery of Berking edified by the said Erkenwaldus Bishop of London about the same time.
- Peterborough.** The Abbey of Peterborough, called otherwise Modebamsted, founded by King Ethelwald, King of the Mercians, Anno 675.
- Bardney.** Bardney Abbey by Ethelredus King of the Mercians, An. 700.
- Glastenbury.** Glastenbury by Iva King of the West-Saxons, and after repaired and enriched by King Edgar, Anno 701.
- Ramsay.** Ramsay in the time of King Edgar, by one Ailwinus a Nobleman, An. 973. King Edgar builded in his time forty Monasteries, who reigned, An. 901.
- Winburne.** The Nunery of Winburne builded by Cuthberga Sister to Ingilfus, King Iva his Brother, An. 717.
- Sealesey.** The Monastery of Sealesey by the Isle of Wight, by Wilfridus Bishop of York, An. 678.
- Wincombe.** The Monastery of Wincombe by Kenulphus King of the Mercians, An. 737.
- S. Albani.** Saint Albans builded by Offa King of the Mercians, An. 755.
- Eusham.** The Abbey of Eusham by Edwinus Bishop, An. 691.
- Ripon.** Ripon in the North by Wilfridus Bishop, An. 709.
- Ecklingbey.** The Abbey of Ecklingbey, by King Alured, An. 891.
- Shafisbury.** The Nunery of Shafisbury by the same Aluredus, the same year.

Two things
to be wished
in them that
first builded
monkish
Monasteries.

The Article
of free justifi-
cation not
known.

Thus ye see what Monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the Saxon Kings, newly converted to the Christian Faith, within the space of two hundred years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these foresaid Kings: first, that they which began to erect these Monasteries and Cels of Monks and Nuns, to live solely and singly by themselves out of the holy state of Matrimony, had foreseen what danger, and what absurd Enormities might and also did thereof ensue, both publickly to the Church of Christ, and privately to their own Souls: secondly, that unto this their zeal and devotion had been joyned like Knowledge and Doctrine in Christs Gospel, especially in the Article of our free Justification by the Faith of Jesus Christ; because of the lack whereof, as well the Builders and Founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. For albeit in them there was a devotion and zeal of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christs Gospel; for so much as they did these things seeking thereby Merits with God, and for remedy of their Souls, and remission of their sins, as may appear testified in their own Records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this Chart (if it please thee gentle Reader) of King Ethelbald his donation, given to Churches and religious persons; which Ethelbald was the builder (as is said) of Peterborough. The words of his Record and Instrument be these.

The Donations and Priviledges granted and given by King Ethelbald to religious men of the Church.

Ex chronica
Guliel. Mal-
mesb. lib. 1.

Plerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerint, fraudulentè per contumaciam plurimorum, & machinamenti simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur, nisi auctoritate literarum (testamento chirographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum pro amore celestis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse prævidi, ut eam pro bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptræ regiminis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuio. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem, me vivente, concedo, ut omnia Monasteria & Ecclesiæ Regni mei, a publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absolvantur; nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli unquam profunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum & agrorum, & in captura piscium, ne munuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo serviant, &c.

By the Contents hereof may well be understood (as where he saith, *Pro amore celestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & absolutione delictorum, &c.*) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was; who, lacking no zeal, only lacking knowledge to rule it withall: seeking their salvation not by Christ only, but by their own deservings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehension of them; but rather to put us in mind and memory, how much we at this present are bound to God for the true sincerity of his truth, hidden so long before to our fore-Anceltors, and opened now unto us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to have such Works, and to lack our Faith, and us to have the right Faith, and to lack their Works. And this blind ignorance of that Age, thus above pre-noted, was the cause not only why these Kings builded so many Monasteries upon zealous Superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of Princely Regiment, gave themselves over to Monastick profession, or rather wilful Superstition. Concerning the names and number of which Kings that were professed Monks, is sufficiently in the story before declared: the names of whom we shewed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred years. Such was then the superstitious devotion of Kings and Princes in that age; and no less also to be noted in Queens and Kings Daughters, with other Noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite. As Hilda Daughter to the Nephew of Edwin King of Northumberland, Abbess of Ely. Erchengoda with her Sister Ermenilda, Daughters of Ercombertus King of Kent, which Erchengoda was professed in Saint Brigets Order in France. Item, Edelberga Wife and Queen to King Edwin of Northumberland, and Daughter of King Anna, which was also in the same house of Saint Briget made a Nun. Item, Etheldreda, whom we term Saint Eldred, Wife to King Ecfride of Northumberland, who being married to two Husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but would needs live a Virgin, and was professed Nun at Helings. Werburga was the Daughter of Ulferus King of Mercians, and made Nun at Ely. Kenreda Sister of King Ulferus and Kineswida her Sister, were both Nuns professed. Sexburga Daughter of King Anna King of Mercians, and Wife of Ercombert King of Kent, was Abbess at Ely. Elfrida Daughter of Oswy King of Northumberland was Abbess of Whitney: Mildreda, Milburga, and Milgvida, all three Daughters of Merwardus King of West-Mercians, entred the Profession and Vow of Nunish Virginity. Kineburga Wife of Alfride King of Northumberland, and Sister to Ofricus King of Mercians, and Daughter of King Penda, was professed Abbess of the Monastery in Glocester. Elsfeda Daughter of Oswy King, and Wife of Peda, Son of King Penda, likewise inclosed her self in the same Profession and Vow of Romish Chastity. Likewise Alfritha Wife to King Edgar, and Editha Daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfride her Mother, &c. All which holy Nuns with divers more, the Romish Catholics have canonized for Saints, and put the most part of them in their Kalendar, only because of the Vow of their Chastity solemnly professed. Concerning which Chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and less to swear for them. But whether they so kept it or not; if this Gift of Chastity which they professed, were given them of God, small praise worthy was it in them to keep it. And if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said of some other, which sufficiently have painted out to the World the Demeanor of these holy Votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh Saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true Faith in him.

Likewise remaineth, that as we have declared the devotion of these Noble women, which professing Monastick life, have cast off all worldly Dignity and Delights: so we should also intreat of such Noblemen, who among the Saxon Kings in like zeal of devotion, have given over themselves from the World (as they thought) unto the contemplative life of Monkish Profession. The Names of whom as in the Catalogue of the Saxon Kings before is described, be these, to the number of Nine.

A Table

A brief Catalogue of Queens and Kings Daughters which leaving their estate, were made Nuns.

Hilda, Erchengoda, Ermenilda, Edelberga, Etheldreda.

Werburga, Kenreda, Kineswida, Sexburga.

Elfrida, Mildreda, Milburga, Milgvida.

Kineburga.

Elsfeda, Alfritha, Wolfrida, Editha.

A Table of such Saxon Kings as were after made Monks.

1. *Kimigilsus*, King of *West-Saxons*.
2. *Ivo*, King of *West-Saxons*.
3. *Ciculfus*, King of *Northumberland*.
4. *Egbertus*, King of *Northumberland*.
5. *Ethelredus*, King of *Mercia*.
6. *Kenredus*, King of *Mercia*.
7. *Offa*, King of *East-Saxons*.
8. *Sebbi*, King of *East-Saxons*.
9. *Sigebertus*, King of *East-Angles*.

Of which Kings and their doings, what is to be judged, look (gentle Reader) before.

By these Histories it is apparent, what Mutations, what Perturbations, and what Alterations of State hath been in this Realm of *Britain*, first from *Britains* Kings, to *Romans*; then to *Britains* again; afterward to the *Saxons*. First, to seven altogether reigning, then to one, &c. And this alteration not only happened in the Civil Government, but also followed in the State Ecclesiastical. For as in the *Britains* time the Metropolitan See was in *London*, so in the *Saxons* time, after the coming of *Austin*, it was removed to *Canterbury*: the Catalogue and Order of which Metropolitans, from the time of *Austin* to *Egbertus*, is thus, as in the History of *Malmesburienfis* is described.

The Names and Order of the Archbishops of Canterbury from *Augustine*, to the time of King *Egbert*.

- | | |
|------------------------|----|
| 1. <i>Augustinus</i> . | 16 |
| 2. <i>Laurentius</i> . | 5 |
| 3. <i>Mellitus</i> . | 5 |
| 4. <i>Fustus</i> . | 3 |
| 5. <i>Honorius</i> . | 25 |
| 6. <i>Deusdedit</i> . | 19 |
| 7. <i>Theodorus</i> . | 22 |

Hitherto from *Augustine* all the Archbishops of Canterbury were Italians and Foreigners.

8. *Berthwaldus*
Engish 37

In his time the Monastery of *S. Martin* was builded in *Dorobernia*, by *Witredus*, and his Brother Kings of *Kent*.

9. *Tacuinus*. 3
10. *Norhelmus*. 5
11. *Cutbertus*. 17
12. *Berguinus*. 3

This *Cutbert* after his death forbad all Funeral Exequies or Lamentation for him to be made. *William Malm. De vitis, lib. 1.*

13. *Lambrigtus*
or *Lambertus*. 27

In his time King *Offa* translated the Metropolitan See from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield* by the Grant of Pope *Adrian*, being overcome with Apostolical Argument, as faith *Flor. Hist.* that is, with money.

14. *Ethelardus*. 13
15. *Ulfredus*. 28
16. *Feolegeldus*. 3

This *Ethelardus* by his Epistles to Pope *Leo*, obtained the Metropolitan See again to *Canterbury*.

17. *Celnobus*. 41

During the course of these seventeen Archbishops of *Canterbury*, in *Rome* passed in the mean time four and thirty Popes, of whom partly heretofore we have declared.

And thus much touching the time of the seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, ruling together in *England*, from the Reign of *Hengist* unto *Egbert*, the first King and Monarch of the whole Land, after the Expulsion of the *Britains*.

Now remaineth (by the Grace of Christ) in the next Book following, to prosecute the Order of such Kings as principally reigning alone had this Realm in their possession, from the time of *Egbert* King of *West-Saxons*, to the coming of *William Conqueror the Norman*; comprehending therein the rest of the next 300 years, with the acts and state of Religion, as in that space was in the Church: wherein may appear the declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, preparing the way to *Antichrist*, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this mean time, *Satan* (as is said) was bound up from his raging and furious violence; counting from the time of *Constantinus*, to the next loosing out of *Satan*, which was foretold by the Revelation of *S. John* above mentioned, to be a thousand years; whereof by the order of the History (Christ granting) more shall be said hereafter.

The End of the Second Book

THE THIRD BOOK,

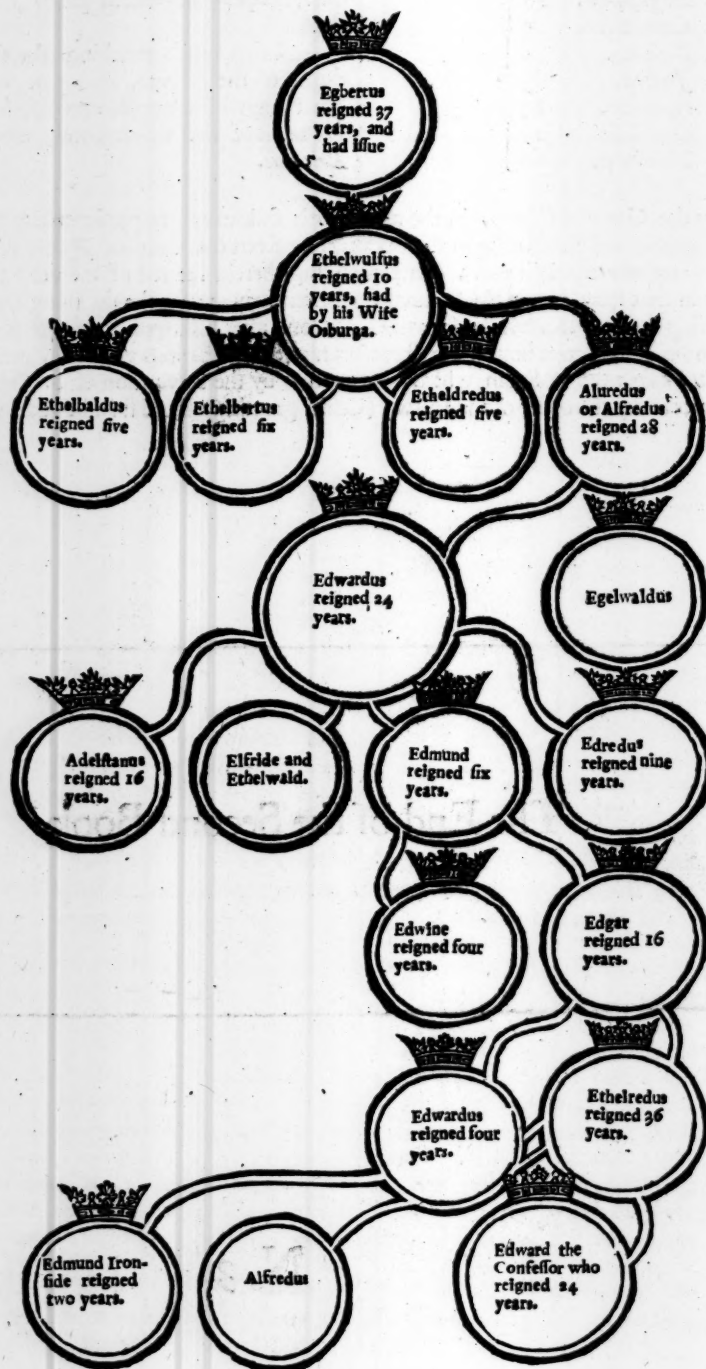
CONTAINING

The next three hundred years, from the Reign of King *Egbertus* unto the time of *William Conqueror*.

Now remaineth likewise, as before I did in describing the descent and diversity of the seven Kings, all together reigning and ruling in this Land: so to prosecute in like order the lineal Succession of them, which after *Egbertus* King of the *West-Saxons*, governed and ruled solely, until the Conquest of *William the Norman*; first expressing their Names, and afterwards importing such Acts, as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the Acts and Doings of these Kings, because

they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of *Latine* Writers into the *English-Tongue* by divers and sundry Authors, and namely in the History or Chronicle of *Fabian*; I shall not spend much travel thereupon, but rather refer the Reader unto him or to some other, where the troublesome tumults between the *English-men* and the *Danes* at that time may be seen, who so listeth to read them. Only the Table of their Names and Reign, and Acts done under their Reign, I have compendiously abridged, using such brevity as the matter would suffer.

A TABLE of the *Saxon* Kings, which ruled alone from King *Egbert* unto *William Conqueror*.



Here is to be noted, that before the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, the *Danes* obtained the Crown under their Captain *Canutus* who reigned years 19
Haraldus Harefoot Son of *Canutus* 4
Hardeknutus, Son of *Canutus* 2
Edward the Confessor, an English man, Son of *Ethelred* 24
Haraldus, Son of *Earl Goodwin* an Usurper 1
William Conqueror a *Norman*.

King Egbertus.

Egbert, King of the *West-Saxons*, afterwards Monarch and King of the whole Realm.

In this time came in the *Danes* first into the North parts and were driven out again.

Anno 809.

Example what it is to despise others. Example of patience.

Anno 826.

Of this victory went a proverb. *Rexis cruce rubri, ruina refecti, fatus tabula.*

This Land first called *Anglia*.

Anno 833.

Danes now the second time entered in this Land.

Anno 834.

Fabian, cap. 158. *Reg. Hoved.* lib. 5. cap. 1.

England five times plagued by other nations.

IN the Reign of *Brigtricus* a little before mentioned, about the year of Grace, 795. there was in his Dominion a Noble Personage, of some called *Egbert*, of some *Ethelbert*, of some *Ethelbrigt*: who being feared of the same *Brigtricus*, because he was of Kingly blood, and near unto the Crown, was by the force and conspiracy of the forenamed *Brigtricus*, chased and pursued out of the Land of *Britain* into *France*, where he endured till the death of the said *Brigtricus*. After the hearing whereof, *Egbert* sped him effoons out of *France*, unto his Country of *West-Sax*, where he in such wise behaved himself, that he obtained the Regiment and Governance of the above-said Kingdom.

Bernulphus, King of *Mercia* above mentioned, with other Kings, had this *Egbert* in such derision, that they made of him divers scoffing Jestes, and scorning Rimes, all which he sustained for a time. But when he was more established in his Kingdom, and had proved the minds of his Subjects, and especially God working withall, he afterward assembled his Knights, and gave to the said *Bernulphus* a battel in a place called *Elinden* in the Province of *Hampton*; and notwithstanding in that fight was great odds of number, as six or eight against one, yet *Egbert* (through the might of the Lord which giveth Victory as pleaseth him) had the better, and won the field; which done, he seized that Lordship into his hand; and that also done, he made War upon the *Kentish-Saxons*, and at length in likewise obtained the Victory. And as it is in *Polychronicon* testified, he also subdued *Northumberland*, and caused the Kings of these three Kingdoms to live under him as Tributaries, or joyned them to his Kingdom: *Ex Flor. bist.* This *Egbert* also won from the *Britains* or *Wessmen* the Town of *Chester*, which they had kept possession of till this day. After these and other Victories, he peaceably injoying the Land, called a Council of his Lords at *Winchester*, where by their advices he was crowned King, and chief Lord over this Land, which before that day was called *Britain*: but then he sent out into all coasts of the Land his Commandments and Commissions, charging straightly, that from that day forward, the *Saxons* should be called *Angles*, and the Land *Anglia*.

About the thirtieth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the Heathenish people of the *Danes*, which a little before had made horrible destruction in *Northumberland*, and especially in the Isle of *Lindesfarne*, where they spoiled the Churches, and murdered the Ministers, with Men, Women and Children, after a cruel manner, entred now the second time with a great Host into this Land, and spoiled the Isle of *Shepy* in *Kent*, or near to *Kent*: where *Egbert* hearing thereof, assembled his people, and met with them at *Carum*. But in that Conflict he sped not so well as he was wont in times before, but with his Knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding in the next battel, the said *Egbert*, with a small Power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and so drave them back. The next year following, the said *Danes* presuming upon their Victory before, made their return again into the Land *Westward*, where joyning with the *Britains*, by the help and power of them, they assailed the Lands of *Egbert*, and did much harm in many places of his Dominion, and elsewhere; so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realm of *England* or other, till the time of *Hardeknutus* last King of the *Danes* blood, so that many of them were married to *English* women, and many that now be, or in times past were called *English-men*, are descended of them. And albeit that they were many and sundry times driven out of the Land, and chased from one Country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they

ever gathered new strengths and powers, that they abode still within the Land.

And thus, as by the stories appears, this troublesome Land of *Britain*, now called *England*, hath been hitherto by five sundry outward Nations plagued. First, by the *Romans*; then by the *Scots* and *Picts*; thirdly, by the *Saxons*; fourthly, by the *Danes*, of whose outrageous cruelty and hostility, our *English* Histories do most exclaim and complain; fifthly, by the *Normans*, which I pray God be the last.

Ex Reg. Hoved. lib. 5.

Then it followeth in the story, that the time of this Persecution of the fore-said *Pagans* and *Danes* continuing, King *Egbert*, when he had ruled the *West-Saxons*, and over the more part of *England*, by the term of seven and thirty years, died, and was buried at *Winchester*, leaving to his Son *Ethelwolfe* his Kingdom, which first was Bishop of *Winchester* (as *Hoveden* recordeth) and after upon necessity made King, leaving withall, and pronouncing this saying to his Son, *Felicem fore si regnum, quod multa reixerat industria, ille consueta genti illi non interrumpere ignavia.*

King Ethelwulfus.

Ethelwulfus, the Son of *Egbert*, in his former age had entred into the Order of Sub-Deacon, as some others say, was made Bishop of *Winchester*; but afterwards, being the only Son of *Egbert*, was made King through the Dispensation (as *Fabian* saith) of Pope *Paschalis*: but that cannot be, for *Paschalis* then was not Bishop: so that by the computation of time, it should rather seem to be *Gregory* the fourth. This *Ethelwulfus* (as being himself once nuzled in that Order) was always good and devout to holy Church and religious Orders, inasmuch that he gave to them the Tythe of all his goods and lands in *West-Saxony*, with liberty and freedom from all servage and civil Charges. Whereof his chart Instrument beareth testimony after this tenor proceeding, much like to the donation of *Ethelbaldus*, King of *Mercians* above mentioned.

Anno 837.

A place in *Fabian* to be amended.

Gallus. lib. de gest. Anglor. saith, this Pope was Leo the fourth.

The Priviledges and Donations given by King Ethelwulfus to the Clergy.

*R*egnante Domino nostro in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum nostrarum, necnon & vastantium crudelissimas depredationes hostium barbarorum, paganarumque gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem, ego *Ethelwulfus* Rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio Episcoporum & principum meorum, consilium salubre, & uniforme remedium affirmavi: ut aliquam portionem terrarum hereditariam, Deo & sanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus sanctis jure perpetuo possidendam concedam, scilicet partem terræ meæ, ut sit tuta & immunis ab omnibus secularibus servitiis, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus & minoribus sive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus *Witterden*: si quis libera omnium rerum, pro remissione animarum & peccatorum nostrorum, ad Deo soli deservendum sine expeditione, & pontis constructione, & arcis munitione: ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quorum servitutem in aliqua parte levigamus, &c.

Anno 844.

Priviledges and temporalities granted to the Church by King *Ethelwulfus*.

Ex Flor. bist.

Pro remissio.

Hereby may it appear, how and when the Churches of *England* began first to be indued with Temporalities and Lands; also with Priviledges and Exemptions enlarged: moreover (and that which specially is to be considered and lamented) what pernicious Doctrine this was, wherewith they were led, thus to set remission of their sins, and remedy of their souls, in this donation, and such other deeds of their donation, contrary to the information of Gods Word, and with no small derogation from the Crofs of Christ?

Note the blind ignorance and erroneous teaching in those days.

These things thus done within the Realm, then the said *Ethelwolfe* the King, taking his Journey to *Rome* with *Alfred* his youngest Son, committed him to the bringing up of Pope *Leo* the fourth, where he also re-edifieth the *English* School at *Rome*: which being founded by King *Offa*, or rather by *Ive*, King of *Mercians* (as in the *Flowers of Histories* is affirmed) was lately in the time of King *Egbert* his Father, consumed with fire. Further and besides, this King gave and granted there unto *Rome*, of every fire-house a penny to be paid through his

Peter-pence through the Realm granted to *Rome*. Money bestowed to burn day-light.

his whole Land, as King *Ive* in his Dominion had done before. Also he gave and granted yearly to be paid to *Rome* 300 Marks; that is, to the maintaining of the light of Saint *Peter*, 100 Marks, to the light of Saint *Paul*, 100 Marks, to the use of the Pope also another hundred. This done, he returning home through *France*, married there *Judith*, the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, the French King: whom he restored afterward (contrary to the Laws of *West-Saxons*) to the Title and Throne of a Queen. For before it was decreed among the *West-Saxons* (by the occasion of wicked *Ethelburga*, who poisoned *Brigibricus* her own Husband) that after that no Kings wife should have the name or place of a Queen.

And for so much as I have here entred into the mention of *Judith*, Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*; the occasion thereof putteth me in memory here to insert by the way, a matter done, although not in this Realm, yet not impertinent to this Ecclesiastical History. And first to deduct the Narration hereof from the first Original; the Father of this *Carolus Calvus*, whose name was *Ludovicus*, first of that name called *Pius*, King of *France*, had two wives: whereof by the first he had three Sons, *Lothary*, *Pipin*, and *Lewis*: Which three Sons unnaturally and unkindly conspiring against their Father and his second wife, with her Son their youngest Brother, persecuted him so, that through a certain Council of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, they deposed the same their natural and right godly Father, dispossessing and discharging him of all Rule and Dominion. Moreover, caused him to renounce his Temporal habit, inclosing him in the Monastery of *S. Mark*, for a Monk, or rather a Prisoner. All which done, they divided his Empire and Kingdom among themselves.

Thus was *Ludovicus Pius*, of impious Sons left desolate. But the power of God which worketh, when as all earthly power ceaseth, of his divine mercy so aided and recovered him out of all his tribulation to this Imperial dignity again; that it was to all his enemies confusion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his second wife, whose name was *Judith*, he had this *Charles the Bald* here mentioned. Which *Judith* was thought, and so accused to the Pope, to be within such degree of alliance, that by the Popes Law, she might not continue his wife without the Popes dispensation. It so fell out in the mean time, that this *Ludovicus* the Emperor had promoted a young man named *Frederick*, to be Bishop of *Utrecht*; and to him had given sad and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the constancy of his predecessors, would maintain right and truth without all exception of any person, and punish mildoers, with excommunication, as well the rich as the poor with such like words of godly counsel. *Frederick* hearing the King thus say, sitting at dinner with him as the manner was, being newly invested, in these words answered the Emperor again: *I thank your Majesty, (saith he) which with your so wholesome exhortation put me in mind of my profession. But I beseech you of your benign favour and patience, that I may freely disclose that which hath long incumbered and pierced my conscience. To whom leaving being given, thus he began, I pray you (Lord Emperor) to shew me herein your mind (pointing to the fish before him) whether it is more according to attain this fish here present, beginning first at the head or at the tail? What a tale is this (quoth the Emperor) of the taile and of the head? At the head (quoth he.) Then Frederick taking thereof his occasion, proceedeth, Even so let it be Lord Emperor (saith he) as you have said. Let Christian Faith and Charity first begin with your self, as with the head, admonishing you to cease from your Fact and Error, that your Subjects by that example be not boldned to follow your mifdoing. Wherefore first forsake you your unlawful Wedlock, which you have made with *Judith* your near Kinswoman. These words of the new Bishop, although they moved *Ludovicus* the Emperor not a little, yet he with a gentle modesty, and modest silence was contented, suffering the Bishop to go home in peace. But the word being uttered in such an audience, could not be so concealed, but spread and burst out in much talk in the whole Court, and especially among the Bishops, consulting earnestly with themselves about the matter. Through whose counsel and labour so at length it fell, that the Emperor was constrained to leave the company of his Wife,*

till he had purchased a Licence of the Bishop of *Rome* to retain her again, who then forgave the said Bishop all that was past. But the woman hired two Knights that slew him in his Vestments, when he had ended his Mass. *Ranulphus* and *Gul. lib. de Pontificib.* gave forth this story in his great Commendation, that he died a Martyr. Whereof I have not to judge, nor here to pronounce, but that rather I think him to be commended in his dying, than the woman for her killing.

And for so much as mention hath been made of *Ludovicus Pius*, here is to be noted, that in *France* then was used of Priests and Church-men, precious and shining Vestures, and golden and rich staring Girdles, with Rings and other Ornaments of gold. Wherefore the said *Lewis* purchased of the Bishop of *Rome* a Correction for all such as used such disordinate Apparel, causing them to wear brown and sad colours, according to their sadness.

Of this *Lewis* the Papists do feign, that because he converted certain of their Church-goods and Patrimony to the wages of his Souldiers, his body (say they) was carried out of his Tomb by Devils, and was no more seen.

And thus a little having digressed out of our course, now let us return out of *France* into *England* again. King *Ethelwolfus*, coming now from *Rome* by the Country of *France*, was now returned again into his own Dominion, where he continued not long after.

This *Ethelwolfus* had especially about him two Bishops, whose counsel he was most ruled by, *Switbinus* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Adelfstanus* Bishop of *Shireborne*. Of the which two, the one was more skilful in temporal and civil Affairs touching the Kings Wars, and filling of his Coffers, and other furniture for the King. The other (which was *Switbinus*) was of a contrary sort, wholly disposed and inclined to Spiritual meditation, and to minister Spiritual counsel to the King: who had been School-Master to the King before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this Kings nature, among his other Vertues, not only in following the Precepts and Advertisements of his old School-Master, but also in that he like a kind and thankful Pupil did so reverence his Bringer up, and old School-Master (as he called him) that he ceased not, till he made him Bishop of *Winchester*, by the consecration of *Celnoch* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But as concerning the Miracles which are read in the Church of *Winchester*, of this *Switbinus*, them I leave to be read together with the *Iliads* of *Homer*, or *Tales* of *Robinhood*.

This *Gregory* the Fourth, here in this present Chapter above mentioned, was the third Pope which succeeded after *Paschalis* the first, being but four years betwixt them: which *Paschalis* succeeded after *Stephen* the Fourth, who followed after *Leo* the Third, next Pope unto *Adrian* above in our History mentioned, whereas we intreated of *Charles the Great*. From the time of that *Adrian* the first, unto Pope *Adrian* the third, the Emperors had some stroke in the Election (at least in the Confirmation) of the Roman Pope. Notwithstanding, divers of those foresaid Popes in the mean time began to work their Practices to bring their Purpose about. But yet all their devices could take no full effect, before the said *Adrian* the third, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. So that the Emperors all this while bare some Rule in choosing the Popes, and in assembling general Councils. Wherefore by the Commandment of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, in the time of this *Gregory* the fourth, a general Synod was commenced at *Aquisgrane*, where it was decreed by the said *Gregory* and his Assistants: First, that every Church should have sufficient of his own proper Lands and Revenues to find the Priests thereof, that none should need to lack or go about a begging. Item, that none of the Clergy, of what Order or Degree soever he be, should use any Vesture of any precious or scarlet colour. Neither shall wear Rings on their Fingers, unless it be when Prelates be at Mass, or give their Consecrations. Item, that Prelates should not keep too great Ports or Families, nor keep great Horses, use Dice or Harlots: and the Monks should not exceed measure in Gluttony or Riot. Item, that none of the Clergy being either anointed or shaven, should use either gold or silver in their Shooes, Slippers, or Girdles, like to *Heliogabalus*. By this it may be conjectured, what Pomp and Pride in those

Note here
th: holy and
wholesome
councils
and doings
of the spiri-
tual Lords.

Ludovicus
Pius Empe-
ror, King of
France.

Frederick Bi-
shop of
Utrecht.

Bishop *Fre-
derick* openly
admonish-
eth the Em-
peror at the
table.

Note, there
were two
Judiths, one
the mother
of *Carolus*
Calvus, the
other,
his daughter
whom King
Ethelwolfus
did marry.

Frederick Bi-
shop of *U-
trecht* judg-
ed of some
a Martyr.
Example of
a woman
more ready
in revenge
than the
man.

Switbinus
Bishop of
Winchester.

Example of
a kind Scho-
lar to his
School-Mas-
ter. Monks
miracles
fained of
Switbinus.

Pope *Leo*
the third.
Stephen the
fourth.
Paschalis
the fifth.
Eugenius
the second.
Valentinus
the first.
Gregory the
fourth.

A general
Synod at
Aquisgrane.

Every
Church to
have suffi-
cient to find
his own
Priests.
Precious
garments of
scarlet or
other rich
colour for-
bidden men
of the Cler-
gy. Great Fam-
ilies not
lawful for
men of the
Clergy.

Rings and
Gold in
their shooes
forbidden
those

those days was crept into the Clergy. Moreover, by the said Pope Gregory the fourth, at the Commandment of *Ludovicus* Emperor, the Feast of *All Saints* was first brought into the Church.

After this Pope, came *Sergius* the second, which first brought in the altering of the Popes names, because he was named before *Os porci*, that is *Swines-head*: which also ordained the *Agnus* thrice to be sung at the Mass, and the Host to be divided into three parts.

After him was Pope *Leo* the fourth, to whom this King *Etbelwolve* (as in this present Chapter is above specified) did commit the tuition of his Son *Alured*. By this Pope *Leo* it came in, and was first enacted in a Council of his, that no Bishop should be condemned under threescore and twelve witnesses, according as ye see, in the witnesses at the condemnation of *Stephen Gardiner*, orderly practised.

Item, contrary to the Law of *Gregory* the fourth his Predecessor, this Pope ordained the Cross (all set with gold and precious stones) to be carried before him, like a Pope.

And here next now followeth and cometh in the Whore of *Babylon* (rightly in her true colours, by the permission of God, and manifestly without all tergiversation) to appear to the whole World: and that not only after the spiritual sense, but after the very letter, and the right form of an Whore indeed. For after this *Leo* above mentioned, the Cardinals proceeding to their ordinary Election (after a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, to the perpetual shame of them and of that See) in stead of

a man Pope, elected an Whore indeed to minister Sacraments, to say Masses, to give Orders, to constitute Deacons, Priests, and Bishops; to promote Prelates, to make Abbots, to consecrate Churches and Altars, to have the Reign and Rule of Emperors and Kings: and so she did indeed, called by name *Joan* the eighth. This womans proper name was *Gilberta* (a Dutch woman of *Magunce*) who went with an English Monk out of the Abbey of *Fulda* in mans Apparel unto *Athens*, and after through her dexterity of wit and learning was promoted unto the Popedom, where she sate two years and six months. At last openly in the face of a general Procession, she fell in labour and travel of child, and so died, by reason whereof, the Cardinals yet to this day do avoid to come near by that street where this shame was taken. By *Benedictus* the third, who succeeded next in the whorish See, was first ordained (as most Writers do record) the Dirge to be said for the Dead. Albeit before him, *Gregory* the third had done in that matter worthily for his part already.

After him sate Pope *Nicholas* the first, who enlarged the Popes Decrees with many Constitutions, equalling the authority of them with the writings of the Apostles. He ordained that no secular Prince, nor the Emperor himself, should be present at their Councils, unless in matters concerning the Faith; to the end that such as they judged to be Hereticks, they should execute and murder. Also, that no Lay-men should sit in Judgment upon the Clergy-men, or reason upon the Popes Power. Item, that no Christian Magistrate should have any Power upon any Prelate, alledging that a Prelate is called God. Item, that all Church-Service should be in *Latine*, yet notwithstanding, dispensing with the *Sclavonians* and *Polonians* to retain still their vulgar Language. Sequences in the Mass were by him first allowed. By this Pope Priests began to be restrained and debarred from marrying: whereof *Hulderike* Bishop of *Ausbrongh* (a learned and an holy man) sending a Letter unto the Pope, gravely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth against his undiscree proceedings touching that matter. The Copy of which Letter, as I thought it unworthy to be suppressed, so I judged it here worthy and meet for the better instruction of the Reader to be inserted. The words thereof here follow out of *Latine* into *English* translated.

A learned Epistle of *Hulderike* Bishop of *Ausburgh*, sent to Pope *Nicholas* the first, proving by Probations substantial, that Priests ought not to be restrained from Marriage.

Nicholas Domino & Patri, pervigili Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ provisor, Huldericus solo nomine Episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut servus. Cum tua (O Pater & Domine) decreta super Clericorum continentiam, &c. Anno 867.

The same in English.

Hulderike Bishop only by name, unto the reverend Father *Nicholas* the vigilant Provisor of the holy Church of Rome, with due commendation sendeth love as a Son, and fear as a Servant. Understanding (reverend Father) your Decrees which you sent to me concerning the single life of the Clergy, to be far discrepant from all discretion, I was troubled partly with fear, and partly with heaviness. With fear for that (as it is said) the Sentence of the Pastor, whether it be just or unjust, is to be feared. For I was afraid lest the weak bearers of the Scripture (which scarcely obey the just Sentence of their Pastor, much more despising this unjust decreement) through the onerous and importable transgression of their Pastor, should shew themselves disobedient. With heaviness I was troubled, and with compassion for that I doubted how the members of the body should do, their Head being so greatly out of frame. For what can be more grievous or more to be lamented, touching the state of the Church, than for you, being the Bishop of the Principal See, to whom appertaineth the Regiment of the whole Church, to swerve never so little out of the right way? Certes in this you have not a little erred, in that you have gone about to constrain your Clergy to singleness of life, through your imperious Tyranny: whom rather you ought to stir up to the continency of marriage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny to the judgment of all wise men, when a man is compelled by your Decrees to do that which is against the Institution of the Gospel and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost? Seeing then there be so many holy Examples both of the Old and New Testament, teaching us (as you know) due Information: I desire your patience not to think it grievous for me to bring a few here out of many.

First, in the old Law, the Lord permitteth marriage unto Priests, which afterward in the new Law we do not read to be restrained, but in the Gospel thus he saith, There be some Eunuchs which have gelded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven, but all men do not take this Word; he that can take it, let him take it. Wherefore, the Apostle saith, Concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment of the Lord, but only I give counsel. Which counsel also all men do not take, as in the Commandment of the Lord before, but many there be false Dissemblers and Flatterers, going about to please men, and not God, whom we see under a false pretence of continency to fall into horrible wickedness: some to lie with their Fathers wives, some to be Sodomites, and not to abhor to play the beasts with brut Beasts. And therefore lest through the infection of this wicked Pestilence, the state of the Church should too much go to ruine: therefore he said, Because of Fornication, let every man have his own wife, Touching which saying, our false Hypocrites falsely do lye and feign: as though only it pertained to the Laity, and not to them. And yet they themselves, seeming to be set in the most holy Order, are not afraid to abuse other mens wives, and as we see (with weeping eyes) all they do outrage in the foresaid wickedness.

These men have not rightly understood the Scripture, whose Breasts while they suck so hard, instead of milk they suck out blood. For the saying of the Apostle, Let every man have his own wife, doth except none in very deed, but him only which hath the gift of Continency, prefixing with himself to keep and continue his Virgin in the Lord. Wherefore (O reverend Father) it shall be your part to cause and oversee, that whosoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a Vow of Continency, and afterward would forsake, either should be compelled to keep his Vow, or else by lawful Authority should be deposed from his Order.

And

The Feast of All Saints first ordained. Pope *Sergius* the second. When the Popes names began first to be altered. *Joan* thrice sung at the Mass. The Host divided into three parts. Pope *Leo* the fourth. No Bishop by the Popes Law to be condemned under threescore and twelve witnesses. The golden Cross first born before the Pope.

A woman Pope called *Joan* the eighth.

The Church of Rome after their Mass of the Holy Ghost may err.

Pope *Benedictus* the third. Dirge for the dead.

Pope *Nicholas* the first.

The marriage of Priests begun to be forbidden.

A Letter written to Pope *Nicholas* as concerning Priests not to refrain from marriage.

The inconvenience of single life.

The saying of the Apostle, Let every one have his own wife.

And to bring this to pass, you shall not only have me, but also all other of my Order, to be helpers unto you. But that you may understand, that such which know not what a Vow doth mean, are not to be violently compelled thereunto; hear what the Apostle saith to Timothy, A Bishop (saith he) must be irreprehensible, the Husband of one Wife. Which sentence left you should turn and apply only to the Church; mark what he inferreth after, He that knoweth not (saith he) to rule his own Household and Family, how should he rule the Church of God? And likewise the Deacons (saith he) let them be the Husband of one Wife, which have knowledge to govern their own House and Children. And this Wife, how she is wont to be blest of the Priest, you understand sufficiently, I suppose, by the decrees of holy Sylvester the Pope.

This Decree is contrary to the Bishops and Prelates in Queen Maries time.

To these and such other holy sentences of the Scripture agreeth also he that is the Writer of the rule of the Clergy, writing after this manner, A Clerk must be chaste and continent, or else let him be coupled in the Bands of Matrimony, having one Wife. Whereby it is to be gathered, that the Bishop and Deacon are noted infamous and reprehensible, if they be divided in more women than one: otherwise, if they do forsake one under the pretence of Religion, both they together, as well the Bishop as the Deacon be here condemned by the Canonical Sentence, which saith, Let no Bishop or Priest forsake his own Wife, under the colour and pretence of Religion. If he do forsake her, let him be Excommunicate. And if he so continue, let him be dragged. Saint Augustine also (a man of discreet holiness) saith in these words, There is no offence so great or grievous, but it is to avoid a greater evil.

Furthermore, we read in the second Book of the Tripartite History, that when the Council of Nice, going about to establish the same Decree, would Enact, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons, after their Consecration, either should abstain utterly from their own Wives, or else should be deposed; then Paphnutius (one of those holy Martyrs, whom the Emperor Maximus had put out the right eye, and bockt their left legs) rising up amongst them, withstood their purposed decreement: confessing Marriage to be honourable, and calling the Bed of Matrimony to be Chastity, and so perswaded the Council from making that Law, declaring thereby what occasion might come to themselves and their wives of Fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being unmarried himself) declare unto them. And the whole Council commending his Sentence, gave place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulsion, to the will of every man, to do therein as he thought.

Notwithstanding there be some, which take Saint Gregory for their defence in this matter, whose temerity I laugh at, and ignorance I lament: for they know not, being ignorantly deceived, how dangerous the decree of this Heresie was (being made of S. Gregory) who afterwards well revoked the same, with condigne fruit of Repentance.

More than six thousand heads of Infants found in the Popes Mote through the wicked Decree of the single life of Priests. Let Priests note well the saying of Gregory.

For upon a certain day, as he sent unto his Fish-pond to have fish, and did see more than six thousand Infants heads brought to him, which were taken out of the same Pond or Mote, he did greatly repent in himself the Decree made before touching the single life of Priests, which he confessed to be the cause of that so lamentable a murder. And so purging the same with condigne fruit of Repentance, altered again the things which he had decreed before, commending that counsel of the Apostle, which saith, It is better to marry than to burn; adding moreover of himself thereunto, and saying, It is better to marry than to give occasion of death.

Peradventure if these men had read with me this which so hapned, I think they would not be so rash in their doing and judging; fearing at least the Lords Commandment, Do not judge, that you be not judged. And Saint Paul saith, Who art thou that judgest another mans Servant? Either he standeth or falleth to his own Master: but he shall stand; for the Lord is mighty and able to make him stand. Therefore let your Holiness cease to compel and enforce those, whom only you ought to admonish, lest through your own private commandment (which God forbid) you be found contrary as well to the Old Testament, as to the New. For as Saint Augustine saith to Donatus, This is only that we do fear in your Justice, lest (not for the consideration of Christian lenity, but for the grievousness and greatness of transgressions committed) you be

August. ad Donatum.

thought to use violence in executing punishment of that, which only we do desire you, (by Christ) not to do. For transgressions are so to be punished, that the life of the Transgressors may repent. Also another saying of Saint Augustine we would have you to remember, which is this, Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate, & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter; that is, Let nothing be done through the greediness of hurting, but all things through the charity of profiting; neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing ungently. Item, of the same Augustine it is written, In the fear and name of Christ I exhort you, which of you soever have not the goods of this world, be not greedy to have them. Such as have them, presume not too much upon them. For, I say, to have them is no damnation, but if you presume upon them, that is damnation; if for the having of them you shall seem great in your own sight, or if you do forget the common condition of man through the excellency of any thing you have. Use therefore therein due discretion, tempered with moderation, the which Cup of discretion is drawn out of the Fountain of the Apostolick Preaching, which said, Art thou loose from thy wife? Do not seek for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seek not to be loosed from her. Where also it followeth, Such as have wives, let them be as though they had them not, and they that use the world, let them be as not using it.

Note well the saying of Augustine.

Item, concerning the Widows, he saith, Let her marry to whom she will, only in the Lord. To marry in the Lord, is nothing else but to attempt nothing in contravention of Matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid. Jeremy also saith, Trust not in the words of lyes, saying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord. The which saying of Jeremy, Hierome expounding, saith thus, This may agree also, and be applied to such Virgins, which brag and vaunt of their Virginity with an impudent face, pretending Chastity, when they have another thing in their Conscience, and know not how the Apostle defineth the Virgin, that she should be holy in body, and also in spirit. For what availeth the chastity of the body, if the mind inwardly be deflowred? Or if it have not the other Vertues, which the Prophetical Sermon doth describe? The which Vertues, for so much as we see partly to be in you; and because we are not ignorant, that this discretion, although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life is kept honestly of you, we do not despair, but you will also soon amend the little lack which is behind. And therefore with as much gravity as we can, we cease not to call upon you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although, according to our common calling, a Bishop is greater than a Priest, and Augustine was less than Hierome; notwithstanding the good correction proceeding from the lesser to the greater, was not to be refused or disdained; especially, when he which is corrected is found to strive against the truth, to please men. For as Saint Augustine saith, writing to Boniface, The Disputations of all men, be they never so Catholick or approved persons, ought not to be had in stead of the Canonical Scriptures. So that we may disprove or refuse (saving the honour and reverence which is due unto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing there be found contrary to truth. And what can be found more contrary to the truth than this? When as the truth is self, speaking of continency, not of one only, but of all together (the number only excepted of them which have professed continency) saith, He that can take, let him take: the which saying, these men (moved, I cannot tell by what occasion) do turn and say, He that cannot take, let him be accursed. And what can be more foolish amongst men, than when any Bishop or Archdeacon run themselves headlong into all kind of lust, to Adultery and Incest, and also Sodomity? Yet shame not to say, that the chaste marriage of Priests doth stink before them: and, as void of all compassion and true righteousness, do not desire or admonish their Clerks, as their fellow-servants to abstain, but command them, and enforce them as servants, violently to abstain. Unto the which imperious Commandment of theirs, or Counsel (whether you will call it) they add also this foolish and filthy suggestion, saying, That it is more honest, privily to have to do with many women, than apertly in the sight and consciences of many men to be bound to one wife. The which truly they would not say, if they were either of him, or in him, which saith, Woe

What it is to marry in the Lord.

What a Virginitie is by the definition of the Apostle.

August. ad Bonifacium.

The shill saying and contrary doing of Popes.

Woe to you Pharisees, which do all things before men. And so the Plakist, Because they please men, they are confounded, for the Lord hath despised them. These be the men, who ought to persuade us that we should rather shame to sin privily in the sight of him, to whom all things be open, than seem in the sight of men to be clean. These men therefore, although through their sinful wickedness they deserve no counsel of godliness to be given them: yet we, not forgetting our humanity, cease not to give them counsel by the authority of Gods Word, which seeketh all mens salvation: desiring them by the bowels of Charity, and saying with the words of Scripture, Cast out (thou Hypocrite) first the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see to cast the mote out of the eye of thy Brother.

Moreover, this also we desire them to attend, what the Lord saith of the adulterous woman, Which of you that is without sin, let him cast the first stone against her. As though he would say, If Moses bid you, I also bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent Ministers and Executors of the Law, take heed what you add therunto; take heed also (I pray you) what you are your selves: for if (as the Scripture saith) thou shalt well consider thy self, thou wilt never defame or detract another.

Moreover, it is signified unto us also, that some there be of them, which (when they ought like unto good Shepherds to give their lives for the Lords Flock) yet are they puffed up with such pride, that without all reason they presume to rend and tear the Lords Flock with whippings and beatings, whose unreasonable doings Saint Gregory bewailing, thus saith, Quid fiat de ovibus quando Pastores Lupi fiunt? that is, What shall become of the Sheep when the Pastors themselves be Wolves? But who is overcome, but be which exerciseth cruelty? Or who shall judge the Persecutor, but be which gave patiently his back to stripes? And this is the fruit which cometh to the Church by such Persecutors, also which cometh to the Clergy by such despightful handling of their Bishops, or rather Infidels. For why may you not call them Infidels, of whom Saint Paul thus speaketh, and writeth to Timothy? That in the later days there shall certain depart from the Faith, and give heed to Spirits of Error and Doctrine of Devils: that speak false through hypocrisy, having their Consciences marked with an hot Iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, &c. And this is (if it be well marked) the whole bandful of the Darnel and Cockle growing amongst the Corn: this is the Covert of all madness; that whiles they of the Clergy be compelled to relinquish the company of their own lawful Wives, they become afterward Fornicators and Adulterers with other women, and wicked Ministers of other sinful filthiness. These be they which bring into the Church of God this Heresie (as blind Guides leading the blind) that it might be fulfilled which the Psalm speaketh of, as fore-seeing the Errors of such men, and accusing them after this manner, Let their eyes be blinded, that they see not, and bow down always their back. For so much then (O Apostolical Sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your discretion had understood and seen what poisoned pestilence might have come into the Church through the Sentence of this your Decree, you would never have consented to the suggestions of certain wicked persons. Wherefore we counsel you by the fidelity of our due subjection, that with all diligence you would put away so great slander from the Church of God: and through your discreet Discipline, you will remove this Pharisaical Doctrine from the Flock of God: so that this only Sunamite of the Lords (using no more adulterous Husbands) do not separate the holy people, and the Kingly Priesthood from her Spouse which is Christ, through an unrecoverable Divorcement: seeing that no man without Chastity (not only in the Virgins state, but also in the state of Matrimony) shall see our Lord, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.

By this Epistle of Bishop Hilderike (above prefixed) the matter is plain (gentle Reader) to conceive what was then the Sentence of learned men concerning the marriage of Ministers: but that here by the way, the Reader is to be admonished, that this Epistle which by Error of the Writer is referred to Pope Nicholas the first, in my

mind is rather to be attributed to the name and time of Nicholas the second, or Nicholas the third.

After this Pope Nicholas succeeded Adriannus the second, Joannes the ninth, Martinus the second. After these came Adrian the third, and Stephan the fifth. By this Adrian it was first decreed, That no Emperor after that time should intermeddle or have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperors first decay, and the Papacy to swell and rise aloft. And thus much concerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to return where we left, touching the story of King Ethelwolfe. About the later end of his Reign, the Danes which before had invaded the Realm, in the time of King Egbert, as is above declared, now made their re-entry again, with three and thirty Ships arriving about Hamshire: through the barbarous tyranny of whom, much bloodshed and murder happened here among Englishmen, in Dorsetshire, about Portsmouth, in Kent, in East-Angle, in Lindsey, at Rochester, about London, and in West-Sex, where Ethelwolfe the King was overcome, besides divers other Kings and Dukes, whom the Danes daily approaching, in great multitudes, in divers Victories had put to flight. At length King Ethelwolfe, with his Son Ethelbaldus, warring against them in Southbery, at Okley, drave them to the Sea; where they hovering a space, after a while brast in again with horrible rage and cruelty, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much as to our purpose shall serve, professing in this History to write of no matters extern and politick, but only pertaining to the Church. The cause of this great Affliction sent of God unto this Realm, thus I found expressed and collected in a certain old written story, which hath no name: the words of which Writer, for the same cause as he thought to recite them, writing (as he saith) *Ad cautelam futurorum*, I thought also for the same here not to be omitted, albeit in all parts of his Commendation I do not fully with him accord. The words of the Writer be these:

In Anglorum quidem Ecclesia primitiva, religio clarissime resplenduit: ita ut Reges & Reginae, & Principes ac Duces, Consules, & Barones, &c.

In English thus:

In the Primitive Church (saith he) of the English-men, Religion did most clearly shine, insomuch that Kings, Queens, Princes and Dukes, Consuls, Barons, and Rulers of Churches, incensed with the desire of the Kingdom of Heaven, labouring and striving among themselves to enter into Monkeny, into voluntary exile and solitary life, forsook all, and followed the Lord. Where, in process of time all vertue so much decayed among them, that in fraud and treachery none seemed like unto them: neither was to them any thing odious or hateful, but Piety and Justice. Neither any thing in price or honour, but civil War and shedding of innocent blood. Wherefore Almighty God sent upon them Pagan and cruel Nations, like swarms of Bees, which neither spared Women nor Children, as Danes, Norwegians, Gothes, Suevians, Vandals, and Frisians. Who, from the beginning of the Reign of King Ethelwolfe, till the coming of the Normans, by the space near of two hundred and thirty years, destroyed their sinful Land from the one side of the Sea to the other, from man also to beast. For why? They invading England oftentimes, of every side, went not about to subdue and possess it, but only to spoil and destroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be overcome of English-men, it availed nothing, when as other Navies still with greater Power in other places were ready upon a sudden and unawares, so approach upon them, &c. Historia Cariana.

Thus far have you the words of mine Author, declaring the cause which provoked Gods anger: whereunto may be adjoynd the wickedness, not only of them but of their fore-Fathers also before them, who falsely breaking the Faith and Promise made with the Britains, did cruelly murder their Nobles, wickedly oppressed their Commons, impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, injuriously possessed their Land and Habitation: chasing the Inhabitants out of House and Country, besides the violent murder of the Monks of Bangor, and divers foul Slaughters among the poor Britains, who sent for them

Pope Adrian the second. After these came Adrian the third, and Stephan the fifth.

Ex veris exemplis historiae Carianae. W.C.C.

Inventur hoc epistola in octavo membrano cili libri (scilicet II. lxxviii in eadem) Membrano cili. Et in fine scriptum est, & Germonio de scriptura.

to be their Helpers. Wherefore Gods just recompence falling upon them from that time, never suffered them to be quiet from foreign Enemies, till the coming of *William the Norman, &c.*

Another cause rendered, why England was scourged of the Danes.

The first entering of the Danes. Ex *historia Fornicij.*

Example, what mischief cometh by Adultery.

Codrinus King of Denmark.

Inguar and *Hubba* Captains of the Danes.

Another cause of the coming of the Danes.

Lothbroke Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*.

What mischief envy worketh.

Murder will out.

Moreover, concerning the outward occasions given of the *Englishmens* parts, moving the *Danes* first to invade the Realm, I find in certain stories two most specially assigned. The one unjustly given, and justly taken. The other not given justly, and unjustly taken. Of the which two, the first was given in *Northumberland*, by the means of *Osbricht*, reigning under-King of *West-Saxons*; in the North parts. This *Osbricht* upon a time journeying by the way, turned into the house of one of his Nobles called *Bruer*. Who having at home a wife of great beauty (he being absent abroad) the King after his dinner (allured with the excellency of her beauty) took her to a secret Chamber, where he forceably (contrary to her will) did ravish her: whereupon she being greatly dismayed, and vexed in her mind, made her moan to her Husband returning, of this violence and injury received. *Bruer* consulting with his Friends, first went to the King, resigning into his hands all such service and possessions which he did hold of him: that done, he took shipping and sailed into *Denmark*, where he had great Friends, and had his bringing up before. There making his moan to *Codrinus* the King, desired his aid in revenging of the great villany of *Osbricht* against him and his wife. *Codrinus* hearing this, and glad to have some just quarrel to enter that Land, levied an Army with all speed, and preparing all things necessary for the same, sendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba*, two Brethren, his chief Captains, with an innumerable multitude of *Danes* into *England*; who first arriving at *Holderness*, there burnt up the Country, and killed without mercy, both Men, Women and Children, whom they could lay hands upon. Then marching towards *York*, entered their battel with the foresaid *Osbricht*, where he with the most part of his Army was slain. And so the *Danes* entered the possession of the City of *York*. Some others say, and it is by the most part of story-writers recorded, that the chief cause of the coming of *Inguar* and *Hubba* with the *Danes*, was, to be revenged of King *Edmund*, reigning under the *West-Saxons* over the *East-Angles* in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*: for the murdering of a certain *Dane* being Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*, which was falsely imputed to King *Edmund*. The story is thus told.

A certain Nobleman of the *Danes* of the Kings stock, called *Lothbroke*, Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*, entering upon a time with his Hawk into a certain Schiffe or Cock-bote alone; by chance through tempest was driven with his Hawk to the coast of *Norfolk* named *Rodbam*, where he being found and detained, was presented to the King. The King understanding his Parentage, and seeing his case, entertained him in his Court accordingly, and every day more and more perceiving his Activities and great Dexterity in hunting and hawking, bare special favour unto him. Inasmuch that the Kings Falconer, or Master of his Game, bearing privy envy against him, secretly as they were hunting together in a Wood did murder him, and threw him into a bush. This *Lothbroke*, being murdered, within two or three days began to be missed in the Kings house: of whom no tidings could be heard, but only by a Dog or Spaniel of his, which continuing in the Wood with the corps of his Master, at sundry times came and fawned upon the King: so long that at the length they following the trace of the Hound, were brought to the place where *Lothbroke* lay. Whereupon inquisition being made, at length by certain circumstances of words and other evidences, it was known how and by whom he was murdered, that was by the Kings Huntsman named *Berike*. Who thereupon being convicted, was set into the same Bote of *Lothbroke*, alone and without any tackling to drive by Seas, either to be saved by the weather, or to be drowned in the deep. And as it chanced, *Lothbroke* from *Denmark* to be driven to *Norfolk*, so it happened that from *Norfolk* he was carried into *Denmark*, where the Bote of *Lothbroke* being well known, hands were laid upon him, and inquisition made of the party. In fine in his torments, to save himself, he uttered an untruth of King *Edmund*, saying, *That the King had put him to death in the Country of Norfolk*. Whereupon grudge first

was conceived, then an Army appointed, and great multitudes sent into *England* to revenge that Fact, where first they arriving in *Northumberland*, destroyed (as is said) those parts first. From thence sailing into *Norfolk* they exercised the like tyranny there, upon the Inhabitants thereof, especially upon the innocent Prince, and blessed Martyr of God, King *Edmund*. Concerning the farther Declaration whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ our Lord so permitting) more to be spoken, as place and observation of time and years shall require.

In the mean season, King *Ethelwolfe* in this Chapter here presently touched, when he had chased the foresaid *Danes*, (as is above rehearsed) from place to place, causing them to take the Sea, he in the mean while departeth himself both from land and life: leaving behind him four Sons, which reigned every one his order, after the decease of their Father. The names of whom were *Ethelbaldus*, *Ethelbrichtus*, *Ethelredus* and *Aluredus*.

King Ethelbald.

King *Ethelbald* the eldest Son of *Ethelwolfe*, succeeding his Father in the Province of *West-Sax*, and *Ethelbricht* in the Province of *Kent*, reigned both together the term of five years, one with the other. Of the which two, *Ethelbald* the first left this Infamy behind him in stories, for marrying and lying with his step-mother, wife to his own Father, named *Judith*. After these two succeeded *Ethelred*, the third Son, who in his time was so incumbered with the *Danes*, bursting in on every side, especially about *York* (which City they then spoiled and burnt up) that he in one year stood in nine battels against them, with the help of *Alured* his Brother. In the beginning of this Kings Reign, the *Danes* landed in *East-England*, or *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. But (as *Fabian* writeth) they were compelled to forsake that Country, and so took again shipping, and sailed *Northward*, and landed in *Northumberland*: where they were met of the Kings then there reigning, called *Osbricht* and *Ella*, which gave to them a strong fight. But notwithstanding, the *Danes*, with the help of such as inhabited the Country, won the City of *York*, and held it a certain season, as is above foretouched.

In the Reign of this *Ethelred*, the *Northumberlanders* rebelling against the King thought to recover again the former state of their Kingdom out of the *West-Saxons* hand; by reason of which discord (as happeneth in all Lands where dissention is) the strength of the *English* Nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the *Danes* the more thereby prevailed.

About the later time of the Reign of this *Ethelred*, which was about the year of our Lord, 870. certain of the foresaid *Danes* being thus possessed of the North Country (after their cruel Persecution and murder done there, as partly is touched before) took shipping from thence, intending to sail toward the *East-Angles*, who by the way upon the Sea met with a Fleet of *Danes*; whereof the Captains or Leaders were named *Inguar* and *Hubba*. Who joyning altogether in one Council, made all one course, and lastly landed in *East-England* or *Norfolk*, and in process of time came to *Thetford*. Thereof hearing *Edmund*, then under-King of that Province, assembled an Host that gave to them battel. But *Edmund* and his Company was forced to forsake the Field; and the King with a few persons fled unto the Castle of *Framingham*, whom the *Danes* pursued. But he in short while after yielded himself to the persecution of the *Danes*: answering in this manner to the Messenger, that told him in the name of *Inguar* Prince of the *Danes*, which most victoriously (saith he) was come with innumerable Legions, subduing both by Sea and Land many Nations unto him: and so now arrived in those parts requireth him likewise to submit himself, yielding to him his hid Treasures, and such other goods of his Ancestors, and so to Reign under him: which thing if he would not do, he should (saith he) be judged unworthy both of life and reign. *Edmund* hearing of this proud message of the *Pagan*, consulted with certain of his friends; and among others, with one of his Bishops, being then his Secretary; who seeing the present danger

King Ethelbald.

Anno 857.

King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald.

Anno 867.

King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald.

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King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald.

of the King, gave him counsel to yield to the conditions. Upon this the King pausing a little with himself, at length rendred this answer, bidding the messenger go tell his Lord in these words, That *Edmund* a Christian King, for the love of temporal life, will not submit himself to a Pagan Duke, unless he before would be a Christian. Incontinent upon the same, the wicked and crafty *Dane*, approaching in most hasty speed upon the King, encountred with him in battel (as some say) at *Tetford*; where the King being put to the worse, and pitying the terrible slaughter of his men, thinking with himself rather to submit his own person to danger, than his people should be slain, did flie (as *Fabian* saith) to the Castle of *Framingham*, (or as mine Author writeth) to *Halesdon*, now called *St. Edmundsbury*, where this blessed man being on every side compassed of his cruel enemies, yielded himself to their persecution. And for that he would not reny or deny Christ and his Laws, they therefore most cruelly bound him unto a Tree, and caused him to be shot to death; and lastly, caused his head to be smitten from his body, and cast into the thick bushes. Which head and body at the same time by his friends was taken up, and solemnly buried at the said *Halesdon*, otherwise now named *St. Edmundsbury*. Whole Brother named *Edwoldus* (notwithstanding of right the Kingdom fell next unto him) setting apart the liking and pleasure of the world, became an Hermit of the Abbey of *Cerum* in the Country of *Dorset*.

After the Martyrdom of this blessed *Edmund*, when the cruel *Danes* had sufficiently robbed and spoiled that Country, they took again their Ships, and landed in *Southbery*, and continued their journey till they came to the Town of *Reading*, and there won the Town with the Castle, where (as *Cambrensis* saith) within three days of their thither coming, the foresaid *Inguar* and *Hubba* Captains of the *Danes*, as they went in purchasing of their preys or booties, were slain at a place called *Englefield*. Which Princes of the *Danes* thus slain, the rest of them kept whole together, in such wise that the *West Saxons* might take of them none advantage. But yet within few days after, the *Danes* were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the Castle and to defend themselves in plain battel. In the which (by the industry of King *Ethelred*, and of *Alured* his Brother) the *Danes* were discomfited, and many of them slain; which discomfort made them fly again into the Castel, and there he kept them for a certain time. The King then committing the charge of them to *Ethelwold* Duke of *Baroke*, or *Barkshire*, so departed. But when the *Danes* knew of the Kings departure, they brake suddenly out of their Hold, and took the Duke unprovided, and slew him, and much of his people. And so adjoyning themselves with others that were scattered in the Country, imbattelled them in such wise, that of them was gathered a strong Host.

As the tidings hereof was brought unto King *Ethelred*, (which put him in great heaviness) word also was brought the same time of the landing of *Osrike* King of *Denmark*, who with assistance of the other *Danes* had gathered a great Host, and were imbattelled upon *Ashdon*. To this battel King *Ethelred* with his Brother *Alured* (forced by great need) sped themselves to withstand the *Danes*. At which time the King a little staying behind, being yet at his service, *Alured* which was come in before, had entred already into the whole fight with the *Danes*; who struck together with huge violence. The King being required to make speed (he being then at service and meditations) such was his devotion, that he would not stir out one foot before their service was fully compleat. In this mean while, the *Danes* so fiercely invaded *Alured* and his men, that they won the hill, and the Christian men were in the valley, and in great danger to lose the whole field. Nevertheless through the grace of God, and their godly manhood, the King coming from his service, with his fresh Soldiers recovered the hill of the Infidels, and so discomfited the *Danes* that day; that in flying away not only they lost the victory, but most part also of them their lives. In-fomuch that their Duke or King *Osrike*, or *Osege*, and five of their Dukes, with much of their people were slain, and the rest chased unto *Reading* Town.

After this the *Danes* yet reasssembled their people, and gathered a new Host; so that within fifteen days they met at *Basingstoke*, and there gave battel unto the King, and

had the better. Then the King again gathered his men, which at that field were disparkled, and with fresh Soldiers to them accompanied, met the *Danes* within two months after at the Town of *Merton*, where he gave them a sharp Battel, so that much people were slain as well of the Christians as of the *Danes*, but in the end the *Danes* had the honour of the field, and King *Ethelred* there was wounded, and therefore fain to save himself.

After these two fields thus won by the *Danes*, they obtained great circuit of ground, and destroyed man and child that would not yield to them. And Churches and Temples they turned to the use of Stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the King being beset with enemies on every side, seeing the land so miserably oppressed of the *Danes*, his Knights and Soldiers consumed, his own Land of *West Saxons* in such desolation, he being also wounded himself, but specially for that he sending his Commissions into *Northumberland*, into *Mercia*, and *East Anglia*, could have of them but small or little comfort (because they through wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the *Danes* than of their King) was sore perplexed there withal, as the other Kings were both before him and after him at that time. So that as *Malmesbury* witnesseth, *Magis optarent honestum exitium, quam tam acerbum imperium*; that is, They rather wished honestly to die, than with such trouble and sorrow to reign. And thus this King not long after deceased, when he had reigned (as *Fabian* saith) eight years, or as *Malmesbury* writeth, but five years. During which time of his reign, notwithstanding his so great troubles and vexations in Martial affairs (as is in some Stories mentioned) he founded the House or Colledge of Canons at *Excester*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Winborne* or *Woborne*. After whose decease, for lack of issue of his body, the rule of the land fell unto his Brother *Alured*.

King *Alured*, otherwise called *Alfred*.

AMONG the *Saxon* Kings hitherto in this Story {Anno 872. } (or almost to be compared) to this *Alured* or *Alfred*, for the great and singular qualities in this King, worthy of high renown and commendation; whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold travels which he continually from time to time sustained against his enemies in wars, during almost all the time of his reign, for the publick preservation of his people; or whether we consider in him his godly and excellent vertues, joynd with a publick and tender care, and a zealous study for the common peace and tranquillity of the weal publick; appearing as well in his prudent Laws by him both carefully set forth, and with the like care executed; as also by his own private Exercises touching the vertuous institution of his life. Or whether we respect that in him, which with equal praise matcheth with both the other before; that is, his notable knowledg of good Letters, with a fervent love and Princely desire to set forth the same through all his Realm, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his Heroical properties, joynd together in one Prince, as it is a thing most rare, and seldom seen in Princes now a days; so I thought the same the more to be noted and exemplified in this good King. Thereby either to move other Rulers and Princes in these our days to his imitation; or else to shew them what had been in times past in their ancestors, which ought to be, and yet is not found in them. Wherefore of these three parts to discourse either part in order, first we will enter to intreat of his acts and painful travels sustained in defence of the Realm publick, against the raging tyranny of the *Danes*, as they be described in the *Latin* Histories of *Roger Hoveden*, and *Huntington*; whom *Fabian* also seemeth in this part somewhat to follow. King *Alfred* therefore the first of all the *English* Kings, taking his Crown and Unction at *Rome* of Pope *Leo* (as *Malmesbury* and *Polychronicon* do record) in the beginning of his reign, perceiving his Lords and people much wasted and decayed, by the reason of the great wars of *Ethelred* had against the *Danes*, yet as well as he could, gathered a strength of men unto him; and in the second month that he was made King, he met with the *Danes* beside *Wilton*, where he gave them Battel. But

The answer of King Edmund.

The persecution and death of St. Edmund K. of the West Angles.

K. Edmund Martyr.

Reading taken of the Danes.

Inguar and Hubba slain.

Duke Ethelwold slain.

Osrike King of Denmark landeth in England.

Ed. Gualter, Malmesb. Ed. Historia. Jorland. Ed. Fabian. & alii.

Invocation and prayer profitable in time of battel.

The Danes overthrown at Ashdon.

Another battel fought with the Danes at Merton.

What discord and rebellion doth in a Realm.

The death of Ethelred.

The Abbey of Excester founded.

Alured King of England.

Ed. Reg. Hoved. H. Hunting. Polychronicon & Fabian.

Burthred expelled his Kingdom, went to Rome, and there died in the English house.

But being far over-matched through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worse; although not without a great slaughter of the Pagan Army. Which Army then of the Danes, after that victory, by compact made with King Alfred to depart out of his Dominion of *Wessex*, removed from *Reading* to *London*, where they abode all that Winter. Where *Holden* their King, truce with *Burthred* King of *Mercians*, the next year following, voided those parts, and drew to *Lindsey*, robbing and spoiling the Towns and Villages as they went, and holding the common people under their servage. From thence after to *Repingdon*, where they joining with the three other Kings of the Danes (called *Surdrim*, *Osketoll*, and *Hamond*) grew thereby in mighty force and strength. Who then dividing their Army in two parts, the one half remained with *Halden* in the Country of *Northumberland*; the residue were with the other three Kings, wintering and sojourning all the next year at *Grantbridge*, which was the fourth year of King Alfred. In the which year King Alfred his men had a conflict on the Sea with six of the Danes Ships, of which one they took, the other fled away.

Rollo the Dane first Duke of Normandy.

In this year went *Rollo* the Dane into *Normandy*, where he was Duke thirty years, and afterward was Baptized in the Faith of Christ, and named *Robert*. The foresaid Army of the three Dane Kings above mentioned from *Grantbridge* returned again to *Wessex*, and entered the Castle of *Warrham*; where Alfred with a sufficient power of men was ready to assault them. But the Danes seeing his strength, durst not attempt with him, but sought delays, while more aid might come. In the mean season they were constrained to entreat for truce; leaving also sufficient pledges in the Kings hand, promising moreover upon their Oath to void the Country of the *Wessexons*. The King upon the surety let them go. But they falsely breaking their league, privily in the night brake out, taking their journey toward *Excester*. In which journey they lost six score of their small Ships, by a tempest at *Sandwich*, (as *Henry Huntington* in his Story recordeth.) Then King Alfred followed after the Horsemen of the Danes, but could not overtake them before they came to *Excester*, where he took of them pledges and fair promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding the number of the Pagans did daily more and more increase, in so much (as one of my Authors saith) that if in one day thirty thousand of them were slain, shortly after they increased double as many again. After this truce taken with King Alfred, the Danes then voided to the Land of *Mercia*, whereof part of that Kingdom they kept themselves, part they committed to one *Ceolulphus*; upon condition that he should be vassal to them, and at their commandment, with his people at all times.

Anno 879.

The next year ensuing, which was the seventh year of the reign of Alfred, the Danes now having all the rule of the North part of *England*, from the river of *Thames*, with *Mercia*, *London*, and *Essex*, disdained that Alfred should bear any Dominion on the other side of *Thames* Southward. Whereupon the foresaid three Kings, with all the forces and strength they could make, marched toward *Chippenham* in *Wessex*, with such a multitude, that the King with his people was not able to resist them; in so much that the people which inhabited there, some fled over the Sea, some remained with the King, divers submitted themselves to the Danes. Thus Alfred being over-set with multitude of enemies, and forsaken of his people, having neither land to hold, nor hope to recover that which he had lost, withdrew himself with a few of his Nobles about him, into a certain Wood-country in *Somersetshire* called *Etheling*; where he had right scant to live with, but such as he and his people might purchase by hunting and fishing. This *Etheling* or *Etheling*, or *Ethelingsey*, standeth in a great marsh or moor, so that there is no access unto it without Ship or Boat, and hath in it a great Wood called *Selwood*, and in the middle a little Plain about two acres of ground, in which life is Venison, and other wild Beasts, with Fowl and Fishes, great plenty. In this Wood King Alfred at his first coming, espied a certain desert cottage of a poor Swineherd, keeping Swine in the Wood, named *Dunwulfus*; of whom the King then unknown was entertained and cherished, with such poor fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which King Alfred afterward set the poor Swineherd to learning, and made him Bishop of *Winchester*.

K. Alfred fled into a desert Wood.

Etheling, which is to say, the life of Nobles.

A Swineherd made Bishop of Winchester.

In the mean season, while King Alfred accompanied with a few was thus in the desert Wood, waiting the event of these miseries, certain Stories record of a poor Beggar, which there came and asked his Alms of the King; and the night following he appeared to the King in his sleep, saying, his name was *Cuthbert*, promising (as sent from God unto him for his good charity) great victories against the Danes. But to let these dreaming Fables pass, although they be testified by divers Authors, as both *Wilhelms lib. de Reg. Polychronicon*, *Reg. Hoveden*, *Jornalensis*, and others more. Notwithstanding the King in process of time was strengthened and comforted more, through the Providence of God; respecting the miserable ruin of the English men. First, the Brother of King *Halden* the Dane before mentioned, coming in with three and thirty Ships, landed about *Devonshire*; where by chance being resisted by a Bushment of King Alfred's men (who for their safeguard there lay in Garrison) were slain to the number of 1300 men, and their Ensign called the *Raven* was taken. *Hovedenus* in his Book of *Continuaciones* writeth, that in the same conflict both *Inguar* and *Hubba* were slain among the other Danes. After this King Alfred being better cheered, shewed himself more at large; so that daily resorted to him men of *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Hampshire*, till that he was strongly accompanied.

Hen. Hist. Angl. dy.

Ingen and Hubba slain.

Then the King put himself in a bold and dangerous venture, as writeth *Wilhelms lib. de Reg. Polychron.* and *Fabian*, which followeth them both. For he apparelling him in the habit of a Minstrel (as he was very skilful in all Saxon Poems) with his instrument of Musick entered into the Tents of the Danes, lying then at *Eddendun*; and in shewing these his Interludes and Songs, espied all their sloth and idleness, and heard much of their counsel; and after returning to his company, declared unto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly upon the same, the King suddenly in the night fell upon the foresaid Danes, and distressed and slew of them a great multitude, chased them from that coast. In so much that through his strong and valiant assaults upon his enemies out of his Tower of *Edeling* newly fortified, he so incumbered them, that he clearly voided the Country of them, between that and *Selwood*. His subjects esteeming hearing of these his valiant victories and manful deeds, drew to him daily out of all coasts. Who through the help of God, and their assistance, held the Danes so short, that he won from them *Winchester*, and divers other good Towns. Briefly, at length he forced them to seek for peace; the which was concluded upon certain Covenants. Whereof one and the principal was, that the forenamed *Gurum* their King should be Christened. The other was, that such as would not be Christened, should depart and void the Country.

A bold adventure or attempt of K. Alfred, venturing himself to the Tents of the Danes.

Ex Fabian.

Upon these Covenants, first the said *Gurum* the Danish Prince coming to *Winchester*, was there Christened with twenty of his greatest Dukes or Nobles. To the which *Gurum* King Alfred being his Godfather at his Baptism, named him *Athelstan*. Who after a certain season that he had feasted the said Danes, he according to his promise before made, gave unto their King the Country of *East Anglia*, containing *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, and part of *Cambridgeshire*. Moreover (as saith *Polychronicon*) he granted to the Danes that were Christened, the Country of *Northumberland*. So the residue that would not be Christened, departed the land, and sailed into *France*; where what vexation and harm they wrought, the *Chronicles of France* do partly comprehend.

Gurum the Prince of the Danes was Christened.

K. Gurum named Athelstan.

Northfolk and Suffolk given to K. Gurum.

King *Athelstan* thus having the possession of these Countries, had all *East Angles* under his obedience. And albeit that he held the same Province as in fee of the King, and promised to dwell there as his liege man, yet that notwithstanding, he continued more like a Tyrant by the term of eleven years, and died in the twelfth year. During the which space, King Alfred having some more rest and peace, repaired certain Towns and strong Holds afore by the Danes impaired. Also he builded divers Houses of Religion, as the House of Nuns at *Shaftsbury*; another Religious House at *Etheling* he founded. Item, another in *Winchester*, named the New Monastery. Item, he endued richly the Church of *St. Cuthbert* in *Dirham*. He sent also to *India* to pay and perform his Vows to *St. Thomas* of *Inde*, which he made during the time of his distress against the Danes.

The Monastery of Shaftsbury builded. The New Monastery at Winchester beleeved of the Danes.

About

About the fifteenth year of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* returning from *France* to *England*, landed in *Kent*, and so came to *Rochester* and besieged that City; and there lay so long that they builded a Tower of timber against the Gates of the City. But by strength of the Citizens that Tower was destroyed, and the City defended, till King *Alfred* came and rescued them. Whereby the *Danes* were so distressed, and so neer trapped, that for fear they left their Horses behind them, and fled to their Ships by night. But the King when he was thereof aware, sent after them and took sixteen of their Ships, and slew many of the said *Danes*. This done, the King returned to *London*, and repaired the same honourably (as saith *Hovedenus*) and made it habitable, which before was fore decayed and feeble by the *Danes*.

Anno 892.

The third year after this, which was the nineteenth year of the reign of King *Alfred*, the foresaid *Atbelstan* the Danish King of *Northfolk* (which by *Alfred* was Christened before) deceased. Not long after this, about the one and twentieth year of this Kings reign, the *Danes* again landed in four places of this land; which was in *East-England*, in the North, and in the West, in two places. Before the landing of these *Danes* it chanced King *Alfred*, hearing of the death of King *Atbelstan*, and of other complaints of the *Danes*, was then in *East-England* when these tidings came to him.

The Danes driven from Northfolk.

When King *Alfred* was hereof ascertained, for so much as some of the *Danes* were landed in that Coast, thinking with themselves the further they went in those parts the less resistance to have, and the more speed, as they were wont to have before; *Alfred* therefore sending messengers in all haste to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, to assemble to him an Host to withstand the *Danes* which landed in the West, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in *Eastanglia*, whom he pursued so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts. They then landed in *Kent*, whither the King with his people sped him, and in like manner drove the *Danes* from thence, without any great fight, so far as in our Authors we can see. After this, again the *Danes* took shipping, and sailed into *North-wales*, and there robbed and spoiled the *Britains*, and from thence returned by the Sea into *Eastanglia*, with an hundred Ships, and there rested them, for so much as the King then was gone Westward.

The Danes return again to North-wales.

The Danes driven out of Chester.

The fourth Host of the *Danes* the same year came to *Chester*, which at length they won; but then the Country adjoining pressed so sore upon them, and besieged them so long, keeping themselves within the City, that at the last the *Danes* wearied with the long siege, were compelled to eat their own Horses for hunger. But by appointment at last they gave over the Town, and went about by *Northwales* to *Northumberland*, which was about the three and twentieth year of King *Alfred*. Which *Alfred* in the mean while with his Host sped him thitherward. Then the *Danes* leaving their strong Holds and Castles, garnished with men and victual, took again shipping, and set their course in such wise that they landed in *Suffex*, and so came to the Port of *Leves*, and from thence toward *London*, and builded a Tower or Castle near unto the River of *Luy*, twenty miles from *London*. But the *Londoners* hearing thereof, manned out a certain number of men of Arms, who with the assistance of them of that Country, put the *Danes* from that Tower, and after beat it down to the ground. Soon after the King came down thither, and to prevent the dangers that might ensue, commanded the River of *Luy* to be divided in three streams; so that where a Ship might sail in times before, there a little Boat might scanty row. From thence the *Danes* leaving their Ships and Wives, were forced to flee that Country, and took their way again toward *Wales*, and came to *Quadrage* near to the River of *Severn*; where upon the borders thereof they builded them a Castle, there resting themselves for a time, whom the King eftsoons with his Army pursued. In the mean time the *Londoners* at *Luy* taking the *Danes* Ships, some of them they brought to *London*, the rest they fired. During all these three years, from the first coming of the *Danes* to *Luy*, *England* was afflicted with three manner of sorrows, with the *Danes*, with pestilence of men, and morrain of beasts. The which troubles notwithstanding, yet the King manfully resisted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God

The Danes driven from Leves.

The river of Luy divided into three streams.

Three plagues in England.

always, what trouble soever fell to him, or unto his Realm, and sustained it with great patience and humility. These three years overpast, the next following, which was the eight and twentieth of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* divided their Host, of whom part went to *Northumberland*, some to *Northfolk*, part sailed over to *France*, some other came to *Wessex*, where they had divers conflicts with the *English* men, both by land, and especially upon the Sea; of whom some were slain, many by shipwrack perished, divers others were taken and hanged, and thirty of their Ships were taken.

Anno 897.

The Danes Ships taken.

Not long after this, King *Alfred*, when he had reigned nine and twenty years and six months, changed this mortal life. And thus much (and more peradventure than will seem to this our Ecclesiastical Story appertaining) touching the painful labours and travels of this good King; which he no less valiantly achieved, than patiently sustained for the necessary defence of his Realm and subjects.

Anno 899.

Now if there be any Prince who listeth to see and follow the virtuous and godly disposition of this King, both touching the institution of his own life, and also concerning his careful Government of the Common-weal, thus the Histories of him do record. That at what time he being young, perceiving himself somewhat disposed to the vice of the flesh, and thereby letted from many virtuous purposes, did not as many young Princes and Kings Sons in the world be now wont to do, that is, to relolve themselves into all kind of carnal license, and dissolute sensuality, running and following without bridle whither soever their license given doth lead them (as therefore not without cause the common Proverb reporteth of them, that Kings Sons learn nothing well else but only to ride.) Meaning thereby, that Princes and Kings Sons having about them flatterers, which bolster them in their faults, only their Horses give to them no more than to any other; but if they sit not fast, they will cast them. But this young King seeing in himself the inclination of his fleshly nature, minding not to give himself so much as he might take, but rather by resistance to avoid the temptation thereof, besought God that he would send to him some continual sickness, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publick business of the Commonwealth, and more apt to serve God in his calling. *Cestren. lib. 5. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.*

The virtuous and godly life of King Alfred described.

The inclination of nature corrected in K. Alfred.

The Godly Petition of K. Alfred.

Then at Gods Ordinance he had the Evil called *Ficus*, till he came to the age of twenty years, whereof at length he was cured (as is said in some Stories) by the Virgin called *Modwen*, an *Irish* woman. After this sickness being taken away, to him fell another, which continued with him from the twentieth year of his age to forty and five (according to his own Petition and request made unto God) whereby he was the more reclaimed and tempered from the other more great inconveniencies, and less disposed to that which he did most abhor.

Modwen.

Moreover, to behold the bountiful goodness joyned with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and disposing his riches and rents, it is not unworthily to be recited, how he divided his goods in two equal parts; the one appertaining to uses secular, the other to uses spiritual or Ecclesiastical. Of the which two principal parts, the first he divided into three portions, the first to the behoof of his house and family; the second upon the workmen and builders of his new works, whereof he had great delight and cunning; the third upon strangers. Likewise the other second half upon Spiritual uses, he did thus divide in four portions, one to the relieving of the poor, another to the Monasteries, the third portion to the Schools of *Oxford*, for the maintaining of good Letters; the fourth he sent to foreign Churches without the Realm. This also is left in Stories written to his commendation for his great tolerance and sufferance, that when he had builded the new Monastery at *Winchester*, and afterward his Son *Edward* had purchased of the Bishop and the Chapter a sufficient piece of ground for certain Offices to be adjoyned unto the same, and had given for every foot of ground, *Marcam auri pleni ponderis*, (which was as I think a mark of Gold, or more) yet *Alfred* therewith was not greatly discontented to see his Coffers so wasted.

King Alfred how he divided his Goods in two parts. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 1. Guliel. lib. de Regib. The liberal heart of K. Alfred.

Over and besides, how sparing and frugal he was of time, (as of a thing in this Earth most precious) and how far

How well
and godly
this King
spent his
time.

from all vain pastimes and idleness he was, this doth well declare, which in the story of *William de Reg.* and other Writers is told of him. That he so divided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by wars and other great business, that eight hours he spent in study and learning, and other eight hours he spent in prayer and almshouses, and other eight hours he spent in his natural rest, sustenance of his body, and the needs of the Realm. The which order he kept duly by the burning of waxen Tapers kept in his Closet by certain persons for the same purpose. *Guliel.*

The Godly
Laws of
K. Alfred.

A notable
example of
thievery and
felony ba-
nished this
Realm.

How studious he was and careful of the Commonwealth, and maintenance of publick tranquillity, his Laws most godly set forth and devised by him may declare. Wherein especially by him was provided for the extirpating and abolishing of all theft and thieves out of the Realm. Whereby the Realm through his vigilant care was brought into such tranquillity, or rather perfection, that in every cross or turning way he made to be set up a golden Brough, at least of silver gilded, through his Dominions, and none so hardy neither by day nor night to take it down; for the more credit whereof the words of the *Latin* story be these, *Armillas aureas iuberet suspendi, quæ viantium aviditatem irritarent, dum non essent qui eas abriperent, &c. Guliel. lib. de regibus Angl.* And no great marvel therein, if the Realm in those days was brought into such an order, and that justice then was so well ministered, when the King himself was so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his Judges and Officers. Whereof thus also we read in the said Author testified: *Judiciorum a suis hominibus factorum inquisitor perperam actorum asperrimus corrector. i.e.* He was (saith mine Author, speaking of the King) a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his Judges, and a strict punisher of their misdoings. *Jornalensis* also writing upon the same, thus saith, *Facta ministrorum suorum & potissime judicum diligenter investigavit, adeo ut quos ex avaritia aut imperitia errare cognosceret, ab officio removebat:* that is, He did diligently search out the doings of his Officers, and especially of his Judges, so that if he knew any of them to err either through covetousness or unskillfulness, them he removed from their office.

Ex Historia
Jornalensis.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble virtues of this worthy Prince: whereunto although there were no other ornaments adjoining besides, yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Now besides these other qualities and gifts of Gods grace in him above mentioned, remaineth another part of his no little praise and commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters, whereof he not only was excellently expert himself, but also a worthy maintainer of the same through all his Dominions; where before no use of Grammar or other Sciences was practised in this Realm, especially about the West parts of the land, there through the industry of the King, Schools began to be erected, and studies to flourish. Although among the *Britains*, in the Town of *Chester* in *Southwales*, long before that in King *Arthur's* time, as *Galfridus* writeth, both Grammar and Philosophy, with other Tongues was then taught. After that some other Writers record that in the time of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, this Island began to flourish with Philosophy. About which time some also think that the University of *Grantschester*, near to that which now is called *Cambridge*, began to be founded by *Beda*, following this conjecture therein, for that *Alcuinus* (before mentioned) which after went to *Rome*, and from thence to *France*, in the time of *Charles* the Great, where he first began the University of *Paris*, was first trained up in the exercise of studies at the same School of *Grantschester*. *Beda lib. III. cap. 18.* Writing also of *Sigebert* King of *East Angles*, declareth how the said *Sigebert* returning out of *France* into *England* (according to the examples which he did there see) ordered and disposed Schools of Learning through the means of *Felix* then Bishop, and placed in them Masters and Teachers, after the use and manner of the *Cantuaris*. And yet before these times, moreover it is thought that there were two Schools or Universities within the Realm, the one *Greek* at the Town of *Greglade*, which afterward was called *Kirkelade*; the other for *Latin*, which place was then called *Latimlade*, afterward *Letbedlade* near to *Oxford*.

King Alfred
commended
for Learning.

When
Learning
first began
to be set up
in England.

Chester a
place of
Learning.

The University
of Grantschester
by Cambridge.

The University
at Paris first
began by
four, *Rabanus*,
Alcuinus, *Claudianus*,
Johannes, *Scotus*.

Sigebert K.
of East Angles
a Scepter
of Schools.

Two ancient
Schools
in England,
one for
Greek, the
other for
Latin.

But howsoever it chanced that the knowledge and study

of good Letters being once planted in this Realm, afterward went to decay; yet King *Alfred* deserveth no little praise, for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they have ever since continued, albeit not continually through every age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to have a Prince learned himself, who feeling and tasting the price and value of Science and knowledge, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subjects, from a rude barbarity, to a more civil congruency of life, and to a better understanding of things, as we see in this famous Prince to happen. Concerning whose first education and bringing up, although it was somewhat late before he entered any Letter, yet such was the apt towardness and docility of his nature, that being a child, he had the *Saxon* Poems (such as were used then in his own tongue) by heart and memory. Who afterwards with years and time grew up in such perfection of learning and knowledge, in so much that (as mine Author saith) *Nul-lus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior.* The which thing in him the more was to be marvelled, for that he was twelve years of age before he knew any Letter. Then his Mother, careful and tender over him, having by chance a Book in her hand, which he would fain have, promised to give him the same, so that he would learn it. Whereupon he for greediness of the Book, effoons learned the Letters, having to his School-master *Pleimundus*, after Bishop of *Canterbury*. And so daily grew he more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine Author saith, *Plurimam partem Romanæ Bibliothecæ Anglorum auri-bus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium usibus convertens:* that is, A great part of the *Latin* Library he translated into *English*, converting to the uses of his Citizens a notable prey of foreign ware and Merchandize, &c. Of which Books by him and through him translated, was *Orosius*, *Pastorale Gregorii*, the History of *Beda*, *Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ*. Also a Book of his own making, and in his own tongue, which in the *English* speech he called, *A Hand-book*; in *Greek* called it, *Enchiridion*, in *Latin*, *A Manual*. Besides the History of *Beda* translated into the *Saxons* Tongue, he also himself compiled a story in the same Speech, called, *The Story of Alfred*, &c. which both Books in the *Saxons* Tongue I have seen, though the Language I do not understand. And as he was learned himself excellently well, so likewise did he inflame all his Countrymen to the love of Liberal Letters, as the words of the Story reporteth, *Illos præmiis, hos minis hortando neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aspirare permit-tens:* that is, He exhorted and stirred his people to the study of Learning, some with gifts, some by threats, suffering no man to aspire to any dignity in the Court except he were learned. Moreover another Story thus saith, speaking of his Nobles, *Optimates quoque suos ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum provocavit, ut sibi filios suos, vel saltem si filios non haberent, servos suos, literis commendarent:* that is, Also his Nobles so much he did allure to the embracing of good Letters, that they set all their Sons to School; or if they had no Sons, yet their servants they caused to be learned. Whereby the common Proverb may be found not so common as true, *Such as is the Prince, such be the subjects.* He began moreover to translate the *Psalter* in *English*, and had almost finished the same, had not death prevented him. *Guliel. de Regib. Angl.* In the Prologue of the Book, intituled, *Pastorale Grego.* thus he writeth, declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good Books from *Latin* into *English*, shewing the cause thereof why he so did, as followeth: *Quod Ecclesiæ in quibus innumera præcæ Bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incensæ sint: quodque in tota insula studium literarum ita abolitum esset, ut quisque minus timeret capitis periculum, quam studiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter se in hoc Angliis suis consulere, &c.* that is, The cause was for that innumerable ancient Libraries which were kept in Churches, were consumed with fire by the *Danes*; and that men had rather suffer peril of their life than to follow the exercises of studies; and therefore he thought thereby to provide thereby for the people of the *English* Nation, &c.

Ex Historia
Guliel. de
Regib. Angl.

Pleimundus
Teacher to
King Alfred
and after
Bishop of
Canterbury.

Book trans-
lated out of
Latin by K.
Alfred.

None per-
mitted to
have any
dignity in
the Court
except he
were learn-
ed.

Polychron.
lib. 6. cap. 1.

The *Psalter*
translated
into *English*
by King
Alfred.

The cause
why the
King trans-
lated *Latin*
Books into
English.

It is told of him both in *Polychronicon*, *Malmesbury*, *Jornalensis*, and other stories more, whereof I have no names, that he seeing his Country (namely *Westward*) to be so

so desolate of Schools and Learning, partly to profit himself, partly to furnish his Country and subjects with better knowledge, first sent for *Grimbaldus* a learned Monk out of *France* to come into *England*. Also he sent for another learned man out from the parts of *Wales*, whose name was *Afferion*, whom he made Bishop of *Shireborne*. Item, out of *Mercia* he sent for *Werfrithus* Bishop of *Worcester*, to whom he put the Dialogues of *Gregory* to be translated. But chiefly he used the counsel of *Neotus*, who then was counted for an holy man, an Abbot of a certain Monastery in *Cornwall*. By the advisement of which *Neotus*, he sent for these learned men above recited; and also ordained certain Schools of divers Arts, first at *Oxford*, and also franchised the same with many great liberties. *Guliel. formalis. Fab. c. 171.* Whereof perhaps the School, now called the New Colledge (first then begun of this *Neotus*) might take his name, which afterward peradventure the Bishops of *Winchester* after a larger manner did re-edifie and enlarge with greater possessions.

Moreover, among other learned men, which were about King *Alfred*, Histories make mention of *Joannes Scotus* (a godly Divine, and a learned Philosopher) but not that *Scotus* whom now we call *Duns*. For that *Joannes Scotus* came after this many years. This *Joannes* is described to be of a sharp wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the *Greek* Tongue, pleasant and merry of nature and conditions, as appeareth by divers his doings and answers. First, he coming to *France* out of his own Country of *Scotland*, by reason of the great tumults of war, was there worthily entertained, and for his learning had in great estimation of *Carolus Calvus* the *French* King; whom he commonly and familiarly used ever to have about him, both at Table, and in Chamber. Upon a time the King sitting at meat, and seeing something (belike in this *John Scot*) which seemed not very Courtly, cast forth a merry word, asking of him what difference there was betwixt a *Scot* and a *Sot*? Whereunto the *Scot* sitting over against the King somewhat lower, replied again suddenly, rather than advisedly (yet merrily) saying, *Mensa tantum*, that is, the Table only; importing thereby himself to be the *Scot*, and so calling the King a *Sot* by craft. Which word how other Princes would have taken of stomach, I know not; but this *Charles*, for the great reverence he bear to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his Nobles, and so let it pass.

Another time the same King being at dinner was served with a certain dish of Fish, wherein were two great fishes and a little one. After the King had taken thereof his repast, setteth down to *Joannes Scotus* the foresaid Fish, to distribute unto the other two Clerks sitting there with him, which were two tall and mighty persons, he himself being but a little man. *Joannes* taketh the Fish, of the which the two great he taketh and carveth to himself, the little Fish he reacheth to the other two. The King perceiving his division thus made, reprehended the same. Then *Joannes* whose manner was ever to find out some honest matter to delight the King, answered to him again, proving his division to stand just and equal: For here (saith he) be two great, and a little, pointing to the two great fishes and himself; and likewise here again is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fish, and two great persons. I pray you (saith he) what odds is there, or what distribution can be more equal? Whereat the King with his Nobles being much delighted, laughed merrily.

At the request of this *Charles*, surnamed *Bald*, the *French* King, this *Scotus* translated the Book of *Dionysius*, intituled, *De Hierarchia*, from *Greek* into *Latin*, word for word, *Quo fit* (as my Author saith) *ut vix intelligatur Latina litera, quam nobilitate magis Græca, quam positione construitur Latina*. He wrote also a Book, *De corpore & sanguine Domini*, which was afterward condemned by the Pope, in concilio *Vercellensi*.

The same *Joannes Scotus* moreover compiled a Book of his own, giving it a *Greek* Title, *Περὶ φυσικῆς διαίτησης*, that is, *De naturæ divisione*. In which Book (as saith my foresaid Author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions; but so that he is thought to follow the *Greek* Church rather than the *Latin*, and for the same was counted of some to be an Heretick; because in that Book some things there be which in all points accord not with the *Romish* Religion. Wherefore the Pope writing to the said King *Charles* of this *Scotus*, complaineth, as in his own

words here followeth: *Relatum est Apostolatus nostro, quod opus Dionysii Areopagitæ, quod de divinis nominibus, & de celestibus ordinibus, Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Joannes (genere Scotus) nuper transtulit in Latinum. Quod, juxta morem Ecclesiæ, nobis mitti, & nostro judicio debuit approbari; præsertim quum idem Joannes (licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur) olim non sane sapere, in quibusdam frequentis rumore dicatur, &c.* That is, Relation hath been made unto our Apostleship, that a certain man called *Joannes* a *Scotish* man, hath translated the Book of *Dionysius* the *Areopagit*, of the names of God, and of the Heavenly Orders, from *Greek* into *Latin*. Which Book, according to the Custom of the Church, ought first to have been approved by our judgment; namely, seeing the said *John* (albeit he be said to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath been noted by common rumor to have been a Man not of upright or sound Doctrine, in certain points, &c. For this cause, the said *Scotus* being constrained to remove from *France*, came into *England*, allured (as some testifie) by the Letters of *Alfred* or *Alfred*, of whom he was with great favour entertained and conversant a great space about the King; till at length (whether before or after the death of the King, it is uncertain) he went to *Malmesbury*, where he taught certain Scholars a few years; by the which Scholars at last most impiously he was murdered and slain with their Penknives, and so died, as Stories say, a Martyr, buried at the said Monastery of *Malmesbury* with this Epitaph.

*Claudis in tumulo sanctus sophista Joannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum
Qui meruit, regnans seculi per secula cuncta.*

King *Alfred* having these helps of learned men about him, and no less learned also himself, past over his time not only to great utility and profit of his subjects, but also to a rare and profitable example of other Christian Kings and Princes for them to follow. This foresaid *Alfred* had by his wife, called *Ethelwita*, two Sons, *Edward* and *Ethelward*; and three Daughters, *Elfreda*, *Ethelgora*, and *Ethelgida*: *Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri*; that is, Whom he set all to their Books and study of Liberal Arts, as my Story testifieth. First, *Edward* his Eldest Son succeeded him in the Kingdom; the second Son *Ethelward* died before his Father: *Ethelgora* his middle Daughter was made a Nun, the other two were married, the one in *Merceland*, the other to the Earl of *Flanders*. Thus King *Alfred* the valiant, virtuous and learned Prince, after he had thus Christianly governed the Realm the term of nine and twenty years, and six months, departed this life, 5 Cal. Novemb. and lyeth buried at *Winchester*, Anno Dom. 901. Of whom this I find moreover greatly noted and commended in History, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof touching this *Alfred*, that wherefoever he was, or whitherfoever he went, he bear always about him in his bosom or pocket a little Book containing the *Psalms* of *David*, and certain other Orisons of his own collecting. Whereupon he was continually reading or praying whensoever he was otherwise vacant, having leisure thereunto. Finally, what were the virtues of this famous King, this little Table here under written, which is left in ancient writing in the remembrance of his worthy and memorable life, doth sufficiently in few lines contain.

In Regis *Alfredi*, & virtutis illius claram memoriam.

Amosus, bellicosus, victoriosus: viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum, pauperumq; provisor studiosus: Poetarum Saxonorum peritissimus: suæ genti charissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus: prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, justitia præditus: in infirmitate, qua continue laborabat, patientissimus: in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus, in servicio Dei vigilantissimus & devotissimus, Anglosaxonum Rex Alfredus, piissimi Ethelulfi filius 29. annis

Learned men sent for and placed about the King.

The Dialogues of Gregory translated. Names an Abbot.

The Schools and University of Oxford first begun by King Alfred. The new Colledge in Oxford.

Joannes Scotus.

The answer of Joannes Scotus to the French King.

Joannes Scotus translated Hierarchiam Dionysii from Greek into Latin.

The Book of Joannes Scotus called Περὶ φυσικῆς διαίτησης. It is a treatise of the division of nature. Joannes Scotus added more to the Greek Church than the Latin. Joannes Scotus accused of the Pope for an Heretick.

Joannes Scotus (said by his own Scholars.

John Scotus a Martyr.

This Ethelwita built first the house of Nuns at Winchester.

The children of King Alfred.

All his Daughters learned.

The decease of King Alfred. Anno 901.

annis sexages mensibus regni sui peractis mortem obiit. In-
dict. 4. quinto cal. Novemb. feria quarta, & Wintonie in
novo Monasterio sepultus, immortalitatis gloriæ, & resur-
rectionis gloriam cum iustis expectat, &c.

Moreover in the History of *Henricus Huntingdonensis*
these Verses I find written in the commendation of the
same *Alfred* made (as I suppose, and by his words appear-
eth) by the said Author, whereof I thought not to defraud
the Reader, the words whereof here follow :

Epitaphium Regis Alfredi.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitas bonorem,
Armipotens Alfred, dedit, probitasque laborem,
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella paraberis,
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella paraberis.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sicca aruere
Tincta jugi, quantum sit opus regnare, probaverunt.
Non fuit immensi quisquam per clivum mundi,
Cui in adversis nil respirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finire labores.
Jam post transactos vitæ regnique labores,
Christus ei sit vera quies, scapulumque perenne.

Esberedus,
Pleimundus,
Atbelmus,
Ulfelmus,
Odo Archbi-
shop of Can-
terbury.

In the story of this *Alfred*, a little above mention was
made of *Pleimundus* Schoolmaster to the said *Alfred*, and
also Bishop of *Canterbury*, succeeding *Esberedus* there Bi-
shop before him. Which *Pleimundus* governed that See
the number of thirty and four years. After *Pleimundus*
succeeded *Atbelmus*, and sat twelve years. After him
came *Ulfelmus* thirteen years. Then followed *Odo* a Dane
born in the said See of *Canterbury*, and governed the
same twenty years, being in great favour with King *Ethel-*
stan, King *Edmund*, and *Edwin*, as in process hereafter
(Christ willing) as place and order doth require, shall more
at large be expressed.

As touching the course and proceedings of the *Romish*
Bishops there, where I last entred mention of them, I en-
ded with Pope *Stephan* the fifth. After his time was much
broil in the Election of the Bishops of *Rome*, one conten-
ding against another : inasmuch that within the space of
nine years, were nine Bishops. Of the which, first was
Formosus, who succeeded next unto the forenamed *Ste-*
phan the fifth, being made Pope against the mind of cer-
tain in *Rome*, that would rather *Sergius*, than Deacon of
the Church of *Rome* to have been Pope. Notwithstanding
Mars and Money prevailed on *Formosus* part. This *For-*
mosus, of whom partly also is mentioned in other places of
this Ecclesiastical History, being before Bishop of *Pontini-*
ake, had in times past (I know not on what causes) of-
fended Pope *John* the eighth of that name, by reason
whereof, for fear of the Pope, he voided away, and left
his Bishoprick. And because he being sent for again by the
Pope, would not return, therefore was he Excommunicat-
ed. At length coming into *France* to make there his sa-
tisfaction unto the Pope, he was degraded from a Bishop
into a secular mans habit, swearing to the Pope that he
would no more re-enter into the City of *Rome*, nor claim
his Bishoprick again, subscribing moreover with his own
hand to continue from that time in the state of a secular
person. But then Pope *Martin* (the next Pope after *John*)
released the said *Formosus* of his Oath, and restored him
again unto his Bishoprick : whereby *Formosus* entred not
only into *Rome* again, but also obtained shortly after the
Papacy. Thus he being placed in the Popedom, arose a
great doubt or controversy among the Divines of his Con-
secration, whether it was lawful or not ; some holding
against him, that forasmuch as he was solemnly deposed,
degraded, unpriested, and also sworn not to reiterate the
State Ecclesiastical, therefore he ought to be taken no
otherwise than for a secular man. Others alledged again,
that whatsoever *Formosus* was, yet for the dignity of that
Order, and for the credit of them whom he ordered, all
his Consecration ought to stand in force, especially seeing
the said *Formosus* was afterward received and absolved by
Pope *Martin* from that his perjury and degradation, &c.
In the mean time (as witnesseth *Sigebertus*) this *Formo-*
sus sendeth for King *Arnulphus* for aid against his adver-

Nine Popes
in nine
years at
Rome.

Formosus
first Pope.

Ex *Chronico*
Sigeberti.

Schiffnes
among the
Popes.

faries ; who then marching toward *Rome*, was there as-
sisted by the *Romans* from entering. But in the siege
(saith the Author) the *Romans* within so plaid the Lions,
that a poor Hare (or such a like thing) coming toward
the City, the Host of *Arnulphus* followed after with such
a main cry, that the valiant *Romans* upon the walls for
very fear (where there was no hurt) cast themselves despo-
rately over the walls, so that *Arnulphus* with little labour
scaled the walls, and got the City. Thus *Arnulphus* ob-
taining the City of *Rome*, rescued Pope *Formosus*, and
beheaded his adversaries ; whom the Pope to gratifie
with like recompence again, blessed and Crowned him
for Emperor. Thus *Formosus* sitting fast about the space of
four or five years, followed his Predecessors ; after whose
time (as I said) within the space of nine years were nine
Bishops, as followeth. But in the mean time, concerning
the story of this *Formosus* declared by *Sigebert*, and many
other Chronicles ; this thing would I gladly ask, and
more gladly learn of some indifferent good Catholick per-
son, which not of obstinacy, but of simple error being a
Papist, would answer his conscience ; Whether doth he
think the holy Order of Priesthood, which he taketh for
one of the seven Sacraments, to be Character indelebilis,
or not ? If it be not indelebilis, that is, if it be such a
thing as may be put off, why then doth the Popes Do-
ctrine so call and so hold the contrary, pretending it to be
Indelebilis, unremovable ? If it be indeed so as they teach
and affirm, *Indelebilis character*, why then did Pope
John, or could Pope *John* annihilate and evacuate one of
his seven Pope-holy-Sacraments, making of a Priest, a
non-Priest, or layman, uncharactering his own Order,
which is (as he saith) a Character, which in no wise may
be blotted out, or removed ? Again, howsoever Pope
John is to be judged in this matter to do either well or
not well ; this would I know, if he did well in so dis-
priesting and discharactering *Formosus* for such private
offences ? If yea, how then standeth his doing with his
own Doctrine which teacheth the contrary ? If he did not
well, how then standeth his Doctrine with his doings to
be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his Synod of
Cardinals cannot err ? Moreover, if this Pope *John* did
not err in his disordering *Formosus*, how then did *Mar-*
tinus his Successor not err in repealing the said doing of
his Predecessor ? or how did not Pope *Formosus* err him-
self, who being unpriested by Pope *John* afterward,
without reiterating the character or order of Priesthood,
took upon him to be Pope, and made Acts and Laws in
the Church ? Again, if *Formosus* now Pope did not err,
how then did Pope *Stephan* his Successor afterward not
err, who did annihilate the Consecration, and all other
Acts of the said *Formosus* as erroneous ? Or again, if we
say that this *Stephan* with his Synod of Cardinals did
right, then how could it be that Pope *Theodore*, and Pope
John the tenth, which came after the foresaid *Stephan*,
did not plainly err, who approving the Consecration of
Formosus, did condemn and burn the Acts Synodal of
Stephan and his Cardinals, which before had condemned
Formosus, according as in story here consequently may ap-
pear ?

After *Formosus* had governed the See of *Rome* five
years, succeeded first *Bonifacius* the sixth, who continued
but five and twenty days. Then came *Stephan* the sixth,
which so envied the name of his Predecessor *Formosus*,
that he abrogated and dissolved his Decrees, and taking up
his body after it was buried, cut two fingers off his right
hand, and commanded them to be cast into *Tiber*, and
then buried the body in a private or lay-mans Sepulchre.

Thus after *Stephan* had sat in the Chair of Petulance
one year, succeeded in the same Chair Pope *Romanus*,
and sat three months, repealing the Acts decreed by *Ste-*
phan his Predecessor against *Formosus*. Next to whom
came *Theodorus* the second, who likewise taking part with
Formosus against the foresaid *Stephan*, reigned but twenty
days. Then sat Pope *John* the tenth, who did fight
and repugn against the *Romans*, and to confirm the
cause of *Formosus* more surely, did hold a Synod at *Raven-*
na of 74 Bishops, with the French King *Eudo*, and his Arch-
Bishops being present at the same. At the which Council
were ratified all the Decrees and doings of *Formosus*,
and the contrary Acts of the Synod of *Stephan* the sixth
were burned. This Pope lived not Pope fully two
years,

Character
indelebilis.

Whether
the Pope
with his
Cardinals
may err.

Enriched
the sixth
Pope.
Stephan the
sixth Pope.
Ex *Chro-*
nico *Sigeberti*
Stephan
the sixth
Pope.

Pope *Theo-*
dorus the
second.
Pope *Joh-*
the tenth.

One Coun-
cil burnt
another
Decree.

Pope Benedict the fourth.

Pope Leo the fifth imprisoned by his own Chaplain.

Pope Sergius the first.

Pope Formosus after his death beheaded by Pope Sergius the first.

A false falned Miracle upon the body of Formosus.

Bearing of Candles on Candlemas day how it came up.

Pope Anastasius the third.

Pope Lando the first.

Pope John the twelfth.

Pope John the twelfth.

Pope Leo the sixth.

Pope Stephen the ninth.

Pope John the twelfth.

years, after whom succeeded *Benedictus* the fourth, who kept the Chair three years. After whom *Leo* the first was next Pope, who within forty days of his Papacy, was with strong hand taken and cast in Prison by one *Christopher*, his own household Chaplain, whom he had long nourished before in his house. Which thing (saith *Placitus*) could not be done without great conspiracy, and much slaughter of men. Which *Christopher*, being Pope about the space of seven Months, was likewise himself hoisted from his Papal Throne by *Sergius*, like as he had done to his Master before. And thus within the space of nine years had been nine Popes one after another. Then *Sergius* after he had thrust down Pope *Christopher*, and shorn him Monk into a Monastery, occupied the room seven years. This *Sergius* a rude man and unlearned, very proud and cruel, had before been put back from the Popedom by *Formosus* above mentioned. By reason whereof, to revenge *Formosus* again being now in his Papacy, he caused the body of *Formosus* where it was buried, to be taken up; and afterward, sitting in the Papal Set (as in his *Posthumous*) first degraded him, then commanded his head to be smitten off, with the other three fingers that were left (as *Sigebertus* writeth) which done, he made his body to be thrown into *Tiber*, deposing likewise all such as by the said *Formosus* before had been consecrated and invested. This body of *Formosus*, thus thrown into *Tiber*, was afterward (as our Writers say) found and taken up by certain Fishers, and so brought into *St. Peter's* Temple. At the presence whereof (as they say) certain Images there standing by, bowed down themselves, and revered the same, with lie and all. But such deceivable Miracles of Stocks and Images, in Monkish and Friery Temples, be to us no news, especially here in *England*, where we have been so inured with the like and so many, that such wily practices cannot be to us invisible, though this Crown-shorn generation think themselves to dance in a Net. But the truth is, while they think to deceive the simple, these wily beguilers most of all deceive themselves, as they will find, except they repent. By this Pope *Sergius* first came up the use to bear about Candles on *Candlemas* day, for the purifying of the Blessed Virgin; as though the Sacred Conception of Jesus the Son of God, were to be purified as a thing impure, and that with Candle light.

After *Sergius* entred Pope *Anastasius*, in whose time the body of *Formosus* aforesaid, is thought to be found of Fishermen in the River of *Tiber*, and so brought (as is said) into the Temple to be saluted of the Images; which thing may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought, that the body of *Formosus* so long dead before, and now lying seven years in the River, could remain whole all that while, that Fishers might take it up, and discern it to be the same? After *Anastasius* had reigned two years, followed Pope *Lando*, the father (as some stories think) of Pope *John*, which *John* is said to be the Paramour of *Theodora*, a famous Harlot of *Rome*, and set up of the same Harlot, either against *Lando*, or after *Lando* his father to succeed in his room. There is a Story-writer called *Luitprandus*, who writing *De Imperatorib. l. 2. cap. 13.* maketh there mention of this *Theodora* and Pope *John* the Eleventh, and saith moreover, that this *Theodora* had a Daughter named *Marozia*, which *Marozia* had by Pope *Sergius* above mentioned, a Son which afterward was Pope *John* the twelfth. The same *Marozia* afterwards obtained to marry with *Guido* Marquis of *Tuscia*, through the means of which *Guido* and his friends at *Rome*, she brought to pass that this Pope *John* the Eleventh was smothered with a Pillow laid to his mouth after he had reigned thirteen years, and so the foresaid *John* the twelfth her son that might succeed next after him. But because the Clergy and People of *Rome* did not agree to his Election, therefore was Pope *Leo* the sixth in his place set up. Thus Pope *John* the Son of *Sergius*, and *Marozia* being dejected, reigned Pope *Leo* seven months. After him Pope *Stephen* two years, who being poisoned, then was Pope *John* the twelfth above rehearsed, the son of *Sergius* and *Marozia* set up again in the Papacy, where he reigned near the space of five years. Of the wickedness of this Strumpet *Marozia*, how she married two brethren, one after the death of the other, and how she governed all *Rome*, and the whole Church at that time

I let it pass. Although the *Latine* Verses wherewith the said *Luitprandus* doth inveig against such Women as marry two brethren, were neither worthy here to be recited, and perhaps might be further applied than to that *Marozia* of *Rome*; but for shortness I let them also pass. After *John* the twelfth, followed Pope *Stephen* three years, Pope *Leo* three years and four months. Pope *Stephen* the eighth three years and four months. Pope *Martin* three years and six months; after him Pope *Agapetus* eight years and six months. About whose time, or a little before, began first the Order of Monks, called *Ordo Cluniacensis*, &c. But now to leave off these monstrous matters of *Rome*, and to return again to our Country of *England*, where we last left before.

King Edward the elder.

After the Reign of the famous King *Alfred*, his Son *Edward* succeeded, surnamed the Elder: where first is to be noted, that before the Conquest of the Normans, there was in *England* three *Edwards*; first, this *Edward* the Elder; secondly, *Edward* the Martyr; thirdly, *Edward* the Confessor; whereof hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall follow in order as place shall give to be declared. This *Edward* began his Reign the year of our Lord 901. and governed the Land right valiantly and nobly four and twenty years. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his Father, otherwise in Princely Renown, in Civil Government, and such like Martial Prowess, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him; through whose valiant acts first the Princedom of *Wales* and Kingdom of *Scotland*, with *Constantine* King thereof, were to him subdued. He adjoynd moreover to his dominion, the Country of *East Anglia*, that is, of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Essex*. All *Merceland* also he recovered, and *Northumberland* out of the hands of the Danes. In all his Wars he never lightly went without Victory. The Subjects of his Provinces and Dominions were so inured and hardened in continual practice and feats of War, that when they heard of any enemies coming (never tarrying for any bidding from the King or from his Dukes) straightways they encountered with them, both in number and knowledge of the order of War excelling always their adversaries. *Guliel. de regi. Ita hostes militibus contemptui, regi risui erant*; to mean, So was the coming and assailing of their enemies, to the people and common souldiers but a trifle, to the King but a ridicule. Among other adversaries which were basic rather than wise, in assailing this King, was one called *Clito Eshelwoldus* a young man, King *Edwards* Uncles son, who first occupying the Town of *Wimborn* (taking thence a Nun with him, whom then he had married) fled by night to *Northumberland*, to adjoyn himself unto the Danes, who was made chief King and Captain over them. Then chased from thence, he fled over into *France*, but shortly returning again into *England*, he landed in *East Anglia*, where the said *Clito* with a company of Danes of that Country gathered to him, destroyed and pilld much of the Country about *Crekeford* and *Crikeford*. And so passing over *Thames*, after he had spoiled the Land there to *Bradensock*, returned again to *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he meeting with an ambushment of Kentish men, which dragged and tarried after the main Host of *Edward*, contrary to his commandment, inclosed them in, and slew the most part of them. Soon after, the two Hosts meeting together, between the two Ditches of *S. Edmunds* land, after a long fight, *Clito* with many of the Danes were slain, and the remnant were constrained to seek for peace, which upon certain conditions, and under a Tribute was to them granted.

In process about the twelfth year of his Reign, the Danes repenting them of their Covenants, and minding to break the same, assembled an Host, and met with the King in *Staffordshire*, at a place called *Totenball*, and soon after at *Wodenfeld*, at which two places, the King slew two Kings, two Earls, and many thousands of Danes that occupied the Country of *Northumberland*.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being asswaged, King *Edward* having now some leisure given from Wars to other studies, gave his mind to the building or repairing of Cities, Towns and Castles, that by the Danes were

Luitprandus. das. Tietzen. Pope Stephen the 7. Pope Leo the seventh. Pope Stephen the 8. Pope Martin the 3d. Pope Agapetus the 1d. Ordo Cluniacensis be-ginneth.

King Edward the Elder. Three Edwards before the Conquest.

A comparison between Alfred and his son Edward

Use and long exercise of things makes perfect.

Clito Eshelwoldus rebelled against K. Edward. Anno 904.

Ann. 973.

Chester repaired and enlarged. The Castle of Hereford built upon the River of Aven and Ouse. The Town of Techefer and Wigmor built. The new Town of Nottingham built. Thilwal. Manchester repaired.

were rased, shattered and broken. As first of Chester, which City he double enlarged to that it was before, compassing the Castle within the Walls of the same, which before stood without. That done, the King builded a strong Castle at Hereford, in the edge of Wales. Also for the strengthening of the Country, he made a Castle at the mouth of the water of Aven, and another Castle at Buckingham, and the third fast thereby upon the River of Ouse. Moreover, he builded or re-edified the Towns of Tocester and Wigmor, and destroyed the Castle that the Danes had made at Domesford. Likewise upon the River of Trent, against the old Town of Nottingham, he builded a new Town on the South side, and made a Bridge over the River between the said two Towns. Also by the River of Merce he builded a City or Town in the North end of Mercia, and named it Thilwal, and after repaired the City of Manchester, that fore was defaced with Wars of the Danes.

In this renewing and building of Towns and Castles, for the more fortifying of his Realm, his Sister Elfreda, daughter of King Alfred, and married to the Duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no small helper. Of this Elfreda, it is firmly of Writers affirmed, that she being (as is said) married to Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, after she had once assailed the pains of Women in travelling with her child, so much she abhorred ever after the embracing of her Husband, that it seemed to her (she said) not seemly for a Noble Woman to use such fleshly liking, whereof so great sorrow and travel should ensue. And yet notwithstanding, the same Elfreda for all her delicate tenderness, in eschewing the natural passion which necessity giveth to Women, was so hardy in Warlike dangers which nature giveth not to Women, that fighting against the Danes (so venturous she was of stomach) four of her next Knights, which were guardians of her body, were slain fast by her. This Elfreda, among her other noble acts, whereby she deserved praise, was a great helper and stirrer up of her brother Edward, who builded and newly repaired many Castles and Towns, as Tamworth besides Lichfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewsbury, Watrisbury, Eldsbury, besides Chester in the Forest now destroyed. Also in the North end of Mercia, upon the River of Merce, a Castle called Rimcorn; also a Bridge over Severn, named Brimmis-bury Bridge.

The laws of King Alfred and K. Edward.

As touching the Laws and Statutes of this Edward, as also of his father Alfred, made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waste of time: yet notwithstanding this admonition, by the way I think good to note, that in those days of these ancient Kings reigning in England, the authority then both of conferring Bishopricks and spiritual Promotions, and also of prescribing Laws as well to the Churchmen, as to the Laity, and of ordering and intermeddling in matters merely spiritual, was then in the hands of Kings ruling in the Land, and not only in the hand of the Pope, as appeareth by these Laws of Alfred.

Si quis fornicetur cum uxore aliena, &c.

Si quis in quadragesima sanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.

Ut Christiani Deam diligant & paganismo renuncient, &c.

Si quis Christianitatem mutet, &c.

Si quis ordinatus sacris furetur, &c.

Si Presbyter ad rectum terminum sanctum chrisma, &c.

Si duo fratres vel cognati cum una aliqua fornicentur, &c.

Note how Kings of England in times past had authority in spiritual causes.

By these and other such like Constitutions of King Alfred it may appear, how the governance and direction of the Church in those days depended not upon Monsieur le Pope of Rome, but upon the King which here in their time (under the Lord) did govern the Land. To this also the example of King Edwards time gives testimony; which Edward with Pleimundus (above mentioned) Archbishop of Canterbury, and with other Bishops in a Synod assembled, assigned and elected seven Bishops in seven Metropolitan Churches of the Realm. Which were, the first Fridelstan, the second Adelftan,

the third Werstan, the fourth Adeleme, the fifth Edulfus, the sixth Dernegus, the seventh Kenulphus; in which Election, the Kings Authority seemed then alone to be sufficient, &c.

This Edward (as in the beginning was said) reigned 24 years, who had three Wives, Egwin, Elsted and Ethelwid. Of Egwin he had his eldest Son, Adelftan, who next succeeded in the Kingdom, and a Daughter, married after to the Duke of Northumberland. Of Elsted he received two Sons and six Daughters, to wit, Ethelwald and Edwin. Ethelwald was excellently well seen in all knowledge of learning, much resembling both in countenance and conditions his Grandfather Alfred, and died soon after his father. Of his six Daughters, two of them, Elsted and Ethelbida were made Nuns, the other four were married, Edgina to Charles the French King in his Fathers time, Ethilda, by King Ethelstan was married to Hugo the Son of Duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina, were both sent to Henricus, Prince of Almains. Of which two sisters, the second, the said Henricus married to his Son Orbo, who was the first Emperor of the Almains. The other sister, which was Edgitha, the foresaid Henricus married unto a certain Duke, about the border of the Alps in Italy. Of his third Wife Ethelwid, he received two Sons, Edmund and Edred, which both reigned after Adelftan, and two Daughters, Egburga, whom he made a Nun, and Eadguina, who was married unto Ludovicus, Prince of Aquitania in France. These Sons and Daughters King Edward thus brought up; his Daughters he set to spinning, and to the Needle: Guliel. de reg. his Sons he set to the study of learning, *Ut quasi Philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non jam rudes procederent*: that is, To the end, that they, being at first made Philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to govern the Commonwealth.

Anno 925. The children of King Edward the elder. Prince Ethelwald excellent in learning.

Guliel. de regib. The bringing up of King Edward's children.

King Ethelstan, or Adelftan.

Ethelstan or Adelftan, after the death of Edward his Father, began his Rein in England, and was crowned at Kingston. He was a Prince of worthy memory, valiant and wise in all his acts, nothing inferior unto his Father Edward. In like worldly renown of Civil Government, joyned with much prosperous success, in reducing this Realm under the subjection of one Monarchy. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welshmen, as well in Northwales, as also in Cornwall. The first enemy against this Ethelstan, was one Elfredus, who, with a faction of seditious persons, conspiring against the said Ethelstan at Winchester, incontinently after the death of his Father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithstanding, the King escaping that danger, through the help of God, was at that time delivered. Elfred upon the same being accused, fled to Rome, there before the Pope to purge himself by his Oath. Who being brought to the Church of St. Peter, and there swearing (or rather forswearing) himself to be clear, which indeed was guilty thereof, suddenly upon his Oath fell down, and so being brought to the English house in Rome, within three days after departed. The Pope sending word unto King Ethelstan, whether he would have the said Elfred buried among Christians or no? at length, through the persuasions of his friends and kinsfolks, it was concluded that he should be buried in Christian Burial. This story, although I find it in no other Writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of Guliel. lib. de regib. yet for so much as it beareth the witness and words of the King himself, as testified in an old deed of gift, given to the Monastery of Malmesbury, I thought the same the more to be of credit. The words of the King proceed in this tenor as followeth.

King Ethelstan, or Adelftan.

Duke Elfred suddenly slain by the hand of God for Perjury.

Guliel. lib. de regib. King Ethelstan.

A false Miraculously portended King.

The Copy of an old Writing of King Ethelstan, testifying of the miraculous death of Duke Elfred, suddenly stricken by the hand of God for Perjury.

The Copy of an old Charter of King Ethelstan.

S Ciant sapientes regionis nostræ, non hat præfatas terras me injuste rapuisse, rapinamque Deo dedisse: Sed sic eas accepi, quemadmodum judicaverunt omnes optimates Regni Anglorum. Insuper & Apostolicus Papa Romanæ Ecclesiæ Joannes, Elfredo defuncto, qui nostræ felicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitia inimicorum nostrorum consentiens; quando me voluerunt (parce defuncto) cacare in urbe Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripisset. Sed denudatus eorum machinamentis, remissus est ad Romanam Ecclesiam, ut ibi se coram Apostolico Joanne jurejurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram Altare sancti Petri. Sed facto juramento, cecidit coram Altare, & manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad scholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finivit. Et tunc Apostolicus ad nos remisit, & quid de eo ageretur a nobis consuluit, an cum ceteris Christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis nostræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, ut corpus illius per nostram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Christianorum. Nosque flagitacioni illorum consentientes Romam remisimus; & Papa consentiente, positus est ad ceteros Christianos, quamvis indignus. Et sic iudicata est mihi tota possessio ejus in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hac apicibus literarum prænotavimus, ne quando aboleatur, unde mihi præfata possessio, quam Deo & sancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec justius novi, quam Deo & sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi prosperitatem Regni largiti sunt, &c.

Anno 927.

In the second year of the Reign of King Ethelstan, for an unity and peace to be had between the King and the Danes of Northumberland, he married to. Sithericus their King, his sister, whereof mention is made before; but shortly after, within one year, this Sithericus died. After whose death, King Ethelstan seized that Province into his own hands, putting out the son of the foresaid Sithericus, called Alanus, who with his brother Godfridus fled, the one into Ireland, the other unto Constantine, King of the Scots. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, he shortly made subject unto him Constantine King of the Scots. But the said Constantine meeked himself so lowly to the King, that he restored him to his former Dignity, saying, *that it was more honour to make a King, than to be a King.*

Northumberland subdued to King Ethelstan.

The Scots subdued to the King of England. It is more honour to make a King than to be a King.

Not long after, the said Constantine, King of Scots did break Covenant with King Ethelstan; wherefore he assembled his Knights, and made towards Scotland, where he subduing his enemies, and bringing them again unto due subjection, returned into England with Victory. Here by the way, in some Story-writers (who, forgetting the office of Historicians, seem to play the Poets) is written and recorded for a marvel, that the said Ethelstan, returning out of Scotland into England, came to York, and so into the Church of Saint John of Beverly, to redeem his Knife, which before he had left there for a Pledge at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God, and to St. John of Beverly, that he might leave there some remembrance whereby they that came after might know that the Scots by right should be subdued to the English men, smote with a Sword (they say) upon a great hard stone standing near about the Castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large Ell deep, with a lie no less deep also than was the stroke in the stone. But of this poetical or fabulous story, albeit Polychronicus, Fabian, Jornaldensis, and others more constantly accord in the same, yet in Guliel. and Henricus no mention is made at all. But peradventure, he that was the inventor first of this tale of the stone, was disposed to lie for the Whetstone; wherefore in my mind he is worthy to have it.

A fabulous Miracle falsely reported of King Ethelstan.

Of like truth and credit seemeth also to be this that followeth, about the same year and time under the Reign

of King Ethelstan, being the eighth year of his Reign, of one Bristanus Bishop of Winchester, who succeeded Frichstanus in the same See, and governed that Bishoprick four years. This Bristanus being a devout Bishop in prayer and contemplation, used much among his solitary walks, to frequent late the Church-yard, praying for the souls there, and all Christian souls departed. Upon a time the said Bristanus after his wonted manner proceeding in his devotions, when he had done, came to *Requiescant in pace.* Whereunto suddenly a great multitude of souls answering together with one voice, said *Amen.* Of this Miracle albeit I have not much to say (hasting to other matters) yet this question would I ask of some indifferent Papist, which were not wilful, but of ignorance deceived; Whether this multitude which here answered, *Amen,* were the souls of them buried in the Church-yard, or not? If yea, then how were they in Purgatory, what time they were heard in that place answering *Amen?* Except we should think Purgatory to be in the Church-yard at Winchester, where the souls were heard then so many answering and praying, *Amen.* And yet this story is testified by the accord of Writers of that time, Guliel. Polychronicus, Hovedenus, Jornaldensis, and others more. Much like Miracles and Prophecies also we read of Elphegus which succeeded him; but because we haste to other things, let these Fables pass.

Bristanus Bishop.

Anno 933.

A ridiculous Miracle forged upon Bristanus Bishop of Winchester.

A Miracle of souls answering, Amen.

Ye heard a little before, how King Ethelstan after the death of Sithericus King of Northumberland, seized that Land or Province into his own hand, and put out his son Alanus, who after flying into Scotland, married the daughter of Constantine King of Scots. By whose stirring and exhortation he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and others, and entred the mouth of Humber with a strong Navy of six hundred and fifteen Ships.

A fore Battle fought at Brunford.

Whereof King Ethelstan, with his brother Edmund, having knowledge, prepared his Army, and at length joyned in fight with him and his people, at a place called Brimambruch or Brimford, where he fighting with them from morning till evening, after a terrible slaughter on both sides (as the like hath not been seen lightly in England) had the Victory. In the which Battel were slain five small and under-Kings, with Constantine King of Scots, and twelve Dukes, with the most part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here also our Writers put in another Miracle in this Battel, how King Ethelstans Sword miraculously fell into his sheath, through the prayer of Odo then Archbishop of Canterbury.

Another unlike Miracle of King Ethelstans sword Odo Archbishop of Canterbury.

Concerning this Battel, I find in a certain written Chronicle these Verses, which because they should not be lost, I thought not unworthy here of rehearsal.

Transferat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,
Fure regens cives, subigens virtute tyrannos:
Cum redit illa lues Europæ noxia labes.
Jam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,
Et jacet in campis pelago pirata relicto.
Illicitas torvasque minas Alanus anbelans,
Bacchanti furia, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat assensum borealis terra serenum,
Et jam grande tument, jam terrent aere verbum.
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota superbis.
Nam quia Rex noster fidens alacrisque juvenis,
Emerius pridem detruxerat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis sedabant omnia prædis
Urgentes miseros injectis ignibus agros,
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Ægra seges votum deluserat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit pedum, tam barbara vis equitum,
Innumerabilium concursus quadrupedantum.
Excivis tandem fama querimonia regem,
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri,
Quod sua barbarica cecissent arma securi,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia signa cohortes,
Explicat inventum vexilla ferocia centum,
Functa virum virius, decies bis millia quinta,
Ad stadium belli comitantur prævia signa.
Hicque ciet strepitus armatarum legiones,
Terruit insignis venientum fama latrones,
Ut posita proprias præda repetant regiones:
At vultus reliquum miseranda strage peremptum,

Analsimus

In

*Infecit bibulas terris nidoribus auras,
Fugit Analanus de tot modo millibus unus, &c.*

The North
Britains
brought to
Tribute.

The South
Britains
subdued.

After this Victory thus obtained of the Danes and Scots, King Ethelstan also subdued (or at least quieted) the North Britains, whom he convening together at Hereford (or thereabouts) forced them to grant unto him as a yearly tribute, twenty pounds of Gold, three hundred pounds of silver, and of heads of Neat five and twenty hundred, with Hawks and Dogs, to a certain number. This done, he went to Excester, and there likewise subduing the South Britains about Excester and Cornwall, repaired the Walls of Excester with sufficient strength, and so returned.

King Ethelstan
seeketh
the death
of his own
brother.

Among these victorious and noble acts of this King, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended; (that is) the innocent death and murder of his brother Edwin. The occasion thereof was this. King Edward aforementioned their Father, in the time of his youth coming by a certain Village or Grange where he had been nursed and brought up of a Child, thought of courtelie to go to see how his Nurse did, where he entering into the house, espied a certain young Damself beautiful and right seemly attired, Egvina by name. This Egvina, before, being a poor mans daughter, had a Vision by night, that of her body sprang such a bright light of the Moon, that the brightness thereof gave light to the Realm of England, by reason whereof she was taken into the foresaid house, and daintily brought up instead of their own daughter, for hope of some commodity to ensue thereby, as afterward it came to pass. For King Edward (as is declared) coming into the house, and ravished with the beauty of the Maiden, begat of her the same Night this Ethelstan. Wherefore the said Ethelstan being thus basely born of Egvina, the first Wife to Edward (as is said) before he was Married to her, and fearing his next Brother Edwin, which was rightly born, especially being stirred thereunto through the sinister suggestion of his Butler) did cast such displeasure to the foresaid Edwin his Brother, being yet but young; that (notwithstanding his innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rotten Boat in the broad Sea (only with one Esquire with him) without any tackling or other provision to the same. Where the young and tender Prince being dismayed with the rage of Winds and of the Floods, and now weary of his life, cast himself over-board into the Sea, and so was drowned. Notwithstanding the Esquire shifting for himself as he could, and recovering the body of his Master, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the King, afterwards coming to the remembrance of himself, was stricken with great repentance the space of seven years together, and at length was revenged of him that was the accuser of his Brother. This accuser (as is said) was the Kings Cup-bearer, who (as God the righteous Judge of all things would have it) upon a certain solemn Feast, bearing the Cup unto the King, chanced in the middle of the Floor to stumble with one foot, helping and recovering himself with the other, saying in these words, *Thus one brother (as you see) helpeth another.* These words being thus spoken in the hearing of the King, so moved his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false accuser of his Brother, to be had out to execution. Whose just recompence I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord between Brother and Brother.

The cause
of building
Abbeys
examined.

King Ethelstan (besides his seven years lamentation for this act) builded the two Monasteries of Midleton and of Michlenes for his Brothers sake, or (as the stories say) for his Soul. Whereby it may appear what was the cause most special in those days of building Monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sins both of them departed, and them alive: which cause, how it standeth with the grace and verity of Christs Gospel, and of his passion, let the Christian Reader try and examine with himself. This cruel fact of the King towards Edwin, caused him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other Brethren and Sisters left in his hands unmarried. Which Sisters, as is partly in the Chapter before declared, he richly bestowed in great Marriages; as one to the King of Northumber-

land, Sithericus; another he gave unto Lewis King of Aquitania; the third to Henricus, Duke of Almain for his Son Orbo, who was the first Emperor of the Germans. Whereby it is to be understood, that the Empire at this time began first to be translated from France (where it remained about one hundred years and an half) unto Germany, where it hath ever since continued.

The fourth of his Sisters being a Virgin of singular beauty, Hugo the French King required to be given unto him, sending to King Ethelstan precious and sumptuous Presents, such as were not before seen in England. Among the which Presents and Gifts, besides the rare odors of sundry favours, and fine Spices; and besides the precious and costly Gems, namely, of Smaragds of most redolent green; besides, also many and great Counters and Palfries richly trapped; especially of one Jewel (as Writers make mention) which was a certain Vessel finely and subtilly made of the Precious Stone Onychinus, so radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lively Corn growing, and Mens Images walking, &c. Over and besides was sent also the Sword of Constantine the great, with the name of the possessor, written in Golden Letters, where in the Haft of the same all beaten in Gold, was one of the iron Nails wherewith our Saviour on the Crofs was nailed. Of the verity whereof I am not disposed at this present much to say what I suspect; but that this in the Ecclesiastical story of Eusebius is evident, that two of the foresaid Nails of Christ were spent on the Bridle of Constantine, the third he cast into the Sea in a raging Tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed with four Nails, perhaps, this Nail might be one. If he were nailed but with three, I see not how this story can stand with other stories, neither how this fourth Nail can stand with the truth. Among the rest moreover, was the Spear (as is reported) wherewith the side of our Saviour was opened, which also the said Constantine was wont to carry in the field against his enemies; with a portion likewise of the holy Crofs inclosed in Christal, also a part of the Crown of Thorn in like manner inclosed, &c. Of the which Reliques, part was given to Winchester, part to the Church of Malmesbury, where King Ethelstan was buried. As this King was endued and enlarged by the gift of God (the setter up and disposer of all Kings) with great Victories of worldly Renown, having under his subjection both Scots and Britains, and the whole Monarchy of the Land: so he devised divers good and wholesome Laws for the government of the same, as well concerning the state of the Orders Ecclesiastical, as also of the Secular or Lay-people. Whereby it is to be understood, that the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, did not then extend it self so largely, nor so proudly to derogate from the authority of Kings and Princes, but that every one in his own Dominion had (under God, and not under the Pope) the doing of all matters within the same his Dominion contained, whether they were causes temporal or spiritual, as by the Decrees and Constitutions of this King (and also of other as well before him, as after him) may evidently be testified, as where he amongst other Laws thus ordaineth touching the Bishop, in words as follow.

Episcopo jure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promovere, Dei videlicet, ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum instruere, quid ei sit agendum jure, & quid hominibus secularibus judicare debeant.

Debet etiam sedulo pacem & concordiam operari cum seculi judicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alii perperam agat in jurejurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumventionem injuste mensurae, vel injusti ponderis. Sed convenit ut per consilium & testimonium ejus omne legis rectum & burgi mensura, & omne pondus sit secundum dispositionem ejus, institutum. Alii valde rectum; ne quis proximum suum seducat, pro quo decedat in peccatum.

Est semper debet Christianis providere contra omnia quae praedicta sunt, & ideo debet se de pluribus intrinsece: ut sciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum custodire suscepit, ne Diabolus cum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod superseminet. Nunquam enim erit populo bene consulit, nec digne Deo conversabitur, ubi lucrum impium & magis falsum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum est enervare, & quod justum est elevare, nec pati

Orbo first
Emperor of
the Germans

Precious
Jewels sent
to King
Ethelstan
from the
French King

Concerning
one of the
nails where-
with our
Saviour
Christ was
crucified.

Kings of
England
vernon a
well in
cases
of Eccle-
sical as
temporal

Explain
on Legibus
de Libit
fuit.

The
K. E.
conc
felon
ing a
23 p
Epist
Ethel
Sat
vit bi
scrip
Cum
causa
cutit
fuit.

Ar
94

Where, as concerning this matter between Monks and others of the Clergy, first it is to be understood, that in the Realm of *England* heretofore, before the time of *Dunstan*, the Bishops Sees and Cathedral Churches were replenished with no Monks, but with Priests and Canons, called then Clerks or Men of the Clergy. After this beginneth to rise a difference or a Sect between these two parties in strictness of life, and in habit; so that they which lived after a strict rule of holiness were called Monks, and professed Chastity, that was, to live from Wives (for so was Chastity then defined to those blind days) as though holy Matrimony were no Chastity, according as *Paphnutius* did well define it in the Council of *Nice*. The other sort which were no Monks but Priests or Men of the Clergy so called, lived more free from those Monkish Rules and Observances, and were then commonly (or at least lawfully married) and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular state of other Christians. By reason whereof great disdain and emulation was among them, in so much that in many Cathedral Churches, whereas Priests were before, there Monks were put in: and contrary, sometime whereas Monks were intruded, there Priests and Canons again were placed, and Monks thrust out; whereof more shall appear hereafter (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the life of *Dunstan*. In the mean time, something to satisfy the cogitation of the Reader, which peradventure either is ignorant, or else would know of the first coming in of Monks into this Realm and Church of *England* in the *Saxons* time; this is to be noted, according as I find in old Chronicles, namely in the *Latine History of Gulielm. de gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, recorded touching the same. About this time of King *Edmund*, or shortly after, when hardness and strictness of life joyned with superstition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holiness; men therefore, either to win publick fame with men, or merits with God, gave themselves to lead a strict life, thinking thereby (the stranger their conversation was, and the further from the common trade of vulgar people) the more perfect to be towards God and Man. There was at that time (and before that) a Monastery in *France* named *Floriake*, after the order and rule of *Benedict*: from the which Monastery did spring a great part of our *English* Monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into *England*, did congregate men daily to their profession. And so, partly for strangeness of their rule, partly for outward holiness of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holiness that many had of them, were in great admiration, not only with the rude sort, but with

The difference between Monks and Priests.

Chastity, wrongly defined. Holy Matrimony is chastity, by the definition of *Paphnutius*. Monks how they differed from Priests, and how they first began in *England*.

Guliel. de pontif. lib. 3.

The Monastery of *Floriake*.

with Kings and Princes, who founded their Houses, maintained their Rules, and enlarged them with possessions. Among the which Order of Monks coming from *Floriake*, especially was one *Oswaldus*, first a Monk of *Floriake*, then Bishop of *Worcester* and *York*, a great Patron and setter up of Monks. Touching the which *Oswaldus*, *William* in his Book *De pontific.* writing of his History, hath these words: *Familiaris per id temporis Anglis consuetudo fuit, ut si qui boni afflati essent desiderio, in beatissimi Benedicti Monasterio cenobiale suscipere habitum, a quo Religionis hujusce manavit exordium, &c.* That is, It was a common custom at that time among Englishmen, that if any good men were well affected or minded toward Religion, they went to the Monastery of blessed *St. Benedict* in France, and there received the Habit of a Monk, whereupon the first origine of this Religion began, &c. But of this *Oswald* Bishop of *York*, and *Dunstan* Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, how they replenished divers Monasteries and Cathedral Churches with Monks; and how they discharged married Priests and Canons out of their Houses, to plant in Monks in their Cells, more shall be spoken (by the grace of Christ) hereafter. Now let us return again to the matter where we left, of King *Edmund*; who, besides his noble Victories against his enemies, and recovering the Cities above expressed into his own hands, did also subdue the Province of *Cumberland*. And after he had put out the eyes of the two Sons of *Dunmail* King of *Cumberland*, he committed the government thereof to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, upon promise of his trusty service and obedience, when the King should stand in any need of him. In the time of this King, *Dunstan* was not yet Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but only Abbot of *Glastenbury*, of whom many fabulous narrations pass among the Writers, importing more vanity than verity, whereof this is one of the first. What time *Edgarus* called *Pacificus* was born, *Dunstan* being the same time Abbot of *Glastenbury* (as the Monkish Fables dream) heard a voice in the Air of certain Angels singing after this tenor and saying, *Now peace cometh to the Church of England in the time of this Child, and of our Dunstan, &c.* This I thought to recite, that the Christian Reader might the better ponder with himself the impudent and abominable fictions of this *Romish* Generation. But of the same mint also they have forged, how the said *Dunstan* should hear the Angels sing the *Kyrieleson*, used to be sung at Even-song in the Church: *Guliel. de pontif. lib. 1.* Which is as true as that the Harp, hanging in a Woman's House played by it self the tune of the Antheme, called *Gaudet in calis, &c.* What would not these deceivers feign in matters something likely, which in things so absurd and so inconvenient shame not to lie and to forge so impudently and also so manifestly? Through the motion of this *Dunstan*, King *Edmund* builded and furnished the Monastery of *Glastenbury*, and made the said *Dunstan* Abbot thereof.

Oswaldus Bishop of *York* a great Patron of Monks. *Guliel. lib. 3. de Pontif.*

The origine of Monks how it first began in England.

Dunstan Abbot of *Glastenbury*.

The sons of *K. Edmund*. The impudent vanity of the Popes Church in forging false Miracles.

Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif. The Monastery of *Glastenbury*. *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*. The Abbey of *Glastenbury* was builded by King *Edmund*, by the counsel of *Adelmu*, after being destroyed by the Danes.

Guliel. lib. 2. de regib.

The Laws of King *Edmund* touching as well the state spiritual as temporal.

Concerning the end and death of this King, sundry opinions there be. *Alfridus* and *Marianus* say, that while this King *Edmund* endeavoured himself to save his Sewer from the danger of his enemies, which would have slain him at *Pulcher* Church, the King in parting of the fray was wounded, and died shortly after. But *Gulielmus de regib. lib. 2.* saith, that the King being at a Feast at *Pulcher* Church upon the day of *St. Augustine*, spied a Felon sitting in the Hall named *Leof*, whom he before for his Felony had exiled; and leaping over the Table did flie upon him, and plucked the Thief by the hair of the head to the ground. In which doing, the Felon with a Knife wounded the King to the death, and also with the same Knife wounded many other of the Kings servants, and at length was all to behewed, and died forthwith.

By the Laws of King *Edmund* (ordained and set forth, as well for the redress of Church matters, as also of civil Regiment) it may appear, that the state both of causes Temporal and likewise Spiritual, appertained then to the Kings Right (the false pretended usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome* notwithstanding) as by these Laws is to be seen: where he, by the advice of his Lords and Bishops did enact and determine concerning the chastity and pure life of Ecclesiastical Ministers, and such as were in the Orders of the Church, with the penalties also for them which transgressed the same.

Item, For Tithes to be paid for every Christian Man, and for the Church fees, and Alms fees, &c.

Item, For deflouring of Women professed, which we call Nuns, &c.

Item, For every Bishop to see his Churches repaired of his own proper Charge; and boldly to admonish the King, whether the Houses of God were well maintained, &c.

Item, For flying into the Church for Sanctuary, &c.

Item, Concerning cases and determinations spousal or matrimonial, &c.

All which Constitutions declare what interest Kings had in those days in matters as well Ecclesiastical as others, within their dominion, and that not only in disposing the Ordinances and Rites, such as appertained to the Institution of the Church, but also in placing and setting Bishops in their Sees, &c.

In the time of this *Edmund*, was *Ulfstanus* Archbishop of *York*, and *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; which *Odo* being a Dane born (as is before touched) was promoted to that See by King *Ethelstan*, for that (as they say) he being first Bishop of *Wilton*, and present with King *Ethelstan* in the Field against *Analanus* before mentioned, what time the said *Ethelstan* had lost his Sword, he through his intercession up to Heaven, did see a Sword from Heaven come down into the Sheath of the King. Whereof relation being made unto the King by the foresaid Bishop, *Ethelstan* upon the same was so affected towards *Odo*, that not only he counted him for a patron of his life, but also made him Primate of *Canterbury* after the decease of *Ulfstanus*. This *Odo* was the first from the coming of the Saxons till his time, which was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being no Monk. For all the other before him were of the profession of Monks, of whom a great part had been *Italians* unto *Berthaldus*. Notwithstanding, this *Odo*, being also a stranger born, after he was elected into the Bishoprick, to answer to the old custom of others before him, sailed over into *France*, and there at *Floriake* (after the usual manner above mentioned of Englishmen) received the Profession and Habit of Monkish Religion, as saith my foresaid Author. And like as the said *Odo* first being no Monk, was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so also *Ulfstanus*, the same time being Bishop of *York* and of *Worcester*, differed from divers his Predecessors before him in Profession and Habit; of whom the forenamed Author thus writeth in his third Book, speaking of *Ulfstanus*; *Qui sanctitate discrepabat & habitu*; that is, He differed in sanctimony and in habit. Whereby it is to be collected, that in those days was a difference in Habit and Garment, not only between Monks and Bishops, but also between one Bishop and another; albeit what difference it was, yet I do not find. But I return again to *Odo*, who by the description of his manners might seem not to be the worst that occupied that place, were it not that our lying Histories, feigning false Miracles upon him (as they do of others) make him indeed to seem worse than he was. As where they imagine that he should see from Heaven a Sword fall into the Scabbard of King *Ethelstan*. Item, where he should cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury* with his Prayers from Rain. And also where he should turn the Bread of the Altar (as the Writer termeth it) into lively flesh, and from flesh into bread again, to confirm the People which before doubted in the same. Where note again (good Reader) that albeit this Miracle were true, as no doubt it is untrue, yet is it to be noted, that in those days was a great doubt amongst Englishmen of the *Popish* Sacrament, and that Transubstantiation was not received into the Christian Creed. The like judgment is to be given also of that, where our English Writers, testifying of the same *Odo*, say that he should prophecy long before of *Dunstan* to be his Successor in the Church of *Canterbury*. But to let these phantasies and idle stories pass, this which we find of *Odo* his own writing is certain, that the said *Odo*, in the Reign of King *Edmund*, had a Synod commenced of the chief Prelates and men of the Clergy in his time, to whom he directed this Letter here following: the Copy whereof I thought to express, for the Reader to see what zealous care reigned in Archbishops then toward the Church of the Lord. The words of his Epistle proceed in this tenor.

Ulfstanus Archbishop of *York*. *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Guliel. de pontif. lib. 1. de pontif. *Odo* made Monk at *Floriake*, after he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Guliel. de pontif. lib. 1.*

Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif.

The difference of habit and garment among men of the Church.

False and lying Miracles noted upon *Odo*. A note to the Reader.

Transubstantiation was not yet received.

The Letter or Epistle of Odo Archbishop of Canterbury, sent to the other Bishops and Men of the Clergy.

The Letter of Odo Archbishop, to the Prelates

Mirabile cuncti-potentis polorum præsulis clementia opitulante, Ego Odo Ecclesie salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi Archiepiscopus Dornienensis civitatis Metropolitanus, coepiscopis fidei Catholica compagatoribus, spiritali charitatis vigore meis confratribus, presentium prosperitatem æthereique decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The same in English.

By the divine grace of God, I Odo of the Church of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the City of Dover, to my fellow Bishops and fellow planters of the Catholick Faith, and my fellow brethren in the spiritual bond of charity, with greeting, wish prosperity in this world present, and in the world to come felicity. If it were so, or by any means could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, so that I being Emperor had all things universally under my subjection, all those things would I gladly give, yea and my self also would offer willingly for the health of your souls, as which also do desire and trust likewise my self to be strengthened with the fervency of your holiness, as appertaining to those things wherein the Lord our God hath set us to be workmen, &c.

And after a few other words of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heavy burthen of his office, it followeth after this manner.

Wherefore most humbly and one unworthy, but yet a devote fellow brother of yours, I beseech and exhort your holiness, that you will not shew your selves cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of souls, so that in the time of the fearful judgement, the Lord do not complain of you, saying, My Shepherds did not feed my Flock, but they fed themselves. And again, They were Princes of my Flock, and I knew not of it. But rather let us take heed and be diligent over the Household of the Lord, over which he hath set us to be the leaders, to give them meat and true measure of Corn in time convenient, that is to say, wholesome Doctrine. And although upon mine own demerits or worthiness, I do not presume to comfort or exhort any man; but as one being unworthy and faulty in transgressions innumerable, am glad, and stand in need rather to be strengthened by your brotherly admonitions; yet for the ancient authority of my Predecessors, as of Augustine of happy memory, and also of all other Saints, by whose industry the rule of Christianity did first flourish and spring from this Metropolitan See unto all quarters of England; therefore I have thought good to direct unto you these my Letters to the profit of you all; especially, for that our Renowned and Princely King Edmund, with all his People, doth joy to follow that which he beareth in you and of you; and also for so much as all his Subjects, which be under his imperial Dominion, do love and delight to follow most joyfully the same, and report of your sincere conversation, &c.

Elfric Archbishop of Canterbury elected S. Edmundsbury;

This Odo continued Bishop the space of twenty years. After whom Elfric was elected and ordained by the King to succeed through favour and money; but in going to Rome for the Popes Pall, in his journey through the Alps, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon succeeded Dunstan, as in time and place (by the leave of Christ) followeth to be declared.

This Edmund gave to St. Edmund the Martyr before mentioned, the Town of Bredrichesworth, which is now called S. Edmundsbury, with great Revenues and Lands appertaining to the same. But concerning the frivolous Miracles which our Monkish story-writers here feign of this good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them pass.

The death of K. Edgar.

{ Anno 946 }

And thus much concerning the Reign of King Edmund, who after he had reigned six years and an half, was slain, as is said, at Pulcherchurch, and buried at Glaftonbury of Dunstan; leaving behind him two Children, Edwin and Edgar, by his Wife Elgiva. But because

the foresaid Children were yet young, and under age, therefore Edred Brother to King Edmund, and Uncle to the Children, governed as Protector about the space of nine years and an half, till Edwin the eldest Son came to age. This Edred with great moderation and fidelity to the young Children behaved himself, during the time of his Government. In his time Dunstan was promoted, through the means of Odo the Archbishop, from Abbot of Glaftonbury to be Bishop of Worcester, and after of London. By the counsel of this Dunstan, Edred was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted; insomuch that the foresaid Edred is reported in Stories to submit himself unto much fond penance and castigations, inflicted to him of the said Dunstan. Such zealous devotion was then in Princes, and more blind superstition in Bishops. And here again is another Miracle as fantastical as the other before, forged of Dunstan, that when that Edred being sick sent for Dunstan to be his Confessor, by the way Dunstan should hear a Voice declaring to him before, that Edred was already departed, at the declaring whereof Dunstan's Horse fell immediately dead under him, with ly and all.

Edred Governor of the Realm.

Dunstan made Bishop of Worcester, and after of London.

With the and all.

King Edwin.

Edwin the eldest Son of King Edmund afore mentioned, after his Uncle Edred, began his Reign about the year of our Lord 955, being crowned at Kingston by Odo the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this Edwin it is reported of divers Writers, that the first day of his Coronation, sitting with his Lords, he brake suddenly from them, and entred a secret Chamber, to the company of a certain Woman whom he inordinately retained (being, as some say, another mans Wife) whose Husband he had before slain, as others say, being of his alliance, to the great mistaking of his Lords, and especially of the Clergy. Dunstan was yet but Abbot of Glaftonbury; who, following the King into the Chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Odo the Archbishop, causing him to be separate from the company of the foresaid party; by the which Odo the King was for his fact suspended out of the Church. By reason whereof the King, being with Dunstan displeased, banished him his Land, and forced him for a season to flee into Flanders, where he was in the Monastery of St. Amandus. About the same season the Monastical Order of Benedict Monks, or black Monks (as they were called) began to multiply and increase here in England. Insomuch that where before time other Priests and Canons had been placed, there Monks were in their rooms set in, and the Secular Priests (as they then were called, or Canons) put out. But King Edwin for that displeasure he bare to Dunstan, did so vex all the Order of the said Monks, that in Malmesbury, Glaftonbury, and other places more, he thrust out the Monks, and set in Secular Priests in their stead.

K. Edwin.

{ Anno 955 }

The King suspended by the Archbishop.

Edwin an enemy unto Monks.

Monks put out, and secular priests placed in their rooms.

Notwithstanding, it was not long but these Priests and Canons were again removed, and the said Monks in their stead restored, both in the foresaid Houses, and in divers other Churches Cathedral betides, as in the next Story of King Edgar (Christ willing) shall more at large appear.

In fine, King Edwin being hated, by reason of certain his demeanors, of all his Subjects (especially the Northumbrians and Mercians) was by them removed from his Kingly Honour, and his Brother Edgar in his stead received; so that the River of Thames divided both their Kingdoms. Which Edwin, after he had Reigned about the term of four years, departed, leaving no heir of his body. Wherefore the rule of the Land fell unto Edgar his younger Brother.

The death of K. Edwin.

King Edgar.

Edgar the second Son of Edmund and Brother to Edwin, being of the age of sixteen years, began his Reign over the Realm of England, in the year of our Lord 959, but was not Crowned till fourteen years after; the causes whereof hereunder follow (Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his Reign he called home Dunstan, whom King Edwin before had exiled. Then was Dunstan, which before was Abbot of Glaftonbury, made Bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long

{ Anno 959 }

K. Edgar called Pagan.

Dunstan made Bishop of Worcester, and after of London.

Ex Hist.
Ro. Hoveden.
Spiritual
livings
given by
the King,
and not by
the Pope.

Oswaldus
Bishop of
Worcester,
and after of
York.
Ethelwoldus
Bishop of
Wint. a
great main-
tainer of
Monkery.
Anno
963.

Ex Guliel.
Malmesbur.
de gest.
pontif. Ang.

Monkish
dreams.

Dreams not
necessary to
be regarded.

Difference
of Dreams.

How and
when Monks
first began
to swarm in
England.
Dunstan, E-
thelwold,
Oswald,
three letters
up of Mon-
kish Religi-
on.

Forty Mo-
nasteries
built and
repaired by
King Edgar.

long after, this Odo the Archbishop of Canterbury deceased, after he had governed that Church 24 years. After whom *Brithelinus* Bishop of Winchester first was elected; but because he was thought not sufficient to furnish that room, *Dunstan* was ordained Archbishop, the other sent home again to his old Church. Where note by the way, how in those days the donation and assigning of Ecclesiastical Dignities remained in the Kings hand; only they set their Pall from Rome as a token of the Popes Confirmation. So *Dunstan*, being by the King made Archbishop, took his journey to Rome for his Pall of Pope *John* the thirteenth, which was about the beginning of the Kings Reign. Thus *Dunstan* obtaining his Pall, shortly after his return again from Rome, intreateth King *Edgar*, that *Oswaldus* (who, as is said, was made Monk at *Floriake*, and was Nephew to Odo late Bishop of Canterbury) might be promoted to be Bishop of Worcester; which thing to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the said *Dunstan*, *Ethelwoldus*, (whom stories do feign to be the great Patron of Monkery) first Monk at *Glastenbury*, then Abbot of *Abendon*, was also made Bishop of Winchester. Of this *Ethelwoldus*, *Gulielmus libro de gestis pontificum* recordeth, that what time he was a Monk in the House of *Glastenbury*, the Abbot had a Vision of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his sleep a certain great Tree, the branches whereof extended through all the four quarters of the Realm, which branches were all covered with many little Monks Cows, where in the top of the Tree was one great Master Cowl, which in spreading it self over the other Cows, inclosed all the rest; which Master Cowl in the Tree top, mine Author in the interpretation applieth to the life of this *Ethelwold*. Of such prodigious fantasies our Monkish Histories be full; and not only our Histories of England, but also of the Heathen Stories of the *Gentiles* be stuffed with such kind of Dreams of much like effect.

Of such a like Dream we read of the Mother of *Abelstan*, how the Moon did spring out of her Womb, and gave light to all England. Also of King *Charles* the Emperor, how he was led by a thred to see the torments of Hell. Likewise of *Furcens* the Hermite mentioned in the third Book of *Beda*, who saw the joys of Heaven, and the four fires that should destroy the World; the one of lying, for breaking our promise made at Baptism; the second fire was of the covetous; the third of dissention; the fourth was of the fire of impiety and wrongful dealing. Item, in like sort of the dream of *Dunstan*, and of the same *Ethelwold*, to whom appeared the three Bishops, *Bristanus*, *Birinus*, and *Swithinus*, &c. Of the dream of the Mother of this *Ethelwold*, who being great with him, did see a golden Eagle flie out of her mouth, &c. Of the dream likewise, or the Vision of King *Edgar* concerning the falling of the two Apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Also of King *Edward* the Confessor, touching the ruine of the Land by the conqueror of the Normans. We read also in the History of *Astages*, how he dreamed of *Cyrus*, and likewise of many other dreams in the Books of the Monks, and of the Ethnike Writers. For what cannot either the idle vanity of mans head, or the deception of the lying spirit work by man, in foretelling such earthly events as happen commonly in this present world?

But here is a difference to be understood between these earthly dreams, speaking of earthly things and matters of humane superstition; and between other spiritual revelations sent by God touching spiritual matters of the Church pertaining to mans salvation. But to our purpose, by this dream, and by the event which followed after, it may appear how and by what means the multitude of Monks began first to swarm in the Churches of England, that is, in the days of this *Edgar*, by the means of these three Bishops, *Dunstan*, *Ethelwold* and *Oswald*. Albeit *Dunstan* was the chiefest ringleader of this race; yet *Ethelwold* being now Bishop of Winchester, and *Oswald* Bishop of Worcester, were not much behind for their parts. By the instigation and counsel of these three forefard, King *Edgar* is recorded in Histories to build either new out of the ground, or to reedifie Monasteries decayed by the Danes, more than forty. As the House of *Ely*, *Glastenbury*, *Abington*, *Burga* by *Stamford*, *Thorney*, *Ramsay*, *Wilson*, *Wanton*, *Winchcomb*, *Thamstoke* in *Devon-*

shire, with divers more. In the setting up and building of the which the forefard *Ethelwold* was a great doer, and a Founder under the King. Moreover through the motion of this *Dunstan* and his fellows, King *Edgar* in divers great Houses and Cathedral Churches, where Prebendaries and Priests were before, displaced the Priests and set in Monks. Whereof we read in the Chronicles of *Roger Hoveden*, in words and form as followeth, *Hic namque Ethelwoldus regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut Clericos a Monasteriis expelleret, & Monachos sanctimonialisque in eis collocaret, &c.* that is, *Ethelwold* Bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the Kings Council, did urge the King chiefly to expel Clerks out of Monasteries, and in their rooms to bestow Monks and Nuns, &c. Whereunto accordeth likewise *Historia Fornalensis*, containing the like effect in these words, *Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oswaldus Wigorniensis, Episcopi, jussu Regis Edgari (Clericis de quibusdam majoribus Ecclesiis expulsis) Monachos instituerunt, aut de eisdem Clericis & aliis Monachos in eisdem fecerunt.* *Gulielmus* also writing of the time of *Dunstan*, maketh the matter somewhat more plain, where he saith, *Itaque Clerici multarum Ecclesiarum data opti-one, ut aut amicum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuantes: surgebant itaque in tota insula Religiosorum Monasteria, cumlabantur mole pretiosi metalli sanctorum Altaria, &c.* Thus the Secular Priests being put to their choice, whether to change their Habit, or to leave their Rooms, departed out of their Houses, giving place for other better men to come in. Then the Houses and Monasteries of Religious Men through all the Realm went up apace, &c.

After the Kings mind was thus perswaded and incited by these Bishops to advance Monkery, then *Oswaldus* Bishop of Worcester, and also made Archbishop of York after the decease of *Oskitellus*, *Sui voti compos effectus* (as *Hoveden* writeth) having his See in the Cathedral Church there of Saint *Peter*, began first with fair perswasions to assay the minds of the Canons and Priests, whether they could be content to change their Profession, and to be made Monks, or no. Which when he saw it would not take effect, he practised this policy with them: Near to the said Church of Saint *Peter*, within the Church-yard, he erected another Church of our Lady, which when he had replenished with Monks, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there he sat, and was ever there conversant. By reason whereof the other Church was left naked and desolate, and all the People gathered there where the Bishop was. The Priests seeing themselves so to be left and neglected both of the Bishop and of the People, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driven of shame either to relinquish the House (such as would not enter the monkish Profession) or else to become Monks, such as had nothing else to stay upon. After the like Superstition (although not after the same subtilty) did *Ethelwold* also drive out the Canons and Priests from the new Monastery in Winchester, afterward called *Hida*, and placed his Monks. So in Oxford and in *Mildune*, with divers other places more, the Secular Priests with their Wives were expelled, to give place to Monks. The cause whereof is thus pretended in certain Story-writers, whom I see also *Fabian* to follow; for that the Priests and Clerks were thought slack and negligent in their Church Service, and set in Vicars in their stead, while they lived in pleasure, and mis-spent the Patrimony of the Church after their own lust. Then King *Edgar* gave to the Vicars the same Land which before belonged to the Prebendaries; who also not long after shewed themselves as negligent as the others. Wherefore King *Edgar* (as mine Authors write) by the consent of Pope *John* the thirteenth voided clearly the Priests, and ordained there Monks. Although certain of the Nobles, and some of the Prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the Chapter following may partly appear.

Ro. Hoveden.
lib. Comina-
tionum post
Beda. Chro-
n. Fornalens.
Guliel. de
gestis pontif.
lib. 1.

Oswald Bi-
shop of Wor-
cester, and
Archbishop
of York.
The policy
of Oswald in
driving out
Priests to
place in
Monks.

Anno
969.

Guliel. 1. 3.
de gest. pon-
tif. Ang.
Chr. Fornal.
in vita
Edgari.

Prebenda-
ries and
Priests slack
in their
duty.

Priests void-
ed of Ca-
thedral
Churches,
and Monks
set in.

But

The difference, order, and institution of Monks examined.

Two sorts of Monks in the Primitive Church.

Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 4. de de Canon. Nihil. Orat.

Two sorts of Lay-men. Monks in the old time were no other but Lay-men, leading a strict life. August. de mor. Eccl. Hier. ad Heliodor. Di. v. Can. Chal. Can. A. Monks forbidden to intermeddle with matters Ecclesiastical.

Monks differing from Priests. Monks in the Primitive time differing from Monks in the second age of the Church. August. de infirmis monachorum.

But for so much as we have entred into the mention of Monks and Nuns, and of their Profession, which I see so greatly in our Monkish Stories commended: left perhaps the simple Reader may be deceived thereby, in hearing the name of Monks in all Histories of times to be such an ancient thing in Christian life (even from the Primitive Church after the Apostles time) both commonly recited and well received, therefore to help the judgment of the ignorant, and to prevent all error herein, it shall not be unprofitable, in following the present occasion here given (by way of a little digression) to intermeddle somewhat concerning the original Institution of Monks, what they were in the old time which were called *Monachi*, wherein the Monks of the primitive time did differ from the Monks of the middle time, and from these our Monks now of this later Age; moreover, wherein all these three do differ from Priests (as we call them) and from men of the Clergy. Wherefore to answer to the superstitious scruple of such, which alledge the old antiquity of the name and Title of Monks; First I grant the Name and Order of Monks to be of old continuance, during near from the time of three hundred years after Christ. Of whom divers old Authors do record, as *Augustinus*, *Hieronimus*, *Basilus Magnus*, who was also himself one of the first institutors and commanders of that superstition, *Chrysostomus*, *Nazianzenus*, *Evagrius*, *Sozomenus*, *Dionysius*, and divers others. In the number of these Monks (which then were divided into Hermits or Anchorites, and into Coenobites) were *Antoninus*, *Paulus*, *Johannes*, with divers other recluses. Among the which was *Hierome*, *Basil*, *Macharius*, *Isidorus*, *Pambus*, *Nilammon*, *Simeon*, with infinite others, both in *Palestina*, *Syria*, *Thebaide*, *Mesopotamia*, in *Egypt*, in *Africa*, and in *Scythia*. In so much that *Cassianus Lib. 2. Cap. 4. De Canon. Nihil. Orat.* mention of a certain Monastery in *Thebaide*, wherein were above five thousand Monks, under the government of one Abbot. And here also in *England* mention is made before of *Bangor*, wherein were two thousand and two hundred Monks under one mans ruling, in the year of our Lord five hundred ninety six. Whereby it appeareth that Monks were then, and two hundred years before, in the primitive time of the Church. But what Monks these were is to be considered; such as either by tyranny of Persecution were driven into solitary and desert places; or else such as not constrained of any, but of their own voluntary devotion (joyined with some Superstition among, for the love they had unto spiritual contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrew themselves from all company, either having nothing to themselves proper, or else all things common with others. And all these were then nothing else but Lay men; of which Lay men, there were two sundry sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which only were partakers of the Sacraments; the other, in following a Monastical kind of life, were called Monks, (being nothing but Lay men) leading a more severe and stricter trade of life than the others, as may sufficiently appear, *August. lib. de moribus ecclesiae, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item, Epistola ad Aurelium.* Also by *Hierome ad Heliodorum*, writing these words: *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum; Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor, &c.* that is, One thing pertaineth to Monks, another thing unto them of the Clergy; they of the Clergy feed their Flock, I am fed, &c. *Et ex Dionysio.* Also the same appeareth likewise by the fourth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it is provided, *Ne Monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant; that is, That Monks should not intermeddle with matters of the Church, &c.* *Et Leo Epistola 62. vetat Monachos & Laicos, etsi scientiae nomine gloriantur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.*

By these foresaid Authors alledged, it is evident, that Monks in the former Age of the Church, albeit they lived a solitary life, yet they were then no other but only Lay men, differing from Priests, and differing from the other Monks which succeeded them afterwards in the middle Age of the Church, and that in three points: First, they were tied and bound to no prescript form,

either of diet or apparel, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of Saint *Augustine*, which be these: *Neque inter haec nemo urgetur in aspera, quae ferre non potest: nulli quod recusat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur a ceteris, in quod eis imitandus se fatetur invalidum. Meminerunt enim quantopere commendata sit in scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod exit. Itaque non rejiciendus generibus ciborum quasi pollutis, sed concupiscentia perdomanda & dilectioni fratrum tesinenda invigilat omnis industria.* And *Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16.* speaking of the Monks of the same time, which in Cities had several Mansions from others, saith, *Alii in turba civitatum conversabantur, sic seipso gerentes, ut nullius momenti viderentur, & a multis nihil differrent, &c.* that is, Some live in Cities so behaving themselves, as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude, &c. The second point wherein they were discrepant from the later Monks was, in that they remained no other but in the Order of Lay Men (only being of a stricter life than the rest) and had nothing to do in matters and charges Ecclesiastical; which was afterward broken by Pope *Boniface* the fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be seen and said. Thirdly, the foresaid Monks of that Age (albeit the most part of them lived sole and single from Wives) yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from Marriage. Of such as were married, speaketh *Athanasius in Epistola ad Dracontium*, qui ait se novisse & Monachos & Episcopos conjuges & liberorum patres, &c. that is, Which saith, that he knew both Monks and Bishops married Men, and Fathers of Children, &c.

And yet the said Monks of the old time, though they were better than the other which followed them; yet all that notwithstanding, Superstition with them, and among them began then to creep into the Church through the crafty subtilty of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free justification by faith in Jesus Christ. Examples do declare the vain and prodigious superstition of these Monastical sort of men; which examples do not lack, if leisure rather, did not lack to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to insert, to the intent the mind of the godly Reader may the better consider and understand, how shortly after the time of Christ and his Apostles, the Doctrine of Christian Justification began to be forgotten, true Religion turned to Superstition, and the Price of Christs Passion to be obscured through the vain Opinion of mens Merits, &c. A certain Abbot named *Moses* thus testifieth of himself in the Collations of *Cassianus*, that he so afflicted himself with much fasting and watching, that sometimes for two or three days together, not only he felt no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driven also from sleep. In so much that he was caused to pray to God but for a little refreshing of sleep to be given him some piece of the Night. In the same Author mention is made of a certain old man an Hermit, who because he had conceived in himself such a purpose never to eat meat, without he had some guest or stranger with him, sometime was constrained to abstain five days together until Sunday, while he came to the Church, and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

Two other Examples yet more will I add out of the said *Cassianus*, to declare how the subtilty of Satan, through Superstition, and false colour of holiness, blindeth the miserable eyes of such, which rather attend mens Traditions than the Word of God. In the fortieth Chapter of the said Author, in his Book *De gastrimargia*, is told of a certain Abbot named *Johannes*, in the desert Wilderness of *Scythia*, who sent two of his Novices with Figs unto one that was sick in the Wilderness, eighteen Miles off from the Church. It chanced these two young Novices, missing the way, wandred so long in the wild Forest or Wilderness, and could not find the Cell, that for emptiness and weariness they waxed faint and tired; and yet rather would they die than taste the Figs committed to them to carry,

Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16.

Monks of the Primitive time were no Clerks, but meet Lay-men.

Monks of the old time some married, none restrained from marriage.

Superstition crept in with Monks.

The ignorance of our free justification by Christ is the cause of all superstition.

Et Cass. cap. 17. Collat. 2.

Cassian. lib. de spiritibus gastrimargia cap. 40.

superstition

and so did: for shortly after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.

Cassan. l. 6.
esp. 2.

Another Story he also reciteth of two Monastical Brethren, who making their Progress in the Desert of *Thebaide*, purposed with themselves to take no sustenance but such as the Lord himself should minister unto them. It happened as they were wandering desolate in the Desert, and fainting almost for penury, certain *Mazises*, a kind of people by nature fierce and cruel, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of Humanity, came forth, and of their own accord offered Bread unto them; which Bread the one thankfully received as sent of God; the other, as counting it sent of Man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lack perished.

Monks
mother of
superstition
and hypo-
crite.

Hereunto might I also annex the story of *Mucius*, who, to declare his obedience, did not stick, at the commandment of his Abbot, to cast his Son into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning; so far were the Monks in those days drowned in Superstition. What is this, but for Mans Traditions and Commandments to transgress the Commandments of God, which saith, *Thou shalt do no murther; Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?* What man is so blind, that seeth not by these and infinite examples more, what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this Monksy, almost from the beginning, to creep into the Church? Whereat I cannot marvel enough, seeing that Age of the Church had in it so many Learned Doctors, who not only did approve and follow these Monastical Sects of life, but also certain themselves were the Authors and Institutors of the same, yea, and of Mens Traditions, made the service of God. In number of whom may be reckoned *Basilus Magnus*, and *Nazianzenus*, who with immoderate Austerity did so pluck down themselves, that when they were called to the Office of Bishops, they were not able to sustain the labour thereof.

Basilus
Nazianzenus.

Monks of
the middle
and later
age of the
Church de-
scribed.

After these foresaid Monks of that time above rehearsed, followed other Monks of the middle Age of the Church; who, as in multitude, so also in Superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolate Dens in the vast Wilderness to approach more near to great Towns; where they had solemn Monasteries founded by Kings and Queens, and Kings daughters, and other rich Consuls, as is partly before touched; and the causes also touched withal, for the which they were first founded, as these, *Pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remissione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, & pro salute regnorum, quique meo sub-*

Causes of
the found-
ing of Mo-
nasteries
and Nunne-
ries, tend-
ing to the
derogation
of Christs
Passion and
Christian
Faith.

Most part
of Monaste-
ries were
built up-
on some
Murther.

jacant regimini populorum, in honorem gloriose Virginis, &c. For all these impious and erroneous Titles and Causes we find alledged in stories, as in *Malmesburienensis, Fornalensis, Henricus*, and others more. In which Histories I also note, that the most part of these foresaid Monasteries were erected first upon some great Murther, either by War in the Field, or privately committed at home, as shall well appear to them that read their Books whom I have alledged. But to return to our Monks again, who (as I said) first began to creep from the cold Field into warm Towns and Cloisters, from Towns then into Cities, and at length from their close Cels and Cities, into Cathedral Churches (as here appeareth by this Story of King *Edgar*) where, not only they did abound in Wealth and Riches (especially these Monks of our later time) but much more did swim in Superstition and Pharisaical Hypocrisy, being yoked and tied in all their doings, to certain prescript Rules, and formal Observances; in watching, in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in tasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures, every man appalled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the year did serve, but as the coacted Rules and Order of every Sect did enforce them. The number of which Sects was infinitely divers; some after *Basilus* Rule went in white; some after *Benets* Rule in black; some *Cluniacenses*, first set up by *Orto* in the time of this King *Edgar*, wearing after the Rule of *Benets* Order; some after *Hierome's* Rule, leather girdled, and coped above

The Order
of Monks
Cluniac, by
Orto set up
in *K. Edgar's*
time.

their white Coat; some *Gregorians* Copper coloured; some *De valle umbrosa*, Grey Monks; some *Grandimontenses*, wearing a Coat of Mailes upon their bare bodies, with a black Cloak thereupon; some *Cisterciens*, who had white Rochets on a black Coat; some *Celestines*, all in blew, both Cloak, Cowl and Cap; some Charter Monks, wearing Haircloth next their bodies; some *Flagellants*, going bare-foot in long white Linen Shirts, with an open place in the back, where they beat themselves with scourges on the bare skin every day before the peoples eyes, till the blood ran down, saying, that it was revealed to them by an Angel, that in so scourging themselves, within thirty days and twelve hours, they should be made so pure from sin, as they were when they first received Baptism; some starred Monks; some Jesuits, with a white Girdle and russet Cowl. Briefly, who can reckon the innumerable Sects and disguised Orders of their Fraternities? some holding of Saint *Benet*, some of Saint *Hierome*, some of Saint *Basil*, some of Saint *Bernard*, some of Saint *Bridget*, some of Saint *Bruno*, some of Saint *Lewis*, as though it were not enough for Christians to hold of Christ only. So subject were they to servile rules, that no part of Christian liberty remained among them; so drowned and sunk in Superstition, that not only they had lost Christs Religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discreet government of reason in all outward doings, wherein one Rule can serve for all Men; the circumstance of time, place, person and business being so sundry and divers; contrary among these, no reason, but only the knock of a Bell ruled all their doings; their rising, their sleeping, their praying, their eating, their coming in, their going out, their talking, their silence, and altogether like insensible people, either not having reason to rule themselves, or else as persons ungrateful to God, neither injoying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet using the grace of Christs Liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Monks
Flagellants

Monks are
subject and
ruled by the
knock of a
Bell.

Thus thou seest (gentle Reader) sufficiently declared, what the Monks were in the primitive time of the Church, and what were the Monks of the middle Age, and of these our later days of the Church. Whereunto joyn this withal, that where the Monks of elder time (as is said) were meer Lay-men and no Spiritual Ministers: afterward *Bonifacius* the Fourth made a Decree, in the year of our Lord six hundred and six, that Monks might use the office of Preaching, of Chritening, of hearing Confessions, and also of absolving them of their sins, &c. So then Monks, who in the beginning were but Lay-men, and no Spiritual Ministers, forbidden by the General Council of *Chalcedon* (as is above related) to intermeddle with matters Ecclesiastical; afterward in process of time, did so much inroach upon the office of Spiritual Ministers, that at length the Priests were discharged out of their Cathedral Churches, and Monks set in their places; because that Monks in those days, leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holiness among the People than the Priests, who then in the days of King *Edgar* had Wives (at least so many as would) no Law forbidding them to the contrary, till the time of *Hildebrand*, now called *Gregory* the seventh, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the Book next following.

Monks
made spi-
ritual Mini-
sters con-
trary to the
old decree
and custom
of the
Church.

Priests in
K. Edgar's
time had
Wives.

And thus much by the way, as touching the Order and Profession of Monks. Now to turn in again from whence we digressed (that is) to the matter of King *Edgar*, who following the counsel and leading of *Dunstan*, and the foresaid *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, was somewhat thereby inclined to Superstition: but otherwise of his own nature well given to all virtues and Princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in justice, and sharp in correction of vices (as well in his Magistrates as other subjects) that never before his days was less Felony by Robbers, nor less Extortion or Bribery by false Officers. Such Provinces and Lordships, as were not yet come under the Kings subjection, he united and adjoyned to his Dominion; and so made one perfect Monarchy of the whole Realm of *England*, with all the Islands and borders about the same. Such

The worthy
acts of King
Edgar.

The Kings
good judi-
ciary.

Such as were wicked, he kept under, he repressed them that were Rebels, the godly he maintained, he loved the modest, he was devout to God, and beloved of his Subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietness. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did bless him with much abundance of peace and rest from all Wars, so that as the Story recordeth of him, *Nullas infidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum sensit*, for the which he was called *Pacificus*. He neither tasted of any privy Treason among his Subjects, nor of any Invasion of Foreign Enemies. So studious he was of the publick profit of his Realm, and fruitful in his Government, that as the said story saith of him, *Nullus fere annus in chronicis præterit, quo non magnum & necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit*: No year passed in all the time of his Reign, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the Common wealth, &c. A great maintainer he was of Religion and Learning, not forgetting herein the footsteps of King Alfred his Predecessor. Among his other Princely virtues this chiefly is to be regarded, that whereas other Princes commonly in much peace and quietness are wont to grow into a disolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed unto them; this King in continuance of peace (that notwithstanding) kept ever with him such a watch, and a vigilant severity joyned with a seemly clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witness of our Story-writers, testifying of his diligent care over the Commonwealth, which was so great, *Ut nullum cuiusque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret*: that is, That he would suffer no man, of what degree of Nobility so ever he were, to dally out his laws without condign punishment, &c. And followeth more in the same Author, *Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alienas grassari propria vitæ dispendio*, &c. In all his time there was neither any privy picker, nor open thief, but he that in stealing other Mens goods, would venture and suffer (as he was sure) the loss of his own life, &c. *Guliel. dereg.*

Moreover, as the studious industry of this Prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent provision did not lack in this also, in driving out the devouring and ravening Wolves throughout all his Land. Wherein he used this policy, in causing *Ludwallus* Prince or King of *Wales*, to yield to him yearly by way of Tribute three hundred Wolves. By means whereof, within the space of four years after, in *England* and *Wales* might scanty be found one Wolf alive.

This *Edgar* among other of his politick deeds had in readiness three thousand six hundred Ships of War to scour the Seas in the Summer time, whereof one thousand two hundred kept the East Seas; as many defended the West side; again, as many were on the South Seas, to repulse the Invasion of Foreign Enemies. Moreover, in Winter season, the use and manner of this vertuous King was this, During all the time of his life, to ride over the Land in progress, searching and inquiring diligently (to use here the words of mine Author) *Quomodo legum jura, & suorum statuta decretorum observarentur; & ne pauperes a potentibus præjudicium passi opprimerentur*; that is, How his Laws and Statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poor should suffer no prejudice, or be oppressed any manner of ways by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy Prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him like a Phoenix to fly alone, that of all his Posterity so few there be that seek to keep him company. And although I have shewed more already of this King, than I think will well be followed, yet this more is to be added to the worthiness of his other acts, that whereas by the multitude of the *Danes* dwelling in divers places of *England*, much excessive drinking was used, whereupon ensued drunkenness and many other vices, to the evil example and hurt of his Subjects; he therefore, to prevent that evil, ordained certain Cups with Pins or Nails set in them, adding thereunto a Law, that what person drank past the mark at one draught, should forfeit a certain penny, whereof one half should fall to the accuser, and the other half to the Ruler of the Borough or Town where the offence was done.

It is reported of this *Edgar* by divers Authors, that about the thirteenth year of his Reign, he being at *Chester*, eight Kings (called in Histories *Subreguli*) to wit, petty Kings, or under Kings, came and did Homage to him. Of whom the first was the King of *Scots*, called *Kinadius*, *Macolinus* of *Cumberland*, *Mackus* or *Mascusinus* King of *Monia*, and of divers other Islands, and all the Kings of *Wales*, the names of whom were *Dufnal*, or *Dunewaldus*, *Sisfresh*, *Hurwall*, *Jacob*, *Ulkell*, *Fuchol*. All which Kings, after they had given their fidelity to *Edgar*, the next day following (for a Pomp or Royalty) he entred with these aforesaid Kings into the River of *Dee*; where he, sitting in a Boat, took the rule of the Helm, and caused these eight Kings, every person taking an Ore in his hand, to row him up and down the River, to and from the Church of *Saint John*, unto his Palace again, in token that he was Master and Lord of so many Provinces; whereupon he is reported to have said in this manner, *Tunc demum posse successores suos gloriarī, se Reges Angliæ esse, cum tanta prærogativa honorum fruereutur*. But in my mind, this King had said much better, if he had rather said with *Saint Paul*, *Abstine mihi gloriari, nisi in Cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.

And thus ye have heard hitherto, touching the commendation of King *Edgar*, such reports as the old Monkish Writers thought to bestow upon him, as upon the great Patron of their Monkish Religion, who had builded so many Monasteries for them, as were Sundays in the year (as some say) or as *Edmer* reporteth, but forty eight.

Now on the other side, what Vices in him were reigning, let us likewise consider, according as we find in the said Authors described, which most wrote to his advancement. Whereof, the first Vice is noted to be Cruelty, as well upon others, as namely, upon a certain Earl, being of his secret Council, called *Ethelwold*. The story is this; *Ordgarus*, Duke of *Devonshire*, had a certain Daughter named *Elfrida*, whose Beauty being highly commended to the King, he being inflamed therewith, sent this foresaid *Ethelwold* (whom he specially trusted) to the party, to see and to bring him word again, and if her Beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the Match between them. *Ethelwold* well viewing the party, and seeing her Beauty nothing inferior to her fame, and thinking first to serve his own turn, told all things contrary unto the King. Whereupon the King withdrawing his mind otherwise, in the end it came to pass, that *Ethelwold* himself did marry her.

Not long after, the King understanding further by the complaints and rumors of certain, how he was prevented and beguiled, set a fair face upon the matter before *Ethelwold*; and merrily jesting with him, told him how he would come and see his Wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. *Ethelwold* the Husband, perceiving this matter to go hardly with him, made haste to his Wife, declaring to her the coming of the King, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done; desiring her of all love, as she would save his life, to disgrace and deform her self with garments and such attire, as the King might take no delighting in her. *Elfrida* hearing this, what did she, but contrary to the request of her Husband and promise of a Wife, against the Kings coming trimmed her self at the Glafs, and decked her in her best array. Whom when the King beheld, he was not so much enamored with her, as in hatred with her Husband, who had so deceived him. Whereupon the King shortly after, making as though he would go to hunt in the Forest of *Harwood*, sent for *Ethelwold* to come to him under the pretence of Hunting, and there ran him through and slew him. After this, the Bastard Son of *Ethelwold* coming to him, the King asked him how he liked that hunting? Who answered again, that which pleased the King, ought not to displease him; for the death of which *Ethelwold*, *Elfrida* afterward builded a Monastery of Nuns in remission of sins.

England reduced to one full and perfect Monarchy.

Edgarus rex Pacificus. K. Edgar and K. Alfred compared together.

A note for men of Nobility to mark.

A notable example of a Prince, to admonish all Princes what to do. Wolves first driven out of England.

The provision of King Edgar in keeping the Seas.

A notable example in a Prince, for all good Princes to mark and to follow.

The device of K. Edgar to avoid drunkenness.

Eight Kings do Homage to K. Edgar.

The glory of K. Edgar represented.

Wherein Kings ought to glory.

K. Edgar a superstitious upholder of Monkery. Ex. Edmer.

Vices noted in K. Edgar.

K. Edgar circumvented by one of his Council.

Cruelty in K. Edgar noted.

Great de-
triment
happening
in this
Realm by
King Edgar.

Another fault which *Malmesbury* noteth in him, was the coming in of Strangers into this Land, as Saxons, Flemings and Danes, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of the Land, as the foresaid story of *Malmesbury* recordeth, whose words be these: *Unde factum est, ut fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenae, Saxones, Flandricae, ipsi etiam Dani hic frequenter annavigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti. Quorum adventus magnum provincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde merito jureque reprehendunt eum litera, &c.* That is, Whereby it happened that divers strangers out of foreign Countries allured by his fame came into the Land, as Saxons, Flemings and Danes also, all which he retained with great familiarity. The coming of which strangers bred great damage to the Realm, and therefore is Edgar justly blamed in stories, &c. With the which reprehension the Saxon stories also do agree.

The incontinent
life of K. Edgar.

Editha bafe
Daughter
of Wilfrid
the Kings
lemman.

The third vice to him objected, was, his incontinent and lascivious lust in deflowering Maids, as first of a Dukes Daughter being a Nun, and a Virgin named *Wilfrida*, or *Wilstrud*, of which *Wilfrid* was born *Editha* a Bastard Daughter of *Edgar*. Also of another certain Virgin in the Town of *Andever*, who was privily conveyed into his Bed by this means: The lascivious King coming to *Andever*, not far from *Winchester*, and thinking to have his pleasure of a certain Dukes Daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the Maid to be brought unto him. The Mother of the Virgin, grieving to have her Daughter made a Concubine, secretly by night conveyed to the Kings Bed instead of her Daughter, another Maiden, of Beauty and Favour not uncomely; who in the morning rising to her work, and so being known of the King what she was, had granted unto her of the King such liberty and freedom, that of a servant she was made Mistress both to her Master, and also to her Mistress. *Ex Matthaeo Paris. lib. de regib.*

Edward
born in Ba-
stardy of
Elfred, King
Edwards
Concubine.

Another Concubine he had also besides these afore-said, which was *Egelseda*, or *Elfreda*, called *Candida*, the white Daughter of Duke *Ordmere* (as *Gulielm. Malmesburiensis* recordeth) she being also a professed Nun, of whom he begot *Edward* in Bastardy; for the which he was enjoined by *Dunstan* seven years Penance. After which Penance being compleat, then he took to him a lawful Wife (as *Malmesb.* faith) *Elfritha*, the Mother of *Edmund* and *Ethelred*, or otherwise called *Egelred*, whereof more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

King Edgar
a great
maintainer
of Monckery

Over and besides all these Vices noted and objected to King *Edgar* in our Monkish Story-writers, I also observe another no less, or rather greater Vice than the other afore recited, which was, blind Superstition and idolatrous Monckery brought into the Church of Christ, with the wrongful expelling of lawful married Priests out of their Houses. Whereupon what inconveniences ensued after in this Realm, especially in the House of the Lord, I leave it to the consideration of them which have heard of the detestable enormities of those Religious Votaries: the occasion whereof first and chiefly began in this *Edgar*, through the instigation of *Dunstan* and his Fellows, who after they had inveigled the King, and had brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a Council of the Clergy, where it was Enacted, that the Canons of divers Cathedral Churches, Collegiines, Parsons, Vicars, Priests and Deacons, with their Wives and Children, either should give over that kind of life, or else give room to Monks, &c. For execution of which Decree, two principal Visitors were appointed, *Athelwold* or *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, as is partly before touched. *Osbornus in vita Dunstani. Malmesbur. de vit. pontif. Rog. Hoved.*

King Edgar
seduced by
Dunstan
and Ethel-
wold Bishop
of Winchester.
Ex Osborn
in vita Dun-
stani. fol. 27.
Malmesb.
Hoveden. &
alii.

And thus much concerning the History of King *Edgar*, and of such things as in his time happened in the Church, which *Edgar* after he had entered into the parts of *Britany* to subdue the Rebellion of the *Welshmen*, and there had spoiled the Country of *Glamorgan*, and wasted the Country of *Odo*, within ten days after, when he had reigned the space of sixteen

years, he died, and was buried at *Glastenbury*, leaving after him two Bastards, to wit, *Editha* and *Edward*, and one Son lawfully begotten, named *Ethelred*, or otherwise by corruption called *Egelred*, for *Edmund* the elder Son died before his Father.

The death
of K. Edgar.

You heard before how King *Edgar* is noted in all Stories to be an incontinent liver in deflowering Maids and Virgins. Of which Virgins, three notoriously are expressed in Authors, to wit, *Wilstrude* or *Wilfride*; the second was the Dukes Maid at *Andever*, near to *Winchester*; the third was *Elfred* Mother of *Edward*, for the which *Elfred* he was stayed and kept back from his Coronation by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the space of seven years; and so the said King beginning his Reign in the sixteenth year of his Age, being the year of the Lord, nine hundred fifty nine, was Crowned at his Age one and thirty, *Anno Domini* 974. as is in the *Saxon Chronicle* of *Worcester* Church to be proved. For the more evident declaration of which matter, concerning the Coronation of the King restrained, and the presumptuous behaviour of *Dunstan* against the King, and his Penance by the said *Dunstan* enjoined, ye shall hear both *Osborn*, *Malmesbur.* and other Authors speak in their own words as followeth. *Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato, &c.* After that *Dunstan* had understanding of the Kings offence perpetrated with the professed Nun, and that the fame was blazed amongst the People, with great ire and passion of mind he came to the King, who seeing the Archbishop coming, effusions of gentleness arose from his Regal Seat towards him, to take him by the hand, and to give him place. But *Dunstan* refusing to take him by the hand, and with stern countenance bending his Brows, spake after this effect of words (as Stories import) unto the King, *You that have not feared to corrupt a virgin Maid handfast to Christ, presume you to touch the consecrated hands of a Bishop? You have defiled the Spouse of your Maker, and think you by flattering service to pacify the friend of the Bridegroom? No Sir, his friend will not be, which hath Christ to his enemy, &c.* The King terrified with these thundering words of *Dunstan* and compuncted with inward repentance of his sin perpetrated, fell down with weeping at the feet of *Dunstan*; who after he had raised him up from the ground again, began to utter to him the horribleness of his fact; and finding the King ready to receive whatsoever satisfaction he would lay upon him, enjoined him this Penance for seven years space, as followeth:

Ex Chroni-
Saxoniae
Ecclesiae
Wigorniae.

Ex Osborn
in vita Dun-
stani.

Dunstan
suffici-
ent to
take the
King by
the hand.
The words
of Dunstan
to K. Edgar.

*That he should wear no Crown all that space; that he should fast twice in the Week; he should distribute his Treasure left to him of his Ancestors liberally unto the poor, he should build a Monastery of Nuns at *Shaftsbury*, that as he had robbed God of one Virgin through his transgression, so should he restore to him many again in times to come. Moreover he should expel Clerks of evil life (meaning such Priests as had Wives and Children) out of Churches, and place Covents of Monks in their room, &c.*

Penance in-
joined to
K. Edgar
by Dunstan.

It followeth then in the Story of *Osborn*, that when the seven years of the Kings Penance were expired, *Dunstan* calling together all the Peers of the Realm, with Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastical degrees of the Clergy, in the publick sight of all the multitude, set the Crown upon the Kings Head at *Bath*, which was the one and thirtieth year of his Age, and the thirteenth year of his Reign; so that he reigned only but three years crowned King. All the other years besides *Dunstan* belike ruled the Land as he listed. Furthermore, as touching the Son of the said *Elfred*, thus the Story writeth, *Puerum quoque ex peccatrice quondam pro- genitum, sacro fonte regeneratum lavavit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium sibi adoptavit. Id est, The Child also which was gotten of the Harlot, he baptised in the holy fountain of regeneration, and so giving his Name to be called Edward, did adopt him to be his Son, &c.* *Ex Osborn.*

King Ed-
gar reigned
but three
years crown-
ed King.

Elfred pro-
ved a Nun,
and Edward
her son
proved a
Bastard.

By the which Narration of Osbern, agreeing also with the Story of the *Saxon* Book above mentioned, is convinced a double untruth or error, either negligently overseen, or of purpose dissembled in our later Monkish Story-writers, as in *Malmesbury*, *Matth. Paris*, *Matth. Westm.* and others more. Who, to conceal the fault of King *Edgar*, or to bear with *Dunstan's* fact, in setting up *Edward* for the maintenance of their Monkish Order, first do falsely affirm, that *Editha* the daughter of *Ulfride* was born after *Edward*, and that for her this Penance was enjoined to King *Edgar*. Which neither is, nor can be so, as in process hereafter (the Lord willing) shall appear.

Secondly, they are deceived in this, that they affirm King *Edgar* to have two Wives, and that *Elfreda* the Mother of *Edward* was not a professed Nun indeed, but dissembled so to be to avoid the violence of the King: whereas indeed the truth of the Story both giveth her to be a Nun, and her Son to be base, and she her self never to be married unto the King.

Now forso much as we have hitherto entered mention of *Elfreda* and *Editha*, also of *Ulfrid* and *Dunstan*, here would not be let pass to speak something of their lying Miracles, falsely forged, to the great seduction of Christian People by superstitious Monks, who cared not what Fables and Lies they brought into the Church, so they might have the vantage of poor mens Purfes and Oblations. And first here cometh in the fabulous Miracles wrought at the Tomb of *Elfreda* the Kings Concubine, which *William Malmesbury* in these Verses expresseth:

*Nam nonnullis passa annis morborum molestiam,
Defecatum & excoctam Deo dedit animam.
Functus ergo vitæ fato beatas exuvias,
Infinitis clemens signis illustravit Deitas:
Inops visus & auditus si adorant tumultum,
Sanitati restituti probant sanctæ meritum.
Rectum gressum refert domum, qui accessit loripes,
Mente captus redit sanus, boni sensus locuples.*

The English of which Verses is needful here to be recited. Briefly, the effect is this; That both the blind, deaf, halt, and such as be mad, receive their health again, if they worship the Tomb of this *Elfreda*, &c.

The like feignings and monstrous Miracles we read also in Chronicles of doting *Dunstan*, drowned in all superstition, if he were not also a wicked Sorcerer. First, how he being yet a Boy, chased away the Devil, set about with a great company of Dogs, and how the Angels did open the Church door for him to enter. Then how the Lute or Harp hanging upon the Wall did sing or play without any finger these words, *Gaudent in calis animæ sanctorum, qui Christi vestigia sunt sequuti, & qui pro ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt; ideo cum Christo regnabunt in æternum.*

Item, where a certain great Beam or master-post was loosed out of the place, he with making the sign of a Cross, set it in right frame again. Moreover, how the said *Dunstan* being tempted upon a time, of the Devil with the cogitation of Women, caught the Devil by the Nose with a hot pair of Tongues, and held him fast. Item, How often Heavenly Spirits appeared to him, and used to talk with him familiarly. Item, How he prophesied of the Birth of King *Edgar*, of the death of King *Egelred*, of the death of *Editha*, and of *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*. Also how our Lady with her fellows appeared visibly to him, singing this Song;

*Cantemus domino sociæ, cantemus bonorem;
Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio.*

Again, how the Angels appeared to him, singing the Hymn called *Kyrie Rex splendens*, &c. And yet

these prodigious Fancies with other more are written of him in Chronicles, and have been believed in Churches.

Among many other false and lying Miracles, forged in this corrupt time of Monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy Legend of *Editha* were not to be overpassed, if for shame and honesty it might well be recited. But to cast the dirt of these Pope-holy Monks in their own face, which so impudently have abused the Church of Christ, and simplicity of the People, with their ungracious vanities; let us see what this Miracle is, and how honestly it is told.

Certain years after the death of *Editha*, faith *William* of *Malmesbury*, which years *Capgrave* in his new Legend reckoneth to be thirteen, the said *Editha*, and also Saint *Dennis* holding her by the hand, appeared to *Dunstan* in a Vision, willing and requiring him that the body of *Editha* in the Church of *Wilton*, should be taken up and shined, to the intent it might be honoured here in Earth of her Servants, according as it is worshipped of her Spouse in Heaven. *Dunstan* upon this coming from *Salisbury* to *Wilton*, where *Editha* was interred, commanded her body to be taken up with much Honour and Solemnity. Who there in opening her Tomb (as both *Malmesbury* and *Capgrave* with shame enough record) found all the whole body of this *Editha* consumed to Earth, save only her Thumb, her Belly, and the part under the Belly. Whereof the said *Editha* expounding the meaning, declared that her Thumb remained sound, for the much crossing the used with the same. The other parts were incorrupted for a testimony of her Abstinence and Integrity, &c. Ex *Malmesburienf. & Capgrave*.

What Satan hath so envied the true sincerity of Christian Faith and Doctrine, so to contaminate the same with such impudent tales, such filthy vanities, and idolatrous fantasies as this? Such Monks with their detestable Houses, where Christs People were so abominably abused and seduced to worship dead Carcases of Men and Women, whether they deserved not to be raced and pluckt down to the ground, let all chaff Readers judge. But of these matters enough and too much.

Here followeth the Epitaph written by *Henricus* Archdeacon of *Huntington*, upon the praise and commendation of King *Edgar*.

*Autor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
Scepitriger Edgarus regna superna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, Templis Monachos, Monachis dedit agros,
Nequitia lapsus, justitieque locus.
Novit enim Regno verum perquirere falso,
Immensum modico; perpetuumque brevi.*

Among his other laws, this King ordained that the Sunday should be solemnized, from Saturday at nine of the Clock, till Monday morning.

King Edward called the Martyr.

AFTER the death of King *Edgar* no small trouble arose among the Lords and Bishops for succession of the Crown; the principal cause whereof rose upon this occasion, as by the Story of *Simon* of *Durham* and *Roger Hoveden*, is declared. Immediately after the decease of the King, *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles which held with *Egelred* or *Ethelred* the only right heir and lawful Son of *Edgar*, misliking the placing and intruding of Monks into Churches, and the thrusting out of the Secular Priests, with their Wives and Children out of their ancient Possessions, expelled the Abbots and Monks, and brought in again the foresaid Priests with their Wives.

A foul, filthy monkish Miracle in the story of *Editha*.

Another Dream of *Dunstan*.

Ex W. Mal. & Capgrave in legenda nova.

The death of K. Edgar.

An Epitaph commendatory of K. Edgar written by H. Huntington.

Sunday first hallowed from Saturday at nine of the clock to Monday morning.

Annos 975. The story of K. Edward, Ex Simone Dunelm. Contentions amongst the Lords about the putting in of monks.

Wives. Against whom certain other there were on the contrary part that made resistance, as *Ethelwin* Duke of *Eastangles*, *Elfwaldus* his brother, and the Earl *Brithnotus*, saying in a Council together assembled, *That they would never suffer the Religious Monks to be expelled and driven out of the Realm, which held up all Religion in the Land; and thereupon efforts levied an Army, whereby to defend by force the Monasteries, such as were within the Precinct of East-anglia.*

Contention amongst the Lords for choosing the King.

In this hurly-burly amongst the Lords, about the placing of Monks, and putting out of Priests, rose also the contention about the Crown, who should be their King; the Bishops and such Lords as favoured the Monks, seeking to advance such a King as they knew would incline to their side; so that the Lords thus divided, some of them would have *Edward*, and some consented upon *Egelred* the lawful Son. Then *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Oswald* Archbishop of *York*, with other their fellow Bishops, Abbots, and divers other Lords and Dukes assembled in a Council together. In the which Council *Dunstan* coming in with his Cross in his hand, and bringing *Edward* before the Lords, so persuaded them, that in the end *Edward* by *Dunstan's* means was elected, consecrated and anointed for their King.

Edward the Bastard made King, and the right heir put back.

Osbern, *Nic. Trivet*, *Joan. Paris*, *Vincenius*, *Antoninus*.

And thus hast thou (good Reader) the very truth of this story, according to the writing of Authors of most antiquity which lived nearest to that Age, as *Osbern* and others; which *Osbern*, living in the days of *William* the Conqueror, wrote this Story of *Dunstan* through the motion of *Lanfrancus*, and alledgeth, or rather translateth the same out of such *Saxon* Stories as were written before his time. Besides which *Osbern* we have also for witness hereof, *Nicholas Trivet*, in his *English* Story written in *French*, and also *Joannes Paris* in his *French* Story written in the *Latine* Tongue, where he plainly calleth *Edward*, *Non legitimum filium*, that is, *No lawful Son*. Whereunto add moreover, the testimony of *Vincenius* and *Antoninus*, who in plain terms likewise report the same.

Editha proved not to be the Child for whom King *Edgar* was enjoyned Penance.

Now having laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let us come to examine how truly our later Writers do say, which write that *Editha*, and not *Edward*, was the Child for whom *Dunstan* enjoyned to the King seven years Penance, and also how truly they report *Edward* to be a lawful Heir, and *Elfred* to be a lawful Wife to King *Edgar*.

For first touching *Editha*, this is confessed by the said Writers themselves, that she was of good years at what time *Edgar* her Father was enjoyned his Penance. After the which seven years of his Penance expired, he lived at the most but three years and a half, which seven years, and three years and a half, do make in all but ten years and a half. But now the said Authors themselves do grant, that she was made Abbes by her Father, he being then alive. And how can this then stand with her Legend, which saith, that she was not less than fifteen years of Age? By which account it must needs fall out, that she could not be so little as five years old, before the birth of that Child for whom the King did Penance.

The years of *Editha* & *Edward* cast by the supputation of legends and stories.

And thus much touching *Editha*. Now in like manner to consider of the time of *Edward*. First, this by all Writers is granted, that he was slain in the fifteenth year of his Age. Which years do well agree to that Child which King *Edgar* begat in Bastardy, and for the which he did his Penance; for the more evidence whereof, let us come to the supputation of the years in this sort.

First the Penance of the King after the birth of this Child, lasted seven years. Then the King after the same lived three years and a half. After whose death *Edward* reigned other three years and a half, which in all make the full sum of fourteen years. About the count of which age, the said *Edward* going on his fifteenth year, by their own reckoning was slain.

And thus have ye by manifest demonstration proved by the right casting of the years, after their own grant and reckoning, that *Editha* Daughter of *Ulfride* in no case can be the Child which was born after *Edward*, and for whom the King was enjoyned Penance; but that *Edward* rather was born after *Editha*, and was the Child for whom the Penance was enjoyned; contrary to the Opinion commonly received in the Church, which for ignorance of the Story hath hitherto holden *Edward* to be an Holy Martyr, and right Heir unto the Crown. Which Error and Opinion how it first sprang, and by whom, albeit it pertain not to my Story to discuss, yet were it no hard matter to conjecture.

K. Edward, called *Martyr*, proved to be a Bastard.

The cause perpend, why this story of *K. Edward* is so fallacious in Monkish Stories.

First, After that *Dunstan* and *Oswald* with other Bishops, Abbots, and certain Lords and Dukes of that Faction, for the maintenance of Monks, had advanced *Edward* to be King, against Queen *Alfrith* Mother of *Ethelred*, and *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and certain other Nobles which held the contrary side of the Priests against the Monks; in process of time the Monks that came after to write Stories, perceiving *Dunstan* to be reputed in the Church of *Rome* for an holy Saint, and the said King *Edward* for an holy Martyr, and partly also to bolster up their own Religion of Monks so much as they could; to the intent therefore that they might save both the credit of *Dunstan*, and of the King, and especially bearing favour to their own Religion, and partly that the reputation of the Church of *Rome* should not be distained by opening the truth of this matter, either they did not see, or would not confess herein what they knew; but rather thought best to blanch the Story, and colourably to hide the simple truth thereof, making the People falsely believe that *Elfreda* the Mother of *Edward*, was Wife to King *Edgar*, and *Edward* to be lawfully born, and also that *Editha* was born after *Edward*, and to be the Child for which the King was enjoyned Penance. All which is false and contrary both to the order of time above declared, and also to the plain words of *Malmesbury*, which speaking of King *Edgar's* last Concubine, saith in plain words, *Dilexit unice integram lecto uni differens fidem, quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfridem, Filiam Ordgar*: that is, *He had a Concubine whom he loved intirely, keeping true faith of his Bed to her alone, until the time he married for his lawful Wife Elfrid the Daughter of Duke Ordgar, &c.* Whereby we have to understand, that whatsoever Concubine this was which *Malmesbury* speaketh of, certain it is, that *Edgar* lived in Whoredom till the time he married his lawful Wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beside these Arguments and Allegations above recited, let this also be perpended, how the said *Dunstan* with his Complices, after the killing of King *Edward*, leaving the right Heir of the Crown (which was *Ethelred*) went about (as *Capgrave* and their own Legend confesseth) to set up *Editha* the other Bastard to possess the Crown, but that she, more wife than her Brother *Edward*, refused the same. Whereby what is to be thought of the doings of *Dunstan*, and what should be the cause why he preferred both *Edward* and *Editha* to the Crown, rather than the lawful Heir, I leave to all indifferent Readers thereof to judge.

Malmesbury last Concubine, saith in plain words, *Dilexit unice integram lecto uni differens fidem, quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfridem, Filiam Ordgar*: that is, *He had a Concubine whom he loved intirely, keeping true faith of his Bed to her alone, until the time he married for his lawful Wife Elfrid the Daughter of Duke Ordgar, &c.*

Dunstan suborneth *Editha* the Bastard, to take the crown from the right Heir. *Capgrave*, in his story saith *Editha*.

After that *Dunstan* and his fellows had thus set up *Edward* for their King, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the Kingdom of Monks for ever, through the help of the young King, and the Duke of *Eastangles*, and certain other Nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter passed not so well with them as they hoped. For shortly after the Coronation of the young King, *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, who followed much the deeds of the Queen with other great Men, stoutly standing on the other side, drove out the Monks from the Cathedral Churches, which King *Edgar* before had set in, and restored again the Priests (as *Ranulphus* saith) with their Concubines; but in the History of the Library of *Jornal*, I find it plainly expressed with their Wives. The words of

Duke *Alferus*.

Priests with their Wives restored.

Married men live compared with the life of Monks.

of the very Author be these: *Alferus princeps Merciorum, ceterique plures, ejectis monachis de magnis monasteriis, quos Rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, Clericos cum uxori- bus reduxerunt*: that is, *Alferus Duke of Mercia*, with other great men more, drove out the Monks from the great Monasteries whom King *Edgar* had there set in be- fore, and restored again the Priests with their wives.

Whereby it doth evidently appear that Priests in those days were married, and had their lawful wives. The like before that in King *Inas* time is plain, that Bishops then had wives and children, as appeareth by the words of the Law then sent forth, extant in the History of the said *Jornalensis*, which be these, *Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrum, sit simile cognationi, & crescat emendatio secundum Veram ejus Regi, sicut cognationi. Si de paren- tela sit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, sicut mandata Domini. Si Episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidi- um hoc, &c.* And thus much by the way for Priests wives and their children.

Now to the purpose again of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and Nobles of England expelled the Monks out of the Monasteries after the death of King *Edgar*; whereof let us hear what the Monkish story of the Abbey of *Crowland* recordeth: *Monachis de quibusdam Monasteriis ejectis, Clerici sunt introducti, qui statim Mo- nasteriorum maneria ducibus terræ distribuebant, ut sic in suas partes obligati eos contra monachos defensarent. Tunc de Monasterio Eveshamensi, monachis expulsis, Clerici fuerunt introducti. Terræque tyranni de terris Ecclesie præmiati sunt, quibus Regina novercali nequitia, stans cum Clericis in Regis opprobrium, favebat. Cum monachis au- tem Rex, & sancti Episcopi persistebant. Sed tyranni, fulti regina favore & potentia, super monachos triumphab- ant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ fa- ctus est. Ex Chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Crowland, &c.* that is, The Monks being expelled out of certain Monaste- ries, the Clerks again were brought in, who distributed the Mannors or Farms of the said Monasteries to the Dukes and Lords of the land, that they being obliged to them, should defend them against the Monks. And so were the Monks of *Evesham* thrust out, and the secular Clerks plac- ed, and the lands of the Church given to the Lords; with whom the Queen, the Kings stepmother holding the same time, took part also with the said Clerks against the King. On the contrary part stood the King and the holy Bishops, taking part with the Monks. Howbeit the Lords and Peers of the Realm, staying upon the favour and power of the Queen, triumphed over the Monks, &c.

Thus, as much ado there was through all quarters of the Realm about the matter among the Lords, so arose no less contention between the Priests and Monks of England. The Priests complaining to the King and *Dunstan*, said for themselves that it was uncomely, uncharitable, yea and unnatural, to put out an old known dweller for a new un- known; and that God was not pleased that that should be taken from the ancient possessor which by God was given him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such injury to be done, lest perad- venture the same thing, wherein he was prejudicial to an- other, might after revert and redound upon himself at length. The Monks on the other side said for their part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new comer, nor yet looked upon the person, but who so would take the Cross of Penance upon him, and follow Christ in virtuous living, should be his Disciple.

These and such other were the allegations of the Monks. But whether a Monks Cow, or a wifeless life make a suf- ficient title to enter into other mens possessions or no, I re- fer it to the judgment of the godly. The troublous cares in marriage, the necessary provision for House-keeping, the virtuous bringing up of children, the daily helping of po- verty, and bearing of publick charges, with other manifest perturbations and combrances daily incident unto Matrimony, might rather appear to godly wise men to come nearer to the right Cross of Penance, than the ease and loitering idleness of Monks. In the end, upon this con- troversie was holden a Council of Bishops, and other of the Clergy. First, at *Reading* or at *Winchester* (as *Guliel. faith*) where the greater part both of the Nobles and Com- mons judged the Priests to have great wrong, and sought by all means possible to bring them again to their old pos-

sessions and dignities. *Jornalensis* here maketh rehearsal of an Image of the Crucifix, or a Rood standing upon the Frater-wall, where the Council was holden. To this Rood *Dunstan* required them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of some spiritual provision beforehand. In the midst of their prayer the Rood (or else some blind Monk behind it in a Trunk) through the wall, is reported to speak these words, *Abstine hoc ut fiat; abstine hoc ut fiat: ju- dicastis bene, mutaveris non bene.* In remembrance where- of these verses were written under the Roods feet.

*Humano more crux præsens ædixit ore,
Cælitus affata, quæ perspicis hic subarata,
Abstine hoc fiat, & cetera tunc memorata.*

Of this *Dunstanical*, or rather Satanical Oracle, *Hen- ricus* maketh no mention, nor *Ranulphus*, nor yet *Hove- denus*, nor *Fabian* in their Histories. *Gulielmus* in his Book *De Regibus* reporteth it but by hear-say, in these words saying, *Alia litera docent, &c.* Wherefore the less it seemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proveth in this matter nothing else but *Dun- stan* to be a Sorcerer, as *Polydore Virgil* also himself seem- eth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding, for all this yet the strife ceased not; inasmuch that a new assembly of the Clergy and other was appointed after at a place called the Street of *Calve*, where the Council was kept in an upper loft. In this Council many grievous complaints were objected (as *Malmsh. faith*) against *Dunstan*; but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remove from that which he began to maintain. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed (if it be true that in the stories is written) suddenly the Joyces of the Loft failed, and the people with the Nobles fell down, so that certain were slain, and many hurt. But *Dunstan* (they say, only standing upon a post of the Sollar which remained unbroken) escaped without danger. Which thing whether it so happened to pretend before the ruin of the Realm and of the Nobles (as *Henry Hun- tington* doth expound it) which after ensued by the Danes, or whether it was so wrought by *Dunstan's* sorcery (as was not impossible) or whether it were a thing but feign- ed of the Monkish writers, and not true; all this I leave to the Readers, to think therein what them liketh. The Stories say further, that upon this the matter ceased, and *Dunstan* had all his will.

These things thus done at *Calve*, it happened not long after the same, that King *Edward*, whom the writers describe to be a virtuous and a meek Prince, much pitiful and beneficial to the poor, about the fourth year of his reign came upon a season from hunting in the Forest alone, without the company of his servants to the place in the West Country, where *Alfrith* his mother with her son *Egfred* did lye. When the Queen the mother was warned of his coming by her men, anon she calleth a servant of hers which was of her special trust, opening to him all her conceived counsel, and shewing him all points how and what to do for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing so done, she made towards the King, and received him with all courtesie, desiring him to tarry that night; but he in like courtesie excused him- self, and for speed desired to see his Brother, and to drink upon his Horse sitting, the which was shortly brought.

Now while the Cup was at his mouth, the servant of the Queen (being informed) strake him in the body with a long two edged Dagger. After the which stroke the King took the Horse with the spurs, and ran toward the way where he supposed to meet with his company, but he bled so sore, that with faintness he fell from his Horse, his one foot being in the Stirrup. By reason whereof he was drawn of his Horse over fields and lands till he came to a place named *Corsigate*, where he was found dead; and for that neither the manner of his death, nor yet he himself was known to be the King, he was buried unhon- ourably at the Town of *Warham*, where the body re- mained the space of three years, and then after was taken up by Duke *Alfer* above mentioned, and with pomp and honour accordingly was removed to the Minster of *Shaftsbury*, and there bestowed in the place called *Edward-*

{ Anno }
977.

A vain mi-
racle of
Dunstan's
Rood that
spoke.

Here lacked
a Thomas
Cromwell to
try out
false jug-
ling.

Another as-
sembly call-
ed at *Calve*.

Dunstan an
enemy to
Priests
wives.
A sudden
fall of the
people at
the Coun-
cil of
Calve.

Henricus
lib. 3. *Guliel.*
Ranulph.
Jornalensis
Fabian.

The horri-
ble wicked-
ness of a
Queen-mo-
ther.

King *Ed-
ward* tray-
terously
murdered
by his step-
mother, and
her servants.

K. Edward
found dead
and buried,
not known
to be King.
Corsigate.
The body
of King *Ed-
ward* after
three years,
honourably
taken up
and transla-
ted to
Shaftsbury.

Edward-

Historia
Jornalensis
in vita *Ed-
gar.*

Bishops and
Priests in
those days
married in
England.

Jornalens.

Ex Chronico
*Ingulphi ab-
batis de*
Crowland.

Great busi-
ness in the
land about
placing of
Monks, and
displacing
Priests.

A contro-
versie be-
tween
Priests and
Monks.
Priests Mar-
riage noted
for an old
custom in
England.
The object-
ion of
Priests a-
gainst the
Monks.
Guliel. de
Regib. lib. 3.

The answer
of Monks
against the
Priests.

Married
men lives
compared
with the life
of Monks.

Edwardson. Many tales run (more perchance than be true) concerning the finding and taking up of his body, which our most common Histories ascribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the King was buried. As first, how a poor woman born blind received her sight by the means of St. Edward, there where he did lie. Also how a pillar of fire from Heaven descended over the place of his burial. Then how the foresaid Queen *Alfrith* taking her Horse to go to the place, was stopped by the way, that neither her Horse could be driven by any means, nor she her self on foot was able to approach near to the place where the Corpse of St. Edward was. Furthermore, how the said Queen in repentance of her fact, afterward builded two Nunneries, one at *Amesbury* by *Salisbury*; the other at *Werewell*, where she kept her self in continual repentance all the days of her life. And thus as ye have heard, was this virtuous young King *Edward* murdered, when he had reigned almost four years, leaving no issue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to *Egfredus* his Brother.

Two Nunneries founded upon murder.

{ Anno 979. }
Three Edwards Kings before the Conquest.

§ But here by the way is to be noted (upon the name of this *Edward*) that there were three *Edwards* before the Conquest. The first was King *Edward* the Senior; the second, King *Edward* the Martyr, which was this King; the third was King *Edward* called the Confessor, whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) to be declared.

Continuation of the Roman Bishops, or Popes.

Pope John the 13th, a wicked Pope.

Luttrell's, lib. 6.

As merry as Pope John, a proverb.

Pope John the 13th, deposed.

Pope John restored.

Pope John wounded in adultery.

Pope Benedict the fifth.

Pope Leo the eighth.

The election of the Bishop of Rome given to the Emperor. The Donations of *Carolus Magnus*, and *Orto* to *Rome*.

In the order and course of the *Roman* Bishops, mention was made last of *Agapetus* the second, after whom next succeeded Pope *John* the thirteenth, of whom *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury* received his Pall, as in the story of King *Edgar* is before minded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleat from his first bringing up with abominable vices; a Whoremaster, an Adulterer, Incestuous, Libidinous, a Gamster, an Extortioner, perjured, a fighter, a murderer, cruel and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, some he put out their eyes, from some he cut off their tongues, some their fingers, some their noses, &c. In a General Council before the Emperor *Orto* the first of that name (who was the first Emperor of the *Germanys*) after the Empire was translated out of *France* to *Germany* by Pope *Agapetus* (as is above Historied) these Objections were articulate against him. First, that he never said his Service; that in saying his Mass he did not Communicate; that he Ordained Deacons in a Stable; that he committed Incest with two of his Sisters; that playing at Dice he called for the Devil to help; that for money he made boys Bishops; that he deflowered Virgins and strangers; that of the Palace of *Lateran* he made a Stews; that he lay with *Stephana* his Fathers Concubine; likewise with *Ramera*, and with *Anna* and her Niece; that he put out the eyes of the Bishop *Benedict*; that he caused houses to be set on fire; that he brake open houses; that he drank to the Devil; that he never crossed himself, &c. For the which causes (and worthily) he was deposed by the consent of the Emperor with the Prelates, and Pope *Leo* was substitute in his place. But after his departing (through the Harlots of *Rome*, and their great promises) the said Pope *John* was restored again to his place, and *Leo* (set up by the Emperor) was deposed. At length about the tenth year of the Popedom of this *John*, he being found without the City with another mans wife, was so wounded of her husband, that within eight days after he died.

After him the *Romans* Elected Pope *Benedictus* the fifth, without the consent of the Emperor; whereupon the said *Orto* the Emperor being not a little displeased for displacing of *Leo*, whom he had before promoted, and for the chooling also of *Benedict*, came with his Army and laid siege to *Rome*, and so set up Pope *Leo* again, the Eighth of that name; which *Leo* to gratifie his Benefactor again, Crowned *Orto* for Emperor, and intituled him to be called *Augustus*. Also the power which *Carolus Magnus* had given before to the Clergy and people of *Rome*, this *Leo* by a Synodal Decree granted to the Emperor and his Successors; that is, touching the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*. The Emperor again restored to the See of *Rome* all such Donations and Possessions which either *Constantinus* (as they falsely pretend) or which *Carolus Magnus* took from the *Lombards*, and gave to them.

After Pope *Leo* had reigned a year and three months, succeeded Pope *John* the Fourteenth, against whom (for holding with the Emperor) *Petrus* the Head-captain of the City, with two Consuls, twelve Aldermen, and divers other Nobles, gathering their power together, laid hands upon him in the Church of *Lateran*, and clapt the Pope in prison eleven months. The Emperor hearing this, with all speed returned with his Army again to *Rome*; who after execution done upon the Authors and chief doers of that fact; among other committed the foresaid *Petrus* to the Popes arbitrement, whom he caused first to be stripped naked, then his beard being shaven, to be hanged by the hair a whole day together, after that to be set upon an Ass (his face turned backward, and his hands bound under the Asses tayl) and so to be led through the City, that all men might see him; that done, to be scourged with rods, and so banished the City. Thus ye see how the holy Father followeth the injunction of the Gospel, *Diligite inimicos vestros*, Love your enemies, *Luk. 6. &c.* From this Pope proceeded first the Christening of Bells, *Ann. 971.*

After him followed Pope *Benedictus* the Sixth, who in like manner was apprehended by *Cimbrius* a Captain of *Rome*, and cast in prison, where he was strangled, or as some say, famished to death.

Then came Pope *Donus* the Second, after whom *Bonifacius* the Seventh was Pope, who likewise seeing the Citizens of *Rome* to conspire against him, was constrained to hide himself, and seeing no place there for him to tarry, took the Treasure of St. *Peters* Church, and so privily stole to *Constantinople*. In whose stead the *Romans* set up Pope *John* the Fifteenth. Not long after *Bonifacius* returning again from *Constantinople*, by his money and treasure procured a Garrison or Company to take his part: by whose means the foresaid Pope *John* was taken, his eyes put out, and so thrown in prison, where he was, as some say, famished; some say he was slain by *Ferrucius*. Neither did *Bonifacius* reign many days after, but suddenly died; whose carcass after his death was drawn by the feet through the Streets of *Rome* after a most despicable manner, the people shrieking and exclaiming against him, *Ann. 976.*

Next Pope after him was *Benedictus* the Seventh, by the consent of the Emperor *Orto* the Second, and reigned nineteen years. In the time of this Pope *Hugh* Cappel the French King took *Charles* (the right heir to the Crown) by the Treason of the Bishop of *Laon*, and when he had imprisoned him, he also committed to prison *Arnoldus* Archbishop of *Reims*, and placed in his room *Gilbertus* a Monk of *Floriack* (a Necromancer) who was Schoolmaster to Doctor *Robert* the Kings Son. But this Pope *Benedictus* called a Council at *Reims*, restored the said *Arnoldus* again, and displaced *Gilbertus*, which after by the help of *Orto* was made Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and at length was Pope, as in process hereafter (Christ granting) shall be declared.

After *Benedictus* succeeded in the See of *Rome* Pope *John* the Sixteenth, and died the eighth month of his Papacy; next to whom came *John* the Seventeenth, and after him *Gregory* the Fifth in the year of our Lord 995. This *Gregory* (called before *Bruno*) was a German born, and therefore the more maliced of the Clergy and people of *Rome*. Whereupon *Crescentius* with the people and Clergy conventing against the said *Gregory*, set up *John* the Eighteenth. *Gregory* upon the same iped himself in all convenient haste to the Emperor *Orto* the Third in *Germany*; who hearing the complaint of *Gregory*, and understanding his wrongs, set forward with his Army well appointed to *Italy*, got the City, and there took both *Crescentius* the Consul, and *John* the Pope. Which *John* first having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. *Crescentius* the Consul was set upon a vile horse, having his nose and ears cut off, and so was led through the City, his face being turned to the horse-tayl, and afterward having his members cut off, was hanged upon a Gibbet.

Pope *Gregory* thus being restored to his former state, reigned four years in his Papacy (although *Marianus* *Scorus*, and *Martinus* say that he sat but two years, &c.). During the which time he assembled a Council in *Rome*, where he to stablish the Empire in his own Country (by the consent and counsel of *Orto*) ordained seven Princes of *Germany* to be Electors of the Emperor, which order yet to this day remaineth. What be the names

Pope John the 14th.

Pope John the 14th, cast into prison.

The cruel revenge of the Pope.

Christening of Bells begun.

Pope Benedict the Sixth, cast into prison.

Pope Donus the Second, Pope Bonifacius the Seventh.

Pope John the 15th.

Pope John the 13th, slain.

Pope Bonifacius the Seventh, slain.

Pope Benedict the Seventh, slain.

Gilbertus a Necromancer.

The Pope John the 13th, deposed.

Pope John the 13th.

Two Popes together in Rome.

Pope John the 13th, deposed.

Two Popes together in Rome.

The Duke of Burgundy.

names of these Seven Electors, and what is their Office, thus I find in these Verses expressed.

*Maguntinensis, Treverensis, Colonienfis.
Quilibet imperii sit cancellarius horum.
Et Palatinus dapifer, Dux portitor ensis,
Marchio præpositus cameræ, pincerna Bohemus.*

These seven he ordained to be Electors, three Bishops, three Princes; to wit, the Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis Brandenburg; to whom was added also the King of Boheme to give the odd voice, if the even voice could not agree. This Constitution being first begun Anno 997, was after established in Germany by Otto the Emperor, the year of our Lord 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digression, concerning the rages and tumults of the Romish Church. Now to our matter again.

King Egelred, or Elred.

KING Edward thus being murdered, as is afore-said, the Crown fell next to Egelred his younger Brother, and Son to King Edgar by the foresaid Queen Alfrith, as we have declared. This Egelred had a long reign given him of God, which dured the term of eight and thirty years, but very unfortunate and full of great miseries; and he himself (by the Histories) seemeth to be a Prince not of the greatest courage to govern a Commonwealth. Our English Stories writing of him, thus report of his reign, that in the beginning it was ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the later end. Of this Egelred it is read, that when Dunstan the Archbishop should Christen him, as he did hold him over the Font, something there happened that pleased not Dunstan, whereupon he sware, *Per sanctam Mariam iste ignavus homo erit*: By the mother of Christ he will be a Prince untoward and cowardly: *Chron. de Crowland*. I find in William of Malmesbury, *Lib. 2. de Regib.* that this Egelred being of the age of ten years, when he heard his Brother Edward to be slain, made such sorrow and weeping for him, that his mother falling therewith in a rage, took Wax-candles (having nothing else at hand) wherewith she scourged him so sore (well near till he swooned) that after the same he could never abide any Wax-candles to burn before him. After this, about the year of our Lord 981, (the day of his Coronation being appointed by the Queen the mother, and the Nobles) Dunstan the Archbishop of Canterbury (who first refused so to do) with Oswald Archbishop of York, were enforced to Crown the King, and so they did at Kingston. In doing whereof, the report of Stories goeth, that the said Dunstan should say thus, prophesying unto the King, That forsomuch as he came to the Kingdom by the death of his Brother, and through the conspiracy of the wicked conspirators, and other Englishmen, they should not be without blood-shedding and sword, till there came a people of an unknown tongue, and should bring them into thralldom, neither should that trespass be cleaned without long vengeance, &c.

In the Chronicles of Crowland I find these words, *Quoniam ascendisti ad thronum tuum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini: Hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet gladius de domo tua, serviens in te omnibus diebus vite tue, & interficiens de semine tuo, & de gente tua, usque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: cujus ritum & linguam, gens tua non novit, nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta, & multa sanguinis effusione peccatum matris tue, & peccatum virorum pessimorum, qui consenserunt consilio ejus nequam, ut mitterent manum in Christum Domini ad effundendum sanguinem innocentem.* *Chron. de Crowland*.

Not long after the Coronation of this King, a Cloud was seen throughout the land, which appeared the one half like blood, and the other half like fire, and changed after into sundry colours, and vanished at the last in the morning. Shortly after the appearance of this Cloud, in the third year of his reign the Danes arriving in sundry places of the land, first spoiled Southampton, either slaying the inhabitants, or leading them captive away. From thence they went to the Isle of Thanet, then they invaded Chester, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Devonshire, and so to Sussex, where in those coasts they did much

harm, and so retired to their Ships again. Roger Hoveden writing hereof, saith, that London the same time, or (as Fabian saith) a great part of London was consumed with fire. About this time fell a variance between the foresaid Egelred and the Bishop of Rochester; insomuch that he made war against him, and besieged the City. And notwithstanding that Dunstan required the King, sending him admonishment, to give over for the sake of Saint Andrew; yet continued he his siege till the Bishop offered him an hundred pounds of Gold; which he received, and so departed. The Danes seeing the discord that then was in the Realm, and especially the hatred of the subjects against the King, rose again, and did great harm in divers places of England; insomuch that the King was glad to grant them great sums of money for peace to be had. For the assurance of which peace, Analaffe Captain of the Danes, became a Christian man, and so returned home to his Country, and did no more harm. Besides these miseries before recited, a sore sickness of the Bloody-flux, and hot Fevers fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like Murren also among the Beasts. Moreover for lack of justice, many thieves, rioters and bribers were in the land, with much misery and mischief.

About the eleventh year (some say the ninth year) of this Kings reign died Dunstan. After whom succeeded Ethelgarus, or as Fornalensis writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Guliel. lib. 1. de Pontif. But as Polydorus saith, Siricius. After him Elfricus came; but Siricius after the mind of Guliel. lib. 1. but Polydore saith, Aluricius, then Elphegus, &c.

About the same time in the year of our Lord 995, Aldunus Bishop translated the body of St. Cuthbert from Chester (which first was a Northern Island, then at Rochester) to Durelme or Dunelme. Whereupon the Bishops See of Duresm first began.

Not long after the death of Dunstan, the Danes again entred England, in many and sundry places of the land; in such sort that the King was to seek to which coast he should go first to withstand his enemies. But in conclusion, for the avoiding of more harm, he was compelled to appease them with great sums of money. But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and assailing the land in divers places, not only about the Country of Northumberland, but also besieged the City of London at the last. But being from thence repelled by the manhood of the Londoners, they strayed to other Countries adjoining, as to Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, burning and killing wheresoever they went; so that for lack of a good Head or Governour many things in the land perished. For the King gave himself to the vice of lechery, and polling of his subjects, and disinherited men of their possessions, and caused them to redeem the same again with great sums of money; for he payed great tributes to the Danes yearly, which was called Danegilt. Which tributes so increased, that from the first tribute of ten thousand pounds, it was brought at last in process of five or six years to forty thousand pounds. The which yearly (until the coming of St. Edward, and after) was levied of the subjects of this land.

To this sorrow moreover was joyned hunger and penury among the Commons, insomuch that every one of them was constrained to pluck and steal from others. So that what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward thieves and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit the greatest cause of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not so much to be imputed to the King, as to the dissention among the Lords themselves, who then did not agree one with another. But when they assembled in consultation together, either they did draw divers ways; or if any thing were agreed upon any matter of peace between the parties, soon it was broken again; or else if any good thing were devised for the prejudice of the enemy, anon the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same counsel. Of whom the chief doers were Edrike Duke of Mercia, and Alfrike the Admiral or Captain of the Ships, who betrayed the Kings Navy to the Danes. Wherefore the King apprehended Alsagarus Son of the said Alfrike, put out his eyes, and so did he after to the two Sons of Duke Edrike in like manner.

Hoveden lib. Continuation.

London consumed with fire. The King warred against the Bishop of Rochester.

Anno 990.

The Bloody flux and hot Fevers reigned in this land.

The death of Dunstan. Ethelgarus, Elfricus, Siricius, Elphegus, Archbishops of Canterbury.

Anno 995.

The Bishops See of Duresm.

London besieged of the Danes.

The Danes spoiled the land.

Great tribute levied of the English men. Danegilt.

The sorrowful affliction of the English Nation.

What dissention and discord doth among the Nobles in a realm.

The

The pride
and wretch-
edness of
the Danes
toward the
Englishmen.

Lord Dane.

Lurdane.

{ Anno }
{ 1000 }

Hen. Archi-
dace. lib. 6.
The first
joyning be-
tween the
Normans
and English
men.

King Egel-
red married
Emma the
Duke's
daughter of
Normandy.

Richard
Duke of
Normandy.

The Danes
by secret
commission
slain in ev-
ery Town of
England.

Swann King
of Den-
mark ar-
rives in
England.

Excester
beaten
down.

Norwich
spoiled and
wasted by
the Danes.

{ Anno }
{ 1004 }

A tribute
paid to the
Danes of
50000 l. to
have peace.

The per-
secution of
Turkillus a
Dane.

The Danes thus prevailing more and more over the English men, grew in such pride and presumption, that when they by strength caused the Husbandmen to ear and sow the land, and to do all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and servant. And when the Husbandman came home, he should scanty have of his own, as his servants had; so that the Dane had all at his will, and fill, faring of the best; when the owher scanty had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people being of them oppressed, were in such fear and dread, that not only they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called every one of them in the house where they had rule, *Lord-Dane*. Which word after (in process of time when the Danes were voided) was for despite of the Danes turned of the English men to a name of opprobry, that when one English man would rebuke another, he would for the more part call him *Lurdane*.

And thus hitherto (through the assistance of Christ) we have brought this History to the year of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing these great miseries upon this English Nation, the land being brought into great ruin by the grievous tributes of the Danes, and also by sustaining the manifold villanies and injuries, as well by them as by other oppressions within the Realm; this year which was the year of our Saviour 1000, this *Egelred* through the counsel of certain his familiars about him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign, began a matter, which was occasion either given by the one, or taken by the other, of a new Plague to infuse upon the Saxons, who had driven out the Britains before; that was in joyning with the Normans in Marriage. For the King this year above said, for the more strength (as he thought) both of him and the Realm, married *Emma* the daughter of *Richard Duke of Normandy*. Which *Richard* was the third Duke of the Normans, and the first of that name. By reason of which Marriage *King Egelred* was not a little enhanced in his own mind; and, by presumption thereof, sent secret and strict commissions to the Rulers of every Town in England, that upon *St. Brices day* at an hour appointed, the Danes should be suddenly slain. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

After that tidings came into Denmark of the murder of those Danes, anon after *Swannus King of Denmark* with a great Host and Navy landed in Cornwall; where by treason of a Norman, named *Hugh*, which by favour of Queen *Emma* was made Earl of Devonshire, the said *Swannus* took Excester, and after beat down the walls. From thence proceeding further into the land, they came to Wilton and Shireborne, where they cruelly spoiled the Country, and slew the people. But anon *Swannus* hearing that the King was coming to him with the power of his land, took his Ships and set about to Norfolk; where after much wasting of that Country, and spoiling the City of Norwich, and burning the Town of Thetford, and destroying the Country thereabout, at length Duke *Uskatel* met him and beat him, and slew many of the Danes. Wherefore *Swannus* for that year returned to Denmark, and there made great provision to re-enter the land again the next year following; and so did, landing at Sandwich about the five and twentieth year of the reign of *K. Egelred*, and there spoiled that Country. And as soon as he heard of any Host of English men coming toward him, then he took Shipping again. So that when the Kings Army sought to meet him in one coast, then would he suddenly land in another. And when the King provided to meet with him upon the Sea, either they would feign to flee, or else they would with gifts blind the Admiral of the Kings Navy. And thus wearied they the English men, and in conclusion brought them into extrem and unspeakable misery. Inasmuch that the King was fain to take peace with them, and gave to King *Swannus* 30000 pounds. After which peace thus made, *Swannus* returned again to Denmark.

But this peace continued not long, for the year next following, *King Egelred* made *Edricus* above mentioned Duke of Mercia, who was subtil of wit, glosing and eloquent of speech, untrusty, and false to the King and the Realm. And soon after one *Turkillus* (a Prince of the Danes) landed in Kent with much people, and there did such harm that the Kentish men were fain to make peace

with great gifts, and so thence departed. But this persecution of the Danes (in one Country or other in England) never ceased, nor the King did ever give to them any notable battel. For when he was disposed to give them battel, this *Edricus* would ever counsel him to the contrary, so that the Danes ever spoiled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the English men ever poor and bare.

After this *Swannus* being in Denmark, and hearing of the increase of his people in England, brake his Covenants before made, and with a great Army and Navy, in most defensible wise appointed, landed in Northumberland, proclaimed himself to be King of this land. Where after much vexation when he had subdued the people, and caused the Earl with the Rulers of the Country to swear to him fealty; he passed the river of Trent to *Ganisburgh*, and to Northwaling-street, and subduing the people there, forced them to give him pledges; which pledges he committed with his Navy unto *Canutus* his Son to keep, while he went further into the land; and so with a great Host came to Mercia, killing and slaying. Then he took by strength Winchester and Oxford, and did there what him liked. That done, he came toward London, and hearing the King was there, passed by the river Thames, and came into Kent, and there besieged Canterbury, where he was resisted the space of twenty days. At length by Treason of a Deacon called *Almaricus* (whom the Bishop had preserved from death before) he won it, and took the Goods of the People, and fired the City, and tithed the Monks of Saint Augustine's Abby (that is to mean, they slew nine by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as for their slave.) So they slew there of religious men, to the number of 900 persons; of other men, women and children, they slew above 8000. And finally, when they had kept the Bishop *Elphegus* in strait prison the space of seven months, because he would not condescend to give unto them 3000 Pounds; after many villanies unto him done, they brought him to Greenwich, and there stoned him to death.

King *Egelred* in the mean time, fearing the end of this Persecution, sent his wife *Emma*, with his two Sons *Alfred* and *Edward*, to the Duke of Normandy, with whom also he sent the Bishop of London. The Danes proceeded still in their fury and rage, and when they had won a great part of Westsaxony, they returned again to London. Whereof the Londoners hearing, sent unto them certain great gifts and pledges. At last the King about the five and thirtieth year of his reign, was chased unto the Isle of Wight, and with a secret company he spent there a great part of the winter; and finally, without cattel or comfort sailed into Normandy to his wife. *Swannus* being ascertained thereof (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding Impositions upon the people. And among other he required a great sum of money of St. Edmunds lands, which the people there claiming to be free from Kings tributes, denied to pay. For this *Swannus* entred the territory of St. Edmund, and wasted and spoiled the Country, despising the holy Martyr, and menacing also the place of his Sepulture. Wherefore the men of that Country fearing his tyranny, fell to prayer and fasting, so that shortly after *Swannus* died suddenly, crying and yelling among his Knights. Some say that he was stricken with the Sword of St. Edmund, whereof he died the third day after.

In fear whereof *Canutus* his Son, which ruled as King after his Father, granted them the freedom of all their Liberties; and moreover ditched the land of the said Martyr with a deep ditch, and granted to the Inhabitants thereof great freedoms, quitting them from all task or tribute; and after builded a Church over the place of his Sepulture, and ordained there an House of Monks, and endued them with rich possessions. And after that time it was used, that Kings of England when they were Crowned, sent their Crowns for an offering to Saint Edmunds Shrine, and redeemed the same again afterwards with a condigne price.

When King *Egelred* heard of the death of *Swannus*, he made provision and returned into England. For whose sudden coming *Canutus*, being unprovided, fled to Sandwich, and there cutting off the noses and hands of the Pledges, which his Father left with him, sailed into Denmark; who the next year returned again with a great Navy, and landed in the South Country. Wherefore

Evil coun-
sell about a
King who
hurt it
doth

The first
return of
Swannus to
England

The per-
secution of
Swannus
of Danes

Canutus
besieged
Canterbury
Treason of
Almaricus

Canutus
taken and
burned
The tying
of the
Monks of
Canterbury
A cruel
murder of
the Danes
Elphegus in
Archbishop
of Can-
terbury
sent to death

King Egel-
red driven to
the Isle of
Wight, from
thence to
Normandy

The return
of Canutus
men per-
secr.
The death
and end of
Swannus

The Abbey
of St. Ed-
mund builded

K. Egel-
red returned
into Eng-
land
Canutus
fled to Sand-
wich
Canutus
cutteth off
the noses
and hands
of his Pledge

the eldest Son of King Egelred, called Edmund Ironside, made provision with the aid of Edrike Duke of Mercia to meet him. But Edrike faining himself sick, came not, but deceived him. For as it was after proved, Edrike had promised his Allegiance to Canutus. By reason whereof, Canutus entred the Country of West-Saxon, and forced the people to be sworn unto him, and to give him pledges. In this season, King Egelred being at London, was taken with great sickness, and there died, and was buried, in the North side of Pauls Church, behind the Quire, after he had Reigned unprosperously thirty and six years; leaving after him his said Eldest Son Edmund Ironside, and Elfred, and Edward which were in Normandy, sent thither before, as is above rehearsed. This Egelred although he was miserably Impugned and vexed of his Enemies, yet he with his Council gave forth wholesome Laws, whereof this is one parcel, containing good Rules and Lessons for all Judges and Justices to learn and Follow.

Canutus taketh West-Saxon.

A Lesson for all Judges and Justices.

Bribes.

Evil Judges work in a common wealth than bloody Enemies.

Wicked officers.

Against wicked Judges.

A wicked Judge deposed and deprived by the King.

Omnis iudex iustus misericordiam & iudicium libere in omnibus, & in primis per rectam scientiam dicat emendationem secundum culpam, & eam tamen ad mensuram proper indulgentiam. Quaedam culpa reputantur a bonis iudicibus secundum rectum emendanda. Quaedam per Dei misericordiam condonanda. Iudicia debent esse sine omni habitudine, quod non parcatur diviti alicui vel egeno amico vel inimico, ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniustum est, quam susceptio munerum pro iudicio subvertendo: Quia munera excitant corda sapientum, & subvertunt verba iustorum. Dominus Iesus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaveritis, iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem suum, ne in die iudicii mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimat, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus dominus, nulla potestas, stultos aut improbos iudices constituent, quia stultus per ignaviam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat quam didicit, veritatem. Gravius enim lacerantur pauperes a pravis iudicibus, quam a cruentis hostibus. Nullus hostis acerbior, nulla pestis efficacior quam familiaris inimicus. Potest aliquoties homo fugam vel defensionem vitare pravis inimicos. Non ita possunt iudices, quoties adversus subditos malis desideriis inflammantur. Sape etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & ministros nefandos, quorum reatibus ipsi domi constringuntur, si non eos coercent, & a rapacitate cobibeant. Quia Dominus & minister saeculorum ait, Non solum male agentes, sed omnes consentientes digni sunt aeterna morte. Sape etiam pravi iudices iudicium pervertunt, vel respectant, & non finiunt causam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et quando iudicant, non opera, sed munera considerant. Impii iudices, iuxta verbum sapientum, sicut rapaces lupi vespere nil residuunt usque mane, id est, de praesenti solum vita cogitant, de futura nihil considerant. Malorum praepositorum mos est, ut, quicquid possunt, auferant, & vix necessarium parum quid relinquunt sustentationi. Iracundus iudex non potest attendere rectam iudicii satisfactionem. Nam per furoris excaciationem, non perspicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iustum iudicium, ubi non persona consideratur. Scriptum est: Non attendas personam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, ut a vero declines, & iniuste iudicet. Susceptio muneris est dimissio veritatis. Ex historia bibliotheca Jormal.

Of this King Egelred I find noted in the Book of Roger Hoveden, that he deposed and deprived from his Possessions a certain Judge or Justicer named Walgeatus, the Son of one Leonet, for false judgment and other proud doings, whom notwithstanding he loved above all others.

Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.

Anno 1066.

After the death of Egelred variance fell between the Englishmen for the Election of their King. For the Citizens of London, with certain other Lords, named Edmund the Eldest Son of Egelred (a young man of lusty and valiant courage in Martial adventures both hardy and

wife, who could very well indure all pains; wherefore he was surnamed Ironside. But the more of the Lords favoured Canutus the Son of Swamus, especially the Abbats, Bishops, and men of the spirituality, which before had sworn to his Father. By means whereof, between these two Martial Princes were fought many great Battels, first in Dorsetshire, where Canutus was compelled to fly the field. And after that they fought another Battel in Worcestershire, so fore that none could tell who had the better; but either for weariness or for lack of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next mornow fought again: But then Canutus was compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought again; where Edmund (as stories say) by the Treason of that false Edrike Duke of Mercia (whom he before had received to favour) had the worse. Thus many great conflicts there were between these two Princes. But upon a season, when the hosts were ready to joyn, and a certain time of Truce was taken before battel, a Knight of the party of Edmund stood up upon a high place, and said these Words.

Edmund Ironside Son of Egelred, King.

Canutus Son of Swamus, King.

The battels between Edmund and Canutus.

Daily we die, and none hath the victory: And when the Knights be dead on either part, then the Dukes compelled by need shall accord, or else they must fight alone. And this Kingdom is not sufficient for two men, which sometimes sufficed seven. But if the covetousness of Lordship in these twain be so great, that neither can be content to take part and live by the other, nor the one under the other; then let them fight alone that will be Lords alone. If all men fight still, at the last all men shall be slain, and none left to be under their Lordship, nor able to defend the King that shall be, against strange Enemies and Nations.

A witty Oration to stay blood between two Armies.

These words were so well allowed of both the Hosts and Princes, that both were content to try the quarrel between them two only. Then the place and time was appointed, where they both met in sight of both Hosts. And when either had assailed other with sharp swords and strokes; first by the motion of Canutus (as some write) hastily they were both agreed, and kissed each other to the comfort of both Hosts. And shortly after they agreed upon partition of the land; and after that, during their lives they loved as brethren. Soon after, a Son of wicked Edricus, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his Father, espied, when King Edmund was at the draught, and with a spear (some say with a long knife) thrust him into the Fundament, whereof the said Edmund shortly after died, after that he had Reigned two years. He left behind him two Sons, Edmund and Edward, whom Edrike the wicked Duke after the death of their Father, took from their Mother (not knowing yet of the death of Edmund her Husband) and presented them to King Canutus, saluting him in these words, Ave rex solus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmund Ironside, was King alone of the whole Realm of England, and afterward by the advice of his Council, he sent the foresaid Sons of Edmund Ironside to his brother Swamus King of Swereland to be slain, who, abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon King of Hungary, where Edmund being married to the Kings daughter, died; Edward was married to Agatha daughter of his brother Henry the fourth Emperor.

Two Kings fight hand to hand.

The wicked murder of King Edmund.

Two Sons of Edmund Ironside.

When Canutus was stablished in the Kingdom, he called a Parliament at London, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the Bishops, Barons, and Lords of the Parliament there present, whether that in the composition made between Edmund and Canutus, any special remembrance was made for the children or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the English Lords falsly flattering the foreign King, and speaking against their own minds, as also against their native Country, answered and said; Nay: Affirming moreover with an oath (for the Kings pleasure) that they to the uttermost of their powers, would put off the blood of Edmund in all that they might. By reason of which answer and promise, they thought (many of them) to have purchased with the King great favour. But by the just retribution of God it chanced far otherwise. For many of them or the most part (such especially as Canutus did perceive to be sworn before time to Edmund, and his heirs, and also considering that they were native Englishmen) he mistrusted and disdained ever after

Flattery, its fidelity and untruth in English Lords.

Falsely unfaithful and unconstant mutability in English Lords well rewarded.

In so much that some he exiled, a great sort he beheaded, and some by Gods punishment died suddenly. Among whom wicked *Edrike* also the Traytor (although with his sugered words he continued a while in the Kings favour) at length escaped not condigne reward for his deceivable dealing. For (as the History of *Jornalensis* recordeth) as the King was in his Palace beyond *Thames*, this *Edrike* (being belike accused, or else suspected of the King before) coming unto him, began to reckon up his benefits and labours bestowed for his sake. First, in forsaking and betraying *Egelred*, then in slaying King *Edmund* his Son, with many such other deeds more, which all for his sake he had done. Well, saith the King, thou hast here rightly judged thy self, and worthily thou shalt die for slaying thy natural Prince, and my sworn brother. And so commanded him to be bound immediately hand and foot, and to be thrown into the *Thames*. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the King with *Ave rex solus*, and shewed him the slaying of *Edmund*: *Canutus* (promising that he would make him therefore higher than all the Lords of the Realm) commanded his head to be stricken off, and to be set upon *London Bridge*, and his body to be cast into the Town ditch: And thus with shame ended he his wretched life, as all they commonly do, which with like dissimulation seek the destruction of their Prince, and of their Country.

Duke *Edrike*, the false traytor and murderer of his King, worthily rewarded for his wicked falsehood.

The end of pernicious traytors.

The brother of *Edmund Ironside*, banished, reconciled, and lastly slain. *Edmund* and *Edward* two Sons of *Edmund Ironside* sent out to be slain.

Canutus King of *Denmark*, *Canutus* married *Emma*, Wife before of *Egelred*. Laws of King *Edgar*.

Harold Harefoot King of *England* a Dane.

{ Anno 1039 }

Hardeknout last King of the Danes that reigned in *England*. Earl *Godwin*.

The miserable wretchedness of *Godwin* against the Normans.

This *Canutus* (shortly after the death of King *Edmund*) by the Council of *Edrike* exiled *Edmund*, being brother unto King *Edmund*, called *Rex rusticorum*, the King of *Churles*. But afterward he was reconciled again to the Kings favour, and lastly slain by certain of the Kings Secretaries or Servants. Also through the Council of the said *Edrike*, and of *Emma* his wife, he sent the two Sons of *Edmund Ironside* (*Edmund* and *Edward*) to his brother *Swanus* King of *Denmark*, to be slain, as is above said.

In this mean time, *Swanus* King of *Denmark*, brother to *Canutus*, died. Wherefore that Land fell to *Canutus*, which anon after failed thither, and took thereof possession. And after he had set it in an Order, he returned into *England*, and married *Emma*, late wife before of *Egelred*, and by her had a Son called *Hardeknout* or *Hardeknoutus*. Moreover, this *Canutus* assembled a Parliament at *Oxford*, where it was agreed that Englishmen and Danes should hold the Laws made by King *Egdar*, because they were thought so good and reasonable above any other Laws.

Thus the Danes being in *England* began by little and little to be Christian men. And *Canutus* went to *Rome*, and so, returning again to *England*, governed that Land the space of twenty years, leaving after him two Sons, *Harold* and *Hardeknoutus*; which *Hardeknoutus* was made King of *Denmark* in his Fathers time.

Harold (called *Harefoot* for his deliverness and swiftness) Son to *Canutus* by *Elgina* his first wife, began his Reign over *England*, in the year 1039. Of him his little left in memory (for he Reigned but four years) save that he banished his step-mother *Emma*, and took her Goods and Jewels from Her.

Hardeknoutus being King of *Denmark*, and second Son to *Canutus* by his last wife *Emma*, was next King of *England*. In the time of these Danish Kings, there was one *Godwin* an Earl in *England*, which had been before in great favour with *Canutus*, for his Acts done in *Denmark* against the Norwegians; and afterward married the Sister (some say the Daughter) of *Canutus*. This *Godwin* was of a cruel and subtil wit, as he declared no less by the two Sons of King *Egelred*. For when these two afore said (whose names were *Alfred* and *Edward*) came from *Normandy* into *England*, to visit their Mother *Emma*, and brought with them a great company of Normans; This *Godwin* (having a Daughter called *Godith*, whom he thought to marry to *Edward*, and set him up to be King) to bring his purpose about, used this Practice, that is, to persuade King *Hardeknout*, and the Lords, not to suffer those Normans to be within the Realm for Jeopardy, but rather to punish them for example: By which means he gat authority to order the matter himself. Wherefore he met them on *Guild-down*, and there most wretchedly murdered, or rather Martyred the most number of the Normans, and that innocently. For as *Swanus*

before had tithed the Monks of *Canterbury*; so he, with the cruel company of English souldiers, slew nine of the said Normans, and saved the tenth. And yet passing the fury of *Swanus* (as not contented with that tyranny) he tithed again the said tithe, and slew every tenth Knight, and that by cruel torment, as winding their Guts out of their bodies, as writeth *Kanulphus*. And among others, he put out the Eyes of the Elder brother *Alfredus*, and sent him to an Abbey of *Ely*; where he, being fed with Bread and Water, indured not long after. Of some writers it was recorded that he was there slain with the forenamed torment; and that *Edward* was conveyed by some other unto his Mother; who fearing the Treason of *Godwin*, sent him soon over the Sea into *Normandy* again. This cruel Fact of *Godwin* and his men against the innocent Normans, whether it came of himself, or of the Kings setting on, seemeth to me to be the cause, why the Justice of God did shortly after revenge the quarrel of these Normans, in conquering and subduing the English Nation by *William Conqueror*, and the Normans which came with him. For so just and right it was, that as the Normans, coming with a natural English Prince, were murdered of English men: So afterward the Englishmen should be slain and conquered by the Normans, coming with a foreign King, being none of their natural Country.

Then it followeth in the story, that this King *Canute* or *Hardeknout*, when he had Reigned two years (being merry at *Lambeth*) suddenly was stricken Dumb, and fell down to the ground, and within eight days after died without Issue of his body; who was the last that Reigned in *England* of the blood of the Danes.

This fore said *Godwin*, had by the Daughter of *Canutus* his Wife, but one Son, which was drowned. Of his second wife he received six Sons, to wit, *Swanus*, *Harold*, *Tostius*, *Wilmotus*, *Sixth* or *Surth*, and *Leofricus*, with one Daughter called *Goditha*, which after was married to King *Edward* the Confessor.

Concerning the story of this *Alfred*, I find it something otherwise reported in our English Chronicles, that it should be after the death of *Hardeknout*; for so much as the Earls and Barons after his death, assembled and made a Council, that never after any of the Danes blood should be King of *England*, for the despight that they had done to Englishmen. For evermore before, if the Englishmen and the Danes had happened to meet upon a Bridge, the Englishmen should not be so hardy to move a foot, but stand still, till the Dane were passed forth. And moreover, if the Englishmen had not bowed down their heads to do reverence unto the Danes, they should have been beaten and defiled. For the which despites and villanies they were driven out of the Land after the death of *Hardeknout*; for they had no Lord that might maintain them. And after this manner avoided the Danes out of *England*, that they never came again.

The Earls and Barons, by their common assent and Council, sent unto *Normandy* for these two brethren, *Alfred* and *Edward*; intending to Crown *Alfred* the Elder brother, and to make him King of *England*. And to this the Earls and Barons made their oath: But the Earl *Godwin* of *West-Sax* (falsly and traiterously) thought to slay these two brethren, as soon as they came into *England*, to the intent that he might make *Harold* his Son King: Which Son he had by his wife *Hardeknouts* Daughter, that was a Dane. And so this *Godwin* went privily to *South-Hampton*, to meet there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the Messengers that went (saith mine Author) into *Normandy*, found but only *Alfred* the Elder brother. For *Edward* his Younger brother was gone to *Hungary*, to speak with his Cousin the Outlaw, which was *Edmund Ironside*'s Son.

When *Alfred* had heard these Messengers, and perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and in all haste sped him to *England*, arriving at *South-Hampton*. There *Godwin* the false Traytor (having knowledge of his coming) welcomed and received him with joy, pretending to lead him unto *London*, where the Barons waited for to make him King, and so they together passed forth toward *London*. But when they came to *Guild-down*, the Traytor commanded all his men to slay all that were in *Alfreds* company, which came with him from *Normandy*; and after that, to take *Alfred*, and to lead him into the

The Normans tithed, and yet the tenths retched again.

Alfredus Son of *Egelred*, right heir of the Crown, tormented with cruel death.

The cause expended, why God suffered this land to be conquered by the Normans.

Examples of Gods righteous judgment.

The death of King *Hardeknout*.

The Sons of *Godwin*.

The story of *Alfred*.

Taken out of the English story or chronicle compiled of certain English Clerks.

Alfred or *Alfredus* Son of King *Egelred*.

the *Ile of Ely*, where they should put out both his Eyes; and so they did. For they slew all the company that were there, to the number of twelve Gentlemen, which came with *Alfred*, from *Normandy*; and after that they took *Alfred*, and in the *Ile of Ely* they executed their commission. That done, they opened his body, took out his bowels, set a stake into the ground, and fastened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with needles of Iron they pricked his tender body, thereby causing him to go about the stake, till that all his bowels were drawn out. And so died this innocent *Alfred* or *Alured*, being the right heir of the Crown, through Treason of wicked *Godwin*. When the Lords of *England* heard thereof, and how *Alfred*, that should have been their King, was put to death through the false Traytor *Godwin*, they were wondrous wroth; and sware between God and them, that he should die a worse death than did *Edrith*, which betrayed his Lord *Edmund Ironside*, and would immediately have put him to death, but that the Traytor fled thence into *Denmark*, and there held him four years and more, and lost all his Lands in *England*.

Another Latin story I have (bearing no name) which faith that this coming in of *Alfred* and the *Normans*, was in the time of *Harold*, *Canutus* Son. And how *Godwin* (after he pretended great amity to them) suddenly in the night came upon them at *Gilford*, and after he had tithed the *Normans*, sent *Alfred* to *Harold* at *London*; who sent him to the *Ile of Ely*, and caused his Eyes to be put out.

And thus much of *Canutus*, and of his Sons, *Harold* and *Hardecanutus*. Besides these two Sons, *Canutus* had also a Daughter named *Gunilda*, married to *Henricus* the Emperor. Of whom some write, that she being accused to the Emperor of Spouse-breach, and having no Champion or Knight that would fight for her, (after the manner of that Country) for trial of her cause, a certain little dwarfe or boy, whom she brought with her out of *England* (stirred up of God) fought in her cause against a mighty big German, of a monstrous greatness, which silly dwarfe, cutting by chance the Sinews of his Leg, after stroke him to the ground, and so cut off his Head, and saved the life of the Queen, if it be true that *Gulielmus* and *Fabianus* reporteth.

Of this *Canutus*, it is storied, that he following much the superstition of *Achelnutus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, went on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and there founded an Hospital for *English* Pilgrims. He gave the Pope precious gifts, and burdened the Land with a yearly tribute, called the *Rome-shos*. He shived the body of *Berinus*, and gave great Lands and Ornaments to the Cathedral Church of *Winchester*; he builded *S. Benets* in *Norfolke*, which was before an Hermitage. Also *S. Edmundsbury*, which King *Arhelstan* before ordained for a College of Priests, he turned to an Abbey of Monks of Saint *Benets* Order.

Henricus, Archdeacon of *Huntington*, lib. 6. maketh mention of this *Canutus*, as doth also *Polydor*, lib. 7. That he after his coming from *Rome*, walking upon a time by the Port of *South-Hampton*, but *Polydor* faith, and *Fabian* affirmeth the same, that it was by the *Thames* side of *London*, when his flatterers coming about him, began to exalt him up with high Words, calling him a King of all Kings (most mighty) who had under his subjection both the People, the Land, and also the Sea: *Canutus* revolving this matter in his mind (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to try and refel their flattering words) commanded his chair of state to be brought to the Sea side, at what time it should begin to flow. *Polydor* faith that no seat was brought; but sitting upon his garments, being folded together under him, there charged and commanded the floods arising and coming towards his feet, that they should touch neither him nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinary course came neerer and neerer; first to his feet, and so growing higher, began to wash him well favouredly. Wherewith the King abashed, and partly also afraid, start back, and looking to his Lords; Lo (saith he) ye call me such a mighty King, and yet can I not command back this little water to stay at my word, but it is ready to drown me. Wherefore all earthly Kings may know, that all their powers be but vain, and that none is worthy to have the name of a King,

but he alone which hath all things subject to the power and authority of his Word, which is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Creator above of all things, the Father of our Christ and Lord, who with him for ever is to be glorified: Him let us worship and extol for our King for ever. After this (as Histories witness) he never suffered the Crown to come upon his head, but went to *Winchester*, or (as some say) to *Canterbury*; but both those may be true; for his going to *Canterbury*, was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power than he himself was, and therewithal to render up his Crown forever. With that, *Egelnotus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* informed him of the Image of the Crucifix before mentioned, which dissolved the matter between married Priests and life of Monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at *Winchester*. Wherewith the King, provoked to go to *Winchester* to the Rood, there resigned up his regal Crown, and made the Rood King over all the Land.

Here is also to be noted in this *Canutus*, that although (as is said) he condescended in the beginning of his reign upon King *Edgars* Laws: Yet after in process of time, he set forth peculiar Laws of his own. Among which, divers there be that concern as well causes Ecclesiastical, as also temporal. Whereby it may appear, that the government of spiritual matters did not depend then of the Bishop of *Rome*: But appertained to the lawful authority of the temporal Prince, no less than of matters and causes temporal. As for example, by these ordinances of the aforesaid *Canutus* may be well considered as here follow: *Pecunia sepulturae justum est ut aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a sua parochia deferatur in aliam, pecunia sepulturae, &c.* In English.

It is meet and right, that in Funerals, money be given for opening the Earth.

If any body, or corse, be carried from his own Parish into another, the money of the burial shall pertain by the Law to his own Parish Church.

All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them be observed as need in all things requireth.

Upon the Sunday we forbid all publick Fairs or Markets, all Synods, or Conventicles, Huntings, or any such secular Actions to be exercised, unless urgent necessity compel thereunto.

Let every Christian man prepare himself thrice a year, to approach to the receiving of the Lords body: So to eat the same, as not to his Judgment, but to his wholesome remedy.

If a Minister of the Altar do kill any man, or have intangled himself in any notorious Crime, let him be deprived both from his Order and Dignity.

If any married woman (her Husband being alive) have committed adultery, and be proved with the same; to her open shame in the World, let her have her Nose and Ears cut off.

Let every widow, after the death of her Husband, so remain sole twelve months; or if she marry, let her lose her Joynture.

And here is an end of the Danish Kings. Now to the *English* Kings again, whose right line cometh in again in Edward here Following.

King Edward, called the Confessor.

For so much as God of his mercy and providence who is only the maker of heirs, thought it so good, after the woful captivity of this *English* nation, to grant now some respite of deliverance, in taking away the Danish Kings without any Issue left behind them: Who reigning here in *England*, kept the *English* people in miserable subjection, about the space of eight and twenty years, and from their first Landing in the time of King *Brigbtricus*, wasted and vexed this land the term of 255. years. Now their Tyranny here coming to an end, the next Election and right of the Crown fell (as appertained) to *Edward* the younger Son of King *Egelred* and *Emma*, a meer Englishman: Who had been now long banished in *Normandy*, as is above declared; a man of gentle and soft Spirit, more applicable to other mens council, than able to trust to his own; of nature and condition so given from all War and Blood-shed, that being in his banishment

God only the King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords.

The Kings Crown put on a Rood.

Kings of England have as much right in causes spiritual as temporal.

Certain Laws of King Canutus for the ordering of matters Ecclesiastical.

Adulteress women to lose their Ears and Noses.

Anno 1043. King Edward the Confessor. England assisted by the Danes the space of 255. years.

Ex hisque leguntur.

Gunilda, wife to Henricus the Emperor.

Canutus went to Rome. The Hospital built at Rome for English Pilgrims. Rome-shos tribute confirmed by Canutus. The Cathedral Church of Winchester builded by Canutus. S. Benets in Norfolk builded. S. Edmundsbury Abbey turned to Monks.

Flatterers and flattery about Princes.

Canutus charged the Sea to stand back, but it would not be.

A lesson notable for Kings and Princes.

he wished rather to continue all his life long in that private estate, than by war or blood-shed to aspire to any Kingdom. This *Edward*, after the death of *Canutus* the second, or *Hardecnut*, being sent for of the Lords into *Normandy*, to take possession of the Realm, although he something mistrusted the unconstant and fickle heads of Englishmen (yet having sufficient Pledges laid for him in *Normandy*) came over, accompanied with a few *Normans*, and not long after was Crowned at *Winchester*, in the year 1043. by *Edsius* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And not long after that, he married *Goditha*, or *Edith*, Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, whom he intreated after such sort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet dealt with her fleshly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as most like it was) or for love of chastity, it remaineth uncertain. But most Writers agree, that he continued his life without offence with women; for the which he is highly exalted among our story Writers, and called holy King *Edward*. After he had thus taken upon him the Government of the Realm, he guided the same with much wisdom and justice, the space of four and twenty years, lacking two months; from whom issued (as out of a fountain) much godliness, mercy, pity, and liberty toward the poor, gentleness and justice toward all men, and in all honest life he gave a vertuous example to his people. He discharged the Englishmen of the great Tribute called *Dane-gilt*, which before time was yearly levied to the great Impoverishing of the people. He subdued the *Scots* and the *Welshmen*, which in their borders began to rebel against him. In much peace he continued his Reign, having no foreign Enemy to assault him: Albeit, as some Chronicles do shew, certain *Danes* and *Norwaines* there were, which intended to set upon *England*. But as they were taking shipping, there was brought to them first one *Boul*, then another, of *Meide* or *Merbe*, to drink upon a boun Voyage. Thus one Cup coming after another, after drink came drunkenness, after drunkenness followed jangling, of jangling came strife, and strife turned unto stripes; whereby many were slain, and the other returned to their home again. And thus the merciful Providence of the Lord dispatched that Journey.

King Edward Crowned.

Holy King Edward a virgin in marriage.

Made in Greek signifieth drunkenness.

Accusation of the Archbishop against Emma the Kings mother.

False accusation purged by hot Iron.

A strange thing if it were true, and without false conveyance.

In the time of this *Edward*, *Emma* his Mother was accused to be familiar with *Alwin* the Bishop of *Winchester*: Upon which accusation (by Council of Earl *Godwin*) he took from her many of her Jewels, and caused her to be kept some-deal more strictly in the Abbey of *Warwel*, and the Bishop committed to the Examination of the Clergy. *Polydor* saith they were both in Prison at *Winchester*, where she sorrowing the defame both of her self and the Bishop, and trusting upon her conscience, desired them of justice, offering her self ready to abide any lawful trial, yea, although it were with the sharpest.

Then divers of the Bishops made labour to the King for them both, and had obtained, had not *Robert* then Archbishop of *Canterbury* stopped the suit. Who, not well contented with their labour, said unto them; My brethren, how dare you defend her which is no woman but a beast? She hath defamed her own Son the King, and taken her Lecherous Leman the Bishop. And if it be so, that the woman will purge the Priest, who shall then purge the woman, that is accused to be consenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, and procured venom to the poisoning of her Son *Edward*? But whether she be guilty or guiltless; if she will go barefooted for her self four steps, and for the Bishop five, continually upon nine Plough shares fire hot; then if she escape harmless, he shall be assayed of this challenge, and she also.

To this she granted: The day was appointed; at which day the King, and a great part of his Nobles were present, except only *Robert* the Archbishop. This *Robert* had been a Monk of a house in *Normandy*, and an helper of the King in his exile, and so, by the sending for of the King, came over and was made first Bishop of *London*, after Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Then was the led blindfold unto the place between two men, where the Irons lay burning hot, and passed the nine shares unhurt. At last, saith the: Good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and she saw that she was past the pain, she kneeled down giving God thanks.

Then the King repented (saith the story) and restored unto her, that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiveness. But the Archbishop fled into *Normandy*.

Neer about this time, about the tenth year of his Reign, fell passing great snow from the beginning of *January*, to the seventeenth day of *March*. After which ensued a great mortality of men, murren of cattel, and by lightning the Corn was wonderfully Blasted and Wasted.

Not long after this, a certain Earl of *Bologne*, who had married King *Edward*'s Sister, came into *England*: Through the occasion of whom, when execution should be done upon the Citizens of *Dover*, for a fray between them and the Earls men, variance hapned between King *Edward*, and Earl *Godwin*; who perceiving that he could not withstand the Kings malice (although he gathered a great company to work therein what he could) fled into *Flanders*, and was outlawed with his five Sons. King *Edward* repudiated his Wife, the Daughter of the said *Godwin*: But the second year after by mediators, he was reconciled to the King again and called from banishment, and for his good abearing he gave for Pledges his two Sons, *Biornon* and *Tostius*, which were sent to the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be kept.

During the time of the Outlawry of *Godwin*, *William* Bastard Duke of *Normandy*, came with a goodly company into *England* to see King *Edward*, and was honourably received. To whom the King made great cheer, and at his return enriched him with great gifts and pleasures; and there (as some write) made promise to him, that if he died without Issue, the said *William* should succeed him in the Kingdom of *England*.

In this Kings reign lived *Marianus Scotus* the story-writer. As concerning the end of Earl *Godwin*, the cruel murtherer of *Alfred*, and of the *Normans*, although divers Histories diversly do vary, yet in this the most part do agree, that as he sat at the Table with King *Edward* at *Windsor*, it happened one of the Cup-bearers, one of Earl *Godwin*'s Sons, to stumble and recover again, so that he shed none of the drink, whereat *Godwin* laughed; and said, how the one brother had sustained the other. With which words the King calling to mind his brothers death that was slain by *Godwin*, beheld the Earl, saying, So should my brother *Alfred* have holpen me, had not *Godwin* been. *Godwin* then, fearing the Kings displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himself, said; So might I safely swallow this Morfel of Bread, as I am guiltless of the deed. But as soon as he had received the Bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the King commanded him to be drawn from the Table, and so was conveyed by *Harold* his Son to *Winchester*, and there buried.

About the thirteenth year of this Kings reign, the said King *Edward* sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* to the Emperor *Henricus* the fourth, praying him that he would send to the King of *Hungary*, that his Cousin *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironside*, might come into *England*, for so much as he intended to make him King after him, which was called *Edward* Outlaw. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into *England* with his Wife *Agatha*, and with his children, to wit, *Edgar* *Adeling*, *Margaret* and *Christina*. But the year after his return into this Realm, this *Edward* deceased at *London*, and was buried at *Winchester*, or as *Jornalensis* saith, at *Pauls* Church in *London*. After whose decease the King then received *Edgar* *Adeling* his Son, as his own child, thinking to make him his heir. But fearing partly the unconstant mutability of the Englishmen, partly the Pride and malice of *Harold* the Son of *Godwin*, and of others (perceiving thereby that he could not bring that his purpose so well to pass) directed solemn Ambassadors unto *William* Duke of *Normandy* his kinsman, admitting and assigning him to be his lawful heir, next to succeed after him to the Crown.

After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* his Son waxed so in the Kings favour, that he ruled the most and greatest causes of the Realm, and was Lieutenant of the Kings Army, who with his brother *Toston* or *Tostius* (sent by the King against the *Welshmen*) subdued their rebellion. But afterward, such envy grew between these two brethren, for that *Tostius* saw his brother *Harold* so greatly ad-

Great snow and mortality in England.

Variance between the King and Godwin.

Godwin with his five Sons outlawed. Godwin reconciled to the King upon pledges given.

William Duke of Normandy came to England to King Edward.

Marianus Scotus, when he lived. The end and death of ungodly Godwin. En Jurn. Malmebury. Polydor. Fabia. C. alii.

Gods just Judgment upon Godwin for the murdering of Alfred.

Perjury plagued.

Edward the Outlaw, Son of Edward Ironside, sent for to England.

1000? 1046? The death of Edward, Son of Edmund Ironside.

William Duke of Normandy admitted heir to the Crown.

The envy and dissent of brethren.

advanced in the Kings favour, that at Hertford the said *Tostius* slew all his Brothers men. Whom, when he had cut in pieces, he powdered their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of Salt, Vinegar, Wine, and other Liquors. That done, he made a Power against his Brother *Harold* (being King) with the aid of certain *Danes* and *Norwegians*, and fought a battel with him in the North, as after shall follow (God willing) to be seen. So ungracious were these wicked Children of Earl *Godwin*, that if they had seen any fair Mansion or Manor-place, they would slay the Owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the possession thereof themselves.

Ungracious Children of a wicked Father.

A place of Polydor Virgil examined.

At length it came in the mind of this *Harold* to sail over the Sea (as *Polydor* saith) unto *Normandy*, to see his Brother *Wilnotus*, as also his cousin *Hacus*, whom the King had sent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. *Polydor* saith, These pledges were *Tostio* and *Bironon*; but that cannot be, for *Tostius* was then in *England*. But as *Henricus* Archdeacon of *Huntington* saith, his Journey was into *Flanders*, as seemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that *Harold*, who was a doer in the cruel murder of *Alfred*, and of the *Normans*, would venture into *Normandy*: and therefore more like it is, that his sailing was into *Flanders*. But as the story proceedeth, he, being in the course of his sailing, was weather driven by tempest into the Province of *Pountith*, where he was taken as Prisoner, and sent to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, to whom he was made to swear, that he in time following should marry his Daughter: and that, after the death of King *Edward*, he should keep the Land of *England* to his behoof, according to the will and mind of *Edward* (after some Writers) and so to live in great Honour and Dignity next unto him in the Realm. This promise faithfully made to the Duke, *Harold* returneth into *England*, with his cousin *Hacus* the Son of his Brother *Swanus* being delivered unto him. But *Wilnotus*, Brother of *Harold*, the Duke keepeth still for performance of the Covenants: Thus *Harold*, I say, returning home, sheweth the King all that he had done in the fore-said matters, wherewith the King was well contented. Whereby it may be gathered, that King *Edward* was right well willing, that Duke *William* should Reign after him, and also it seemeth not unlike, but that he had given him his promise thereunto before.

Harold taken of the Normans. Harold promiseth Duke William to marry his daughter, and so keep the Realm for his behoof.

Among all that were true and trusty to King *Edward* of the *English* Nobility, none had like commendation, as had *Leofricus* Earl of *Mercia* and of *Chester*. This *Leofricus* purchased many great Liberties for the Town of *Coventry*, and made it free of all manner of things, except only of Horse. Which freedom there was obtained by means of his wife *Godina*, by riding (as the same goeth) after a strange manner through the Town. This *Leofricus* with his wife *Godina* builded also the Abbey of *Coventry*, and indued the same with great Lands and Riches.

Earl Leofricus ever true and faithful to his Prince. How Coventry was made free. Godina wife to Leofricus. The Abbey of Coventry builded by Leofricus.

You heard a little before of the coming over of *Edward* called the *Outlaw*, Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, whom King *Edward* had purposed to have made King after him; but soon after his coming over, he deceased at *London*. This *Edward* had by his wife *Agatha*, a Son and a Daughter called *Edgar Adeling*, and *Margaret*. Which *Margaret*, being afterward married to the King of *Scots*, was the Mother of *Matild* or *Mawd* the Queen of *England*, and of *David* King of *Scots*, &c.

Edward the Outlaw, Edgar, Adeling. Margaret Queen of Scots. Matild Queen of England. David King of Scots.

This vertuous and blessed King *Edward*, after he had reigned three and twenty years and seven months, died, and was buried in the Monastery of *Westminster*, which he had greatly augmented and repaired: but afterward was more enlarged after this form which it hath now, by *Henry* the third Son of King *John*.

The death of King Edward. Westminster repaired.

They that write the History of this King, here make mention of a Dream or Revelation that should be shewed to him in time of his sickness: how that because the Peers and Bishops of the Realm were Servants not of God, but of the Devil, God would give this Realm to the hand of others. And the King desired utterance to be given him, that he might declare the same to the people, whereby they might repent. It was answered again, that neither would they so do; or yet if they did, it should be given to another people. But because it is a Dream, I let it pass.

Galil. Malines. Ex Jordan. Ex Sibus. R. chard. 2. inf. At compitis. The Laws of King Edward.

Divers Laws were before in divers Countries of this Realm used, as the Law first of *Dunuallo Melmucius*, with the Laws of *Mercia*, called *Mercenelaga*: then the Laws of *West-Saxon* Kings, as of *Ive*, *Offa*, *Alfred*, &c. which was called *West-Saxenelaga*: the third were the Laws of *Canutus*, and of *Danes*, called *Danelaga*. Of all these Laws, which before were diversly in certain particular Countries used and received, this *Edward* compiled one universal and common Law for all people through the whole Realm, which were called King *Edward's* Laws; which Laws being gathered out of the best and chiefest of the other Laws, were so just, so equal, and so serving the publick profit and wealth of all Estates, that, mine Authors say, The people long after did rebel against their Heads and Rulers, to have the same Laws again (being taken from them) and yet could not obtain them.

Furthermore, I read and find in *Matthew Paris*, that when *William Conqueror* at his coming in, did swear to use and practise the same good Laws of *Edward*, for the Common Laws of this Realm: afterward (being established in his Kingdom) he forswore himself, and placed his own Laws in their room, much worse and obscurer than the other were, &c.

Ex Mat. Paris. William Conqueror sworn to King Edward's Laws, yet went from it.

Notwithstanding, among the said Laws of *Edward*, and in the first Chapter and beginning thereof, this I find among the ancient Records of the *Guildhall* in *London*; The Office of a King, with such other appurtenances as belong to the Realm of *Britain*, set forth and described in the *Latine* stile; which I thought here not unmeet to be expressed in the *English* Tongue, for them that understood no *Latine*. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.

De jure & appendiis regni Britannie, & quod sit officium Regis.

Rex autem, quia vicarius summi Regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut Regnum terrenum & populum Domini, & super omnia sanctam ejus veneretur Ecclesiam & regat, & ab injuriis defendat, & maleficos ab eo avellat & destruat, & penitus disperdat. Quod nisi fecerit, nomen Regis non in eo constabit. Verum Papa Johanne testante, nomen Regis perdit: cui Pipinus & Carolus filius ejus (nec dum Reges, sed Principes sub Rege Francorum stulto) scripserunt, querentes, si ita permanere deberent Francorum Reges, solo Regio nomine contenti. A quo responsum est, illos decet vocare Reges, qui vigilanter defendunt & regunt Ecclesiam Dei populum ejus, &c. In English thus:

The King, because he is the Vicar of the highest King, is appointed for this purpose, to Rule the earthly Kingdom, and the Lords people, and above all things to reverence his holy Church, to govern it, and to defend it from Injuries; to pluck away wicked doers, and utterly to destroy them. Which unless he do, the name of a King agreeth not unto him, but he loseth the name of a King, as witnesseth Pope *John*: to the which Pope, *Pipinus* and *Carolus* his Son (being not yet Kings but Princes under the French King, being not very wise) did write, demanding this question, whether the Kings of *France* ought so to continue, having but only the name of a King. Unto whom Pope *John* answereth again, that it was convenient to call them Kings, which vigilantly do defend and govern the Church of God and his people, following the saying of King *David* the *Psalmograph*, He shall not dwell in my house which worketh pride, &c.

Ex libro reg. antiquorum in praetorio London. The office of a King described in the Laws of King Edward.

Moreover, the King by right and by his office, ought to defend and conserve fully and wholly in all amplexes, without diminution, all the Lands, Honors, Dignities, Rights and Liberties of the Crown of his Kingdom. And further to reduce into their pristine state all such things as have been dispersed, wasted, and lost, which appertain to his Kingdom. Also the whole and universal Land, with all Islands about the same in *Norway* and *Denmark*, be appertaining to the Crown of his Kingdom, and be of the appurtenances and dignity of the King, making one Monarchy and one Kingdom, which sometime was called the Kingdom of *Britains*, and now the Kingdom of *England*: such bounds and limits as is above said be appointed and limited to the name of this Kingdom.

A King the Vicar of God in earth.

The limits of the Kingdom of England, how far they do extend.

The office
of a King
further de-
scribed.

Moreover, in the foresaid Laws of this King Edward, it followeth in the same Book, where the foresaid Edward, describing the office of a King, addeth in these words, *A King, faith he, ought above all things to fear God, to love and to observe his Commandments, and cause them to be observed through his whole Kingdom. He ought also to keep, cherish, maintain, and govern the holy Church within his Kingdom, with all integrity and liberty, according to the Constitutions of his Ancestors and Predecessors, and to defend the same against all Enemies, so that God above all things be honoured, and ever be before his eyes. He ought also to set up good Laws and Customs, such as be wholesome and approved: such as be otherwise to repeal them, and thrust them out of his Kingdom. Item, He ought to do Judgment and Justice in his Kingdom, by the counsel of the Nobles of his Realm. All these things ought a King in his own Person to do, taking his Oath upon the Evangelist, and the blessed Relicks of Saints, swearing in the presence of the whole State of his Realm (as well of the Temporality as of the Spirituality) before he be Crowned of the Archbishops and Bishops. Three Servants the King ought to have under him as Vassals; fleshly lust, avarice, and greedy desire, whom if he keep under as his Servants and Slaves, he shall Reign well and honourably in his Kingdom. All things are to be done with good advisement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a King. For hasty rashness bringeth all things to ruine, according to the saying of the Gospel, Every Kingdom divided in it self shall be desolate, &c.*

Three slaves
and servants
a King
ought to
have under
his Subject-
ion.

After the duty and office of Princes thus described, consequently followeth the institution of Subjects, declared in many good and necessary Ordinances very requisite and convenient for publick Government. Of the which Laws William Conqueror was compelled, through the Clamor of the people, to take some, but the most part he omitted, contrary to his own Oath at his Coronation, inferring and placing the most of his own Laws in his Language, to serve his purpose, and which as yet to this present day in the Norman Language do remain. Now (the Lord willing) let us proceed in the story as in order followeth.

King Harold.

Anno
1066
Harold last
King of
Saxons.

Harold the second Son of Earl Godwin, and last King of the Saxons, notwithstanding that divers of the Nobles went with Edgar Adelung, the next Heir after Edmund Ironside: yet he through force and might contemning the young age of Edgar, and forgetting also his promise made to Duke William, took upon him to be King of England, Anno 1066. When Harold Harefagar, Son of Canutus, King of Norway and Denmark, heard of the death of King Edward, he came into England with three hundred Ships or more: who then joyning with Tostius, Brother to the said Harold King of England, entered into the North parts, and claimed the Land after the death of Edward. But the Lords of the Country arose, and gave them battel, notwithstanding the Danes had the Victory. And therefore Harold King of England prepared toward them in all hast, and gave them another strong battel, and there had the Victory, where also Harold the Dane was slain by the hand of Harold King of England; and Tostius was also slain in the battel. After this Victory, Harold waxed proud and covetous, and would not divide the prey to his Knights that had deserved it, but kept it to himself; whereby he lost the favour of many of his Knights and people.

Harold King
of Denmark
and Tostius
slain.

In this mean time, William, Duke of Normandy, sent Ambassage to Harold, King of England, admonishing him of the Covenants that were agreed between them: which was, to have kept the Land to his use after the death of Edward. But because that the Daughter of Duke William (that was promised to Harold) was dead, Harold thought him thereby discharged, and said, *That such a nice foolish Promise ought not to be holden (concerning anothers land) without the consent of the Lords of the same: and especially for that he was thereunto for need or for dread compelled.*

The Pope
sendeth a
Banner to
Duke Wil-
liam upon
boun Voy-
age into
England.

Upon these Answers received, Duke William, in the mean while that the Messengers went and came, gathered his Knights, and prepared his Navy, and had the assent

of the Lords of his Land to aid and assist him in his journey. And over that sending unto Rome to Pope Alexander, concerning his Title and Voyage into England, the Pope confirmeth him to the same, and sent unto him a Banner, willing him to bear it in the Ship, wherein himself should sail. Thus Duke William being provided of all things concerning his journey, sped him to the Sea-side, and took shipping at the Haven of S. Valery, where he tarried a long time ere he might have a convenient Wind, for the which his Souldiers murmured, saying, *It was a wood-nest, and a thing displeasing God, to desire to have anothers Kingdom by strength; and namely, when God was against it in sending contrary Wind, &c.* At the last, the Wind shortly after came about, and they took shipping with a great Company, and landed at Hastings in Suffex.

Duke Wil-
liam land-
eth at Ha-
stings.

For three Causes Duke William entered this Land to subdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him given by King Edward his Nephew. The second was to take wreke for the cruel murder of his Nephew Alfred, King Edwards Brother, and of the Normans, which deed he ascribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to revenge the wrong done to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, which was exiled by the means and labour of Harold, in the time of King Edward.

Three causes
why Duke
William en-
tered Eng-
land.

Thus, while Harold was in the North, Duke William made so great speed, that he came to London before the King; out of which he was holden, till he made good surety, that he and his people should pass through the City without tarrying: which promise he well observing, passed the Bridge, and went over to Suffex, from whence he sent a Monk unto Harold, and profered him three manner of ways. First, either to render to him the possession of the Land, and so to take it again of him under Tribute, reigning under him; Secondly, or else to abide and stand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both; or Thirdly, to defend this quarrel in his own Person against the Duke, and they two only to try the matter by dint of Sword, without any other blood-shedding.

Three con-
ditions of-
fered to
Harold by
Duke Wil-
liam.

But Harold refused all these Offers, saying, *It should be tried by dint of Swords, and not by one Sword: and so gathered his people and joyned battel with the Normans, in the place where afterward was builded the Abbey of Battel in Suffex.* In the beginning of which fight, the Englishmen kept them in good Array like to vanquish the Normans: wherefore Duke William caused his men to give back, as though they fled, whereby the Englishmen followed fast, and broke their Array. Then the Normans, fiercely giving a Charge upon them, in conclusion obtained the Victory through the just providence of God. Where King Harold, who before had murdered Alfred the true Heir of the Crown, with his Company of Normans so cruelly, was now wounded of the Normans in the left eye with an Arrow, and thereof incontinent died: although Gerardus faith he fled away to Chester, and lived after that a Monk in the Monastery of S. James. Which is not like, but rather that he was there slain after that he reigned nine months, and was buried at Waltham (which proveth that he died not at Chester) and so was he the last that reigned in England of the blood of Saxons, the which continued (to reckon from Hengistus his first Reign in Kent) by the space of 591 years, and if it be reckoned from the years of the West-Saxons, then it indureth the space of 565 years.

The fight
betwixt Har-
old and
Duke Wil-
liam.

King Harold
slain.

This Duke William and King Edward were by the Fathers side cousin germans removed. For Richard the first of that name, which was the third Duke of Normandy after Rollo, was Father to Duke Richard the second of that name, and Brother to Emma Mother to King Edward. Which Duke Richard the second was Father to Duke Robert, this Duke Williams Father.

The consan-
guinity be-
tween King
Edward and
William the
Conqueror.

Albeit in this matter other some may gather otherwise and better, perchance; yet if I may say what I think, verily I suppose, that there is no Consanguinity so much the cause, why God of his unknown Judgments suffered the Normans here to prevail, as was rather the cruel murder of Alfred and of the innocent Normans, wrought by the cruel despight of Harold and the Englishmen, as is before declared. The which merciless murder, God here justly in this Conquest recompensed.

Murder
justly re-
compensed.

Now it remaineth also, to these foreign Affairs of Kings and Princes, to add something likewise concerning the

Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

con-

continuation of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, beginning there where we last left: that is, with *Elphegus*, whom we declared a little before to be stoned by the Danes at *Greenwich*. After which *Elphegus*, next succeeded *Li-ningus*, after him *Egelnothus* also above mentioned. Then *Robertus* a Norman, a great doer (as is declared) about King *Edward*, and a faithful Counsellor unto him; but he abode not long. After whom *Stigandus* invaded the See (as they report) by Symony, being both Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and also Abbot in another place, wherein he continued a great space, gathering and heaping goods together; till at length Duke *William* clapt him in prison, and there kept him, placing in his room *Lanfrancus* a Lombard born, of whom more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter to be declared.

Li-ningus, Egelnothus, Robertus, Stigandus.

The decay of the Church.

Although the Church of Christ and state of Religion, first founded and grounded by Christ and his Apostles, did not continually altogether remain in his primitive Perfection, wherein it was first instituted; but in process of time began from better to worse, to decrease and decline into much superstition and inconvenience; partly through the coming in of *Mabomet*, partly through the increase of wealth and riches, partly through the decrease of knowledge and diligence in such as should be the Guides of Christ's Flock: yet the infection and corruption of that time (though it were great) did not so abound in such excessive measure as afterward in the other later times now following, about the thousand years expired after Christ, whereof we have to intreat, Christ so permitting. About which time and year came *Sylvester*, the second of that name, who next succeeded after *Gregory* the fifth before mentioned; and occupied the See of *Rome* about the year of our Lord, 1000. lacking one or two.

Pope Syl-vester the second.

Sylvester the second a foul Sorcerer.

This *Sylvester* was a Sorcerer, which after the sort of them that work by Familiars (as they call them) and by Conjurat[i]on, compacted with the Devil to be made Pope. And so he was (through the operation of Satan) according to his request. Which things, some Histories say, he did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of *Johannes Stella*, a Venetian, translated from *Latine* into *English*, concerning the said *Sylvester*; to the intent that our Inchanters and Sorcerers now adays (whereof there be too many in *England*) may the better through his example be admonished. The words of *Stella* be these, agreeing also with the Narration of *Benno*, *Platina*, and many others. *Sylvester*, the second of that name, being Pope, and a Frenchman, called *Gilbertus*, sat in his Papacy four years, one month, and eight days. He entered into his Papacy through wicked and unlawful means: who from his youth being a Monk, and leaving his Monastery, gave himself wholly to the Devil, to obtain that which he required. And first coming to *Hispalis* a City in *Spain*; there he applied his Book and profited also, inso-much that he was made Doctor, having amongst his Auditors, *Orbo* the Emperors Son, and *Robert* the French King, *Lotharius* Archbishop of *Senon*, with divers other more. By whose advancement he was promoted, first Bishop of *Rheme*, afterward Bishop of *Ravenna*, and at last, through the operation of Satan, was exalted to the Papacy of *Rome*; upon this condition, that after his death, he should give himself to the Devil, by whose procurement he came to that promotion. Upon a certain time he demanded an Answer of the Devil, how long he should enjoy his Popedom. To whom he answered again, *Until thou say Mass in Jerusalem thou shalt live*. At length the fourth year of his Popedom, saying Mass at *Lent* time in the Temple of the holy Cross, being called then *Jerusalem*, there he knew the time was come when he should die. Whereupon being struck with Repentance, he confessed his fault openly before the people, desiring them to cut his body all in pieces (being so seduced by deceits of the Devil) and so being hewn in pieces, that they would lay it upon a Cart, and bury it there wheresoever the Horses would carry it of their accord. And so the saying is, That by the Providence of God (whereby the wicked may learn, that there is yet hope of remission with God, so that they will repent them in their life) the Horses of their own accord stayed at the Church of *Lateran*, and there he was buried: where commonly by the ratling of

Johannes Stella, Platina, Benno, Petrus Premontrensis, Nouclerus, Antonius, Robertus, Benno, Johannes Baleus.

Ex Joh. Stella.

his bones within the Tomb, is portended the death of Popes, as the common report goeth. Thus much out of *Johannes Stella* concerning *Sylvester*. By whom our Sorcerers and Inchanters, or Magicians may learn to beware of the deceitful operation of Satan, who at the end deceiveth and frustrateth all them that have to do with him: as the end of all such doth declare commonly, which use the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the Spirit of Jesus our Redeemer, dissolve the works of Satan, and preserve the hearts of our Nobles, and all other Englishmen from such Infection. Amen.

An admonition for Sorcerers and wicked Conjurers.

After *Sylvester*, succeeded *John* the nineteenth, by whom was brought in (as *Volateran* saith) the Feast of *All Souls* in the year 1004. through the means and infligation of one *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluniack*, to be celebrate next after the Feast of *All Saints*. This Monk *Odilo*, thinking that Purgatory (as he heard) should be in the Mount *Aetna*, dreamed upon a time, in the Country of *Sicil*, that he by his Masses, had delivered divers Souls from thence: saying moreover, *That he did hear the voyces and lamentations of Devils, crying out for that the Souls were taken from them by the Masses and Dirges Funeral*, Ex *Bakenthorpo*. in prolo. 4. lib. sentent. And not long after him, came *John* the twentieth, and *Sergius* the fourth. After whom succeeded *Benedictus* the eighth; then *John* the one and twentieth, who being promoted by Art Magick, of *Theophylact* his Nephew, *Gratianus*, *Brazutus*, and other Sorcerers, brought in first the Fast of the even of *John Baptist* and *Saint Lawrence*. After him followed Pope *Benedictus* the ninth, likewise aspiring to his Papacy by like Magick, practising Inchantments and Conjurat[i]on in Woods, after an horrible manner; who resisting the Emperor *Henricus* the third, Son to *Conradus*, and placing in his room *Petrus* the King of *Hungary* with this verse,

The Feast of All Souls brought in to the Church.

Benedictus the ninth.

Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam.

Afterward, for fear of *Henricus* prevailing in battel, he was fain to sell his Seat to his Successor, *Gratianus*, called *Gregorius* the sixth, for 1500 l. At which time were three Popes together in *Rome*, reigning and raging one against another; *Benedictus* the ninth, *Sylvester* the third, and *Gregorius* the sixth. For the which cause *Henricus*, surnamed *Niger*, the Emperor coming to *Rome*, displaced these three Monsters at one time, placing for them *Clement* the second, and thereupon inacting that there should no Bishop of *Rome* henceforth be chosen, but by the consent and confirmation of the Emperor. Which Constitution, though it was both agreeable, and also necessary for publick tranquillity of that City, yet the Cardinals would not suffer it long to stand, but did impugn it afterward by subtil practice and open violence, as in process (the Lord permitting) shall appear, in the time of *Henricus* the fourth and the fifth. In the time of this *Clement*, the Romans made an Oath to the Emperor, concerning the election of the Bishops, themselves to intermeddle no further therein, but as the assent of the Emperor should go withall. Howbeit the Emperor departing thence into *Germany* again, by and by they forgat their Oath, and within nine months after, poisoned the Bishop. Which fact, some impute to *Stephen* his Successor, called *Damasus* the second. Some impute it to *Brazutus*, who (as Histories record) within 13 years poisoned six Popes; that is, *Clement* the second, *Damasus* the second, *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* the second, *Stephanus* the ninth, *Nicholaus* the second.

Gregorius the sixth.

A constitution that no Pope should be chosen, but by the confirmation of the Emperor.

Pope Clement the second.

Pope Damasus the second.

Thus *Clement* being poisoned, after him succeeded *Damasus* the second, neither by consent of the people, nor of the Emperor elected, but by force and invasion, who also within 23 days being poisoned, in the year 1049. much contention and striving began in *Rome* about the Papal seat. Whereupon the Romans through the counsel of the Cardinal sent to the foresaid Emperor, desiring to give them a Bishop; and so he did, whose name was *Bruno*, an *Alman*, and Bishop of *Cullen*, afterward called *Leo* the ninth. This *Bruno* being a simple man, and easie to be led with evil counsel, coming from the Emperor towards *Rome* in his pontifical Apparell like a Pope; there meeteth him by the way, the Abbot of *Cluniack*, and *Hildebrand* a Monk, who, seeing him so in his Pontificalibus, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would so take his authority of the Emperor, and not rather of the Clergy of *Rome*, and the people thereof, as other his Predecessors were wont to do: and

so counselled him to lay down that Apparel, and to enter in with his own habit, till he had his Election by them. Bruno following their counsel, and confessing his fault before the Clergy of Rome, obtained their favour, and so was nominate Leo the ninth, whereby Hildebrand was made a Cardinal, and put in high room. Under this Pope Leo, were two Councils; one kept at *Verfailis*, where the Doctrine of Berengarius against the real presence in the Sacrament was first condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, which nevertheless was done after in the Council of *Lateran*, under Nicholas the second, in the year 1060. The other was kept at *Moguntia*, where amongst many other Decrees it was enacted, That Priests should be excluded and debarred utterly from marriage. Item, that no lay-man might give Benefice or Bishoprick, or any Spiritual Promotion, &c.

This Leo, being at *Wormes* with the Emperor upon Christmas-day, did Excommunicate the Sub-deacon; because in reading the Epistle, he did it not in the Roman tune, he being there present. The Archbishop, moved therewith, departed from the Altar (being then at *Mals*) saying, He would not proceed any further in his Service, unless his Sub-deacon were restored, whereupon the Pope commandeth him to be released, and so they went forward in their Service.

After the death of Leo, whom *Brazutus* poisoned the first year of his Popedom, *Theophylactus* did strive to be Pope: but Hildebrand, to defeat him, went to the Emperor (partly also being sent by the Romans for fear of the Emperors displeasure) who assigned another Bishop, a German, called Victor the second. This Victor, having a Council at *Florence*, deposed divers Bishops and Priests for Simony and Fornication: for Simony, in that they took of secular men their Dignities for money; for Fornication, in that, contrary to their Canon, they were married, &c. The second year of his Papacy, and little more, this Pope also followed his Predecessors, being poisoned by the foresaid *Brazutus*, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his Master.

Here now began the Church and Clergy of Rome to wring out of the Emperors hand the Election of the Pope: electing Stephen the ninth for Pope, contrary to their Oath, and to the Emperors assignment. Here was the Church of *Millan* first brought to Obedience of the *Romish* Church, by this *Stephanus* the ninth Bishop of Rome; who also shamed not to accuse the Emperor Henry (of whom mention is made before) of Heresie, for minishing the Authority of the *Roman* See. So this was their Heresie at that time, not to maintain the ambitious Proceedings of the *Romish* Prelate. And Simony they called this, to take and enjoy any Spiritual Living at a secular mans hand. Wherefore Stephen hearing this Simony to reign in divers places, namely, in the Churches of *Burgundy* and *Italy*, sent forth the Cardinal Hildebrand to reform the matter, who was no less earnest in that kind of Commission to help the matter forward.

In the mean time *Stephanus* the Pope tasting of *Brazutus* Cup fell sick. Hildebrand, hearing that, applieth home, with all post speed. So being returned to Rome, he assemblith all the Companies and Orders of the Clergy together, making them to swear that they should admit none to be Bishop, but which should be appointed by the publick consent of them all together. This being done, Hildebrand taketh his journey into *Florence*, belike to fetch the Bishop of *Florence*, to stall him Bishop; the Clergy swearing unto him that no Bishop should be ordained before his return again. But the people of Rome not suffering the Election to stand so long, after the death of Stephen, elected one of their own City, called Benedictus the tenth. Hildebrand, hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome with one Garbardus Bishop of *Florence*, he caused the Clergy to proceed to a new Election, saying, That Benedictus was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing. But the Clergy not daring to attempt any new Election at Rome, went to *Sene*, and there elected this Garbardus Bishop of *Florence*, whom Hildebrand brought with him. So were two Popes in Rome together: But Garbardus, named Nicholas the second, holding a Council at *Sutrium*, through the help of Duke Godfrid and Guibert, and other Bishops about *Italy*, caused the other Pope to be deposed. Benedictus under-

standing them to be set against him through the means of Hildebrand, unpoped himself, and went to *Velitras*; Pope Bruno living there more quietly than he should have done at Rome.

Here is to be touched by the way the error of the gloss upon the three and twentieth Distinction, which falsely alledgeth out of the Chronicles, that Benedictus the tenth, which succeeded Stephen, was deposed: after whom came Johannes Bishop of *Sabine* for money, and he again deposed. Benedictus was then restored, and after displaced again, and then Johannes Archdeacon *Ad portam latinam*, was made Pope, and he again deposed by the Emperor, and all in one year. Which story neither is found in any Chronicle, nor agreeth to any Benedictus, save only that Benedictus the ninth, which was deposed, and then reigned three Popes together: Benedictus the ninth, Sylvester the third, and Gregorius the sixth, which before was called Johannes *ad portam latinam* (whom the Emperor deposed) all three together. But that Benedictus neither was the tenth, neither did he succeed Pope Stephen, as the gloss recordeth. Nicholas thus being set up without the mind both of the Emperor and of the people of Rome, after his fellow Pope was driven away, brake up the Synod of *Sutrium*, and came to Rome, where he assembled another Council, called *Concilium Lateranum*. In which Council first was promulgate the terrible Sentence of Excommunication mentioned in the Decrees, and beginneth, *In nomine Domini nostri, &c.* The effect whereof is this: First, that he after a subtil practise (as far and as plainly as he durst speak) undermineth the Emperors Jurisdiction, and transferreth to a few Cardinals, and certain Catholick Persons, the full Authority of chusing the Pope. Secondly, against all such as do creep into the Seat of Peter by money or favour, without the full consent of the Cardinals, he thundereth with terrible blasts of Excommunication, accursing them and their Children with Devils, as wicked persons, to the anger of Almighty God, giving also Authority and Power to Cardinals, with the Clergy and Laity, to depose all such Persons, and call a Council-General, wherefoever they will against them.

Item, in the said Council of *Laterane*, under Pope Nicholas the second, Berengarius *Andegavensis*, an Archdeacon, was driven to the recantation of his Doctrine, denying the real substance of Christs holy body and blood to be in the Sacrament, otherwise than Sacramentally and in mystery.

In the same Council also was hatched and invented the new found devise and term of Transubstantiation.

It were too long here to declare the Confederation betwixt this Nicholas and Robertus *Guiscardus*, whom this Pope (contrary to all right and good Law, displacing the right Heir) made Duke of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Sicilia*, and Captain-General of *S. Peters* lands: that through his force of arms and violence he might the better subdue all such as should rebel to his Obedience, and so did. Now let all men, which be godly wise, judge and understand how this standeth with the Doctrine of Christ, the example of Peter, or the spirit of a Christian Bishop, by outward arms and violence to conquer Christian men and Countries, under the Obedience of a Bishops See. Thus Pope Nicholas the second, well answering to his Greek name, by might and force continued three years and an half. But at length he met with *Brazutus* Cup, and so turned up his heels.

At the beginning of this Nicholas, or somewhat before, about the year of our Lord, 1057. Henry the fourth, after the decease of Henry the third, was made Emperor, being but a Child, and reigned fifty years: but not without great molestation and much disquietness, and all through the ungracious wickedness of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord so permitting) shall be declared.

Here by the way cometh to be noted an example, whereby all Princes may learn and understand how the Pope is to be handled, whosoever looketh to have any goodness at his hand. If a man stand in fear of his curse, he shall be made his slave; but if he be despised of you, you shall have him as you lust. For the Popes curse may well be assimiled to *Domitians* thunder: If a man give ear to the noise and crack, it seemeth a terrible thing; but if you consider the causes and effect thereof, it is a most vain riddle.

Pope Leo the ninth.

Concilium Moguntinum. Hanciensis Cronica.

Alb. Crantz. Saxo. lib. 4. cap. 45.

Pope Victor the second.

Concilium Florentinum.

Pope Stephen the ninth. The Church of Millan first brought under the Church of Rome. The Emperor accused of Heresie.

Hildebrand sent in Commission for Simony.

Hildebrand beginneth to stir.

Pope Benedictus the tenth.

Pope Nicholas the second. Two Popes together at Rome.

The gloss of the Popes Decrees refuted.

Concilium Lateranum. Anno 1059. Dist. 23. cap. lxxx.

A terrible Curse of Nicholas.

Berengarius driven to recantation.

Transubstantiation brought in to the Church.

Namque, Placita. Euseb. Sil.

Potentialis peccati standeth not with the Gospel. Anno 1062.

Henry the fourth, Emperor.

The Popes Curse compared to Domitians thunder.

*Aldredus
Archbishop
of York.*

*How Tostius
persuaded
the Pope.*

*Cadulus a
Lombard
made Pope
by the Em-
peror.*

*Pope Alex-
ander the
Second.
Two battles
between two
Popes for
St. Peters
Seat.*

*Council
Mantua*

*Alleluja
suspended
in the time
of Lent.
A Decree
that no se-
cular man
should give
a spiritual
Promotion.
Beno Car-
dinalis.*

In the Reign of this *Nicholas*, in the year, 1060. *Aldredus* Bishop of *Worcester*, after the decease of *Kinsius* his Predecessor, should be made Archbishop of *York*; who coming to *Rome* with *Tostius* Earl of *Northumberland* for his Pall (as the manner was) could not obtain it, but was deprived of all his Dignity, for some default (I cannot tell what) in his answer; and furthermore, after his reversion home, was spoiled also of all that he brought with him. Whereupon, he returning again to *Rome* with *Tostius* the foresaid Earl, there made his Complaint, but could not be heard: till *Tostius*, a man of stout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the Pope to his face, *That his Curse was not to be feared in far Countries, which his own Neighbours, yea and most vile Vagabonds derided and despised at home.* Wherefore he required the Pope, either to restore *Aldredus* again to his goods lost, or else it should be known that they were lost, through his means and subtilty. And furthermore it would come to pass that the King of *England* hearing this would debar him of *S. Peters* Tribute, taking it for a great shame to him and his Realm, if *Aldredus* should come from *Rome* both deprived of Dignity, and spoiled also of his goods, &c. In fine, the Pope thus persuaded by the argument of his purse, was content to send home *Aldredus* with his Pall, according to his request.

After the death of *Nicholas*, the *Lombards* being oppressed before by Pope *Nicholas*, and brought under fear, were the more delirious, and thought it good to have a Bishop of their Company, and so elected the Bishop of *Parmen*, called *Cadulus*, to be Pope: sending to the Emperor, and desiring his favour and supportation therein, for the Election of the Pope (said they) most properly appertained unto him.

The Emperor, well pleased and content, giveth his good leave and voice withall. *Hildebrand*, no less a wicked Necromancer than a stout Maintainer of Popish Liberties against good Emperors, hearing this, setteth up by a contrary Faction another Bishop, *Anselmus*, after called *Alexander* the Second. *Cadulus*, thus elected by the Emperor and the Cardinals, setteth forward to *Rome* with a sufficient Army and strength of men. *Alexander* also, no less prepared, there received him with another Army, where they had a great Conflict, and many slain on both sides. But *Cadulus* as he had the better cause, so he had the worse fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himself and came again with a greater Power: albeit he prevailed not. The Emperor seeing this hurly burley, to take up the matter, sent thither his Ambassador *Orbo* Archbishop of *Cullen*: who coming to *Rome*, beginneth sharply to chide the Pope for taking so upon him without the leave or knowledge of the Emperor, declaring how the Election of that See ought chiefly to appertain to the right of the Emperor, as it hath done for the most part in the time of his Predecessors before. But *Hildebrand* all set on wickedness and ambition, and also puffed up not a little with his late Victories, not suffering the Ambassador to tell to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale; affirming, that if they should stand to Law and Custom, the Liberty of that Election should rather belong to the Clergy than to the Emperor. To make short, *Orbo* the Ambassador bearing (belike) more with the Clergy than with the Emperor, was content to be persuaded, only required this in the Emperors Name, a Council to be had, to decide the matter, whereto the Emperor should be present himself; and so he was. In the which Council being kept at *Mantua*, *Alexander* was declared Pope, the other had his pardon granted. In this Council, amongst many other considerations, it was concluded concerning Priests, That they should have no Wives: such as have Concubines to fay no Maf: Priests Children not to be secluded from holy Orders: no Benefices to be bought for money: *Alleluja* to be suspended in time of *Lent* out of the Church, &c. This also was decreed (which made most for *Hildebrands* purpose) that no spiritual man, whatsoever he be, should enter into any Church, by a secular Person, and that the Pope should be elected only by the Cardinals, &c. *Beno Cardinalis* writeth thus of *Alexander*, that after he perceived the frauds of *Hildebrand*, and of other the Emperors Enemies, and understanding that he was set up and enthroned but only for a purpose; being at his Maf, as he was preaching to the

people, told them he would not sit in the place, unless he had the Licence of the Emperor. Which when *Hildebrand* heard, he was stricken in such a fury, that scarcely he could keep his hands off him, while Maf was done. After the Maf being finished, by force of Souldiers and strength of men he had him into a Chamber, and there all to be pommild Pope *Alexander* with his fists, rating and rebuking him for that he would seek for favour of the Emperor. Thus *Alexander* being kept up in custody, and being stinted to a certain allowance, as about five grotes a day, *Hildebrand* inroacheth all the whole Revenues of the Church to himself, procuring thereby much treasure. At length *Alexander*, under the miserable indurance of *Hildebrand*, died at eventide after eleven years and a half of his Popedom. And thus much of *Romish* matters.

These things thus discoursed concerning the matters of *Rome*; now returning again to our own Country story, the order thereof would require to enter again into the Reign of *William Conqueror*, the next King following in *England*. But as a certain Oration of King *Edgars*, which should have been placed before, chanced in the mean time to come to my hands, not unworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the end of this Book to insert the same (although out of order) yet better I judge it out of order, than out of the Book.

The Oration of King Edgar to the Clergy.

BECAUSE GOD hath shewed his great Mercy to work with us; it is meet (most reverend Fathers) that with worthy Works we should answer his innumerable Benefits. For we possess not the Land by our own Sword, and our own Arm hath not saved us: but his right Hand and his holy Arm, because he hath been delighted in us. Therefore it is meet that we should submit both our selves and our Souls to him, that hath subjected all these things under our Government: and we ought stoutly to labour, that they, whom he hath made subject to us, might be subject to his Laws. It belongs to me to Rule the Lay-people with the Law of Equity, to do just Judgment between a Man and his Neighbour, to punish Church-Robbers, to hold under Rebels, to deliver the helpless from the hand of the stronger, the needy also and the poor from them that rob them. It belongs also to my care to provide necessary things to the Ministers of the Churches, to the flocks of the Monks, to the Company of Virgins, and to provide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whose manners belongeth unto us; whether they live chastly, if they behave themselves honestly toward them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods Service, if they be earnest to teach the people, if they be sober in eating and drinking, if they keep measure in Apparel, and if they be discreet in judgment. If ye had regarded these things with a trial of them (O reverend Fathers, by your leaves I speak) such horrible and abominable things of the Clerks should not have come unto our ears. I omit to speak how their crown is not broad, nor their rounding convenient: the wantonness in your life, your pride in your gesture, the filthiness in your words do declare the evil of the inward man.

Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods Service, whence scarce they will be present at the holy Vigils? And when they come to Maf, they seem rather to be gathered to play and laugh than to sing. I will tell that, that good men be sorry for, and the evil laugh at. I will speak with sorrow (if so be I may express it) how they be riotous in Banquetings, in Chambering, Drunkenness and Unshamefastness: that now Clerks houses may be thought to be a Stews of Harlots, and a Covent of Players. There be Dice, there is Dancing and Singing, there is watching to Midnight, with crying and shouting. Thus the Goods of Kings, the Alms of Princes, yea (and that is more) the price of that precious blood is not esteemed. Have our Fathers then spent their Treasure for this purpose? Have the Kings Coffers decayed by taking away many Revenues, for this cause? Hath the Kings Liberality given Lands and Possessions to Christs Churches for this intent, that Clerks Harlots should be decked with the same? that riotous Feasts might be dressed? that Hounds and Hawks and such other toys might be gotten? The Souldiers cry

*Pope Alex-
ander
knockt
about the
pate by
Hildebrand.*

Psal. 43.

Gen. 34. out of these things the people grudge, Minstrels sing and dance and yet ye regard it not, ye spare it, ye dissemble it. Where is the Sword of Levi, and the Zeal of Simeon, which killed the Schemites and the circumcised, which bare the figure of them that defile Christs Church with filthy deeds, because they abused Jacobs Daughter as an Harlot? Where is Moses spirit, which spared not his own Kinsfolk that worshipped the head of the Calf?

Exod. 32. Where is Phineas the Priests Dagger, which pacified Gods anger by holy zeal, when he killed him that played the Harlot with the Midianite? Where is Peters spirit, by whose power covetousness is destroyed, and simoniacal Heresie is condemned? Be earnest ye Priests, be earnest to follow the ways of the Lord, and the righteousness of our God. It is time to do against them that have broken the Law of God. I have Constantines Sword, and ye have Peters Sword in your hands; let us joyn right hands, let us couple Sword to Sword, that the Lepers may be cast out of the Temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the Sons of Levi may minister in the Temple, who said to his Father and Mother, I know you not; and to his Brother, I know you not. Go too diligently I pray you, lest we repent to have done that we have done, and to have given that we give, if we shall see that to be spent not in Gods Service, but on the riotousness of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life, for lack of Chastisement. Let the relicks of holy Saints, which they despise, and the holy Altars before which they play the mad-men, move you. Let the great devotion of our Ancestors move you, whose Alms the madness of the Clerks doth abuse. My great Grandfather (as ye know) gave the tenth part of all his Lands to Churches and Abbies. My great great Grandfather, Alfredus of holy memory, thought it not meet to spare his Treasures, his Goods, nor Costs, nor Rents that he might enrich the Church. My Grandfather the elder, Edward, your Fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gave to the Churches. It becometh you to remember with what Gifts my Father and his Brothers did enrich Christs Altars. O Father of Fathers, Dunstan, behold (I pray thee) the eyes of my Father looking on thee, from that bright place of Heaven: hearken to his complaining words sounding in thine ears, thus pitifully lamenting, O Father Dunstan, thou, thou (I say) gavest me counsel to build Abbies and Churches, thou wast my Helper and Fellow-worker in all things: I chose thee as a Shepherd and Bishop of my Soul, and a Keeper of my Manners. When did I not obey thee? What Treasures did I prefer in respect of thy counsels? What Possessions did I not despise, if thou bade me? If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to the poor, I was ready. If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to Churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedst that

Monks or Clerks wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidst that Alms lasted for ever, and that there was none more fruitful than that which was given to Abbies or Churches. For with that both Gods Servants are sustained, and that which remaineth is given to the Poor. O worthy Alms! O worthy price of the Soul! O wholesome remedy for our sins, which now doth stink in the sweet Furrs of Priests Lemmans, wherewith they adorn their Ears and deck their Fingers, apparelling their delicate Bodies with silk and Purple! O Father, is this the fruit of my Alms, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise? What wilt thou answer to this complaint of my Fathers? I know, I know: When thou didst see a Thief, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with Adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them: but words have been despised; now we must come to stripes of Correction. Thou hast here with thee, the Worshipful Father Edward Bishop of Winchester. Thou hast the Reverend Prelate Oswald Bishop of Worcester. I commit this business to you, that both by Bishoply Correction, and the Kings Authority, the filthy Livers may be cast out of the Churches, and they that live orderly may be brought in, &c.

In this Oration of King Edgar above prefixed three things are chiefly to be noted and considered of them that have judgment to mark and understand, to wit, The religious zeal and devotion of Kings, both in giving to the Church, and also in correcting the manners of Churchmen. Secondly, the dissolute behaviour and wantonness of the Clergy, then abusing the great Donations and Patrimonies of Princes bestowed upon them. Thirdly, the blind Ignorance and Superstition of that time in both States, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, in esteeming Christs Religion chiefly to consist in giving to Churches, and in maintaining of Monks; being falsely persuaded that remission of their Sins, and remedy of their Souls therein, did lie in building Monasteries, erecting Churches and Cloysters, and in placing Monks in the same, and such other Alms-deeds, and Works of devotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true Doctrine of Christs Faith, and of free Grace of the Gospel, which promisseth life, remedy, and justification, not by any devout Merits of ours, nor by any Works either of the Law of God, or of the Inventions of man, but only and freely by our Faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God, in whom only consisteth all the Promises of God. Amen.

Now remaineth as in the former Book before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the Order and Race of Archbishops of Canterbury, as we have done the Race of Kings, beginning with Ethelredus, who succeeded next after Celnocke, the seventeenth Archbishop of that See, mentioned where we left before.

The Names and Order of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from the time of King Egbert to William Conqueror.

18. *Ethelredus.* 18
19. *Pleimundus.* 29
20. *Atbelmus.* 12
21. *Ulfelmus.* 13
22. *Odo.* 20

This *Pleimundus* was School-Master to King *Alfred.*

By the Prayers of this *Odo*, the Monkish stories say that the Sword of King *Ethelstan* was brought again into his Scabbard, as is noted before in that Kings time.

This *Elfus*, first Bishop of *Winchester*, came to the See of *Canterbury*, by the Commandment of King *Edgar*, some say by Bribes, contrary to the mind of *Odo*. Whereupon in the first day of his Consecration, he insulting upon the Tomb of *Odo* with despite, shortly after went to *Rome* for his Pall, where in his journey upon the *Alpes* he died for cold, inasmuch that his Horses being killed, and he put in their warm bellies, yet could he get no heat. *Malmesbur.*

24. *Dunstan.* 20

Polydorus maketh *Dunstan* to be the 23 Archbishop.

Of this *Dunstan* many Monkish Miracles be feigned, as of the Harp upon the Wall playing by it self, *Gaudet in Calis, &c.* Of our Lady with her company appearing to him singing, *Cantemus Domino sociæ, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio.* Also of the Angels singing *Kyrieleison, &c.* Item,

25. *Ethelgarus.* 1

26. *Elfricus.* 11

27. *Siricius.* 5

28. *Elpbeus.* 6

29. *Livingus.* 7

30. *Egenoldus.* 17

31. *Edsius.* 11

32. *Robertus.* 2

33. *Stigandus.* 17

34. *Lanfrancus.* 19

of holding the Devil by the Nose with a pair of Tongs, tempting him with Women, *Malmesb.* Item, of seeing the Holy Ghost at his Mass in likeness of a Dove. Item, in delivering the Soul of *Edwin* from the Devil. Item, in foreseeing the death of King *Edred*, by the death and falling of his Horse. Item, of his Mother being great with *Dunstan*, when all the Candles of others went out, her only Candle remained light: and many other like Fables, &c.

This *Siricius* was the Counsellor to King *Egelred*, to redeem peace of the *Danes* with a great Tribute.

Elpbeus, because he denied to pay to the *Danes* a Tribute, was stoned to death at *Greenwich*, and of some is called a Martyr.

This *Robertus* caused *Godwin* and his Sons to be banished, accusing them of Treason. But afterward they being restored, he went to *Rome*, and at his return died.

Stigandus being an *Englishman*, in the time of *William Conqueror* the *Norman*, was by the craft of the said *William* conveyed into *Normandy*, where a while with great honour he was entertained. At length the said *William* procured secretly the Popes Letters to depose him, that he might place *Lanfrancus* in his room. This *Stigandus* died at length in prison.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CONTAINING

Other three hundred years from *William Conqueror*, to the time of *John Wickliffe*, wherein is described the proud and mis-ordered Reign of *Antichrist*, beginning to stir in the Church of CHRIST.

William
Conqueror.

William Duke of Normandy, surnamed Conqueror, base Son of D. Robert, the sixth Duke of Normandy, and Nephew unto King Edward, after the forefaid Victory against Harold and the

English-men obtained, was received King over the Realm of England, not so much by assent, as for fear and necessity of time. For else the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Etbeling to the uttermost of their power. But being weakened and wasted so greatly in battles before, and the Duke coming so fast upon them, and fearing that they could not make their party good, submitted themselves. Whereupon the said William (of a Duke made a King) was Crowned upon Christmas-day in the year of our Lord, 1067. by the hands of Aldredus Archbishop of York; forasmuch as at that time Stigandus Archbishop of Canterbury was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the King. A little before the coming in of this Duke, a terrible blazing Star was seen the space of seven days, which was the year before. In record whereof, as well of the Conquest of the Duke, as of the blazing-Star, these Verses yet remain:

*Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,
Cum percunt Angli stella monstrante Cometa.*

Tribute.

Rebellion.
Earl Marcar,
and
Earl Edwin,
Edgar Atheling,
with his
mother and
two sisters
Margaret
and Christin
fled into
Scotland.
New King,
new Laws.

King William
forfeorn
in abolishing
King Edward's
Laws.

Turris
Lond'.

Which King thus being Crowned, did Reign over the Realm of England the space of one and twenty years and one month, with great severity and cruelty toward the English-men, burthening them with great Tributes and Exactions; which was, to pay of every Hide of ground containing twenty Acres, six shillings. By means whereof certain parts of the Land rebelled, and specially the City of Excester. But at last William overcame them, and won the City, and punished them grievously. But for that and for other stern deeds of William, divers of the Lords departed into Scotland: wherefore he kept the other Lords that tarried the straiter, and exalted the Normans, giving to them the chief Possessions of the Land. And forasmuch as he obtained the Kingdom by force and dint of sword, he changed the whole state of the Government of this Common-wealth; and Ordained new Laws at his own pleasure, profitable to himself, but grievous and hurtful to the people; abolishing the Laws of King Edward, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworn before, to observe and maintain them. For the which, great Commotions and Rebellions remained long after among the people (as Histories record) to have the said Laws of King Edward revived again.

Where by the way speaking of Laws, this is memorable, that even in this Kings time the Authority of the Temporal Magistrate was distinct from that of the Church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deal in Causes Ecclesiastical, and be assistant to the Bishop; whose Jurisdiction what it was, and how qualified by King William now holding the stem of Government in his hand, the words following do declare.

Willielmus Gratia Dei Rex Anglorum, comitibus, vice-comitibus, & omnibus Francigenis & Anglis, qui in Episcopatu Remigii Episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis, &c.
In English thus:

William by the Grace of God King of England, to all Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and to all French-born and English, which in the Bishoprick of Remigius the Bishop have Lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithful Subjects which abide in England, that the Bishops Laws which have been not well, nor according to the Precepts of holy Canons, even to my time in the Kingdom of England; by the Common Council and the Council of mine Archbishops, and the rest of Bishops and Abbots, with all the Princes of my Kingdom I have judged to be amended. Wherefore I command, and by my Royal Authority give in Charge, That no Bishop or Archdeacon do hold any more Pleas of Law in the Hundred by the Bishops Laws, nor bring any Cause which pertaineth to the Cure of Souls unto the judgment of secular men: but whosoever, according to the Bishops Laws, about any Suit or Default be troubled, shall come to the place, which to this end the Bishop shall choose and name, and there answer his cause, and not according as in the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Laws of the Bishop they shall do right unto God and to their Bishop. And if any puffed up with pride, being called once, twice, and thrice to the Court of Pleas, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawn to amendment, let him be Excommunicate. And if need be, to correct and revenge this, let the Power and Justice of the Kings Under-Sheriff be used. And he, which being called or summoned to the Bishops Court, will not come, for every calling shall be put to his answer before the Bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine Authority forbid, that no Under-Sheriff, or Provost, or Officer of the King, nor any Lay-man meddle or make with the Laws belonging to the Bishop; nor that any Lay-man bring or sue another out of the Bishops Court of Justice unto Judgment. And as for Judgment, let it be given in no place but in the Bishops See, or in that place which in this behalf the Bishop shall appoint.

By this evidence of Record it is manifest (as you see) that Duke William (now King) having assumed unto himself the absolute Authority Royal, endeavoured to establish a form of Government both in the Church and Common-wealth answerable to his own mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed unto the Clergy a kind of Jurisdiction of conventing persons before them, and likewise of exercising such Ecclesiastical Discipline as the quality of that age and time did use. Wherein we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our story, as the Spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct us.

Over and besides this, the forefaid William, as he was a Warrior, so he delighting in Forts and Bulwarks, builded four strong Castles; two at York, one at Nottingham, and another at Lincoln, which Garrisons he furnished with Normans.

About the third year of his Reign, Harold and Canutus Sons of Swamus, King of Denmark, entred into the North Country. The Normans within York, fearing that the English-men would aid the Danes, fired the Suburbs of the Town. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong that it took into the City, and burnt a great part thereof, with the Minister of S. Peter, where no doubt many worthy Works and Monuments of Books

Books were consumed. In the time whereof the Danes by the favour of some of the Citizens entred the City, and slew more than three thousand of the Normans. But not long after King William chased them out, and drave them to their Ships, and took such displeasure with the inhabitants of that Country, that he destroyed the land from York to Durbam, so that nine years after the Province lay waste and unmanured, only except St. Johns land of Beverly; and the people thereof were so strictly kept in penury by the war of the King; that (as our English story saith) they eat Rats, Cats, and Dogs, with other vermin.

Also in the fourth year of this King, Malcolm King of Scots entred into Northumberland, and destroyed the Country, and slew there many of the people, both of men, women and children, after a lamentable sort, and took some prisoners. But within two years after, King William made such war upon the Scots, that he forced Malcolm their King to do him homage.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this Realm under his foreign Conquerour, which is now the fifth time that the said land with the inhabitants thereof hath been scourged by the hand of God. First, by the Romans in the time of Julius Cesar; then by the Scots and Picts (as hath been shewed) afterward by the Saxons. Again, the Saxons or Englishmen did not enjoy the possession of Britain with long quiet, but were brought in as much subjection themselves under the Danes, as they had brought the Britains before (and that much more) inasmuch that through all England, if an Englishman had met a Dane upon a Bridge, he might not stir one foot before the Lord Dane (otherwise Lurdane) were past. And then if the Englishman had not given low reverence to the Dane at his coming by, he was sure to be sharply punished (with more) as above hath been declared. And this subjection continued almost from the reign of King Ethelwulfus 230 years, till the reign of King Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceased not, but stirred up the Normans against them, who conquered and altered the whole Realm after their own purpose; inasmuch that besides the innovation of the Laws, Coyns, and Possessions, there was in no Church of England almost any English Bishop, but only Normans and foreigners placed through all their Dioceses. To such misery was this land then brought, that not only of all the English Nobility not one house was standing, but also it was thought reproachful to be called an Englishman. This punishment of God against the English Nation, Writers do assign diversly to divers causes, (as partly before is touched) of whom some assign this to be the cause as followeth in the words of the story: In primitiva Angliæ Ecclesia religio clarissime splenduit, ita ut reges & reginæ, duces & episcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appetere: processu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam prodicione & nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent, &c. The meaning whereof is this: That whereas Kings and Queens, Dukes and Prelates, in the primitive time of the English Church, were ready for Religion to forsake either Liberty or Country, and give themselves to a solitary life; in process of time they grew to such dissoluteness, that they left no other Realm like unto them in iniquity, &c. Again, some writing of the Vision of King Edward, a little before the Invasion of the Normans, testifie how the King reporting of his own Vision, should hear that for the great enormity and misbehaviour of the head-Dukes, Bishops and Abbots of the Realm, the Kingdom should be given to the hand of their enemies after the decease of him, for the space of one hundred years and one day. Which space was also seen by William the Conquerour, to be one hundred and fifty years; and that his progeny so long should continue. Again, some Writers intreating of this so great wrath of God upon the English people, declare the cause thereof as followeth: Nam sicut Angli Britones quos Deus distemmare proposuerat (peccatis suis exigentibus) humiliaverant, & a terra Angliæ minus iuste fugaverant: sic ipsi duplici persecutione, &c. Like as the Englishmen did subdue the Britains (whom God proposed for their deservings to exterminate) and them unjustly did dispossess of their land, so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution; first by the Danes, and after by the Normans, &c. Moreover to these injuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Englishmen, hitherto recited, let

us add also the cruel villany of this Nation, in murdering and tything the innocent Normans before, who coming as strangers with Alfred the lawful heir of the Crown, were despoitfully put to death. Which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord (whose doings be always just and right) did suffer the Normans so to prevail. By the coming in of the which Normans, and by their quarrel unto the Realm, three things we may note and learn. First, to consider and learn the righteous retribution and wrath of God from Heaven upon all iniquity and unrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for Princes to leave no issue or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often do chance to Realms publickly by foreign marriage with other Princes, &c.

In the same fourth year of this King, between Easter and Whitsontide was holden a solemn Council of the Clergy of England at Winchester. At the which Council were present two Cardinals sent from Pope Alexander the Second, Peter and John. In this Council, the King being there himself present, were deposed divers Bishops, Abbots and Priors, (by the means of the King) without any evident cause; to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his Knights before to the rule of the Temporality, thereby to stand in more surety of the land. Amongst whom also Stigandus Archbishop of Canterbury was put down for three causes against him pretended.

The first was for that he had holden wrongfully that Bishoprick, while Robert the Archbishop (above mentioned) was living.

The second was for that he had received the Pall of Benedict Bishop of Rome, the fifth of that name. Which Benedict, for buying his Popedom had been deposed, as is shewed before.

The third cause, for that he occupied the said Pall without license and lawful authority of the Court of Rome.

Then Stigandus well proved the benevolence of King William. For where before the King seemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did unto him great reverence; then he changed all his mildness into sternness, and excused himself by the Bishop of Rome's authority. So that in the end, Stigandus was deprived of his dignity, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. This Stigandus is noted for a man so covetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his own, and swearing that he had not a penny, yet by a key fastened about his neck, was found great treasure of his under the ground.

At the same time was preferred to the Archbishoprick of York, Thomas a Norman, and Canon of Baion.

At which time also Lanfrancus, Abbot of Cadomenency (a Lombard and Italian born) was sent for, and made Archbishop of Canterbury, between which two Archbishops, about their Consecration first began a contention, for giving and taking the Oath of obedience; but that contention was at that time appeased by the King; and Thomas was contented to subscribe to the Archbishop of Canterbury obedience.

After this it followed within short space, that the said Lanfrancus and Thomas Archbishop of York, who first builded the Minister of York, and gave possessions thereunto, came to Rome with Remigius Bishop of Dorchester for their Palls, as the manner was; without which no Archbishop nor Bishop could be confirmed, although their Election were never so lawful. This Pall must be asked no where but of the Pope or his assigns, and that within three months; also it must be asked not faintly, but mightily. Dist. 100. cap. priscæ. Which as it was a chargeable thing to other Nations (especially such as were far from Rome) so it was no small gain to the Romish See, so as they did order it. For although at the beginning the Pall was given without money according to the Decree, Dist. 100. or for little, as percase in this time of Lanfrancus; yet in process of years it grew to such excess, that where the Bishoprick of Mentz was wont to give to Rome but ten thousand Florens; afterward it arose so, that he which asked his Confirmation, could not obtain it without twenty thousand. And from thence it exceeded to five and twenty thousand, and at length to seven and twenty thousand Florens; which sum Jacobus Archbishop of Mentz was prest to pay a little before the Council of Basil; inasmuch that the said Jacobus at his departing (which was within four years

Englishmen justly scourged for their unjust cruelty against the Normans.

Three things in this Conquest to be noted. Gods just judgment. Lack of Succession. Foreign Marriages.

1070.

A Council holden at Winchester. Might overcome right. Divers Bishops, Abbots and Priors deposed in England.

Stigandus Archbishop of Canterbury deprived, and the cause why.

Fair countenance not to be trusted.

A covetous Bishop.

Thomas made Archbishop of York.

Lanfrancus an Italian, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Minister of York builded.

The giving of the Pall.

Dist. 100. cap. priscæ.

Dist. 100. cap. novit. In lib. Gratiani. Nationis Germanicæ.

Jacobus Archbishop of Mentz.

The North Country wasted.

Scots subdued to King William.

The continual affliction and distress of this Realm of England.

Ex. Henr. Huntingdon. lib. 6.

Ex. Hist. Jurnaleij.

England afflicted and scourged for iniquity.

The Vision of King Edward.

Englishmen scourged for their unjust oppression of the Britains.

*Enen Siloi-
us writeth
that there
be fifty Bi-
shopricks in
Germany.*

years after) said, that his death did not so much grieve him as to remember his poor subjects, which should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the Popes Pall. Now by this, what riseth to the Pope in whole *Germany*, containing in it above fifty Bishopricks, it may be easily conjectured. *Lanfrancus* thus coming to *Rome*, with the other two Bishops; he for the estimation of his Learning obtained of *Alexander* two Palls, one of honour, the other of love. Item, he obtained for the other two Bishops also their Confirmation. At which time, they being there present before *Alexander*, the controversy began first to be moved (or rather renewed) for the Primacy betwixt the two Metropolitans, that is, betwixt the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Archbishop of *York*, whether of them should have preeminence above the other. For *Canterbury* challenged to himself the Prerogative and primacy over whole *Britain* and *Ireland*; the which contention continued a long season betwixt these two Churches, and was often renewed in the days of divers Kings after this; as in the reign of *Henry* the First, betwixt *Thurfinus* of *York*, and *Radulphus* of *Canterbury*. And again, in the seven and twentieth year of the said King, at his second Coronation. For *Radulphus* would not suffer the first Coronation to stand, because it was done by the Bishop of *York*, without his assent. Also in the reign of *Henry* the Second, where *Alexander* Pope made a Letter Decretal betwixt these two Metropolitans, for bearing the Cross in the year 1159. Also another time, in the reign of the said King, betwixt *Richard* of *Canterbury*, and *Roger* of *York*. Again, about the year of our Lord 1170, when *Thomas Becket* hearing the King to be Crowned of *Roger* Bishop of *York*, complained thereof grievously to Pope *Alexander* the Third. Item, another time in the year 1176, betwixt *Richard* and the said *Roger*, whether of them should sit on the right hand of Cardinal *Hugo* in his Council at *London*. Moreover, in the beginning of the reign of King *Richard*, in the year 1190, betwixt *Baldwinus* of *Canterbury*, and *Godfridus* of *York*, &c.

Now to proceed in the story hereof: After this question was brought (as is said) to the Popes presence, he (not disposed to decide the matter) sent them home into *England*, there to have their cause determined. Whereupon they speeding themselves from *Rome* to *England* in the year 1070, and in the sixth year (as is said) of this *William*, brought the matter before the King and the Clergy at *Windsor*. Whereas *Lanfrancus* first alledging for himself, brought in from the time of *Austin* to the time of *Beda* (which was about 140 years) how that the Bishop of *Canterbury* had ever the Primacy over the whole land of *Britain* and *Ireland*; how he kept his Councils divers times within the precincts of *York*; how he did call and cite the Bishops of *York* thereto; whereof some he did constitute, some he did Excommunicate, and some he did remove; besides also he alledged divers privileges granted by Princes and Prelates to the Primacy of that See, &c.

To this *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* replieth again, and first beginning with the first original of the *Britains* Church, declareth in order of time how the *Britains*, &c.

Lucius the
first King of
Britain
Christianized.

Theonius first
Archbishop
of *London*.

Ex Chronic.
Sigbert.

§. The *Britains* first possessors of this Kingdom of *Britain*, which endured from *Brutus* and *Cadwaladar* 2076 years, under an hundred and two Kings, at length received the Christian Faith in the year 162, in the time of *Lucius* their King, *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome* sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* Preachers unto them; at which time after their conversion, they assigned and ordained in the Realm eight and twenty Bishops, with two Archbishops, *Theonius* the Archbishop of *London*, and *Theodosius* Archbishop of *York*. Under those Bishops and Archbishops the Church of *Britain* was governed after their conversion, almost three hundred years, till at length the *Saxons* being then Infidels, with *Hengistus* their King, subduing the *Britains* by fraudulent murder invaded their land, which was about the year of our Lord 440. After this the *Britains*, being driven into *Cambria* (which we now call *Wales*) the *Saxons* over-running the land, divided themselves into seven Kingdoms. And so being Infidels and Pagans, continued till the time that *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* sent *Austin* to preach unto them; which *Austin*

coming first to *Dover*, being then the head City of *Kent*, called in *Latin*, *Dorobernia*, and there planting himself, converted first the King of *Kent*, called *Edelbertus*, who had then subdued certain other Kings unto *Humber*. By reason whereof *Austin* was made Archbishop of *Dover*, by the appointment of *Gregorius*, who sent him certain Palls with his Letter from *Rome*, as before is expressed. Which Letter being recited, then *Thomas* expounding upon the same, beginneth to declare for himself, how the meaning of *Gregory* in this Letter was, to reduce the new Church of *Saxons* or *Englishmen* to the order that was in the old time among the *Britains*; that is, to be under two Metropolitans, one of *London*, the other of *York*; for so the Church was ordered in the time of the *Britains*, as is before declared. Notwithstanding he giveth to *Austin* this prerogative during his life time, to have authority and jurisdiction, not only over his twelve Bishops, but upon all other Bishops and Priests in *England*. And after his decease then these two Metropolitans, *London* and *York*, to oversee the whole Clergy, as in times past amongst the *Britains*; whom he joyneth together after the death of *Austin*, to constitute Bishops, and to oversee the Church. And that he so meaneth *London* to be equal in authority with *York*, it appeareth by four arguments: First, That he willeth *London* to be consecrate by no Bishop, but of his own Synod. Secondly, In that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt *London* and *York*, but only according to that as each one of them is elder in time. Thirdly, For that he matcheth these two together in common Council, and with one agreement to consent together in doing and disposing such things as they shall consult upon in the zeal of Christ Jesus; and that in such sort that one should not dissent nor discord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they should govern together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthly, where he writeth, that the Bishop of *York* should not be subject to the Bishop of *London*; what meaneth this, but that the Bishop of *London* should be equivalent with the Metropolitan of *York*, or rather superior unto him?

And thus he expounded the meaning of *Gregory* to be in the foresaid Letter. To whom *Lanfrancus* again answereth, That he was not the Bishop of *London*, and that the question pertained not to *London*. *Thomas* replieth, having on his part many fautors, that this privileged was granted by *Gregory* to *Austin* alone, to have all other Bishops subject to him; but after his decease there should be equality of honour betwixt *London* and *York*, without all distinction of priority; save the only priority of time should make superiority between them. And although *Austin* translated the See from *London* to *Kent*; yet *Gregory*, if his mind had been to give the same prerogative to the Successors of *Austin* (which he gave to him) would expressly have uttered it in the words of his Epistle, writing thus to *Austin*: That which I give to thee *Austin*, I give also and grant to all thy Successors after thee. But in that he maketh here no mention of his Successors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind so to do.

To this *Lanfrancus* argueth again: If this authority had been given to *Austin* alone, and not to his Successors it had been but a small gift, proceeding from the Apostolick See, to his special and familiar friend; especially seeing also that *Austin* in all his life did constitute no Bishop of *York*, neither was there any such Bishop to be subject to him. Again, we have privileges from the Apostolick See, which confirm this dignity in the Successors of *Austin*, in the same See of *Dover*. Moreover, all *Englishmen* think it both right and reason to fetch the direction of well living from that place, where first they took the sparkle of right believing. Further, whereas you say that *Gregory* might have confirmed with plain words the same thing to the Successors of *Austin*, which he gave unto him; all that I grant: yet notwithstanding, this is nothing prejudicial to the See of *Canterbury*. For, if you know your Logick, that which is true in the whole is also true in the part; and what is true in the more is also true in the less. Now the Church of *Rome* is as the whole, to whom all other Churches be as parts thereof; and as *Humo*, mankind

*Down the
back-City
of Kent.*

*This was
about the
year 1070
the coming
of the
Saxons.*

*Order
between
Lanfranc
Bishop
Canterbury
and
Thomas
Bishop
York.*

*Lanfranc
replieth.*

*Thomas
replieth.*

*Lanfranc
replieth.*

*The dignity
of Can-
terbury con-
firmed by the
Apostolick
See.*

*Well rep-
ed of in
Italy.*

*A Letter
Lanfranc
sent to
Almon.*

mankind is *Genus*, the general in a certain respect to all his *Individua*, to all particular persons, yet in every particular person lyeth the property of the general; so in like manner the See of *Rome* in a certain respect is the general, and the whole to other Churches, and yet in every particular Church is contained the whole fulness of the whole Christian faith. The Church of *Rome* is greater than all Churches; that which is wrought in it ought to work in the less Churches also; so that the authority of every chief head of the Church ought to stand also in them that do succeed; unless there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore like as the Lord said to all Bishops of *Rome* the same thing which he said to *Peter*, so *Gregory* in like manner said to all the Successors of *Austin*, that which he said to *Austin*. So thus I conclude, Likewise as the Bishop of *Canterbury* is subject to *Rome*, because he had his faith from thence; so *York* ought to be in subjection to *Canterbury*, which sent the first Preachers thither. Now whereas you alledge that *Gregory* would *Austin* to be resident at *London*, that is utterly uncertain. For how is it to be thought that such a Disciple would do contrary to the mind of such a Master? But grant (as you say) that *Austin* removed to *London*, what is that to me, which am not Bishop of *London*? Notwithstanding all this controverſie ceasing betwixt us, if it shall please you to come to some peaceable composition with me (all contention set apart) you shall find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equity shall extend.

With these reasons of *Lanfranc*, *Thomas* gave over, conceding that the first of his Province should begin at *Humber*. Whereupon it was then decreed that *York* from that time should be subject to *Canterbury* in all matters appertaining to the Rites and Regiment of the Catholic Church; so that wheresoever within *England* *Canterbury* should or would hold his Council, the Bishop of *York* should resort thither with his Bishops, and be obedient to his Decrees Canonical.

Provided moreover that when the Bishop of *Canterbury* should decease, *York* should repair unto *Dover*, there to consecrate with others the Bishops that should be Elect. And if *York* should decease, his Successor should resort to *Canterbury*, or else where the Bishop of *Canterbury* should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making his profession there, with an Oath of Canonical obedience. *Thomas* being content withal, *Lanfranc* the Italian triumpheth with no small joy, and putteth the matter forth with in writing, that the memory thereof might remain to the posterity of his Successors. But yet that Decree did not long stand. For shortly after the same year, so superficially cured, braut out again. Inſomuch that in the reign of King *Henry* the First, Anno Dom. 1121. *Thurſinus* Archbishop of *York* could not be compelled to swear to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and yet notwithstanding by the Letters of *Calixtus* the Second, was consecrated without any profession made to the said Bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to History, to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true Christianity amongst the Christian Bishops, who enflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honour, that without meer forcement of Law no modesty could take place.

Of such like contentions among Prelates of the Clergy for superiority, we read of divers in old Chronicles, as in the History intituled *Chronicon Hirſeldense*, where is declared a bloody conflict, which twice happened in the Church of *Goslar*, between *Hecelon* Bishop of *Hildeſheim*, and *Wederatus* Bishop of *Fulda*, and all for the superior place, who should sit next to the Emperor; the Emperor himself being there present, and looking on them, and yet not able to stay them.

Thus I have described the troublous contention between *Lanfranc* and *Thomas* Metropolitan of *York*, in the days of *Alexander*, of which controverſie, and of the whole discourse thereof *Lanfranc* writeth to Pope *Alexander*, beginning thus:

Domino totius Christianae religionis summo speculatori Alex. Papa. Lanfrancus sanctae Dorobernensis Ecclesiae antistes, debitam cum omni servitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Anglia per vestram auctoritatem coactum est, ubi

*querela Thome Archiepiscopi prolata & ventilata sunt, allata est Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum Historia, quam Eboracensis Ecclesiae Presbyter, & Anglorum doctor composuit: and so forth, in a long process of words which follow. Among which in the middle of the Epistle, speaking of *Dover* and *Canterbury*, he hath these words: Urbs namque quae nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus, ab ipsis terrae incolis, Dorobernia vocabatur, &c. With many other words in the said Epistle, which for brevity here I overpass.*

In the story before of King *Egelred*, was declared about the year of our Lord, 1016, how the Bishoprick of *Lincolne*, otherwise named *Holyland*, in the flood of *Tweed*, was translated to *Durham*; so likewise in the days of this *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1076, divers Bishops Sees were altered and removed from Townships to greater Cities. As the Bishoprick of *Seles* was removed to *Chichester*; out of *Cornwall* to *Excester*; from *Wells* to *Bath*; from *Shireborne* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; from *Litchfield* to *Chester*; which Bishoprick of *Chester*, *Robert* being then Bishop, reduced from *Chester* to *Coventry*. Likewise after that in the reign of *William Rufus*, Anno 1095, *Herbert* Bishop of *Hereford* from thence reduced the See to *Norwich*, &c.

As concerning *Dover* and *Canterbury*, whether the See was likewise translated from the Town of *Dover* to the City of *Canterbury* in the time of *Theodorus*; or whether *Canterbury* by old time had the name of *Dorobernia* (as the Letter of *Lanfranc* to Pope *Alexander* above mentioned doth pretend) I find it not in Histories expressly defined; save that I read by the words of *William*, being yet Duke of *Normandy*, charging then *Harold* to make a Well of Water for the Kings use in the Castle of *Dorobernia*, that the said *Dorobernia* then was taken for that which we now call *Dover*; but whether *Dorobernia* and the City of *Canterbury* be both one or divers, the matter is not great. Notwithstanding this I read in the Epistle of Pope *Bonifacius* to King *Ethelbert*, as also to *Justinus* Archbishop: Item, in the Epistle of Pope *Honorius* to Bishop *Honorius*: Item, of Pope *Vitalianus* to *Theodorus*; of Pope *Sergius* to King *Ethelred*, *Alfred* and *Adulphus*, and to the Bishops of *England*. Likewise of Pope *Gregory* the Third to the Bishops of *England*. Item, of Pope *Leo* to *Arhelard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Of *Formosus* to the Bishops of *England*, and of Pope *John* to *Dunstan*; that the name of *Dorobernia* and of *Canterbury* indifferently are taken for one matter.

In this time (and by the procuring of this *Lanfranc*) the ninth year of this King, a Council was holden at *London*, where among the Acts thereof these were the principal things concluded:

First, For the order of sitting, that the Archbishop of *York* should sit on the right hand, and the Bishop of *London* on the left hand; or in the absence of *York*, *London* should have the right, and *Winchester* the left hand of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sitting in Council.

2. The second, that Bishops should translate their Sees from Villages into Cities, whereupon those Sees above named were translated.

3. That Monks should have nothing in proper; and if any so had, he dying unconfessed should not be buried in the Churchyard.

4. That no Clerk or Monk of any other Diocess should be admitted to Orders, or retained without Letters Commendatory or Testimonial.

5. That none should speak in the Council except Bishops and Abbots, without leave of the Arch-Metropolitans.

6. That none should marry within the seventh degree, with any either of his own kindred, or of his wives departed.

7. That none should either buy or sell any Office within the Church.

8. That no Sorcery or any Divination should be used or permitted in holy Church.

9. That no Bishop nor Abbot, nor any of the Clergy should be at the judgment of any mans death or dismembering, neither should be any fautor of the said Judicants.

Bishops of
England a-
bout to
drive out
Monks, and
to place
Priests a-
gain in their
stead.

Opus Sci-
larum.
Lanfranci.

Anno 1074.
Hildebrandus
secundus Gre-
gorii.

Hildebrand
the cause of
all the
stoutness
and pride
in Prelates.

The obedi-
ence of Bi-
shops in
ancient
time to Em-
perors.

What
Popes have
done.

Popes more
than Prin-
ces.

Frederick,
the first
sent for
holding the
Popes left
Stirrup.

Moreover in the days of this *Lanfrancus*, divers good Bishops of the Realm began to take part with Priests against the Monks, in displacing these out of their Churches, and to restore the married Priests again; inasmuch that *Walkelmus* Bishop of *Winchester* had placed above forty Canons instead of Monks for his part; but this godly enterprise was stopped by stout *Lanfrancus* the *Italian Lombard*. This lusty Prelate sat nineteen years, but at his latter end he was not so favoured of *William Rufus*, and died for sorrow. Although this *Italian Frank* being Archbishop had little leisure to write, yet something he thought to do to set out his famous learning, and wrote a Book against *Berengarius*, intitling it *Opus Scintillarum*. The old Church of *Canterbury* he plucked down and builded up the new.

After the death of Pope *Alexander* above mentioned, next unto him followed *Hildebrand*, surnamed *Gregory* the seventh. This *Hildebrand* as he was a Sorcerer, so was he the first and principal cause of all this perturbation that is now and hath been since his time in the Church; by reason that through his example all this ambition, stoutness, and pride entered first into the Church of *Rome*, and hath ever since continued. For before *Hildebrand* came to *Rome* working there his feats, setting up and displacing what Bishops he listed, corrupting them with pernicious counsel, and setting them against Emperors, under pretence of Chastity destroying Matrimony, and under the title of liberty breaking peace, and resisting authority; before this (I say) the Church of *Rome* was in some order, and Bishops quietly governed under Christian Emperors, and also were defended by the same; as *Marcellus*, *Melhiades*, and *Sylvestus* were subdued, and under obedience to *Constantinus*, Ann. 340. *Siricius* to *Theodosius*, Ann. 388. *Gregorius* to *Mauricius*, Ann. 600. *Hilarius* to *Iustinian*, Ann. 528. *Adrianus* and *Leo* to *Carolus Magnus*, Ann. 801. *Paschalis* and *Valentius* to *Ludovicus Pius*, Ann. 830. *Sergius* the nine and twentieth to *Lotharius*, Ann. 840. *Benedictus* the third, and *Johannes* the ninth unto *Ludovicus*, Son of *Lotharius*, Ann. 856. But against this obedience and subjection *Hildebrand* first began to spurn, and by his example taught all other Bishops to do the like.

Inasmuch that at length they wrought and brought to pass that it should be lawful for a few Curstians and Cardinals (contrary to ancient Ordinance and Statutes Decretal) to chuse what Pope they list, without any consent of the Emperor at all. And whereas before it stood in the Emperors gift to give and to grant Bishopricks, Archbishopricks, Benefices, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments within their own limits, to whom they list; now the Popes through much wrestling, wars, and contention, have extorted all that into their own hands, and to their assigns; yea, have plucked in all the riches and power of the whole world: and not content with that, have usurped and prevailed so much above Emperors, that (as before) no Pope might be chosen without the confirmation of the Emperor; so now no Emperor may be elected without the confirmation of the Pope, taking upon them more than Princes to place or displace Emperors at their pleasure for every light cause; to put down or set up when and whom they listed; as *Fredericus Primus*, for holding the left Stirrup of the Popes Saddle, was persecuted almost to Excommunication. The which cause moveth me to strain more diligence here, in setting out the story, acts and doings of this *Hildebrand*, from whom as the first Patron and founder sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the *Roman* Church; to the intent that such as cannot read the *Latin* Histories may understand in *English* the original of evils; how and by what occasion they first began, and how long they have continued.

And first how this *Hildebrand* hitherto had behaved himself, before he was Pope, I have partly declared. For though he was not yet Pope in name, yet he was then Pope indeed, and ruled the Popes and all their doings as him listed. Item, what ways and fetches he had attempted ever since his first coming to the Court of *Rome*, to magnifie and maintain false liberty against true authority; what practice he wrought by Councils, what factions and conspiracies he made, in stirring up Popes against Emperors, striving for superiority; and what wars followed thereof, I have also expressed. Now let us see further (by the help of Christ) the worthy virtues of this Princely

Prelate, after he came to be Pope, as they remain in Histories of divers and sundry writers described.

The Tragical History of Gregory the Seventh, otherwise named Hildebrand.

THE words of the *Latin* History be these, *Hactenus Pontifices Romani in comitiis curiatis calatis a sacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, senatu, &c.*

In English.

Hitherto the Bishops of *Rome* have been elected by voices and suffrages of all sorts and degrees, as well of the Priests and the Clergy, as of the Nobility, people, and Senate, all convening and assembling together. And this Election so I find to stand in force, if so be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of *Roman* Emperors who had authority to call and to assemble all these, as well as Bishops, together unto Councils as case required. Under the authority and jurisdiction of these Emperors were contained both in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, and through the whole Dominion of *Rome*, all Patriarchs, Bishops, Masters of Churches and Monasteries, by the Decree of Councils, according to the old custom of our Ancestors, as is declared in a certain story in the life of *Carolus Magnus*. The holy and ancient Fathers (like as Christ our Lord with his Disciples and Apostles both taught and did) honoured and esteemed their Emperors as the supreme Potestate next under God on earth, set up, ordained, elected and crowned of God, above all other mortal men, and so counted them, and called them their Lords. To them they yielded tribute, and paid their subsidies, also prayed every day for their life. Such as rebelled against them they took as rebels and resisters against God, his Ordinance and Christian piety. The name of the Emperor then was of great Majesty, and received as given from God. Then these Fathers of the Church never intermeddled nor intangled themselves with Politick affairs of the Commonweal; much less occupied they Martial arms and matters of Chivalry. Only in poverty and modesty was all their contention with other Christians, who should be poorest and most modest among them. And the more humbleness appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceived of him. The sharp and two edged sword they took, given to the Church of Christ, to save, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, the life and light of men, and revoketh from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortal, immortal. Far were they from that, to thrust out any Prince or King (though he were never so far out of the way, yea an *Arrian*) from his Kingdom, or to curse him, to release his subjects from their Oath and their Allegiance, to change and translate Kingdoms, to subvert Empires, to pollute themselves with Christian blood, or to war with their Christian Brethren for Rule and Principality. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their Princes. Again, Princes loved them also like Fathers and fellow-Princes with them of the souls of men. Now this *Gregorius* the seventh, otherwise named *Hildebrandus*, trusting upon the *Normans*, which then ruffled about *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Campania*, trusting also upon the power of *Machilda*, a stout woman there about *Rome*; and partly again bearing himself bold for the discord among the *Germans*; first of all others (contrary to the manner of Elders) contemning the authority of the Emperor, invaded the Cathedral See of *Rome*, vaunting himself, as having both the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulness of power was in his hand to bind and loose what so he listed. Whereupon thus he presumed to occupy both the Regiments, to challenge all the whole Dominion, both of the East and West Church, yea, and all power to himself alone, abiding none to be equal, much less superior unto him, derogating from others, and arrogating to himself their due right and honour, setting at light *Cesars*, Kings and Emperors; and who reigned but by his own Godamercy? Bishops and Prelates as his Underlings he kept in awe, suspending and cursing, and chopping off their heads, stirring up strife and wars, sowing of discord, making

making factions, releasing Oaths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subjects to their Princes. Yea, and if he had offended, or injured the Emperor himself, yet notwithstanding he ought to be feared, as he himself glorieth in a certain Epistle, as one that could not err, and had received of Christ our Saviour, and of Peter, authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleasure. Priests then in those days had wives openly and lawfully (no Law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deed and writings of their Chapter-seals and Donations, which were given to Temples and Monasteries, wherein their wives also be cited with them for witness, and were called *Presbyterisse*. Also for Bishops, Prelates, Parsons of Churches, Governours of the Clergy, Masters of Monasteries, and Religious Houses; all these were then in those times in the Emperors Ordination, to assign by voice or consent to whom he would. Now these two things *Gregorius* this Pope could not abide; for the which two causes only was all his striving and driving from his first beginning to abolish the marriage of Priests, and to translate the Authority Imperial to the Clergy. For to this scope only tended all his labour, practises and devices, as appeared before in the Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Nicholas*, and also in the Council of *Mantua* under *Alexander*, making their marriage heresie, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himself, to condemn Ministers that were married for *Nicholaitans*, and to receive any Spiritual Regiment of secular persons for simony, directing forth his Letters upon the same to *Henricus* the Emperor, to Dukes, Princes, Potestates, Tetrarchs; namely to *Bercholdus*, to *Rodolphus* of *Svevia*, to *Whelpo*, *Adalbero*, and their wives. Item, to Bishops, Archbishops, Priests, and to all the people; in the which Letters he denounceth them to be no Priests, so many as were married, forbidding men to salute them, to talk, to eat, to company with them, to pay them tythes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Amongst all others he directed special Letters to *Orto* Bishop of *Constance* concerning this matter. But *Orto* perceiving the ungodly and unreasonable pretence of *Hildebrand*, would never separate them that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry which were unmarried, &c.

The Copy of the Letter of *Hildebrand* sent to the Bishop of *Constance* against Priests Marriages.

GREGORY Bishop, Servant of Servants of God, to the Clergy and Laity, both more and less, within the Diocese of *Constance*, Salvation and Benediction. We have directed to our Brother *Orto* your Bishop our Letters Exhortatory; wherein we enjoined him, according to the necessity of our duty, by the authority Apostolical, that he should utterly abolish out of his Church the heresie of *Simony*, and also should cause with all diligence to be preached the Chastity of Priests. But he neither moved with reverence of *St. Peter's* precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do these things, whereunto we so fatherly have exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done clean contrary to our commandment (yea rather the commandment of blessed *St. Peter*) so that he hath permitted his Clergy, not only such as had wives, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take unto them. Whereupon we being truly informed thereof, and grieved therewith, have directed to him another Letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which Letters also we have cited him up to our Council at *Rome*, there to appear and give account of his disobedience in the audience of the whole Synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signifie this to you (our dear children) whereby in this behalf we might the better provide for your health and salvation. For if your Bishop shall continue so obstinately to repugn and resist against our Commandment, he is not meet to sit over you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to blessed *St. Peter*, by our Apostolical authority, that if this your Bishop shall persist in his obstinacy, you that be his subjects hereafter give to him no service nor obedience. For the which thing doing, we here discharge you before God

and your souls. For if your Bishop shall seem contrary to the decrements and injunctions Apostolical, we through the Apostolical authority of *St. Peter*, discharge and absolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworn to him, so long as he is a rebel against God, and the Apostolick Seat, we loose you from the peril of your Oath, that you shall not need to fear therein any danger, &c.

Orto Bishop of *Constance* thus being cited, whether he did appear personally himself, I do not read. Thus I read and find, that in the said Council holden at *Rome*, *Hildebrand* with other Bishops of *Rome* did then Enact among many others these three things most special: First, That no Priest hereafter should marry wives. Secondly, That all such as were married should be divorced. Thirdly, That none hereafter should be admitted to the Order of Priesthood, but should swear perpetual Chastity, &c. This Council of *Rome* being ended, forthwith the act of *Hildebrand* concerning the single life of Priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and strait Commandment given to Bishops to execute the same.

The Copy of his Bull sent into Italy and Germany was this.

GREGORY the Pope, otherwise *Hildebrand*, the Servant of the Servants of God, sendeth the Apostles blessing to all them within the Kingdoms of Italy and Germany, that shew their true obedience to *St. Peter*. If there be any Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, that still will remain in the sin of fornication, we forbid them the Churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of *St. Peter*, till in time they amend and repent. But if they persevere in their sin, we charge that none of you presume to hear their service; for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin, as the Lord doth testify to us by his Prophets, I will turn your blessing, &c.

The Bishops of *France* being called upon daily with the Popes Letters, were compelled to obey the Decree of the Council; but the residue of the Clergy manfully and stoutly withstanding the Popes Decree and inforcement of their Bishops, would not agree, but repined thereat, and said, that the Council did manifestly repugn against the Word of God, and that the Pope did take from Priests that which both God and nature had given them; and therefore that person to be an heretick, and author of a wicked Doctrine, which ruled and governed not by the Spirit of God, but by Satan. The Decree and Act set forth to tend directly against the Word of God and the saying of Christ, *Nam omnes capiunt verbum hoc*: All men have not the gift and capacity of this word. Item, to be against the sound Doctrine of *St. Paul* writing these words, *As concerning virginity I have no Commandment of the Lord*, &c. Again, He that cannot otherwise live continent, let him marry. Item, that it was against the Canons both of the Apostles, and of the *Nicen* Council. Moreover, that it was against the course of nature which he required, that men being sequestered from their natural wives and women, should be coacted to live as Angels; that is, to perform that which nature doth not give. And therefore the Bishop therein did open a pernicious window to uncleanness and to fornication. In sum, giving up their answer, thus they concluded, That they had rather give up their Benefices than to forsake their natural and lawful wives against the word of Christ. And finally, if married Priests could not please them, they should call down Angels from Heaven to serve the Churches. But *Hildebrand* nothing moved, neither with honest reason, nor with the authority of holy Scripture, nor with the determination of the *Nicen* Council, nor any thing else, followeth this matter, calleth upon the Bishops still, with his Letters and Legates doth sollicite their minds, accuseth them of negligence and dastardness, threatneth them with Excommunication, unless they cause their Priests to obey his Decree enjoined them. Whereupon a great number of Bishops, for fear of the Popes tyranny, laboured the matter with their Priests, by all means possible to bereave them of their accustomed Matrimony.

Amongst other, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, perceiving

Three things Enacted by *Hildebrand*. Here cometh in the vow of Chastity.

The Clergy of *France* repugning for divorcing from their wives.

Ex Adventi- no qui inveni- ut in in- strumens dominum. Priests wives call'd Presbyterisse in old Chapter-seals.

Hildebrand a mortal enemy against Priests marriage.

Priests marriage made heresie.

Orto Bishop of *Constance*.

Orto cited to appear for suffering Priests with their lawful wives.

The Pope dispenseth for disobedience.

Bishop of
Mentz.
Ex Lamber-
gen. in Hist.
Germano-
rum.

The Priests
of Germany
stood against
the Popes
unlawful
proceedings

this act of taking away Priests marriage might breed him no little trouble, talketh with his Clergy gently, admonisheth them of the Popes mind and decree, and giveth them half a years respite to deliberate upon the case; exhorting them diligently to shew themselves obedient to the Pope and to him, and to grant with good will that which at length (will they nill they) needs they must be forced unto, and therefore of their own accord to stand content therewith, lest the Pope should be compelled to attempt ways of sharper severity. The time of deliberation expired, the Archbishop assembleth his Clergy at *Erpsford* the month of *October*, and there willet them, according to the Pontifical Decree, either to abjure for ever all Matrimony, or else to abrenounce their Benefices and Ecclesiastical Livings. The Clergy again defend themselves against the Popes Decree with Scriptures, with reason, with the Acts of General Councils, with examples of Ancestors, by divers strong arguments, declaring the Popes Decree not to be constant, nor ought to take effect. But the Archbishop said he was compelled so of the Pope, and could not otherwise do, but to execute that which was enjoined him.

The Clergy seeing that no reason nor prayer, nor disputation would serve, laid their heads together, consulting among themselves what was best to be done; some gave counsel not to return again to the Synod, some thought it good to return and to thrust out the Archbishop from his See, and to give him due punishment of death for his deserving, that by the example of him others may be warned hereafter never to attempt that thing any more to the prejudice of the Church, and the rightful liberty of Ministers. After that this was signified to the Archbishop by certain spies that were amongst them, what the Clergy intended to do, the Archbishop to prevent and save the matter, sendeth to the Priests as they were coming out, certain messengers, bidding them be of good hope, and to return again to the Metropolitan, and they should have that should content their minds. So being perswaded, they come again to the Council. The Bishop promiseth he would do his endeavour what he could, to revoke and turn the mind of the Bishop of *Rome* from that sentence, willing them in the mean time to continue as they had done in their Cure and Ministry. The next year following, *Hildebrand* the Souldier of Satan sendeth his Legate (a certain Bishop called *Curiensis*) unto the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and assembled there a Council. In the which Council the Archbishop again proposeth the matter, commanding all the Clergy, under pain of the Popes curse, there perpetually either to abrenounce their wives or their livings. The Clergy defended their cause again with great constancy. But when no defence could take place, but all went by tyranny and meer extortion, it burst in the end to an uproar and tumult, where the Legate and the Archbishop being in great danger, hardly escaped with their lives, and so the Council broke up. By this schism and tumult it followed, that the Churches after that in chusing their Priests, would not send them to the Bishops (the enemies and suppressors of Matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themselves, and so put them in their office without all leave or knowledg of the Bishops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no Priests, but such as should take an Oath of perpetual singleness, never to marry after. And thus first came up the Oath and profession of single Priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other Nations had followed the like constancy and concord of those *German* Ministers, the Devillish drift and decree of this *Hildebrand* (or rather *Helbrand*) had been frustrate and avoided. But this greediness of Livings in weak Priests made them to yield up their godly liberty to wicked tyranny. Yet this remaineth in these *Germans* to be noted, what concord can do in repressing the unordinate requests of evil Bishops, if they constantly stand to the truth, and hold together. And thus much for banishing of Matrimony.

Single
Priesthood
how it be-
gan.

Examples of
concord in
Priests and
Ministers.

Now let us proceed to the contents between wicked *Hildebrand* and the godly Emperor. But before, by the way of digression, it shall not be much wide from the purpose to touch a little of the properties of this Pope, as we find them described in certain Epistles of *Benno* a Cardinal, writing to other Cardinals of *Rome*; which *Benno* lived in the same time of *Hildebrand*, and detecteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monstrous Pope.

First, declaring that he was a Sorcerer most notable,

and a Necromancer, an old companion of *Sylvester*, of *Laurentius* and *Theophylactus*, called otherwise *Benedictus Nonus*. Amongst others *Benno Cardinalis* writeth this History of him: 'How upon a certain time this *Gregorius* coming from *Albanus* to *Rome*, had forgot behind him his familiar Book of Necromancy, which he was wont commonly to carry always with him. Whereupon remembering himself, entering the Port of *Lateran*, he calleth two of his most trusty familiars to fetch the Book, charging them at no hand to look within it. But they being so restrained, were the more desirous to open it, and to peruse it, and so did. After they had read a little the secrets of the Satanical Book, suddenly there came about them the messengers of Satan, the multitude and terrour of whom made them almost out of their wits. At length they coming to themselves, the Spirits were instant upon them to know wherefore they were called up, wherefore they were vexed; quickly (said they) tell us what ye would us to do, or else we will fall upon you, if ye retain us longer. Then spake one of the young men to them, bidding them go and pluck down yonder walls, pointing unto certain high walls there nigh to *Rome*, which they did in a moment. The young men crossing them for fear of the Spirits (scarce recovering themselves) at length came to their Master.

Ex Ben-
Cardinal.

And it followeth moreover in the Epistle of the said *Benno* to the Cardinals.

'We have made mention to you before of divers Colledges of the Church of *Rome* which refused to Communicate with him; as *Leo* then Archpriest of the Cardinals, *Benno*, *Ugoaldus*, *Johannes* the Cardinal, *Peter* Chancellor and Cardinal, being all instituted before this *Hildebrand*. These three also being Consecrated by him, that is, *Natro*, *Innocentius*, and *Leo*, forsook him, cursing the detestable errors which he held. In like case *Theodinus* whom he constituted Archdeacon, and other Cardinals more, *Johannes* surnamed *Primicerius*, *Petrus Oblationarius*, with all that appertained to them, saving one only man. And now when this *Hildebrand* saw that the Bishops also would forsake him, he called unto him the Laymen, and made them privy of his Council, thinking thereby to separate the Bishops, that they should have no conference with the Cardinals. After that he called together those Bishops, and being guarded with bands of Lay-men he enforced the Bishops partly for fear, and partly for his menacing words, to swear unto him, that they should never disagree unto that which he would have done, that they should never defend the Kings quarrel, and that they should never favour nor obey the Pope that should in his stead be instituted. Which thing being done he sent them by means of the Prince of *Salernites* into *Campania*, and thus did he separate them from the company of the Cardinals, and from the City of *Rome*. And not only the Bishops, but also the Priests of the City, and Clerks of inferior Orders, as also the Lay-men he bound by their Oaths, that at no time, nor for any cause they should condescend unto the King.

Pope Hilde-
brand for-
bade com-
muni-
cation of di-
vers of his
Cardinals.

Pope Hilde-
brand com-
pelled the
Bishops and
Priests of
Rome to
swear unto
him.

As soon as Pope *Alexander* was dead, which died somewhat before night, the same day contrary to the Canons, he was chosen Pope of the Lay-men. But the Cardinals subscribed not to his Election. For the Canons prescribed (under pain of cursing) that none should be chosen Pope before the third day after the burial of his Predecessor. But he (by sinister means thus climbing to the See) removed the Cardinals of the said See from being of the Council. But with what persons he consulted night and day, *Rome* well heard and saw. And he now putting the Cardinals from his Council, his life, faith, and doctrine, no man could accuse or bear witness of; whereas in the Canons is commanded, that in every place where-soever the Pope is, should be with him three Cardinals being Priests, and two Deacons, because of his Ecclesiastical testimony, and stile of verity; of which Canonical Decree loore gentle Reader before. He violently wrested the Sacred Scriptures to cover his falsehood, which kind of Idolatry how great it is, manifestly throughout all the Scripture it appeareth. Contrary to the minds and counsel of the Cardinals, and besides the determinate order of pronouncing judgment by the Canons, he rashly did Excommunicate the Emperour, being in no Synod solemnly accused before. The sentence of which Excommunication

Pope Hilde-
brand com-
muni-
cated

The Empe-
ror was
fully Ex-
communi-
cated

cation, after rehearsal of these presents, shall also be manifested (Christ willing) to the which Excommunication, saith *Bemmo*, none of the Cardinals would subscribe. As soon as he arose out of his Seat Papal, to Excommunicate the Emperor, the same Seat (being made but a little before with big Timber) suddenly by the appointment of God was rent and shivered in pieces; so that all men might plainly understand, what and how great and terrible Schisms that Lubber had sown against the Church of Christ, against the Seat of St. Peter, and how cruelly he had dispersed the Chair of Christ, in defiling the Laws of the Church, ruling by might and austerity in that his so perilous and presumptuous Excommunication.

In the description of the same Excommunication he inserteth those things wherein he himself erred, when he absolved the Emperor being unjustly Excommunicate, and the Bishops also communicating with him, and to the uttermost thus cutting and mangling the Unity of the Church, and those that communicated with them, did as much as in him lay to make two Churches.

Also the same bold Merchant commanded that the Cardinals should fast, to the intent that God would reveal whose Opinion was better (either of the Church of Rome, or of *Berengarius*) touching the controverſie of the Lords Body in the Sacrament. And hereby he proved himself to be a manifest Infidel, for that in the *Nicene* Council it is written, he that doubteth is an Infidel.

Further, he sought for a Sign to establish his Faith concerning the Article of the Lords Body; as did *Gregory* to confirm the Womans Faith, when the consecrated Bread was transubstantiated into the form of a fleshy Finger. He also sent two Cardinals (*Artones* and *Cunones*) unto *Anastase*, that with the Archpriest of the same Church they should begin a Fast of three days space, and that every of them (every day during those three days) should say over the Psalter, and sing Masses, that Christ would shew unto them some such like sign of his Body, as he did to the foresaid *Gregory*; which thing they could not see.

The Emperor was wont oftentimes to go to St. *Maries* Church in the Mount *Aventine* to pray. *Hildebrand*, when he had by his Espials searched out and knew all the doings of the Emperor, caused the place where the Emperor was accustomed (either standing or prostrate on his face to pray) to be marked, and for Money he hired a naughty pack (like himself) to gather and lay together a heap of great stones directly over the place in the Vault of the Church, where the Emperor would stand, that in throwing the same down upon his Head, he should slay the Emperor. About which purpose as the Hireling hastened, and was butie, removing to the place a stone of great hugeness and weight, it broke the Plank whereon it lay, and the Hireling standing thereupon, both together fell down from the Roof to the Pavement of the Church, and with the same stone was dashed all in pieces. And after the *Romans* had understanding of the handling of this matter, they fastened a Rope to one of the feet of this Hireling, and caused him to be drawn through the Streets of the City three days together in example to others. The Emperor notwithstanding, according to his wonted clemency, caused him to be buried.

Johannes Bishop of *Portua* (being one of the secret Council of *Hildebrand*) came up into the Pulpit of St. *Peter*, and amongst other things in the hearing both of the Clergy and People, said, *Hildebrand* and we have committed such a fact, and so horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alive (meaning of the Sacrament of the Body of Christ) which Sacrament *Hildebrand*, when he thereof required a Divine Answer against the Emperor, and it would not speak, threw into the fire and burned it, contrary to the perswasion of the Cardinals that were there present, and would have resisted the same.

In the second holy day in the Easter-week, when the Clergy and the People were assembled at St. *Peter's* Church to hear Mass, after the Gospel he sent up into the Pulpit as he was in his Pontifical Attire, and in the presence of

divers Bishops and Cardinals (a great company both of the Senate and the People of *Rome* being gathered together) openly preached (among many other words of Divination) that the King, whose name was *Henry*, should die (without all peradventure) before the Feast of St. *Peter* next ensuing: or else at leastwise, that he should be so dejected from his Kingdom, that he should not be able any more to gather together above the number of six Knights. This he preached to the Bishops and Cardinals, and all that were present, crying out of the Pulpit in these words, *Never accept me for Pope any more, but pluck me from the Altar, if this Propheſie be not fulfilled by the day appointed.* About the same time he went about by help of privy Murtherers to kill the Emperor, but God preserved him. And many there were even at that time, which thought Pope *Hildebrand* to be guilty, and to be the deviser of the Treason, because that then he (before the deed put in execution) presumed of the death of the King, being by him falsely prophesied of before; which words of his wounded many mens hearts. And it came to pass that *Hildebrand* by his words was openly condemned in the Congregation, which (as is said) gave judgment of himself to be no Pope, neither that he would be counted for Pope any longer, but thought to be both a Belier and a Traitor, unless that before the Feast of St. *Peter* next coming, the Emperor should die, or else should be deprived of all Kingly Honour, inasmuch as he should not be able to make above six Knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to pass, that by his own mouth he was condemned for an Heretick.

Thus saith the Lord: The Prophet which of arrogancy will prophesie in my name those things I have not commanded him, or else will prophesie in the name of other Gods, let him be slain. And if thou shalt say with thy self, How shall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be spoken? This token shalt thou have to know it by: Whatsoever things the Prophet in the Name of God, shall prophesie, and the same come not to pass, that mayst thou be sure the Lord hath not spoken, but the Prophet hath imagined through the haughtiness of his own mind, and therefore thou shalt not be afraid of him.

When the time was expired that *Hildebrand* in his Divination had set, and that neither the King was dead, neither the power of the Empire impaired; and fearing lest by the words of his own mouth he should be reprehended and condemned, subtilly he turned his Tale, saying, and perswading the ignorant People, that he meant not of the Body of the King, but of his Soul; as though the Soul of the King had lost all, saving six of his Knights or Souldiers, or else had been dead during that space; and thus by these sleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Against such Prophets S. *Gregory* upon *Ezekiel* saith, Between true Prophets and false this difference there is, that true Prophets if they speak any thing upon their own mind they be soon rebuked; but the false Prophets, both they tell lies, and not having the spirit of truth, they persevere in their falsity.

Over and beside, the said *Hildebrand* judged to death three men before they were convicted, or else confessed their crime, without the sentence of any Secular judge, and caused them to be hanged upon a pair of Gallows, over against the Church of St. *Peter* in a place called *Palaſtium*, without any delay or advisement, contrary to the Laws which command that every publick offender should have thirty days space before he be put to execution, which thing even amongst the Pagans is in use and observed, as teacheth the authority of S. *Ambrose*, and the Martyrdom of holy *Marcellianus* and *Marcus*.

He cast *Centius* the Son of *Stephan* the Alderman into Prison, being before his trusty friend; and in a Vessel being thick set with sharp Nails, he tormented him to the point of death, who, after that he was escaped, apprehended the said *Hildebrand*. Of this apprehension, before he was set at liberty, he openly forgave all the Conspirators. Which thing afterwards, contrary to his fidelity, he brake and revenged, and caused *Centius*, to whom he had forgiven all offences, to be taken, and hanged him and nine of his Men upon the Gallows before St. *Peter's* Porch.

The Pope & false Propheſie.

The Pope seeketh again to murder the Emperor.

The Pope by his own mouth condemned for an heretick.

The Emperor preferred by the power of God from the Pope.

A subtil shift of Hildebrand to save his tyring Propheſy.

Three persons before they were convicted, put to execution by Hildebrand against all law.

Centius taken by the Pope, and put into a Barrel of Nails. The Pope taken of Centius.

Centius executed by the Pope contrary to promise and faith.

There

The Popes Chair brake under him as he roſe to excommunicate the Emperor.

The Pope divideth the unity of the Church.

Of this Miracle we read in no approved History.

The Pope hireth one to ſlay the Emperor.

Hildebrand caſteth the Sacrament of the Lords Body in the fire, becauſe it would give him no answer.

There was at the apprehension of Pope Hildebrand a certain Widows Son, to whom (and others more for their Penance) he enjoyed a years Banishment. Which time being expleat or run out, the Widow in token of more ample satisfaction, thinking thereby to have appeased the mind of Hildebrand, put a Halter upon her Sous Neck, and drawing her Son by the rope unto the foot of Hildebrand, said, *My Lord Pope, at your hands will I receive again my Son, which one whole year hath indured banishment, and other Penance, by your Holiness enjoined.* Then the said Hildebrand for that instant, because of those which were with him in company (dissembling his wrath) delivered her her Son very churlishly, saying, *Get thee hence Woman, I bid thee, and let me be in rest.* After this, he sent his Officers, and apprehended the Widows Son, and gave commandment to the Justices to put him to death; who all together making answer, said, *That they could no more condemn or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed appealed once to the Pope, and abidden the banishment, and done the Penance by him enjoined.* Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand, displeased with the Judges, caused the foot of the Widows Son to be cut off; making neither Repentance, nor the Laws and Ordinances to be of any estimation with him; and thus his foot being cut off, he died within three days after with the pain thereof. Many other wicked deeds did this Hildebrand, upon whom the blood of the Church crieth vengeance, shed by the Sword (that is) the miserable treachery of his tongue: for which things (and that justly) the Church refused to communicate with him. *Hæc Benno.*

The villany of the Pope in killing a widows son which before had done his penance.

Another Epistle of Benno to the Cardinals.

Another Letter of Benno.

TO the reverend Fathers of the Church of Rome, and to his beloved in Christ, and to his Brethren that shall for ever be beloved, Benno the Cardinal of the Church of Rome, witheth faithful service, health, and communion with the servants of the Catholick Church. Of the which communion, discipline and power he vainly braggeth, that by the presumption of his Authority shall unjustly bind or loose any manner of person. And he doth unjustly bind whatsoever he be, that curseth any man (being willing to make satisfaction, and bewailing his boldness, being also unconvicted, and not confessing the crime) but rather curseth that party in vain, he curseth and condemneth himself, turning his weapon upon his own person to his destruction. O strange and new found treachery proceeding from the Sanctuary, nay rather, from him which as High-Priest seemeth to rule the Church, and to be a Judge over the Judges.

The devilish practice of Hildebrand in setting the Bishops against the Emperor.

Hildebrand was earnestly in hand with the Emperor, that he should deprive those Bishops, which came in by Simony. The Emperor (thinking, as a zealous Prince, that this Commission had proceeded from the Throne of God) without delay obeyed the same, and forthwith without any consideration, or judicial order, deprived certain Bishops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand he offered an acceptable Sacrifice to God; not knowing the crafty handling of him. But Hildebrand then again placed those, whom the Emperor for Simony at his commandment had before deposed, and those whom by that means he made to bear a hateful heart to the Emperor, he reconciled again to himself in great familiarity; and by many and great Oaths taken of them, for their fidelity towards him, he promoted them above all the rest. And thus by these pranks, the Imperial Seat of the King being shortly after impaired, and destitute almost of friends, he craftily purchasing the friendship and favour of the greatest Princes, the better to bring his matters to pass; suddenly again, without any lawful accusation, without any Canonical vocation, without all judicial order, he excommunicated the Emperor (so obedient always unto him) and set the Princes of the Empire all against him. And notwithstanding (as the Apostle saith) that no Man ought to circumvent his Brother in his business, as much as in him lay, he rather mortified and killed him, than brotherly corrected him. Thus the Emperor being many ways circumvented, as excommunicated besides the Canonical Order, and by the

consent and counsel of Hildebrand, spoiled of the greatest part of his Imperial Honour, and overcharged with great Wars and Slaughters of his own Subjects, in vain desired and sued to have the Canon read and heard, causing him by force and violence at Canusium, in the presence of Hildebrand, to accuse himself by his own confession.

The Emperor caused by Hildebrand to accuse himself

Say you now (I pray you) all such as love justice, and love not to lean either upon the left hand, or else the right hand, in favour of any person; say your minds, whether that such a confession being forced upon never so poor a Man (much more upon an Emperor) ought at such a time to be prejudicial or not? Or whether he, which extorted the same confession is guilty of the Canon? Or else he, which being so perversely judged, suffered the injury of a most perverse Judge? Which also most patiently and publicly suffered this violence with lamentable affliction upon his bare feet, clothed in thin garments, in the sharp Winter, which never was used, and was three days together at Canusium made a spectacle both of Angels and Men, and a ludicrous Mocking-stock to that proud Hildebrand. Never trust me, if that fourteen Cardinals, the Archdeacon himself, and he that is called *Primicerius*, being all wise and religious Men, besides many other of the Clerks of *Lateran* (to the judgment and priviledge of whose holy seat the whole World is obedient) weighing and considering his intolerable Apostasie, departed not from participating, and refused communicating with him.

The great patience of the godly Emperor.

This glorious Hildebrand, and his affinity, by their new Authority, breaking the Decrees of the *Chalcedon* Council, not only in words, but also in publick Writings have agreed, that it is tolerable both to baptise and communicate being out of the Church of God: and how blind these men were, and also what Hereticks they be, their own writings do declare. *What a mischief is this* (saith Benno) *they presume to judge of the Church, which swarm themselves in all errors, who also esteem the verity but as a lye; and lest their poisoned falsehood both in words and writings should appear, they have like subtil poisoners (the sooner to deceive) mixed honey therewithal. A lye, saith St. Augustine, is every thing pronounced with the intent of deceiving of others.*

Mendacious quid.

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the detestable doings, and diabolical practices of Conjurers, Charms and filthy Sorceries, exercised between him and *Laurentius*, and *Theophylact*, otherwise named Pope *Benedict* the ninth, whereof a long narration followeth in the foresaid Epistle of Benno to the Cardinals, to be seen, to whom the Reader may repair, who so hath either leisure to read or mind to understand more of the abominable parts and devilish acts of this Hildebrand.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of Sorcery and Conjuring.

Thus having sufficiently alledged the words and testimonies of Benno and *Aventinus*, concerning the acts and facts of this Pope; now let us proceed (in the order as followeth in his story) to set forth the miserable vexation which the vertuous and godly Emperor sustained by that ungodly person.

About what time Hildebrand was made Pope, *Henricus* the fourth Emperor was incumbered and much vexed with civil dissention in Germany, by reason of certain grievances of the Saxons against him and his Father *Henricus* the third. Whereupon the matter growing to sedition, sides were taken, and great Wars ensued betwixt *Ordo* Duke of Saxony, and *Henricus* the Emperor. This busie time seemed to Hildebrand very opportune to work his feats, whose study and drift was ever from the beginning to advance the Dominion of the Romish seat above all other Bishops, and also to press down the authority of the Temporal Rulers, under the Spiritual Men of the Church. And although he went about the same long before by subtil traines and acts set forth concerning Simony; yet now he thought more effectuously to accomplish his purposed intent after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therefore now bearing himself the bolder, by the authority of St. Peter's Throne, first he began to pursue the act set out by his Predecessor, as touching Simony, curbing and excommunicating, whosoever they were, that received any spiritual living or promotion at Lay mens hands, as also all such as were the givers thereof. For this he called then Simony, that under that colour he might defeat the Temporal Potestates of their right, and

Henricus the Emperor.

Much bold made of Peters Throne, but his life they let alone.

and so bring the whole Clergy at length to the lure of Rome. And forsomuch as the Emperor was the Head, thinking first to begin with him, he sendeth for him by Letters and Legates to appear in the Council of Lateran at Rome. But the Emperor busied in his Wars against the Saxons, had no leisure to attend to Councils. Notwithstanding Gregory the Pope proceedeth in his Council, rendering there the cause and reason before the Bishops, why he had Excommunicated divers of the Clergy, as *Herimanus* Bishop of *Bamberge*, Counsellor to the Emperor, and other Priests more for Simony. And there moreover, in the said Council he threatneth to Excommunicate likewise the Emperor himself, and to depose him from his Regal Kingdom, unless he would abrenounce the Heretic of Simony, and do Penance. The Council being ended, *Guibertus* Archbishop of *Ravenna* perswaded with one *Caninus* (a Roman, the Captains Son, whom the Pope had Excommunicated) to take the Emperors part against the Pope, who watching his time in the Temple of St. Mary, upon Christmas day in the morning, taketh the Pope and putteth him fast in a strong Tower. The next day the People of Rome hearing this, harness themselves with all expedition to help the Bishop, whom when they looked out of Prison, they besieged the House of *Centius*, and pluckt it down to the ground; his Family having their Noes cut off, were cast out of the City; *Centius* himself escaping, fled to the Emperor. *Guibert* the Archbishop, pretending good will to the Pope, departed from Rome, who likewise had wrought with *Hugo Candidus* Cardinal, and with *Theobaldus* Archbishop of *Millain*, also with divers other Bishops about Italy, to forsake the Pope and take the Emperors part. Gregory the Pope called *Hildebrand*, hearing the Conspiracy, layeth the sentence of Excommunication upon them all, and depriveth them of their Dignity. The Emperor being moved (not unworthily) with the arrogant presumption of the proud Prelate, called together a Council at *Wormes*. In which Council all the Bishops not only of *Saxony*, but of all the whole Empire of *Germans*, agree and conclude upon the Deposition of *Hildebrand*, and that no obedience hereafter should be given to him. This being determined in the Council, *Roulandus* a Priest of *Parmen*, was sent to Rome with the sentence, who in the name of the Council, should command Gregory to yield up his Seat, and also charge the Cardinals to resort to the Emperor for a new Election of another Pope. The tenor of the Sentence sent by *Roulandus* was this.

The Sentence of the Council of Wormes against Hildebrand.

Forsomuch as thy first ingress and coming in hath been so spotted with so many perjuries, and also the Church of God brought into no little danger through thine abuse and new fangleness: moreover, because thou hast defamed thine own life and conversation, with so much and great dishonesty, that we see no little peril or slander to rise thereof; therefore the obedience, which yet we never promised thee, hereafter we utterly renounce, and never intend to give thee. And as thou hast never taken us yet for Bishops (as thou hast openly reported of us) so neither will we hereafter take thee to be Apostolick.

Vale.

Gregory the Pope, tickled with this Sentence, first condemneth it in his Council of Lateran with Excommunication. Secondly, depriveth *Sigifridus* Archbishop of *Mentz* of his Dignities and Ecclesiastical Livings, with all other Bishops, Abbots and Priests, as many as took the Emperors part. Thirdly, accuseth *Henricus* the Emperor himself, depriveth him of his Kingdom and Regal possession, and releaseth all his Subjects of their Oath of Allegiance given unto him, after this form and manner.

The Tenor of the Sentence Excommunicatory, against *Henricus* the Emperor by Pope *Hildebrand*.

Blessed St. Peter Prince of the Apostles, bow down thine ears I beseech thee, and hear me thy Servant, whom thou hast brought up even from mine infancy, and hast delivered me until this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and persecute me, because of my faith in thee. Thou art my witness, and also the blessed Mother of Jesus Christ, and thy Brother St. Paul, fellow partner of thy Martyrdom, how that I entered this Function not willingly, but enforced against my will; not that I take it so as a Robbery, lawfully to ascend into this Seat, but because that I had rather pass over my life like a pilgrim or private person, than for any fame or glory to climb up to it; I do acknowledge (and that worthily) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge over Christian people, and this power of binding and loosing is committed to me. Wherefore, trusting upon this assurance for the dignity and tuition of Holy Church in the Name of God Omnipotent, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I do here depose Henry, the Son of Henry once the Emperor, from his Imperial Seat, and Princely Government, who hath so boldly and presumptuously laid hands upon thy Church. And furthermore, all such as heretofore have sworn to be his Subjects, I release them of their Oath, whereby all Subjects are bound to the Allegiance of their Princes. For it is meet and convenient, that he should be void of Dignity, which seeketh to diminish the Majesty of thy Church. Moreover, for that he hath condemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his People; and hath separate himself from the fellowship of the Church (which he, through his seditions, studieth to destroy) therefore I bind him by virtue of Excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainly, that thou art Peter (in the Rock of whom as in the true foundation) Christ our King hath built his Church.

The Emperor, thus assaulted with the Popes censure, sendeth abroad his Letters through all Nations to purge himself, declaring how wrongfully, and against all right he was condemned. The Princes of *Almany* partly fearing the crack of the Popes Thunderclap, partly again rejoicing that occasion was renewed to rebel against the Emperor, assembled a Commencement, where they did consult and so conclude to elect another Emperor, and so fall from Henry, unless the Pope would come to *Germany*, and he would there be content to submit himself and obtain his pardon.

Wherein is to be considered the lamentable affections of the Germans in those days, so to forsake such a valiant Emperor, and so much to repute a vile Bishop. But this was the rudeness of the World then, for lack of better knowledge. The Emperor, seeing the chief Princes ready to forsake him, promiseth them with an Oath, that if the Pope would repair to *Germany*, he would ask forgiveness.

Upon this the Bishop of *Triers* was sent up in Commision to Rome, to intreat the Pope to come into *Germany*. The Bishop (at the instant of the Legat and of the Princes, was content. He entered into *Germany*, thinking to come to *Augusta*. After he was come to *Vercellas* (the Bishop of that City being the Chancellor of Italy, and desirous to disturb peace for the old grudge he had to the Emperor) falsly perswaded with the Pope, that he was certain the Emperor was coming with a mighty great Army against him, counselling him therefore to provide betimes for his own safeguard in some stronger place. Whereby the Popes mind being altered, he retired back to *Canusium* or *Canossus*, a City being subject to *Matilda*, a Countess of Italy, where he should not need to fear the Emperor.

Henricus understanding the false fear of the Pope, and of his retire to *Canusium*, incontinent (coming out of *Spires* with his Wife and his young Son, in the deep and sharp of Winter) resorteth to *Canossus*. All his Peers and Nobles had left him for fear of the Popes curse, neither did any accompany him. Wherefore the Emperor, being not a little troubled (laying apart his Regal Ornaments)

Mark this ye Popists, that say, the Pope cannot err.

The Pope threatneth kindness of St. Peter

He is not Gracious de seditione querentes juven.

The Saxons take the Popes part against the Emperor.

Peace disturbed through wicked Council.

A wondrous
submission
of a valiant
Emperor to
a vile Pope.

Notable pa-
tience in a
Noble Em-
peror.

came barefooted with his Wife and Child to the Gate of *Canossus*, where he from Morning to Night (all the day fasting) most humbly desired absolution, craving to be let in, to the speech of the Bishop. But no ingress might be given him once within the Gates. Thus he continuing three days together in his petition and suite; at length answer came, that the Popes Majesty had yet no leisure to talk with him. The Emperor nothing moved therewith, that he was not let into the City, patient and with an humble mind abideth without the Walls, with no little grievance and painful labour; for it was a sharp Winter, and all frozen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate suite at length it was granted, through the intreating of *Matilda* the Popes Paramour, and of *Arelaus* Earl of *Sebaudia*, and the Abbot of *Cluniack*, that he should be admitted to the Popes speech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yieldeth to the Popes hands his Crown, with all other ornaments imperial, and confessed himself unworthy of the Empire, if ever he do against the Pope hereafter, as he

hath done before, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The Pope answereth, he will neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his Excommunication, but upon conditions. First, to promise that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrement in the Council, and to take such Penance as he shall injoin him; also that he shall be prest and ready to appear, in what place or time the Pope shall appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the Pope Judge of his cause, shall answer in the said Council to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall never seek any revenge-ment herein. Item, that he (though he be quit and cleared therein) shall stand to the Popes mind and pleasure, whether to have his Kingdom restored, or to lose it. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he shall neither use his Kingly Ornaments, Scepters or Crown, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor to exact any Oath of Allegiance upon his Subjects, &c. These things being promised to the Bishop by an Oath, and put in writing, the Emperor is only released of Excommunication.

Proud con-
ditions of
the Pope.

Pope both
accuses and
judges.

Here the
Beast of the
Apocalypse
appeareth
in his co-
lours.



The form and tenor of the Oath, which *Henricus* made to the Pope.

I *Henricus King*, after peace and agreement made to the mind and sentence of our Lord *Gregorius* the Seventh, promise to keep all Covenants and Bonds betwixt us, and to provide that the Pope go safely wheresoever he will, without any danger either to him, or to his Retinue; especially in all such places as be subject to our Empire. Nor that I shall at any time stay or hinder him, but that he may do that belongeth to his Function, where and whensoever his pleasure shall be. And these things I bind my self with an Oath to keep. Actum Canol. 5. Calend. Februarii, indic. 15.

Thus the matter being decided between them after the Popes own prescribement, the Emperor taketh his journey to *Papia*. The Pope with his Cardinals did vaunt and triumph with no little pride, that they had so quailed the Emperor, and brought him on his knees to ask them forgiveness. Yet notwithstanding, mistrusting themselves, and misdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter if fortune should turn, and God give the Emperor to enjoy a more quiet Kingdom; therefore to prevent such dangers betime, they study and consult privily with themselves how to displace *Henry* clean from his Kingdom, and how that

device might safely be conveyed. They conclude and determine to derive the Empire unto *Rodulphus*, a Man of great Nobility amongst the chiefeft States of *Germany*; and also to incite and stir up all other Princes and Subjects (being yet free and discharged from their Oaths) against *Henry*, and so by force of Arms to expel the Emperor out of his Kingdom. To bring this purpose the better to pass, Legates were sent down from the Pope, *Sigebardus* Patriarch of *Aquila*, and *Alrimanus* Bishop of *Padway*, which should perswade through all *France*, that *Henry* the Emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should give to the Bishop of *Rome* their consents in choosing *Rodulphus* to be Emperor. This being done, there was sent to the said *Rodulphus*, Duke of *Suevia*, a Crown from the Pope with this Verse;

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho.

The Verse.

*The Rock gave the Crown to Peter,
Peter giveth it to Rodulph.*

Here by the way of digression (to make a little gloss upon this barbarous Verse) two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lyeth upon *Christ*, the other, where he lyeth upon *St. Peter*. First, that *Christ* gave any Temporal Diadem to *Peter*, it is a most manifest lie, and

The crafty
conspiracy
of the Car-
dinals a-
gainst the
Emperor.

The gloss
upon the
Verse of
Milkmaid.

and against the Scriptures, when as he would not take it, being given to himself, and faith, his Kingdom is not of this World. Again, where he saith that Peter giveth it to Rodolph, here he playeth the Poet; for neither had Peter any such thing to give; and if he had, yet he would not have given it to Rodolph from the right Heir; neither is it true that Peter did give it, because Hildebrand gave it. For it is no good argument, Hildebrand did give it, Ergo, Peter did give it; except ye will say, Hildebrand stirred up great Wars and Bloodshed in Germany, Ergo, Peter stirred up great Wars in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did give it to Rodolph, but only Hildebrand the Pope; who after he had so done, he gave in commandment to the Archbishop of Mentz, and of Cullen to elect this Rodolph for Emperor, and to anoint him King, and also to defend him with all force and strength they might.

While this Conspiracy was in hand, Henricus the Emperor was absent, and the Popes Ambassadors with him also. In the mean space Rodolphus was elected Emperor, unknown to Henry. Upon this cometh the Bishop of Strasborough unto the Emperor, certifying him what was done. He suspecting and seeing the stomach and doings of the Saxons so bent against him, mustereth his Men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but first sendeth to Rome (trusting upon the League betwixt him and his Pope) and requirerth the Bishop to proceed with his Sentence against Rodolphus, for the rebellious Invasion of his Empire. But the Bishop, minding nothing less, sendeth word again, that it was not right to condemn any person, his cause being not heard; thus under pretence of the Law colouring his unlawful treachery. Henricus, thus disappointed and forsaken on every side, with his Men about him, attempteth Battel against Rodolphus. In which Battel a marvellous great slaughter was on both sides, but the Victory on neither part certain; so that both the Captains yet challenged the Empire. After the Battel, and great murder on both sides, they both sent to Rome, to know of the Popes determination, to whether of them two he judged the right Title of the Empire to appertain. The Bishop commanded them both to break up their Armies, and depart the Field, promising that he shortly would call a Council where this matter should be disputed; in the mean time they should cease from War. But before the Messengers returned again (their Armies being refreshed) they had another conflict together, but not Victory got on either part. Thus both the Captains being wearied in Wars, the Romish Beast the Bishop, which was the cause thereof, perceiving whither these cruel Wars would tend, to the great calamity not only of the Germans, but also of other Nations (trusting to find another way to help Rodolphus and his adherents) sendeth down a Commission by Orbo Archbishop of Trevers, Bernardus Deacon, and Bernardus Abbot of Massilia, to whom he gave in charge that they should call together a Council or sitting in Almany, and that there it should be defined to whether part the Empire should pertain, by most right and publick consideration; promising that what they should therein determine, he (looking upon the matter through the authority of God omnipotent, and of St. Peter and St. Paul) would ratifie the same. Moreover, for that no let nor impeachment should happen to the Legates by the way, he giveth with them Letters to the Princes and Nations of Germany; whereof the contents be declared briefly in Platina, if any list to read them.

But the Emperor would not so permit the Legates to have any Council within Germany, except they would first deprive Rodolphus of his Kingdom. The Legates, considering that to be against the drift and intention of the Pope, returned again from whence they came. The Pope hearing this, and seeing his purpose was so disappointed by the Emperor, draweth out another Excommunication against him, and again bereaveth him of his Kingdom; sending about his Letters Excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of Rodolphus the better. Platina hath in his Book the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this sort:

The Copy of the second Excommunication of Hildebrand against the Emperor.

Blessed St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and thou St. Paul also, the teacher of the Gentiles; give ear unto me I beseech you a little, and gently hear me, for you are the disciples and lovers of truth. The things that I shall say are true. This matter I take in hand for truth sake, that my brethren (whose salvation I seek) may the more obsequiously obey me, and better understand, how that I trusting upon your defence (next to Christ, and his Mother the immaculate Virgin) resist the wicked, and am ready to help the faithful. I did not enter this Seat of mine own accord, but much against my will, and with tears, for that I accounted my self unworthy to occupy so high a Throne. And this I say, not that I have chosen you, but you have chosen me, and have laid this great burthen upon our shoulders. And now, whereas by this your assignment, I have ascended up this Hill, crying to the people, and shewing them their faults, and to the children of the Church their iniquities; the members of Satan have risen up against me, and have laid hands together to seek my blood. For the Kings of the Earth have risen up against me, and the Princes of this World, with whom also have conspired certain of the Clergy Subjects against the Lord, and against us his anointed, saying, Let us break asunder their bonds, and cast off from us their yoke. This have they done against me, to bring me either to death or to banishment. In the number of whom is Henricus, whom they call King, the Son of Henry the Emperor, which hath lift up so proudly his horns and heel against the Church of God, making Conspiracy with divers other Bishops, both Italians, French and Germans. Against the pride of whom hitherto your authority hath resisted; who rather being broken than amended, coming to me in Calapita, made humble suite to me for Pardon and Absolution. I, thinking nothing else but true repentance in him, received him again to favour, and did restore him to the Communion only, from which he was Excommunicated; but to his Kingdom (from which in the Synod of Rome he was worthily expelled) I did not restore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof, (that he might return to the Faith again) that I granted not to him. And that I did for this purpose, that if he should defer to fall to agreement with certain of his Neighbours whom he hath always vexed, and to restore again the Goods both of the Church and otherwise, then he might be compelled by the Censures of the Church, and force of Arms thereunto. Whereby divers and sundry Bishops and Princes of Germany (such as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, Elected Rodolphus their Duke to be King in the place of Henricus, whom they for his transgressions had removed and dispatched from his Empire. But Rodolphus, first in this matter using a Princely modesty and integrity, sent up his messengers to me, declaring how he was constrained (wild he, mild he) to take that Regal Government upon him, albeit he was not so desirous thereof, but that he would rather shew himself obedient to us, than to the other that offered him the Kingdom; and whatsoever our arbitrement should be therein, he would be under obedience both of God and of us. And for more assurance of his obedience, he hath sent his own children hither for pledges. Upon this Henricus began to snuff, and first intreated us to restrain and inhibit Rodolphus, through the pain of our curse, from the usurpation of his Kingdom. I answered again, I would see whether of them had more right and title thereunto, and so send our Legates thither upon the same, to know the whole state of the matter; and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But Henricus would not suffer our Legates to come to take up the matter, and slew divers, both Secular Men, and of the Clergy, spoiling and prophaning Churches; and so by this means hath endangered himself in the Bonds of Excommunication. I therefore trusting in the judgment and mercy of God, and in the supplication of the Blessed Virgin, also upon your authority, do lay the Sentence of Curse upon the said Henricus, and all his adherents; and here again I take his Regal Government from him, charging and forbidding all Christian Men that have been sworn unto him, whom I discharge here of their Oath, that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but

O pestiferous hypocrite.

The Pope prayeth St. Peter to shew him his King.

And St. Peter blindeth the Pope to honour his King.

Crocodill lachryma. Scripture well applied. A Figure called dytiurata. Gold. Cujus contrarium verum est. Vm facimus scripturis, ut plenitudinem accipiamus passibile.

Let all Papists mark here well the holiness of their holy father.

As though he were not set up by you, rather than by them.

The Pope proved a double Her.

The Pope Traitor to the Emperor.

Great Wars stirred up by the Pope.

The more
to blame
Emperors
to suffer you
to be so fan-
cy with
them.

but that they take Rodolphus to their King, who is elected by many Princes of the Province. For so right it is and convenient, that as Henry for his pride and stubbornness is deprived of his dignity and possession; so Rodolphus, being grateful to all men for his virtue and devotion, be exalted to the imperial Throne and Dominion.

Nego argu-
mentum.

Therefore, O you blessed Princes of the Apostles, grant to this, and confirm with your authority that I have said, so that all men may understand, if you have power to bind and loose in Heaven, you have also power in Earth to give and take away Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, and whatsoever here in Earth belongeth to mortal men. For if you have power to judge in such matters as appertain to God: what then should we think you have of these inferiour and prophane things? And if it be in your power to judge the Angels, ruling over proud Princes, what then shall it seem you to do upon their Servants? Therefore let the Kings understand by this example, and all other Princes of the World, what you are able to do in Heaven, and what you are with God; that thereby they may fear to contemn the Commandment of Holy Church. And now do you exercise this judgement quickly upon Henricus, whereby all men may see this son of iniquity to fall from his Kingdom, not by any chance, but by your provision and only work. Notwithstanding this I would crave of you, that he, being brought to repentance through your intercession, yet in the day of judgment may find favour and grace with the Lord. Actum Romæ, nonis Martii, indictione 3.

Confer this
clause with
the History
of the story
hereafter.
O double
Hypocrite.

Guibertus
Archbishop
deposed.

Furthermore, Hildebrand, not yet content with this, interdicteth and deposeth also Guibertus Archbishop of Ravenna, for taking the Emperors part, commanding all Priests to give no manner of obedience to him, and sendeth thither to Ravenna another Archbishop with full authority.

The 4. bat-
tel betwixt
Henry and
Rodulph.
Henricus
Victor.

After and upon this, Henricus and Rodolphus, to try the matter by the sword, coped together in Battel, not without Bloodshed, where Henricus, by the favour of God, against the judgement of Hildebrand, had the Victory. Rodolphus there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the Army, and carried to Hyperbolic, where he commanded the Bishops and chief doers of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand in which he had taken his deadly wound, and said, *This is the Hand which gave the Oath and Sacrament unto Henricus my Prince, and which through your instigation so oft hath fought against him in vain; now go and perform your first Oath and Allegiance to your King; for I must to my fathers, and so died.* Thus the Pope gave Battel, but God gave the Victory.

Rodolphus
his death
repenteth.
The Pope
giveth War.
God giveth
Victory.

Henricus (after his enemy being thus subdued, and Wars being ceased in Germany) forgot not the old injuries received of Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his Kingdom, and three days making humble sute (yea and that in sharp Winter) could find no favour with him. Besides that, he incited moreover, and aided his enemy against him. Wherefore he calleth together a Council or Assembly of divers Bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany at Brixia 1083, where he purged himself, and accused the Bishop Hildebrand of divers crimes, to be an usurper, perjured, a Necromancer and Sorcerer, a fower of discord; complaining moreover of wrongs and injuries done by the Bishop and Church of Rome, in that the Church of Rome preferred the Bishop before him; when that his Father, being Emperor before him, had inthronized and set in divers and sundry Bishops there by his assignment, without all others Election. And now this Bishop, contrary to his Oath and Promise made, thrust in himself without the will and knowledge of him, being their King and Magistrate. For, in the time of his Father Henricus the third, this Hildebrand with other, bound themselves with a Corporal Oath, that so long as the Emperor, and his Son now being King, should live, they should neither themselves presume, nor suffer any other to aspire to the Papal Seat, without the assent and approbation of the foresaid Emperors; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his Corporal Oath, had done. Wherefore the foresaid Council, with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he should be deposed. The Tenor of which Condemnation is thus expressed in Abbat Ussergensis.

Councilum
Brixienfe.
ANNO
1083.

No Bishop
of Rome can
be chosen
without
consent of
the Empe-
ror.

Abbas Uf-
pergensis.

The Sentence of the Council of Brixia against Hildebrand.

Because it is not unknown, this Bishop not to be elected of God, but to have intruded himself by fraud and money, who hath subverted all Ecclesiastical Order, who hath disturbed the government of the Christian Empire, menacing death of body and soul against our Catholick and peaceable King, who hath set up and maintained a perjured King, sowing discord where concord was, causing debate amongst friends, slanders and offences amongst brethren, divorcements and separation amongst the married for he took away the Marriage of Priests, as Henr. Mutius witnesseth, and finally disquieting the peaceable state of all quiet life: Therefore we here in the Name and Authority of God congregate together, with the Legates and hands of nineteen Bishops, the day of Pentecost at Mentz, do proceed in canonical judgement against Hildebrand, a man most wicked, preaching sacrilege and burning, maintaining perjury and murders, calling in question the Catholick Faith of the Body and Blood of the Lord, a follower of Divination and Dreams, a manifest Necromancer, a Sorcerer, and infected with a Pythonical Spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, and we judge him to be deposed and expelled, and unless he bearing this, shall yield and depart the Seat, to be perpetually condemned. Enacted 7. Calend. Julii, feria. 5. Indictione 3.

Henricus
Mutius.

Note here
the Pope
judged and
deposed of
the council.

This being enacted and sent to Rome, they elected Guibertus Archbishop of Ravenna in the place of Hildebrand, to govern the Church of Rome, named Clemens the third. But when Hildebrand neither would give over his hold, nor give place to Clement; the Emperor, gathering an Army to send to Italy, came to Rome to depose Gregory, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand, sending to Matilda the Countess before mentioned, required her (in remission of all her sins) to withstand Henry the Emperor, and so she did. Notwithstanding Henricus prevailing came to Rome, where he besieged the City all the Lent, and after Easter got it, the Romans being compelled to open the Gates unto him; so he coming to the Temple of St. Peter, there placeth Clement in his Papacy. Hildebrand straight flyeth into Adrian's Tower with his adherents, where he, being beset round about, at length sendeth for Robert Guiscardus his friend, a Norman. In the mean time, while Robertus collecteth his power, the Abbot of Cluniack, conferring with Gregory, exhorteth him to Crown Henricus Emperor in Lateran, Which if he would do, the other promiseth to bring about that Henry should depart with his Army into Germany; whereunto the People of Rome also did likewise move him. To whom Gregory answered, *That he was content so to do, but upon condition that the Emperor would submit himself to ask pardon, so amend his fault, and to promise obedience.* The Emperor not agreeing to those conditions, went to Senas, taking Clement, new stalled Pope with him.

The Pope
seeketh fa-
vour of his
Paramour.
The first ex-
ample to
fight for re-
mission of
sins began in
Hildebrand.

After the return of the Emperor, the foresaid Robert Guiscardus, approaching with his Souldiers, burst in at one of the Gates, and spoileth the City. And not long after, delivereth Hildebrand out of his enemies hands, and carried him away to Campania; where he not long continuing, after died in Exile.

Plainus.
Nonnulli.
Sabellian.
Cretanum.
Bona, &c.

Antonius writeth, that Hildebrand, as he did lie a dying, called to him one of his chief Cardinals, bewailing to him his fault and disorder of his spiritual Ministry, in stirring up Discord, War and Dissention, whereupon he desired the Cardinal to go to the Emperor, and desire of him forgiveness, absolving from the danger of Excommunication both him and all his partakers both quick and dead.

Thus hast thou (gentle Reader) the full History of Pope Gregory the seventh, called Hildebrand; which I have laid out more at large, and desire thee to mark, because that from this Pope (if thou mark well) springeth all the occasions of mischief, of pomp, pride, stoutness, presumption and tyranny, which since that time hath reigned in his successors hitherto, in the Cathedral Church of the Romish Clergy. For here came first the subjection of the temporal regiment under the spiritual jurisdiction; and Emperors, which before were their Masters, now are made their

Hildebrand
the first au-
thor and
patron of
all mischief
that fol-
lowed
after in
Popes.

their underlings. Also here came in the suppression of Priests Marriage, as is sufficiently declared. Here came in moreover the authority of both the Swords Spiritual and Secular into spiritual Mens hands. So that Christian Magistrates could do nothing in Election, in giving Bishopricks or Benefices, in calling Councils, in hearing and correcting the excesses of the Clergy, but only the Pope must do all. Yea moreover, no Bishop nor Pastor in his own Parish could excommunicate or exercise any discipline among his Flock, but only the Pope challenged that Prerogative to himself. Finally, here came in the first example to persecute Emperors and Kings with Rebellion and Excommunication, as the Clergy themselves hereafter do testify and witness in proceeding against *Paschalis*. Thus these Notes being well observed, let us (by the grace of Christ) now repair again to our Country History of *England*.

The death of William the Conqueror.

About the death of Pope *Hildebrand* (or not long after) followed the death of King *William* the Conqueror, in the year 1090. after he had reigned in *England* the space of one and twenty Years, and ten Months. The cause of his sickness and death is said to be this: For that *Philip* the French King, upon a time (jesting) said, that King *William* lay in Child-bed, and nourished his fat Belly. To this the foresaid *William*, hearing thereof, answered again and said, When he should be Churched, he would offer a thousand Candles to him in France, wherewithal the King should have little joy. Whereupon King *William* in the Month of July (when the Corn, Fruit and Grapes were most flourishing) entred into France, and set on fire many Cities and Towns in the West side of France. And lastly, coming to the City of *Meaux*, where he burning a Woman being as a recluse in a Wall inclosed (or as some say, two Men Anchorites inclosed) was so fervent and furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the time of the year, thereby he fell into sickness, and died upon the same.

By the life and acts of this King it may appear true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guileful; rich, but covetous; a fair speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in victory, and strong in arms, but rigorous in oppressing whom he overcame, in levying of tasks passing all others. Inasmuch that he caused to be enrolled and numbered in his Treasury every Hide of Land, and owner thereof, what fruit and revenues surmounted of every Lordship, of every Township, Castle, Village, Field, River and Wood within the Realm of *England*. Moreover, how many Parish Churches, how many living Cattel there were, what and how much every Baron in the Realm could dispend, what Fees were belonging, what Wages were taken, &c. The tenor and contents of which task-

ment yet remaineth in Rolls. After this tasking or numbering, which was the year before his death, followed an exceeding Murrain of Cattel and barrenness of the ground, with much Pestilence and hot Fevers among the People, so that such as escaped the Fever were consumed with Famine. Moreover, at the same season, among certain other Cities, a great part of the City of *London*, with the Church of *St. Pauls*, was wasted with fire in the Year of our Lord 1085.

Pestilence in England and Murrain of Cattle.

London with the Church of *St. Pauls* burnt.

In hunting and in Parks the foresaid King had such pleasure, that in the County of *Southampton*, by the space of 30 Miles, he cast down Churches and Townships, and there made the new Forest; loving his Deer so dearly, as though he had been to them a Father, making sharp laws for the increasing thereof, under pain of losing both the eyes. So hard he was to *Englishmen*, and so favourable to his own Country, that as there was no *English* Bishop remaining, but only *Wolstan* of *Worcester*, who being commanded of the King and *Lanfrank* to resign up his Staff, partly for inability, partly for lack of the French Tongue, refused otherwise to resign it, but only to him that gave it, and so went to the Tomb of King *Edward*, where he thought to resign it, but was permitted to enjoy it still; so likewise in his days there was almost no *Englishman* that bare office of honour or rule in the Land. Inasmuch that it was half a shame at that time to be called an *Englishman*. Notwithstanding he some deal favoured the City of *London*, and granted unto the Citizens the first Charter that ever they had, written in the Saxon, with green Wax sealed, and contained in few lines.

Wolstan Bishop of *Worcester*.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that so given he was to peace and quiet, that any Maiden being laden with Gold or Silver, might pass through the whole Realm without harm or resistance. This *William* in his time builded two Monasteries, one in *England* at *Battel* in *Suffex*, where he wan the Field against *Harold*, called the *Abby of Battel*; another besides, named *Barmondsey* in his County of *Normandy*.

England peaceable from Thieves.

The *Abby* of *Battel*. The *Abby* of *Barmondsey*.

After the Life and Story of King *William* thus briefly described, with the acts and order of *Battel* between him and King *Harold*, (although much more might have been written of that matter, if the Book had come sooner to my hands, which afterwards I saw) now remaineth in the end of this Story to describe the Names of such Barons and Nobles of *Normandy*, which entred with him into this Land, as well of them which were imbarqued with him, and slain also (as appeareth) in the *Battel*, as also of them who were planted and advanced by the said Conqueror in the Lands and Possessions of *English* Lords, whom he expelled, or else beheaded. The Names of which *Normans* here follow under-written.

Out of the Annals of Normandy in French, whereof one very ancient written Book in Parchment remaineth in the custody of the Writer hereof.

THE day after the *Battel*, very early in the Morning, *Odo* Bishop of *Bajeux* sung Mass for those that were departed. The Duke after that desirous to know the estate of his *Battel*, and what People he had therein lost and were slain, he caused to come unto him a Clerk that had written their Names when they were imbarqued at *Saint Valerius*, and commanded him to call them all by their Names, who called them that had bin at the *Battel*, and had passed the Seas with Duke *William*. And hereafter follow their Names.

The Names of those that were at the Conquest of ENGLAND.

O Do, Bishop of <i>Bajeux</i> . <i>Robert</i> , Conte de <i>Mortaign</i> . These two were Brethren unto Duke <i>William</i> by their Mother. <i>Baudwin</i> de <i>Buillon</i> , <i>Roger</i> , Conte de <i>Beaumont</i> , surnamed With	the Beard, Of whom descended the line of <i>Meullent</i> . <i>Guillaume</i> Malet, Le Sire de <i>Monfort</i> , sur <i>Rille</i> . <i>Guill.</i> de <i>Vieuxpont</i> , <i>Neel</i> de <i>S. Saviour</i> le <i>Visconte</i> , Le Sire de <i>Fongiers</i> ,	<i>Henry</i> Saigneur de <i>Ferrieres</i> , Le Sire <i>Dauhemaoc</i> , <i>Guillaume</i> Sire de <i>Rommare</i> , Le Sire de <i>Lisheare</i> , Le Sire de <i>Touque</i> , Le Sire de la <i>Mare</i> , Le Sire de <i>Neaubon</i> , Le Sire de <i>Piron</i> ,	<i>Rob.</i> Sire de <i>Beaufou</i> , Le Sire <i>Davout</i> , Le Sire de <i>Sotenville</i> , Le Sire de <i>Magnerville</i> , Le Sire de <i>Tancarville</i> , <i>Eustace</i> <i>Damblerville</i> , Le Sire de <i>Mangneville</i> , Le Sire de <i>Gransmesnil</i> , <i>Guillaume</i> <i>Cressin</i> , Le Sire de <i>S. Martin</i> ,
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S

Guill.

Guil. de Moulins,
Le Sire de Puis,
Geoffrey Sire de Mai-
enne,
Auffroy de Bobon,
Auffroy & Maugier de
Cartrait,
Guil. de Garrennes,
Hue de Gournay,
Sire de Bray,
Le conte Hue de Gour-
nay,
Euguemont de laigle,
Le Viconte de Toars,
Rich. Danvernechin,
Le Sire de Biars,
Le Sire de Solligny,
Le Bouteiller Daubig-
ny,
Le Sire de Maire,
Le Sire de Vitry,
Le Sire de Lacy,
Le Sire du val Dary,
Le Sire de Tracy,
Hue Sire de Montfort,
Le Sire de Piquegny,
Hamon de Kaieu,
Le Sire de Despinay,
Le Sire de Port,
Le Sire de Torcy,
Le Sire de Fort,
Le Sire de Riviers,
Guillaume Moyonne,
Raoul Tesson de Tin-
guelix,
Roger Marmion,
Raoul de Guel,
Avenel des Biars,

Paemmel du Monstier
Hubert,
Rob. Bertramle Tort,
Le Sire de Seulle,
Le Sire de Dorival,
Le Sire de Brevail,
Le Sire de S. Jehan,
Le Sire de Bris,
Le Sire du Homme,
Le Sire de Souchboy,
Le Sire de Cailly,
Le Sire de Semilly,
Le Sire de Tilly,
Le Sire de Romelly,
Mar. de Basqueville,
Le Sire de Preaulx,
Le Sire de Gonis,
Le Sire de Sanceaulx,
Le Sire de Moulloy,
Le Sire de Monceaulx,

¶ The Archers du val
du Ruel, and of Bre-
theul, and of many
other places.

Le Sire de S. Saen, i.
de S. Sydonio,
Le Sire de la Kiviere,
Le Sire de Salmarville,
Le Sire de Rony,
Eude de Beaugieu,
Le Sire de Oblie,
Le Sire de Sacie,
Le Sire de Naffie,
Le Visquais de Cby-
mes,
Le Sire du Sap,

Le Sire de Glos,
Le Sire de Mine,
Le Sire de Glanville,
Le Sire de Breencon,
Le Vidam de Partay,
Raoul de Morimont,
Pierre de Bailleul, Sire
de Fiscamp,
Le Sire de Beaufault,
Le Sire de Tillieres,
Le Sire de Pacy,
Le Seneschal de Torcy,
Le Sire de Gacy,
Le Sire de Douilly,
Le Sire de Sacy,
Le Sire de Vacy,
Le Sire de Tourneour,
Le Sire de Praeres,
Guillaume de Coulom-
bieres,
Hue Sire de Bollebec,
Rich. Sire Dorbeck,
Le Sire de Bonneboz,
Le Sire de Tresgoz,
Le Sire de Montfiquet,
Hue le Bigor de Male-
rot,
Le Sire de la Hay
Le Sire de Mombray,
Le Sire de Say,
Le Sire de la Ferte,
Boutevillain,
Troussébout,
Guillaume Patric de la
Laund,
Hue de Mortemer,
Le Sire Danvillers,
Le Sire Donnebaut,

Le Sire de S. Cler.
Rob. le filz Herneys,
duc de Orleans,
Le Sire de Harecourt,
Le Sire de Crevecœur,
Le Sire de Dein-
court,
Le Sire de Bremetot,
Le Sire Combray,
Le Sire Daumay,
Le Sire de Fontenay,
Le conte Deureux,
Le Sire de Rébelchil,
Alain Fergant conte de
Britaigne,
Le Sire de S. Valle-
ry,
Le conte Deu,
Gualtier Gifford conte
de longeville,
Le Sire Destouteville,
Le conte Thomas Daub-
malle,
Guil. conte de Hoymes
& Darques,
Le Sire de Breteville,
Le Sire de Breante,
Le Sire de Frean-
vible,
Le Sire de Pavilly,
Le Sire de Clere,
Toustan du Bec,
Le Sire Maugny,
Roger de Montgome-
ry,
Amauri de Toars.

Over and besides the great number of Knights and Esquires that were under them. In the same Battel between the said William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy on the one part, and King Harold on the other part, there were slain on King Harold's side of Englishmen, sixty six thousand, six hundred fifty four. And on Duke William's side there were slain six thousand thirteen Men, as it is to be found in the Chronicle of S. Peter of Westminster, besides those that were drowned in the River of Thames.

When as the above named, and many other great Lords were so called, some of them appeared, other some did not, for some of them were slain there in the Field, and others so wounded, that they could not come forth to shew themselves. Then gave the Duke commandment, that the dead should be buried, and those that were sick com-
forted, and eased the best that might, &c.

Out of the Ancient Chronicles of *ENGLAND*, touching the Names of other Normans which seemed to remain alive after the Battel, and to be advanced in the Seignories of this Land.

John de Maundevile,
Adam Undevile,
Bernard de Frevile,
Rich. de Rochvile,
Gilbert de Frankvile,
Hugo de Dovile,
Symond de Rotevile,
R. de Evile,
B. de Kneuvile,
Hugo de Mervile,
R. de Colevile,
A. de Warvile,
C. de Karvile,
R. de Rotevile,
S. de Stotevile,
H. Bonum,
J. Monum,
W. de Vignonum,
K. de Vispount,
W. Bailbeof,
S. de Baleyn,
H. de Marreys,
J. Aguleyne,

G. Agilon,
R. Chambrayne,
N. de Vendres,
H. de Verdon,
H. de Verto,
C. de Vernon,
H. Hardul,
C. Cappan,
W. de Camvile,
J. de Cameyes,
R. de Rotes,
R. de Boys,
W. de Waren,
T. de Wardboys,
R. de Boys,
W. de Audeley,
K. Dynbam,
R. de Vaures,
G. Vargenteyn,
J. de Hastings,
G. de Hastink,
L. de Burgee,
R. de Bntuileyn,

H. de Malebranch,
S. de Malemain,
G. de Hautevile,
H. Hauteyn,
R. de Morteyn,
R. de Mortimer,
G. de Kanovile,
E. de Columb,
W. Paynel,
C. Panner,
H. Pontrel,
J. de Rivers,
T. Revile,
W. de Beauchamp,
R. de Beaupale,
E. de On,
F. Lovel,
S. de Troys,
J. de Ariel,
John de Montebrugge,
H. de Mounteserel,
W. Trussebut,
W. Trussel,

H. Byset,
R. Basset,
R. Molet,
H. Malovile,
G. Bonet,
P. de Bonvile,
S. de Rovile,
N. de Norbeck,
J. de Corneux,
P. de Corbet,
W. de Mountague,
S. de Mountfychet,
J. de Genervyle,
H. Gyffard,
J. de Say,
T. Gilbard,
R. de Chalons,
S. de Chauward,
H. Ferret,
Hugo Peparad,
J. de Harecourt,
H. de Haunfard,
J. de Lamare,

P. de Mautrevers,	S. de Grangers,	T. de Camlow,	T. de Saint Gory,
G. de Ferron,	S. Baubenyn,	R. Breauce,	P. de Boyly,
R. de Ferrers,	H. Vamgers,	T. de Broseborf,	Rich. de Saint Vale-
J. de Delfy,	E. Bertram,	S. de Bolebec,	ry,
W. de Werders,	R. Bygot,	B. Mol de Boef,	P. de Pinkeny,
H. de Borneville,	S. Treoly,	J. de Muelis,	S. de Pavely,
J. de Santenys,	J. Trigos,	R. de Brus,	G. de Montbaur,
S. de Syncler,	G. de Feues,	S. de Brewes,	T. de Mountchesy,
R. de Gorges,	H. Filiot,	J. de Lille,	R. de Lymoz,
E. de Gemere,	R. Taperyn,	T. de Bellile,	G. de Lucy,
W. de Feus,	S. Talbot,	T. de Waterville,	J. de Artow,
S. de Filberd,	H. Samsaver,	G. de Nevile,	N. de Arty,
H. de Turberville,	T. de Samford,	R. de Neuburgh,	P. de Grenville,
R. Troblener,	G. de Vandien,	H. de Burgoyne,	J. de Greys,
R. de Angon,	C. de Vautort,	G. de Bourgh,	V. de Cresty,
T. de Morer,	G. de Mountague,	S. de Lymoges,	F. de Courcy,
T. de Rotelet,	Thomas de Chamber-	L. de Lyben,	T. de Lamar,
H. de Spencer,	non,	W. de Helyoun,	H. de Lymastz,
E. de Saintpuenten,	S. de Monfort,	H. de Hildrebron,	J. de Moubray,
J. de Saint Martin,	R. de Fernevaux,	R. de Loges,	C. de Morley,
G. de Cuffan,	W. de Valence,	S. de Saintlow,	S. de Gorney,
Saint Constantin,	T. Clarel,	J. de Maubank,	R. de Courtenay,
Saint Leger & Saint	S. de Clervaus,	P. de Saint Malow,	P. de Gourney,
Med.	P. de Aubemarle,	R. de Leferne,	R. de Cony,
M. de Cronu & de S.	H. de Saint Arvant,	J. de Lovotot,	J. de la Huse,
Viger,	Ed. de Auganuteys,	G. de Dabbeville,	R. de la Huse,
S. de Crayel,	S. de Gant,	H. de Appetot,	V. de Longeville,
R. de Crenker,	G. de Malecarbe,	W. de Percy,	P. Longespy,
N. Meyuel,	H. Mandut,	H. de Lacy,	J. Poucharдон,
J. de Berners,	W. Chesun,	C. de Quincy,	R. de la Pomeroy,
S. de Chumly,	L. de Chandut,	E. Tracy,	J. de Pountz,
E. de Chabers,	B. Filzurs,	R. de la Souche,	R. de Pontlarge,
J. de Grey,	B. Vicount de Low,	V. de Somery,	R. Esfrange,
W. de Grangers,	G. de Cantemere,	J. de Saint John,	Tho. Savage,

The first Bishop of Salisbury, Osmund Bishop of Sarum. Ordinal ecclesiastic official secundum usum Sarum. Ex Balgise hibern. lib. 3. The use and ordinary of Sarum, how and when it was devised

A little above, mention was made of the Bishops See of Shireborne, translated from thence to Salisbury. The first Bishop of Salisbury was *Hermannus* a Norman, who first began the new Church and Minister of Salisbury. After whom succeeded *Osmundus*, who finished the work, and replenished the house with great living, and much good living. This *Osmundus* first began the Ordinary which was called *Secundum usum Sarum*, Anno 1076. The occasion whereof was this, as I find in an old Story-book intituled *Eulogium*. A great contention chanced at *Glastenbury* between *Thurstanus* the Abbot and his Convent, in the days of *William* the Conqueror. Which *Thurstanus* the said *William* had brought out of *Normandy* from the Abby of *Cadonum*, and placed him Abbot of *Glastenbury*. The cause of this contentious Battel was, for that *Thurstanus* contumacious their Quire-service, then called the use of *S. Gregory*, compelled his Monks to the use of one *William* a Monk of *Fiscam* in *Normandy*. Whereupon came strife and contentions amongst them, first in words, then from words to blows, after blows then to armour. The Abbot, with his guard of harnest Men, fell upon the Monks, and drave them to the steps of the High Altar, where two were slain, eight were wounded with Shafts, Swords and Pikes. The Monks then driven to such a straight and narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselves with Formes and Candlesticks, wherewith they did wound certain of the Souldiers. One Monk there was (an aged Man) who instead of his shield took an Image of the Crucifix in his Arms for his defence, which Image was wounded in the breast by one of the Bowmen, whereby the Monk was saved. My story addeth more, that the striker incontinent upon the same fell mad, which favour-eth of some Monkish addition besides the Text. This matter being brought before the King, the Abbot was sent again to *Cadonum*, and the Monks by the commandment of the King were scattered in far Countries. Thus, by the occasion hereof, *Osmundus* Bishop of *Salisbury* devised that Ordinary, which is called the use of *Sarum*, and was afterward received in a manner through all *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this King *William*.

Which *William* after his death, by his Wife *Matildis* or *Maud*, left three Sons, *Robert* Courtsey, to whom he gave the Dutchy of *Normandy*; *William* Rufus his second Son, to whom he gave the Kingdom of *England*; and *Henry* the third Son, to whom he left and gave trea-

sure; and warned *William* to be to his People loving and liberal, *Robert* to be to his people stern and sturdy.

In the History called *Jornalensis*, it is reported of a certain great Man, who about this time of King *William* was compassed about with Mice and Rats, and flying to the midst of a River, yet when that would not serve, came to the Land again, and was of them devoured. The *Germans* say that this was a Bishop, who dwelling between *Cullen* and *Mentz*, in time of Famine and Dearth, having store of Corn and Grain, would not help the poverty crying to him for relief but rather wished his Corn to be eaten up of Mice and Rats. Wherefore being compassed with Mice and Rats (by the just judgment of God) to avoid the annoiance of them, he built a Tower in the midst of the River of *Rhein* (which yet to this day the *Dutchmen* call *Rats Tower*) but all that would not help; for the Rats and Mice swam over to him in as great abundance as they did before, of whom at length he was devoured.

Example of Gods just judgment upon a Bishop, who being unmerciful to the poor, was eaten with Rats and Mice.

William Rufus.

WILLIAM Rufus, the second Son of *William* the Conqueror, began his Reign in the year of our Lord 1088, and Reigned thirteen Years, being crowned at *Westminster* by *Lanfrancus*; who, after his Coronation, released out of Prison, by the request of his Father, divers *English* Lords, which before had bin in custody. It chanced that, at the death of *William* the Conqueror, *Robert* Courtsey his eldest Son was absent in *Almany*, who hearing of the death of his Father, and how *William* his younger Brother had taken upon him the Kingdom, was therewith greatly moved; insomuch that he laid his Dukedom to pledge unto his Brother *Henry*, and with that good gathered unto him an Army, and so landed at *Hampton*, to the intent to have expelled his Brother from the Kingdom. But *William* Rufus hearing thereof sent to him fair and gentle words, promising him dedition and subjection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that seeing he was now in place and possession, he might enjoy it during his life, paying to him yearly three thousand Marks, with con-

Anno 1088. William Rufus

dition that which of them overlived the other should enjoy the Kingdom. The occasion of this variance between these brethren wrought a great dissention between the Norman Lords and Bishops, both in England and in Normandy. Inasmuch that all the Norman Bishops within the Realm almost rebelled against the King, taking part with Duke Robert, except only Lanfrancus, and Wolstan Bishop of Worcester above mentioned, an Englishman; who for his vertue and constancy was so well liked and favoured of his Citizens, that (emboldened with his presence and prayer) they stoutly maintained the City of Worcester against the Siege of their enemies, and at last vanquished them with utter ruine. But Duke Robert at length by the advice of his Council (hearing the words sent unto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiving some matter of doubt or doubleness) was yet content to assent to all that was desired, and so returned shortly after into Normandy, leaving the Bishops, and such others, in the Briers, which were in England, taking his part against the King.

This Rufus was so ill liked of the Normans, that between him and his Lords was oft dissention. Wherefore (well near) all the Normans took part against him; so that he was forced of necessity to draw to him the Englishmen. Again, so covetous he was, and so immeasurable in his tasks and takings, in selling Benefices, Abbies and Bishopricks, that he was hated of all Englishmen.

Anno 1091.
The death of Lanfrancus Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the third year of this King died Lanfrancus Archbishop of Canterbury; from whose commendation and worthiness, as I list not to detract any thing (being so greatly magnified of Polydorus his Countryman) so neither do I see any great cause why to add any thing thereto. This I think, unless that Man had brought with him less superstition, and more sincere science into Christ his Church, he might have kept him in his Country still, and have confuted Berengarius at home. After the decease of Lanfrancus the See of Canterbury stood empty four years.

Remigius Bishop of Lincoln.

Lincoln Minster builded.

After the Council of Lanfrancus above mentioned, wherein was concluded for translating of Bishops Sees from Villages into Head Cities, Remigius Bishop of Dorchester (who, as ye heard, accompanied Lanfrancus unto Rome) removed his Bishops See from Dorchester unto Lincoln, where he builded the Minster there, situate upon an Hill within the said City of Lincoln. The Dedication of which Church Robert Archbishop of York did resist, saying, that it was builded within the Ground of his Precinct. But after, it had his Romish Dedication by Robert Blevet, next Bishop that followed. By the same Remigius also was founded the Cloyster or Monastery of Stow, &c.

Stow Abby builded.

Anno 1092.

Winchcombe Steeple burnt with Lightning.

Six hundred houses blown down with Wind. The roof of Bow Church overthrowen.

In the fourth year of this King great Tempests fell in sundry places of England, specially at Winchcombe, where the Steeple was burned with Lightning, the Church wall burst through, the head and right Leg of the Crucifix, with the Image of our Lady on the right side of the Crucifix, thrown down, and such a stink left in the Church, that none might abide it. At London the force of the Weather and Tempest overturned six hundred Houses. In which Tempest the Roof of Bow Church was hurled up in the Wind, and by the vehemency thereof was pitched down a great deepness into the ground.

King William (as ye have heard) an exceeding poller or ravener rather of Church Goods, after he had given the Bishoprick of Lincoln to his Chancellor Robert Blevet above minded, began to cavil; avouching the See of Lincoln to belong to the See of York; till the Bishop of Lincoln had pleased him with a great sum of money of five thousand Marks, &c.

Robert Blevet paid five thousand Marks for his Bishoprick.

Herbert Losinga Bishop of Norwich, Losinga a. adulter.

Norwich Minster builded by Herbert.

And as nothing could come in those days without money from the King, so Herbert Losinga, paying to the King a piece of Money, was made Bishop of Thetford, as he had paid a little before to be Abbot of Ramsey. Who likewise, the same time removing his See from Thetford to the City of Norwich, there erected the Cathedral Church with the Cloyster in the said City of Norwich, where he furnished the Monks with sufficient Living and Rents of his own charges, besides the Bishops Lands. Afterward, repenting of his open and manifest

Simony, he went to Rome, where he resigned into the Popes hands his Bishoprick, but so, that incontinent he received it again. This Herbert was the Son of an Abbot called Robert, for whom he purchased of the King to be Bishop of Winchester, whereof run these Verses:

*Filius est Præsul, pater Abba, Simon uterque:
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quod vult facit, addit & aufert.
Res nimis injusta, nummus fit Præsul & Abba, &c.*

Ye heard a little before of the death of Pope Hildebrand, after the time of which Hildebrand the German Emperors began to lose their authority and right in the Popes election, and in giving of Benefices. For next after this Hildebrand came Pope Victor by the setting up of Matilda, and the Duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewise shewed himself stout against the Emperor. But God gave the shrewd Cow short homes. For Victor being poisoned (as some say in his Chalice) fate but one year and a half. Notwithstanding the same imitation and example of Hildebrand continued still in them that followed after. And like as the Kings of Israel followed most part the steps of Jeroboam, till the time of their desolation; so for the greatest part all Popes followed the steps and proceedings of this Hildebrand their spiritual Jeroboam, in maintaining of false worship, and chiefly in upholding the dignity of that See, against all rightful authority, and the lawful Kingdom of Zion. In the time of this Victor began the Order of the Monks of Charterhouse, through the means of one Hugo Bishop of Gracianople, and of Bruno Bishop of Cullen.

Next to Victor sat Urban the second, by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and also new Decrees enacted against Henry the Emperor. In this time were two Popes at Rome, Urbanus, and Clemens the third, whom the Emperor set up. Under Pope Urban came in the white Monks of the Cistercian Order, by one Stephen Harding a Monk of Shireborne, (an Englishman) by whom this Order had his beginning in the Wilderness of Cistry, within the Province of Burgoin, as witnesseth Cestrensis. Others write that this Harding was the second Abbot of that place, and that it was first founded by the means of one Robert Abbot of Molism in Cistercium, a Forest in Burgundy, Anno 1098. persuaded perchance by Harding; and afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1135, it was brought into England by a certain man called Espeke, which builded an Abby of the same Order called Merinale. In this Order the Monks did live by the labour of their hands; they payed no Tithes nor Offerings, they wore no Fur nor Lining, they wore red Shoes, their Cowls white, and Coats black, all thorn save a little circle, they eat no flesh but only in their journey. Of this Order was Bernardus, &c.

This Urban held divers Councils; one at Rome, where he Excommunicated all such Lay persons as gave investiture of any Ecclesiastical Benefice; also all such of the Clergy as abjected themselves to be underlings or servants to lay persons for Ecclesiastical Benefices, &c.

Another Council he held at Cleremount in France where among other things, the Bishop made an Oration to the Lords being there present, concerning the Voyage and recovering the Holy Land from the Turks and Saracens. The cause of which Voyage first sprang by one Peter a Monk or Hermit, who being in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the Christians under the Pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope Urban, and was therein a great solicitor to all Christian Princes. By reason whereof, after the foresaid Oration of Pope Urban, 30000 Men (taking on them the Sign of the Crois for their cognisance) made preparation for that Voyage, whose Captains were Godfrey Duke of Lorain, with his two brethren Eustace and Baldwin, the Bishop of Pody, Robert Duke of Puel, and his Nephew Tancredus, Raimund Earl of St. Egidius, Robert Earl of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, Brother of Philip the French King. To whom also was joynted Robert Curthoise Duke of Normandy, with divers other Noblemen, with the foresaid Peter the Hermit, who was the chief causer of that Voyage.

At that time many of the said Noblemen laid their Lands and Lordships to mortgage, to provide for the forenamed Voyage; as Godfrey Duke of Lorain, who sold the Dukedom of *Bollogn* to the Bishop of *Eburone* for a great sum of money. Also Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy laid his Dukedom to pledge to his Brother William King of England for ten thousand pounds, &c.

Anno 1096. Thus the Christians, which passed first over *Bosphorus*, having to their Captain Peter the Hermit (a man perchance more devout than expert to guide an Army) being trapped of their enemies, were slain and murdered in great numbers among the *Bulgars*, and near to the Town called *Civitas*.

The acts of the Christians in their Voyage to the Holy Land. When the Nobles and the whole Army met together at *Constantinople* (where *Alexius* was Emperor) passing over by *Hellepontus* going to *Jerusalem*, they took the Cities of *Nicea*, *Eraclea*, *Tarsis*, and subdued the Country of *Cicilia*, appointing the possession thereof to certain of their Captains.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth Month of the Siege it was yielded to the Christians by one *Pyrrhus*; about which season were fought many strong Battels, to the great slaughter and desolation of the *Saracens*, and not without loss of many Christian Men. The governance of this City was committed to *Bobemund* Duke of *Puel*, whose martial Knighthood was often proved in time of the Siege thereof.

Anno 1098. And not long after, *Corbona* master of the *Perfians* Chivalry was vanquished and slain, with an hundred thousand *Inhidels*. In which discomfiture were taken 15000 Camels.

Jerusalem on the nine and thirtieth day of the Siege, was conquered by the Christians. Robert also Duke of Normandy was elected to be King thereof. Howbeit he refused it, hearing of the death of King William Rufus of England; wherefore he never sped well in all his affairs after the same. Then Godfrey, Captain of the Christian Army, was proclaimed the first King of *Jerusalem*. At the taking of the City was such a murder of Men, that blood was congealed in the Streets the thickness of a foot. Then after Godfrey reigned Baldwin his Brother: After him Baldwin the second, Nephew. Then Gaufridus Duke of Gaunt, and after him Gaufridus his Son, by whom many great Battels there were fought against the *Saracens*, and all the Country thereabout subdued, save *Ascalon*, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the Voyage to the Holy Land. Now to our own Land again.

The King of England's judgment against the Pope. About this time (as *Matthew Parisensis* writeth) the King of England favoured not much the See of Rome, because of their impudent and unsatiable exactions which they required, neither would he suffer any of his Subjects to go to Rome, alledging these words in the Author thus expressed: *Quod Petri non inhaerent vestigiis, praemissis inhiantes; non ejus potestatem retinent, cujus sanctitatem probantur non imitari*; that is, Because they follow not the steps of Peter, hunting for rewards; neither have they the power and authority of him, whose holiness they declare themselves not to follow, &c.

Decrees of Pope Urban. By the same Urbanus, the seven hours, which we call *Septem horas canonicas*, were first instituted in the Church.

Item, By this Pope was decreed, no Bishop to be made, but under the Name and Title of some certain place.

John Stills. **Item**, That Mattins and hours of the day should every day be said.

Nonclerus. Also every Saturday to be said the Mass of our Lady, and all the Jews Sabbath to be turned to the service of our Lady, as in the Council of *Turon*, to the which Service was appointed the Anthem *Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto famineo sexu*.

Dist. 1. c. 1. q. 6. Junius. **Item**, all such of the Clergy as had Wives, to be deprived of their order.

Item, to be lawful for Subjects to break their Oath of Allegiance with all such as were by the Pope Excommunicate.

Item, not to be lawful both for Husband and Wife to christen one child both together; with matters many more.

By the same Pope thus many Chapters stand written in the Canon Law, *Dist. 7. Sanctorum, dist. 31. Eos qui. 1. q. 1. Si qui dist. 36. Presbyterorum, 11. q. 3. quibus 15. q. 6. Juratos 16. q. 7. Congregatio 19. q. 2. Statuimus, 23. q. 8. Tributum, 30. q. 4. quod autem, &c.*

In the sixth year of this Kings Reign, *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, which former times before had made great slaughter of old and young in the North parts, as is before shewed, burst into *Northumberland* with all the power he could make, and there by the right judgment of God was slain, with his Son *Edward*, and also *Margaret* his Wife, Sister to *Edgar Adelung* above minded, a virtuous and devout Lady, within three days after.

The same year he gave the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* (after that he had detained the same in his own hands four years) to *Anselm* Abbot of *Beck* in *Normandy*.

This *Anselm* was an *Italian*, in the City of *Augusta*, born and brought up in the Abby of *Beck* in *Normandy*; where he was so strict a follower of virtue, that (as the Story recordeth) he wished rather to be without sin in Hell, than in Heaven with sin. Which saying and with of his (if it were his) may seem to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and understanding of the Scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man. Further, they report him to be so far from singularity, that he should say, it was the Vice which thrust the Angels first out of Heaven, and Man out of Paradise.

Of this *Anselm* it is moreover reported, that he was so ill willing to take the Archbishoprick, that the King had much ado to thrust it upon him: and he was so desirous to have him take it, that the City of *Canterbury* (which before *Lanfrancus* did hold but at the Kings good will and pleasure) he gave now to *Anselm* wholly, which was about the year of our Lord 1093. But as desirous as the King was then to place the said *Anselm*, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all manner of means to defeat him if he might. Such strife and contention rose between them two for certain matters; the ground and occasion whereof first was this:

After that *Anselm* had been thus elected to the See of *Canterbury*, before he was fully consecrate, the King communed with him (assaying by all gentle manner of words to intreat him) that such Lands and Possessions of the Church of *Canterbury* as the King had given and granted to his friends since the death of *Lanfrancus*, they might still enjoy the same as their own lawful possessions through his grant and permission. But to this *Anselm* in no case would agree. Whereupon the King, conceiving great displeasure against him, did stop his Consecration a great season, till at length in long process of time the King, enforced by the daily complaints and desires of his People and Subjects, for lack of an Archbishop to moderate the Church, was constrained to admit and authorize him unto them. Thus *Anselm* with much ado taking his Consecration, and doing his Homage to the King, went to his See of *Canterbury*; and not long after, the King sayled over to *Normandy*.

About this time there were two striving in Rome for the Popedome, as is afore touched, *Urbanus* and *Guibertus*. Divers Realms diversly consenting, some to the one, some to the other. England taking part with their King, was rather inclined to *Guibertus*, called *Clement* the third; but *Anselm* did fully go with *Urbanus*, making so his exception with the King, entring to his Bishoprick. After the King was returned again from *Normandy*, the Archbishop cometh to him, and asketh leave to go to Rome, to fet his Pall of Pope Urban; which when he could not at first obtain, he maketh his appeal from the King to the Pope. Whereat the King being justly displeased, chargeth the Archbishop with breach of his Fealty, contrary to his promise made; that is, if he without his licence should appeal either to *Urban* or to any other Pope. *Anselm* answereth again, that it was to be referred unto some greater Council, where it is to be disputed, whether this be to break a Mans Allegiance to a terrene Prince, if he appeal to the Vicar of Saint Peter. And here much arguing and contendng was oft both sides. The Kings reason proceedeth thus: The custome (saith he) from my fathers time hath been in England, that no person should

30. q. 8. quod autem.

Example of Gods right judgment in punishing cruel murder.

Anselm made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The saying of *Anselm* pondered.

The vice of singularity.

Anselm ill willing to take the Archbishoprick. *Canterbury* first given to the Archbishop wholly.

Strife and contention between the King and *Anselm*.

Anselm stopped from his Consecration.

Anselm consecrated.

Anselm doth homage to King William.

Urban and *Clement* striving for the Papacy. England favoured *Clement*.

Anselm holdeth with *Urban*. *Anselm* denied leave to go to Rome.

Anselm appealeth from the King to the Pope.

Anselm charged for a Traitor.

The Kings argument against *Anselm*.

should appeal to the Pope without the Kings licence. He that breaketh the customs of the Realm, violateth the power and Crown of the Kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my Crown, is a Traytor and Enemy against me, &c. To this Anselm replieth again, The Lord (saith he) easily discusseth this question, briefly teaching what Fidelity and Allegiance we ought to give unto the Vicar of Saint Peter, where he saith, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c. And to thee will I give the Keies of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind in Earth, it shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest in Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven, &c. Again, to them all in general he saith, He that beareth you, beareth me; and who so despiseth you, despiseth me. And in another place, He that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of mine Eye. On the other side, what duty we owe to the King, he sheweth also, Give (saith he) to the Emperor, what belongeth to the Emperor, and to God, that which to God belongeth. Wherefore, in such things as belong to God, I will yield, and must yield by good right and duty, my obedience to the Vicar of S. Peter, and in such things as belong again to terrene dignities of my Prince, in those I will not deny to him my faithful help and counsel, so far as they can extend.

Thus have ye the grounded arguments of this Prelate to stand so stiffly against his Prince, whereunto peradventure was joyned also some piece of a stubborn heart. But in this conclusion none of his fellow Bishops durst take his part, but were all against him; namely, William Bishop of Duresme; to whom Anselm thus protesteth, saying, Whosoever he were that would presume to prove it any breach of Allegiance or Fealty to his Sovereign, if he appealed to the Vicar of St. Peter, he was ready to answer at all times to the contrary. The Bishop of Duresme answered again, That he which would not be ruled by reason, must with force be constrained, &c. The King, having on his part the agreement of the Bishops, thought to deprive the Archbishop both of his Pastoral See, and to expel him out of the Realm. But he could not perform his purpose; for Anselm, as he was ready to depart the Realm, he said, whensoever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he took nothing else. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the mean season the King had sent privily two Messengers unto Pope Urban, to intreat him to fend his Pall to the King, for him to give it where he would. Which Messengers by this time were returned again, bringing with them from Rome, Gualter Bishop of Alban, the Popes Legate, with the Pall to be given unto Anselm. This Legate, first landing at Dover, from thence came privily (unknown to Anselm) to the King, declaring and promising, that if Urban was received Pope in England, whatsoever the King required to be obtained, he by his privilege from the Apostolical See would ratifie and confirm the same; save only that when the King required of the Legate that Anselm might be removed, the Legate thereunto would not agree; saying, that it was impossible to be obtained, that such a man as he, being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause. In conclusion, so it followed, that although he could not obtain his request of the Legate, yet the Legate so wrought with the King, that Urban was proclaimed lawful Pope throughout all the Realm.

Then were sent to Anselm certain Bishops to move and prove his mind, declaring what charges and pains the King had been at in his behalf, to procure the Pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would have stood him in great expences, and that all this the King had done for his sake. Wherefore it were good reason and convenient, that he (to gratifie the King) should something condescend to his request again. But with all this Anselm the stout Archbishop would not be moved. Wherefore the King, seeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant unto him the full right of his Archbishoprick. And so the day appointed, when the Pall should be brought to Canterbury (being carried with all solemnity in a thing of Silver) the Archbishop, with a great concourse of people, came forth barefoot with his Priestly Vestments, after a most goodly manner to meet the same; and so being brought in, it was laid upon the Altar. Whiles Anselm (spreading over his shoulders his Popish Vestments) proceeded unto his Popish Mass.

Thus agreement being made between the King and the Bishop, so long as it would hold; it happened the year following, the King with his Army entered into Wales, to subdue such as there rebelled against him. After the Victory gotten, the King returned home again with triumph; to whom Anselm thought to have come to congratulate his prosperous success. But the King prevented him by Messengers, laying to the Bishops charge both the small number and the evil service of his Souldiers sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anselm was dashed, who at the same present had thought to have obtained and done many great matters with the King touching the state of the Church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation; inasmuch that he was charged, against the next Court of Parliament, to make his answer. But he avoided that by appealing to Rome. Wherefore he made his sute and friends to the King for licence to go to the Pope. Unto the which sute the King answered again, that he should not go, neither was there any cause for him so to do; for that both he knew him to be of so sound a life, that he had done no such offence, whereof he needed to crave Absolution at Rome, neither was there any such lack of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsel there: Inasmuch (saith the King) I dare say, Pope Urban rather hath to give place to the wisdom of Anselm, than Anselm to have need of Urban. Wherefore as he hath no cause to go, so I charge him to tarry. And if he continue in his stubbornness still, I still assuredly seize upon his possessions, and convert his Archbishoprick into my Coffers, for that he transgresseth and breaketh his fidelity and obedience, promising before to observe all the customs of my Kingdom. Neither is it the fashion in this Realm, that any of my Nobles should go to Rome without my sending. And therefore let him swear unto me, that he shall neither for any grievance appeal hereafter to the See of Rome, or else let him void my Realm.

Against these words of the King, Anselm thinking not best to reply again by any Message, but by word of mouth, coming himself personally to the King, he placeth himself (after his order) on the right hand of the Prince, where he made his reply unto the Message sent to him by the King. Whereas you say, I ought not to go to Rome, either in regard of any trespass, or for abundance of counsel and knowledge in me (albeit I grant neither of them to be true) yet what the truth is therein, I refer it to the judgment of God. And whereas ye say that I promised to keep and observe your customs; that I grant, but with a condition; so far to keep them, and such of them to observe, as were consonant to the laws of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas ye charge me with breach of my Fidelity and Allegiance, for that contrary to your customs I appeal to the See Apostolick (my reverence and duty to your sovereignty reserved) if another would say it, that is untrue. For the fidelity and obedience that I owe to thee (O King) I have it of the faith and fidelity of God, whose Vicar St. Peter is, to whose seat I do appeal. Further, whereas ye require me to swear, that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeal to Rome, I pronounce openly that a Christian Prince requireth such an Oath of his Archbishop unjustly. For if I should forswear S. Peter, I should deny Christ. And when I shall at any time deny Christ, then shall I be content and ready to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking licence to go to Rome. And peradventure when I am gone, the Goods of the Church shall not so serve your temporal desires and commodities as ye ween for. At these words of the Bishop the King and his Nobles were not a little incensed: they defending again, that in his promise of observing the Kings Customs, there was neither condition, nor any clause put in, either of God or Right. No was? said Anselm. If so be, that in your customs was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Christian should be bound to any Customs which go contrary to God and to right. Thus on both sides passed much altercation between them.

At length the King, after many threatening words, told him he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Well, said the Bishop, if I may neither have my horse nor garments with me, then will I walk on foot; and so addressed

The custom of England from William the Conquerors time, not to appeal to the Pope.

Anselm reply against the King. The reasons of Anselm to prove the Popes authority above other Kings.

Anselm here ignorantly calleth the Pope the Vicar of St. Peter, where the Canon law calleth him but the successor of Peter, and Vicar of Christ.

All the Bishops of the Realm stood of the Kings side against Anselm. William Bishop of Duresme.

Gualterm the Popes Legat cometh to England.

Anselm could not be removed by the King. The Pope taketh this as no fault, for a subject to repugnance against his King.

The stoutness of Anselm standing against his King.

The manner of bringing in Anselms Pall into Canterbury.

Another quarrel of the King against Anselm.

Anselm again appeal to Rome.

The Kings answer to Anselm for his appealing to Rome.

The custom of England.

No Prelate or Nobleman to go to Rome without the Kings sending.

The answer of Anselm to the King.

Note the high reason of Anselm.

The Bishop left Anselm alone.

addressed him toward his journey (all the other Bishops forsaking him) whereof none would take his part; but if he came to them for counsel, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsel, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holiness, was willing and able to persecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the King their Lord; whose favour they could not lack, for the peril that might happen both to themselves and their kindred. But for him, because he was both a stranger, and void of such worldly corruption in him; they willed him to go forward as he had begun; their secret consent he should have, but their open voice they would not give him. Thus *Anselm*, remaining at *Dover* fifteen days tarrying for Wind, at last sped him toward his passage. But his packing being secretly known in the Court, the Kings Officer *William Warlewast*, prevented his purpose, searching by the Kings Commandment, all his Trusses, Coffers, Satchels, Sleeves, Purse, Napkin and Bosom, for Letters, and for Money, and so let him pass. Who, sailing into *France*, first rested a while at *Lions*, from thence came to *Rome* to Pope *Urban*, according to the tenor and form of a certain Epistle of his; wherein, among many other things in the same Epistle contained, these words he writeth to Pope *Paschalis*, the third year after his banishment, after the death of *Urban*, and a little before the death of the King.

To the Lord and reverend Father *Paschalis*, High Bishop, Anselm servant of the Church of Canterbury, offereth due subjection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any stead, Ex Epist. 36. paulo post initium.

I see in *England* many evils, whose correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor suffer without mine own fault. The King desireth of me, that under the name of right I should consent to his pleasures, which were against the law and will of God. For he would not have the Pope received nor appealed unto in *England*, without his commandment; neither that I should send a Letter unto him, or receive any from him, or that I should obey his Decrees. He suffered not a Council to be kept in his Realm now these thirteen years, since he was King. In all these things, and such like, if I asked any Counsel, all my Suffragan Bishops of his Realm, denied to give me any counsel, but according to the Kings pleasure. After that I saw these and such other things that are done against the will and law of God: I asked a Licence of him to go to *Rome* unto the See Apostolical, that I might there take counsel for my soul, and the office committed unto me. The King said, that I offended against him for the only asking of licence; and propounded to me, that either I should make him amends for the same as a trespass (assuring him never to ask his licence any more to appeal to the Pope at any time hereafter) or else that I should quickly depart out of his Land. Wherefore choosing rather to go out of the Land, than agree to so wicked a thing; I came to *Rome*, as you know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord Pope. The King by and by (as soon as I went out of *England*) invaded the whole Archbishoprick, and turned it to his own use, taxing the Monks only with bare Meat, Drink and Cloth. The King being warned and desired of the Lord Pope to amend this, contemned the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And now is the third year since I came thus out of *England*, and more. Some men, not understanding, demand why I did not excommunicate the King. But the wiser sort, and such as have understanding, counsel me that I do not this thing; because it belongeth not unto me both to complain and to punish. To conclude, I was forewarned by my friends that are under the King, that mine Excommunication (if it should be done) would be laughed to scorn and despised, &c.

By these here above prefixed, appeareth how *Anselm* the Archbishop, coming unto *Rome*, made his complaint to Pope *Urban* of the King; and how the Pope write-

ing unto the King in the behalf of *Anselm* his Letters and Commandments were despised. And now to our Story. In the mean time, while the Popes Letters were sent to the King, *Anselm* was bid to wait about the Pope to look for answer back. Who perceiving at length, how little the King reputed the Popes Letters, began to be weary of his office, desiring the Pope that he might be discharged thereof; but the Pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him upon his obedience, that wherefore he went, he should bear with him the Name and Honour of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Whereunto *Anselm* again said, his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for Gods cause was ready to suffer whatsoever should happen (yea though it were death it self) as he thought no less would follow thereof. But what should we think, saith he, is there to be done, where justice not only taketh no place, but is utterly oppressed? And whereas my Suffragans do not only not help (for dread) the righteous cause, but also for favour do impugn the same? Well (saith the Pope) as touching these matters we shall sufficiently provide at the next Council to be holden at *Baion*, whereas I will you the same time and place to be present.

When the time of the Council was come, *Anselm* amongst others was called for, who, first sitting in an utter side of the Bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the Pope; with these words, *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam*. Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the Successors of the See of *Canterbury*, in every General Council by the Decree of Pope *Urban*, to sit at the right foot of the Pope. In this said Council great stir and much reasoning there was against the *Grecians*, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the Holy Ghost. Where is to be noted, that the *Greek Church* hath of long time dissented from the *Latine Church* in many and sundry points, to the number of twenty, or almost 29. Articles, as I have them collected out of the Register of the Church of *Hereford*: whereof like as occasion hereafter may serve (God willing) for a further and more ample tractation to be made; so here by the way partly I mean to touch some. The first is:

Wherein the Greek Church differeth from the Latine.

THE first Article wherein the *Greek Church* altereth from the *Latine* or *Romish Church* is this:

Quod sunt extra obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae, pro eo quod Ecclesia Constantinopolitana non est subiecta, sed ei aequalis. Dicunt dominum Apostolicum non habere maiorem potestatem, quam quatuor patriarchae. Et quicquid fit praeter scientiam eorum per Papam, vel sine eorum approbatione, nullius est valoris, &c.

In English.

First, They are not under the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, because that the Church of *Constantinople* is not subject, but equal to the same.

2. They hold that the Bishop of the Apostolick See of *Rome* hath not greater power than the four Patriarchs. And whatsoever the Pope doth beside their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no value.

3. Item, They say whatsoever hath been done or concluded, since the second General Council, it is of no full authority; because from that time they recount the *Latines* to be in error, and to be excluded out of the Holy Church.

4. Item, Dicunt Eucharistiam consecratam per Romanam Ecclesiam non esse verum corpus Christi. That is, They hold the Eucharist consecrated by the Church of *Rome* not to be the very body of Christ. Also where the *Romish Church* doth consecrate in unleavened bread, they consecrate in bread leavened.

5. Item, They say that the *Romish Church* doth err in the words of Baptism, for saying, I baptise thee; when they should say, Let this Creature of God be baptised, &c.

6. They hold more over, to be no Purgatory, nor that the Suffrages of the Church do avail the dead, either to lessen the pain of them that be destinate to Hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to salvation.

7. Item,

Anselm by-
ing out of
England.
Anselm
searched by
the Kings
Officer for
Letters.

A fragment
or portion
of a Letter
of *Anselm*
to Pope
Paschalis.
Ex Legend.
Anf. out
of *Legend*, ex
epist. *Ansel.*
36.

The King
would not
have the
Pope recei-
ved nor ap-
pealed unto
in *England*.

Anselm
complain-
eth of the
King, and of
his Suffra-
gan Bishops.

The King
contemned
the Popes
warning.

Council
Baiensis.

Anselm
and his suc-
cessors of
Canterbury,
placed at
the right
foot of the
Pope in his
General
Councils.

De processu
et spiritali
fuerit.
The differ-
ence be-
tween the
Greek
Church and
the *Latine*

The Arti-
cles and O-
pinions of
the *Greek*
Church, dif-
fering from
the *Latine*
Church of
Rome.

7. *Item*, they hold that the souls out of the bodies departed (whether they have done good or evil) have not their perfect pain nor glory, but are reserved in a certain place till the day of Judgment.

8. *Item*, they condemn the Church of Rome for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

9. *Item*, they condemn the Church of Rome for that as well women as Priests anoint children (when they baptize them) on both shoulders.

10. *Item*, *Dicunt panem nostrum panagium*: That is, they call our bread *panagia*.

11. *Item*, they blame the Church of Rome for celebrating their Mass on other days besides Sundays, and certain other Feasts appointed.

12. Also in this the Greek Church varieth from the Latins; for they have neither Cream nor Oyl, nor Sacrament of Confirmation.

13. Neither do they use extreame unction, or anointing after the manner of the Roman Church, expounding the place of St. James of the spiritual infirmity, and not corporal.

14. *Item*, they enjoyn no satisfaction for penance, but only that they shew themselves to the Priests, anointing them with simple oyl in token of remission of sins.

15. *Item*, only on Maunday-thursday they consecrate for the sick, keeping it for the whole year after, thinking it to be more holy on that day consecrated than upon any other. Neither do they fast any Saturday through the whole year, but only on Easter-eve.

16. *Item*, they give but only five Orders, as of Clerks, Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests and Bishops; when as the Roman Church giveth nine Orders after the nine Orders of Angels.

My copy here seemed to want somewhat.

17. Moreover the Grecians in their Orders make no vow of Chastity, alledging for them the fifth Canon of N. *Ego presbyter vel diaconus, uxorum causa honestatis non rejiciam*, &c. that is, I. N. Priest or Deacon will not forsake my wife for honesty sake.

18. *Item*, every year the Grecians use upon certain days to Excommunicate the Church of Rome, and all the Latins as Hereticks.

19. *Item*, among the said Grecians they are Excommunicate that beat or strike a Priest. Neither do their Religious men live in such Prietly chastity as the Roman Priests do.

20. *Item*, their Emperor amongst them doth ordain Patriarchs, Bishops, and other of the Clergy, and depose the same at his pleasure; also he giveth Benefices to whom he listeth, and retaineth the fruits of the same Benefices as pleaseth him.

This Article seemeth not to be rightly collected out of the Grecians.

21. *Item*, they blame the Latin Church because they eat no flesh, Eggs and Cheese on Fridays, and do eat flesh on Saturdays.

22. *Item*, they hold against the Latin men for celebrating without the consecrated Church, either in the house or in the field; and fasting on the Sabbath-day; and for permitting menstruous women to enter into the Church before their purifying; also for suffering Dogs and other beasts to enter into the Church.

23. The Grecians use not to kneel in all their devotions, yea not to the body of Christ (as the Register termeth it) but one day in the whole year; saying and affirming that the Latins be Goats and beasts, for they are always prostrating themselves upon the ground in their prayers.

24. The Grecians moreover permit not the Latins to celebrate upon their Altars. And if it chance any Latin Priest to celebrate upon their Altar, by and by they wash their Altar in token of abomination and false sacrifice. And diligently they observe that whensoever they do celebrate, they do but one Liturgy or Mass upon one Altar or Table that day.

25. *Item*, they dissent from the Church of Rome touching the order and manner of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

These Articles wherein is declared the difference between the East and West Church, of the Grecians and Romans, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentical Register of the Church of Hereford, so I thought here to insert them, and leave them to the con- sideration of the Reader.

Other four Articles more in the same Register be there expressed concerning Simony, Usury, not with them forbidden; and touching also their Emperor; and how they teach their children to hurt or damnify by any manner of way the Latin Priests, &c. Which Articles, for that either they seem not truly collected out of their teachings, or else not greatly pertinent to the Doctrine of Religion; I overpass them. To the purpose now of our story again.

When certain of these above prefixed were moved in the foresaid Council to be discussed, namely concerning the assertion of proceeding of the Holy Ghost, and concerning leavened bread in the Ministration of the Lords Supper, *Anselm*, as is above said, was called for, who in the translation of the same Articles so bestowed him in that Council, that he well liked the Pope and them about him, as mine Author recordeth. Whereupon touching the matter of unleavened bread, how indifferently he seemed there to reason, and what he writeth to *Waltram* Bishop of Nuremberg, thereof ye shall hear by a piece of his Letter sent to the said Bishop, the Copy whereof insueth.

Anselm 1. About Chastity against the Grecians.

Anselm, Servant to the Church of Canterbury, to *Waltram* Bishop of Nuremberg. Epist. 325. post. initium.

AS concerning the Sacrifice in which the Grecians think not as we do; it seemeth to many reasonable Catholick men, that which they do not to be against the Christian Faith; for both be that sacrificeth unleavened and leavened, sacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when he made his body of bread) that he took bread and blessed; it is not added unleavened or leavened. Yet it is certain that he blessed unleavened bread (peradventure) not because the thing that was done required that, but because the Supper in which this was done did give that. And whereas in another place he calleth himself and his flesh bread, because that as man liveth temporally with this bread, so with that bread he liveth for ever. He saith not unleavened or leavened, because both alike are bread; for unleavened and leavened differ not in substance, as some think; like as a new man afore sin, and an old man rooted in the leaven of sin, differ not in substance. For this cause therefore only he might be thought to call himself and his flesh, bread, and made his body of bread, because that this bread (unleavened or leavened) giveth a transitory life; and his body giveth everlasting life, not for that it is either leavened or unleavened. Although it be a Commandment in the Law to eat unleavened bread in the Passover, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Christ whom they looked for, was pure and clean; and we that should eat his body were admonished to be likewise pure from all leaven of malice and wickedness. But now after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eat the unleavened flesh of Christ, that old figure in bread (of which we make that flesh) is not necessary for us. But manifest it is, to be better sacrificed of unleavened, than of leavened, &c.

Bread in the Communion to be unleavened is not necessary.

To this Letter I have also adjoyned another Epistle of his to the said *Waltram*, appertaining to matters not much unlike to the same effect; wherein is intreated touching the variety and divers usages of the Sacraments in the Church; whereby such as call and cry so much for Uniformity in the Church, may note peradventure in the same something for their better understanding.

A piece of another Letter of *Anselm* to the said *Waltram* Bishop of Nur.

To the Reverend Father and his Friend *Waltram*, by the Grace of God the Worshipful Bishop of Nuremberg, *Anselm* the Servant of the Church of Canterbury, Greeting, &c.

Ep. 326. *Anselm* 1.

YOUR Worship complaineth of the Sacraments of the Church, that they are not made every where after one sort, but are handled in divers places after divers sorts. And truly if they were ministered after one sort and agreeing through

Another Letter.

through the whole Church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithstanding because there be many diversities which differ not in the sum of the Sacrament in the strength of it, or in the Faith, or else can be gathered into one custom: I think that they are rather to be born with in agreement of peace, than to be condemned with offence. For we have seen from the holy fathers, that if the unity of charity be kept in the Catholick faith, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diversity of customs doth spring; I perceive no other cause thereof but the diversity of mens wits, which although they differ not in strength and truth of the thing, yet they agree not in the fineness and comeliness of the ministering. For that which one judgeth to be meet, oftentimes another thinketh less meet; wherefore not to agree in such diversities, I think it not to swerve from the truth of the thing, &c.

Then in the story it followeth, after long debating and discussing of these matters in the Council, when they had given forth their determination upon the same, and the Pope had blasted out his thundring Excommunications against the Grecians, and all that took their part: at length were brought in the complaints and accusation against the King of England. Upon the hearing whereof, Pope Urban with his adherents was ready to proceed in Excommunication against the King. But Anselm kneeling before the Pope, after he had first accused his King, then after obtained for him longer time to be given upon further trial.

Thus the Council breaking up, the Pope returning again to Rome, directeth down his Letters to the King, commanding him that Anselm with all his partakers (in speedy wise) should be revolted again into his Archbishoprick, and all other possessions thereunto appertaining. To this the King sendeth answer again by messengers; who coming to the Pope, declared in the Kings behalf on this wise, That the King their Master did not a little marvel what came in his mind to command Anselm to be revolted and re seized again into his former Archbishoprick; seeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of England without his leave, he would so do unto him. Well (saith the Pope) have ye no other matter against Anselm but only this? No (quoth they.) And have ye taken all this travel (saith the Pope) to come hither so far to tell me this, that the Primate of your Country is therefore disfeized and dispossessed, because he hath appealed to the See and judgment Apostolical? Therefore if thou lovest thy Lord, speed thee home and tell him, if he will not be Excommunicated, that he quickly revolt Anselm again to all that he had before. And lest I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, look to thy term, and see that thou bring me answer again from him into this City against the next Council the third week after Easter. The messenger or speaker being somewhat astonished at the hearing of this so Tragical answer, thinking yet to work something for his King and Master, came secretly to the Pope, saying that he would confer a certain mystery from his King privately with his Holiness between them two. What mystery that was, or what there passed from the King to the Pope and the Court of Rome, mine Author doth not shew; but so cunningly that mystery was handled, that with a full consent both of the Pope and all the Court of Rome, a longer day was given, from Easter to Michaelmas, and the Popes cholerick heat so asswaged, that when the Council came (which then was holden at St. Peter's Church in Rome) albeit great complaints were then denounced against the King; yet such favour was found that he took no harm. Only the sentence of Excommunication was there pronounced against such lay-persons as gave Investiture of Churches, and them that were so invested. Also against them that do consecrate such, or which gave themselves in subjection to lay-men for Ecclesiastical livings, as is before touched, &c.

This Council being finished, the Archbishop seeing the unsteadfastness of the Pope (which pleased him but a little) took his journey to Lyons, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death first of Pope Urban, then after of the King.

Of this King William many things be diversly recorded, some to his commendation, and some to his discommendation; whereof this is one, which some will ascribe to

hardiness, but I rather to rashness in him. As this King upon a time was in his disport of hunting, suddenly word came to him that Cenouona (a City in Normandy) was besieged. The King without longer tarrying or advisement took the straight way toward the Sea-side, sending to his Lords that they should follow after. They being come to his presence, advised him to stay till the time his people were assembled, but he would not be stayed, saying that such as him loved (he knew) would follow him shortly, and so went to take Ship. The Ship-master seeing the weather so dark and cloudy was afraid, and counselled the King to tarry till the wind did turn about, and the weather more favourable. But the King persisting in his journey, commanded him to make all the speed he might for his life; saying, That he never heard that any King yet was ever drowned. And so passed the Sea in safety, and came to Normandy.

The thirteenth year of his reign the said King William, having the same time in his hand three Bishopricks, Canterbury, Winchester and Sarum; also twelve Abbies in farm; as he was in his disport of hunting in the new Forest, by glancing of an arrow (shot of a Knight named Walter Tirrel) was wounded to death, and so speechless was carried to Westminster, and there was buried. Where also is to be noted, that Richard the Cousin-German of King William, and Son to Duke Robert his Brother, was likewise slain in the foresaid Forest. See the just hand of God upon Kings usurping wrongfully upon other mens grounds, as did William the Conqueror their Father, in making this new Forest, plucking down divers Churches and Townships, the compass of thirty miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot revenge, yet God revengeth either in them, or in their posterity, &c. This King as he always used Concubines, so left he no issue legitimate behind him. His life was such that it is hard for a story that should tell the truth, to say whether he was more to be commended or reproved. Among other vices in him, especially is to be rebuked in him unmeasurable and unreasonable covetousness; inasmuch that he coveted (if he might) to be every mans heir. This one example of a liberal and Princely nature I find in him; that upon a time when a certain Abbot of a place was dead, there came to his Court two Monks of the same house, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the King, and offered large offers, either of them to be promoted to that dignity. There was also the third Monk of the same place, which of meekness and humility followed the other two, to the intent that upon him whom the King had admitted for Abbot, he should give attendance, and as his Chaplain with him return. The King called before him the two Monks severally, of whom the one out-proffered the other. As the King cast his eye aside, he espied the third Monk standing by, supposing that his coming had been also for the like cause. Then the King calling him, asked what he would do, whether he would give more than his brethren had offered to be Abbot. He answered to the King, and said, that he neither had nor would (if he might) offer any penny for it by any such unlawful means.

When the King had well pondered this third Monks answer, he said that he was best worthy to be Abbot, and to have the rule of so holy a Charge; and so gave unto him that Benefice without taking any penny.

Urban Bishop of Rome, who (as is said) succeeded after Victor, ruled the Church of Rome about the space of twelve years; and amongst his other acts he Excommunicated the Emperor Henry the Fourth of that name, as a man not much devout to that See of Rome. But yet a worthy and victorious Prince he was, in whom albeit some vice perchance might be noted, yet none such, wherefore any Prelate or Minister of Christ ought to excite his subjects to rebel against publick Authority of God appointed.

This Emperor Henry the Fourth was by four Popes severally Excommunicated: first by Hildebrand, by Victor, Urban, and Paschal. Which Excommunication wrought so in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many (as well of the Nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their sworn allegiance) rebelliously conspired against their King and Emperor. In number of whom, amongst the rest was one certain Earl named Ludovicus, to whom

The hardiness or rashness of King William.

The saying of King William, how he never knew any King drowned.

The death of William Rufus, Walter Tirrel.

The New Forest.

Example of the just hand of God revenging the faults of Kings in their posterity.

Covetousness noted in King William.

A famous example of Bribes refused.

Two bribing Monks both disappointed.

Urban Excommunicated Henry the 4th. Emperor.

Henry the fourth Emperor, by four Popes Excommunicated.

Ludovicus Earl conspiring and rebellious against the Emperor.

Walstramus

Waltramus Bishop of the Church of *Mergburgh* (a godly and faithful man as appeareth) doth write Letters of Fatherly admonition, exhorting and instructing him in the office of obedience. Unto the which Letters he likewise doth answer again by cavilling, sophistication, and by meer affection rather disposed to discord, than seeking sincerity of truth. And forsomuch as in these two Letters the argument of Christian obedience on both sides is so debated by proofs and reasons, as may be profitable for the Reader to peruse and understand, I thought therefore not to defraud the *English* Reader of the same, whereof peradventure some utility might be taken. The tenor of the Bishops Letter to the Earl here followeth.

The Epistle of *Waltramus* Bishop of *Mergburgh*, to the Earl *Ludovicus*, exhorting to concord and obedience.

Anno 1090.
Ex appen-
dix Mari-
Scoti.

Waltramus Dei gratia id quod est, Ludovico serenissimo Principi, cum instantia orationum semper ad omnia devotissimum, Omni regno utilis est concordia, desiderabilis est justitia, &c.

In English.

Concord &
just obedi-
ence neces-
sary in a
Common-
wealth.

Waltram by the Grace of God being that he is, to *Ludovick* the noble Prince, with instance of prayers of fereth himself serviceable to all things. To every Realm concord is a thing profitable, and justice much to be desired. For this vertue is the mother of godliness, and the consecration of all honesty. Whosoever seeketh after civil dissention, and incenseth others to effusion of blood, he is a murderer, and partaker with him, who ever gaping and thirsting for anothers blood, goeth about seeking whom he may devour. You therefore consider with your self (most noble Prince) how God is the God of peace and not of dissention (so much as in you doth lie) have peace with all men. God is charity, the Devil is hatred. The whole Law and Prophets consist in love and charity. He that hateth and maligneth his brother is a murderer, and hath no part with Christ in the Kingdom of God. This we read testified and protested both by him which is the truth himself, and by him which was the scholar of the truth; who upon the breast of the Lord (drinking a more full draught of the Gospel) rejoiceth the City of God with abundance of plentiful floods. In like manner that worthy vessel of Election, who being rapt up to the third Heaven (not by man, but by revelation of Jesus Christ) protesteth also, saying, Let every soul submit himself to the higher powers: There is no power, saith he, but of God. If that be true therefore, which certain of our friends do jangle among women and the vulgar sort, that we ought not to be subdued to Kingly power; then is it false which the Apostle teacheth, that every soul must submit himself under power and superiority. But can the Verity lie? Or do we seek for experiment of him who spake in the Apostle, Christ the Lord? Or do we provoke the Lord? Be we stronger than he? For what doth he but think himself stronger than the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? For there is no power but of God. But what saith the Prophet? Confounded be all they that strive against thee, O Lord; and the men which repugn against thee shall perish. *Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert*, with many other Princes, resisted the Ordinance of God in *Henry* the Emperor. And lo even as they had never been, so are they now perished; and as their end was evil, so their beginning could not be good.

Disobedi-
ence puni-
shed of
God.

Now therefore, forsomuch as they which be contrary to us do earnestly strive against us even with their own arguments, whereas of right (I dare refer me to your judgment) we ought to use the authority of Christ and ancient Fathers, before that which our adversaries take out of their own treasury: And because I will not refuse the order of Law in this behalf; let it be the end of the strife, that either I may be openly shamed before the people, either else (the victory falling on our side) we may win you to the obedience of our Sovereign Lord the Emperor. Also take you heed to this saying, *If any man do preach otherwise than that which is preached, let him be*

Gal.

of you accursed. This curse, I say, doth not proceed from any new prophane authority, but is thundred down from the third Heaven. And of them which know not the righteousness of God, but go about to stablish their own righteousness, and therefore be not subject to the righteousness of God, I may boldly say, let such be accursed. So may you well say, Confounded be all they that proudly rise up against the Lord; but thy servant (O Lord) shall rejoice. For as thou hast well said, Without me you can do nothing, so in judging of the wicked thou dost not condemn the just. Who art thou that judgest another mans servant? to his own Lord he doth either stand or fall.

The Answer of Earl *Lewis* to Bishop *Waltram*.

THE Earl *Lewis* to the Lord *Waltram*, howsoever unworthy or unmeet he be for the name. Like as a good man from the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good fruit, so doth the evil man from the evil treasure of the heart bring forth evil fruit. What arrogancy hath so possessed you, to provoke my displeasure with such injurious contumelies? For indeed those my good Lords and Spiritual Fathers, which strengthen me in the way of righteousness, you (railingly) call bloody men like unto Satan, and the wholesome lessons which they teach, you say they are but dreams of the common people amongst foolish women. Hath God any need of your judgment that you should speak leavings for him? Iniquity hath taught your mouth to follow blasphemous tongues; so that well may the Prophet say of you, He would not understand to do well, he hath devised wickedness upon his bed. Although therefore you being altogether froward, have only spoken froward things; yet we have determined to set a watch before our mouth, like as if a shameless person should stand up before us; and the Word of God doth provoke us, saying, Answer a fool according to his own foolishness, lest he should seem wise in his own opinion. Shall folly speak, and wisdom hold her peace? Shall lyes be freely uttered, and truth compelled to keep silence? Shall darkness cover the Earth, and shall not the Lord arise and shine? yea rather the light hath lightened the darkness, and darkness hath not comprehended it: In consideration hereof our hearts have melted, and our zealous meditations have set us on fire. We therefore speak and cry, and the little Foxes which undermine the Lords Vineyards (as much as in us is) we drive away, fearing the threatening Prophecy: You have not withstood our adversaries, neither have you made a Bulwark for the defence of the House of *Israel*, that you might be able to stand in battel in the day of the Lord. Let them hear (I speak not to you which have ears and hear not, eyes and see not, which have made dark the light that is in you) but let them hear, I say, that be well disposed, and have ears to hear withal: as for you, you have no understanding, and if you have, you cloak it. Neither have you any thing to say or to prove, by what reason we should be subject to the Lord *Henry*, whom you call Emperor. And yet (as it is given us to understand) you go about to persuade, that of necessity we ought to be subject to him, and that by the argument of *St. Paul*, Let every soul be subdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; he therefore that doth withstand power, doth resist Gods Ordinance. The which sentence of the Apostle we say that you do evil conceive, and therefore evil interpret; for if every power be of God (as you understand) what is meant by that, that the Lord doth speak of some by the Prophet? They did reign and were not made Princes by me, and I knew them not. If every power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lord doth say, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee? For what is power, but the eye? Certainly *Augustin* in the Exposition of this sentence of the Apostle (Let every soul, &c.) doth say, that if the powers do command any thing against God, then have them in contempt: but yet nevertheless fear them. Is there any iniquity with God? Is Christ the Minister of sin? God forbid. What shall we therefore say? Doth the Apostle preach contrary to truth? *Augustin* saith, No. One wind filleth many Pipes of divers tunes. Therefore let us hear the Apostle agreeing and expounding himself, and destroying his enemy and avenger: There is (saith he) no power but of God. What followeth? He therefore, saith

A railing
Answer to
the former
Letter of
Bishop *Wal-
tram*.

Well said,
when you
are not able
to with-
stand his
wisdom,
call him a
fool.

Note how
the Earl
here calleth
light dark-
ness, and
darkness
light.

He hath ut-
tered more
reason than
you are able
ever to an-
swer to.

Whether
every pow-
er is to be
obeyed or
no.
Hof. 8.

If every
power
which of-
fendeth his
subjection
is to be cast
out, then
hath this
Earl made a
fair argu-
ment.

he,

he, that doth resist the power, &c. God forbid, doth nothing follow? But what doth follow? Those powers which be ordained of God truly, that is it we look for. O crafty tongue! O heart imagining mischief! O confusing breath that shall not return! Why hast thou lyed to the Holy Ghost? Thine own conscience shall accuse thee. Behold the wicked flieth, and no man doth pursue him. Why would you suppress the truth to the intent to deceive? Why stole ye away the pith and effect of this sentence? for if these words should be taken away from the midst of the sentence, it should lie (contrary to it self) inconvenient and half dead. The word of the Lord is herein fulfilled, He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour shall fall therein himself. Verily you can neither excuse you of theft, neither avoid the punishment due for the same. O unhappy man! what shall you answer to the Judge, when he shall require an account of his servants of whom he putteth you in trust, seeing you shall be set before him in the midst, and proved a picker of your Masters treasure? Wherefore did you not fear the judgment and execution, when as the guiltiness of offence doth require condign punishment? The Apostle through the Holy Ghost did foresee, that you and such Hereticks as you are should spring in the Church, which should call good evil, and evil good, and that should put darkness in place of light, and light in place of darkness, which also should take occasion by the sentences of truth to bring in error, when as he did set this before, There is no power but of God: to the intent he might take away the conjecture of false understanding. For (saith he) those powers that be, are ordained of God. Give therefore an ordinary power, and we do not resist, yea we will forthwith do our homage. But I do marvel (if at the least there remain in you any one drop of blood) that you are not ashamed to call the Lord Henry King, or to allow him any ordinary place. Is this a seemly order (think you) to give place to wickedness, and to make a general confusion in mixing good and evil, Gods and mans devices together? Either do you think this good order for man to sin against his own body, as (Oh shameful wickedness) to make his own wife a common harlot, a mischief not heard of at any time since the beginning of the world before now? Or do you allow this for good order, when as the Lord saith, Defend the widows, especially such as require equity of justice, and then them to fend away most filthily defiled? Mad Orsyes doth protest him to be out of his wit that will say these things to be orderly or well done. Until this most miserable time nature hath ever loved secrecy; but your King given up to a reprobate sense, hath uncovered the privities of nature, who hath not let to lay a broad all shamefastness. We will not speak of other things which cannot be numbed, that is to say, burning of Churches, Robberies, firing of Houses, Man-slaughters, Murders, and such like, the number whereof he knoweth, and not we; for let us speak chiefly of those things which most grieve the Church of God. Harken therefore to true and not fained things: Harken I say, to matters of earnest, and to no trifles. Every one that doth sell spiritual dignities is an Heretick. But the Lord Henry, whom they call a King, doth sell both Bishopricks and Abbacies; for truly he sold for money the Bishoprick of Constance, Babemburge, Mentz, and many others. The Bishopricks of Ratisbon, Augusta, and Strausbrough, he sold for a Sword, and the Abbey of Fulda for Adultery; and for filthy Sodomitry he sold the Bishoprick of Mon. A wickedness it is to speak or hear of such a fact. The which things if without shame ye will deny, he is to be condemned by the witness of Heaven and Earth; yea and of the silly poor Idiots that come from the Smiths forge. Wherefore the Lord Henry is an Heretick; for the which most wicked evils he is Excommunicate from the See Apostolick, so that he may not exercise either Kingdom or power over us which be Catholick. And whereas you burthen us with hatred of our Brethren, know you that we purpose not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeal. God forbid that we should think Henry worthy to be accounted amongst our Christian Brethren, who indeed is reputed for an Ethnick and Publican, in that he refused to hear the Church which so oft hath reprov'd him. The hatred of whom we offer unto God for a great sacrifice, saying with the Psalmist, Lord shall not I hate them that

hate thee? and shall not I triumph over thine enemies? I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemies to me for thy sake. The truth it self, commending the worthiness of this hatred, doth say, If any do not hate Father and Mother, Brethren and Sisters for my sake, he cannot be my Disciple. We are not therefore justly to be reprov'd of hatred, which do give over our own soul to be in the way of God; who indeed are commanded to hate Father and Mother, and every affection which doth withstand us for walking in the path of God. Hereof it cometh, that we labour with all our study and endeavour to beware of the enemies of the Church, and them to hate; not for that they be our enemies, but Gods. Further, where you perswade peace to be had with all men, you must remember what the Apostle doth put before, If it may be. But if it cannot be that we can have peace with them, who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know the Lord our Saviour not only to commend peace, when as he saith, My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave unto you; But that he is the peace (as saith the Apostle) he is the peace which made of both one; for he calleth him our peace, speaking in commendation of the peace: Think not (saith he) that I came to send peace, for I came not to send peace, but the Sword. What is meant by this? Why is peace called a sword? Or doth peace bid battel? Yea truly, to destroy the peace of the Devil. For the Devil hath his peace, whereof the Lord speaketh, When as the strong man keepeth his House, he doth possess all his substance in peace. Oh how mightily doth the Devil keep his soldiers and his house in this time! Who with the shield of fallhood, and the helmet of untruth so doth defend him, that he will not suffer either arrow or dart of truth to pierce him. Nevertheless our Lord being more strongly armed, and fiercely coming upon your Giant, is able to overcome him and to take away his weapons, wherein he putteth his trust. We are not therefore to be blamed, if we do detest that peace, more cruel than any war, the which the truth it self did reprove weeping over Jerusalem, and saying, Truly, it grieveth me this day to see sinners in peace; being like unto that peace whereat the Psalmist was offended. Whereas you condemn Pope Gregory, King Rodolphus, and Marquis Eggebertus, as men that have died of an unhappy death, and do magnifie your Lord, because he doth over-live them; it doth plainly (forsooth) appear, that you remain void of all spiritual consideration. Is it not better to die well, than to live ill? They be truly happy who suffer persecution for righteousness sake. By the same reason may you esteem Nero, Herod, and Pilat happy, in that they over-lived Peter, Paul, James, Apostles, and Jesus Christ. What can be said more foolish and wicked than this opinion? Wherefore refrain your babling tongue from this blasphemy, lest that you place your self in the number of them, which seeing the end of the just to be glorious (themselves doing late and unfruitful penance, bewailing in the anguish of the Spirit) shall say, These be they whom sometimes we had in derision and laughed to scorn; we being out of our wits thought their lives madness, and their end to be without honour. Behold how they be allowed to be amongst the Children of God, and their portion is amongst the Saints. Wherefore we have erred from the way of truth, and the brightness of righteousness did not shine upon us. What did our pride avail us? and what profit did the boasting of our riches bring us? They are all vanished away like a shadow. The which words we have registred up into perpetual memory, and we do despise every attempt that shall lift up it self against the truth of God; and rejoicing in troubles, we may be reprov'd, put to shame and rebuked, yea and finally be slain and killed, but we will neither yield, nor be overcome. And with great triumph will we rejoyce in our fathers doings; of whom you (as a beardless boy, and of small knowledg) have nothing rightly conceived; who indeed despising Princes commandments, have deserved everlasting reward.

There is a certain Chronicle in old English Meeter, *Ex vetusto Chronico.* which among other matters, speaking of William Rufus, declareth him to be so sumptuous and excessive in pompous Apparel, that he being not contented with a pair of Hose of a low price, which was three shillings, caused a pair to be bought of a mark; whereupon his Chamberlain

How lively these Papists describe themselves in their own colours.

But Paul judged the Emperor to be an ordinary power, when he appealed to him.

This is likely, that the Emperor would make his own Wife a common Harlot.

Evil will never fail well.

A zeal, but far from knowledge.

And when they shall slay you, they shall think they do God great service, Job. 16

Yea true, if he had compelled you to forsake the name of Christ, which he never did.

Oh how craftily doth Satan here shape himself to an Angel of light.

berlain procuring a pair much worse than the other before, said,

That they costened a Mark, and unneeth be them so bought: Ten Belamy (quoth the King) they are well bought.

Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be seen between the Hofe of Princes then, and the Hofe of Serving-men now.

Appendix Historiae.

After the time of this King William, the name of Kings ceased in the Country of Wales among the Britains, since King Rŷ, who in the reign of this King, the year of our Lord 1093, was slain in Wales. Ex continuatione Rogeri Hoved.

King HENRY the First.

ANNO 1100. HENRY the First of that name, the Third Son of William the Conqueror, succeeding his Brother Rufus, began his Reign in England, the year of our Lord 1100, who for his knowledg and science in the Seven Liberal Arts, was surnamed Clerk or Beuclerk. In whom may well appear how Knowledge and Learning doth greatly conduce to the Government and Administration of any Realm or Country. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the Clergy, released the grievous payments, reduced again King Edward's Laws, with Emendation thereof; he reformed the old and untrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arm; he greatly abhorred excess of meats and drinks; many things misused before his time he reformed; and used to vanquish more by counsel than by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton he secluded from his Court. This man (as appeareth) little favoured the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome. Soon after he was King, he married Maud, or Maud, Daughter of Malcolm King of Scots, &c. of Margaret his wife, Daughter of Edward the Outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed Nun in Winchester; whom notwithstanding (without the Popes dispensation) he married by the consent of Anselm, by the which Maud he received two Sons, William and Richard, and two Daughters, Maud and Mary, which Maud afterward was married to Henry the fifth Emperor, &c.

Example, what it is to leave off the Lords business.

Duke Robert taken prisoner.

The Hospital of Bartholomew founded. Rاجر and Richard Whittington founders of St. Bartholomew in London.

In the second year of his Reign, Robert his Elder Brother, Duke of Normandy, being occupied in the Christian Wars against the Turks, and being elect (as you heard) King of Jerusalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refused the Kingdom thereof; for the which (as is thought) he never sped well after. Thus the said Robert leaving off the Lords business; and returning into Normandy, made there his preparation, and came over into England with a great Host to challenge the Crown; but by mediation of the Lords it was agreed upon that Robert should have yearly during his life three thousand Marks, as was likewise promised him before by King Rufus his Brother; and whether of them overlived the other, to be the others heir. And thus Robert departed again into Normandy, to the great discontentation of his Lords there. But in few years after, the forenamed tribute of three thousand Marks, through the means of Queen Maud, was released to the King his Brother. In process of time, variance falling between King Henry and the said Robert his Brother; at length Robert in his Wars was taken prisoner and brought over into England, and was put into the Castle of Cardiff in Wales, where he continued as prisoner while he lived.

In this time, as about the third year of this King, the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded (by means of a Minstrel belonging unto the King, named Rاجر) and after it was finished by Richard Whittington, Alderman and Mayor of London. This place or Smithfield was at that day a Layfall of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the Kings Laws were put to execution.

Divers strict Laws were by this King provided, especially against thieves and felons; that whosoever were taken in that fault, no money should save them from hanging.

Item, That whoso did counterfeit false Money, should have both his eyes and neather parts of his body cut off.

Item, In the same Council was decreed an order for Priests to be sequestred from their wives, which before were not forbidden, according as the words of mine Author do purport, whose words be these: *Anselmus prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum ante non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent, &c.* Henr. Hunt.

Ex Henr. 7. Anst.

Item, It was then decreed that Monks and Priests should bear no rule over Lay-persons.

Item, It was then decreed concerning broidering of hair, and wearing of garments.

Item, That the secret contract between a young lad and a young maid should not stand; with other things more concerning the Excommunication of Sodomites, &c.

In the story of William Rufus, before was declared how Anselm the Archbishop of Canterbury, departing out of the Realm, went unto the Pope; who after the death of King William was sent for again by the foresaid King Henry, and so returned again, and was at the Council of the King at Westminster; where the King in the presence of the Lords, as well Temporal as Spiritual, ordained and invested two Bishops, Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and Roger Bishop of Hereford. During which Parliament or Council of the King, Anselm in his Convocation deposed and displaced divers Abbots and other Prelates from their rooms and dignities; either for that they lawfully came not by them, or uprightly did not administer the same.

The King ordained and invested Bishops without the Pope.

After this Council, and the other before set forth by Anselm, Herbert Bishop of Norwich had much ado with the Priests of his Diocess; for they would neither leave their wives, nor yet give over their Benefices. Whereupon he wrote to Anselm the Archbishop for counsel, what was to be done therein. Which Anselm required him (as he did others more the same time by writing) to persuade the people of Northfolk and Suffolk; that as they professed Christianity, they should subdue them as rebels against the Church, and utterly drive both them and their wives out of the Country, placing Monks in their rooms, as by the Epistles of the said Anselm doth appear. Whereof certain parcels shall hereafter (by the Grace of Christ) ensue for the better evidence of this and the other his acts above related.

Herbert Bishop of Norwich driving his Priests from their wives, had much ado.

Anselm created and drove against married Priests. Ex Epist. Anselm.

The like business also had Gerard the Archbishop of York, in depriving the Priests of his Province from their wives; which thing with all his Excommunications and thundrings he could hardly bring about. Upon this ruffling of Anselm with married Priests, were riming verses made to help the matter withal, when reason could not serve. Which verses for the folly thereof I thought here to annex.

*O male viventes, versus audite sequentes;
Uxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte tropaeum,
Quod si non facitis, inferna claustra petesis.
Christi sponsa jubet, ne Presbyter ille ministret,
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem:
Contradicentem fore dicimus insipientem:
Non ex rancore loquor haec, potius sed amore.*

Versus multi ferunt, ut bibula Rاجر.

About the end of the third year of this King, which was by computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell between King Henry and Anselm, the occasion whereof was this: Ye heard a little before how Henry the foresaid King had of his own authority invested two Bishops, one Roger which was Chancellor, Bishop of Salisbury; and another Bishop of Hereford. Besides them divers also he invested, and divers other like things took he upon him in the Ecclesiastical State, which he might lawfully do, Gods Word allowing well the same; but because he was restrained by the Bishop of Rome, and forbidden so to do, this Anselm swelled, fretted, and waxed so mad, that he would neither consent to it, neither yet confirm them, nor communicate nor talk friendly with them, whom the King

Anno 1104.

A strife between King Henry, and Anselm the Archbishop of Canterbury.

King had instituted and invested; but opprobriously called them abortives, or children of destruction, disdainfully rebuking the gentle King as a defiler of Religion, and pollutor of their holy Ceremonies; as witnesseth Polydorus. With this uncomely outrage the King was much displeased (as he might full well) and required Gerard the Archbishop of York (as he ought him allegiance) to consecrate them: Who without delay did so, well performing the same; saving that one William Gifford, to whom the King had given the Bishoprick of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the Archbishop of York. For the which cause the King (worthily with him offended) deprived him both of Bishoprick and goods, and banished him the Realm.

Gifford Bishop of Winchester refused to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York.

Moreover, the King required of Anselm the Archbishop of Canterbury, to do unto him Homage, after the manner of his Ancestors, as witnesseth *Guliel. de gestis pontif. Anglo.* Also it was asked of the said Anselm, whether that he would be with the King in giving investitures, as Lanfrancus his Predecessor was with his Father. To whom Anselm said, that he promised not at any time, that he would enter into this Order, to keep the Law or Custom of his Father, as Lanfrancus did. Moreover, as concerning Homage to be done to the King, that he refused; alledging the censures of the Popes excommunication, who, in his council of Rome a little before, had given forth open sentence of excommunication upon all such lay persons (whatsoever they were) that should from henceforth confer or give any spiritual promotions: Also upon them that received them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receivers. Moreover, he accursed all them that for benefices or other Ecclesiastical promotions should subject themselves under the Homage or service of any great man, King, Prince, Duke, or Earl of the Laity. For it was unseemly (said the Pope) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were converted into so high a working, as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their crosses, which created all, and to offer up the same before the sight of the Father for the salvation of the whole World) should be brought to such a slavery, as to be subject to those filthy hands, which both day and night are polluted with shameful touchings, robberies, and bloodshed, &c. This decree of Pope Urban Anselm alledging for himself, denied to subject himself to the Kings Homage, fearing (as he said) the Popes excommunication. Upon this, messengers were sent to Rome on both parts unto the Pope (then Paschalis) who, stoutly standing to the steps and determinations of Urban his predecessor, would in no case yield to the Kings investing.

In the mean time, while there was long disputation on both sides for investing, the Nobles of the Realm contended, that investings did belong to the Kings dignity: Wherefore the King, calling for Anselm again, required him either to do Homage to him, or else to void his Kingdom. To whom Anselm replying again, required the Popes Letters to be brought forth, and, according to the Tenor thereof, so the matter to be decided. For now the messengers were returned from Rome, with the Popes answer; altogether bearing with Anselm. Then said the King: What have I to do with Popes Letters? I will not forgo the liberties of my Kingdom for any Pope. Thus the contention continued between them. Anselm saith, he would not out of the Realm, but depart home to his Church: And there see who would offer him any violence, and so did. Not long after, message came from the King to Anselm, requesting him, after a gentle sort, to repair to the Kings presence again, to set an end of the controversy begun: Whereunto Anselm granted and came. Then were new Ambassadors sent again to the Pope, that he would something qualifie and moderate (or rather abolish) the strictness of the Roman decree before mentioned. On the part of Anselm went two Monks, Baldwinus and Alexander. On the Kings behalf were sent two Bishops, Robert Bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert Bishop of Norwich, with the Kings Letters written unto the Pope, containing in form as followeth.

The King hath nothing to do with the Popes Letters.

Messengers sent again to Rome.

The Letter of King Henry the first unto the Pope.

Patri venerabili Paschali summo pontifici, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Promotioni vestra in sedem sanctae Romanae ecclesiae plurimum congaudeo, petens ut amicitia qua patri meo cum antecessoribus vestris

fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Unde, ut dilectio & benignitas a me videatur sumere initium, beneficium quod ab antecessoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eosque honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei antecessores vestri in regno Anglia habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitatis usus & consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Anglia habuit, ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integre obtineam. Notumque habeat sanctitas vestra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates & usus regni Anglia non minuentur. Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me deiectione ponerem; optimates mei (imo totius Angliae populus) id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (charissime pater) utiliori deliberatione, ita se erga nos moderatur benignitas vestra, ne quid invidius faciam, & a vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia.

In English.

To the Reverend Father Paschal chief Bishop. Henry by the Grace of God, King of England, Greeting. For this your promotion unto the See of the holy Church of Rome, as I am heartily glad; so my request is to you, that the friendship and amity, which hath been tofore between my Father and your Predecessors in times past, may now also between us in like manner continue undiminished. And that love and gentleness may first begin on my part; here I send to you that Gift that S. Peter had in former time of my Predecessors. And likewise the same honors and obedience, which your Predecessors have had in the Realm of England before in the time of my Father, I will you to have the same in my time also: After this form I mean and tenor, that the usage and manner of Dignity and Customs, which my Father hath had in this Realm of England, in the time of your Ancestors; I in like ample manner also now in your time may fully enjoy the same in this the said Realm of England. Thus therefore be it known to your Holiness, that during this life of mine (God Almighty abiding me to the same) these above named Dignities, Usages, and Customs of this Realm of England, shall in no part be lessened. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I should) would so much deject myself unto such cowardness: Yet my Nobles, Yea, the whole People of England in no case would suffer it. Wherefore (dear Father) using with your self a better deliberation in this matter, let your gentleness so moderate it self toward us, lest ye compel me (which I shall do against my will) to recede and utterly from your Obedience.

Spoken like a King.

The King is at a point to leave the Popes Obedience.

At the same Term also he sent another Letter or Epistle to the said Pope, Craving of him the Pall for Gerardus Archbishop of York, the form whereof here also followeth.

Reverendo & diligendo patri universali papae Paschali, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas qua multum vestros actus exornat, &c.

Another Letter of King Henry the first, sent to the Pope.

In English.

To the Reverend and Welbeloved Father Universal, Pope Paschalis, Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Greeting. The great love which I bear to you, and the no less gentleness in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, ministreth to me boldness to write. And whereas I thought to have retained still this Gerardus with me, and to have craved your Pall for him by Letters: Yet notwithstanding, when his desire could not otherwise be satisfied, but he would needs present himself before your presence, by his own heart to crave of you the same, I have sent him up unto you, desiring your benigne Fatherhood in this behalf, that he, obtaining the Pall at your hands, may be sent home again to me. And thus requiring the assistance of your Prayers, I pray the Lord long to conserve your Apostleship.

This second Letter of the King in sending for the Pall was well taken of all the Court of Rome, which (as mine Author saith) procured such favour to Gerardus Archbishop of York, and bringer thereof, that no complaint of his adversaries afterwards could hurt him with the Pope. Notwithstanding he was accused grievously for divers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.

T

Poly-

A place of
Polydorus
Virg. found
faulty.
Ex Galiel.
lib. 8. de pont.
Ang.

Polydorus in his eleventh Book of his *English History* affirmeth, that *Anselmus* also went up to *Rome* with *Gerardus*, about the same cause. But both the premisses and sequel of the story argue that to be untrue, for what need the two Monks to be sent up on *Anselms* side, if he had gone up himself? Again, how could the Pope write down by the said Messengers to *Anselm*, if he had there been himself present? For so proceedeth the story by the Narration of *Malmesbury* and Others.

The Pope
loth to go
against his
own profit.

After the Ambassadors (thus on both sides sent unto *Rome*) had laboured their cause with instant sute, one against the other; the Pope glad to gratifie the King (yet loath to grant his request, being against his own profit, and therefore more inclining to *Anselms* side) sendeth down his Letters to the said *Anselm*, signifying that he would not repeal the Statutes of his holy Fathers for one mans Pleasure: Charging him Moreover, not only not to yield in the cause of investing, but constantly to adhere to the foresaid Decree of Pope *Urban* his Predecessor, &c. Besides this Letter to *Anselm*, he directed also another to the King himself: Which Letter, mine Author saith, the King suppressed and did not shew, only declaring by word of Mouth, what the Ambassadors had said unto him from the Pope. Which was, that he permitted unto him the Licence of Investing, upon condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good Prince, &c. To this also the Testimony of the two Bishops above minded did accord; which made the matter more probable. But the two Monks on the other side Replied again, bringing forth the Letter of *Anselm* to the contrary, &c. To them was answered again, that more credit was to be given to the degree and Testimony of the Bishops, than to theirs. And as for Monks, they had no Suffrage nor Testimony (said they) in secular matters, and therefore they might hold their Peace. But this is no secular matter, said *Baldwin* Abbat of *Ramsay*. Whereunto the Nobles again of the Kings part answered, saying, that he was a good Man, and of such Demeanour as they had nothing to say against him, neither would if they might: But yet both Human and Divine reason taught them so, to yield more credit and confidence to the Testimony of three Bishops, than of two Monks. Whereby may well appear, that *Anselm* at that time went not with them. Then *Anselm* seeing the King and his Peers how they were set; and hearing also the Testimony of the three Bishops, against whom he saw he could not prevail; and also having the Popes Seal, which he saw to be so evident on the contrary side, made his answer again; that he would send to *Rome* for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreover, that he neither would, nor durst give over his cause, though it should cost him his life, to do or proceed against the Determination of the Church of *Rome*, unless he had a perfect warrant of absolution from thence, for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the King and his Nobles, that he should not send, but go himself to *Rome*. And much intreaty was made, that he would take that journey in hand himself, in his own person, to present himself to the Pope for the peace of the Church and of his Country. And so at length by perswasion, he was content, went to *Rome* and spake with the Pope. In short time after followeth also the Kings Ambassador, (*William Warlewast*) new Elect Bishop of *Excester*, who there Pleading on the Kings side for the Ancient Customs of the Realm, and for the Kings Right of Investing, &c. First declared, how *England* of a long continuance had ever been a Province peculiar to the Church of *Rome*, and how it payed duly his yearly Tribute unto the same. Inferring moreover how the King, as he was of nature very liberal, so also of courage a Prince stout and valiant. Then what a shame would he think it should be to him (as it were indeed) if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his Progenitors, should not defend and maintain the Liberties and Customs by them procured? Wherefore he desired the Pope to see to the matter, so as might stand both with the Kings Honour, and also with his own profit and advantage; who otherwise no doubt should lose a great piece of Money out of the Realm, unless he did remit something of the severity of his Canons and Laws Decretal.

He meant
beside the
two Bi-
shops, *Gerardus*, which
made third.

Anselm a
devout
Chaplain to
the Church
of *Rome*.

Anselm
journeth
again to
Rome.

The effect
of the Ora-
tion of
William
Warlewast
at the Popes
Court.

With these and such other like perswasions to the same Effect, the Court of *Rome* was well contented, agreeing that the Kings request ought with all favour to be granted.

But the Pope and *Anselm* sat still marking their doings. The Ambassador, supposing their silence to be half a yielding unto him, added moreover and said; that the King, no not for the Crown of his Realm, would lose the authority of investing or admitting his Prelates within his Dominion. Whereunto the proud Pope answering again burst out in these Words: *Nor I (said he) for the Price of this Head (as thou sayest) will lose the giving of spiritual Promotions in England, and confirming it with an Oath (Before God faith he I speak it) know it for a certain, &c.* Then it followeth in the story of *Malmesbury*, With this Word of the Pope the minds of the rest were changed, saying, *Benedicta sit cordis tui constantia, benedicta oris loquela.* The Kings Attorny also was therewith dashed, who notwithstanding yet brought to pass, that certain of the Kings, Customs, used before of his Father, were released unto him. At the which time in the same Court it was decreed, that (the King only, which had Invested them, being excepted) the other, which were Invested by the King, should be Excommunicated: The absolution and satisfaction of whom was left to *Anselm* the Archbishop.

Excommu-
nication
abused.

Thus *Anselm*, being dismissed from *Rome*, took his Journey toward *England*. But the Ambassador, pretending to go to *S. Nicholas*, remained behind, to see whether he could win the Popes mind to the Kings purpose. Which when he saw it would not be, he overtaketh *Anselm* by the way, at *Placentia*, and opened to him the Kings pleasure. The King (saith he) giveth to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to *England*, and there behave your self to him, as your Predecessors did to his Father, you should be received and retained in the Realm accordingly: If not, you are wise enough (saith he) ye know what I mean, and what will follow, &c. And so with these Words, parting from him, he returned again to the King. *Anselm* remained at *Lions* a year and a half, writing divers Letters to the King, after this Effect, and in Words as Followeth.

Anselm re-
strained
from com-
ing to
England.
Ex *Radulph*
Londoniensi.

To his Reverend Lord, *HENRY*, King of
England, *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
faithful Service with Prayers. *Epist.* 224.

Although you understand by *William Warlewast* what we have done at *Rome*; yet I shall shortly shew you that which belongeth to me. When I came to *Rome*, I declared the cause wherefore I came to the Lord Pope. He answered that he would not swerve from the Statutes of his Predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should have no Fellowship with them that received Investments of Churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this Prohibition, except they will do Penance, and forsake that they had received, without hope of recovery; neither that I should communicate with the other Bishops that had consecrated such men, except they would present themselves to the Judgment of the Apostolique See. The aforesaid *William* can be a witness of all these things; if he will. This *William*, when we departed asunder (reckoning up in your behalf, the love and liberality which you had always towards me) warned me as your Archbishop, that I should shew my self such an one, that if I would come into *England*, I might be with you as my Predecessor was with your Father, and ye might intreat me with the same Honour and Liberty that your Father intreated my Predecessor. By which Words I understand, that except I should shew my self such an one, you would not have me come into *England*. For your Love and Liberality I thank you: But that I should be with you as my Predecessor was with your Father, I cannot do it. For I dare not do Homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take Investments of Churches at your hands: Because of the foresaid inhibition made, I my self bearing it. Wherefore I desire you to send me your pleasure herein (if it please you) whether I may return into *England* (as I said) with your Peace and Power of mine Office.

The proud
stoutness of
a Prelate in
a wrong
cause.

In the mean while, great business there was, and much Posting went to and fro between the King, the Archbishop, and the Pope, but nothing was done: For neither would the Pope agree to the King, neither would the King condescend to the Archbishop. At last the Arch-
bishop,

Archbishop Anselm, being by no means he could prevail against the King, thought to revenge himself by Excommunication, and so went about the same. The King, having word thereof by the Countess Adela his Sister, desireth her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselm with her: Whereupon (through the means of the Countess) reconciliation was made, and the Archbishop was restored to his former possessions again. Only his return into England was deferred, because he would not communicate with those whom the King had Invested. So the King took his Passage over into England, and Anselm made his abode at the Abbey of Beke.

Then were Ambassadors again directed unto Rome, William Warlewast, and Baldwin above named, Abbat of Ramesie, who at length concluded the long controversy between the King and the Pope upon this agreement, that the King should take Homage of the Bishops Elect, but should not deal with Investing them by Staffe and Ring, &c. While the Ambassadors were thus in their sute at Rome, divers complaints were daily brought from England to Anselm, against the Priests and Canons, who in his absence, contrary to the late Council holden at London, received their Wives unto their Houses again, and so were permitted by the King, paying him certain Money for the same. Anselm (the fore Enemy against lawful marriage) grieved therewith, addresseth his Letters unto the King, requiring him to refrain from any more taking of such Exactions, declaring moreover and affirming, that the offences of all such Ecclesiastical Ministers must be Corrected by the instance of Bishops, and not of Laymen. To this the King answereth Gently again by Letters, tempering himself; how he purposed shortly to come over into Normandy, and if he had done any thing amiss, either in these or other things, he would reform it by his Obedience.

It was not long after (the Messengers being now returned from Rome) but the King, as he had promised, sped him into Normandy, where he, warring against his Brother Robert, brought both him and the Country of Normandy at the last under his Subjection. But first meeting with Anselm at the Abbey of Beke, he covenanted and agreed with him in all such points as the Archbishop required. As first, that all his Churches, which before were made tributary unto King William his Brother, now should remain free from all tribute. Item, that he should require nothing of the said Churches or Provinces, in the time of the seat being vacant. Moreover, concerning such Priests and Ministers as had given Money to the King for their company with their Wives, it was agreed that they should surcease from all Ecclesiastical Function, the space of three years, and that the King should take no more after such manner. Item, that all such goods, fruits and possessions, as had been taken away before from the Archbishoprick, should be restored at his coming again into England, &c.

This Anselm, the stout Champion of Popery and Superstition, after this Victory gotten upon the King, for the which he so long fought, with Joy and Triumph sailth into England, having all his Popish requests obtained. Where first he sleeth like a Lion upon the married Priests contrary to the Word of God, divorcing and punishing that by mans Authority, which the Eternal and Almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them, which did hold any Church by Farm under the King. Against Simony likewise, and against them that married within the seventh degree, he proceedeth with his full pontifical Authority.

Shortly after, as King Henry had finished his War in Normandy, and with Victory returned again into England, about the sixth year of his Reign, Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury (by the permission of the King) assembled a great Council at Westminster in London, of the Clergy and Prelates of England.

In the which (by the Bishop of Romes Authority) he so wrought with the King, that at length (albeit, as the story saith, not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no Temporal man after that day should make Investiture with Crofs or with Ring, or with Pastoral Hook. In this Council, sundry and divers Injunctions were given forth to Priests and Deacons: As divers other Synodal Acts also by the same Anselm had been concluded in other Councils before. And because here

falleth in mention of, the Acts Synodal concluded in the time of this Anselm, I thought here good to Pack them all in one general Heap together, as we find them in Malmesbury, and in other sundry Authors scatteringly recited.

The first thing, decreed by this Anselm in his Synodal Councils, was touching the fault of Simony, whereby divers, both Bishops and Abbats (as is aforesaid) were at the same time depofed. And Lay-men forbidden to confer any Ecclesiastical Promotion.

Also it was decreed, that no Bishop should bear any Office in Secular mens business or meetings. And that such should not go apparelled as the Lay-men did, but should have their Vestures decent and meet for Religious Persons. And that in all places they should never go without some to bear witness of their Conversation.

Item, that no Archdeacons should be let out to Farm.

Item, that no Archdeacon should be under the degree of a Deacon.

Item, that no Archdeacon, Priest, Deacon, Subdeacon, Colligener, nor Canon, should from thence marry a Wife, nor yet keep her, if he had been married to one before.

Item, that every Subdeacon, being under the degree of a Canon (after the profession of chastity marrying a Wife) should be subject to the same Rule.

They ordained also, that a Priest, keeping company with his Wife, should be reputed unlawful, and that he should say no Mass, and if he said Mass, he should not be heard.

They charged that none should be admitted to Orders from that time forward, from the degree of a Subdeacon, unless he did profess Chastity.

That Priests Sons should not claim by Heritage the Benefices of their Fathers, as the custome had always been before.

Item, that no spiritual person should sit in any secular office, as to be Procurators or Judges of blood.

Item, that Priests should not resort to Taverns or Banquets, nor sit drinking by the fire side.

That the Garments of Priests should be of one colour, and that their shoes should be decent.

Item, that Monks, or any other of the Clergy (if they forsook their Order) either should come again, or be Excommunicated.

Item, that the men of the Clergy should wear broad Crowns.

Item, that no Tithes should be given but to the Church.

Item, that no Churches or Prebends should be bought.

That no new Chappels should be made without consent of the Bishop.

That no Church should be hallowed, before the necessary provision were made for the Priest, and for the Church to be maintained.

That Abbats should set forth no men to War, and that they must both sleep and eat in the same House with their Monks, unless some great necessity do let.

Item, that Monks do injoy no penance to any man without the knowledge of his Abbat. And that their Abbats may give no licence therein, but only for such persons whose charge they have of Soul.

That no Monks should be Godfathers, nor Nuns Godmothers.

That Monks should have no Lordships to Farm.

Item, that Monks should take no Churches but by the Bishop, neither should so spoil and oppress the Churches given unto them with their Rents, that sufficient were not left for the Ministers of the same.

That privy Contracts between man and woman without Witness should not stand, but be Frustrate, if each Party do go from the Contract.

Item, that such of the Clergy, as wear long hair, be so rounded, that part of their Ear appear, and that their Eyes be not covered.

Item, that there be no Matrimonial Copulation within the seventh degree of kindred, nor so continue if they be married: But the marriage to be broken. And if any, be privy to that Incest, do not detect the same, he to be guilty of the same Crime.

Buryings. Item, that no Funeral or Buryings be without their own Parish Church, so that the Priest thereof do lose that which to him is due.

No holiness to be given to houses and places. Item, that no man upon any new fangled rashness do attribute any severance or opinion of Holiness to dead mens bodies, to Fountains, or to any other thing (as the use hath been in time past) without authority of the Bishop.

Selling and buying of men. Item, that no Buying and Selling be used hereafter in England of men, as of other Cattel.

Sodomitry. Item, after the restraint of Priests marriage, when filthy sodomitry began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced also to make an Act for that, which was this.

A flap with a Foxtail for Sodomitry. With a grievous curse we condemn both them that occupied the ungracious vice of Sodomitry, and them also that willingly assist them, or be wicked doers with them in the same; till such time as they may deserve absolution by penance and confession.

So that whatsoever he be that is noyed or proved to be of this wickedness (if he be a religious person) he shall from thenceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that which he hath shall be taken from him.

If he be a Lay Person, he shall be deprived of all his Freedom within the Land, and be no better than a forainer.

And because it shall be known, the absolution of such as be secular to belong only to Bishops: It was therefore enacted, that on every Sunday, in every Parish Church of England, the said Excommunication should be Published, &c.

Ranulph, Cestrensis lib. 7. Note the Preposterous proceeding of Anselm in ceasing the vice of Sodomitry. But mark in this great matter what followed. For, as Ranulphus Cestrensis witnesseth, this grievous general curse was soon called back again by the sute of certain, which perswaded Anselm, that the publication, or opening of that vice, gave kindlings to the same in the hearts of lewd Persons, ministring occasion of more boldness to them to do the like. And so to stop the occasion of filthy Sodomitry, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and restraintment of Priests lawful marriage (which chiefly was the cause thereof) remained still. And thus ever since horrible Sodomitry remained in the Clergy, both for lack of marriage more used, and for lack of publication less punished.

Besides all these Synodal Acts above comprehended, and given out by Anselm in his Councils before, here also in this present Council at Westminster, in the year of this King aforesaid, he also directed other new Injunctions to the Priests.

Penalties and forfeits against Priests that keep their Wives. First, that they and their Wives should never more meet in one house, neither yet have dwelling in their Territories.

Item, that the Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons should keep no woman in their House, unless they were of their next kin.

Item, for such as had diservered themselves from the Society of their Wives, yet for some honest cause they had to common with them, they might, so it were without door, and with two or three lawful witnesses.

In the latter days shall come false teachers, forbidding marriage and eating of meats, &c. Item, if any of them should be accused by two or three witnesses, and could not purge himself again by six able men of his own order (if he be a Priest) or if he be a Deacon by four, or if he be a Subdeacon by two) then he should be Judged a Transgressor of the Statutes, deprived of his Benefice, and be made Infamous, or be put to open reproach of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, and in contempt of this new Statute held still his Wife, and presumed to say Mass, upon the eighth day after (if he made not due satisfaction) should be solemnly Excommunicated.

Item, all Archdeacons and Deacons to be straitly Sworn not to Wink or Dissemble at their Meetings, nor to bear with them for Money. And if they would not be Sworn to this, then to lose their offices without recovery.

Purification of Priests that had been married. Item, such Priests, as forsaking their Wives were willing to serve still and remain in their holy Order, first must cease forty days from their ministration, setting Vicars for them in the mean time to serve, and taking such penance upon them, as by their Bishop should be enjoined them.

Thus have ye heard the tedious Treatise of the life and doings of Anselm, how Superstitious in his Religion,

how Stubborn against his Prince he was, what occasion of War and Discord he ministrif by his complaints (if they had been taken) what zeal without right knowledge, what fervency without cause he pretended, what pains without profit he took. Who if he had bestowed that time and Travel in Preaching Christ at Home to his flock, which he took in Gadding to Rome, to complain of his Country, in my mind he had been better occupied. Moreover, what Violent and Tyrannical Injunctions he set forth of Investing and other things, ye have heard; but specially against the lawful and godly marriage of Priests. Wherein, what a vehement Adversary he was, here may appear with these Minutes or Pieces Extracted out of the Letters, which we have here Annexed; in Form and Effect as Followeth.

A Letter of Anselm.

Anselm Archbishop, to his Brethren and Dearest Sons the Lord Prior and others at Canterbury.

AS concerning Priests, of whom the King commanded that they should have both their Churches and their women as they had in the time of his Father, and of Lanfrancus Archbishop: Both because the King hath Revoked and Reversed the whole Archbishoprick, and because so cursed a marriage was forbidden in a Council in the time of his Father and of the said Archbishop: Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbishoprick not only within my Archbishoprick but also throughout England, that all Priests, which keep women, shall be deprived of their Churches and Ecclesiastical Benefices.

A Letter of Pope Paschalis to Anselm.

Paschal Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his Reverend Brother Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, Greeting and Apostolical Blessing.

WE believe your Brother-hood is not ignorant what is decreed in the Romish Church concerning Priests Children. But because there is so great multitude of such within the Realm of England, that almost the greater and better part of the Clerks are reckoned to be on this side: Therefore we commit this dispensation to your care. For we grant these to be promoted to holy Offices by reason of the need at this time, and for the profit of the Church (such as learning and life shall commend among you) so that yet notwithstanding the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.

Another Letter of Anselm for Investing.

To the Reverend Lord and loving Father Paschal High Bishop, Anselm servant of Canterbury Church, due Subjection and continual Prayers.

After that I returned to my Bishoprick, in England I shewed the Apostolical Decree, which I being present heard in the Romish Council. 1. That no man should receive Investing of Churches at the Kings hand, or any Lay person, or should become his man for it, and that no man should presume to consecrate him that did offend herein. When the King and his Nobles, and the Bishops themselves, and others of the lower degree heard these things, they took them so grievously, that they said, they would in no case agree to the thing, and that they would drive me out of the Kingdom, and forsake the Romish Church, rather than keep this thing. Wherefore Reverend Father, I desire your Counsel by your Letter, &c.

Another Letter of Anselm.

Anselm Archbishop, to the Reverend Gundulphus Bishop, and to Arnulphus Prior, and to William Archdeacon of Canterbury, and to all in his Diocese, Greeting.

William our Archdeacon hath written unto me, that some Priests that be under his Custody (taking again their Women that were forbidden) have fallen into the uncleanness from the which they were drawn by whole.

Ex epist. 37.
Priests Ex-
communicated
for re-
ceiving a
gain their
Wives.

wholesome counsel and commandment. When the Arch-
deacon would amend this thing, they utterly despised with
wicked pride his warning and worthy commandment
to be received. Then he, calling together many Religious
men and obedient Priests, Excommunicated worthily the
proud and disobedient, that beastly despised the curse, and
were not afraid to defile the holy ministry, as much as lay
in them, &c.

Unto these Letters above Prefixed, I have also adjoyned
another of the said *Anselm*, touching a great case of
conscience, of a Monks whipping himself. Wherein may
appear both the blind and lamentable superstition of those
Religious men, and the Judgment of this *Anselm* in the
same matter.

Another Letter of *Anselm*.

Anselm Archbishop, to Bernard Monk of the Abby of
S. Warburg, Greeting and Prayer.

A Letter of
Anselm.
Ex epist.
37.
Whether is
more merit
for a Monk
to cause
himself in
the Chapter
to be whip-
ped, or to
obey obedi-
ently the
whipping of
his Abbot.

I Heard it said of your Lord Abbot, that thou judgest it
to be of greater merit, when a Monk either beaten him-
self, or desireth himself to be beaten of another; than when
he is beaten (not of his own will) in the Chapter, by the
Commandment of the Prelacy. But it is not so as you think.
For that judgment, that any man commandeth to himself,
is kingly. But that, which he suffereth by obedience
in the Chapter, is Monkish. The one is of his own will,
the other is of obedience, and not of his own will. That
which I call kingly, Kings and Rich proud men commending
to be done to themselves. But that which I call Monkish,
they take not commanding, but obeying. The Kingly is
so much easier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the
sufferer. But the Monkish is so much the grievous, by
how much it differeth from the will of the sufferer. In the
Kingly judgment, the sufferer is judged to be his own: In
Monkish he is proved not to be his own. For although the
King or Rich man, when he is beaten, willingly sheweth
himself humbly to be a sinner; yet he would not submit
himself to this Humbleness at any others Commandment, but
would withstand the Commander with all his strength.
But when a Monk submitteth himself to the whip humbly
in the Chapter at the will of the Prelate; the truth judgeth
him to be of so much greater merit, by how much he hum-
bleth himself more and more, and more truly than the
other. For he humbleth himself to God only, because he
knoweth his sins. But this man humbleth himself to man
for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himself both
to God and Man for Gods cause, than he which humbleth
himself to God only, and not to Gods Commandment.
Therefore if he that humbleth himself shall be extolled;
Ergo he that more humbleth himself, shall be more ex-
alted. And where I said, that when a Monk is whipped,
it differeth from his will; you must not so understand it, as
though he would not patiently bear it with an obedient will;
but because by a natural appetite he would not suffer the
sorrow. But if ye say, I do not so much sler the open beating
for the pains (which I feel also secretly) as for the shame;
Know then that he is stronger that joyceth to bear this for
obedience sake. Therefore be thou sure, that one whipping of
a Monk by obedience is of more merit than innumerable
whippings taken by his own mind. But whereas he is such,
that always he ought to have his Heart ready without
murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to judge
him then to be of a great merit, whether he be whipped
privily or openly, &c.

The judg-
ment or
conclusion
of *Anselm*
upon the
case.
False opinion
of merit.

And thus much concerning *Anselm* Archbishop of Can-
terbury; whose stout example gave no little courage to
Thurstinus and Becket his successors, and others that fol-
lowed after, to do the like against their Kings and Prin-
ces, as in process hereafter by the grace of Christ shall ap-
pear.

About this time, 1105, two famous Archbishops of
Mentz, being right vertuous and well disposed Prelates,
were cruelly and tyrannously dealt withall, and intreated
by the Bishop of Rome: Their names were Henry and
Christian. This Henry, having intelligence that he was
complained of to the Pope, sent a learned man (as special
friend of his) to excuse him, named Arnold, one for
whom he had done much, and promoted to great livings

and promotions. But this honest man Arnold, instead of
an excuser, became an accuser, bribing the two chiefest
Cardinals with good Gold; by which means he obtained
of the Pope, those two Cardinals, to be sent as Inquisitors,
and only doers in that present case. The which (coming
to Germany) summoned the said Henry, and deposed him
of his Archbishoprick (for all he could do either by Law or
justice) substituting in his place the foresaid Arnold, upon
hope (truly) of the Ecclesiastical Gold. Whereupon that
vertuous and honorable Henry (as the story telleth) spake
unto those his Perverse Judges on this wise: If I should
appeal unto the Apostolick See for this your unjust Process
had against me, perhaps the Pope would attempt no-
thing more therein than ye have, neither should I win
any thing by it, but only toil of body, loss of goods,
affliction of mind, care of heart, and missing of his
favour.

Judges
Corrupted.

Wherefore I do appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as
to the most high and just Judge, and cite you before his
Judgment, there to answer me before the high Judge.
For neither justly nor godly (but by corruption as it plea-
seth you) you have judged. Whereunto they scoffingly
answering: Go you first, and we will follow. Not long
after (as the story is) the said Henry died. Whereof the said
two Cardinals having intelligence, said one to the other
jestingly; Behold, he is gone before, and we must follow
according to our promise. And verily they said truer than
they aware of: For within a while they died in one day.
For the one, sitting upon a Jakes to ease himself, voyded
out all his intrails into the draught, and miserably ended
his life. The other, gnawing off his fingers of his
hands, and spitting them out of his mouth (all deformed
in devouring himself) died. And in like wise, not long
after the end of these men, the foresaid Arnold (most hor-
rible) in a sedition was slain; and certain days (lying stink-
ing above the ground unburied) lay open to the spoil of
every Rascal and Harlot. The Historiographer in declaring
hereof crieth upon the Cardinals in this manner: O ye
Cardinals, ye are the beginning and Authors hereof.
Come ye hither, and heap and carry unto your Countries
the Devil, and offer your selves to him with that
Money, whereof ye have been most gluttonous and insati-
able.

A terrible
example
for corrupt
Judges to
beware.

About the same time and year when King Henry began
his Reign, Pope Paschalis entred his Papacy, succeeding
after Urbanus, about the year of our Lord 1100. nothing
swerving from the steps of Hildebrand his Superior. This
Paschalis being Elected by the Cardinals, after that the
people had cryed thrice, S. Peter hath chosen good Rai-
nerus; he then putting on a purple Vesture, and a Tire
upon his head, was brought upon a white Pallfray into
Lateran, where a Scepter was given him, and a Girdle put
about him, having seven Keies, with seven Seals hanging
thereupon for a recognisance or token of his seven-fold
power, according to the seven-fold Grace of the holy
Ghost, of binding, loosing, shutting, opening, sealing, re-
signing, and judging, &c. After this Paschalis was Ele-
cted Pope, Henry the forth, the foresaid Emperor (of
courage most valiant, if the time had served thereto)
thought to come up to Italy to Salute the new Pope. But,
understanding the Popes mind bent against him, he chan-
ged his purpose. In the mean time, Paschalis, to shew
himself inferior to Hildebrand in no point, began first to
depose all such Abbats and Bishops whom the Emperor
had set up. Also he banished Albertus, Theodoricus, and
Maginulphus, striving at the same time for the Papacy. I
spake before of Guibert, whom Henry the Emperor had
made Pope against Hildebrand. Against this Guibert
Paschalis made out an Army; who, being put to flight,
not long after departed.

The Popes
tirement.

The seven-
fold power
of the Popes

About the same time, Anno 1101. the Bishop of Flo-
rence began to Teach and to Preach of Antichrist then to
be born and to be manifest, as Sabellicus testifieth: Where-
upon Paschalis, assembling a Council, put to silence the
said Bishop, and condemned his Books. In this Council
at Treves, Priests that were married were condemned for
Nicolaitans. Item, according to the Decree of Hilde-
brand, all such of what degree or estate soever they were
(being Laymen) that gave any Ecclesiastical Dignities,
were condemned of Simony. Furthermore, the Statute
of Priests tithes there he renewed, counting the selling
T 3 away

Of Anti-
christ
born and
manifest.
The Bishop
of Florence
a Martyr.
Sabellicus.
A council
at Treves

A tragical
History of
the Pope
Pascalis
setting the
Son against
the Father.

Ex Historia
Helmoldi.

The Pre-
lates set the
Son against
the Father.

A grateful
example of
a good and
thankful
Duke.
A naughty
Son of a
good Fa-
ther.

Ex Helmoldi,
& Got-
frido Viter-
biensi.

The unkind-
ness of a
proud
Prelate.

{ Anno }
1106.
The Empe-
ror five
years with-
out burial.

{ Anno }
1107.
Henricus
Emperor.
Ex chronico
Carionis, lib.
3.

The Pope
taken
prisoner.

away thereof as a sin against the holy Ghost. Concerning the Excommunication and other troubles, that *Hildebrand* wrought against *Henricus* the fourth Emperor, it is declared sufficiently before. This Excommunication *Pascalis* the Pope renewed afresh against the said *Henry*. And not only that, but also, convening the Princes of *Germany* unto a general assembly, set up his own Son against him, causing the Bishop of *Mentz*, of *Cullen*, and of *Worms* to deprive him of his Imperial Crown, and to place his Son *Henricus* the fifth in his Fathers Kingdom, and so they did. Coming to the place at *Hilgeshem*, first they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the Crown, from him. The Emperor demanded the cause, being then Excommunicate and void of friends. They pretending again (I cannot tell what) for selling of Bishopricks, Abbacies, and other Ecclesiastical Dignities for money: Also alledging the Popes pleasure and of other Princes. Then required he first of the Bishop of *Mentz* (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their Bishopricks before) asking them in order, if he had received of them any penny for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be so, Well (saith he) and do you requite me again with this? With divers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their Oath and Allegiance to their Prince. But the perjured Prelates, neither reverencing his Majesty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him (sitting in his Throne) his Crown Imperial, then divested him, taking from him his Purple and his Scepter. The good Emperor, being left desolate and in confusion, saith to them: *Videat Deus & judicet*: That is, Let God see and judge. Thus leaving him, they went to his Son to confirm him in his Kingdom, and caused him to drive his Father out. Who then being chafed of his Son (having but nine persons about him) did flee by the Dukedom of *Limbrugh*, where the Duke being then in hunting, perceiving and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The Emperor fearing no other but present death (for he had displaced the same Duke before out of his Dukedom) submitted himself, craving of him pardon, and not revenge. The Duke full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not only remitted all his displeasure, but also received him to his Castle. Moreover, collecting his souldiers and men of War, he brought him to *Cullen*, and there he was well received. His Son hearing this belied the City of *Cullen*. But the Father, by night escaping, came to *Leodium*, where resorted to him all such as were men of compassion and constant heart. In so much that his power, being strong enough, he was now able to pitch a field against his Enemies, and so did: desiring his friends, that if he had the victory, they would spare his Son. In fine (the battel joyned) the Father had the victory, the Son was put to flight: many being slain on both sides. But shortly after, the battel renewed again, the Son prevailed, the Father was overcome and taken. Who then, being utterly dispossessed of his Kingdom, was brought to that exigent, that coming to *Spire*, he was fain to crave of the Bishop there (whom he had done much for before) to have a prebend in the Church: and for that he had some skill of his Book, he desired to serve in our Ladies quire, Yet could he not obtain so much at his hand, who swore by our Lady, he should have none there. Thus the woeful Emperor (most unkindly handled, and repulled on every side) came to *Leodium*, and there for sorrow died, after he had Reigned fifty years; whose body *Pascalis*, after his Funeral, caused to be taken up again, and to be brought to *Shires*, wherewith remained five years unburied. *Hæc ex Helmoldo.*

After the decease of this Emperor *Henry* the fourth, his Son *Henricus* the fifth Reigned the space of twenty years. Who, coming to *Rome* to the Crown of the Pope, could not obtain it, before he would fully assent to have this ratified, that no Emperor should have any thing to do with the Election of the *Roman* Bishop, or with other Bishopricks. Besides that (about the same time) such a stir was made in *Rome* by the said Bishop, that if the Emperor had not defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain. But as it happened, the Emperor having victory, amongst many other *Romans* (which were partly slain, partly taken in the same skirmish) he taketh also the

Pope and leadeth him out of the City: where he indenteth with him upon divers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recovering again his right and title in the Election of the Pope, and of other Bishops: whereunto the Pope assenting agreed to all. So the Emperor (being Crowned of *Pascalis*) returned again with the Pope of *Rome*.

All the conditions between the Emperor and the Pope (so long as the Emperor remained at *Rome*) stood firm and ratified. But as soon as the Emperor was returned again to *Germany*, forthwith the Pope, calling a Synod, not only revoked all that he had agreed to before, but also Excommunicated *Henricus* the Emperor, as he had done his Father before, reproved the former *Privilegium* for *pravilegium*. The Emperor, returning from *Rome* to *France*, there married *Matbild* daughter to King *Henry*. Who then hearing what the Pope had done (grieved not a little) with all expedition marched to *Rome*, and putteth the Pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the mean time the Bishops of *Germany* (the Popes good friends) slept not their business, incensing the *Saxons* all that they might against their *Cesar*: Inasmuch that a great commotion was stirred up, and it grew at length to a pitch field: which was fought in the month of *February*, by the wood called *Sylva Catularia*, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifteen.

The Emperor seeing no end of these conflicts (unless he would yield to the Pope) was fain to give over, and forgo his privilege, falling to a composition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the Popes Election, nor with Investing, nor such other things belonging to the Church and Churchmen. And thus was the peace between them concluded, and proclaimed to no small rejoycing of both the Armies, then lying by *Worms*, near the River of *Rhene*.

In the time of this *Pascalis* lived *Bernardus*, called *Abbas Claravallensis*, in the year 1108. of whom sprang the *Bernardine* Monks.

About what time the City of *Worcester* was consumed almost all with fire, *An. 1109*.

All this while *Henricus* the Emperor had no Issue (having to Wife *Matbildis*, the daughter of *Henry* the first, King of *England*) and that by the just judgment of God, as it may appear. For as he, having a Father, persecuted him by the Popes setting on, contrary to the part of a natural Son: so Gods providence did not suffer him to be the Father of any child, naturally to love him, or to succeed him.

After the death of *Pascalis*, *Anno 1118*, succeeded Pope *Gelasius*, chosen by the Cardinals, but without the consent of the Emperor, whereupon rose no little variance in *Rome*. And at length another Pope was set up by the Emperor called *Gregorius* the eighth, and *Gelasius* driven away into *France*, and there died. After whom came *Calixtus* the second (chosen likewise by a few Cardinals, without the voice of the Emperor) who, coming up to *Rome* to enjoy his seat, first sent his Legat into *Germany* to Excommunicate the Emperor *Henricus*, who then having divers conflicts with his fellow Pope *Gregorius*, at length drove him out of *Rome*. At this time by this occasion great disputation and controversie was between the Emperor and the Popes Court, whether of them in dignity should excel the other: whereof reasons and arguments on both sides were alledged, which in the verses here following are comprehended.

Allegatio Imperatoris contra Papam.

*Cæsar lex vivæ stat regibus imperativa,
Legeq; sub vivæ sunt omnia jura dativa,
Lex ea castigat, solvit & ipsa ligat.
Conditor est legis, neq; debet legeteneri,
Sed sibi complacuit sub lege libenter haberi:
Quicquid ei placuit, juris ad instar erat.
Qui ligat ac solvit Deus ipsum protulit orbi,
Divisit regnum divina potentia secum,
Æstra dedit superis, cætera cuncta sibi.*

Re

War raised
by the
Pope and
his Papists.

Peace con-
cluded be-
tween the
Emperor
and the
Pope.

Bernardus
the Abbot.
Bernardine
Monks
came in.
The City of
Worcester
almost all
consumed
with fire.
Matbildis,
Example of
the Lords
just retribu-
tion and judgment.

Two Popes
striving to-
gether.

Pope *Calixtus*
the second.

The Pope
Excommu-
nicateth the
Emperor.

Responsio Romanæ curiæ contra Imperatorem.

*Pars quoque papalis sic obviat imperiali,
Sic dans regnare, quod Petro subiaciatis :
Fus etenim nobis Christus utrumque parit.
Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subjecta potenter,
Corpora terrena teneo, caelestia mente,
Unde, tenendo polum, solvo ligoque solum.
Aethera pandere, calica tangere, papa videtur.
Nam dare, tollere, necere, solvere cuncta meretur,
Cui debet omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus :
Annulus & baculus quamvis terrena putentur,
Sunt de jure poli, quæ significare videntur :
Respice jura Dei, mens tua cedat ei, &c.*

In conclusion, the Emperor being overcome so much with the vain reasons of the Popes side, and fearing the dangerous Thunderbolt of his curse (talking with Princes, and persuaded by his friends) was fain to condescend to the unreasonable conditions of the Pope. First, to ratifie his Election, notwithstanding the other Pope (whom the said Emperor had set up) yet was alive. Secondly, that he should resign up his right and title in matters pertaining to the Election of the Pope, and Investiture of Bishops.

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set up in the Church of *Lateran*, for a triumph of the Emperor thus subdued, the Pope maketh out after *Gregorius* his fellow Pope, being then in a Town called *Sutrium*; which being besieged and taken, *Gregorius* also was taken. Whom *Calixtus* the Pope setting upon a Camel (his face to the Camels tail) brought him so through the streets of *Rome*, holding the tail in his hand in stead of a Bridle; and afterward being shorn he was thrust into a Monastery.

Gregorius brought into *Rome* by the Pope, his face to the Horse tail. Ex *Placito*, *Vincenzo*, *Stille*, &c. The Ember days by whom they were brought in, and when. *Dis. 70. cap. Jejunium*. The Order of Monks *Praemonstratensis*.

Amongst many other Acts done by this glorious Pope, first he established the decree of the Papal See against this Emperor. He brought in the four quarter Fasts, called *Ember days*. *Dis. 70. cap. Jejunium*.

By the same *Calixtus* the order of Monks, called *Praemonstratenses*, were brought in.

Further, by him it was decreed to be judged for Adultery, if any person (by his life time) had put from him either Bishoprick or Benefice, grounding upon this Scripture of *S. Paul* to the *Romans*, *Alligata est uxor legi viri quamdiu vir ejus vivit : eo defuncto, soluta est a lege viri*, &c. That is, *The Wife is bound to the Law of her Husband, so long as the Husband liveth : after he is dead, she is loose from the Law of her Husband*, &c.

Scripture clearly applied of the Pope.

Priests and Ministers compelled to leave their Wives.

Item, the same *Calixtus*, holding a general Council at *Rhemi*s, decreed that Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons should put away their Concubines and Wives : and whosoever was found to keep his Wife, should be deprived of Benefice, and all other Ecclesiastical livings : whereupon a certain *English* Writer made these verses following :

*O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te :
Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti,
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.*

That is, word for word.

*The hatred of the Clergy hast thou good Calixte,
For sometimes Priests might use their Wives right,
But that thou hast rejected, since Pope thou wast elected.*

Anno 1109.

And thus much of the *Roman* matters. Now to our Country story again. After the death of *Anselm* before mentioned (who deceased the year of Christ 1109. after he had been in the See sixteen years) the Church of *Canterbury* stood voyd five years; and the goods of the Church were spent to the Kings use. And when he was prayed to help the Church that was so long without a Pastor, his answer was : pretending that as his Father and Brother had accustomed thereto to set the best tried and approved men that might be found, so to the intent that he might do the same (in choosing such, which either should equal the former examples of them before, or at least follow their footsteps as near as they could) he took therein the more time and leisure. And so with shift of answer he delayed

out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice. The same year (after the death of *Anselm*) the King converted the Abbey of *Ely* to a Bishoprick, which before was under the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, placing there *Henry* Bishop of *Bangor*, the Bishop of that See. And as, of late years before this, divers wonders were seen, as Stars falling from Heaven so thick that they could not be numbred, at the setting forth of the Christians to the holy Land; *Jornalen*s. A blazing Star over *Constantinople*; A spring boyling out blood (seen at *Finchamsted* in *Barkshire*) three weeks together; Anno 1090. *Gisburnensis*. After that, the Firmament appearing so red, as it had been all on fire; also two full Moons appearing together, one in the East, the other in the West (on *Maundy-Thursday*) with a blazing Star in the same year appearing about the taking of Duke *Robert*, having a white circle inclosing it, Anno 1106. *Jornalen*s. Also with an Eclipse of the Sun darkened after that : So likewise about this present year, Anno 1110. was seen the flood of *Trent*, about *Nottingham*, so dried up from morning to three of the clock at afternoon, that men might go over it dry shod; *Gisburnensis*. Also in *Shrewsbury* a great Earthquake happened, and after that followed a sharp Winter, great Murren of Beasts, and Pestilence of Men, as *Gualterus Gisburnensis*. recordeth; Moreover, the same Author mentioneth, that about the same year the like vading of water also happened in the flood *Medway*; and in the *Thames* (between the Bridge and the Tower, and under the Bridge, from Midnight to the next Evening) was so great an Ebb, that an Innumerable sort of people and children waded over, scarce knee deep in the Water, the Sea withdrawing his Tide ten miles from his accustomed course. *Roger Hoveden*. *Gualter. Gisburnensis*. &c. In the which year also, as the said Author and *Jornalen*s. do testify, the City of *Worcester* by casualty was consumed with fire; Also the City of *Chester*. Anno 1114. *Rog. Hoved.*

The Bishoprick of *Ely* first planted. *Henry* first Bishop of *Ely*.

Anno 1110.

Trent dried up.

An Earthquake. Murren and Pestilence. Ex *Gualtero Gisburnensis*.

Anno 1113.

Worcester consumed with fire. Anno 1114.

The next year following, *Rodolphus* Bishop of *Rocheſter* (an Englishman) was promoted to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thurſtinus* the Kings Chaplain was Elected Archbishop of *York*. Who being content to receive his benediction or consecration of the See of *Canterbury*; yet, because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same See, he was by the King deprived of his Dignity.

Rodolphus Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Thurſtinus Archbishop of *York*.

Dissond between *Thurſtinus* of *York*, and *Rodolphus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* for subjection.

Then *Thurſtin* by the Infligation of certain of his Clerks at *York* took his Journey to *Rome*; who, there making his complaint to Pope *Paschalis*, brought with him a Letter from the Pope to the King, where among other Words was contained as followeth, *Audivimus electum Eboracensis Ecclesie, virum sapientem & strenuum, sine judicio ab Eboracensi sequestratum Ecclesie; quod nimirum divinae justitiae & S. patrum institutionibus adversatur. Nos quidem neque Cant. Ecclesiam minui, neque Eboracensem volumus praedictum pati, sed eam constitutionem quae a B. Gregorio, Anglica gentis Apostolo, inter easdem Ecclesias, constituta est, firman censemus illibatamque servari. Idem ergo electus, ut justitia exigit, ad suam Ecclesiam omnibus modis revocetur. Si quid autem questionis inter easdem Ecclesias nascitur, praesentibus utrique patribus in vestra praesentia pertractetur, &c.*

The Letter of *Paschalis* to King *Henry*.

In English thus,

We hear and understand, that the Archbishop Elect of the Church of *York* (a discreet and industrious man) is sequestred from the Church of *York*; which standeth against both divine Justice, and the Institution of holy Fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the Church of *Canterbury* should be impaired, nor again that the Church of *York* should suffer any prejudice, but that the same constitution, which was by blessed *Gregory* (the Apostle of the *English* Nation) set and decreed between those two Churches, should remain still in force and effect unviolated. Wherefore, as touching the foresaid Elect, let him be received again by any means, as right and meet it is, unto his Church. And if there be any question between the foresaid Churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present.

Ex *Gualtero Gisburnensis*.

Ex *Gualtero de pontif. lib. 4.*

Ex *Rogero Hoveden. Tabl. 6. c.*

Anno 1154.

Assembly of the Nobles at *Salisbury*.

Upon occasion of this Letter, a solemn assembly there was appointed at *Salisbury*, about the hearing of this controversy. The variance between these two Prelates still increased more and more. *Rodolph* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in no case would yield or condescend

to

*Thurfin re-
fuseth to
profess sub-
jection to
the Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.*

*Thurfin
promiseth
to renounce
his Archbi-
shoprick.*

*Anno
1118.*

*Pope Calix-
tus breaketh
promise
with the
King.
Thurfin
consecrated
Archbishop
of York by
the Pope a-
gainst the
Kings mind.*

*Concilium
Rhemense.*

*Acts of the
Council of
Rhemis.*

*The Acts
sent to the
Emperor.*

*The Empe-
ror agreeth
not to the
Popes In-
vesting.*

*The Coun-
cil divideth.
Ex Reg.
Edward.*

to give imposition of hands unto him, unless he would make his profession of obedience. *Thurfin* again said, he would willingly receive and imbrace his Benediction; but as touching the profession of his subjection, that he would not agree unto. Then the King, declaring his mind therein, signified unto *Thurfin*, that, without his subjection and obedience professed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he should not enjoy his consecration to be Archbishop of York. Whereunto *Thurfin*, nothing replying again, renounced his Archbishoprick, promising moreover to make no more claim unto it, nor to molest them that should enjoy it.

Shortly after this, it happened that Pope *Paschalis* died: After whom, as is above rehearsed, succeeded Pope *Gelasius*, who lived not past a year, and died in France. Whereupon the Cardinals (which then followed the said Pope *Gelasius* unto *Cluniack*) created another Pope of their choosing, whom they called *Calixtus* the second. The other Cardinals which were at Rome did choose another Pope called *Gregory*, as mention before is made: about which two Popes much stir there was in Christian Realms. As this *Calixtus* was remaining in France, and there calling a general Council at *Rhemis*, as ye heard before; *Thurfinus* the Archbishop of York desired Licence of the King to go to the Council, purposing there to open the cause of his Church, which estates he obtained: First promising to the King that he should there attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the Church of Canterbury. In the mean time, the King had sent secret word unto the Pope, by *Rodulph* and other Procurators, that in no case he would consecrate *Thurfinus*. Yet, notwithstanding the faithful promise of the Pope made to the King, so it fell out, that the said Pope through the sute of his Cardinals, whom *Thurfinus* had won to him, was inclined to consecrate him, and gave him the Pall. For this deed the King was fore discontented with *Thurfin*, and warned him the entry of this Land.

In this Council at *Rhemis* (above mentioned) where were gathered 434. Prelates, these five principal Acts were concluded.

1. That no man should either buy or sell any Bishoprick, Abbatship, Deanry, Archdeaconship, Priesthood, Prebendship, Altar, or any Ecclesiastical promotion, or Benefice, Orders, Consecration, Church hallowing, seat or stall within the Quire, or any Office Ecclesiastical, under danger of Excommunication, if he did persist.

2. That no Lay person should give Investiture or any Ecclesiastical possession; and that no spiritual man should receive any such at any Lay mans hand, under pain of deprivation.

3. That no man should invade, take away, or detain the goods or possessions of the Church; but that they should remain firm and perpetual, under pain of perpetual curse.

4. That no Bishop or Priest should leave any Ecclesiastical Dignity or Benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreover, that for Baptism, Chrism, Anointing, or Burial, no Money should be exacted.

5. Item, that all Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, should be utterly debarred and sequestred from company of their Wives and Concubines, under pain of excluding from all Christian Communion.

The Acts thus determined were sent estfoons to *Henricus* the Emperor, to see and try, before the breaking up of the Council, whether he would agree to the Canonical Elections, free consecration, and Investing of spiritual Persons, and to other Acts of the said Council. The Emperor maketh answer again, that he would lose nothing of that ancient Custom which his Progenitors had given him. Notwithstanding, because of the Authority of the general Council, he was content to consent to the residue, save only the Investing of Ecclesiastical Function to be taken from him, to that he would never agree. Upon this, at the next return of the Pope to the Council, the Emperor was appointed to be Excommunicated. Which thing, when divers of the Council did not well like, and therefore did separate themselves from the rest; the Pope applying against them the multitude of the seventy Disciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therefore divided themselves from him, declaring moreover to them, how

they which gathered not with him, scattered, and they that were not with him, were against him: By these and such like perswasions reduced them again to his side; and so by that Council *Henricus* the Emperor was Excommunicated.

It was not long after but the Pope came to *Gisfortium*, where *Henry* King of England resorted to him, desiring and also obtaining of him, that he would send henceforth no Legate, nor permit any to be sent from Rome to England, unless the King himself should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not be otherwise decided by his own Bishops at home. The cause why the King required this of the Pope was, for that certain Roman Legates had been in England a little before (to wit) one *Guido*, and another Roman named *Anselmus*, and another also called *Petrus*, who had spoyle the Realm of great Treasure, as the accustomed manner of the proud Popes Legates is wont to be, *Guli. de pont. lib. 1.* Also he required of the Pope, that he might use and retain all the customs used before of his forefathers in England and in Normandy.

To these petitions the Pope did easily consent, requiring again of the King, that he would Licence *Thurfinus*, the Archbishop above minded, to return with favour into his Realm. But that the King utterly denied, unless he would profess subjection to the Church of Canterbury, as his Predecessors had done before; and excused himself by his Oath which he before had made. To this the Pope answered again, that he, by his authority Apostolical, both might, and would also easily dispence with him for his promise or oath. Then the King said, that he would talk with his Council thereof, and so send him an answer of his mind; which answer was this, That, for the love and request of the Pope, he was content that *Thurfinus* should re-enter his Realm, and quietly enjoy his Prelateship, upon this condition that he would (as his Predecessors did) profess his subjection to the Church of Canterbury. Otherwise (said he) so long as he was King, he should never sit Archbishop of the Church of York. And thus ended that meeting between the King of England and the Pope for that time.

The year following after that, which was, Anno 1120. the foresaid Pope *Calixtus* directeth his Letters for *Thurfinus* to the King, and to *Rodulph* Archbishop of Canterbury. In which Epistle, by his full power Apostolical, he doth interdict both the Church of Canterbury, and the Church of York, with all the Parish Churches within the same Cities, from all Divine service, from the burial also of the dead, except only Baptising of Children, and absolution of them that lie on dying; unless, within a month after the receipt of the same, *Thurfinus* (without any exaction of subjection made) were received and admitted to the See of York, and that the King likewise should doubtless be Excommunicated, except he would consent unto the same. Whereupon *Thurfinus*, for fear of the Popes curse, was immediatly sent for and reconciled to the King, and was placed quietly in his Archiepiscopal See of York.

It followed not long after (within two years) *Rodulph* Archbishop of Canterbury departed, in whose See succeeded after him *Gulielmus de Turbine*. About which time (in the seven and twentieth year of the Kings Reign) the Gray-Friers, by procuring of the King, came first into England, and had their House first at Canterbury. About the same season or a little before, the King called a Council at London, where the spirituality of England (not knowing to what purpose it was required) condescended to the King to have the punishment of married Priests: By reason of which grant (whereof the spirituality afterwards much repented) the Priests, paying a certain to the King, were suffered to retain their Wives still, whereby the King gathered no small sum of Money, *Rog. Hoved. 7. Guliel. Gisleburnensis.* At this time began the first foundation of the Monastery called *Gisburn* in *Cleveland*.

It was above touched, how *Matild* or *Maud*, Daughter to King *Henry*, was married to *Henry* the fifth Emperor; who, after the decease of the said Emperor her Husband, returned about this present time with the Imperial Crown to her Father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of Saint *James*. For the joy whereof the King builded

*Henry the
Emperor
Excommu-
nicated.*

*Agreed that
England
should have
no other
Legate from
Rome, but
only the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.*

*England
spoyled by
the Popes
Legate.*

*All the
customs of
the Realm
granted of
the Pope.*

*Anno
1120.*

*The Popes
Letter to
the King,
compelled
to receive
Thurfin
for fear of
the Popes
curse.*

*Thurfin
re-
fused to
profess sub-
jection to
the Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.*

*Anno
1122.*

*William
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.*

*The Gray-
Friers first
came into
England.*

*Anno
1125.*

*Priests paid
for their
Wives.*

*Ex Reg.
Hoved.
Guliel.
Gisleburnensis.*

*The Abbey
of Gisleburn
builded.*

Reading
Abbey found-
ed.
Matild
daughter of
King Henry
here to the
Crown.
Henry
Plantagenet
Henry 2.
born at
Matild the
English.

Anno
1191.

The Palace
of Henry
founded.
Three terri-
ble visions
of the King.

Three vows
made of
King Henry

Anno
1191.

Dane-gilt
released.
The Church
relieved.
Justice right
ly adminis-
tered.
Bishoprick
of Carlisle
newly ere-
cted by King
Henry.

The City
and Pauls
Church in
London
burned.

Henry
the second.

Matthew
Parisensis.

A Rough
statute con-
cerning
Priests
Wives and
Concubines.

Matild
founded on
the fourth
degree.

The Pope
Legation
precepts of
chastity,
was found
with an
Error.

built the Abbey of Reading, where the said Hand was reposed. This Matild was received by the said Council to be next Heir to the King, her Father in possession of the English Crown, for lack of Issue Male. And soon after upon the same, she was sent over to Normandy, to marry with Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou, of whom came Henry the Second, who (after Stephen) was King of England. And about this time also was founded the the Priory of Norton in the Province of Chester, by one William the Son of Nichelle. In the story of Polychronicon, Formel. and Polydorus is declared, how the King was troubled greatly with three sundry visions appearing unto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of Husbandmen of the Countrey, which appeared to fly upon him with their Mattocks and Instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe unto them. In the second, he saw a great number of Souldiers and harnessed men so come fiercely upon him. In the third, he saw a company of Prelates and Church-men, threatening him with their Bishops Staves, and fiercely approaching upon him. Whereupon (being dismayed) in all haste he ran and took his Sword to defend himself, finding there none to strike: Who afterward, asking Counsel concerning these Visions, was monished by one of his Physitians (named Grimbold) by Repentance, Almes, and amendment of life to make some amends to God, and to his Country whom he offended. Which three Vows thus being made, the next year after he went to England; where he, being upon the Seas in a great tempest with his Daughter Matild, remembered there his three Vows. And so coming to the land (for performance of the same) first released unto the Commons the Dane-gilt which his Father and Brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to S. Edmundsbury, where he shewed great benefits to the Church-men. Thirdly, he procured Justice to be Administred more rightly throughout his Realm, &c. Also he Ordained and Erected a new Bishoprick at Carlisle.

In the three and thirtieth year of the Kings Reign (as witnesseth a certain Author) a great part of the City of London, with the Church of S. Paul, was burned with fire in Whitsun Week.

After Calixtus (whose story and time is before discussed) succeeded Pope Honorius the Second; notwithstanding that the Cardinals had Elected another, yet he by the means of certain Citizens obtained the Papacy, Anno 1125. About the Second year of his Induction (as is to be read in Mat. Paris) there was a certain Legat of his, called Johannes Crescensius, sent down to England from the Pope for the redress I cannot well tell whereof. But indeed the chiefest purpose of his coming, as of all others after him in those days, was to fill their Pouches with English Money, as may further appear by their proceedings. This Legat coming then with the Popes Letters directed both into England and into Scotland, after he had well refreshed himself in Bishops houses, and amongst the Abbats, at length resorted to London, where he assembled the whole Clergy together, inquired of Priests Concubines, otherwise called their Wives, and made thereupon a Statute in the said Synod of London, after this Tenor, *Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, & canonicis, uxoribus, concubinarum, & omnium omnino feminarum cantuariensis, auctoritate apostolica inhibemus, prater matrem aut sororem, vel amitam, aut ejusmodi que omnino careant suspitione. Et qui decretis hujus violator extiterit (confessus vel convictus) ruinam ordinis patiat. Inter consanguineos seu affinitate propinquos, usque ad septimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus.* That is, To Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, and Canons, we do utterly Inhibit by Authority Apostolical, all manner society and conversation with all kind of women, except only their Mother, Sister, or Aunt, or such whereof can rise no suspicion. And whosoever shall be found to violate this Decree, being convict thereof, shall sustain thereby the loss of all that he hath by his Order. Moreover, amongst kindred or such as be joynd in affinity, we forbid Matrimony unto the seventh Generation, &c. But see how God worketh against such ungodly Proceedings. The next night after it happened the same Cardinal (rustling and revelling with his Concubines) to be apprehended in the same vice, whereof he had so strictly given out precepts the next day before, to the no little slander and shame, as Mat. Paris doth write, of the whole Clergy.

Unto this time lived Henricus the fifth Emperor after he had Reigned twenty years, dying without Issue, as is before mentioned. Next after Henricus, the Imperial Crown came unto Lotharius Duke of Saxon, in the year one thousand one hundred twenty and seven.

Certain Histories make mention of one Arnulphus, in the time of this Pope Honorius the Second. Some say he was Archbishop of Lugdun, as Hugo, Platina, Sabellus. Tritemius saith he was a Priest, whose History, as it is set forth in Tritemius, I will briefly in English express. About this time, saith he, in the days of Honorius the Second, one Arnulphus Priest, a man Zealous and of great Devotion, and a worthy Preacher, came to Rome, which Arnulphus in his Preaching rebuked the dissolute and lascivious looseness, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate Pride of the Clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his Apostles in their poverty rather, and in pureness of life. By reason whereof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the Nobility of Rome for a true Disciple of Christ; but of the Cardinals and the Clergy he was not less hated than favoured of the other. In so much that privily in the night season they took him and destroyed him. This his Martyrdom, saith he, was revealed to him before from God by an Angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to Preach; whereupon he said unto them publicly with these Words, I know (saith he) ye seek my life, and know you will make me away privily: But why? Because I Preach to you in the Truth, and blame your pride, stoutness, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greediness in getting and heaping up of riches, therefore you be displeased with me. Take here Heaven and Earth to witness, that I have Preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you condemn me and your Creator, who by his only Son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you seek my death, being a sinful person, preaching unto you the truth, when as if S. Peter were here this day and rebuked your Vices, which do so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him neither. And as he was expressing this, with a loud voice he said moreover: For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth sake; but this I say unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. You, being full of all unpurity, play the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to Hell; a God he is of vengeance. Thus the hatred of the Clergy being incensed against him for Preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so, laying privy wait for him, took him and drowned him. Sabellus and Platina say they hanged him.

In the second Tome of the General Councils imprinted at Cullen, is mentioned a certain Book called *Opus tripertitum*, written, as the Author supposeth, above four hundred years ago, either of this Arnulphus, or just about the same time. In this Book, the Writer complaineth of many Enormities and abuses in the Church. First, of the number of Holy-days, declaring what occasions of vice grew thereby, according unto the common saying of Whores and naughty women, which, say they, Vantage more in one Holy-day, than in fifty other days besides.

Item, he complaineth of the curious fingering in Cathedral Churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea, many years about the same which otherwise they might give to the learning of better Sciences.

Likewise he complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging Friars, and religious men and professed women, shewing what great occasion of idle and uncounly life cometh thereof.

Also of the inconsiderate promotion of evil Prelates, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the evil demeanor of the people.

Item, of the great wastoness and lasciviousness in their servants and families, concerning their excessive wearing of Apparel.

Item, he complaineth also of the outrageous and excessive gains that Prelates and other under them take for their seal, especially of Officials, scribes, and such likes, which give out the seal they care not how, nor wherefore, so they may gain Money.

He complaineth in like manner, that Prelates be so slack and negligent in looking to the residents in their benefices. Further,

Arnulphus
Martyr
at Rome.
The History
of Arnulphus.

Arnulphus
Martyr.

By Tritemius.
A book called
Tripertitum,
written
about
400
years ago.
Number of
Holy-days.

Curious
fingering in
Cathedral
Churches.

The world
overcharged
with beg-
ging relig-
ious.

Promotion
of evil
Prelates.

Superfluity
of apparel
in Bishops
families.

Bishop
Seals abused
to get
Money.

Non resi-
dents in
Benefices.

Rash be-
flowing of
Benefices.

Further, he lamenteth the rash giving of Benefices to Parsons, Vicars and Curats, not for any godliness or learning in them, but for favour or friendship, or intercession, or else for hope of some gain, whereof springeth this great ignorance in the Church.

Wasteful
spending of
the Church
goods.

After this, he noteth in Prelats, how they waste and expend the goods of the Church in superfluities; or upon their kinsfolks, or other worse ways, which should rather be spent on the poor.

Old Books
of councils
lost by the
negligence
of the
Clerks.

Nextly, in the tenth Chapter he complaineth, for that through the negligence of men of the Church (especially of the Church of Rome) the Books and Monuments of the old Councils, and also of the new, are not to be found: Which should be reserved and kept in all Cathedral Churches.

The un-
chaste life
of Priests
condemned
by the na-
ture of the
Storks.

Item, that many Prelates be so cold in doing their duties. Also he reproacheth, the unchaste and voluptuous demeanour of Ecclesiastical Persons, by the examples of Storks, whose nature is (saith he) that if any of their company, leaving his own mate, joyneth with any other, all the rest flieth upon him, whether it be he or she, beateth him, and plucketh his Fathers off: What then, saith he, ought good Prelates to do to such a Person of their company, whose filthiness and corrupt life both defileth so many, and stinketh in the whole Church?

Amendment
of life
ought first
to begin
with the
Priests.

Again, for so much as we read in the Book of *Esdras*, lib. 2. cap. 9. that he, purging *Israel* of strange Women, began first with the Priests; so now likewise in the purging and correcting of all sorts of men, first the Purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the Prophet *Ezekiel*; begin first with the Sanctuary, &c.

The Realm
of France
interdicted.

Moreover, how that in the time of *Philip* King of France, the whole Realm was interdicted, for that the King had but one Woman instead of his Wife, which was not his Wife by Law. And again, seeing in these our days the King of Portugal hath been sequestred from his Dominion, by the Authority of the Church, being thought not sufficient to Govern: What then ought be said to that Prelate who abuseth other mens Wives, Virgins, and Nuns, which also is found unable and insufficient to take upon him the charge of Souls?

The Knights
of the
Rhodes and
Templars.

About the year of our Lord, 1128. the Orders of the Knights of the Rhodes, called *Johannits*, also the Order of *Templars* rose up.

Pope Inno-
centius the
second.

After *Honorius*, next in the same usurpation succeeded Pope *Innocentius* the second, Anno. 1130. But as it was with his Predecessors before him, that at every mutation of new Popes, came new perturbations, and commonly never a Pope was Elected, but some other was set up against him (sometimes two, sometimes three Popes together) so likewise it hapned with this *Innocentius*; for after he was chosen, the Romans Elected another Pope, named *Anacletus*. Betwixt these two Popes, there was much ado, and great conflicts through the partaking of *Rogerius*, Duke of Sicile, taking *Anacletus* part against *Innocentius*, until *Lotharius* the Emperor came; who rescuing *Innocentius*, drove *Rogerius* out of Italy. Our stories record, that King *Henry* was one of the great helps in setting up and maintaining this Pope *Innocentius* against *Anacletus*: *Cisburnensis*.

Hurlburly
between
Popes.

The Popes
curse pro-
claimed a-
gainst such
as strike any
Priest.

Amongst many other things, this Pope decreed that whosoever did strike a Priest or Clerk, being shaven, he should be Excommunicated, and not be absolved, but only of the Pope himself.

The death
of King
Henry.
Anno
1135.

About the time of doing these things, being the year of our Lord, 1135. King *Henry* being in Normandy, as some say, by taking there a fall from his Horse, as others say, by taking a surfeit in eating Lampries, fell sick and died, after he had Reigned over the Realm of England five and thirty years and odd months; leaving for his heirs *Matilda* the Empress his Daughter, with her young Son *Henry* to succeed after him; to whom all the Prelats and Nobility of the Realm were Sworn. But, contrary to their Oath made to *Maud* in the presence of her Father before, *William* the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Nobles of the Realm, Crowned *Stephen* Earl of *Bologne*, and Sisters Son to King *Henry*, upon Saint Stephens day in Christmas week; which Archbishop the next year after dyed, being, as it was thought, justly punished for his Perjury. And many other Lords, which did

Perjury just-
ly punished.

accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like justice of punishment is numbered also *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; who contrary unto his Oath, being a great doer in the Coronation of *Stephen*, was apprehended of the same King, and miserably, but justly, exterminated.

A certain Written English story I have, which addeth more, and saith, that King *Stephen*, having many foes in divers quarters keeping their holds and castles against him, went then to Oxford, and took the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and put a Rope about his neck, and so led him to the Castle of *Vies*, that was his, and commanded them to render up the Castle, or he would slay and hang their Bishop. Which Castle being given up, the King took the spoyle thereof. The like also he did unto the Bishop of *Lincoln*, named *Alexander*; whom in like manner he led in a Rope to a Castle of the Bishops, that was upon *Trent*, and bad them deliver up the Castle, or else he would hang their Lord before the gate. Long it was before the Castle was given up; yet at length the King obtaining it, there entred and took all the Treasure of the Bishop, &c. *Roger Hoveden* and *Fabian* alledging a certain old Author, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cause of this perjury unto one *Hugh Bigot*, Steward sometime with King *Henry*. Who, immediately after the death of the said *Henry*, came into England, and before the said Archbishop, and other Lords of the land, took wilfully an Oath, and Swore, that he was present a little before the Kings death, when King *Henry* admitted for his heir (to be King after him) *Stephen* his Nephew, for so much as *Maud* his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the Archbishop with the other Lords, gave too hasty credence. But this *Hugh*, saith he, scaped not unpunished, for he died miserably in a short time after. *Ex Fabian*. Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practice of *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and other Prelates by his setting on, which *Henry* was brother unto King *Stephen*, &c.

King Stephen.

Thus, when King *Stephen*, contrary unto his Oath made before to *Maud* the Empress, had taken upon him the Crown (as is above said) he Swore before the Lords at Oxford, that he would not hold the Benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegilt, with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreover, because he dreaded the coming of the Empress, he gave licence to his Lords, every one to build upon his own ground strong Castles or Fortresses, as them liked. All the time of his Reign he was vexed with Wars, but especially with *David*, King of the Scots, with whom he was at length accorded: But yet the Scottish King did him no Homage, because he was Sworn to *Maud* the Empress. Notwithstanding, yet *Henry* the Eldest Son to King *David*, did Homage to King *Stephen*. But he, after repenting thereof, entred into *Northumberland* with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruel wise, neither sparing man, woman, or child. Such as were with child they ript, the children they tost upon their Spears points, and laying the Priests upon the Altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhood of the English Lords and Souldiers, and through the means of *Thurstan*, Archbishop of *York*, they were met withal, and slain a great number of them, and *David* their King constrained to give to *Henry* his Son Hostage for surety of peace. In the mean time, King *Stephen* was occupied in the South Countries, besieging divers Castles of divers Bishops and other Lords, and took them by force, and fortified them with his Knights and Servants, to the intent to withstand the Empress, whose coming he ever feared.

About the sixth year of his Reign, *Maud* the Empress came into England out of Normandy, and by the aid of *Robert*, Earl of Gloucester, and *Ranulph* of Chester, made strong War upon King *Stephen*. In the end whereof the Kings party was chased, and himself taken prisoner; and sent to *Bristol*, there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when King *Stephen* should joyn his Battel, it is said in a certain Old Chronicle before minded, that he being at the Mass (which then the Bishop of *Lincoln* said before the King) as he went to offer up his Taper, it brake in

Ex chron.
Angli. in-
i. annis.
The Bishop
of Sarum
and of
Lincoln
taken pri-
soners of
the King,
and led
with Ropes
about their
necks.

Roger
Hoveden
in
viii. Sup.
Ex Fab.
viii. Sup.

King Ste-
phen.
Building of
Castles in
England.

The cruelty
of the Scots
against the
Englishmen.

Anno
1140.
Maud the
Empress
came into
England to
fight King
Stephen.
The
Battle of
Merton.

two pieces. And when the Mass was done, (at what time the King should have been housled) the rope, whereby the Pix did hang, did break, and the Pix fell down upon the Altar.

After this field, the Queen, King Stephens wife, (lying then in Kent) made great labour to the Empress and her Council, to have the King delivered and put into some house of Religion, but could not obtain it. Also the Londoners made great Suit to the said Empress, to have and to use again Saint Edwards Laws, and not the Laws of her Father, which were more strict and strange unto them than the other. Which when they could not obtain of her and her Council; the Citizens of London, being therewith discontented, would have taken the Empress: but she having knowledge thereof, fled privily from London to Oxford. But then the Kentish-men and Londoners, taking the Kings part, joyned battel against the Empress; where the foresaid Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and base Brother to the Empress was taken, and so by exchange, both the King and the Earl Robert were delivered out of prison. Then Stephen without delay, gathering to him a strong Army, straitly pursued the foresaid Matild or Maud, with her friends, besieging them in the Castle of Oxford. In the Siege whereof fell a great Snow and Frost so hard, that a man well laden might pass over the water: upon the occasion whereof, the Empress bethinking her self, appointed with her Friends and Retinue cloathed in white Sheets, and so issuing out by a Postern-Gate, went upon the Ice over Thames, and so escaped to Wallingford. After this, the King (the Castle being gotten) when he found not the Empress, was much displeased, and molested the Country about divers ways. In conclusion, he pursued the Empress and her Company so hard, that he caused them to fly the Realm, which was the sixth year of his Reign.

The second year after this, which was the eighth year of his Reign, there was a Parliament kept at London, unto the which all the Bishops of the Realm resorted, and there denounced the King accursed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the Church, or to any Minister thereof. Whereupon the King began somewhat to amend his conditions for a certain space: but afterward (as my story faith) was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were, my Author maketh no relation thereof, &c. To return again to the story, the Empress compelled, as is said, to fly the Realm, returned again into Normandy to Geoffrey Plantagenet her Husband. Who, after he had valiantly won and defended the Dutchy of Normandy, against the puissance of King Stephen a long time; ended his life, leaving Henry his Son to succeed him in that Dukedom. In the mean while, Robert Earl of Gloucester, and the Earl of Chester, who were strong of people, had divers Conflicts with the King, inasmuch that at a battel at Wilton between them the King was well near taken, but yet escaped with much pain.

It was not long after, but Eustace, Son to King Stephen, who had married the French Kings Sister, made War on Duke Henry of Normandy, but prevailed not. Soon after, the said Henry, Duke of Normandy, (in the quarrel of his Mother Maud) with a great puissance entred into England, and at the first won the Castle of Malmesbury, then the Tower of London, and afterward the Town of Nottingham, with other Holds and Castles, as of Wallingford, and other more. Thus between him and the King were fought many battels, to the great annoyance of the Realm. During which time, Eustace the Kings Son, departeth. Upon the occasion whereof, the King caused Theobald (which succeeded next after William above mentioned) Archbishop of Canterbury, to make means to the Duke for peace, which upon this condition between them was concluded, that Stephen, during his life time, should hold the Kingdom, and Henry in the mean time to be proclaimed Heir-apparent in the chief Cities throughout the Realm. These things thus concluded, Duke Henry taketh his Journey into Normandy (King Stephen and his Son William bringing him on his way) where William the Kings Son taking up his horse before his Father, had a fall, and brake his Leg, and so was had to Canterbury. The same year King Stephen, about October (as some say for sorrow) ended his life, after he had reigned nineteen years perjuredly.

As Theobald succeeded after William Archbishop of Canterbury, so in York, after Thurstan, succeeded William, which was called S. William of York, who was poysoned in his Chalice by his Chaplains.

In the time of this King, and about the sixteenth year of his Reign, Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, and Legate to the Pope, did hold a Council at London. In the which Council first began new found Appellations from Councils to the Pope, found out by Henry, Bishop of Winchester. For as the words of mine Author do record, *In Anglia namque Appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis Episcopus, dum Legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit. In eodem namque concilio ad Romani Pontificis audientiam ter appellatus est, &c.* That is, For Appellations before were not in use in England, till Henry Bishop of Winchester, being then the Popes Legate, brought them cruelly in, to his own hurt. For in that Council thrice appeal was made to the Bishop of Rome.

In the time of King Stephen died Gratianus a Monk of Bonony, who compiled the Book called *The Popes Decrees*. Also his Brother Petrus Lombardus, Bishop of Paris, which is called the *Master of Sentences*, compiled his four Books of the Sentences. These two Brethren were the greatest doers in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the Sacrament, that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them: and this they call the Spiritual understanding of the mystery. And therefore no marvel if the Sun in those days were seen black and dim.

Some also affirm, that Petrus Comestor, Writer of the Scholastical History, was the third Brother to these above named.

In the same time and Reign of the said King Stephen was also Hugo, surnamed *De sancto victore*. About the which time (as *Polychronicon* reciteth) lived and died Bernardus Clarevallensis.

The Author of the History, called *Jornalensis*, maketh also mention of Hildegate the Nun and Prophetess in *Almany*, to have lived in the same age. Concerning whose Prophesie against the Fryers, hereafter (by the Grace of Christ) more shall be said, when we come to recite the order and number of Fryers and religious men crept into the Church of Christ.

We read moreover of one named Johannes de Temporibus, which by the affirmance of most of our old Histories, lived 361. years (servant once to Carolus Magnus) and in the Reign of Stephen, King of England died, *Polychron. lib. 7. Continuator Henr. Hunt. Jornalensis in vita Steph. Nicol. Trivet, &c.*

In the daies also of this King, and by him, was builded the Abbey of Faversham, where his Son and he were buried. He builded the Monastery of Finerneis and of Fomstance, the Castle of Wallingford, with a number of other Castles more.

During the time of the said King Stephen, in the year of our Lord, 1144. the miserable Jews crucified a Child in the City of Norwich, *Nicol. Trivet. & alii.*

Much about the same time, came up the Order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert, Son to Jacoline a Knight of Lincolnshire, &c.

Mention hath been made before of certain English Councils holden in the time of this King, where it was (in one of them under Theobald the Archbishop of Canterbury) decreed that Bishops should live more discreetly; should teach their Flock more diligently; that reading of Scriptures should be frequented more usually in Abbies; that Priests should not be Rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learn and teach the Lords Prayer and Creed in English. *Malmes.*

Matth. Parisiensis writeth, how Stephen King of England in these daies reserved to himself the right and authority of bestowing Spiritual Livings, and investing Prelates, in the year, 1133.

At which time also, Lotharius the Emperor began to do the like, in recovering again the right and priviledge taken away from Henricus his Predecessor; had not Bernardus given him contrary counsel.

Here came into the Church the manner of curling with Book, Bell, and Candle, devised in the Council of London, holden by William, Bishop of Winchester under Celestinus, which succeeded after Innocentius, Anno 1144.

Saint William of York.

Gratianus the compiler of the Popes Decrees. Petrus Lombardus Master of the sentences.

Petrus Comestor.

Hugo de Sancto victore. Bernardus Clarevallensis.

Hildegate.

Johannes de Temporibus.

The Jews crucified a Christian body at Norwich. The order of the Gilbertines.

The Lords Prayer and the Creed in English. Matth. Parisiens. lib. Chron. 4. Stephen King of England.

Curling with Book, Bell, and Candle.

What it is for Princes to be hard and strict to their Subjects.

King Stephen and Robert, Earl of Gloucester delivered by exchange.

See insert authors Chronica.

The decease of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

Henry Duke of Normandy.

Henry entred into England.

Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. Peace between King Stephen and Duke Henry concluded.

The death of King Stephen.

Also *Lotharius* succeeded in the Imperial Crown *Conradus*, the Nephew of *Henricus* the fifth afore mentioned, Anno 1138. who only amongst many Emperors, is not found to receive the Crown at the Popes hand.

In the days of this Emperor, who reigned fifteen years, were divers Popes, as *Celestinus* the second, *Lucius* the second, *Eugenius* the third, at which time the Romans went about to recover their former old manner of chusing their Consuls and Senators. But the Popes, then being in their ruff, in no case would abide it; whereupon arose many Commotions, with much civil War amongst them. Infomuch that Pope *Lucius* (sending for aid to the Emperor, who otherwise letted at that time could not come) armed his Souldiers, thinking to invade them, or else to destroy them in the Senate-house. But this coming to their knowledge before, the people was all in array, and so much ado was amongst them. Pope *Lucius* being also amongst them in the fight (well pelted with stones and blows) lived not long after. Likewise Pope *Eugenius* after him, Anno 1145. pursuing the Romans for the same matter, first did curse them with Excommunication; after, when he saw that would not serve, he came with his Host, and so compelled them at length to seek his peace, and to take his conditions, which were these, That they should abolish their Consuls, and take such Senators as he by his Papal Authority should assign them.

Then followed *Anastasi* the fourth, and after him *Adrian* the fourth an Englishman, by his name called *Breakspeare*, belonging once to *S. Albans*. This *Adrianus* kept great stir in like sort with the Citizens of *Rome* for abolishing their Consuls and Senate, cursing, excommunicating, and warring against them with all Power he could make, till the time he removed the Consuls out of their Office, and brought them all under his subjection. The like business and rage he also stirred up against *Apulia*, and especially against the Empire, blustering and thundering against *Fredericus* the Emperor, as (the Lord granting) you shall hear anon, after we have profecuted such matter, as necessarily appertaineth first to the continuation of our English story.

King Henry the Second.

Anno 1154. King Henry the second. Henry the Second of that name, the Son of *Geffrey Plantaginet* and of *Maud* the Empress, and Daughter of King *Henry* the first, began his Reign after King *Stephen*, and continued five and thirty years. The first year of his Reign he subdued *Ireland*; and not long after, *Thomas Becket* was made by him Lord Chancellor of *England*. This King cast down divers Castles which were erected in the same time of King *Stephen*. He went into the North parts, where he subdued *William* King of *Scotland*, who at that time held a great part of *Northumberland*, unto *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, and joynd *Scotland* to his own Kingdom, from the South Ocean to the North Isles of *Orcaides*. Also he put under his Dominion the Kingdom of *Wales*, and there felled many great Woods, and made the ways plain. So that by his great manhood and policy, the Seigniorie of *England* was much augmented, with the addition of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, the Isles *Orcades*, *Britain*, *Poitou*, and *Guien*. Also he had in his Rule *Normandy*, *Gascain*, *Angeou*, and *Chinon*: also *Aluerne* and the City of *Tbolous* he won, and were to him subject. Over and besides (by the Title of his Wife *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Earl of *Poitou*) he obtained the Mount *Pyrene* in *Spain*: so that we read of none of his Progenitots, which had so many Countries under his Dominion.

Anno 1157. In *England* were seen in the Firmament two Suns, and (as it is in *Chronico Chronicorum*) in *Italy* appeared three Suns by the space of three hours in the West, and the year following appeared three Moons, whereof the middle Moon had a red Crofs overthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the judgment of some) the great Schisme that after fell among the Cardinals for the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*: or else rather the business between *Fredericus* the Emperor and the Popes, whereof partly now incidently occasion giveth us to discourse after that I have first written of *Gerhardus* and *Dalcinus Novarensis*; who, in their time, according to their gift, did earnestly labour and preach against the Church of *Rome*, defend-

ing and maintaining, that Prayer was not more holy in one place than in another; that the Pope was *Antichrist*; that the Clergy and Prelates of *Rome* were reject, and the very Whore of *Babylon* prefigured in the *Apocalypse*, &c. Peradventure these had received some light of knowledge of the *Waldenses*, who at length with a great number of their Followers were oppressed and slain by the Pope. And although some inconvenient Points of Doctrine and dishonesty in their Assemblies be against them alledged of some, yet these times of ours do teach us sufficiently what credit is to be given to such Popish slanders, forged rather upon hatred of true Religion, than upon any judgment of truth. *Illiricus*, in his Book *De rebus*, referreth the time of these two to the year of our Lord, 1218. but as I find in the story of *Robert Guisburne*, these two about the year of our Lord, 1158. brought thirty with them into *England*, who by the King and the Prelates, were all burnt in the Forehead, and so driven out of the Realm, and after (as *Illiricus* writeth) were slain by the Pope.

And now (according to my promise premised) the time requirerh to proceed to the History of *Fredericus* the first (called *Barbarossa*) Successor unto *Conradus* in the Empire, who marched up to *Italy*, to subdue there certain Rebels. The Pope hearing that, came with his Clergy to meet him by the way, in a Town called *Sutrium*, thinking by him to find Aid against his Enemies. The Emperor seeing the Bishop, lighteth from his Horse to receive him, holding the stirrop to the Prelate on the left side, when he should have held it on the right, whereat the Pope shewed himself somewhat grieved. The Emperor smiling, excused himself, that he was never accustomed to hold stirrops. And seeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the less matter was what side of the Horse he held. The next day to make amends again to the Bishop, the Emperor sending for him, received him, holding the right stirrop unto the Prelate, and so all the matter was made whole, and he the Popes white Son again.

After this, as they were come in and fate together, *Adrianus* the Pope beginneth to declare unto him, how his Ancestors before him, such as fought unto the See of *Rome* for the Crown, were wont always to leave behind them some special token or monument of their Benevolence for the obtaining thereof, as *Carolus Magnus* in subduing the *Lombards*, *Otho* the *Berengarians*, *Lotharius* the *Normans*, &c. Wherefore he required some benefit to proceed likewise from him unto the Church of *Rome*, in restoring again the Country of *Apulia* to the Church of *Rome*. Which thing if he would do, he for his part again would do that which appertained unto him to do: meaning in giving him the Crown, for at that time the Popes had brought the Emperors to fetch their Crown at their hands.

Frederick with his Princes perceiving that, unless he would of his own proper Costs and Charges fetch in again *Apulia* out of Duke *Williams* hands, he could not speed of the Crown, was fain to promise to all that the Pope required, and so the next day after was Crowned.

This done, the Emperor returneth into *Germany*, to refresh his Army and his other Furnitures, for the subduing of *Apulia*. In the mean while *Adrianus*, not thinking to be idle, first giveth forth Censures of Excommunication against *William*, Duke of *Apulia*. Besides, not content with this, he sendeth also to *Emmanuel*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, inciting him to War against the foresaid *William*. The Duke perceiving this, sendeth to the Pope for peace, promising to restore to him whatsoever he would.

But the Pope, through the malignant Counsel of his Cardinals, would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by War. The Duke, seeing nothing but War, preparerh himself with all Expedition to the same. To be brief, making all his Power out of *Sicilia*, he arrived at *Apulia*, and there putteth the Emperor *Emmanuel* to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the City of *Bonaventure*, where the Pope with his Cardinals were looking for Victory. He planting there his Siege, so straitly pressed the City, that the Pope with his Cardinals were glad to intreat for peace, which they refused before. The Duke granted unto their peace upon certain conditions, that is, that neither

Pope Lucius the second warring against the Senators

Spiritual Excommunication abused in Temporal Causes.

Adrianus a Pope, an Englishman.

Anno 1154. King Henry the second.

Thomas Becket Chancellor of England.

Anno 1157.

Gerhardus and Dalcinus Novarensis, who, in their time, according to their gift, did earnestly labour and preach against the Church of Rome, defend-

Enigma Giburnus.

Anno 1158.

Fredericus Barbarossa Emperor.

The Pope disliked that the Emperor did not hold his right stirrop. The Emperor holdeth the Popes stirrop.

The Pope old practice in setting Princes together by the ear.

War kind up the Pope.

What was gained to the Pope then passed.

The Pope drives to interest in peace.

neither he should invade such Possessions as belonged to Rome, and that the Pope should make him King of both Sicilies. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The Bishop, coming to Rome, was no less troubled there about their Consuls and Senators, inasmuch that when his Curses and Excommunications could not prevail nor serve, he was fain to leave Rome, and removed to Ariminum.

The Emperor, all this while sitting quietly at home, began to consider with himself, how the Pope had extorted from the Emperors, his Predecessors, the investing and inducting of Prelates; how he had pilled and polled all Nations by his Legates, and also had been the Sower of Seditions through all his Empery; he began therefore to require of all the Bishops of Germany Homage, and Oath of their Allegiance; commanding also the Popes Legates, if they came into Germany without his sending for, not to be received. Charging moreover all his Subjects that none of them should Appeal to Rome. Besides this, in his Letters he set and prefixed his Name before the Popes name: whereupon the Pope, being not a little offended, directed his Letters to the foresaid Frederick Emperor, after this tenor and form as followeth.

The godly proceedings of Frederick the Emperor against the Pope.

The Copy of Adrianus the Popes Letters to Frederick the Emperor.

Adrianus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Frederico Imperatori salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem, &c. Cætera vide in Priore editione.

In English.

Adrian Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to Frederick Emperor, Health and Apostolical benediction. The Law of God as it promiseth to them that honour Father and Mother long life, so it threatneth the sentence of death to them that curse Father and Mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that every one the which exalteth himself, shall be brought low. Wherefore (my welbelovèd Son in the Lord) we marvel not a little at your Wisdom, in that you seem not to shew that reverence to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, which you ought to shew. For why? In your Letters sent to us, you prefer your own Name before ours, wherein you incur the note of Insolency, yea rather (to speak it) of Arrogancy. What should I here recite unto you the Oath of your Fidelity, which you swear to blessed S. Peter and to us, and how you observe and keep the same? Seeing you so require Homage and Allegiance of them that be gods, and all the Sons of the High God, and presume to joyn their holy Lands with yours, working contrary to us: seeing also you exclude, not only out of your Churches, but also out of your Cities, our Cardinals, whom we direct as Legates from our side: what shall I say then unto you? Amend therefore I advise you, amend; for while you go about to obtain of Us your Consecration and Crown, and to get those things you have not, I fear much your Honour will lose the things you have. Thus fare ye well.

A Letter of Pope Adrian to the Emperor Frederick.

The Emperors name before the Popes.

The Answer of Frederick the Emperor to the Pope.

Frederick by the Grace of God, Roman Emperor, ever Augustus, unto Adrian Bishop of the Roman Church, and unto all such that be willing to cleave unto those things which Jesus began to work and teach, greeting. The law of Justice giveth to every person accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our Parents: of whom according as we have received this our Dignity of the Imperial Crown and Governance; so in the same Kingdom of ours, we do render their due and true honour to them again. And for so much as duty in all sorts of men is to be sought out, let us see first in the time of Constantine (Silvester then being Bishop of Rome) what Patrimony or Regality he had of his own, due to him that he might claim. Did not Constantine of his liberal benignity give liberty, and restored peace unto the Church? And whatsoever Regality or Patrimony the See of your Papacy hath, was it not by the donation of Princes given unto them? Revolve and turn over the ancient Chronicles (if either you have not

read, or neglected that we do affirm) there it is to be found. Of them which be gods by adoption, and hold our Lordships of us; why may we not justly require their Homage, and their sworn Allegiance, when as he which is both your Master and ours (taking nothing of any King or any man, but giving all goodness to all men) paid Toll and Tribute for him and Peter, unto Cæsar? giving you example to do the like. And therefore he saith to you and all men, Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart, &c. Wherefore either render again your Lordships and Patrimonies which ye hold of us: or else if ye find them so sweet unto you, then give that which is due to God, unto God; and that which is due to Cæsar, unto Cæsar. As for your Cardinals, we shut them out both of Churches and Cities, for that we see them not Preachers, but Proflers; not Repairers of Peace, but Rakers for money; not Pillars and Upholders of the Church, but Pollers insatiable of the World, and Moylers of money and gold. What time we shall see them to be other men (such as the Church requireth them to be) members and makers of peace, shining forth like lights to the people, assisting poor and weak mens causes in the way of equity, &c. then shall they find us prest and ready to relieve them with stipends, and all things necessary. And whereas you infer such questions as these unto secular men (little conducing to Religion) you incur thereby no little note and blemish of your humility (which is keeper of all virtues) and of your mansuetude. Therefore let your Fatherhood beware and take heed, lest in moving such matters as seem to us unseemly for you, ye give thereby offence to such as depend of your word (giving ear to your mouth, as it were to an evening shewre:) for we cannot but tell you of that we hear; seeing now the detestable beast of Pride doth creep into the Seat of Peter, providing always as much as we may (by Gods Grace) for the peace of the Church. Fare ye well.

Upon this Adrian the Pope directeth out a Bull against Frederick, Excommunicating him with publick and solemn Ceremonies. Moreover, conspiring with William Duke of Apulia he sought all manner of ways to infest the Emperor, and to set all men against him, especially the Clergy. Amongst many other writing to Hillinus Bishop of Trivers, to Arnulphus Bishop of Mentz, and to Frederick Bishop of Cullen, he seeketh first to make them of his side. His Epistle to them foundeth to this effect:

The Empire of Rome was transferred from the Greeks to the Almans; so that the King of Almans could not be called Emperour, before he was crowned of the Bishop Apostolical. Before his Consecration he is a King, afterwards Emperour. Whence hath he his Empire then, but of us? By the election of his Princes he hath the Name of a King, by our Consecration he hath the name of the Emperour, of August, or of Cæsar. Ergo by us he reigneth as Emperour. Search ancient Antiquities. Zacharias P. promoted Carolus and made him a great Name, that he was made and called Emperour: and after that, ever the King of Almans was named Emperour and Advocate to the Sea Apostolical: so that Apulia (conquered by him) was subdued to the Bishop of Rome: which Apulia with the City of Rome is ours, and not the Emperours. Our Seat is at Rome; the Seat of the Emperour is at Aquis in Arduenna, which is a wood in France. The Emperour whatsoever he hath, he hath it of us. As Zacharias did translate the Empire from the Greeks to the Almans; so we may translate it again from the Almans to the Greeks. Behold it lieth in our Power to give it to whom we will, being therefore set up of God above Gentiles and Nations, to destroy and pluck up, to build and to plant, &c.

A feditious and proud Letter of the Pope to the Bishops of Germany.

Well bragged, and like a Pope.

Scripture well wrested.

And yet further to understand the ambitious presumption of this proud See of Rome; it so chanced, this Emperour Frederick, at his first coming up to Rome, did behold there in the Palace of Lateran a certain Picture brought forth unto him, how Lotharius the second Emperour was crowned of the Pope, with the inscription of certain Verses in Latine, declaring how the foresaid Emperour, coming to Rome, first did swear to the City, after was made the Popes man, and so of him received the Crown. Frederick, offended with this Picture, desired the Pope it might be abolished, for that it should be no cause of any dissension hereafter.

after. The Pope understanding the intent of the Emperor, how loth he was to come under subjection to his See, devised by all crafty ways to bring it to pass. And first taking his occasion by the Bishop of *Laodicea* (being then detained in custody, I cannot tell by whom) sent divers and sharp Letters unto him; and yet not so sharp, as proud and disdainful. Wherein the first salutation by his Legates was this in *Latine*, *Salutat vos beatissimus pater noster Papa, & universitas cardinalium, ille ut pater, hi ut fratres*. That is, our most Blessed Father the Pope Greeteth you, and the Universal Company of the Cardinals, he as your Father, they as your Brethren. Meaning thereby that he should understand himself to be subject and underling to the Pope, no less than the Cardinals were. Moreover in his Letters Objecting divers things against him, he reciteth how many and great Benefits he had received of the Church of *Rome*, by the which Church he had obtained the fulness of his Honour and Dignity, &c. The Emperor with his Princes, perceiving whereunto the Pope by his Legates did shoot (being a Prince of courage) could not abide such intolerable presumption of a proud message, whereupon much contention fell between the Legates and the Princes. And of whom then, say the Legates, receiveth *Cesar* the Empire, if he take it not of the Pope? With the which word the German Princes were so much offended that had not the Emperor stayed them with much ado, they would have used violence against the Legates. But the Emperor, not permitting that, commanded the Legates away, straightly charging them to make no turn by the way, to any person or persons, but straight to depart home. And he, to certify the whole state of the Empire of the truth of the matter, directeth forth these Letters that follow.

The Tenor of the Emperors Letter sent through all his Empire.

For so much as the providence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in Heaven and Earth) hath committed to us, his anointed, this our regiment and Empire to be governed, and the peace of his Churches by our Imperial Arms to be protected; we cannot but lament and complain to you with great sorrow of heart, seeing such causes of diffention the root and fountain of evils, and the infection of pestiferous corruption thus to rise from the holy Church, imprinted with the seal of Peace and Love of Christ.

By reason whereof (except God turn it away) we fear the whole body of the Church is like to be polluted, the unity thereof to be broken, and schism and division to be betwixt the spiritual and temporal regiment. For we being of late at *Bisunze*, and there intreating busily of matters pertaining as well to the honour of our Empire, as to the wealth of the Churches, there came Ambassadors of the See Apostolical, declaring that they brought a legacy to our Majesty of great importance, redounding to the no small commodity of our honour and Empire.

Whom then, the first day of their coming, being brought to our presence, and received of us (as the manner is) with honour accordingly, audience was given them to hear what they had to say. They forthwith bursting out of the mammon of iniquity, Haughty pride, stoutness and Arrogancy, out of the execrable presumption of their swelling heart did their message with Letter Apostolical, whereof the Tenor was this: That we should always have before our eyes, how that our Sovereign Lord the Pope gave us the Imperial Crown, and that it doth not repent him, if so be we have received greater Benefits at his hand. And this was the effect of that so sweet and Fatherly legation, which should nourish peace both of the Church and of the Empire, to unite them fast together in the band of Love.

At the hearing of this so false, untrue, and most vain glorious presumption of so proud a message, not only the Emperors Majesty conceived indignation, but also all the Princes (there present) were moved with such anger and rage thereat, that if our presence and request had not stayed them, they would not have held their hands from these wicked Priests, or else would have proceeded with sentence of death against them.

Furthermore, because a great number of other Letters (partly written already, partly with seals ready signed, for Letters to be written according as they should think good to the Churches of Germany) were found about them, whereby

to work their conceived intent of iniquity here in our Churches, to spoil the Altars, to carry away the Jewels of the Church, and the fleety off the limbs and plates of golden Crosses, &c. To the intent their avaricious meaning should have no further power to Reign, we gave them commandment to depart the same way they came. And now seeing our Reign and Empire standeth upon the Election of Princes from God alone, who in the passion of his Son subdued the world to be governed with two Swords necessary; and again, seeing Peter the Apostle hath so informed the world with this Doctrine, *Deum time, regem honorifica*: That is, Fear God, Honour your King: therefore, who so saith that we have and possess our Imperial Kingdom by the benefit of the Lord Pope, is contrary both to the Ordinance of God, and to the Doctrine of Peter, and also shall be reproved for a liar.

Therefore as our endeavour hath been heretofore to help and to deliver the servile captivity of Churches out of the hand and from the yoke of the Egyptians, and to maintain the right of their liberties and dignities, we desire you all with your compassion to lament with us this slanderous ignominy inferred to us and our Kingdom, trusting that your faithful good will, which hath been ever trusty to the Honour of this Empire (never yet blemished from the first beginning of this City, and of religion) will provide, that it shall have no hurt through the strange novelty and presumptuous pride of such. Which thing rather than it should come to pass, know you this for certain; I had rather incur the danger of death, than suffer such confusion to happen in our days.

This Letter of *Cesar* fretted the Pope not a little, who wrote again to the Bishops of Germany, accusing the Emperor, and willing them to work against him what they could. They answer again with all obedience to the Pope, submitting themselves, and yet excusing the Emperor, and blaming him rather; and exhorted him henceforth to temper his Letters and Legacies with the more gentleness and modesty; which Counsel he also followed, perceiving otherwise that he could not prevail.

Much trouble had good *Fredericus* with this Pope; but much more with the other that followed. For this Pope continued not very long, the space only of four years and odd months. About whose time rose up the order of the Heremits by one *William*, once Duke of *Aquitania*, and afterward a Frier. This *Adrianus* walking with his Cardinals abroad, to a place called *Anagnia* or *Arignanum* (as *Volateran* calleth it) chanced to be choked with a Fly getting into his throat, and so was strangled; who in the later time of his Papacy was wont to say, that there is no more miserable kind of life in the Earth, than to be Pope, and to come to the Papacy by Blood, that is (said he) not to succeed *Peter*, but rather *Romulus*, who to Reign alone did slay his Brother.

Although this *Adrian* was bad enough, yet came the next much worse, one *Alexander* the third of that name; who yet was not elect alone; for beside him the Emperor with nine Cardinals (albeit *Sabellicus* faith but with three) did set up another Pope, named *Victor* the fourth. Between these two Popes rose a foul schism and great discord, and long continued. Inasmuch that the Emperor, being required to take up the matter, sent for them both to appear before him, that in hearing them both he might judge their cause the better. *Victor* came, but *Alexander* (dissuading that his matter should come in controversy) refused to appear. Whereupon the Emperor, with a full consent of his Bishops and Clergy about him, assigned and ratified the Election of *Victor* to stand, and so brought him into the City, there to be received and placed. *Alexander* flying into *France*, accused them both, sending his Letters to all Christendom against them, as men to be avoyded and cast out of all Christian company. Also to get him friends at *Rome*, by flattery and money he got on his side the greatest part of the City, both to the favouring of him, and to the setting up of such Consuls as were for his purpose. After this, *Alexander* coming from *France* to *Sicily*, and from thence to *Rome*, was there received with much favour, through the help of *Philip* the French King.

The Emperor, hearing this rebellion and conspiracy in *Rome*, removed with great power into *Italy*, where he had destroyed divers great Cities. Coming at length

Ex Radem-
co, in appen-
dice Prissi-
gen.

See the am-
bitious pre-
sumption of
a proud
Priest.

Note here a
courageous
heart in a
valiant Em-
peror.
An example
for all
Princes to
follow.

Note

The order
of Heremits

Annos
1159.

The flying
and judg-
ment of
Pope Ad-
rian, one of
the Popes
rather suc-
cessors to
Romulus
than to
Peter, Pope
Alexander
the third.

Alexander
cursteth the
Emperor.

Annos
1164.

length to Rome, he required the Citizens that the cause betwixt the two Popes might be decided, and that he which had the best Right might be taken. If they would so do, he would restore again that which he took from them before. Alexander mistrusting his part and doubting the wills of the Citizens (having Ships ready prepared for him, from William Duke of Apulia) fetcht a course about to Venice.

To declare here the difference in Histories, between Blondus, Sabellicus, and the Venetian Chroniclers, with other Writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will over-pass. In this most do agree, that the Pope being at Venice, and required to be sent of the Venetians to the

Emperor, they would not send him: Whereupon Frederick the Emperor sent thither his Son Otto, with men and ships well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his coming. The young man more hardy than circumspect (joyning with the Venetians) was overcome; and so taken, was brought into the City. Hereby the Pope took no small occasion to work his feats.

The Father, to help the captivity and misery of his Son, was compelled to submit himself to the Pope, and to intreat for peace. So the Emperor coming to Venice (at S. Marks Church, where the Bishop was, there to take his Absolution) was bid to kneel down at the Popes feet:

Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Frederick the Emperour.



Holy Scripture abused.

The Pope treading on the Emperors neck.

The proud Pope, setting his foot upon the Emperors Neck, said the verie of the Psalm, *Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem*. That is, *Thou shalt walk upon the Adder and on the Basilisk, and shalt tread down the Lion and the Dragon*. To whom the Emperor answering again, said, *Non tibi sed Petro*; that is, *Not to thee but to Peter*. The Pope again, *Et mihi & Petro*; Both to me and to Peter. The Emperor, fearing to give any occasion of further quarrelling, held his peace, and so was absolved, and peace made between them. The conditions whereof were these: First, That he should receive Alexander for the true Pope. Secondly, That he should restore again to the Church of Rome all that he had taken away before. And thus the Emperor, obtaining again his Son, departed.

Volaterra taken with a contradiction.

Councils Lateran. The Clergy bound to the vow of Chastity. Popes err not so much in promising Chastity, as in defining Chastity.

Here as I note in divers Writers a great diversity and variety touching the order of this matter (of whom some say that the Emperor Campt in Palestina before he came to Venice, some say after) so I marvel to see in Volaterra (so great a Favourer of the Pope) such a contradiction, who in his two and twentieth Book saith, that Otto the Emperors Son was taken in this Conflict, which was the cause of the peace between his Father and the Pope. And in his three and twentieth Book again saith, That the Emperor himself was taken Prisoner in the same battel: and so afterwards (peace concluded) took his Journey to Asia and Palestina. This Pope in the time of his Papacy (which continued one and twenty years) kept sundry Councils both at Turo and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand, and others his Predecessors; as to bind all Orders of the Clergy to the vow of Chastity; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define Chastity aright. For who so liveth not a chaste life (saith he) is not fit to be a Minister. But herein lieth an

Error full of much blindness, and also peril, to think that Matrimony immaculate (as S. Paul calleth it) is not Chastity, but only a single life; that they esteem to be a chaste life.

Now for so much as our English Pope holy Martyr, called Thomas Becket, happened also in the same time of this Pope Alexander, let us somewhat also story of him, so far as the matter shall seem worthy of knowledge, and to stand with truth: to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flattery and lyes of such Popish Writers as paint out his story, men may the better judge both of him what he was, and also of his cause.

The Life and History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.

IF the cause make a Martyr (as is said) I see not why we should esteem Thomas Becket to die a Martyr, more than any other whom the Princes Sword doth here temporally punish for their temporal deserts. To die for the Church I grant is a glorious matter. But the Church (as it is a Spiritual and not a Temporal Church) so it standeth upon Causes spiritual, and upon an heavenly Foundation, as upon Faith, Religion, true Doctrine, sincere Discipline, Obedience to Gods Commandments; and not upon things pertaining to this World, as Possessions, Liberties, Exemptions, Priviledges, Dignities, Patrimonies, and Superiorities. If these be given to the Church, I pray God Church-men may use them well; but if they be not given, the Church cannot claim them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the Princes Power. To contend with Princes for the same, it is no matter (in my mind) material to make a Martyr, but rather a Rebellion against them to whom we owe subjection. Therefore as I suppose

Thomas Becket Arch-bishop of Canterbury.

Becket no Martyr.

Thomas Becket to be far from the cause and title of a Martyr (neither can he be excused from a plain Rebel against his Prince) so yet would I have wished again the Law rather publicly to have found out his fault, than the Swords of men (not bidden nor sent) to have smitten him, having no special Commandment either of the Prince, or of the Law so to do. For though the indignation of the Prince (as the wise Prince saith) is death, yet it is not for every private person straightways to revenge the secret indignation of his Prince, except he be publicly authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose) the better way, the Laws first to have executed their Justice upon him. *Certes*, it had been the safest way for the King, as it proved after; who had just matter enough, if he had prosecuted his Cause against him. And also thereby his death had been without all suspicion of Martyrdom, neither had there followed that shrining and fainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret Providence of God which governeth all things, did see this way percase to be best, and most necessary for those days. And doubtless (to say here what I think, and yet to speak nothing against Charity) if the Emperors had done the like to the Popes contending against them, what time they had taken them Prisoners, that is, if they had used the Law of the Sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traitorous Rebellion, they had broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the Church. But for lack of that, because Emperors having the Sword, and the truth on their side, would not use their Sword; but standing in awe of the Popes vain curse, and reverencing his Seat for *S. Peters* sake, durst not lay hand upon him, though he were never so abominable and traitorous a Malefactor; the Popes perceiving that took so much upon them, not as the Scripture would give, but as much as the superstitious fear of Emperors and Kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it past all order, rule, and measure; and all because the Superior Powers either would not, or durst not practise the Authority given unto them of the Lord, upon those Inferiors, but suffered them to be their Masters.

But as touching *Thomas Becket*, whatsoever is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all *Romish* Prelates not to be so stubborn (in such matters not pertaining unto them) against their Prince, unto whom God hath subjected them.

Now to the story, which if it be true that is set forth in *Quadrilogo*, by those four, who took upon them to express the life and process of *Thomas Becket*, it appeareth by all conjectures, that he was a man of a stout nature, severe, and inflexible. What persuasion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in no wise be removed, or very hardly. Threatnings and flattering were to him both one; in this point singular, following no mans counsel so much as his own. Great helps of nature there were in him (if he could have used them well) rather than of learning; albeit somewhat skilful he was of the Civil Law, which he studied at *Bonony*; in memory excellent good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strait life, if the Histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and after Lord Chancellor) he was very civil, courtly, pleasant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the Court; and highly favoured he was of his Prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his Son and heir to his Institution and Governance. But in this his first beginning he was not so well beloved, but afterward he was again as much hated (and deservedly) both of the King, and also of the most part of his Subjects, save only of certain Monks and Priests, and such others as were persuaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the Liberties of the Church; that is, the licentious life and excess of Church-men. Amongst all others, these Vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; full of devotion, but without all true Religion; zealous, but clean without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind Conscience being joyned withall) it turned to plain Rebellion. So superstitious he was to the Obedience of the Pope, that he forgot his Obedience to his natural and most beneficial King:

and in maintaining (so contentiously) the vain Constitutions and Decrees of men, he neglected the Commandments of God. But herein most of all to be reprehended, that not only (contrary to the Kings knowledge) he sought to convey himself out of the Realm (being in that place and calling) but also being out of the Realm set matter of Discord between the Pope and his King, and also between the *French* King and him, contrary to all honesty, good order, natural subjection, and true Christianity. Whereupon followed no little disquietness after to the King, and damage to the Realm, as here (in process and order following, by the Grace of Christ) we will declare; first beginning with the first rising up of him, and so consequently prosecuting in order his story, as followeth:

And first here to omit the Progeny of him and of his Mother named *Rose*, whom *Polyd. Virgilius* falsely nameth to be a *Saracen*, when indeed she came out of the parts bordering near to *Normandy*; to omit also the fabulous Vision of his Mother, mentioned in *Roberto Crikeladensi*, of a burning Torch issuing out of her body, and reaching up to Heaven: his first preferment was to the Church of *Bransfield*, which he had by the gift of *S. Albans*. After that, he entered into the Service of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by whom he was then preferred to be his Archdeacon; and after by the said *Theobald* was put (as a man meet for his purpose) to King *Henry* to bridle the young King, that he should not be fierce against the Clergy; whom in process of time the King made Lord Chancellor, and then he left playing the Archdeacon, and began to play the Chancellor. He fashioned his conditions like to the Kings both in weighty matters and trifles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the King dined and slept. Furthermore, he began to love the merry jestings of the Court, to delight himself with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And that I may pass over his Householdstuff, he had his Bridle of silver, and the bosses of his Bridle were worth a great treasure. At his Table and in other Expences he passed any Earl: so that on the one side men judged him little to consider the Office of an Archdeacon; and on the other side they judged him to use wicked doings. He played also the good Soldier under the King in *Gascoigne*, and both won and kept Towns. When the King sent *Thomas* being Chancellor home into *England* (Ambassador with other Nobles, after the death of the Archbishop) he willed *Richard Lucy* one of the chiefest) to commend in his name this *Thomas* to the Covent of *Canterbury*, that they might choose him Archbishop, which thing he did diligently. The Monks said, *It was not meet to choose a Courier and a Soldier to be Head of so holy a Company; for he would spend (said they) all that they had.* Others had this surmise also, because he was in so great favour with the Prince the Kings Son, and was so suddenly discharged of the Chancellorship which he had born five years: in the four and fortieth year of his age (on *Saturday* in *Whitsomweek*) he was made Priest, and the next day consecrated Bishop.

As touching the Priesthood of this man, I find the Histories to vary in themselves: for if he were beneficed, and Chaplain to *Theobald*, and afterwards Archdeacon (as some say) it is no other like, but that he was Priest before, and not (as our most *English* stories say) made Priest in one day, and Archbishop the next.

But howsoever this matter passeth, here is in the mean time to be seen, what great benefits the King had done for him, and what great love had been between them both. Now after that *Becket* was thus promoted, what variance and discord happened between them, remaineth to be shewed: the causes of which variance were divers and sundry.

As first, when (according to the custom) the Kings Officers gathered of every one *Hide-money* through the Realm, for the defence of their own Country; the King would have taken it to his Coffers. But the Bishop said, *That which every man gave willingly, he should not count as his proper rent.*

Another cause was, that where a Priest was accused of Murder, and the Kings Officers and the Friends of the dead accused the Priest earnestly before the Bishop of *Salisbury* his Diocesan to whom he was sent, desiring justice to be done on him, the Priest was put to his purgation.

Herbertus de Bosham, Joan Char- not. Alannus Abbot of Tewkesbury. Gulielmus Cantuariensis. Thomas Becket described.

What cometh of blind zeal destitute of right knowledge.

The life of Thomas Becket. The vision of his mother. The mother of Becket. By Robert Crikeladensis. By Philip.

Difference in Church.

The cause of variance between the King and the Archbishop.

gation. But when he was not able to defend himself, the Bishop sent to the Archbishop to ask what he should do. The Archbishop commanded he should be deprived of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, and shut up in an Abbey to do perpetual Penance. After the same sort were divers others handled for like causes, but none put to death, nor lost joynt, nor burned in the hand, or put to the like pain.

The third cause was, that, where a Canon of *Bruis* did revile the Kings Justices, the King was offended with the whole Clergy. For these and such like, the Archbishop (to pacifie the Kings answer) commanded the Canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for certain years. But the King was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased their boldness, and therefore he called the Archbishop, Bishops, and all the Clergy to assemble at *Westminster*. When they were assembled together; the King earnestly commanded that such wicked Clerks should have no privilege of their Clergy, but be delivered to the *Jaylors*, because they passed so little of the spiritual correction; and this he said also their own Canons and Laws had decreed. The Archbishop, counselling with his Bishops and learned men, answered probably: and in the end he desired heartily the Kings gentleness (for the quietness of himself and his Realm) that under Christ our new King, and under the new Law of Christ he would bring in no new kind of punishment into his Realm (upon the new chosen people of the Lord) against the old Decrees of the holy Fathers; and oft he said, *That he neither ought nor could suffer it*. The King moved therewith (and not without cause) alledgeth again and exacteth the old Laws and Customs of his Grandfather, observed and agreed upon by Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, and other privileged Persons, inquiring likewise of him whether he would agree to the same, or else now (in his Reign) would condemn that which in the Reign of his Grandfather was well allowed? To which Laws and Customs the said *Thomas* did partly grant, and partly not grant. The Copy of the which foresaid Laws are contained in the number of eight and twenty or nine twenty, whereof I thought here to recite certain not unworthy to be known.

The Copy of the old Laws and Customs whereunto Thomas Becket did grant.

The Kings
custom.

I That no Order should be given to Husbandmens Children and Bondmens Children, without the assent or Testimonial of them, which be the Lords of the Country where they were born and brought up: and if their Sons become Clerks, they shall not receive the Order of Priesthood without licence of their Lords.

Out of an
English
Chronicle as
it appear-
eth, drawn
out of
French by
Earl Rivers,
Lord Sealer.

2. And if a man of holy Church hold any lay fee in his hand, he shall do therefore the King the service that belongeth thereto, as upon Juries, Assise of Lands and Judgments, saving only at execution doing of death.

3. If any man were the Kings Traytor, and had taken the Church, that it should be lawful for the King and his Officers to take him out.

4. And if any Felons goods were brought to holy Church, that there should none such keep there; for every Felons goods be the Kings.

5. That no Land should be given to the Church, or to any House of Religion, without the Kings Licence.

These Articles following, Thomas agreed not unto.

I F that between a Clerk and a Lay-man were any striving for Church-goods, they would the Plea should be done in the Kings Court.

2. That there should neither Bishop nor Clerk go out of the Land without the Kings Licence, and then he should swear upon a Book he should procure no hurt against the King, nor none of his.

3. If any man were denounced accursed, and were come again to amendment, the King would not that he should be sworn, but only find Sureties to stand to that, that holy Church should award.

4. The fourth, that no man, that held of the King in chief, or in Service, should be accursed without the Kings Licence.

5. That all the Bishopricks and Abbies, that were vacant, should be in the Kings hands, until such time that

he should choose a Prelate thereto, and he should be chosen out of the Kings Chappels; and first before he were confirmed, he should do his Homage to the King.

6. If any Plea were brought to the Consistory, they should appeal from thence to the Archdeacon, and from thence to the Bishops Court, and from the Bishops Court to the Archbishops, and from thence to the King, and no further. So that in conclusion, the Complaints of holy Church must come before the King, and not the Pope.

7. That debts, that were owing through troth plight, should not be pleaded in Spiritual, but in Temporal Courts.

8. That the *Peter-pence*, which to the Pope were gathered, should be taken to the King.

9. If any Clerk for Felony were taken and so proved, he should be first degraded, and then through Judgment be hanged; or if he were a Traytor, be drawn.

Other Laws and Constitutions made at Clarendon in Normandy, and sent to England, whereunto Becket and the Pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the Realm.

I F any person shall be found to bring from the Pope, The Laws of Clarendon. or from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, any writing containing any Indict or Curse against the Realm of *England*, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a Traytor, and Execution to be done upon the same.

2. That no Monk nor any Clerk shall be permitted to pass over into *England* without a Passport from the King or his Justices: who so doth the contrary, that man to be attached and imprisoned.

3. No man to be so bold once to appeal to the Pope, or to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* out of *England*.

4. That no Decree or Commandment, proceeding from the Authority of the Pope, or the Bishop of *Canterbury*, be received into *England*, under pain of taking and imprisoning.

5. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any Commandment or Precept, either of Clerk, or lay-man, to the Pope, or to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, under pain of Imprisonment.

6. If any Bishop, Clerk, Abbot, or Lay-man shall do contrary to this Inhibition, or will keep the Sentence of interdicting, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the Land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

7. All the Possessions, Goods and Chattels of such as favour the Pope or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to be seized and confiscate for the King.

8. All such of the Clergy as be out of the Realm, having their Rents and profits out of the Land, to be summoned and warned through every Shire within three months to repair home, or else their rents and goods to return to the King.

9. That *S. Peters-pence* should be no more paid to the Apostolical See, but to be reserved diligently in the Kings Coffers, and there to be at his Commandment. *Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.*

10. That the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Norwich* be at the Kings mercy, and be summoned by the Sheriff, and Bedels, that they before the Kings Justices do right to the King and his Justices, because (contrary to the Statutes of *Clarendon*) by Commandment they interdicted the land of *Earl Hugh*, and published the same in their Dioceses without Licence of the Kings Justices.

¶ By these and such other Laws and Decrees it may appear, that the abolishing of the Pope is no new thing in the Realm of *England*. This only difference there is, that the Pope being driven out then, could not be kept out so long as now he is. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that *Antichrist* should so fully be revealed; neither was his wickedness then so fully ripe in those days, as it hath been now in our time. Now these premised, let us return where we left, to the matter between the King and *Thomas Becket*.

The Communication and Controversie between the King and Thomas Becket, with his Clergy.

Becket's addition,
Salvo ordine suo.
The Bishop of Chichester.

THe King (as is aforesaid) convening his Nobles and Clerks together, required to have the punishment of certain mis-doers of the Clergy; but *Thomas Becket* not assenting thereunto, the King came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his Clergy, that the customs then set forth in the Realm (meaning the first part of those Decrees above specified) should be observed. To which the Archbishop, consulting together with his Brethren, giveth answer again, That he was contented the Kings Ordinances should be observed, adding this withall, *Salvo ordine suo*; that is, *Saving his order*. And so in like manner all the other Bishops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition, *Salvo ordine suo*. Only *Hilarius* Bishop of *Chichester*, perceiving the King to be exasperate with that addition, in stead of *Salvo ordine*, agreed to observe them *Bona fide*. The King hearing them not simply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the Archbishop and the Prelates, said, *That he was not well contented with that Clause of theirs, Salvo suo ordine, which he said was captious and deceitful, having some manner of venom lurking under it; and therefore required an absolute Grant of them, without any exception, to agree to the Kings Ordinances*. To this the Archbishop answered again, *That they had sworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour, Salvo ordine suo; and that in the same earthly honour also those Ordinances were comprehended, and to the observing of them they would bind themselves after no other form, but as they had sworn before*. The King with this was moved, and all his Nobility not a little. As for the other Bishops, there was no doubt but they would easily have relented, had not the stoutness of the Archbishop made them more constant than otherwise they would have been. The day being well spent, the King (when he could get no other answer of them) departed in great anger, giving no word of salutation to the Bishops, and likewise the Bishops every one to his own house departed. The Bishop of *Chichester* (amongst the rest) was greatly rebuked of his Fellows for changing the exception contrary to the voice of all the others. The next day following, the King took from the Archbishop all such Honours and Lordships, as he had given him before in the time that he was Chancellor; whereby appeared the great displeasure of the King against him and the Clergy. Not long after this, the King removing from *London* (unknown to the Bishops) sailed over to *Normandy*, whither the Bishop of *London* called *Gilbert* (not long after) resorted to crave the Kings Favour, and gave him counsel withall to joyn some of the Bishops on his side; lest if all were against him, peradventure he might sooner be overthrown. And thus the greatest number of the Bishops were by this means reconciled again to the King; only the Archbishop with a few others remained in their stoutness still. The King (thinking to try all manner of ways) when he saw no fear nor threats could turn him, did assay him with gentleness; it would not serve. Many of the Nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the King; it would not be. Likewise the Archbishop of *York* with divers other Bishops and Abbots, especially the Bishop of *Chester*, did the same. Besides this, his own Household daily called upon him, but no man could persuade him. At length understanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen not only to himself, but to all the other Clergy upon the Kings displeasure: partly considering the old love and kindness of the King towards him in time past, he was content to give over to the Kings request, and came to *Oxford* to him, reconciling himself about the addition, which displeased the King so much. Whereupon the King being somewhat mitigated, receiveth him with a more chearful countenance, but yet not so familiarly as before, saying, *That he would have his Ordinances and Proceedings after the form confirmed in the public Audience and open sight of all his Bishops and all his Nobles*. After this, the King (being at *Clarendon*) there called all his Peers and Prelates before him, requiring to have all that performed, which

The stubborn-
ness of
Thos. Becket.

Thomas Becket
relent-
eth to the
King.

they had promised, in consenting to the observing of his Grandfathers Ordinances and Proceedings. The Archbishop suspecting I cannot tell what in the Kings promise, drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at last with much ado he was enforced to give assent. First, came to him the Bishop of *Salisbury* and of *Norwich*, who (for old matters indangered to the King long before) came weeping and lamenting to the Archbishop, desiring him to have some compassion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the King, lest if he so continued (through his stoutness to exasperate the Kings displeasure) happily it might redound to no smaller danger, not only of them which were in jeopardy already, but also of himself to be imprisoned, and the whole Clergy to be indangered. Besides these two Bishops, there went to him other two noble Peers of the Realm, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the Kings desire: if not, they should be enforced to use such violence, as neither would stand with the Kings fame, and much less with his quietness; but yet the stout stomach of the man would not give over. After this came to him two Rulers of the *Temple* called *Templars*, one *Richard de Huf*, another *Cosans de Herverio* with their Company lamenting and bewailing the great peril, which they declared unto him to hang over his head: yet neither with their tears, nor with their kneelings would he be removed. At length came the last Message from the King, signifying unto him with express words, and also with tears, what he should trust to, if he would not give over to the Kings Request.

By reason of which Message, he either terrified, or else persuaded, was content to submit himself. Whereupon the King incontinent assembling the States together, the Archbishop first before all others beginneth to promise the King Obedience, and submission unto his custom, and that *Cum bona fide*, leaving out his former addition, *Salvo ordine*, mentioned before: in stead whereof he promised *in verbo veritatis*, to observe and keep the Kings Customs, and swear to the same. After him the other Bishops likewise gave the like Oath; whereupon the King commanded incontinent certain Instruments obligatory to be drawn, of the which the King should have the one, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* another, the Archbishop of *York* the third, requiring also the said Archbishop to set to his Hand and Seal. To the which the Archbishop (though not denying but that he was ready so to do) yet desired respite in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to his Bishoprick) might better peruse with himself the foresaid Customs and Ordinances of the King. This request as it seemed but reasonable, so it was lightly granted; so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake up.

Alanus, one of the four Writers of the life of this *Thomas Becket*, recordeth, That the Archbishop in his Voyage towards *Winchester*, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his Cross-bearer, who, going before the Archbishop, sharply and earnestly expostulated with him for giving over to the Kings request, against the Privilege and Liberties of the Church, polluting not only his fame and conscience, but also giving a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like words. To make the matter short, the Archbishop was so touched upon the same with such repentance, that keeping himself from all company, lamenting with tears, with fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himself, he did suspend himself from all Divine Service, and would not receive comfort, before that (word being sent to his holy Grandfather the Pope) he should be absolved of him, who, tending the tears of his dear chicken, directed to him Letters again by the same Messenger which *Thomas* had sent up to him before. In which Letters not only he absolved him from his Trespas, but also with words of great consolation did encourage him to be stout in the quarrel he took in hand. The Copy of which Letters consolatory, sent from the Pope to Bishop *Becket*, here followeth under written.

Alexander Bishop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been advertised us, how that upon the occasion of a certain transgression or excess of yours, you have determined to cease henceforth from saying of Mass,

A Letter of
Pope Alex-
ander to
Thomas Be-
cket.

Mafs, and to abstain from the Consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord; which thing to do, how dangerous it is (especially in such a Personage) and also what inconvenience may rise thereof, I will you advisedly to consider, and discretely also to ponder. Your wisdom ought not to forget what difference there is between them which advisedly and willingly do offend, and those which through ignorance and for necessity sake do offend. For as you read, so much the greater is wilful sin, as the same not being voluntary is a lesser sin. Therefore if you remember your self to have done any thing that your own conscience doth accuse you of, whatsoever it be, we counsel you (as a prudent and wise Prelate) to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the merciful and pitiful God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer than to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the same according to his accustomed great mercy. And we trusting in the merits of the blessed Apostles S. Peter and Paul do absolve you from the offence committed, and by the Authority Apostolical we release you unto your fraternity, counselling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abstain not (for this cause) from the celebration of the Mafs.

This Letter, with others more after the like sort, the Pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel so nearly pertaining to the Popes profit. By the occasion whereof, *Becket* took no small heart and consolation: inasmuch that thereof seemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malepert against his Prince, as hereafter followeth to be seen by his doings. What the other Letters were that the Pope wrote unto him, shortly after (when we come to the Appellations made to the Pope) shall appear God willing. In the mean season (as he sat thus mourning at home) the King hearing of him, and how he denied to set his Seal to those Sanctions, which he condescended to before, took no small displeasure against him: inasmuch that he (threatning to him and his banishment and death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burthen him with payments, that all men might understand that the Kings mind was fore set against him. The Archbishop hereupon (whether more for the love of the Pope, or dread of his Prince) thought to make an escape out of the Realm, and so went about in the night (with two or three with him stealing out of his house) to take the Sea privily. Now amongst others, the Kings Ordinances and Sanctions, this was one, *That none of the Prelacy or Nobility without the Kings Licence (or of his Justices) should depart out of the Realm.* So *Becket* twice attempted the Sea to flee to the See of Rome; but the weather not serving, he was driven home again, and his device for that time frustrated. After his departure began to be known and noised abroad, the Kings Officers came to *Canterbury* to seize upon his goods in the Kings behalf. But as it chanced, the night before their coming, *Becket* being returned, and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Upon this, the Archbishop (understanding the King fore bent against him, and the Seas not to serve him) made haste to the Court, lying then at *Woodstock*; where the King received him (after a certain manner) but nothing so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him jestingly and merrily, as though one Realm were not able to hold them both. *Becket* (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the Court) yet could not obtain the favour that he would, perceiving both in himself, and conferring no less to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either he should be constrained to give over with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The Archbishop of *York* in the mean time (going betwixt the King and the Archbishop) laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the King in no case would be reconciled, unless the other would subscribe to his Laws. So the while, neither the King would otherwise agree, nor yet the Archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foul discord; where the fault was, let the Reader here judge between them both. The King for his regal authority thought it much that any Subject of his should stand against him. The Archbishop again (bearing himself bold upon the authority, and especially upon the Letters of the Pope lately written to him) thought him strong enough against the

King and all his Realm. Again, such was his quarrel for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the Church, that he could lack no setters on and favourers in that behalf, in so sweet a cause amongst the Clergy. Wherefore the Archbishop (trusting to these things) would give no place, but by virtue of his Apostolical Authority gave censure upon these Laws and Constitutions of the King, condemning some, and other some approving for good and Catholick, as is before declared. Besides this, there came also to the King *Rothodus* Archbishop of *Rothomage* (sent from the Pope) to make peace between the King and *Canterbury*: whereunto the King was well content, so that the Pope would agree to ratifie his Ordinances. But when that could in no wise be obtained at the Popes hands, then the King being stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of *Becket*s Apostolick Legacy (being *Legatus a latere*) thought good to send up to the Pope, and so did, to obtain of him, that the same Authority of the Apostolick Legacy might be conferred to another after his appointment, which was the Archbishop of *York*: but the Pope denied. Notwithstanding at the request of the Kings Clergy, the Pope was content that the King should be Legate himself; whereat the King took great indignation (as *Horveden* writeth) so that he sent the Pope his Letters again. Here the Pope was perplexed on both sides.

If he should have denied the King, that was too hot for him: for the Pope useth always to hold in with Kings howsoever the world speedeth. Again, if he should have forsaken such a Churchly Chaplain (the cause being so sweet and so gainful) that should have been against himself. What did he then? Here now cometh in the old practise of Popish Prelacy, to play with both hands: privily he conspireth with the one, and openly dissembleth with the other. First he granted to the Kings Ambassadors their request, to have the Legate removed, and to place in that Office the Archbishop of *York*, to his own contentation; and yet notwithstanding (to tender the cause of *Thomas Becket*) he addeth this promise withall, that the said *Becket* should receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the Pope craftily conveying the matter between them both, gladly to further the Archbishop for his own advantage, and yet loath to deny the King for displeasure, writeth to the King openly, and also secretly directeth another Letter to *Becket*: the contents whereof here follow.

Alexander the Pope, to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.

Although we, condescending to the Kings Request, have granted the gift of our Legacy after his mind from you: yet let not your mind thereby be discomforted, nor brought into sighs of despair. For before that we had granted that, or gave our consent thereunto, the Kings Ambassadors firmly promised in the word of truth (ready also to be sworn upon the same, if I would so have required) that their Letters also which he had obtained, should not be delivered to the Archbishop of *York* without our knowledge and consent therein. This is certain, and so persuade your self boldly without any scruple, doubt or mistrust, that it was never my mind or purpose, nor ever shall be (God willing) to subdue you or your Church under the obedience of any person, to be subject to any, save only to the Bishop of Rome. And therefore we warn you and charge you, that if you shall perceive the King to deliver these foresaid Letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to do; forthwith by some trusty Messengers or by your Letters you will give us knowledge thereof: whereby we may provide upon the same both for your person, your Church, and also your City committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our Authority Apostolical, from all power and jurisdiction of any Legacy.

Upon these Letters and such others (as is said before) *Becket* seemed to take all his boldness to be so stout and sturdy against his Prince, as he was. The Pope (beside these) sent secretly a Chaplain of his, and directed another Letter also unto the King, granting and permitting at his request, to make the Archbishop of *York* Legate Apostolical.

Ex Rogero Hoved. pri. parte Hist. via continu. ale post Be. dam.

The King to be the Popes Legate.

The crafty dissimulation of the Pope.

Becket enterprised against the Kings Laws to fly out of the Realm.

Becket taunted of the King.

The King (after he had received his Letters sent from the Pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the Archbishop, first beginning with the Inferiors of the Clergy, such as were Offenders against his Laws: as Felons, Robbers, Quarrellers, Breakers of peace, and especially such as had committed Homicide and Murthers, whereof more than an hundred at that time were proved upon the Clergy (as witnesseth *Guliel. Neuburgensis*, in his Book *De gestis Anglorum*, lib. 2. cap. 16.) urging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the Law Temporal, and justice to be ministred to them according to their deserts: as first to be deprived, and so to be committed to the secular hands. This seemed to *Becket* to derogate from the liberties of holy Church, that the secular Power should pass in Causes Criminal, or sit in Judgment against any Ecclesiastical person. This Law, the Roisters (then of the Clergy) had picked and forged out of *Anacletus* and *Evaristus*, by whose falsly alledged and pretended Authority, they have deduced this their Constitution from the Apostles, which giveth immunity to all Ecclesiastical persons to be free from Secular Jurisdiction. *Becket* therefore, like a valiant Champion (fighting for his Liberties, and having the Pope on his side) would not permit his Clerks infamed otherwise, to be convented, than before Ecclesiastical Judges, there to be examined and deprived for their excess, and no secular Judge to proceed against them: so that after their deprivation, if they should incur the like offence again, then the Temporal Judge to take hold upon them, otherwise not. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the Archbishop stirred up much anger and vexation in the King, and not only in him, but also in the Nobles and all the Bishops (for the greater part) that almost he was alone a wonderment to all the Realm.

Becket cited to Northampton.

The Archbishop condemned in the Council of Northampton in the loss of all moveables.

The Kings wrath daily increased more and more against him (as no marvel it was) and caused him to be cited up to appear by a certain day at the Town of *Northampton*, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Peers and Nobles, with the Prelates of the Realm upon the Kings Proclamation being assembled in the Castle of *Northampton*) great fault was found with the Archbishop for that he (personally cited to appear) came not himself, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not, *Hoveden* assigneth to be this: for that the King had placed his Horse and Horse-men in the Archbishops lodging (which was a house there of Canons) wherewith he being offended, sent word again that he would not appear, unless his lodging were voided of the Kings Horse-men, &c. Whereupon (by the publick sentence as well of all the Nobles, as of the Bishops) all his moveables were adjudged to be confiscate for the King, unless the Kings Clemency would remit the penalty. The stubborn Archbishop again (for his part) quarrelling against the order and form of the Judgment, complaineth, alledging for himself (seeing he is the Primate, and spiritual Father, not only of all other in the Realm, but also of the King himself) that it was not convenient that the Father should be so judged of his Children, nor the Pastor of his Flock so condemned, saying moreover, *That the Ages to come should know what Judgment was done, &c.* But especially he complaineth of his fellow-Bishops (when they should rather have taken his part) who did sit in Judgment against their Metropolitan. And this was the first days action.

The next day following, the King laid an action against him in the behalf of one that was his Marshal (called *John*) for certain injuries done to him, and required of the said Archbishop the repaying again of certain money, which he (as is said) had lent unto him being Chancellor, the sum whereof came to 500 Marks. This money the Archbishop denied not but he had received of the King, howbeit, by the way and title of Gift as he took it, though he could bring no probation thereof. Whereupon, the King required him to put in assurance for the payment thereof: whereat the Archbishop making delays (not well contented at the matter) was so called upon, that either he should be countable to the King for the money, or else he should incur present danger, the King being so bent against him. The Archbishop being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his own Suffragans, could here by

Becket required to give an account.

no means have escaped, had not five persons of their own accord stepped in, being bound for him, every man for 100 marks a piece. And this was upon the second day concluded.

The morrow after, which was the third day of the Council, as the Archbishop was sitting below in a certain Conclave with his fellow-Bishops about him, consulting together, the doors fast locked to them, as the King had willed and commanded, it was propounded unto him in the behalf of the King, that he had divers Bishopricks, and Abbaricks in his hand which were vacant, with the Fruits and Revenues thereof due unto the King for certain years, whereof he had rendred as yet no account to the King: wherefore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and clear reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the Council, great displeasure to be in the King, and no less danger toward the Archbishop.

The advice of the Bishops for Thomas Becket.

Thus, while the Bishops and Prelates were in Council, advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to Voices, every man to say his mind, and to give sentence what were the best way for their Archbishop to take. First began *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who then took part with *Becket* so much as he durst for fear of the King, who said, *He remembred that the said Archbishop, first being Archdeacon, and then Lord Chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the Church of Canterbury, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the Temporal Court, as all the other Bishops could not but bear record to the same.*

The verdict of Winchester.

Next spake *Gilbert*, Bishop of *London*, exhorting and motioning the Archbishop, that he should call with himself to mind from whence the King took him, and set him up; what, and how great things he had done for him; also that he should consider with himself the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruine he might bring upon the whole Church (and upon them all there present) if he resisted the Kings mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his Archbishoprick (although it were ten times better than it is) yet he should not stick with the King in the matter. In so doing it might happen, the King seeing that submission and humility in him, would release him peradventure of all the rest. To this the Archbishop answering, *Well, well* (saith he) *I perceive well enough, my Lord, whither you tend, and whither about you go.* Then spake *Winchester*, inferring upon the same, *This form of Counsel* (saith he) *seemeth to me very pernicious to the Chatholick Church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For if our Archbishop and Primate of all England do lean to this example, that every Bishop should give over his Authority and the Charge of the Flock committed to him, at commandment and threatening of the Prince, to what state shall the Church be brought then, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing shall stand certain by any order of Law, and so as the Priest is, so shall the people be?*

The council of the Bishop of London.

Canterbury.

Winchester.

Hilary the Bishop of *Chichester* replieth again to this, saying, *If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force us, I would think this counsel here given were good to be followed. But now seeing the Authority of our Canon faileth, and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to go so strictly to work, but so to moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which severe correction may destroy. Wherefore my counsel and reason is, to give place to the Kings purpose for a time, lest by over hasty proceeding, we exceed so far, that both it may redound to our shame, and also we cannot rid our selves out again when we would.*

Chichester.

Moderate counsel.

Much to the same end spake *Robert* the Bishop of *Lincoln* after this manner, *Seeing* (saith he) *it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his Archbishoprick, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his Bishoprick, his life being lost, I do not greatly see.*

Next followed *Bartholomew* Bishop of *Excester* with *Bartholomew* his

his advice, who inclining his Council to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings before, affirming how the days were evil and perillous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, he said, could not be, except strict severity should give place to tractability; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no less, especially seeing that Persecution was not general, but personal and particular; and thought it more holy and convenient, one head to run into some part of danger, than the whole Church of England to be subject and exposed to inconvenience inevitable.

Worcester. The Answer of Roger Bishop of Worcester was devised in a double suspense, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whose saying was this, *That he would give answer on neither part; for if I (saith he) should say that the Pastoral Function and Cure of Souls ought to be relinquished at the Kings will or threatening, then my mouth shall speak against my conscience to the condemnation of mine own head. And if I shall give again contrary counsel to resist the Kings Sentence, here be they that will bear it, and report it to his Grace, and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the Synagogue, and for my part to be accounted amongst the publick Rebels, with them to be condemned: wherefore neither do I say this, nor counsel that.*

Becket the Archbishop replieth against the Bishops. And this was the Consultation of the Bishops in that place, assembled together by the Kings Commandment. Against these Voices and Censures of the Bishops, Becket the Archbishop replieth again, expostulating and checking them with rebukeful words, *I perceive (saith he) and understand ye go about to maintain and cherish but your own cowardlines under the colourable shadow of sufferance: and under pretence of dissembling softness to choak the Liberty of Christs Church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O unsatiable Bishops? What mean ye? Why do ye so, under the impudent Title of forbearing, bear a double heart, and cloak your manifest Iniquity? What call ye this bearing with time, to the detriment of the Church of Christ? Let terms serve the matter. Why pervert you the matter that is good with vocables and terms untrue? For that ye say we must bear with the malice of time, I grant with you: but yet we must not heap sin to sin. Is not God able to help the state and condition of his Church, but with the sinful dissimulation of the Teachers of the Church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me (I pray you) whether should the Governors of the Church put themselves to dangers for the Church in time of Tranquility, or in time of Distress? Ye will be ashamed to deny the contrary, but in Distress. And now then (the Church lying in so great distress and vexation) why should not the good Pastor put himself into peril therefore? For neither do I think it a greater Act or merit for the ancient Bishops of the old time, to lay the Foundation of the Church then with their blood, than now for to shed our blood for the Liberties of the same. And to tell you plain, I think it not safe for you to swarve from an Example which you have received of your holy Elders.*

A great distress grown in the Church, because that Bishops may not be above Kings and Princes. After these things were spoken, they late all in silence a certain space, being locked in together. At length (to find a shift to cause the door to be opened) I will (saith the Archbishop) speak with two Earls which are about the King, and named them who they were. Who (being called) opened the door and came in with hast, thinking to hear some thing which should appease the Kings mind. To whom the Archbishop spake in this manner; As touching and concerning the matters between the King and us, we have here conferred together. And forso much as we have them not present with us now, which knew more in the matter than we do (whose advice we would be glad to follow) therefore we crave so much respite as till the next day following, and then to give our Answer unto the King. With this Message two Bishops were sent to the King, which was the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Rochester.

London (to help the matter, and to set quietness, as I take it, adding something more to the Message) said to the King, That the Archbishop craved a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the Kings desire, &c. Wherefore two Barons were sent

to him from the King to grant him that respite or stay; so that he would ratine that which the Messengers had signified to the King. To which the Archbishop answereth, That he sent no Message as was intimate in his name: but only that the next day he would come and give answer to the King, in that which he had to say. And so the Convocation of the Bishops was dissolved and dismissed home: so that the most part of them that came with the Archbishop and accompanied him before (for fear of the Kings displeasure) severed themselves from him. The Archbishop thus forsaken and destitute (as his story saith) sent about for the Poor, the Lame, and the Halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, *That by them he might sooner obtain his Victory, than by the others which had so slept from him.*

On the next day following, because it was Sunday, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second Fery, the Archbishop was cited to appear. But the night before (being taken with a Disease called *Passio iliaca*, the Colique) as that day he kept his bed, and was not able, as he said, to rise. Every man supposing this to be but a fained sickness, as it seemed no less, certain of the chief Nobles were sent to try the matter, and to cite him to the Court: namely, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, and Reginald, Earl of Devonshire. To whom the Archbishop answered, That as that day he was so diseased, that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in an Horflitter. So that day passed over. The morrow after, certain that were about him, fearing no less but that some danger would happen to him, gave him counsel in the morning to have a Mass in the honour of the holy Martyr S. Stephen, to keep him from the hands of his Enemies that day. When the morrow was come (being Tuesday) there came to him the Bishops, and Prelates, counselling and perswading him covertly by intimation (for apertly they durst not) that he would submit himself with all his goods (as also his Archbishoprick) to the will of the King, if peradventure his indignation by that means might assuage. Adding moreover, that unless he would so do, perjury would be laid against him: for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the Kings Laws and Ordinances, now would not observe them. To this Becket the Archbishop answereth again, *Brethren, ye see and perceive well how the world is set against me, and how the Enemy riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveth me most of all, is this, The Sons of mine own Mother be pricks and thorns against me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the Posterity to come will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your Archbishop and Metropolitan alone in his Conflict, and how you have siven in Judgment against me (although unguilty of Crime) now two days together, and not only in the Civil and Spiritual Court, but also in the Temporal Court ready to do the same. But in general, this I charge and command (as the virtue of pure Obedience, and in peril of your Order) that ye be present personally in Judgment against me. And that ye shall not fail so to do, I here appeal to our Mother (the refuge of all such as be oppressed) the Church of Rome: and if any secular men shall lay hands upon me (as it is rumored they will) I straitly injoyne and charge you in the same virtue of Obedience, that you exercise your Censure Ecclesiastical upon them, as it becometh you to do for a Father and an Archbishop. And this I do you to understand, that though the World rage, and the Enemy be fierce, and the Body trembleth (for the flesh is weak) yet God so favouring me, I will neither cowardly shrink, nor yet wilfully forsake my Flock committed to my Charge, &c.*

But the Bishop of London, contrary to this commandment of the Archbishop, did incontinent appeal from him. And thus the Bishops departed from him to the Court, save only two, Henry of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisbury, who returned with him secretly to his Chamber, and comforted him. This done, the Archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sick that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresseth him to his Mass of S. Stephen with all solemnity, as though it had been an high Festival-day, with his Metropolitan Pall, which was not used but upon the holy day to be worn, &c. The Office of the Mass began, *Sederunt Principes & adversum*

Becket destitute and forsaken.

Becket taken with sickness when he should appear.

A Mass of S. Stephen to save him from his Enemies.

Becket Answer to the Bishops.

Becket appealeth to Rome.

London appealeth from the Archbishop.

A Maf to
charm away
persecutors.

me loquebantur; that is, Princes fate and spake against me, &c. (the Kings servants being also there and beholding the matter.) For this Maf Gilbert Bishop of London accused Becket afterward, both for that it was done, *Per artem magicam, & in contemptum regis* (as the words of *Hoveden* purport) that is, both by art of magick, and in contempt of the King, &c.

Becket car-
rieth with
him the
Sacrament
going to
the King.

The Maf being ended, the Archbishop (putting off his Pall, his Mitre and other robes) proceedeth to the Kings Court: But yet not trusting, peradventure, so greatly to the strength of his Maf (to make the matter more sure) he taketh also the Sacrament privily about him, thinking himself thereby sufficiently defended against all bugs. In going to the Kings chamber (there to attend the Kings coming) as he entred the door, he taketh from *Alexander* his Crozier, the Crofs with the Crofs Staffe, in the sight of all that stood by, and carrieth it in himself, the other Bishops following him, and saying, he did otherwise than became him. Amongst others, *Robert* Bishop of *Hereford*, offered himself to bear his Crofs, rather than he should so do, for that it was not comely; but the Archbishop would not suffer him. Then said the Bishop of *London* unto him; If the King shall see you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his Sword against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what shall this your account profit you? The Archbishop answereth again; If the Kings Sword do cut carnally, yet my Sword cutteth spiri-
tually, and striketh down to Hell. But you, my Lord, as you have plaid the fool in this matter, so you will not yet leave off your folly for any thing I can see; and so he came into the chamber.

Hoveden re-
ferreth not
this saying
to the Bi-
shop of *Lon-
don*, but to
the Arch-
bishop of
York.

The King hearing of his coming, and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where *Becket* was set in a place by himself with his other Bishops about him. First, the Cryer called the Prelates and all the Lords of the Temporalty together. That being done (and every one placed in his seat according to his degree) the King begimeth with a great complaint against the Archbishop for his manner of entring into the Court, not as (saith he) a subject into a Kings Court; but as a Traytor, shewing himself in such sort as hath not been seen before in any Christian Kings Court, professing Christian faith. To this all there present gave witness with the King, affirming him always to be a vain and proud Man, and that the shame of his fact did not only redound against the Prince himself, but also against his whole Realm. More-
over, they said that this had so happened to the King, for that he had done so much for such a Beast, advancing him so highly to such a place and room next under himself. And so all together with one cry, called him Traytor on every side, as one that refused to give terrene honour to the King, in keeping (as he had Sworn) his Laws and Ordinances, at whose hands also he had received such honour and great preferments: And therefore he was well worthy (said they) to be handled like a perjured Traytor and Rebel. Where-
upon great doubt and fear was what should befall him. The Archbishop of *York*, coming down to his men, said, he could not abide to see what the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was like to suffer. Likewise, the Tiptaves, and other Ministers of the assembly, coming down with an outcry against him, crossed them to see his Haughty stubbornness, and the business there was about him. Certain there were of his Disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse upon them. Others (contrary) bidding him not to Curse, but to Pray and forgive them; and if he lost his life in the quarrel of the Church and the liberty thereof, he should be happy. Afterward, one of them, named *Johannes Stephani*, desired to speak something in his ear; but could not be suffered by the Kings Marshal, who forbade that any man should have any talk with him. Then he (because he could not otherwise speak to him) wrought by signs, making a cross, and looking up with his Eyes, and wagging his lips, meaning that he should pray, and manfully stand to the cause. In the mean time cometh to him *Barsbolomew* Bishop of *Excester*, desiring him to have regard and compassion of himself, and also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him: for there cometh out (saith he) a Precept from the King that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open Rebel, that hereafter taketh your part. It is said moreover that *Jocelinus* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich* are to be had

Becket cal-
led Traytor
of the King
and all his
Nobles.

A blind
Zeal for the
proud libe-
ries of the
Church.

Who so ta-
keth Becket
part is
counted a
Rebel.

to the place of Execution, for their resisting and making intercession for the Bishop of *Canterbury*. When he had thus said, the Archbishop (looking upon the said Bishop of *Excester*) Avoid hence from me, saith he, thou understandest not, neither dost favour those things that be of God.

The Bishops and Prelates then going aside by themselves from the other Nobles, the King so permitting them to do, took Council together what was to be done. Here the matter stood in a doubtful perplexity, for either must they incur the dangerous Indignation of the King, or else with the Nobles they must proceed in condemnation against the Archbishop for resisting the Kings Sanctions; which thing they themselves neither did favour. In this strict necessity, they, devising what way to take, at length agreed upon this; that they with a common assent should cite the Archbishop to the See of *Rome* upon perjury: and that they should oblige and bind themselves to the King with a sure promise, to work their diligence in deposing the Archbishop; upon this condition, that the King should promise their safety, and discharge them from the peril of that judgment which was towards them. So all the Bishops, obliging themselves thus to the King, went forth to the Archbishop; of whom one speaking for the rest (which was *Hilary* Bishop of *Chichester*) had these words: Once you have been our Archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience; but now for as much as you, once swearing your fidelity to the King, do resist him, neglecting his Injunctions and Ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his Terrene Honour and Dignity; we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to give obedience to an Archbishop thus being perjured; but, putting our selves and all ours in the Popes Protection, we do cite you up to his presence. And upon the same, they assigned him his day and time to appear. The Archbishop answering again, said, he heard him well enough, and upon this fendeth up to *Rome* in all haste to the Pope, signifying to him by Letters, the whole matter; how, and wherefore, and by whom he was cited, To whom the Pope directed again his Letters of comfort (as he had done divers before) the Copy whereof here ensueth.

Becket cited
to *Rome*
upon per-
jury by the
Bishops.

Becket con-
demned of
perjury.
Becket cited
to *Rome*.

Pope Alexander to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.

Y Our Brotherly Letters, which you directed to us, and such other matters which your messenger by word of mouth hath signified unto us, we have diligently heard the reading thereof: and thereby fully understood the grievous vexations and dolorous griefs wherewith your mind is daily incumbered: By reason whereof, we, bearing and understanding, are not a little disquieted in our Spirit for your sake: In whose Prosperities we do both gladly rejoyce, and no less do sorrow in your adversities as for our most dear Brother. You therefore (as a constant and wise man) remember with your self that which is written: The Apostles departed away (rejoycing) from the face of the Council, &c. With like patience do you also sustain that mans molestations, and let not your Spirit be troubled therein more than needeth, but receive in your self consolation: That we also together with you may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preserved you to the corroboration of his Catholique and Christian verity, in this distress of necessity: and from whom also it hath pleased him to wipe away the blot of such things which have been unworthily of you committed, and here to punish the same through sundry afflictions: whereby (in the strict judgement of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But henceforth let not this much grieve you: neither let your heart be so dejected or timorous in the matter (for that you are cited up to the Apostolick See) which to us is both grateful and accepted. And this we will you, that if they which have cited you shall chance to come; draw not you back, but follow the appeal, if you please, and spare not, all doubt and delay set apart: for the Authority of the Church, rendering this your constancy, may not do that which may put you in fear, or doubt. But our diligence shall be, with all labour and study, to conserve the Right and Prebeminence, God willing of that Church committed to you, so much as in us lyeth (saving our

Becket
char-
nam
call
man
rim
fume
in the
of his
light

our justice and equity) as to one whom, in working for the Church, we find to be both a constant and a valiant Champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repair unto the Church of Canterbury: and retaining but a few Clerks about you (such only as serve your necessity) make no excursions out (as little as you can) in that Country. But in this especially I thought to premonish you, that in no case, neither for fear, or any adversity, whatsoever may happen, you be brought to renounce and give up the right and dignity of your Church. Written at Sene, the seventh before the Kalends of November.

Becket called to a full account.

Ex Rogers Hovedenus.

Becket judged to be laid in prison.

Ex quadripartita hist. lib. 1. ca. 38.

Becket appealed to the Pope.

Becket thinketh not the protection of God sufficient without the Pope.

Becket flyeth out of the Court.

Becket changeth his name, and is called Dermann. Histories differ something in the order of his flight.

As the Archbishop was thus cited up to Rome, sitting with his Crofs waiting in the Court, neither giving place to the Kings request, nor abashed with the clamour of the whole Court against him, calling him Traytor on every side, neither following the advertisement of his fellow-Bishops, at length the King by certain Earls and Barons, sent commandment to him (Robert Earl of Leicester doing the Message) that he should without delay come and render a full account of all things that he had received, as the Profits and Revenues of the Realm, in the time he was Chancellor, and specially for the 30000 marks, for the which he was accountable to the King. To whom the Archbishop answereth again, *The King knew how oft he had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him.* Further and besides, Henry his Son and Heir of his Realm, with all his Barons, and also Richard Lucy, chief Justice of England told him, *That he was free and quit to God, and to holy Church from all Receipts and Computations, and from all secular Exactions on the Kings behalf.* And so he, taking thus his Discharge at their hands, entred into his Office; and therefore other account besides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the King, he required his Barons to do the Law upon him; who, so doing, judged him to be apprehended and laid in prison. This done, the King sendeth to him Reginald, Earl of Cornwall and Devonshire, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, to declare to him what was his judgment. To whom the Archbishop answereth, *Hear, my Son, and good Earl, what I say unto you: how much more precious the Soul is than the Body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terrene King.* Neither doth any Law or Reason permit the Children to judge and condemn their Father. Wherefore, to avoid both the judgment of the King, of you, and all others, I put my self only to the arbitrement of the Pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whose presence here before you all I do appeal, committing the ordering of the Church of Canterbury, my Dignity, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the Protection of God and him. And as for you, my Brethren and fellow-Bishops, which rather obey Man than God, you also I call and cite to the Audience and Judgment of the Pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the Enemies of the Catholick Church, and of the Authority of the Apostolick See.

While the Barons returned with this Answer to the King, the Archbishop, passing through the throng, taketh unto him his Palfry, holding his Crofs in one hand, and his Bridle in the other, the Courtiers following after, and crying, *Traytor, Traytor, tarry and bear thy Judgment.* But he passed on till he came to the uttermost Gate of the Court, which being fast locked, there he had been staid, had not one of his Servants called Peter, surnamed Demunctorio, finding there a bunch of Keys hanging by, first proved one Key, then another, till at last, finding the true Key, he had opened the Gate, and let him out. The Archbishop went straight to the House of Canons, where he did lie, calling unto him the poor, where they could be found. When Supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he caused to be made between two Altars, privily while the King was at Supper, he prepareth his Journey secretly to escape away; and changing his Garment and his Name, being called Dermann, first went to Lincoln, from thence to Sandwiche, where he took Ship, and sailed into Flanders, and from thence journeyed into France, as Hovedenus saith. Albeit Alanus, differing something in the order of his flight, saith, *That he departed not that night; but at supper-time came to him the Bishops of London and Chichester, declaring to him, that if he would surrender up*

to the King his two Manors of Otford and Wingcham, there were hope to recover the Kings favour, and to have all remitted. But when the Archbishop would not agree thereunto, forasmuch as those Manors were belonging to the Church of Canterbury, the King hearing thereof, great displeasure was taken, inasmuch that the next day Becket was fain to send to the King two Bishops and his Chaplain for leave to depart the Realm. To the which Message the King answered, *That he would take pause thereof till the next day, and then he should have an Answer.* But Becket not tarrying his answer, the same day conveyed himself away secretly, as is aforesaid, to Ludovicus the French King. But before he came to the King, Gilbert the Bishop of London, and William the Earl of Arundel, sent from the King of England to France, Prevented him: requiring the said French King in the behalf of the King of England, that he would not receive, nor retain in his Dominion the Archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, that at his instance he would be a means to the Pope, not to shew any familiarity unto him. But the King of England in this point seemed to have more confidence in the French King, than knowledge of his disposition. For thinking that the French King would have been a good Neighbour to him, in trusting him too much he was deceived. Neither considered he with himself enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the Realm of England; who then were glad to seek and take all manner of occasions to do some Act against England.

And therefore Ludovick the French King, understanding the matter, and thinking (per-case) thereby to have some vantage against the King and Realm of England, by the occasion hereof, contrary to the Kings Letters and Request, not only harboureth and cherisheth this Dermann, but also (writing to the Pope by his Almoner and Brother) intreateth him (upon all loves, as ever he would have his favour) to tender the cause of the Archbishop Becket. Thus the Kings Ambassadors repulsed of the French King, returned; at what time he sent another Ambassage (upon the like cause) to Alexander the Pope, then being at Sene in France. The Ambassadors sent on this Message were Roger Archbishop of York, Gilbert Bishop of London, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Hilary Bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew Bishop of Excester, with other Doctors and Clerks: also William Earl of Arundel, with certain more Lords and Barons, who coming to the Popes Court were friendly accepted of certain of the Cardinals; amongst the which Cardinals rose also dissention about the same cause. Some judging that the Bishop of Canterbury in the defence of the Liberties of the Church (as in a good cause) was to be maintained. Some thinking again, that he (being a Perturber of Peace and Unity) was rather to be bridled for his presumption, than to be fostered and encouraged therein. But the Pope partly bearing with his cause (which only tended to his Exaltation and Magnificence) partly again incensed with the Letters of the French King, did wholly incline to Becket, as no marvel was. Wherefore the next day following, the Pope sitting in consistory with his Cardinals, the Ambassadors were called for to the hearing of Becket's matter; and first beginneth the Bishop of London; next, the Archbishop of York; then Excester; and the other Bishops every one in their order to speak. Whose Orations being not well accepted of the Pope, and some of them also disdained; the Earl of Arundel perceiving that (and somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes ears) began after this manner:

The French King sup- porteth Becket against the King of England.

Ambassadors sent to the Pope.

Although to me it is unknown (saith he) which am both unlettered and ignorant, what it is that these Bishops here have said, neither am I in that Tongue so able to express my mind as they have done: yet being sent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sending hither: not (truly) to contend or strive with any person, nor to offer any injury or harm unto any man (especially in this place) and in the presence here of such an one unto whose Beck and Authority all the World doth stoop and yield. But for this time is our Legacy hither directed, to present here before you, and in the presence of the whole Church of Rome, the devotion and love of our King and Master, which ever he hath had, and yet

The Orati- on of the Earl of Arundel to the Pope.

yet hath still toward you. And that the same might the better appear to your Excellency, he hath assigned and appointed to the furniture of this Legacy, not the least, but the greatest, not the worst, but the best and chiefest of all his Subjects; both Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, with other Potentates more, of such worthiness and Parentage, that if he could have found greater in all his Realm, he would have sent them, both for the Reverence of your Person, and of the holy Church of Rome. Over and beside this, I might add more (which your Sanctitude hath sufficiently tried and proved already) the true and hearty Fidelity of this our King and Sovereign toward you (in his first entrance to his Kingdom) wholly submitted himself, with all that is his besides, to your will and pleasure. And truly, to testify of his Majesty how he is disposed to the unity of the Catholick Faith: we believe there is none more faithful in Christ than he, nor more devout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the unity of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to protest for our King and Master, so neither do I affirm the Archbishop of Canterbury to be a man destitute or unfurnished with Gifts and Ornaments in his kind of calling, but to be a man both sage and discreet in such things as to him appertain, save only that he seemeth to some more quick and sharp than needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and if the breach between our King and him had not so happened, both the Regiments together (of the Temporality and Spirituality) might quietly have flourished one with the other in much peace and concord, both under a Prince so worthy, and a Pastor so virtuous. Wherefore (the case so standing as it doth) our Message hither, and our supplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your favour and wisdom) the neck of this dissension may be broken, and that Reformation of unity and love (by some good means) may be sought.

¶ This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softness and moderation thereof, yet it could not so perswade the Romish Bishop to condescend to their suit and request: which suit was, to have two Legates or Arbiters to be sent from his Popish side into England, to examine and take up the Controversie between the King and the Archbishop. But the Pope, incensed as is said before, would not grant to their petition: forasmuch as it should be (saith he) prejudicial and tending to the oppression of the Archbishop to grant unto it, he being not present. And therefore he willed them to tarry his coming up; otherwise he being absent, he would not (he said) in any case proceed against him. But they, alledging again their time to be expired, appointed unto them of the King, having besides other lets and causes as they alledged, said, That they could not there wait for the coming of Becket, but return back, their cause frustrated, without the Popes blessing to the King. Within four days after Becket cometh to the Popes Court, where he prostrating himself at his feet, brought out of his bosome a Scroll containing the Customs and Ordinances of the King, before mentioned. The Pope receiving the foresaid Scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his Cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said Decrees of the King, which he called *Consuetudines avitas*; that is, his Grandfathers Ordinances. Besides this, the Pope moreover blameth Becket, for that he so much yielded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithstanding (because he was repentant for his unadvised Fact) he was content to absolve him for the same, and the rather, because of his great Troubles, which he for the Liberties of holy Church did sustain, and so with great favour for that day dismissed him.

The next day (Alexander the Pope assembling his Cardinals together in his secret Chamber) appeareth before them Archbishop Becket, having this Oration to the Pope and his Popelings, which here I thought to set out in our vulgar English-Tongue (translated out of Latine) to the intent that the Posterity hereafter may understand either the vain Superstition or vile slavery of the Church-men in those days, who, being not contented with their own natural Prince and King given them of God, must seek further to the Pope; thinking no Ecclesiastical Living to be given, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his Oration be storied rightly thus.

The Oration of Becket resigning his Bishoprick to the Pope.

Fathers and Lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much less before God, and in your presence here. Wherefore, with much sighing and sorrow of heart, I grant and confess, that these Perturbations of the Church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entered into the Fold of Christ, but not by the door of Christ; for that, not the Canonical Election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terror of publick power drove me in. And albeit I against my will took this burthen upon me; yet not the will of God, but mans pleasure placed me in the room. And therefore no marvel though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the resigning up again thereof; if I had so done, and given up to their hands the privilege of my Bishoply Authority, which I had granted to me at the Commandment of the King (so as my fellow-Bishops did instantly call upon me to do) then had I left a pernicious and dangerous Example to the whole Catholick Church. By reason whereof I thought to defer that unto your presence. And now there (recognising with my self my ingress not to be Canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worse end; and again pondering my strength and ability not to be sufficient for such a Charge) left I should be found to sustain that room to the ruine of the Flock, to whom I was appointed a Pastor unworthy: I render up to your fatherly hands the Archbishoprick here of Canterbury, &c. ¶ And so putting off his Ring from his finger and offering it to the Pope, he desired a Bishop for the Church of Canterbury to be provided: seeing he thought not himself meet to fulfil the same, and so (with tears, as the story saith) he ended his Oration.

This done, the Archbishop was bid to stand apart. The Pope conferring upon this with his Cardinals, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: Some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the Kings wrath might easily be asswaged, if the Church of Canterbury were assigned to some other person; and yet the said Becket otherwise to be provided for notwithstanding. Contrary, others again thought otherwise, whose reason was; If he (which for the Liberties of the Church, had ventured not only his Goods, Dignity and Authority, but also his Life) should now at the Kings pleasure be deprived; like as it might be a President hereafter to others in resisting their King in like sort, if this cause were maintained; so contrariwise, if it quailed, it should be an example to all others hereafter, none to resist his Prince in the like case. And so might it redound not only to the weakning of the state of the Catholick Church, but also to the derogation of the Popes Authority. Briefly, this sentence at length prevailed: and so Becket receiveth his Pastoral Office of the Popes hand again, with commendation and much favour. But for so much as he could not be well placed in England; in the mean while the Pope sendeth him with a Monks habit into the Abbey of Pontinnack in France, where he remained two years; from thence he removed to Senon, where he abode five years. So the time of his exile continued seven years in all, &c.

Upon this, the King being certified by his Ambassadors of the Popes Answer, how his favour inclined more to Becket than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathful displeasure. Who, upon the same sailing from England unto Normandy, directed over certain Injunctions against the Pope, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as were recited afore. The Contents whereof were declared to be these:

If any person should be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

Of these, and such other Injunctions, Becket specifieth partly in a certain Letter, writing to a Friend of his in this manner:

Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, to his well beloved Friend, &c. Be it known to your brotherly goodness, that we, with all ours here (by Gods Grace) are safe and in good health. Having a good hope and trust to your faithful Amity, I charge you and require you, that either

The Pope tendereth Becket's cause against the Kings

Becket complaineth of the King to the Pope.

Repentance for his well-doing.

Becket's argument: the Pope brought him not in but the King, Ergo God brought him not in.

And why might ye not (M. Becket) resign it as well to his hands of whom ye took it?

A consultation between the Pope and the Cardinals about Becket's matter.

Becket in banishment seven years

either by the bringer hereof, or by some other, (whom ye know faithful and trusty to our Church of Canterbury, and to us) you write with all speed what is done. As touching the Kings decrees here set out, these they be: That all Havens and Ports should be diligently kept, that no Letters of the Popes Interdict or Curse be brought in. And if Religious Men bring them in, they shall have their feet cut off; if he be a Priest or Clerk, he shall lose his Privy Members; if he be a Lay-man, let him be hanged; if he be a Leper, let him be burned. And if any Bishop, for fear of the Popes Interdict, will depart; besides his staff only in his hand let him have nothing else. Also the Kings will is, that all Scholars and Students beyond the Seas shall repair home; or else lose their Benefices. And if they yet shall remain still, they shall lose the liberty of all returning. Further, if any such Priests shall be found, that for the Popes suspense or Interdict will refuse to sing, they shall lose their Privy Members. In summe, all such Priests as shew themselves Rebels to the King, let them be deprived of their Benefices, &c.

ANNO 1166 Besides these and such like Injunctions, it was also set forth by the Kings Proclamation, *An. 1166*. That all manner of persons, both Men and Women, whosoever were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their Goods with them, and sent to him where he was: which was no little vexation to Becket to behold them. Moreover, for so much as he then was lying with Gwarine Abbat of Pontiniack, to whom the Pope, as is aforesaid, had commended him; therefore the King writing to the same Abbat, required him not to retain the Archbishop of Canterbury in his House: for if he did, he would drive out of his Realm all the Monks of his Order. Whereupon Becket was enforced to remove from thence, and went to Lewis the French King; by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of him the space of five years as is above mentioned.

In the mean time, Messengers went daily with Letters between the King and the Pope, between the Pope again and him, and so between the Archbishop and others. Whereof if the Reader (peradventure) shall be desirous to see the Copies; I thought here to express certain of them, to satisfy his desire; first beginning with the Epistle of Becket, complaining of his Prince to the Pope, in manner and form as followeth.

The Copy of an Epistle sent of Thomas Becket to Pope Alexander.

TO your presence and audience I flie, most holy Father, that you, who hath bought the liberty of the Church with your so great danger, might rather attend to the same (either being the only or chiefest cause of my persecution) using and following therein the example of you. It grieveth me that the state of the Church should fall to any decay, and that the liberties thereof should be infringed through the avarice of Princes. For the which cause I thought to resist betime that inconvenience beginning so to grow. And the more I thought my self obliged to the same, my Prince (unto whom next under God I am most chiefly bound) the more boldness I took to me, to withstand his unrightful attempts; till such as were on the contrary part, my adversaries, prevailed, working my disquietness, and incensing him against me. Whereupon, as the manner is amongst Princes, they raised up against me citations and slanders, to the occasion of my persecution: but I had rather to be proscribed, than to subscribe. Besides this, I was also called to judgment, and cited before the King to make answer there as a Lay person, to secular accounts: whereas they whom I most trusted did most forsake me. For I saw my fellow Brethren the Bishops, through the instigation of some, ready to my condemnation. Whereupon all being set against me, and I thus oppressed on every side, I took my refuge to appeal unto your goodness, which casteth off none in their extremities; being ready to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to be judged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that (Father) but to usurpe to themselves your right, and to bring the spirituality under the temporality? Which

thing (once begun) may breed an example to many. And therefore so much the more stout I thought to be in withstanding this matter, how much more prone and prone I saw the way to hurt, if they might once see us to be faint and weak in the same. But they will say to me here again: Give to Caesar that which belongs to Caesar, &c. But to answer again thereunto, albeit we are bound to obey our King in most things, yet not in such manner of things, whereby he is made to be no King: neither were they then things belonging to Caesar, but to a Tyrant. Concerning the which points, these Bishops should not for me only, but for themselves, have resisted the King. For if the extream judgment be reserved to him which is able to judge both body and soul: is it not then extream pride for Men there to judge, which judge but by themselves? If the cause of the Bishops and of the Clergy, which I maintain, be right: why be they set against me? why do they reprehend me? For if that I appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawful, or else not expedient for me to do: what seem they by this, but either to blame me causeless, or else to distrust your equity? For me to be convicted before your Holiness, it had been a double confusion. Or wherein have I deserved to be persecuted of them, for whose cause I have set my self to stand in their behalf? And if they had willed, I had prevailed; but it is ill with the head, when he is left of his members and forsaken: as if the eyes should take the tongue to speak against the head. If they had had eyes to have fore-seen the matter, they might understand themselves to speak their own destruction, and that the Princes did use their help but to their own servitude. And what so great cause of hatred had they against me, to procure their own undoing in undoing of me? So while they neglected Spiritual things instead of Temporal, they have lost them both. What should I speak more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience; yet notwithstanding they durst presume to stand in judgment and condemnation against me, as Children against their Father? Yea, and not against me only, but against the universal Church of God, conspiring together with the Prince being with me offended. And this suspicion might also as well pertain to you, holy Father. But to this they will say, That they owe their duty and service unto the King, as their Lord, to whom they are bound upon their allegiance. To whom I answer, That to him they stand bound bodily, to me spiritually. But to whom ought they rather to stand bound, than to themselves? And were it not better to sustain the loss of corporal, than of spiritual things? But here they will say again: At this time the Prince was not to be provoked. How subtilly do these Men dispute for their own bondage? Yea, they themselves provoke him by their own excess, ministring wings unto him to fight against them; for he would have resisted, if they had resisted. And when is constancy more to be required, than in persecution? Be not a Mans chief Friends most tried in persecution? If they give over still, how shall they obtain the victory? Sometimes they must needs resist. Condescend not therefore (holy Father) to my exile and persecution. And remember, that I also once was a great Man, in the time when it was; and now for your sake thus injuriously I am intreated. Use your rigour and restrain them, by whose instigation the name of this persecution began. And let none of these things be imputed to the King, who rather is to be counted the repairer than the author of this business.

Besides this Epistle sent unto the Pope, he writeth also another Letter, sent to the King in Latine; the tenor whereof he that is disposed to read, may peruse in our former Edition, with the Notes adjoyned withal.

Besides which Epistle to the King in Latine, he sent also one or two more to the said King Henry the Second, much after the like rate and sort: the one thus beginning: *Loqui de Deo, libera mentis est & valde quietæ. Inde est quod loquar ad Dominum meum, & usinam ad omnes pacificum, &c.* Which Epistle, for that I would not overcharge the Volume of these Histories with too much matter superfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he sent afterwards, whereof the words be these.

To keep under the pride of Prelats is no cause sufficient to unking a Prince.

If ye mean by spiritual things such as pertain to the spiritual part of man, I grant; but your liberties be not such as which pertain to the inward or spiritual man, but rather are things more corporal. Persecution trieth a true friend, but every cause maketh not a true persecution.

Another Letter of Becket Archbishop of Canterbury sent to the King.

TO his Lord and Friend Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou: Thomas by the same grace, humble Minister of the Church of Canterbury (sometime his temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and true repentance with amendment. I have long looked, that the Lord would look upon you, and that you would convert and repent, departing from your perverse way; and cut off from you your wicked and perverse Counsellors, by whose instigation, as it is thought, you are fallen into that deep, whereof the Psalm speaketh, A sinner when he cometh to the depth of mischiefs, is without care or fear. And albeit we have hitherto quietly suffered and born, considering and earnestly looking if there would any messenger come that would say; Your Sovereign Lord the King which now a long time hath erred and been deceived, and led even to the destruction of the Church, through Gods mercy with abundant humility doth now again make speed for the deliverance of the Church, and to make satisfaction and amendment: Yet notwithstanding, we cease not, day by day, continually to call upon Almighty God with most humble devotion: That, that which we have long desired for you, and by you, we may speedily obtain with abundant effect. And this is one point; that the care of the Church of Canterbury, whereunto God hath presently appointed us (albeit unworthy) you being King, doth specially constrain me (in that as yet we are detained in exile) to write unto your Majesty Letters Commonitory, Exhortatory, and of Correction. But I would to God they were fully able to correct, lest that I be too great a cloker of your outrages (if there be any) as indeed there are: for the which we are not a little sorry. I mean specially of them which are done by you in every place, about the Church of God and the Ecclesiastical persons, without any reverence either of dignity or person; and lest also that I appear negligent to the great danger of my soul: for without doubt he beareth the offence of him which doth commit any offence, who neglecteth to correct that, which another ought to amend. For it is written, Not only they which do commit evil, but also they that consent therunto are counted partakers of the same. For they verily do consent, which, when they both might and ought, do not resist, or at the least reprove. For the error which is not resisted is allowed, and the truth when it is not defended is oppressed: neither doth it lack a privy note of society in him, which ceaseth to withstand a manifest mischief. (2) For like as, most noble Prince, a small City doth not minish the prerogative of so mighty a Kingdom as yours is: so your Royal power ought not to oppress or change the measure of the Religious dispensation. For it is provided always by the Laws, that all judgments against Priests should proceed by the determination of Priests. For whatsoever Bishops they are, albeit that they do err as other men do (not exceeding in any point contrary to the Religion of Faith) they (3) ought not, nor can in any case be judged of the secular power. Truly, it is the part of a good and religious Prince to repair the ruinous Churches, to build new, to honour the Priests, and with great reverence to defend them, after the example of the godly Prince of most happy memory (4) Constantinus, which said, when a complaint of the Clergy was brought to him, You (said he) can be judged by no secular Judge, which are reserved to the only judgment of God. And for so much as we do read that the holy Apostles and their successors, appointed by the testimony of God, commanded that no persecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to envy those which labour in the field of the Lord, and that the stewards of the Eternal King should not be expelled and put out of their seats: who then doubteth, but that the Priests of Christ ought to be called the Fathers and Masters of all other faithful Princes? Is it not a miserable madness then, if the Son should go about to bring the (5) Father under obedience; or the Scholer his Master? and by (6) wicked bonds to bring him in subjection, by whom he ought to believe that he may be

bound and loosed, not only in Earth, but also in Heaven? If you be a good and Catholick King, and will be such a one as we hope, or rather desire you should be, (if it be spoken under your licence) you are the Child of the Church; and not the ruler of the Church. You ought to learn of the Priests, and not to teach them; you ought to (7) follow the Priests in Ecclesiastical matters, and not to go before them; having the privilege of your power given you of God to make publick Laws, that by his benefit you should not be unthankful against the dispensation of the heavenly order, and that you should usurpe nothing, but use them with a wholesome disposition.

Wherefore in those things, which, contrary unto that you have, through your malicious counsel rather than by your own mind, wickedly usurped; with all humility, and satisfaction speedily give place, that the hand of the most High be not stretched out against you, as an arrow against the mark. For the most High hath bended his bow openly to shoot against him, that will not confess his offences. Be not ashamed (whatsoever wicked Men say unto you, or that Traytors do whisper in your ear) to humble your self under the mighty hand of God. For it is he which exalteth the humble, and throweth down the proud; which also revengeth himself upon Princes: he is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought not to have let slip out of your memory, in what state God did find you; how he hath preferred, honoured, and exalted you; blessed you with Children, enlarged your Kingdom, and established the same in despite of your enemies. In so much that hitherto, in a manner, all men have said with great admiration, that this is he whom God hath chosen. And how will you reward, or can you reward him for all these things which he hath done unto you? Will you, at the provocation and instance of those which are about you, that (8) persecute the Church and the Ecclesiastical Ministers, and always have according to their power persecuted them, rendering evil for good, bringing oppressions, tribulations, injuries, and afflictions upon the Church and Church-men, do the like? Are not these they of whom the Lord speaketh: he that heareth you, heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verily forsaking all that thou hast, take up thy cross, that thou mayest follow thy God our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet will it scarcely be, or not at all, that thou shalt appear a thankful recompencer of the benefits received at his hand. Search the Scriptures with such as are learned, and you shall understand, that (9) Saul, albeit he was the Elect of the Lord, perished with his whole house, because he departed from the ways of the Lord.

Ozias also King of Judah, whose name is spoken of and spread over all, through the manifold victories given him of God, his heart was so puffed up to his destruction, because the Lord did help and strengthen him in every place, that he, contemning the fear and reverence of the Lord, would usurp unto himself that which was not his office, that is to say, the Priesthood, and to offer Incense upon the Altar of the Lord; for the which he was stricken with a Leprosie, and cast out of the House of the Lord. Many other Kings and holy Men of great substance, because they have walked above their estate in the marvels of the world, presuming to rebel against God in his Ministeries, have perished: and at the last, they have found nothing of their substance in their power. Also King Abaz, because he did usurp the office of Priesthood, was likewise stricken with a Leprosie by God.

Oza also, albeit he was not King, yet for so much as he touched the Ark and held it, when it would have fallen by the unruliness of the Oxen, which thing pertained not unto him, but unto the Ministers of the Church, he was stricken by the wrath of God and fell down by the Ark. O King, it is a famous Proverb: That a Man, forwarned by another Mans misfortune, will take the better heed unto himself. For every Man hath his own business in hand, when his neighbours House is on fire. Dearly beloved King, God would have the disposing of those things, which pertain unto the Church, to be long only unto Priests, and not unto the secular power.

- "Do not challenge unto thy self therefore another Mans right, neither strive against him by whom all things are ordained; lest thou seem to strive against his benefits, of whom thou hast received thy power. For by the com-
- (10) mon (10) Laws, and not by the secular power, and by the Bishops and Priests, Almighty God would have the Clergy of the Christian Religion to be ordered and ruled. And Christian Kings ought to submit all their doings unto Ecclesiastical Rulers, and not to prefer themselves: for it is written, That none ought to judge the Bishops but only the Church, neither doth it pertain unto Mans Law to give sentence upon any such. Christian Princes are accustomed to be obedient unto the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church, and not to prefer their own power. A Prince ought to submit himself unto the Bishops, and not to judge the Bishops: for there are two things wherewith the world is chiefly governed, (that is to say) the Sacred Authority of Bishops, and Royal Power.
- (11) (11) in the which, the Bishops charge is so much the more weighty, in that they shall at the later Judgment render account even of the Kings themselves. Truly you ought to understand, That you depend upon their judgment, and cannot reduce them unto your own will: for many Bishops have Excommunicated both Kings and Emperors. And if you require an especial example thereof, *Innocentius* the Pope did Excommunicate *Arcadius* the Emperor, because he did consent that *John Crysofom* should be expelled from his seat; And *Saint Ambrose* also did Excommunicate (12) *Theodosius* the great Emperor for a fault (which seemed not so weighty unto other Priests) and shut him out of the Church: who afterwards by condign satisfaction was absolved.
- "There are many other like Examples. For *David*, when he had Committed Adultery and Murther, the Prophet *Nathan* was sent unto him by God to reprove him, and he was soon corrected: And the King (laying aside his Scepter and Diadem, and setting apart all Princely Majesty) was not ashamed to humble himself before the face of the Prophet, to confess his fault, and to require forgiveness for his offence. What will you more? He being stricken with Repentance asked mercy, and obtained forgiveness. So likewise you (most beloved King and Reverend Lord) after the example of this good King *David*, of whom it is said, *I have found a Man after mine own heart*; with a contrite and humble heart turn to the Lord your God, and take hold of Repentance for your transgressions. For you have fallen and erred in many things, which yet I keep in store still, if (peradventure) God shall inspire you to say with the Prophet; *Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy, for I have sinned much against thee, and done ill in thy sight.* Thus much I have thought good to write to you my dear Lord at this present, passing other things in silence, till I may see whether my words take place in you, and bring forth fruits worthy of Repentance; and that I may hear and rejoyce with them that shall bring me word and say; O King, thy Son was dead, and is alive again; was lost, and is found again. But if you will not hear me, look where I was wont * before the Majesty of the Body of Christ to pray for you in abundance of tears and sighs; there in the same place I will cry against you, and say, Rise up Lord and judge my cause, forget not the rebukes and injuries which the King of England doth to thee and thine; forget not the ignominy of thy Church, which thou hast builded in thy blood. Revenge the blood of thy Saints which is spilt; revenge, O Lord, the afflictions of thy servants of whom there is an infinite number. For the pride of them which hate and persecute thee is gone up to high, that we are not able to bear them any longer. Whatsoever your servants shall do, all those things shall be required at your hands: for he seemeth to have done the harm, which hath given the cause thereof. Doubtless, the Son of the Most High, except you amend and cease from the oppressing of the Church and Clergy, and keep your hand from troubling of them, will come in the rod of his fury, at the voyces of such as cry to him, and at the sighs of them that be in bands; when the time shall come for him to judge the unrighteousness of Men in equity and severity of the Holy Ghost. For he knoweth how to take away the breath of Princes, and is terrible among Kings of the Earth. Your dear and loving Grace I wish well to fare. Thus fare ye well again and ever.

* Note the judgement of God against this Becket, who was slain at his Mass making the body of Christ.

Certain Notes or Elenchs upon this Epistle: which by the figures you may find out, and their places.

1. THE scope of this Epistle is this, To prove that Bishops and Priests ought not to come under the covert and controlement of Temporal power.
2. This similitude holdeth not. For, though the smallness of a City blemisheth not the Prerogative of a Kingdom, yet the evilness and rebellion of a City doth worthily blemish his own prerogative.
3. So saith the Popes Decree, *Dist. 10.* but the Scripture of God importeth otherwise. *Abiathar* the Priest was deposed of King *Solomon*, not for any Heresie, but for other causes, *3. Reg. 12.* *Jonathas* took his Priesthood of King *Alexander*: and *Simon* of *Demetrius*, *1. Macch. 7.* Christ offered Tribute to *Cæsar* for him and for *Peter*. Also *Peter* saith, *Be ye subject to every humane creature*; and it followeth, *whether it be to the King as to the chief, &c.* Item Pope *Leo* submitted himself to *Ludovicus* the Emperor with these words: *And if we do any thing incompetently, and do swerve from the path of Righteousness, we will stand to your Reformation, or of them whom you shall send, Quest. 2. Hol. 7.*
4. Notwithstanding, the said *Constantinus*, writing to the Bishops Congregated at *Tyrus*, first chideth them, then commandeth them to resort unto his presence, to have their cause judged and decided, *Trip. hist. lib. 3. cap. 7.*
5. The Father under obedience, &c. If Fatherhood go by age, I suppose that King *Henry* was elder than *Becket*. If Fatherhood consist in Authority, I judge the Authority of a King to be above the Authority of an Archbishop. If the See of *Canterbury* make the Fatherhood, yet had *Becket* no cause to claim Fatherhood over the King, seeing the Son ordained the Father (that is) seeing the King made him his Archbishop, and he made not him his King.
6. By wicked bonds. All is wicked with the Papists, that bringeth them in subjection to their Princes.
7. Ecclesiastical matters be such, as properly belong to doctrine and divine knowledge, for the institution of the Soul, and information of Conscience. In which both Princes and Subjects ought to follow the Pastor, so long as they go truly before them without error, or else not. But what maketh this for the Lands and Liberties of Church-men?
8. Punishment due to Malefactors and Rebels is not to be called Persecution, but due Correction.
9. *Saul* brake the commandment of God and was rejected. *Ozias* contrary to the commandment of God took the Office of a Priest, and was stricken. *Oza* against the express word of the Law put his hand to the Ark, and was punished. But what express word had King *Henry*, why he should not correct and punish rebellious Bishops, and wicked Priests within his own Realm? wherefore these similitudes accord not. As for *Achas*, he was not so much punished for taking the Priests Office, as for spoiling the Temple of the Lord, and offering to Idols.
10. Common Laws. *S. Austin* writing to *Boniface*, saith thus; *Whosoever obeyeth not the Laws of the Emperor, being made for the verity of God, procureth to himself great punishment. For in the time of the Prophets, all the Kings which did not forbid and subvert all such things as were used of the people against the Law of God, are rebuked. And such as did withstand them, are commended above the rest.* August.
11. *Isidorus* hath these words: *Let Temporal Princes know that they must render account to God for the Church, which they have at the hands of God to govern, &c.*
12. The case of *Arcadius*, *Theodosius*, *David*, and of this King, as touching this matter, hath no similitude. In them was murther: this King doth nothing but claim that which is his due. And though by the spiritual sword those Kings were resisted: yet it agreeth not therefore, that the persons of them which have the use of the spiritual sword are above the persons of them which have the temporal sword.

Besides these Letters of the Archbishop sent to the King, the Pope also in the same cause writeth to the King, beginning after this sort: *Alexander Papa ad Henricum regem.*

Et naturali ratione, & forma juris distante, providentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuisse, quod quanto quis ab aliquo majora suscepisse dignoscitur, tanto ei obnoxior, & magis obligatus tenetur, &c. The whole tenor of the Letter as he wrote it to the King I would here exprefs, but for protracting of the time and straitness of room, having so many things else in this story (by the Grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the Letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the King to shew favour to *Thomas Becket*. Where, in the process of the Epistle, it followeth in these words: *Ea propter severitatem tuam per Apostolica scripta rogamus, minemus, & exhortamur in Domino; necnon in remissionem peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis Apostolorum, auctoritate nostra injungimus, ut memoratum Archiepiscopum pro Deo & Ecclesia sua, & honore tuo, necnon & totius regni tui, in gratiam & favorum tuum recipias, &c.* That is, Therefore we do desire, monish, and exhort your honour by these our Apostolical writings, and also injoyne you upon the remission of your sins, in the behalf of Almighty God, and of *St. Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, by our authority, that you will receive again the foresaid Archbishop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his Church, and of your own Realm, &c. Thus have you heard the Popes intreating Letter. Now here is another Letter sent unto the foresaid King, wherein he doth menace him, as in the tenor thereof here followeth.

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, King of England, health and blessing Apostolical.

HOW fatherly and gently we have oft-times intreated and exhorted both by Legats and Letters your princely honour, to be reconciled again with our reverend Brother *Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury*, so that he and his may be restored again to their Churches and other possessions to them appertaining, your wisdom is not ignorant, seeing it is notified and spread almost throughout all Christendom. Forasmuch therefore as hitherto we could not prevail with you, neither move nor stir your mind with fair and gentle words, it lamenteth us not a little, so to be frustrate and deceived of the hope and expectation which we had conceived of you. Especially seeing we love you so dearly, as our own dearly beloved Son in the Lord, and understand so great jeopardy to hang over you.

But forasmuch as it is written; Cry out and cease not, lift up thy voice like a Trumpet, and declare to my people their wickedness, and their sins to the house of Jacob: Also forasmuch as it is in *Solomon* commanded, That the sluggish person should be stoned with the dung of Oxen: we have thought good therefore, not to forbear or support your stubbornness any longer against justice and salvation. Neither that the mouth of the foresaid Archbishop should be stopped from henceforth any more; but that he may freely prosecute the charge of his office and duty, and revenge with the sword of Ecclesiastical discipline, the injuries both of himself, and of his Church committed to his charge.

And here I have sent unto you two Legates, *Petrus de ponte Dei*, and *Bernardus de Corilio*, to admonish you of the same. But if ye will neither by us be advertised, nor give ear unto them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtless) lest such things as they shall declare to you from us in our behalf may happen and fall upon you. Dated at *Benevent*, the ninth day before the Kalends of *June*.

To answer these Letters again, there was another certain writing drawn out and directed to the Pope, made by some of the Clergy, as it seemeth: but not without consent of the King, as by the title may appear, inveighing and disproving the misbehaviour of the Archbishop. The tenor whereof here followeth, and beginneth thus:

An Answer to the Pope.

Answer to the Popes Letter.

Time now requireth more to seek help than to make complaints. For so it is now, that the holy mother Church (our sins deserving the same) lieth in a dangerous case of great decay, which is like to issue, except the present mercy of the Lord support her.

Such is the wickedness now of Schismatics, that the Father of Fathers Pope *Alexander* (for the defence of his Faith and for the love of Righteousness) is banished out of his Country: not able to keep free residence in his own proper See, by reason of the indurate heart of *Frederick the Pharaoh*.

Further and besides, the Church also of *Canterbury* is miserably impaired and blemished, as well in the Spiritual as in the Temporal estate: much like to the Ship in the Sea, being destitute of her guide tossed in the floods, and wrestling with the winds, while the Pastor being absent from his Province, dare not there remain through the power of the King. Who being over wise (to the jeopardy of himself, his Church, and us also) hath brought and intangled us likewise with himself in the same partaking of his punishments and labours, not considering how we ought to forbear, and not to resist superiour powers. And also he sheweth himself to us unkind, which with all our affections bear the burthen with him of his afflictions, not ceasing yet to persecute us which stand in the same condemnation with him. For, betwixt him and our Sovereign Prince, the King of *England*, arose a certain matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day should be appointed, to have the controverſie discussed by equity and justice.

The day being come, the King commanded all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church to be called in a great solemn frequency: so that the greater and more general this Council was, the more manifest the detection of this stubborn malice should appear and be espied.

At the day therefore above mentioned this troubler of the Realm and of the Church presenteth himself in the sight of our Catholick King: who, not trusting the quality and condition of his cause, armeth him with the armour of the cross, as one which should be brought to the presence of a Tyrant. By reason whereof, the Kings Majesty being somewhat agrieved (yet because he would be delivered from all suspicion) committeth the matter to the hearing of the Bishops. This done, it resteth in the Bishops to decide and cease this contention, and to set agreement between them, removing all occasion of dissention. Which thing they going about, this foresaid Archbishop cometh in, forbidding and commanding, that no Man proceed in any sentence of him before the King.

This being signified to the Kings hearing, his mind was grievously provoked thereby to anger: whose anger yet notwithstanding had been easily asswaged, if the other would have submitted himself, and acknowledged his default. But he adding stubbornness to his trespass, through the quantity and greatness of his excess was the author of his own punishment, which now by the Law Civil he sustaineth, and yet shameth to crave pardon for his desert at the Kings hand; whose anger he feareth not to stir up, in such a troublesome time of the persecution of the Church, greatly against the profit of the same; augmenting and increasing thereby the persecution which now the Church lyeth under. Much better it had been for him to have tempered himself with the bridle of moderation, in the highest estate of his dignity; lest in exceeding too far in straining the strict points of things by overmuch presumption, peradventure through his presumption, being not in mean and tolerable things, he might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the Church would not move him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honours ought to persuade him not to be so stubborn against the King. But here peradventure his friend and our adversary will object, That his bearing and submitting to the King, in this behalf were prejudicial against the authority and See Apostolical. As though he did not or might not understand, that although the dignity of the Church should suffer a little detriment in that judgment: yet he might and ought to have dissembled (for the time) to obtain peace unto the Church. He will object again, alledging the name of Father; That it soundeth like a point of arrogancy, for Children to proceed in judgment of condemnation against the Father; which thing is not convenient. But he must understand again, That it was necessary that the obedienc and humility of the Children should temper the pride of the Father; lest afterward, the hatred of the Father might redound upon the Children, Wherefore by these premises your Fatherhood may understand,

Frederick, falsly compared to Pharaoh, just this was to claw the Pope with

Becket a stubborn trespasser, eyes no Martyr.

stand, that the action of this our adversary ought to fall down, as void, and of none effect, who only upon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus against us, having no just cause nor reason to ground upon.

And forsomuch as the care and charge of all Churches (as ye know) lyeth upon us, it standeth us upon to provide concerning the state of the Church of Canterbury, by our diligence and circumspection: so that the said Church of Canterbury, by the excess of his Pastor, be not driven to ruine or decay.

By this Epistle it may appear to the Reader thereof, that Becket (being absent from England) went about to work some trouble against certain of the Clergy and the Laity (belike) in Excommunicating such as he took to be his evil willers.

Now to understand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did Excommunicate, this Letter, sent to William Bishop of Norwich, shall better declare the matter.

A Letter of Becket to the Bishop of Norwich.

A Letter of Becket to the Bishop of Norwich.

HE bindeth himself to the penalty of the crime, who-
soever receiving power and authority of God, useth
and exerciseth not the same with due severity, in punish-
ing vice: but winking and dissembling, doth minister bold-
ness to wicked doers, maintaining them in their sin. For
the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the Priest,
which is negligent or dissembleth. And as the Scripture
saith, Thorns and Brambles grow in the hands of the idle
Drunkard. Wherefore, lest (through our too much suffer-
ance and dissembling) the transgressions of manifest evil-
doers should also be laid to our charge, and redound to the
destruction of the Church through our guilty silence: we
therefore following the authority of the Popes command-
ment, have laid our Sentence of Curse and Excommuni-
cation upon the Earl Hugo: commanding you throughout
all your Diocess publicly to denounce the said Earl as ac-
cursed, so that, according to the discipline of the Church,
he be sequestred from the fellowship of all faithful people.
Also, it is not unknown to your brotherhood, how long we
have borne with the transgressions of the Bishop of London:
who, amongst other his facts, I would to God were not
a great doer, and fautour of this Schism, and subverter
of the Rites and Liberties of Holy Church. Wherefore
we, being supported with the authority of Apostolick
See, have also Excommunicated him: besides also the
Bishop of Salisbury, because of his disobedience and con-
tempt: and others likewise, upon divers and sundry causes,
whose names here follow subscribed: Hugo Bernards Son,
Rudolph of Brock, Robert of Brock a Clerk, Hugo de
S. Cleare, and Letardus a Clerk of Norfolk, Nigellus of
Scacavil, and Richard Chaplin, William of Hastings, and
the Friar which possesseth my Church of Monchot. We
therefore charge and command you by the Authority Apo-
stolical and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in
the peril of Salvation, and of your Order: that ye cause
these openly to be proclaimed Excommunicate, through-
out all your Diocess, and to command all the faithful to
avoid their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not
your heart be troubled, nor fear: for we stand sure through
the assistance of the Apostolick See, God being our
borow against the pretended shifts of the malignant sort,
and against all their appellations. Furthermore, all such
as have been solemnly cited of us shall sustain the like sen-
tence of Excommunication, if God will, on the Ascension-
day: unless they shall otherwise agree with me. That is,
to wit, Geoffrey Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert
his Vicar, Rice of Wilcester, Richard of Lucy, William
Giffard, Adam of Cherings, with such others more: which
either at the commandment of the King, or upon their own
proper temerity, have invaded the goods and possessions
either appertaining to us, or to our Clerks about us. With
these also we do Excommunicate all such as be known,
either with aid or council, to have incensed or set forward
the proceeding of our King against the liberties of the Church,
and exiling of the innocents. And such also as be known
to impeach or let by any manner of way the messengers
(sent either from the Pope, or from us) for the necessities
of the Church. Fare you well again, and ever:

The Bishop of London Excommunicated. This Bishop was Excommunicated because he sat in the Dean of Salisbury without the licence of him, being then beyond the seas.

Hitherto hast thou seen (gentle Reader) divers and sun-
dry Letters of Thomas Becket, whereby thou mayst collect
a sufficient History of his doings and demeanor, though no-
thing else were said further of him, concerning his lusty
and haughty stomach, about that which befelmed either
his degree or cause which he took in hand. And here per-
adventure I may seem in the story of this one Man to tarry
too long, having to write of so many others better than
it: yet for the weaker sort, which have counted him,
and yet do count him for a Saint, having in themselves
little understanding to judge or discern in the causes of
Men, I thought to add this Letter more, wherein he com-
plaineth of his King to a Foreign power; doing what in
him did lie, to stir for his own cause mortal War to the
destruction of many. For suppose wrong had been offer-
ed him of his Prince, was it not enough for him to flee?
What cause had he, for his own private revenge, so set
Potentates in publick discord? Now having no just cause,
but rather offering injury in a false quarrel, so to complain
of his Prince: what is to be said of this, let every Man
judge which seeth this Letter:

An Epistle of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Alexander.

*Mantissimo Patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia sum-
mo Pont. Thomas Cant. Ecclesie humilis minister,
debitam & devotam obedientiam, &c.*

In English thus:

"To our most loving Father and Lord, Alexander by
the Grace of God Bishop, Thomas the humble Minister
and Servant of the Church of Canterbury due and rever-
end obedience. Long enough and too long most loving
Father have I forborn, still looking after the amend-
ment of the King of England, but no fruit have I reap-
ed of this my long patience: nay rather, whilest that un-
wisely I do thus forbear, I augment and procure the de-
triment and diminishing of mine authority, as also of the
Church of God: For oftentimes have I by devout and
Religious Messengers invited him to make condign sa-
tisfaction; as also by my Letters (the copies whereof I
have sent you) intimated and pronounced Gods severity
and vengeance against him, unless he repent and amend.
But he (that notwithstanding) groweth from evil to worse;
oppressing and conculcating the Church and Sanctuary
of God; persecuting both me and those which take part
with me: in such that with fearful threatening words
his purpose is to terrifie such, as (for Gods cause and mine
own) seek any way to relieve and help me. He wrote also
Letters unto the Abbat of the Cistercian Order, That as he
favoured the Abbacy of that his Order (which was in his
power, said he) he would not accept me into the Fellow-
ship thereof, nor do any thing else for me. What should
I use many words? So much hath the rigor and severity
as well of the King as of his Officers, under our pati-
ence and sufferance, shewed it self; that if a great num-
ber of Men, yea, and that of the most Religious sort,
should shew unto you the matter as it is indeed (and that
upon their oath taken) I partly doubt whether your holi-
ness would give credit unto them or not. With heavi-
ness of mind therefore I considering these things, and be-
holding as well the peril of the King as of our self, have
publickly condemned not only those pernicious customs,
but all those perversities and wicked doings whereby the
Church of England is disturbed and brought to confusion;
as also the writing whereby they were confirmed; Ex-
communicating generally as well the observers and exact-
ers thereof, as also the inventors and patrons of the same,
with their favourers, counsellours, and coadjutors what-
ever, either of the Clergy or Laity, absolving also our
Bishops from their oath, whereby they were so strictly in-
joynd to the observation of the same. These are the
Articles which in that writing I have principally condem-
ned, First, That it is inhibited to appeal unto the See
Apostolical for any cause, but by the Kings Licence. That
a Bishop may not punish any Man for perjury, or for
breaking of his troth: That a Bishop may not Excom-
municate any Man that holdeth of the King *In capite*, or
else interdict either their Lands or Offices without the
Kings

A feditious complaint of Becket to the Pope against his King.

Godly Articles con-
demned by
Becket.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

4. "Kings licence. That Clerks and Religious Men may be
5. "taken from us to secular judgment. That the King or any
6. "other Judge may hear and decide the Causes of the Church
"and Tithes. That it shall not be lawful for any Archbishop
"or Bishop to go out of the Realm, and to come at the
"Popes call without the Kings licence; and divers others
"such as these. Namely also I have Excommunicated *John*
"of *Oxford*, who hath communicated with the Schism-
"matick and Excommunicate person (*Reginald Colman-*
"sis) the which also, contrary to the commandment of
"the Lord Pope and ours, hath usurped the Deanry of the
"Church of *Salisbury*, and hath (to renew his Schism)
"taken an oath in the Emperors Court. Also I have de-
"nounced and excommunicated *Richard of Worcester*, be-
"cause he is fallen into the same damnable Heresie, and
"communicated with that famous Schismatick of *Cullen*;
"devising and forging all mischief possible, with the Schis-
"maticks and *Flemings*, to the destruction of the Church
"of God, and especially of the Church of *Rome*, by com-
"position made by the King of *England* and them. Also
"*Richard de Lucy*, and *Jocelin de Baliol*, which have
"furthered the favours of the Kings Tyranny and workers
"of their Heresies. Also *Ranulph de Broc*, and *Hugo de*
"*Sancto Claro*, and *Thomas the Son of Bernard*, which
"have usurped the possessions and goods of the Church of
"*Canterbury* without our licence and consent. We have
"also Excommunicated all those, which without our li-
"cence do stretch out their hands to the possessions and
"goods of the Church of *Canterbury*. The King him-
"self we have not yet Excommunicated personally, still
"waiting for his amendment: whom (notwithstanding)
"we will not defer to Excommunicate, unless he quickly
"amend, and be warned by that he hath done. And there-
"fore that the Authority of the See Apostolick, and the
"liberty of the Church of God, which in these parts are al-
"most utterly lost, may be by some means restored, it is
"meet and very necessary that what we have herein done
"the same be of your Holiness ratified, and by your Letters
"confirmed. Thus I wish your Holiness long to prosper
"and flourish.

Becket re-
prehended
for com-
plaining of
his King.

By this Epistle, he that listeth to understand of the do-
ings and quarrels of *Becket*, may partly judge what is to be
thought thereof. Which his doings although in some part
they may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or
blindness of zeal, or humane frailty; yet in this point, so
vilely to complain of his natural Prince, for the zeal of the
Pope, he can by no wise be defended. But such was the
blindness then of the Prelates in those days, who measured
and esteemed the dignity and liberties of Christs Church by
no other thing, than only by goods and possessions flowing
and abounding in the Clergy; and thought no greater
point of Religion to be in the Church, than to maintain the
same. For the which cause they did most abominably a-
buse Christian Discipline and Excommunication of the
Church at that time; as by this aforesaid Epistle may ap-
pear. And what marvel if the acts and doings of this Arch-
bishop seem now to us in these days both fond and strange:
seeing the Suffragans of his own Church and Clergy, writ-
ting to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their
Epistle translated out of Latine into English may be seen.

Excommu-
nication a-
bused in
private re-
venge about
lands and
possessions.

An effectual and pithy Letter, full of reason and
perswasion, sent from all the Suffragans of
the Church of *Canterbury* to *Thomas Becket*
their Archbishop.

*QUAE vestro (pater) in longinquo discessu inopinata
rei ipsius novitate turbata sunt: vestra sperabamus
humiliare, &c.*

In English thus:

The Letters
of the Bi-
shops to
Becket.

"Such troubles and perturbations as happned through
"the strangeness of your departure out of the Realm, we
"hoped by your humility and prudence should have been
"reduced again (Gods Grace working withal) into a peace-
"able tranquility. And it was no little joy to us, to hear
"so of you in those parts where you are conversant, how
"humbly you there behaved your self, nothing vaunting
"your self against your Prince and King, and that you at-

"tempt no risings or wrestlings against his Kingdom, but
"that you bear with much patience the burthen of poverty,
"and gave your self to Reading and Prayer, and to redeem
"the loss of your time spent, with fasting, watchings,
"and tears; and so, being occupied with spiritual studies,
"to tend and rise up to the perfection of Vertue, &c. But
"now, through the secret relation of certain, we hear (that
"we are are sorry of) that you have sent unto him a
"threatning Letter, wherein there is no salvation premised.
"In the which also ye pretend no intreating nor prayers for
"the obtaining of favour, neither do use any friendly man-
"ner in declaring what you write, but menacing with much
"austerity, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from
"the society of the Church. Which thing if you shall ac-
"complish with like severity, as in words ye threaten to
"do, you shall not only put us out of all hope of any peace,
"but also put us in fear of hatred and discord without mea-
"sure, and without all redress amongst us. But wisdom will
"consider before the end of things, labouring and indea-
"vouring to finish that which she wisely beginneth. There-
"fore your discretion shall do well diligently to forecast
"and consider whereto ye tend; what end may ensue there-
"of, and whereabouts ye go. Certes we (for our parts)
"hearing that we do hear, are discouraged from that we
"hoped for, which, before having some good comfort of
"tranquility to come, are cast from hope to despair: so
"that while one is drawn thus against another, almost
"there is no hope nor place left to make intreaty or suppli-
"cation. Wherefore writing to your Fatherhood, we
"exhort and counsel you by way of Charity, That you
"add not trouble to trouble, and heap injury upon injury:
"but that you so behave your self, that all menaces set a-
"side, ye rather give your self to Patience and Humility,
"and to yield your cause to the Clemency of God, and to
"the mercy of your Prince; and in so doing you shall heap
"coals of Charity upon the heads of many. Thus Charity
"shall be kindled, and that which menaces cannot do
"(by Gods help and good Mens counsel) pity peradven-
"ture and godliness shall obtain. Better it were to sustain
"Poverty, with praise, than in great promotions to be a
"common note to all Men. It is right well known unto all
"Men, how beneficial the King hath been unto you, from
"what baseness to what dignity he hath advanced you,
"and also into his own familiarity hath so much preferred
"you, that from the North Ocean to the Mount *Perimeus*
"he hath subdued all things to your authority: in so much
"that they were amongst all other accounted for Men right
"fortunate, whosoever could find any favour with you.

"And furthermore, lest that your estimation should be
"over matched by any Nobility, he (against the mind of
"his Mother, and of his Realm) hath placed and ratified
"you substantially in Ecclesiastical Dignity, and advanced
"you to this honour wherein ye stand: trusting through
"your help and counsel to Reign more safely and prosper-
"ously. Now, if he shall find disquietness, wherein he
"trusted to have quietness; what shall all Men say or think
"of you? What recompence or retribution shall this be
"thought to be for so many and great benefits taken?
"Therefore (if it shall please you) ye shall do well to fa-
"vour and spare your fame and estimation, and to overcome
"your Lord and Sovereign with Humility and Charity.
"Whereunto if our advertisement cannot move you; yet
"the love and fidelity you bear to the Bishop and Holy
"Church of *Rome* ought to incline you thereunto, and
"not to attempt any such thing, whereby the troubles of
"the Church our Mother may increase, or whereby her
"dolor may be augmented in the loss of them, whose dis-
"obedience now she doth bewail: For what if it so hap-
"pen through provocation, that the King (whom all his
"Subjects and Kingdoms obey) should relinquish the Pope,
"which God forbid, and should deny all obedience to
"him, as he denieth to the King help or aid against you?
"what inconvenience would grow thereof? And think you,
"he hath not great instigations, supplications, gifts, and
"many fair promises so to do? Yet he (notwithstanding)
"abideth firm hitherto in the rock, despising with a vali-
"ant mind all that the world can offer. This one thing
"feareth us, lest his mind (whom no worldly offers can
"affail, no glory, riches, nor treasure can overturn) only
"through indignation of unkindness be subverted. Which
"thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you fit

"sit down and sing the Song of the Lamentation of *Jeremy* and weep your belly full.

"Consider therefore, if it please you, and foresee well with your self, this purpose of yours, if it proceed, how hurtful and perillous it will be; not only to the Pope, and to the Holy Church of *Rome*, but also to your self most especially. But some peradventure about you, of haughty and high minded stoutness, more stout percase than wise, will not suffer you to take this way, but will give you contrary counsel, to prove rather and declare what ye are able to do against your Lord and Prince, and to practise against him and all his the uttermost of your power and authority, which power and authority of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearful; and to him that will not amend, terrible. Such counsel as this, some peradventure will whisper in your ear. But to these again this we say and answer for our King, whom notwithstanding to be without fault we do not affirm: but yet always, that he is ready to amend and make satisfaction, that we speak confidently and protest in his behalf.

"The King, appointed for the Lords annointed, provideth for the peace of his Subjects all that he is able: and therefore to the intent he may conserve this peace in his Churches and amongst his Subjects committed to him; he willet and requirith such Ordinances due to Kings, and exhibited to them before time, also to be exhibited to him. Wherein if there hath any contradiction sprung betwixt him and us, he being thereupon convented, and admonished from the Pope by the Reverend Bishops of *London* and *Hereford*, brast not out into any defiance, but meekly and humbly answered, That wherein soever the Church or any Ecclesiastical person can shew himself grieved, he would therein stand to the judgment of the Church of his Kingdom. Which also he is ready no less to perform indeed, thinking nothing more sweet unto him than to be admonished of his fault, if he have offended the Lord, and to reform the same; and not only to reform and amend his fault, but also to satisfie it to the uttermost, if the Law shall so require him. Wherefore, seeing he is so willing to recompence and satisfie the judgment of the Church in all things appertaining to the Church; refusing no order that shall be taken, but in all things submitting his neck to the yoke of Christ: with what right, by what Canon, or reason can you interdict him, or use Excommunication against him? It is a thing laudable and a virtue of great commendation in wise Men, wisely to go with judgment and reason, and not to be carried with puffs of hasty violence. Whereupon this is the only and common Petition of us all, that your Fatherly care will diligently provide for your flock and sheep committed to you, so that they miscarry not, or run to any ruine through any inconsiderate or too much heady counsel in you: but rather, through your softness and sufferance, they may obtain life, peace and security. It doth move us all, that we hear of late to be done by you against the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and the Dean of the same Church, prosperously, as some Men suppose; against whom you have given out the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation, before any question of their crime was; following therein, as seemeth more the heat of hastiness than the path of Righteousnes. This is a new order of judgment, unheard of yet to this day in our Laws and Canons, first to condemn a Man, and after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order lest you should hereafter attempt to exercise in like manner against our Sovereign and King, or against us and our Churches, and Parishes committed to us, to the detriment of the Pope, and the Holy Church of *Rome*, and to the no little confusion of us all; therefore we lay here against you, for our selves, the remedy of appellat-ion. And as before, openly in the publick face of the Church with lively voyce we appealed to the Pope for certain perils that might have happened: so now again in writing we appeal to the same, assigning the term of our appellation the day of the Lords Ascension. Most humbly and reverently beseeching your goodness, that you, taking a better way with you in this matter, will let your cause fall, sparing herein both the labours and charges, as well of your self, as ours also. And thus we wish you right well to fare, Reverend in the Lord.

The Rescript or Answer again of Thomas Becket to all his Suffragans, not obeying but confuting the counsel sent.

Fraternitatis vestre Scriptum (quod tamen prudentie vestre communi Concilio non facile credimus emanasse) nuper ex insperato suscipimus, &c.

Your brotherly Letters sent, albeit not by the whole assent of your wisdoms written, as I suppose, of late I received upon a sudden: the Contents whereof seem to contain more sharpness than solace. And would to God they proceeded more of sincere zeal of godliness, or affection of charity, than of disobedience or froward wilfulness. For charity seeketh not the things that be her own, but which appertain to Jesus Christ. It had been your duty (if there be truth in the Gospel, as most undoubtedly there is) and if you would faithfully have accomplished his business whose person you represent, rather to have feared him, which can cast both body and soul to Hell; than him whose power extendeth no further than to the body; rather to have obeyed God than Man, rather your Father than your Master or Lord, after the example of him who was to his Father obedient unto the death; which died for us, leaving us example to follow his steps. Let us die therefore with him, and lay down our lives for the deliverance of his Church out of the yoke of bondage, and tribulation of the oppressor. Which Church he hath founded, and whose liberty he hath procured with his own proper blood: lest if we shall do otherwise, it may happily fall upon us which is written in the Gospel; *Who so loveth his own life more than me, is not worthy of me.* This ye ought to know, That if it be right which your Captain commandeth, your duty requireth to obey his will; if not, ye ought then rather to obey God than Men.

One thing I will say (if I may be so bold to tell it unto you) I have now suffered and abstained a long space, waiting if the Lord had given you to take a better heart unto you, which have turned cowardly your backs in the day of battel; or if any of you would have returned again to stand like a wall for the House of *Israel*; at least if he had but shewed himself in the field, making but the countenance of a Warrior against them, which cease not daily to infect the Lamb of God, I waited, and none came; I suffered, and none rose up; I held my peace, and none would speak; I dissembled, and none would stand with me in like semblance: wherefore seeing I see no better towardness in you, this remaineth only, to enter action of complaint against you, and to cry against mine Enemies; Rise up, O Lord, and judge my cause, revenge the blood of the Church which is wasted and oppressed. The pride of them which hate his liberty riseth up ever, neither is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God, Brethren beloved, there were in you any mind or affection to defend the liberty of the Church; for she is builded upon a sure Rock, that although she be shaken, yet she cannot be overthrown. And why then seek ye to to confound me? Nay rather your selves in me, than me in you? A Man which hath taken upon me all the peril, have sustained all the rebukes, have sustained all the injuries, have suffered also for you all, to very banishment.

And so it was expedient, one to suffer for that Church, that thereby it might be released out of servitude. These things discuss you simply with your selves, and weigh the matter. Attend I say diligently in your minds for your parts, that God for his part removing from your eyes all Majesty of Rule and Impery, as he is no acceptor of persons, may take from your hearts the veil, that ye may understand and see what ye have done, what ye intend to do, and what ye ought to do. Tell me which of you all can say, I have taken from him, since the time of my promotion, either Ox or Ass. If I have defrauded him of any penny, if I have mis-judged the cause of any Man wrongfully, or if by the detriment of any person I have sought mine own gain, let him complain, and I will restore him fourfold: And if I have not offended you, what then is the cause that ye thus leave and forsake me in the cause of God? Why bend ye so your selves against me in such a cause, that there is none more special belonging to the Church?

Brethren, seek not to confound your selves and the Church of God (so much as in you is) but turn to me, and you

Scriptures in words rightly alledged, but fallily applied. I deny your minor, M. Becket.

The Church of Christ cannot be overthrown: Ergo, Becket ought not to be resisted. Servitude and liberty of the Church wrongfully defined. The words of holy Scripture clearly applied.

The commendation of King Henry the Second, for his meekness and moderation.

Turn to thee? Nay turn thou to the Lord and thou shalt be saved.

The foul of the Church is the liberty of the Church, faith Becket.

Unbecom- ing words of high presumption. Christ is not judged in the person of any traitor.

Conscience made where is none.

But he leaveth out here the manner of his coming to the court and the steadiness of his behavior.

you shall be safe. For the Lord saith, *I will not the death of a sinner, but rather he should convert and live.* Stand with me manfully in the War, take your armor and your shield to defend me. Take the sword of the word of the mighty God, that we altogether may withstand more valiantly the malignant enemies, such as go about to take away the soul of the Church, which is her liberty: without which liberty she hath no power against them that seek to inroach to their inheritance, the possession of Gods Sanctuary. If ye will hear and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with us all in the defence of the liberty of his Church. Otherwise if ye will not, the Lord judge betwixt me and you, and require the confusion of his Church at your hands. Which Church, whether the world will or no, standeth firmly in the word of the Lord, whereupon she is builded, and ever shall, till the hour come that she shall pass from this world to the Father; for the Lord ever doth support her with his hand.

Wherefore to return to the matter: Brethren, remember well with your selves (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought unto, and the Church of God also while I was in *England*, at my departing out of *England*, and after my departure from thence also; in what danger it standeth at this present day; but especially at that time, when as at *Northampton* Christ was judged again in my person, before the Judgment-seat of the high Prefident. Whoever heard the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (being troubled for injuries done to him and to his Church, and appealing to the Pope of *Rome*) to be judged, condemned, appealed, and put to his Sureties, and that of his own Suffragans? Where is this Law seen, or the Authority (nay rather perversity) of this Canon heard off? And why yet shame ye not at this your enormity? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confusion work in you repentance, and repentance drive you to due satisfaction before God and Men? For these and such other injuries done to God and to his Church, and to me for Gods cause (which with a good Conscience I ought to suffer, because that without danger of soul I ought not to dissemble them) I chuse rather to absent my self for a season, and to dwell quietly in the House of my Lord, than in the Tabernacle of sinners, until the time that (their iniquity being compleat) the hearts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the same shall be opened. And these injuries were the cause both of my appeal from the King, and of my departure from thence, which ye do term to be sudden. But if ye will speak the truth which ye know, it ought no less than to be sudden: lest (being fore-knownn) it might have been prevented and stopped. And as God turned the matter, it happened for the best, both for the honour of the King, and better safety of them, which (seeking my harm) should have brought slander to the King. If such troubles followed upon my departing as ye say, let them be imputed to him which gave cause, the fault is in the worker, not in the departer; in him that pursueth, not in him that avoideth injuries. What would ye more? I presented my self to the Court, declaring both the causes of my coming and of my Appeal, declaring also the wrongs and injuries done to me and to my Church, and yet could have no answer: neither was there any that laid any thing against me, before we came to the King. Thus while we stood waiting in the Court, whether any would come against me or not, they sent to my Officials; charging them not to obey me in my Temporalities, nor to owe any service to me or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the Court, my Church was spoiled; we and they about us deprived of our goods, Outlawed both of the Clergy and of the Laity, Men, Women, and Infants; the goods of the Church, that is, the patrimony of the Crucifix, confiscate, and part of the money turned to the Kings use, part to your own Coffers. Brother Bishop of *London*, if this be true that we hear of you, and that to the use of your own Church ye convert this money; we charge you and require you forthwith by virtue of obedience, that within forty days after the sight of these Letters, all delay and excuse set aside, ye restore again within the time aforesaid, all such goods and parcels as you have taken away: for it is unmeet and contrary to all Law, one Church to be enriched with the spoil of another Church. If ye stand upon the authority that set you a work, you must understand, that in matters concerning the Church goods, he can give no lawful authority, which committeth violent injury, &c.

What authority and what Scripture giveth this Prerogative to Princes upon Church goods, which you would attribute to them? What? will they lay for them the remedy of Appeal? God forbid. It were evil with the Church of God, if when the Sacrilegious extortioner hath violently invaded other Mens goods (especially the goods of the Church) he should after defend him with the title of Appeal, &c.

Do not Brethren so confound altogether the right of the Church and of the Temporal Regiment: for these two are much different, one borrowing his authority of the other. Read the Scriptures, and you shall find what and how many Kings have perished for taking upon them the Priestly Office. Therefore let your discretion provide, lest for this your doing Gods punishment light upon you; which if it come, it will be hard for you very easily to escape. Provide also and see to your King, whose favour ye prefer before the wealth and profit of the Church; lest it happen (which God forbid) that he doth perish with all his House, after the example of them which for the like crime were plagued. And if you cease not off from that ye begin, with what Conscience can I dissemble or forbear, but must needs punish you? Let him dissemble with you who list (having authority so to do, truly I will not) there shall be no dissimulation found in me. And where you write in your Letters concerning my promotion, that it was against the voice of the whole Realm, and that the Church did reclaim against it; what should I say to you, but that which ye know right well; The lie, which the mouth doth willingly speak, killeth the soul? but especially the words of a Priests mouth ought ever to go with verity. As touching this matter, I appeal to your own Conscience whether the form of my Election stood not fully with the consent of them all to whom the Election belonged, having also the assent of the Prince by his Son, and of them which were sent thereto. And if there were some that repugned the same, he that was troubled and is guilty, let him speak.

Ye say moreover, That I was exalted and promoted from a base and low degree to this dignity by him. I grant that I came of no Royal or Kingly blood: yet notwithstanding I had rather be in the number of them, whom vertue of mind than of birth maketh noble. Peradventure I was born in a poor Cottage, of poor Parentage; and yet through Gods clemency, which knoweth how to work mercy with his servants, and which cherisheth the humble and low things, to confound the high and mighty, in this my poor and low estate, before I came to the Kings service, I had abundantly and wealthily to live withal (as ye know) amongst my Neighbors and Friends. And *David* even from the Sheepfold was taken up and made a King; *Peter* of a Fisher was made a Prince of the Church; who, for his blood being shed for the name of Christ, deserved to have in Heaven a Crown, and in Earth name and renown: would to God we could do the like! We be the successors of *Peter*, and not of Kings and Emperors.

And where ye seem to charge me (by insinuation) with the blot of ingratitude: Thus I answer, There is no offence capital or infamous, unless it proceed from the heart and intention. As if a Man commit a murder unwillingly, although he be called a Murderer, yet he is not thereby punishable: and so, although I owe my duty and service with reverence to my King, yet I have forborn him as my Lord, if I have warned him, and talked with him Fatherly and gently as with a Son, and in talking with him could not be heard: if therefore, I say, being enforced thereunto, and against my will, I do exercise upon him the censure of due severity, in so doing I suppose I make rather with him than against him, and rather deserve at his hand thanks for my correction, than note or suspicion of unkindness or punishment for the fact. Sometimes a Man against his will receiveth a benefit. As when necessity causeth a Man to be restrained from doing that which he ought not to do: he that doth so restrain him, though he stop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his souls health. Another thing, that defendeth us from ingratitude, is our Father and Patron Christ, which in that he is our Father, to whom we as Children owe obedience, then are we bound as Children by necessity to obey his commandment, in warning the evil-doer, in correcting the disobedient, and in bridling the obstinate: which if we do not, we run into danger to have his blood required at our hands. Ye set forth likewise and shew, what loss we thereby may sustain of our temporalities. But ye speak no word of the loss of our souls. Moreover,

Becket seemeth here more skilful of his Math-Book than of the Book of holy Scriptures, otherwise he might see it no new thing in the old Law for Kings to deprive Priests and to place whom they would. Kings in the old Law did not intermeddle with the Priests Office in such things that were forbidden: but yet Kings were Officers over Priests to see that they did amiss. If ye mean of *Adam* and *David* in the Old Testament, then we deny your assertion.

They be the successors and sons of Saints, not that hold the places of Saints, but that do the works of Saints. *Item*.

If the King had been an Adulterer or Tyrant against the true doctrine of preaching of Christ, then might this reason serve, and God more to be obeyed than man. Now where did Becket learn that the King in his Temporal right was not to be obeyed? Take heed ye men all, if ye open that door. This John was called a Schismatic, because he took part with Reginald Archbishop of Cullen and the Emperor against the Pope.

Clement's Decree.

Divers ways of Excommunication.

The Council speaketh of such which he worthily Excommunicated. This Gregory otherwise called Hildebrand was he that first took away Priests marriage, condemning all Priests for Fornicators which had Wives.

Moreover, as concerning the departure of the King from the homage of the Church of Rome which in your Letters ye seem to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I say, that the Devotion or Faith of our King should ever swerve away from the obedience and reverence of the Church of Rome, for any temporal commodity or incommmodity: which thing to do is very damnable in any private Subject, much more in the Prince which draweth many other with him: therefore God forbid, that ever any faithful Man should once think so hainous a deed. And you according to your direction take heed lest the words of your mouth infect any person or persons therein, occasioning them by your words to such dangers and damnable matter, like to the golden Cup which is called the Cup of Babylon, which for the outward gold no Man will refuse to drink of, but after they have drunk thereof, they are poisoned.

And where ye lay to my charge for the suspending of the Reverend Father the Bishop of Salisbury, and for Excommunicating of John Dean of the same Church for a Schismatic, (by knowledge and process had of the matter) to this I answer: That both these are justly and condignly Excommunicate, and if ye understand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of judgments, ye will say no less. For this standeth with good authority (as ye know) that in manifest and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requisite. Perpend with your selves diligently, what the Bishop of Salisbury did concerning the Deanery, after that he was prohibited of the Pope and of us, under pain of Excommunication: and then shall you better understand, that upon so manifest disobedience, suspension did rightly follow, as ye read in the Decree of S. Clement, saying, *If they do not obey their Prelates, all manner of persons of what order so ever they be, whether they shall be Princes of high or low degree, and all other people, shall not only be infamed, but also banished from the Kingdom of God, and the fellowship of the faithful.* As concerning John of Oxford, this we say, That Excommunication cometh divers ways. Some are Excommunicate by the Law denouncing them Excommunicate. Some by the sentence of the Prelate. Some by communicating with them which are Excommunicated. Now be that hath fallen into this damnable Herefie, in participating with Schismatics, whom the Pope hath Excommunicate, he draweth to himself the spot and leprosie of like Excommunication. Wherefore, seeing he (contrary to the Popes express commandment and ours, being charged under pain of Excommunication to the contrary) took upon him the Deanery of Salisbury, we have denounced him, and hold him Excommunicate, and all his doings we disannul by the authority of the eighth Synod, saying, *If any Man either privily or aparty shall speak, or communicate with him that is Excommunicated, he draweth unto himself the punishment of like Excommunication.* And now forsomuch as you, Brother, (Bishop of London) which ought to know that saying of Gregory the Seventh; *If any Bishop shall consent to the Fornication of Priests, Deacons, &c. within his Precinct, for reward, favour, or petition, or doth not by authority of his Office correct the vice, let him be suspended from his Office.* And again, that saying of Pope Leo, which is this; *If any Bishop shall institute or consecrate such a Priest as shall be unwet and inconvenient, if he scape with the loss of his own proper dignity, yet he shall lose the power of instituting any more, &c.*

Therefore, forsomuch, I say, as you, knowing this, have double wise offended against the Sentence of these Canons, we command you, and in the vertue of obedience injoin you, that if it be so, within three months after the receipt hereof, you will submit and offer your self to due correction and satisfaction to the council of our fellow Bishops, for these your so great excesses; lest others through your example run into the like offence, and we be constrained to proceed against you with severer sentence.

Finally (in closing up your Letter) where ye bring in for your appellation against me, a safeguard for you, which rather indeed is an hinderance to you, that we should not proceed against the invaders of the Church goods, nor against the King in like censure, as we have done against the Bishop of Salisbury (as ye say) and his Dean. To this I Answer, God forbid that we have, or else should hereafter proceed or do any thing against the King or his Land, or against you or your Churches, inordinately or otherwise

than is convenient. But what if you shall exceed in the same or like transgression, as the Bishop of Salisbury hath done? Think ye then your appellation shall help you from the discipline of our severity, that ye shall not be suspended? Mark ye diligently whether this be a lawful appeal, and what is the form thereof. We know that every one that appealeth, either doth it in his own name, or in the name of another: if in his own, either it is for some grievance inferred already, or else for that he feared after to be inferred against him. Now concerning the first, I am sure there is no grievance that you can complain of as yet (God be thanked) that you have received at my hand, for the which you should appeal from me: neither have you (I trust) any cause special against me so to do. If ye do it for fear of any thing that is to come, lest I should trouble you and your Churches: consider whether this be the fear that ought to fall in constant Men, or whether this be the Appeal which ought to suspend or stay our power and authority that we have upon you and your Churches. It is thought therefore of wise Men (and we also judge no less) your Appeal to be of no force.

First, for that it hath not the right form of a perfect appellation, and also because it is not consonant to reason, and lacketh order and help of the Law.

Furthermore, if your appellation be in another Mans name, either it is for the King (as most like it is) or for some other. If it be for the King, then you ought first to understand, that appellations are wont to be made to repel, and not to infer injury: or to release such as be oppressed, that they should not be oppressed any more.

Wherefore if any Man shall enter any appellation (not trusting to the surety of his cause, but to delay the time, that sentence be not given upon him) that appellation is not to be received. For what state will there be of the Church, if the liberty thereof being taken away, the goods of the Church spoiled, the Bishops driven from their places, or at least not received with full restitution of their goods, the invaders and spoilers thereof may defend themselves by appealing, thereby to save themselves from the penalty of their desert?

What a ruine of the Church will this be? See what ye have done, and what ye say. Be you not the Vicars of Christ representing him in Earth? Is it not your Office to correct and bridle ill-doers, whereby they may cease to persecute the Church? And is it not enough for them to be fierce and to rage against the Church, but that you should take their part, setting your selves against us, to the destruction of the Church? Who ever heard of so monstrous doings? Thus it shall be heard and said of all Nations and Countries, That the suffragans of the Church of Canterbury (which ought to stand with their Metropolitan unto death in defence of the Church) now go about by the Kings commandment, so much as in them doth lie, to suspend his authority, lest he should exercise his discipline of correction upon them that rebel against the Church. This one thing I know, that you cannot sustain two sorts of persons at once, both to be the Appeal makers, and to be appealed up your selves. You be they which have made the appellation, you be they against whom the appellation is made. Is there any more Churches then one, and the body of the same? And how meet were it than, that you, being the members of the Church, should hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, Brethren, lest it may be said of us; These be the Priests which have said, Where is the Lord? And having the Law do not know the Law. Furthermore, this I suppose you (being discreet Men) are not ignorant of, that such as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, unless the matter of their appellation either belongeth to themselves, or except special commandment force them thereunto, or else unless they take another Mans cause upon them. First, That it belongeth nothing unto you, it is plain, forsomuch as the contrary rather pertaineth unto your duty; that is, to punish and to correct all such as rebel against the Church. And if he which subverteth the liberty of the Church, and invadeth the goods thereof (converting them to his own use) be not heard appealing for his own defence, much less is another to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this case neither he can appeal for himself, nor yet command you so to do; so neither may you receive the commandment to appeal for him.

Discussing of a true appellation.

The form of a true appellation.

One person cannot both be the appeal-maker and the party appealed.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, as touching the taking of another Mans cause or business upon you: to this I say and affirm, That ye ought in no manner of wise so to do, specially seeing the matter pertaineth to the oppression of the Church, and whereupon insueth great damage to the same.

Wherefore seeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receive any such commandment, nor yet to take upon you any such cause as that is, your appeal is neither to be heard, nor standeth with any Law. Is this the devotion and consolation of brotherly love which you exhibit to your Metropolitan, being for you in exile? God forgive you this clemency. And how now? Will ye look for your Letters and Messengers to be gently received here of us? Neither do I speak this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours, or that we have done any thing inordinately against the person of the King, or against his Land, or against the persons of the Church, or intend (by Gods mercy) so to do. And therefore we say briefly and affirm constantly, That our Lord the King cannot complain of any wrong or injury to be done unto him, if he (being often called upon by Letters and Messengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confess his trespass, nor yet come to any satisfaction for the same) have the censure of severity by the Pope and us laid upon him: for no Man can say that he is unjustly intreated, whom the Law doth justly punish. And briefly to conclude, know you this for certain, That Extortioners, invaders, detainers of the Church Goods, and subverters of the liberties thereof, neither have any authority of the Law to maintain them, neither doth their appealing defend them, &c.

Though the Popes Law will not defend them, yet the Law of the Scripture will and doth.

A brief Censure upon the former Rescript of Becket to his Suffragans, in the page before, with a general resolution of the reasons therein contained.

IF the King of England had been an Idolater, Covetous, and Adulterer, an Incestuous person, a murderer, with such like; then the zeal of this Archbishop (threatning the King and such as took his part) had deserved praise in this Epistle, and the Scripture would have borne him out therein. For these and such causes should Bishops prosecute the authority of the Gospel against all persons. But the matter standing only upon Church Goods, liberty (or rather licentiousness of Priests) making of Deans, Titles of Churches, superiority of Crowning the King, with such other: to stand so stiff in these, is not to defend the Church, but to rebel against the King. Again, if the principles, which he here groundeth upon, were true; to wit, that the Pope were to be obeyed before Princes, that the liberty of the Church standeth upon the immunity of Priests exempted from Princes Laws, or upon ample possessions of the Church: or that the Popes Law ought to prevail in all foreign Countries, and to bind all Princes in their own Dominions, or that the sentence of the Pope and his Popelings (how or by what affection soever it is pronounced) may stand by the undoubted sentence of God: then all the arguments of this Epistle do proceed and conclude well. But if they stand not ratified upon Gods Word, but tottering upon Mans traditions; then whatsoever he inferreth or includeth thereupon (his assumption being false) cannot be true, according to the School saying: One inconvenience being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow thereupon. So in this Epistle it happeneth, as is above noted, that the major of this Man is true, but the minor is clean false, and to be denied.

The Letter of Matild the Emperess, and Mother of the King, to Thomas Becket.

The Letter of the Emperess to Becket.

MT Lord the Pope commanded me, and upon the forgiveness of my sins enjoined me, That I should be a mediator and means of peace and concord between my Son and you, by reconciling of your self to him, whereunto (as you know) you requested me. Wherefore the earnestest and with more affection (as well for the divine honour as for holy Church) I took the enterprise upon me. But this by the way, I assure you, that the King, his Barons, and

Council, taketh it grievously, that you, whom he intirely loved, honoured and made chiefeft in all this Realm, to the intent to have more comfort and better trust in you, should thus (as the report is) rebel, and stir his people against him. Yea and further, that as much as in you lyeth, you went about to disinherit him, and deprive him of his Crown. Upon the occasion whereof, I sent unto you our trusty and familiar servant Lawrence Arch-deacon, by whom I pray you that I may understand your mind herein, and good will toward my Son, and how you mean to behave your self (if my Prayer and Petition may be heard of him in your behalf) toward his Grace. But this one thing I assure you of, that unless it be through your great humility and moderation, evidently in you appearing, you cannot obtain the favour of the King. Herein what you mean to do, I pray you send me word by your proper Letters and Messengers.

But to proceed further in the order of the History. After these Letters sent to and fro, the year of our Lord 1169, which was the fifteenth year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, the King misdoubting and fearing with himself, that the Archbishop would proceed (or exceed rather) in his Excommunication against his own person (to prevent the mischief) made his appeal to the presence of the Pope, requiring to have certain Legates sent down from Rome from the Popes side, to take up the matter between the Archbishop and him; requiring moreover that they might also be absolved that were interdicted. Whereupon two Cardinals, being sent from Alexander the Pope with Letters to the King, came to Normandy: where they appointed the Archbishop to meet them before the King upon Saint Martyns day. But the Archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after, neither would go any further than to Grisortium, where the two Cardinals and the Archbishop, with other Bishops convening together, had a certain intreaty of peace and reconciliation: but it came to no conclusion. The contents of which Intreaty or Action, because it is sufficiently contained in the Cardinals Letters, who were called Gulielmus and Orbo, written to the Pope, it shall require no further labour, but to shew out the words of the Letter, where the sum of the whole may appear: The words of the Letter be these.

The Copy of the Epistle written and sent by two Cardinals to the Pope, concerning the matter of the Archbishop Becket.

William and Orbo, Cardinals of the Church of Rome, to Alexander the Pope, &c. Coming to the Land of the King of England, we found the Controversie betwixt him and the Archbishop of Canterbury more sharp and vehement than we would. For the King, and the greater part of them about him, said, That the Archbishop had stirred up the French King grievously against him; and also the Earl of Flanders his Kinsman (who bare no displeasure to him before) he made his open adversary, ready to war against him, as is by diverse evidences most certain. Thus when we came to Cadomus first to the Kings speech, we gave the Letters of your Fatherhood to his hands: which after that he had received and considered (bringing forth withal other Letters received from you before, something divers and altering from these which he received of us) he was moved and stirred with no little indignation; saying, That the Archbishop, after our departure from you, had received of you other contrary Letters, by the virtue whereof he was exempted from our judgment, so that he should not be compelled to answer us. Moreover, the said King to us added and affirmed, and so did the Bishops there present, testifying the same, That concerning the old and ancient customs of his Progenitors (whereof complaint was made to you) all that for the most part was false and untrue which was intimate to you; offering further to us, That if there were any such customs or Laws in his time, that seemed prejudicial or disagreeable to the Statutes of the Church he would willingly be content to revoke and disannul the same. Whereupon we with other Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots of the Land hearing the King so reasonable, labored,

Becket stirring up the French King against the King of England.

Becket stirr'd up the French King against the King of England.

laboured by all the means we might, that the King should not utterly break from us, but rather should incline to us to have the matter brought before us betwixt him and the forenamed Archbishop. By reason whereof, we directed out our own Chaplains with Letters unto him, appointing him both time and place where safely he might meet with us in the Feast of Saint Martin. Nevertheless he, pretending certain excuses, made his Dilatories, driving off the time from the day of Saint Martin to the Octaves following, which thing stirred the Kings heart more than is to be thought.

A communication between Becket and the Cardinals.

Thus although we offered to the Archbishop safe coming, yet when he refused to meet us in the borders of the King, we, to satisfy his mind, condescended to meet him within the Land of the French King, in the place where he himself appointed, because there should be no let in us, whereby to stop his profit. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort him, all that we could, to submit and humble himself to his Sovereign and King, who had heaped him with such benefits and dignities; whereby matter might be given us to further occasion of reconciling them together. He, being thus moved and exhorted by us, departed aside to consult with his council upon the matter. At length after counsel taken, he cometh again, answering in this manner: that he would submit and humble himself to the King, *Salvo honore Dei, & Ecclesie libertate, salva etiam honestate persone sue & possessionibus Ecclesiarum: & amplius, sua & suorum in omnibus salva iustitia, &c.* That is, *Saving the honour of God, and liberty of the Church, saving also the honesty of his person, and possessions of Churches: and moreover, saving the justice of him and of all his in all things, &c.* After which communication had amongst us, we moved and required him more instantly, that he would come to the specialities, when as yet he had brought nothing in, either which was certain or particular. Likewise we demanded of him, if he would, in all such things contained and comprehended in our Letters, stand and submit himself to our Letters, so as the King and the Bishops before were contented to do. To the which he answering again, said, That he had received from you a commandment, not to answer before he and all his were restored full to all their possessions; and then he would so proceed in the matter, according as he should receive commandment from the Sea Apostolical.

Thus we breaking off communication, seeing that he neither would stand to judgment, nor come to conformity, thought to make relation thereof to the King, and so did: declaring that which he had expressed to us; yet not uttering all, but keeping back a great part of that which we had heard and seen. Which when the King and his Nobles had understanding of, he affirmed to us again; that he therein was cleared so much the more, for that the Archbishop would not stand to their judgment, nor abide their trial. After much heaviness and lamentation of the King, the Archbishop, Bishops and Abbats of the Realm requiring of us, whether we had any such power, by virtue of our commission, to withstand him and proceed against him; and perceiving that our authority would not serve thereunto, and fearing lest the foresaid Archbishop, refusing all order of judgment, would work again disquietness to some Noble personages of the Realm: and seeing our authority could not extend so far to help them against him (taking a consultation among themselves) agreed together with one assent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the term of their Appeal.

¶ And this is the Epistle of these two Cardinals sent to the Pope: wherein may sufficiently appear all the discourse and manner of that assembly (although particularly every thing be not expressed) concerning the talk betwixt the Cardinals and the Archbishop. As when that William (who of the two Cardinals was the more eloquent) amongst other communication had reasoned long with him as concerning the peace of the Church: which Becket said he preferred above all things. Well then (saith the Cardinal) seeing all this contention between the King and you riseth upon certain Laws and customs to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the Church so much: then what say you? Will you renounce your Bishoprick, and the King shall renounce his customs? The peace of the Church

Becket loveth better his Bishoprick than the peace of the Church, for all this say talk.

now lyeth in your hands, either to retain or to let go; what say you? To whom he answereth again, That the proportion was not like. For I, saith he (saving the honour of my Church and my person) cannot renounce my Bishoprick. Contrary, it standeth the King upon, for his souls health and honour to renounce these his ordinances and customs. Which thing he thus proved; because the Pope had condemned those customs, and he likewise with the Church of Rome had done the same, &c.

The talk between the French King, the King of England, and Becket.

After the Cardinals were returned, the French King seeing the King of England disquieted and solicitous to have peace (or at least wise pretending to set an agreement between them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French King made himself as umpire between them. The King of England, hearing that the Archbishop would commit himself to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his presence. Whereupon, many being there present, the Archbishop, prostrating himself at the Kings feet, declared unto him kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissention rose between them, unto his own arbitrement; adding thereto (as he did before) *Salvo honore Dei*; That is, *Saving the honour of God*. The King (as is said before) being greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffness of the Man sticking so much to this word, *Salvo honore, &c.* was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a Man proud and stubborn, and also charging him with sundry and great benefits bestowed upon him, as a person unkind, and forgetting what he had so gently done and bestowed upon him.

Becket cometh in with his old addition. *Salvo honore Dei*. Becket charged with unkindness.

And speaking to the French King there present: See, Sir, (if it please you, saith the King of England) whatsoever displeaseth this Man, that he saith to be contrary to the honour of God. And so by this means he will vindicate and challenge to himself both that is his and mine also. And yet notwithstanding, for that I will not seem to do any thing contrary or prejudicial to Gods honour, this I offer him: There have been Kings in England before, both of greater and less puissance than I am; Likewise there have been Bishops of Canterbury many both great and holy Men: What the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors before him hath done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors before me, let him do the same to me and I am content. They that stood by, hearing these words of the King, cried all with one voice, *The King hath debased himself enough to the Bishop*. The Archbishop staying a little at this with silence, *What*, saith the French King to him, *my Lord Archbishop, will you be better than those holy Men? will ye be greater than Peter? What stand you doubting? Here now have you peace and quietness put in your own hands, if ye will take it.* To this the Archbishop answered again: Truth it is (saith he) my predecessors before me were much both better and greater than I, and of them every one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet something they did pluck up and correct, which seemed adverse and repugnant against Gods honour. For if they had taken all together away, no such occasion then had been left for any Man to raise up this fire of temptation now against us, as is here raised to prove us withal; that we, being so proved with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as we are of their labour and travel. And though some of them have been slack, or exceeded in their duty doing, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

The Kings offer to Becket both chasteable and reasonable.

The words of the French King.

Peter, when he denied Christ, we therefore rebuke him; but when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore because he could not find in his conscience to consent unto that he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he; by reason thereof he lost his life. By such like oppressions the Church hath always grown. Our fore-fathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honour of Christ, therefore they suffered. And shall I, to have the favour of one Man, suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed? The Nobles

This major if it had been joynt with a good minor, had made a good argument.

Ex Quadri-
lgo.

Nobles standing by (hearing him thus speak) were greatly grieved with him; noting in him both arrogancy and wilfulness, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But specially one among the rest was most grieved, who there openly protested; that seeing the Archbishop so refused the counsel and request of both the Kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them; but as the Kingdom of England had rejected him, so the Realm of France should not receive him.

Alanus Herbertus, and certain other of his Chaplains that committed to story the doings of Becket, do record (whether truly or no I cannot say) That the French King sending for him, as one much forrowing and lamenting the words that he had spoken, at the coming of Becket did prostrate himself at his feet, confessing his fault, in giving counsel to him in such a cause (pertaining to the honour of God) to relent therein and to yield to the pleasure of Man: wherefore, declaring his repentance, he desired to be absolved thereof. So that after this, the French King and Becket were great friends together; inasmuch that King Henry sending to the King to intreat him, and desire him that he would not support nor maintain his enemy within his Realm, the French King utterly denied the Kings request, taking part rather with the Archbishop than with him.

{ Anno }
{ 1170 }

Besides these quarrels and grudges betwixt the King and the Archbishop above mentioned, there followed yet moreover another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited between the King and Becket, the King of England returning again from Normandy into England (which was the year of our Lord 1170. and the sixteenth year of his Reign) about Midsummer, kept his Court of Parliament at Westminster; in the which Parliament he (through the assent both of the Clergy and the Lords Temporal) caused his Son Henry to be crowned King. Which Coronation was done by the hands of Robert Archbishop of York, with the assistance of other Bishops ministering to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joselin of Salisbury, Hugo of Duresme, and Walter of Rochester. By reason whereof Becket of Canterbury, being there neither mentioned nor called for, took no little displeasure; and so did Lodowick the French King, hearing that Margaret his Daughter was not also Crowned with her Husband: whereupon he, gathering a great Army, forthwith marched into Normandy. But the matter was soon composed by the King of England, who sending his Son unto him in Normandy, intreated there and concluded peace with him, promising that his Son should be Crowned again, and then his Daughter should be Crowned also. But the Archbishop not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent unto the Pope, complaining of these four Bishops, especially of the Archbishop of York; who durst be so bold in his absence, and without knowledge of his licence, to intermeddle to Crown the King, being a matter proper and peculiar to his jurisdiction. At the instance of whom, the Pope sent down the sentence of Excommunication against the Bishop of London. The other three Bishops with the Archbishop of York he suspended, whose Sentence and Letters thereof, for avoiding prolixity, I here omit.

The Bishop
of London
Excommu-
nicated,
with four
other Bi-
shops sus-
pended.

Besides these foresaid Bishops Excommunicated, divers other Clerks also of the Court he cited to appear before him, by virtue of his large Commission which he gat from the Pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reason of their benefices. And some he commanded in virtue of obedience to appear, in pain of forfeiting their Orders and Benefices. Of which when neither fort would appear, he cursed them openly. And also some Lay-men of the Court and the Kings familiars (as intruders and violent with-holders of Church goods) he accused; as Richard Lucy, and Joselin Balliot, and Ralph Brock which took the Bells and goods that belonged to the Church of Canterbury; and Hugh Sentclear, and Thomas, the Son of Bernard, and all that should hereafter take any Church goods without his consent; so that almost all the Court was accused either by name, or as partakers.

The cause
of the Kings
wrath a-
gainst Bec-
ket.

This being done, the Archbishop of York with the foresaid Bishops resorted to the King with a grievous complaint, declaring how miserably their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandment. The King, hearing this, was highly moved, as no marvel was. But what remedy? The time of the ruine of the Pope was not

yet come; and what Prince then might withstand the injurious violence of that Romish Potestate?

In the mean season the French King for his part, his Clergy and Courtiers likewise slack no occasion to incite and sollicit Alexander the Pope against the King of England to Excommunicate him also: seeing thereby and thinking to have some vantage against the Realm. Neither was the King ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply some agreement of reconciliation. At length came down from the Pope two Legates (the Archbishop of Rotbomage and the Bishop of Navern) with direction and full commission either to drive the King to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes censures out of the Church. The King understanding himself to be in greater straits than he could avoid (at length through the mediation of the French King and of other Prelates and great Princes) was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the Archbishop, whom he received both to his favour, and also permitted and granted him free return to his Church again. Concerning his possessions and Lands of the Church of Canterbury, although Becket made great labour therefore, yet the King (being then in Normandy) would not grant him them, before he should repair to England, to see how he would there agree with his Subjects.

Thus peace after a sort concluded between the King and him, the Archbishop, after six years of his banishment, returned to England, where he was right joyfully received of the Church of Canterbury; albeit of Henry the young King, he was not so greatly welcomed. In so much that coming up to London to the King, he was returned back to Canterbury, and there bid to keep his House. Roger Hoveden maketh mention in his Chronicle; That the Archbishop (upon Christmas-day) did Excommunicate Robert de Brooke for cutting of the tail of a certain Horse of his the day before. In the mean time the four Bishops before mentioned, whom the Archbishop had Excommunicate, sent to him, humbly desiring to be released of their censure. To whom when the Archbishop would not grant clearly and simply without cauteles and exceptions, they went over to the King, declaring unto him and complaining of their miserable state and uncourteous handling of the Archbishop. Whereupon the King conceived great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward the party. Inasmuch that he lamented oft and sundry times to them about him that (amongst so many that he had done for) there was none that would revenge him of his enemy. By occasion of which words, certain that were about the King (to the number of four) hearing him thus to complain and lament, addressed themselves in great heat of haste to satisfy the grieved mind and quarrel of their Prince: who within four days after the said Christmas-day (sailing over into England, and having a forward and prosperous wind in their journey, being in the deep of Winter) came to Canterbury, where Becket was commanded to keep. After certain advisements and consultations had among themselves: they pressed at length into the Palace where the Archbishop was sitting with his company about him: first to assay him with words, to see whether he would relent to the Kings mind, and come to some conformity. They brought to him (said they) commandment from the King, which whether he had rather openly there in presence, or secretly to be declared to him, they bad him chuse. Then the company being bid to avoid, as he sat alone, they said, You are commanded from the King beyond the Sea, to repair to the King his Son here, and to do your duty to him, swearing to him your fidelity for your Baronage and other things, and to amend those things wherein you have trespassed against him. Whereupon the Archbishop denying to swear, and perceiving their intent; called in his company again, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the Bishops which were Excommunicate for the Coronation of the King, whom they commanded in the Kings name he should absolve and set free again. The Archbishop answered, That he neither Suspended nor Excommunicated them, but the Pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they should resort to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter.

Then said Reginald one of the four; Although you in your own person did not Excommunicate them, yet through your instigation it was done. To whom the Archbishop said

Becket re-
turneth out
of banish-
ment.

Ex Regem
Hoveden.

The words
of the King
which were
the cause of
Becket's
death.

If the Pa-
pists will
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things by
seasons and
weather,
then must
they by that
reason con-
demn the
cause of
Becket, his
adversaries
having such
forward-
ness of wea-
ther in do-
ing their
feet.
The talk
between the
four Sould-
iers and
Thomas
Becket.

said again, And if the Pope (said he) rendering the injuries done unto me and my Church, wrought this revenge for me, I confess it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (said they) it appeareth well by your own words, that it pleaseth you right well (in contempt and contumely of the Kings Majesty) to sequester his Bishops from their ministry, who at the commandment of the King did service in the Coronation of his Son. And seeing you have so presumed thus to stand against the exaltation of this our Sovereign, our new King, it seemeth likely that you aspired to take his Crown from him, and so be exalted King your self. I aspire not (said he) to the Crown and Name of the King, but rather if I had four Crowns (to give him more) I would set them all upon him; such good will I do bear him, that only his Father the King excepted, there is none, whose honour I more tender and love. And as concerning the sequestering of those Bishops, this I give you to understand, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and assent of the King himself: to whom when I had made my complaint at the Feast of Mary Magdalene, of the wrong and injury done to me and my Church therein; he gave me his good leave to obtain at the Popes hand such remedy as I could, promising moreover his help to me in the same. What is this, quoth they, that thou sayst? Makest thou the King a Traitor, and a betrayer of the King his own Son? that when he had commanded the Bishops to crown his Son, he would give thee leave afterward to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had been better for you not to have accused so the King of this prodicion. The Archbishop said to Reginald, that he was there present at that time, and heard it himself. But that he denied, and swore it was not so. And think you (said they) that we the Kings Subjects will or ought to suffer this? And so approaching nearer him, they said he had spoken enough against his own head; whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatning words. Then said the Archbishop, I have since my coming over sustained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both my self, my Men, my Cattel, my Wives, and all other Goods; notwithstanding the King, writing over to his Son, required him that I should live in safety and peace, and now, beside all others, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reginald answering again, said, If there be any that worketh you any injury otherwise than right is, the Law is open, why do you not complain? To whom, said Becket, should I complain? To the young King, said they. Then said Becket, I have complained enough if that would help, and have sought for remedy at the Kings hands, so long as I could be suffered to come to his speech: but now seeing that I am kept from that, neither can find redress of so great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily sustain, nor can have the benefit of the law or reason; such right and law, as an Archbishop may have, that will I exercise, and let for no man. At these words one of them, burling out in exclamation, cried, He threatneth, he threatneth, What? will he interdict the whole Realm and us altogether? Nay, that he shall not, saith another, he hath interdicted too many already. And drawing more near to him, they protested and denounced him to have spoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And so departing in great fury, and with many high words, they rushed out of the doors; who, by the way returning to the Monks, charged them in the Kings Name, to keep him forth-coming, that he should not escape away. What, quoth the Archbishop, think ye, I will flee away? Nay, neither for the King, nor any man alive, will I stir one foot from you. No, say they, thou shalt not avoid though thou wouldst. And so they departing with many words, the Archbishop followeth them out of the Chamber door, crying after them, Here, here, here shall you find me, laying his hand upon his Crown.

The Names of these four soldiers above mentioned were these, the first Reginald Bareson, the second Hugh Mortewil, the third William Tracy, and the fourth Richard Brito; who, going to harness themselves, returned the same day again; but finding the Hall-door of the Palace of Canterbury shut against them, they went to an inward back Door leading into the Orchard; there brake they up a Window, and opened the Door, and so issued into the place. The Monks (being about Even-song time) had got the Archbishop into the Church; who being

perswaded by them, caused his Cross to be born before him, and through the Cloister, by a Door which was broken up for him, he proceeded into the Quire. The Harneis men following after, at length came to the Church-door, which door the Monks would have shut against them; but, as the story saith, the Archbishop would not suffer them. So they approaching into the Church, and the Archbishop meeting them upon the Stairs, there he was slain; every one of the four Souldiers striking him with his Sword into the Head; who afterward flying into the North, and at length, with much ado, obtained their Pardon of the Pope by the Kings procurement, as some stories record, went to Jerusalem.

Thus you have heard the Life and Death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be judged, let his own acts and facts declare. And albeit the Scripture ought to be the only rule to us to judge all things by, yet if any shall require further testimony, partly to satistie their minds therein, ye shall hear the judgments of certain men, in years and times almost as ancient as himself, what they write and affirm of him.

And first to begin with the testimony of one of his own Religion, and also not far (as it appeareth) from his own time, who, writing of his Martyrdom and Miracles, thus testifieth of the judgment and sentence of divers concerning his promotion and behaviour, the Chronicle being written in Latine, and having the name of the Author cut out, thus beginneth; *Quoniam vero multi, &c.* And in the first Book and eighth Chapter it followeth in this manner: *Nonnullis tamen idcirco promotionem ejus visum est fuisse minus canonicam, quod ad eam magis operata est regis instantia, quam cleri vel populi voto. Presumptionis quoque vel indiscretionis fuisse notatum est, quod qui remum tenere vix idoneus videbatur, primum gubernaculi locum suscepit, &c.* Et mox, *magis etiam secularia tum sapient, tum sanctum tantæ dignitatis fastigium non horrens tenuisse, sed ultionem ascendisse creditur. Aliter Dei amicus, Moses, &c.* With much more, as in Latin insueth, which for the English Reader here followeth translated. Divers notwithstanding there be, which as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to be Canonical. For that it was wrought rather by the instance of the King (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to his utility) than by the assent either of the Clergy, or of the People. Further, it is noted in him for a point of presumption, and lack of discretion, for that he, being scarce worthy to take the Oar in hand and play the Boardwain, would take upon him to sit at Helm, and guide the Ship; namely, in that Church, where the Covent, being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to have their Prelate taken out of the same profession. Whereas he, scant bearing the habit of a Clerk, and going in his changes and soft apparel, is more conversant among the delicate rufflers in the Court, favouring rather of worldly things, not refusing moreover, without any dread, to climb up to the high preferment of such an holy dignity, but rather willingly of his own accord to aspire to it. Moses we read did otherwise, who being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the Message, and said, *Who am I Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt?* And again, *I pray thee (saith he) O Lord, I am nothing eloquent, send him whom thou wilt send.* Likewise Jeremias also, being sent of the Lord to prophesie against Jerusalem, was abashed to take the office upon him, answering again with much dread of heart, *A-a-a, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, for I am a child.*

After like manner we read of the Saints of the New Testament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their Bishopricks and Functions of the Church, by meer forcement and compulsion of others rather than by their own wills. So was blessed Gregory, after his flight and going away, brought back again, and placed in the See and Chair of Rome. Likewise Saint Ambrose fore against his mind; who also, of purpose accusing and confessing his own defects, because he would be repealed: yet by the commandment of Valentinian the Emperor was enforced to take the burthen upon him, which he could by no wise shake off. S. Martin in like sort, not knowing of any such matter, was circumvented by a certain godly train, and wile of the Citizens, before he could be brought

The death of Thomas Becket.

What is to be thought or judged of T. Becket.

What is to be thought, whether Tho. Becket died a Saint or not?

The promotion of Becket judged not Canonical.

Becket charged with presumption and lack of discretion.

Ambition noted in Becket, in not refusing but taking his promotion.

Bishops against their wills thrust into their Bishopricks.

The stout heart of Becket.

Anno 1171.

to his Consecration; which he did not so much take, as he was thrust into it with much pensiveness and sorrow of heart. By these and such other examples this Chancellor likewise should have rather excused himself as unworthy and unmeet for that room, shewing himself more willing to refuse than to take it. To the which this Archbishop is judged to do clean contrary, &c. *Hæc ex chronico, cui Titulus, De passione & miraculis beati Thomæ.*

*Ex Chronico
Neuburgens.*

*Abba Becketi
improbata.*

And although scarcely any testimony is to be taken of that Age (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition) yet let us hear what *Neuburgensis* an ancient Historiographer saith, who, in the days of the Son of this King Henry the second, prosecuting his History unto King Richard the first, hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket: *Sane cum plerique soleant in his quos amant & laudant affectu quodam propensiori, sed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur approbare: plane ego in viro illo venerabili, ea quæ ita ab ipso acta sunt, quum nulla exinde proveniret utilitas, sed fervor tantum accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noscuntur, laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut in beatissimo apostolorum principe, quod gentes suo exemplo judicare coegit; in quo eum doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet eum constet laudabili hoc pietate fecisse, &c.*

That is in English:

Whereas many be wont, in them whom they love our praise (judging them more by affection than prudence) to allow and approve whatsoever they do, yet for me to judge upon this reverend man, verily I think not his doings and acts to be praise-worthy, or to be allowed, for so much as thereof came no utility, but only the anger and stirring up of the King: whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefs (although the thing that he did might proceed of a certain laudable zeal:) like as in the blessed Prince of the Apostles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Jews, Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection, &c.

And in the same Author, in another place it followeth to the like effect, in these words: *Literas has in Angliam ad suspensionem Episcoporum præmissas ipse sequebatur, zelo justitiæ fervidus; verum an plene secundum sententiam novit Deus. Nostræ enim parvitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temere judicare. Puto enim quod in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia minus provide egisset, & ea quæ sine fidei Christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis & compensatione pacis dissimulanda dixisset, juxta illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est. Itaque quod a venerabili Pontifice tunc actum est, nec laudandum esse judico, nec vituperare præsumo: sed dico, si vel modice in hujusmodi a sancto viro per zeli, immoderatorem impetum esse excessum, hoc ipsum est sacræ, quæ consecrata noscitur, igne passionis excoctum. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt a nobis, qui nos illis longe impares esse cognoscimus, ut ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: sed ea tantum, in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis fiant, esse imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciunt, sed sapienter & caute debent laudari, ut sua Deo prærogativa serventur, in cujus utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur, &c.*

That is in English:

The Letters which were sent before for the suspending of the Bishops, he pursued with burning zeal of justice; but whether according to knowledge God knoweth it: It is not for my rude and slender wit to judge of the doings of such a person. But yet this I suppose, that he did not behave himself so circumspectly as he ought, considering the time; and that the concord between him and the King as yet was but soft and tender. Who for the consideration of the time, and for the recompence of peace might have forbore or dissembled such things, which without any peril of Christian Religion might be tolerate well enough, according to the prophetic saying, A wise man in that time will keep silence, because the time will not serve him. Wherefore, as the doings of that reverend Pre-

late I judge in that behalf not to be commended, so neither do I presume to discommend them. But this I say, that if that holy Man, through immoderate violence of zeal, did exceed in a part therein, the same was excused again, and purged by the fire of his suffering, which afterward ensued. And so far holy Men are to be loved or praised of us; which know our selves much inferior to their virtues; that in such things wherein they have been Men, and also known to be men, therein we neither hold with them, nor commend them; but only in such things wherein without all danger or scruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to say, that they are to be imitated in all that they do? And therefore are not to be esteemed and praised in all things generally whatsoever they do, but considerately and with advisement, wherein they deserve praise, so that the only prerogative in this behalf be reserved to God, in whose praise no man can exceed, how fervent soever he be in his praising, &c.

And hear yet more what the said Author writeth in the same cause of the Kings wrath and Becket's faults: *Plurimum homicidia a clericis commissa sub Henrico secundo dicuntur. In quibus plebendis Rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed hujus immoderationis regis, nostri temporis Episcopos tantum respicit culpa, quantum ab eis processit & causa. Cum enim sacri præcipiunt canones, clericos non solum facinorosos & gravioribus irretitos criminibus, verumetiam leviorum criminum reos degradari, & tot millia talium, tanquam innumeras inter pauca grana paleas Ecclesia Anglicana contineat, tamen quam paucos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio privari. Nempe Episcopi dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitiis corrigendis reserandisque invigilant, arbitrantur obsequium se præstare Deo & Ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos pro officii debito canonice vigore censuræ coercere debeant, contra publicam tueantur disciplinam. Unde clerici, qui in sortem Domini vocati, tanquam stellæ in firmamento cæli positi, vita & verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes pro impunitate agendi quodcumque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, neque Deum, cujus judicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reverentur, cum & Episcopalis circa eos sollicitudo sit languida, & seculari eos jurisdictione sacri eximat ordinis prærogativa.*

In English:

More than an hundred Murthers are said to be committed by the Clergy under King Henry the second: in punishing of whom the King was somewhat too vehement. But the fault, saith he, of this immoderate dealing of the King resteth most in the Bishops of our time, for so much as the cause thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commanded by the Canon Law (concerning the spiritual Men of the Clergy) that not only such as be notorious, but such as be spotted with lighter crimes should be degraded, whereof we have so many thousands, and whole swarms of such now in England, as innumerable chaff among the little good Grain; yet how few do we see these many years in England, deprived of their office? For why? The Bishops while they labour more to maintain the liberties and dignities of Churchmen, than to correct their Vices, think they do God and the Church great service, if they rescue and defend the enormities of the Churchmen against publick discipline, whom they ought rather to punish by the vertue of the censure Ecclesiastical. Whereupon the Churchmen, such as be sorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like Stars to shine in Earth by word and example, taking licence and liberty to do what they lust, neither reverence God (whose judgment seemeth to tarry) neither Men set in Authority; when as both the Bishops are slack in their charge, doing, and also the prerogative of their order exempteth them from the secular jurisdiction, &c. And thus much out of of *Neuburgensis*.

To this matter also pertain the words of *Cesarus* the Monk in his eighth Book of Dialogues and sixty ninth Chapter, about the eight and fortieth year after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the year of God 1220. whose words in summe come to this effect: *Quæstio Parisiis inter magistros ventilata fuit, utrum damnatus an salvatus esset ille Tho. Dixerat Rogerius tunc Normannus, fuisse illum morte*

*Ex Cesaris
monachis
8. dial. c. 69.*

*Whether
Tho. Becket
be saved or
damned?*

ac damnatione dignum, quod contumax esset in Dei ministerium regem. Protulit contra Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, quod signa salutis & magnae sanctitatis essent ejus miracula: & quod Martyrium probasset Ecclesiae causa, pro qua mortem subierat, &c.

In English:

if God in
these latter
days giveth
no Miracles
to glorifie
his own
Son: much
less will he
give Miracles
to glorifie
Thomas Becket.

There was a question moved among the Masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saved or damned? To this question answered Roger a Norman, that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was so obstinate against Gods Minister his King. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Parisian disputed, saying and affirming, that his Miracles were great signs and tokens of salvation, and also of great baliness in that Man: affirming moreover, that the cause of the Church did allow and confirm his Martyrdom, for the which Church he died, &c.

Liber de miraculis Be-
thome an-
thore Mon-
acho quondam
Cantuar.

Miracles of
Becket con-
sidered.

Apoc. Com-
mentarius.

And thus have ye the judgment and censure of the School of Paris touching this question, for the sancting of Thomas Becket. In which judgment for so much as the greatest argument resteth in the Miracles wrought by him after his death; let us therefore pause a little upon the same, to try and examine these his Miracles. In the trial whereof we shall find one of these two to be true; that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a contrary spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giveth us warning in his Gospel, saying, *Whose coming shall be with lying signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, the elect*, Matth. 24. or else we shall find that no such were ever wrought at all, but feigned and forged of idle Monks, and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their Churches, and profit of their pouches; which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no less may appear by the Miracles themselves, set forth by one of his own Monks, and of his own time; who in five solemn Books hath comprehended all the Revelations, Vertues and Miracles of the Archbishop; the which Books (as yet remaining in the hands of William Stephenson Citizen of London) I have seen and perused; wherein is contained the whole sum of all his Miracles, to the number of 270. being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vain, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not only they deserve no credit, (altogether favouring of meer forgery) but also for very shame will abash an honest Pen to write of them. First, if Miracles serve for necessity and for Infidels, what cause or necessity was there (in a Christian Realm having the Word of God) for God to work such Miracles after his death, who never wrought any in all his life? Then to consider the end of these Miracles, whither do they tend, but only to bring Men to Canterbury, with their Vows and Offerings to enrich the Convent?

Beside the number of these Miracles, which he said to be so many, that they lose their own credit; what disease is there belonging to Man or Woman, in the curing whereof some Miracle hath not bin wrought by this *δαμναρύος*, as Fevers, Fistula, the Gout, Toothach, Palsie, Consumption, Falling-sickness, Leprosie, Head-ach, broken Arms, maimed Legs, swelling Throats, the raising up of the dead which have been two days departed; with infinite others. And as all these have been healed (for the most part) by one kind of salve (as a certain Panacea) which was, with the water only of Canterbury, like as a cunning Smith, which would open with one Key all manner of Locks; so again, in reading of the story of these Miracles, ye shall find the matter so conveyed, that the power of this dead Saint was never twice shewed on any one Disease, but every divers Disease had a divers Miracle.

To recite in order all these prodigious Revelations and fantastical Miracles, falsely imagined and ascribed to this Archbishop, were nothing else but to write a Legend of lies, and to occupy the People with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming Monks and Cloisterers, that have nothing else to maintain that Religion withal; I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vain and lying Apparitions and Miracles, as how this angry Saint (three days after his death) appeared by Vision at the Altar in his Pontificalibus, commanding the Quire not to

ling, but to say this office of his Mass, *Exurge, quare obdormis Domine, &c.* Which Vision the Author himself of the Book doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another Vision the said Archbishop should say, that his blood did cry out of the earth to God, more than the blood of just Abel. Item, in another Vision it was shewed to a Monk of *Levis*, how Saint Thomas had his place in Heaven appointed with the Apostles, above Stephen, Laurence, Vincent, and all other Martyrs. Whereof this cause is rendred, for that St. Stephen, Laurence, and such others, suffered only for their own cause; but this Thomas suffered for the Universal Church. Item, how it was shewed to a certain young Man (*Ormus* by name) twelve years before the death of this Becket, that among the Apostles and Martyrs in Heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain Priest, as he said, of *England*, which was credibly supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, How a certain Knights Son, being two days dead, was revived again so soon as he had the water of Canterbury put in his Mouth, and had by his Parents four pieces of Silver bended, to be offered in Canterbury in the Childs behalf. All these, I say, with such other like to omit (the number whereof cometh to an infinite variety) only this one story, or another that followeth, shall suffice to express the vanity and impudent forgery of all the rest.

In the fourth Book of this fabulous Author, and in the third Chapter, a Miracle is there contained of a certain Countryman of *Bedfordshire* in *Kings Weston*, whose name was *Eilwardus*; which *Eilwardus*, in his drunkenness, busting into another Mans House which was his Debtor, took out of his House a great Whetstone, and a pair of Hedging-gloves. The other party seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation (by the counsel of the Town-Clerk) entred an Action of Felony against him for other things besides, as for stealing his Wimble, his Axe, his Net, and other Cloths. Whereupon *Eilwardus* being had to the Gaol of *Bedford*, and afterward condemned for the same, was judged to have both his eyes put out, and also those Members cut off, which Nature with secret shame hath covered. Which punishment by the malice of his adversary being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. Which done (saith the Miracle) there appeared one to him by Night, in white Apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our Lady, and holy St. Thomas. In conclusion, the Miracle thus fell out: The next day at Evening, the Man rubbing his Eye-lids, began to feel his Eyes to be restored again; first in a little, after in a greater measure, so that one was of a gray colour, the other was of black; and here was one Miracle rung. After this followed another Miracle also upon the same person; for going but the space of four miles, when his eyes were restored, he chanced (in like manner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediately on the same his *Pendula* (to use the words of my story) were to him restored, *Principio parva quidem valde, sed in majus proficiente*, which he permitted every one to feel that would, and shamed not to deny. Inasmuch that he, coming up to St. Thomas, first at London, was received with joy of the Bishop of *Durham*; who, then sending to the Burgers of *Bedford* for the truth of the matter, received from them again Letters Testimonial, wherein the Citizens there (saith this fabulous Festival) confirmed first to the Bishop, then to the Convent of *Canterbury*, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one Miracle (gentle Reader) so shameless and impudent, I thought here to express, that by this one thou mightst judge of all the residue of his Miracles; and by the residue thereof mightest judge moreover of all the filthy wickedness of all these lying Monks and Cloisterers, which count it a light sport so impudently to deceive the simple souls of Christs Church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherefore (as I said) if the holy fainting of Thomas Becket standeth upon no other thing but upon his Miracles, what credit is to be given thereto? and upon what a weak ground his Shrine so long hath stood, by this may easily be seen. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no less worthy of the Whetstone, we read in the story of *Gervasius*: That Thomas Becket appearing to a certain

Singing at
the Mass:
forbidden
by T. Becket
after his
death.
A blasphemous lie.

Becket above
the Martyrs
in Heaven.

A place pre-
pared in
Heaven for
Becket 12
years before
his death.

An impu-
dent and a
lying Mir-
acle.

Ex his
Monachi
Cant. de mi-
raculis Be-
thome.

A blasphemous vision.

A false and
impudent
Miracle.

Priest, named *Thomas*, declared to him, that he had so brought to pass, that all the Names of the Monks of the Church of *Canterbury*, with the Names of the Priests and Clerks, and with the Families belonging to that City and Church of *Canterbury*, were written in the Book of Life. *Ex Gervasi. fol. 6.*

But whatsoever is to be thought of his Miracles, or howsoever the testimony of the School of *Paris*, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him; certain it is, that this Antheme or Collect, lately collected and primed in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of him, to whom only all praise and honour is due, where it is said;

The blasphemous Anthem of *Thomas Becket*.

Tu per Thomae sanguinem, quem pro te impendis, Fac nos: Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.

That is:

For the blood of *Thomas*,
Which he for thee did spend,
Grant us (*Christ*) to climb,
Where *Thomas* did ascend.

Wherein is a double lie contained; first, that he died for *Christ*; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his blood could purchase Heaven. Which thing neither *Paul* nor any of the Apostles durst ever challenge to themselves: for if any Mans blood could bring us to Heaven, then the blood of *Christ* was shed in vain.

And thus much touching the testimony or censure of certain ancient times concerning the cause of *Thomas Becket*. In the explication of whose History I have now stood the longer (exceeding peradventure in over-much prolixity) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, and duly weighed on every part, mens minds (thereby long deceived by ignorance) might come unto the more perfect certainty of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more surely what is to be received, and what to be refused. Where by the way is to be noted out of the testimony of *Rob. Crikeladensis*, which in him I find; that the Peers and Nobles of this Land, near about the King, gave out in straight charge upon pain of death, and confiscating of all their Goods, that no Man should be so hardy as to name *Thomas Becket* to be a Martyr, or to preach of his Miracles, &c. *Ex Crikeladensi.*

The King's sending to Rome.

Ex libro annotationum historicarum manuscripto. J. Shenii.

The penance of the four Knights.

After the death of *Thomas Becket*, the King fearing the Popes wrath and curse to be laid upon him (whereunto *Ludovike* the French King also helped what he could to set the matter forward) sent to *Rome* the Archbishop of *Rothomage*, with certain other Bishops and Archdeacons unto the Pope with his excuse, which the Pope could in no wise hear. And after other Messengers being sent (whom some of the Cardinals received) it was shewed to them that on *Goodfriday* (being then near at hand) the Pope of custom was used to assail or to curse, and that it was noised, how the King of *England* with his Bishops should be cursed, and his Land interdicted, and that they should be put in Prison. After this, certain of the Cardinals shewed the Pope, that the Messengers had power to swear to the Pope, that the King should obey his punishment and Penance; which was taken both for the King and the Archbishop of *York*. So that in the same day the Pope cursed the deed doers, with such as were of their consent, that either aided or harboured them. Concerning these deed doers, it is touched briefly before, how they lying in *Gnasborough* fled into *Yorkshire*; who, after having in Penance to go in their linnen Clothes barefoot (in fasting and prayer) to *Jerusalem*, by reason of this hard Penance are said to die in few years after.

Ex Hoveden.

The Kings Embassadors lying, as is said, in *Rome*, could find no grace nor favour a long time at the Popes hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two Cardinals should be sent down to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to *Becket's* death. The King perceiving what was preparing at *Rome*, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the Pope and coming down of the Cardinals would tend; in the mean time addressed himself with a great power to enter into *Ireland*, giving in charge and commandment, as *Hoveden* writeth, that no bringer of any Brief or Letter should come over into *England*, or pass out of the Realm (of what degree or condition soever he were) without

special licence, and assurance that he would bring nothing that should be prejudicial to the Realm.

This order being set and ordained, the King with 400 great Ships taketh his journey to *Ireland*, where he subdued in short time the whole Land unto him, which at that time was governed under divers Kings to the number of five; of whom four submitted themselves unto the said King *Henry*, only the fifth, who was the King of *Tona-cha*, denied to be subdued, keeping him in Woods and Marshes.

In the mean season, while the King was thus occupied in *Ireland*, the two Cardinals that were sent from the Pope (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) were come to *Normandy*. Unto whom the King the next year following referred about the Month of *October*, in the year 1172. But before (during the time of the Kings being in *Ireland*) the Bishop of *London*, and *Joseline* Bishop of *Salisbury* had sent to *Rome*, and procured their absolution from the Pope. The King returning out of *Ireland*, by *Wales*, into *England*, and from thence to *Normandy*, there made his purgation before the Popes Legates, as touching the death of the foresaid *Becket*; to the which he swore he was neither aiding nor consenting, but only that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his Knights would not avenge him against the said *Thomas*; for the which cause this Penance was enjoined him under his Oath.

First, that he should send so much into the holy Land, as would find two hundred Knights or Souldiers for the defence of that Land.

Also, That from *Christmass* day next following, he should set forth in his own person to fight for the Holy Land, the space of three years together, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal by the Pope.

Item, That if he would make his journey into *Spain* (as his present necessity did require) there he should fight against the *Saracens*, and as long time as he should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his journeys toward *Jerusalem*.

Item, That he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by him, any appellations made to the Pope of *Rome*.

Item, That neither he nor his Son should depart or differ from Pope *Alexander*, or from his Catholick Successors, so long as they should recount him or his Son for Kings Catholick.

Item, That the Goods and possessions taken from the Church of *Canterbury* should be restored again (fully and amply) as they stood the year before *Thomas Becket* departed the Realm; and that free liberty should be granted to all such as were outlawed for *Becket's* cause to return again.

Item, That the foresaid Customs and Decrees, by him established against the Church, should be extinct and repealed (such only except that concerned his own person, &c.) besides other secret fastings and almes enjoined him.

All these former conditions the King with his Son did both agree unto, debasing himself in such sort of submission before the two Cardinals, by the occasion whereof, the Cardinal took no little glory, using this Verse of the Psalm, *Qui respicit terram, & facit eam tremere; qui tangit montes & fumigant*: That is, Which looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble, which toucheth the hills, and they smoke, &c. Moreover, it is mentioned in Histories of the said King, that a little after, *William* King of *Scots* with his Army had made a Rode into the Realm, he, returning out of *Normandy* into *England*, came first to *Canterbury*; who by the way (so soon as he came to the sight of *Becket's* Church) lighting off his Horse, and putting off his Shoes, went barefoot to his Tomb, whose steps were found bloody through the roughness of the stones.

And not only that, but also he received further Penance, by every Monk of the Cloister, certain discipline of a rod.

By which so great dejection of the King (if it were true) thou mayst see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those days. If it were pretended (as might be in time of war, to get the hearts of the people) yet mayst thou, learned Reader, see what slavery Kings and Princes were brought into at that time under the Popes Clergy. The same year (as *Hoveden* writeth) which was 1174, the whole City of *Canterbury* was almost all consumed with fire, and the said Minster Church clean burnt.

Ireland first subdued to England.

Anno 1172.

The King's Penance for the death of *Becket*.

Ex quadri-
logo.

K. Henry the second going on pilgrimage with bloody steps to *Thomas Becket's* Tomb.

Ex Rogers Hoveden, & a bridge & all.

Anno 1174.

The City of *Canterbury* almost consumed with fire.

The

Anno 1175. The next year ensuing, which was 1175, a Convocation of Bishops was holden at *Westminster* by *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In which Conventicle all the Bishops and Abbots of the Province of *Canterbury* and of *York* being present, determined (as it had done a little before in the days of King *Henry* the first, *Anno* 1113.) about the obedience that *York* should do to *Canterbury*; that is, whether the Archbishop of *York* might bear his Cross in the Diocese of *Canterbury* or not, whereof something was touched before in the former process of this History. Also about the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, of *Chichester*, of *Worcester*, and of *Hereford*, whether these Churches were under the jurisdiction of the See of *York* or not, &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controversy between these two Sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the Bishop of *Rome*.

In these and such like causes, how much better had it been if the Supremacy had remained more near in the Kings hands at home. Whereby not only much labour and travel had been saved, but also the great and wasteful expences bestowed at *Rome* might with much more fruit and thank have been converted to their Cures and Flocks committed unto them, and also percase their cause no less indifferently heard, at least more speedily might have been decided. But to the purpose again. In this Controversie divers of the Bishops of *York's* Clergy, such as were of *Glocester*, belonging to the Church of *Saint Oswald*, were excommunicate by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, because they, being summoned, refused to appear before him, &c. At length the same year, which was 1175, there was a Cardinal sent down from *Rome* by the Kings procurement, who studied to set a peace between the two Archbishops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the means of the King) at *Winchester*, that as touching the Church of *Saint Oswald* at *Glocester*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should cease his claim thereof, molesting the See of *York* no more therein; also should absolve again the Clerks thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the Cross and all other matters, it was referred to the Archbishop of *Rotbomage*, and of other Bishops in *France*, so that for five years a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should have a full determination of their cause.

The Clerks of S. Oswald in Glocester excommunicated. Agreement between the Archbishop of Canterbury and York.

The next year following, the foresaid King *Henry* the second (dividing the Realm of *England* into six parts) ordained upon every part three Justices of Assize. The Circuit or Limitation of which Justices was thus disposed. The first upon *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Essex*, *Hertfordshire*. Two upon *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Leicestershire*. Three upon *Kent*, *Surry*, *Southamptonshire*, *Southsex*, *Barkshire*, *Oxfordshire*. Four upon *Herefordshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Worcestershire*, *Salopshire*. Five upon *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, *Cornwal*. Six upon *Everikeshire*, *Richmondshire*, *Lancaster*, *Copland*, *Westmerland*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*.

Anno 1176. In the which Year also *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made three Archdeacons in his Diocese, whereas before there was but one. About which time also it was granted by the King to the Popes Legate, that a Clerk should not be called before a Temporal Judge, except for offence in the Forest, or for his Lay fee that he holdeth.

Ed. optime. blaud. Por. & aliam. bisparum. Item, That no Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, or Abby should remain in the Kings hands over one year without great cause. It chanced the same year that this was done, there was at *Canterbury* one elected to be Abbot in the House of *St. Austine*, named *Albert*, who made great labour and sute unto the Archbishop that he would come to his Church; and there consecrate him Abbot of *St. Austins*. To whom the Archbishop sent word again, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other should repair to the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, there to receive his Consecration. Whereupon (controversie rising between them) the foresaid new elect appealed up to the audience of the Pope, and so laboured up himself to *Rome*. Where he so handled the matter (by what means I cannot tell, unless with his Golden Bottel, wherewith

A frivolous contention between the Archbishop and the Abbot of Canterbury. Where was here the precept of the Gospel, He that will be greatest among you, let him be an unwilling to others?

he quenched the Popes thirsty soul, for Abbots never travel lightly without fat Purfes to *Rome*) that with short dispatch he procured Letters from *Alexander* the Pope, to *Roger* Bishop of *Worcester*; signifying to him, that he had given in charge and commandment to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (in the behalf of his dear son *Albert*) that he should consecrate him within his own Monastery, which Monastery properly and solely without mediation belonged to the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and so likewise should do to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing, further he said, if the Archbishop would refuse to do within the term appointed, that then he the foresaid Bishop of *Worcester* should (by the authority committed unto him) execute the same, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatsoever should come, notwithstanding. This Letter being obtained, the Abbot that would be, returneth home, supposing with himself all things to be sure. The Archbishop understanding the cause, and seeing himself to be so straitly charged, and yet loth to yield and stoop to the Abbot, took to him policy where authority would not serve; and both to save himself, and yet to disappoint the Abbot, he watched a time when the Abbot was about business of his house. And coming the same time to the Monastery, as he was commanded to do, with all things appointed, that to such a business appertained, he called for the Abbot, pretending no less than to give him his Consecration. The Abbot, being called for, was not at home; the Archbishop, feigning himself not a little grieved at his labour and good will so lost, departed: as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in case that the Abbot had been at home. Whereupon the Abbot being thus disappointed, was feign to fill his Silver Flagons afresh, and make a new course to *Rome* to his Father the Pope, of whom he received his Consecration, and so came home again, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much mony peradventure as he went withal.

We have declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this Pope *Alexander* the third, how he had brought the Emperors head under his foot in *Saint Mark's* Church at *Venice*, at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made between the Pope and the said *Frederick* the Emperor. Which pacification *Rogerus Hovedenus*, and *Gualterus Guburgensis*, refer to this time, being the year of our Lord 1177. bringing in two several Letters sent from the said Pope *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*. Out of the which Letters, so much as serveth to our purpose, I have taken and here inserted.

The tenor of the Popes Letter to the Bishop of Worcester.

The Letter of Pope Alexander, sent to Roger Archbishop of York, and to the Bishop of Duresme.

Alexander servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*, greeting and Apostolical blessing. The obsequy and service of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the Church, requirerh that we should describe to you, as to our special friends, the prosperous success of the Church, and to let you know, as spiritual children of the Church, what hath happened to the same. For meet it is, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firm and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us and of the Church. And about the end of the Epistle it followeth thus:

The next day following, which was the Feast of *Saint James* (the said Emperor so requesting) we came to the foresaid Church of *St. Mark*, there to celebrate our solemn Mass; where (as we were coming in the way) the said Emperor met us without the Church, and placing us again on his right hand, he brought us so into the Church. After the Mass was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the Church Door. And moreover, when we should take our Palfrie, he held our Stirrup, exhibiting to us such honour and reverence, as his Progenitors were wont to exhibit to our Predecessors. Wherefore these shall

Hovedenus Guburgensis Anno 1177.

A meek Emperor, and a proud Pope.

The Emperor holdeth the Popes Stirrup.

shall be to incite your diligence and study towards us, that you rejoyce with us and the Church in these our prosperous successes, and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other devout children of the Church: that such as be touched with the zeal of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoyce also in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given. Given at Venice in the deep River, the 26 of July.

Contention between two Archbishops who should sit on the right hand of the Cardinal.

This Year the contention revived again, spoken of a little before, between the two Archbishops of York and Canterbury, the occasion whereof was this; The manner and practice of the Pope is, when he beginneth to lack Mony, he sendeth some limiting Cardinal abroad to fetch his Harvest in. So there came this year into England (as lightly few years were without them) a certain Cardinal from Rome, called *Hugo*, or as *Hovedenus* nameth him, *Hugozim*, who would needs keep a Council at *Westminster*. To this Council resorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors, and such others of the Clergy. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, first cometh the Archbishop of York named *Roger*, who (thinking to prevent the other Archbishop) came something sooner, and straightway placed himself on the right hand of the Cardinal. *Richard* the Archbishop of Canterbury, following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken up, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the Archbishop of York, as one prejudicial to his See. So while the one would not rise, and the other part not sit down, there rose no small contention between them two. The Archbishop of Canterbury claimed the upper seat by the preheminance of his Church. Contrary, the Archbishop of York alledged for him the old Decree of *Gregory*, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken between the two Metropolitans of Canterbury and York, that which of them two should be first in election, he should have the preheminance in dignity to go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed so warm in words, that at last they turned to hot blows. How strong the Archbishop of York was in reason and argument, I cannot tell; but the Archbishop of Canterbury was stronger at the arms end; whose servants being more in number (like valiant Men) not suffering their Master to take such a foile, so prevailed against York (sitting on the right hand of the Cardinal) that they pluckt him down from the hand to the foot of the Cardinal upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he escaped with life. His Casule, Chimer and Rochet were all to be rent and torn from his Back. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serve, no praying could be heard, such clamour and tumult was there in the House among them, much like to the tumult which *Virgil* describeth:

*Ac veluti in magno populo, cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus,
Famque faces & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.*

Now as the first part of this description doth well agree, so some peradventure will look again, that according to the latter part also of the same, my Lord Cardinal with sageness and gravity (after the manner of the old Romans standing up) should have ceased and allayed the disturbance, according to that which followeth in the Poet,

*Tum pietate gravem meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant:
Ille regit mentes dictis, & pectora mulcet; &c.*

But what did the noble Roman Cardinal? Like a pretty man of his hands (but a pretier man of his feet) standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broile, committed himself to flight, and (as *Hovedenus* writeth) *Abcondit se a facie illorum*. The next day the Archbishop of York bringeth to the Cardinal his Rochet, to bear witness what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and citing up the Archbishop of Canterbury with certain of his men to the Bishop of Rome. And thus the holy Council (the same day it was begun) brake up and was dissolved.

Under the Reign of this King Henry the second, the Dominion and Crown of England extended so far as hath not been seen in this Realm before him; whom Histories record to possess under his rule and jurisdiction, first, Scotland, to whom William King of Scots, with all the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, did Homage both for them and for their successors (the Seal whereof remaineth in the Kings Treasury) as also Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitan, Gant, &c. To the Mountains of Pireney, which be in the uttermost part of the great Ocean in the British Sea, being also Protector of France; to whom Philip the French King yielded both himself and his Realm wholly to his governance, in the year of our Lord 1181. Moreover, he was offered also to be the King of Jerusalem, by the Patriarch and Master of the Hospital there; who, then being distressed by the Soldan, brought him the Reies of their City, desiring his aid against the Infidels; which offer he then refused, alledging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his Sons, which might happen in his absence.

And here the old Histories find a great fault with the King for his refusal; declaring that to be the cause of Gods Plagues, which after ensued upon him by his Children, as the Patriarch in his Oration (being offended with the King) prophesied should so happen to him for the same cause. Which story, if it be true, it may be a lesson to good Princes, not to deny their necessary help to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause appertaining unto God.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood and riches of this Prince was so spread and renowned from all Quarters, that Messages came from Emmanuel Emperor of Constantinople, Frederick Emperor of Rome, and William Archbishop of Trevers in Almain, the Duke of Saxony, and from the Earl of Flanders, and also from the French King, (upon determination of great questions and strifes) to ask counsel and determination thereof of this King Henry, as of one most wise, and Schoolmaster of all wisdom and justice, to have solution of their questions and doubts. Moreover, Alphonsus King of Castile, and Sancius King of Naverne, being in strife for certain Castles and other possessions, submitted them (of their free accord, and by their Oath) to abide the award of this King Henry; who made award and pleased them both; whereby it is to be presupposed, that this King, to whom other Princes did so resort, as to their arbitrator and decider, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may seem that the acts of this Prince were not so vicious as some Monkish Writers do describe.

Among many other things in this King memorable, this one is to be noted (follow it who can) that he reigned five and thirty years, and having such Wars with his enemies, yet never upon his Subjects put any Tribute or Tax, nor yet upon the Spirituality, first fruits and appropriations of Benefices. Belike they were not known, or else not used. And yet his Treasure after his death (weighed by King Richard his Son) amounted to above nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Jewels, precious Stones, and household furniture. Of the which substance eleven thousand pounds came to him by the death of Roger Archbishop of York; who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any Priest died within his Province without Testament, then he should have all his Goods. And shortly after the Archbishop died, and the King had all his Goods, which extended (as is said) to eleven thousand pounds besides Plate, in the year of our Lord God 1181.

But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal World so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloud of incumbrance and adversity; so it happened to this King, that among his other Princely successors, this incommodity followed him withal, that his Sons rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the French King against their Father. First, at the Coronation of Henry his Son, whom the Father joynd with him as King, he being both Father and King, took upon him (that notwithstanding) but as a Steward, and set down the first Dish as Sewer unto his Son, renouncing the name of a King. At what time the foresaid Archbishop of York, sitting on the right hand of the young King, said, Sir, ye have great cause this day to joy, for there is no Prince in the World that

The large dominion of K. Henry the second.

Homage of Scotland in point of its territorial.

K. Henry the second Protector of France.

K. Henry chosen King of Jerusalem and refused it.

Aid not to be denied to our neighbours, the cause being godly. See Polydore, de Gestis, Cambreg.

K. Henry chosen arbitrator by two Kings.

The treasure of K. Henry the second.

A courteous Archbishop.

that hath such an Officer this day, &c. And the young King disdainning his words, said, My Father is not dishonoured in this doing; for I am a King and a Queens Son, and so is not he. And not only this, but after he also persecuted his Father; and so in his youth when he had reigned but a few years died; teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the just Commandment of God.

After him likewise Richard his Son (who was called Richard Cœur de Lion) rebelled against his Father, and also John his youngest Son did not much degenerate from the steps of his Brethren: Inasmuch that this foresaid Richard (like an unkind child) persecuting and taking part against his Father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an Ague, and within four days departed, after he had reigned five and thirty years; whose Corpse as it was carried to be buried, Richard his Son coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to weep, the blood brast incontinent out of the Nose of the King at the coming of his Son; giving thereby a certain demonstration how he was the only Author of his death.

After the death and reign of which King, his Children after him (worthily rewarded for their unnaturalness against their Father) lacking the success which their Father had, lost all beyond the Sea that their Father had got before.

And thus much concerning the Reign of Henry the Second, and the death of Thomas Becket; whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the days of Pope Alexander the Third; which Pope usurping the Keys of Ecclesiastical Regiment one and twenty years (or as Galsburgenfis writeth, three and twenty years) governed the Church with much tumult; striving and contending with Frederick the Emperor, not shaming like a most proud Lucifer, to tread with his foot upon the neck of the said Emperor, as is above described.

This Pope among many other his acts had certain Councils (as is partly before touched) some in France, some at Rome in Lateran; by whom it was decreed, that no Archbishop should receive the Pall, unless he should first swear. Concerning the solemnity of which Pall, for the order and manner of giving and taking the same with obedience to the Pope, as it is contained in their own words; I thought it good to set it forth unto thee, that thou mayest well consider and understand their doings therein.

The form and manner how and by what words the Pope is wont to give the Pall unto the Archbishop.

AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beate Mariae Virginis, & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & domini nostri N. Papae, & sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, necnon N. Ecclesiae tibi commissae, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem Pontificalis officii, ut utaris eo infra Ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimentur in privilegiis tibi ab Apostolica sede concessis.

That is in English:

To the honour of Almighty God, and of Blessed Mary the Virgin, and of Blessed Saint Peter and Paul, and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy Church of Rome, and also of the Church of N. committed to your charge, we give to you the Pall taken from the body of St. Peter, as a fulness of the office Pontifical, which you may wear within your own Church upon certain days, which be expressed in the privileges of the said Church, granted by the See Apostolick.

Notes upon the same.

§ 'To the honour, &c. With what confidence durst the Pope couple the honour of Almighty God, and the honour of Mary, of Saint Peter, and of the Pope, and of the Romish Church all together, if he had not been a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himself not only with such Saints, but also even with him which is God alone, to be blessed for ever?

'Taken from the body, &c. If St. Peter's body be not all consumed, let him shew it if he can. If he cannot shew it, how then is this Pall taken from the body of St. Peter? Or if he mean it to be of St. Peter's own wearing, then belike St. Peter had a goodly Wardrobe of Palls, when every Archbishop in all Christendom receiveth from the Pope a divers Pall.

'As a fulness of the office, &c. Rather he might say the fulness of his own Purse, when as Archbishops paid so sweetly for it. Inasmuch that Jacobus the Archbishop of Mentz, as is above touched a little before in the Council of Basil, where the price was wont to be but a thousand Florens, could not obtain it without six and twenty thousand Florens.

'Upon certain days, &c. This difference there was between the Pope and other Archbishops: for the Pope might wear the Pall at all times, and in all places at his pleasure. Archbishops might not wear it but upon certain days, and in their Church only within their Province. Moreover this Pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three months, without which Pall he is not to be named Archbishop, but may be deposed; having it not after three months: and the same Pall must also be buried with him when he dieth, and when it is given, some priviledg must be given withal, or the old renewed.

In like manner proceedeth the Oath of every Bishop swearing obedience to the Pope in like words as followeth.

EGON. Episcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, sanctaeque Apostolicae Romanae Ecclesiae, & domino meo D. N. Papae, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, seu auxilio, consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se aut per nuncium, seu literas eorum, me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicum sedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi praepeditus fuero canonica praepeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuncium, nisi Apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei Episcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de novo infendabo, nec aliqua modo alienabo inconsulto Rom. Pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet, & sancta Dei Evangelia.

That is in English:

I, N. Bishop of N. from this hour henceforth, will be faithful and obedient to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy Apostolick Church of Rome, and to my Lord N. the Pope. I shall be in no Council, nor help either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them, or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking. The Council which they shall commit to me either by themselves, or by messenger, or by their Letters wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hindrance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the Papacy of Rome, and the Regalities of St. Peter, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saved) against all persons. The Legate of the Apostolick See both in going and coming I shall honourably intreat and help in all necessities. Being called to a Synod I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawful and Canonical impeachment. The Palace of the Apostles every third year I shall visit either by my self or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the See Apostolick. All such possessions as belong to the Table and Diet of my Bishoprick, I shall neither sell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove away by any manner of means without the consent and knowledge of the Bishop of Rome: so God help me and the holy Gospels of God.

pride destroyed all.

King Henry the second persecuted by his Son.

The death of K. Henry the second. How the King being dead, bled at the coming of his Son.

Anno 1179.

Giving of the Pall.

Ex libro gravaminum Nationis Germanicae.

The solemn Oath of Bishops made to the Pope.

Salvo meo ord. This was the clause that made Becket to be banished &c to be slain.

And how be not those Bishops then perjured, which at the death of Q. Mary, let and let out a great part of their possessions from their successors.

A Note upon the same.

§ 'Hereby thou hast by the way (gentle Reader) to note and consider, among other things which here may be understood, that since the time the Oath began to be laid and thrust upon Bishops, all General Councils began to lose their liberty. For how could any freedom remain for men to speak their knowledge in redress of things, being by their Oath so bound to the Pope to speak nothing but on his side, to maintain the Papacy, and the Church of Rome in all times and places? Conjecture by thy self (Christian Reader) what is more hereby to be considered.

Besides this it was also decreed in the said Council at Rome of 310 Bishops, by Pope Alexander, that no man should have any Spiritual Promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in Wedlock. That no Parish Church should be void above six Months. That none within Orders should meddle with Temporal business. That Priests should have but one Benefice, and that the Bishop should be charged to find the Priest a Living till he be promoted.

That open Usurers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the Church-yard.

That nothing should be taken for ministering Sacraments or Burying.

Item, That every Cathedral Church should have a Master to teach Children freely, without taking any thing for the same.

The Vow
of Chastity
laid upon
Priests.

In this Council the Vow of Chastity was obtruded and laid upon Priests. Thomas Becket also and Bernard were Canonized for Saints.

During the reign and time of this King Henry the Second, the City of Norwich was destroyed and burnt by the men of Flanders. Also the Town of Leicester. Nottingham wasted, and the Burgeses slain by the Earl of Ferrers. The Town of Barwick destroyed by the Scots. The King of Scots was taken in war by Englishmen in the year of our Lord 1174. The Town of Huntington taken and burned. The Town of Canterbury by casualty of fire burnt with all the Churches, specially with the Trinity Church where Becket was worshipped, *An. eod.* The year of our Lord 1170. William King of Scots, with David his Brother, and all the Barons of the Realm, did homage to the King of England. Ireland made subject to England. Decreed in a Council in Normandy, that no Boys or Children should possess any Benefice. A Council of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirty Articles concluded; *Anno 1179.* The French King came in Pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the King of England meeting him by the way, *An. 1184.* After the death of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, succeeded Baldwinus; who of a Cistercian Monk being made a Bishop, is said never to eat flesh in his life. Whom a certain poor woman bare and lean, meeting him in the street, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he never did eat flesh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true: Nay (saith she) that is false, for you have eaten my flesh unto the bone, for I had but one Cow wherewith I was sustained, and that have your Deans taken from me. True, true, said the Bishop, and thou shalt have another Cow as good as that, &c. *Jornalens.*

Baldwinus
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Moreover in the reign of the said King Henry, about the year of our Lord 1178, I find in the Story of Roger Hoveden and others, that in the City of Tholouse was a great multitude of men and women whom the Popes Commissioners, to wit, Peter Cardinal of St. Chrysogon, and the Popes Legate, with the Archbishops of Narbon and Biturienensis, Reginald Bishop of Bath, John Bishop of Pictavia, Henry Abbot Clarevallensis, &c. did persecute and condemn for Hereticks; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abjure. Concerning whose articles and opinions I have no firm ground to make any certain relation, forasmuch as I see the Papists many times so false in their quarreling accusations, untruly collected mens sayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they said, but wresting and depraving simple mens assertions after such a subtil sort as they list themselves to

take them. But this I find, how one of the said Commissioners or Inquilitors (Henry the Abbot) in a certain Letter of his wrote thus of them: *Nam & panem sanctum vite eterna, sacerdotis ministerio in verbo Domini consecratum, non esse corpus Domini, novo dogmate contendeat asserere.* That is, after a new opinion he affirmed that the holy bread of eternal life, consecrated by the Ministry of the Priest, was not the body of the Lord, &c.

In the time of this Alexander sprang up the Doctrine and name of them which were then called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, which of one Waldus a chief Senator in Lyons, were named *Waldenses*; Item *Leonistae* & *Insabbatati*; about the year of our Lord 1109; or (as Laxiardus writeth) *Anno 1170.*

Waldenses
de Lugduno
Leonistae
Insabbatati

Not long before this time (as is expressed above) rose up Gratianus Master of the Decrees, and Petrus Lombardus Master of the Sentences, both Archpillars of all Papistry; after whom followed also two as evil, or worse than they, Franciscus and Dominicus, maintaining blind hypocrisy no less than the other maintained proud Prelacy. As these laboured one way by superstition and worldly advancement to corrupt the sincerity of Christian Religion, so it pleased Christ the contrary way, labouring against these, to raise up therefore the said *Waldenses* against the pride and hypocrisy of the others.

Four Arch-
pillars of
proud Pa-
pistry.

Thus we never see any great corruption in the Church, but that some sparkle of the true and clear light of the Gospel yet by Gods Providence doth remain; whatsoever Doctor Augustinus, Reinerius, Sylvius, Cranzius, with others in their Popish Histories do write of them (defaming them through misreport) and accusing them to Magistrates, as disobedient to Orders, rebels to the Catholick Church, and contemners of the Virgin Mary; yet they that carry judgment indifferent, rather trusting truth than wavering with times, in weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise; and that they maintained nothing else but the same Doctrine which is now defended in the Church. And yet I suppose not contrary, but as the Papists did with the Articles of Wickliff and Hus, so they did in like manner with their Articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise than they were meant.

The History of the Waldenses concerning their Original and Doctrine, with their Persecutions.

THE first original of these *Waldenses* came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no less calling in the City of Lyons; the occasion whereof is declared of divers Writers thus to come: About the year of our Lord 1160, it chanced that divers of the best and chiefest heads of the City of Lyons talking and walking in a certain place after their old accustomed manner, especially in the Summer-time, conferred and consulted together upon matters, either to pass over time, or to debate things to be done. Amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking upon) to fall down by sudden death. In the number of whom this foresaid Waldus, there being amongst them was one; who beholding the matter more earnestly than the other, and terrified with so heavy an example, being (as is said) a rich man, and Gods holy Spirit working withal, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration with a careful study to reform his former life. Inasmuch that first he began to minister large alms of his goods to such as needed. Secondly, to instruct himself and his family with the true knowledge of Gods word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion, to repentance and virtuous amendment of life. Whereby partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did see ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French Tongue: for as he was a man wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned.

The History
of Walden-
ses, or Al-
bigenses.

Although Laxiardus, Volateranus, with others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him: by others, that have seen his doings yet remaining in old

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old Parchment Monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and translate the Books of Scripture, and also did collect the Doctors mind upon the same.

But whatsoever he was (lettered or unlettered) the Bishops and Prelates seeing him so to intermeddle with Scriptures, and to have such resort about him, albeit it was but in his own house under private conference, could not abide, either that the Scriptures should be declared of any other, neither would they take the pains to declare it themselves. So being moved with great malice against the Man, they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leave so to do. *Waldus* seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred up upon no just nor godly cause, neglecting the threatnings and frettings of the wicked, said, *that God must be obeyed more then Man.* To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true Doctrine of Christ against the errors of Antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceness increased. Inasmuch that when they did see their Excommunication to be despised, and would not serve, they ceased not with Prison, with Sword and Banishment to persecute, till at length they had driven both *Waldus* and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the City.

Whereupon came first their Name, that they were called *Waldenses*, or *Pauperes de Lugduno*, not because they would have all things common amongst them, or that they, professing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the Apostles did (as *Sylvius* did falsely bely them) but because they, being thrust out both of Country and Goods, were compelled to live poorly whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these Men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true Doctrine of Christs Gospel, against the proud proceedings of *Papists* errors. Now concerning their Articles, which I find in order and in number to be these:

Solis sacris literis credendum esse in his quæ ad salutem, &c. That is, Only the holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to Salvation, and no mans writing, or man besides.

2. All things to be contained in Holy Scripture necessary to Salvation, and nothing to be admitted in Religion, but what only is commanded in the Word of God.

3. To be one only Mediator; other Saints in no wise to be made Mediators, or to be invocated.

4. To be no Purgatory, but that all Men either by Christ are justified to life, or without Christ be condemned; and besides these two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5. That all Masses, namely such as be sung for the dead, be wicked and to be abrogated.

6. All Mens Traditions to be rejected, at least not to be reputed as necessary to salvation, and therefore this singing and superfluous chanting in the Chancel to be left; constrained and prefixed fasts bound to days and times, difference of Meats, such variety of degrees and orders of Priests, Friars, Monks and Nuns, superfluous Holy-days, so many sundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, Vows, Peregrinations, with all the Rabblement of Rites and Ceremonies brought in by Man, to be abolished.

7. The Supremacy of the Pope usurping above all Churches, and especially above all politick Realms and Governments, or for him to occupy or usurp the jurisdiction of both the Swords, to be denied; neither that any degree is to be received in the Church, but only Priests, Deacons and Bishops.

8. The Communion under both kinds to be necessary to all People, according to the institution of Christ.

9. Item, The Church of Rome to be the very Babylon spoken of in the *Apocalyps*; and the Pope to be the fountain of all error, and the very Antichrist.

10. * The Popes Pardons and Indulgences they reject.

11. The Marriage of Priests, and of Ecclesiastical persons, to be godly, and also necessary in the Church.

12. Such as hear the Word of God, and have a right Faith, to be the right Church of Christ. And to this Church the Keys of the Church are to be given, to drive away Wolves, and to institute true Pastors, and to preach the Word, and to minister the Sacraments.

These be the most principal Articles of the *Waldenses*, albeit some there be that add more to them; some again divide the same into more parts, but these be the principal to which the rest be reduced.

The same *Waldenses*, at length exiled, were dispersed in divers and sundry places, of whom many remained long in *Bohemia*; which writing to their King *Uladslaus*, to purge themselves against the slanderous accusations of one Doctor *Austin*, gave up their confession with an Apology of their Christian Profession; defending with strong and learned arguments the same which now is received in most reformed Churches, both concerning Grace, Faith, Charity, Hope, Repentance and works of mercy.

As for Purgatory, they say that *Thomas Aquinas* is the Author thereof.

Concerning the Supper of the Lord, their Faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be shewed and worshipped; for a Memorial, not for a Sacrifice; to serve for the present ministrations, and not for reservation; to be received at the Table, not to be carried out of the doors; according to the ancient use of the Primitive Church, when they used to communicate sitting. And this they prove both by an old Chronicle called *Chronica gestorum*, as also by ancient *Origen* upon the third Book of *Moses*, bringing in his words, which be these, proving that this Sacramental Bread ought not to be reserved: *Quicumque hunc panem cæna Christi secunda vel tertia die sumpsert, non benedicitur anima ejus, sed inquinabitur.* Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes, &c. That is, *Who-so-ever receiveth this Bread of the Supper of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soul shall not be blessed, but polluted. Therefore the Gabaonites, because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was injoyned them to carry wood and water, &c.*

Doctor *Austin* (of whom mention is made before) disputing against them about this matter of the Holy Eucharist, urgeth them with this interrogation; whether it be the same Christ (present in the Sacrament) which is present at the right hand of the Father? If it be not the same Christ, how is it true in the Scripture, *Una Fides, unus Dominus noster Iesus Christus, One Faith, one Lord Iesus Christ?* If it be the same Christ, then how is he not to be honoured and worshipped here as well as there?

To this the *Waldenses* answer again, and grant that Christ is one and the same with his natural body, in the Sacrament which he is at the right hand of his Father, but not after the same existence of his body. For the existence of his body in Heaven is personal and local, to be apprehended by the Faith and Spirit of Men. In the Sacrament the existence of the body is not personal or local, to be apprehended or received of our bodies, after a personal or corporal manner, but after a Sacramental manner; that is, where our bodies receive the sign, and our spirit the thing signified. Moreover, in Heaven the existence of his body is dimensive and compleat with the full proportion and quantity of the same body wherewith he ascended. Here, the existence of his compleat body with the full proportion, measure and stature thereof, doth not, neither can stand in the Sacrament. Briefly, the existence of his body in Heaven is Natural, not Sacramental; that is, to be seen, and not remembered: Here it is Sacramental, not Natural; that is, to be remembered, not to be seen.

That Answer being made to the captious Proposition of Doctor *Austin*, the *Waldenses* (retorting the like interrogation to him again) demand of him to answer them in the like objection; Whether it be all one Christ substantially and naturally, which sitteth in Heaven, and which is under the forms of Bread and Wine, and in the receivers of the Sacrament? If he grant it to be; then they bid him say, seeing Christ is as well in the Sacrament as in Heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the Sacrament, and all one Christ in substance and nature; why then is not the same Christ as well in the breast of the receiver to be worshipped, as under the forms of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament; seeing he is there after a more perfect manner in Man, than in the Sacrament? for in the Sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the Sacraments sake, but for the Mans cause: In Man he is not for the Sacraments cause, but for his own; and that not for a season, but for ever.

The true nature of Antichrist, neither himself to further the Word, nor suffer other men to do it

The Articles of the Waldenses:

Thos. Aquinas first finder of Purgatory.

Ex Origenis Gratia.

Chronica gestorum. Origen super terium librum Moysi.

The Sacramental bread ought not to be kept or reserved.

Part of the disputation between Doctor Austin and the Waldenses. Dilemma 2.

That is, a captious question in conferring on both sides an inconvenience

The answer of the Waldenses.

What it is to receive after a sacramental manner.

Natural Sacramental

Another Dilemma against Transubstantiation.

This Article seemeth to be drawn of them in Babylon not long after the first passage came not in before the first

ever, as it is written: *Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in eternum.* That is, *He that eateth this bread shall live for ever, &c.*

Moreover and besides, seeing Transubstantiation is the going of one substance into another; they question again with him, whether the forms of Bread and Wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Jesus; that is, both into his body, soul and Divinity, or not into the whole Christ? If he grant the whole; then say they, that is impossible (concerning the Divinity) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he say, the Bread is changed into the Body and Soul of Christ, not to his Divinity, then he separateth the Natures in Christ. If he say, into the Body alone, and not the Soul, then he separateth the Natures of the true Manhood, &c. and so it cannot be the same Christ that was betrayed for us; for that he had both Body and Soul. To conclude, to what part soever he would answer, this Doctrine of Transubstantiation cannot be defended without great inconvenience of all sides.

*Eneas Sylvius
in Bohemica
historia de
Waldensium
dogmatibus.*

Over and besides, *Eneas Sylvius* writing of their Doctrine and Assertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them than they taught or meant) reporteth them after this manner, which I thought here to set out as it is in the *Latine*.

Romanum Præfulem reliquis Episcopis parem esse. Inter sacerdotes nullam discrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorum.

In English:

The Bishop of Rome to be equal with other Bishops. Amongst Priests to be no difference of degree. No Priest to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

The souls of Men departed either to enter into pain everlasting, or everlasting joy. No fire of Purgatory to be found. To pray for the dead to be vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of Priests.

The images of God (as of the Trinity) and of Saints to be abolished. The hallowing of water and palmes to be a meer ridicule. The Religion of Begging-Friers to be found out by the Devil. That Priests should not increase riches in this World, but rather follow poverty, being content with their Tithes, and Mens devotion. The preaching of the Word to be free to all Men called thereunto.

That no deadly sin is to be tolerated, for whatsoever respect of a greater commodity to ensue thereupon. The confirmation which Bishops exercise with Oyl, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted among the Sacraments of the Church. Auricular Confession to be but a toy; to suffice for every Man to confess himself in his Chamber to God. Baptism ought to be ministered only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oyl. The Temple of the Lord to be the wide World. The Majesty of God not to be restrained more within the Walls of Temples, Monasteries and Chappels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

The Temple of the Lord, that is, the proper habitation whereon God most properly dwelleth & worketh. That is, the very place maketh not the ministrations of holy things either more or less holy.

Priests Apparel, Ornaments of the High Altar, Vestiments, Corporaces, Chalices, Patens, and other Church-plate, to serve in no stead. For the difference and respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the Priest doth consecrate, or doth minister to them which do require. To be sufficient to use only the Sacramental words without all other superfluous ceremonies.

The suffrages of Saints, reigning with Christ in Heaven, to be craved in vain; they being not able to help us. In saying or singing the Hours and Matins of the day, the time to be but lost. A man ought to cease from his labour no day, but only upon the Sunday.

The Feasts and Festivals of Saints ought to be rejected. Item, such Fasts as be coacted, and enjoyed by the Church have no merit in them.

The Assertions of the *Waldenses* being thus articulated out by *Eneas Sylvius*, I thought to give them abroad in English as they are in *Latine*: to the intent that as they are the less to be doubted, being set out of a Popes Pen; so we may the better know both them hereby what they were, and also understand how this Doctrine, now preached and taught in the Church, is no new Doctrine

which here we see both taught and persecuted almost 400 years ago. And as I have spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their Doctrine; so now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain old written Book of Inquisition.

Ex inquisitorio quodam libello.

Modus autem Waldensium talis est, &c. The whole process cometh to this effect in English. The manner of the *Waldenses* is this: They, kneeling upon their knees, leaning to some bank or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirty or forty times *Pater noster*. And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongst themselves, and such as be of their own Religion, and no strangers with them, both before Dinner and after; likewise before Supper and after; also what time they go to Bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, They use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any *Ave Maria*, and the Creed, which they affirm not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but only by the Church of Rome. Albeit they have and use the seven Articles of Faith concerning the Divinity, and seven Articles concerning the Humanity, and the Ten Commandments, and seven works of Mercy, which they have compiled together in a compendious Book, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man for their faith.

Before they go to meat they have their Grace, *Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster*. Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their own tongue: *God which blessed the five Barley loaves, and two Fishes in the desert before his Disciples, bless this Table, and that is set upon it, or shall be set upon it: In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* And likewise again, when they rise from Meat, the senior giveth thanks, saying the words of the *Apocalypse*, *Blessing and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, virtue, and strength to God alone for ever and ever, Amen.* And addeth moreover, *God reward them in their bosomes, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bless us. And the God which hath given us corporal feeding, grant us his spiritual life and God be with us, and we always with him.* To which they answer again, *Amen.* And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to Heaven. After their Meat and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their Doctrine, &c.

In their Doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painful, that *Reinerius* a Writer about their time (an extreme enemy against them) in a long process, wherein he describeth their Doctrine and teaching, testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the party, that a certain Heretick (saith he) only to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his (in the night, and in the Winter time) swam over the River called *Ibis*, to come to him, and to teach him. Moreover, so perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the said *Reinerius* saith, he did hear and see a man of the Country unlettered, which could recite over the whole Book of *Job* word by word, without book, with divers others which had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather merrily than unskillfully expounded the words of *1 John* *Sui non receperunt eum*, Swine did not receive him; yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevail, insomuch that *Reinerius* hath these words; *Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni & examinationi sæpe interfui, & computata sunt 40 Ecclesiæ, quæ hæresi infectæ fuerunt, ac in una Parochia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum Scholæ, &c.* That is, There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty Churches infected with their Heresie, insomuch that in one Parish of *Cammach*, were ten open Schools of them, &c. *Hæc ille.*

And

And the said *Reimerius*, when he hath said all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this of them, where he doth distinct their Sect from other Sects, and hath these words: *Hæc vero Leonistarum Secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus iuste vivunt, & bene omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in symbolo continentur; solam Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant, & oderunt*: That is, This Sect of *Leonists* hath a great shew of holiness, in that both they live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; only they do blaspheme the *Romish Church*, and hate it, &c.

Now to touch somewhat their Persecutions: After they were driven out of *Lions*, they were scattered into divers and sundry places (the Providence of God so disposing) that the sound of their Doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to *Bohemia*, many did flee into their Provinces of *France*, some into *Lombardy*, others into other places, &c. But as the Cross commonly followeth the verity and sincere preaching of Gods Word, so neither could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of Lawyers, Archbishops and Bishops of *France*, as *Narbonensis*, *Arelatensis*, *Aquensis*, and *Albanensis*, devised amongst themselves, which yet remain in writing, for the abolishing and extirping of these *Waldenses*, written above three hundred years ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in *France*.

Besides, there was a whole Council kept in *Tholouse* about three hundred fifty and five years before, and all against these *Waldenses*, the which also were condemned in another Council at *Rome* before that.

What great Persecutions were raised up against them in *France* by these four Archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings; whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these: *Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorum Waldensium ignoret a longe retro annis factam, tam famosam, tam publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expensis & sudoribus fidelium insecutam, & tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solemniter damnatorum, publiceque punitorum tam fortiter sigillatum?* &c. That is, Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of *Waldenses* the Hereticks done and past so many years ago, so famous, so publick, followed upon with so great labours, expences, and travel of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these Infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished? Whereby we may see Persecution to be no new thing in the Church of Christ, when Antichrist so long before (even 300 years) began to rage against these *Waldenses*. In *Bohemia* likewise after that, the same called by the name of *Taborites* (as *Sylvius* recordeth) suffered no little trouble. But never Persecution was stirred up against them, or any other people more terrible than was in these later years in *France* by the *French King*, in the year of our Lord 1545, which lamentable Story is described in *Sleidan*, and hereafter in the process of this Book, as we come to the order of years, shall be set forth (by the Grace of Christ) more at large. In the which Persecution is declared in one Town *Cabriera* to be slain by the Captain of *Sathan Sinerius*, 800 persons at once, without respect of Women or Children of any age; of whom forty Women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a Barn, and the Windows kept with Pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a Cave not far from the Town *Mussium*, to the number of five and twenty persons, with smoke and fire were the same time destroyed. At *Merindolum* the same Tyrant (seeing all the rest were fled away) finding one young man, caused him to be tyed to an Olive-tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly; with much other Persecution, as shall appear hereafter in the History translated out of *Sleidan* into English.

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that *Reimerius* above mentioned, speaketh of one in the Town of *Cheron*, a Glover which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old Monument of Process, wherein appeareth 443 to be brought to examination in *Pomerania*, *Marchia*, and places thereabouts, about the year of our Lord 1391.

And thus much touching the Origine, Doctrine, and the lamentable Persecutions of the *Waldenses*; who as is declared, first began about the time of this King *Henry* the Second of that name.

Other Incidences happening in the Reign of this Henry the Second.

Concerning the first Origine of the *Waldenses*, springing in the days of this King, is sufficiently hitherto declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time to story also such other Incidences as chanced under the Reign of the said King, not unworthy to be observed, keeping the order of the time so near as we may, and as Authors do give unto us.

Mary the Daughter of King *Stephen*, being the Abbess of *Ramsay*, was married in this Kings days to *Matthew* Earl of *Bullen*; which marriage *Thomas Becket* did work against, and did dissolve, by reason whereof he procured himself great displeasure with the said Earl, &c. An. 1161. Ex *Chronico Bibliothecæ Cariensis*.

The same year a certain Child was Crucified of the *Jews* in the Town of *Gloucester*, An. 1161. *Jornalens*. After the same manner the wicked *Jews* had Crucified another Child before in the City of *Norwich*, in the days of King *Stephen*, in the year of our Lord 1145.

A Collection was gathered through all *England* and *France*, two pence of every pound, for the succour of the East Christians against the *Turks*, in the year of our Lord 1167. Ex *eodem*.

Babylon was taken and destroyed, and never since repaired, by *Almaricus* King of *Hierusalem*, Ann. 1170. Ex *vetusto Manuscripto exemplari Historiæ Cariensis*.

In the year 1173, almost all *England* was diseased with the Cough, Ex *vetusto Chron. Acephalo*. About which year also *William* King of *Scots* was taken in battel and imprisoned in *England*.

Great War happened in *Palestina*, wherein the City of *Jerusalem*, with the Cross and King of the City, and others of the Temple, was taken of the *Saracens*, and most part of the Christians there either slain or taken. Cruel murder and slaughter there was used by the *Turk*, who caused all the chief of the Christians to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. Inasmuch that Pope *Urbanus* the Third for sorrow died, and *Gregory* the Eighth, next Pope after him, lived not two months. Then in the days of Pope *Clement* the Third, news and sorrow growing daily for the loss of *Palestina*, and destruction of the Christians; King *Henry* of *England*, and *Philip* the French King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Campania*, with divers other Christian Princes with a general consent upon St. *Georges* day, took the mark of the Cross upon them, promising together to take their voyage into the Holy Land. At which time the Stories say, the King of *England* received first the Red Cross, the French King took the White Cross, the Earl of *Flanders* took the Green Cross; and so likewise other Princes diversly divers Colours, thereby to be discerned every one by his proper Cross. But King *Henry* (after the three years were expired, in which he promised to perform his voyage) sent to the Pope for further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three Monasteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the Church of *Waltham* he thrust out the Secular Priests, and set in Monks for them. Secondly, he repaired again and brought in the Nuns of *Amesbury*, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the Pope, Anno 1173.

The King of *Scots* did his Homage and Allegiance to the King of *England* and to his Son, and to his chief Lords; promising that all the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* should do the like with their posterity. Item, All the Bishops and Abbots of the Church of *Scotland* promised subjection and submission to the Archbishop of *Tork*, in the year of our Lord, 1175. *Nicol. Trivet*.

The custom was in this Realm, that if any had killed any Clerk or Priest, he was not to be punished with the temporal sword, but only excommunicated and sent to *Rome* for the Popes grace and absolution. Which custom in the days

Incidence in the reign of K. Henry the Second.

Becket a dissolver of Marriages.

Two Children Crucified by the Jews.

Babylon utterly destroyed.

The holy Cross taken with the City of Jerusalem, by the Saracens. Persecution of the Turks against the Christians.

A voyage against the Turks.

How the difference of the Crosses first came in among Christian Princes.

The Kings Promises fulfilled to the Pope.

King of Scots doing Homage to the K. of England. The Church of Scotland ordered by the Church of Tork.

Murderers could not be punished by the Popes Decrees.

Waldenses in all points found, but only for holding against the Church of Rome. Ex *Orbitibus* *Gratin*.

The Cross commonly followeth the Word.

Waldenses persecuted more than 300 years ago by Antichrist.

Antichrist with whom he first began his persecution.

An horrible murder of Christs holy Martyrs.

Minerius an horrible Persecutor.

A Glover suffered Martyrdom in Cheron.

443 brought to examination.

days of this King began first to be altered by the procurement of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year of our Lord 1176. *Trivet.*

London-Bridg
of stone.

London-Bridg first began to be made of stone by one *Peter*, Priest of *Colechurch*, in the year 1176. *Ex Chron. cuius initium: in diebus sanctissimi regis Edvardi, &c. Ex Biblioth. Cariensis.*

St. William
of Paris.

St. William of *Paris* was slain of the *Jews* on *Maundy-Thursday*, wherefore the *Jews* were burned, and he counted a Saint, *Anno* 1177.

Ireland sub-
dued to
England.

Ireland subdued to the Crown of *England* by this King, *Anno* 1177. *Ex variis Chron.*

Pilgrimage
to Canter-
bury sprang
by aying
Vision.

Under the Reign of the said King *Henry*, about the five and twentieth year of his Reign, *Ludovicus* the French King, by the Vision of *Thomas Becket* appearing unto him in his dream, and promising to him the recovery of his Son, if he would resort unto him at *Canterbury*, made his journey into *England* to visit *St. Thomas* at *Canterbury*, with *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; where he offered a rich Cup of Gold, with other precious Jewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yearly to be given to the Covent of the Church of *Canterbury*; notwithstanding the said *Philip* in his return from *England*, taking his journey to *Paris* to visit *St. Dennis*, in the same his Pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a Palsie, and was benumbed of the right side of his body, *Anno* 1178, *Jornalensis, & alii.*

A just re-
ward for an
Idolatrous
Voyage.

Stephanus Episcopus Redomonsis was wont to make many Rimes and gaudish Prose to delight the ears of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verse was found in his ear, *Desine ludere temere, nitere pro-
pere fugere de pulvere: Ann.* 1178. *Ni. Trivet.*

Transsub-
stantiation
gainfald.

Albigenes denied Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of *Christs* Body and Blood, about the City of *Tholouse*; also that Matrimony was not a Sacrament, &c. in the year of our Lord, 1178. *Ibidem.*

Qu. Elenor
imprisoned.

King *Henry* separated himself from his Wife *Elenor*, and held her many years in prison, as some think, for the love of *Rosamond*. Which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred all his Sons up to war against him, and to work him much sorrow, in the year 1179. *Ni. Trivet.* Notwithstanding the said *Elenor* was shortly after reconciled to him.

St. Frideswide was translated unto *Oxford* in the year 1179.

Expositions
made by
Chrysostom
both of the
Old and
New Testa-
ment.

In the year 1180, there came to the Council of Pope *Alexander* one *Pisanus Burgundio*, a man very cunning both in Greek and Latin, which brought and presented to the Council the Homilies of *Chrysostom* upon the Gospel of *St. John*, translated out of Greek into Latin, and said that he translated likewise a great part of his Exposition upon *Genesis*; saying moreover, that the said *Chrysostom* had made Expositions in Greek upon the whole Old Testament, and also the new in the year 1180.

The Char-
terhouse
Monks.

The Monks of *Charterhouse* first entered into this land, in the year 1180.

The Bishop
of Coventry
voluntarily
renounced
his Bisho-
rick.

In the year 1181, *Richard Pech* Bishop of *Coventry*, before his death renounced his Bishopricks, and became a Canon in the Church of *St. Thomas* by *Stafford*, *Ex Chronico pervetusto, cui initium, in diebus sanctis regis, &c.*

St. Hugh of
Lincoln.

About the later time of this King *Henry*, one *Hugo*, whom men were wont to call *St. Hugh* of *Lincoln*, born in *Burgundy*, and Prior of the Monks of *Charterhouse*, was preferred by the King to the Bishopricks of *Lincoln*, who after his death is said to do great Miracles, and therefore was counted a Saint, *Anno* 1186. *Flores. Hist.*

Lambeth
first begun
to be built.

Baldwinus Archbishop of *Canterbury*, began the building of his new house and Church of *Lambeth*; but by the Letters of *Clement* the Third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof. *An.* 1187. *Trivet.*

K. Henry
gift to the
Church of
Rome for
the death of
Becket.

I do find likewise in the foresaid written Chronicle remaining in the hands of one *William Carie* Citizen of *London*, that this forenamed King *Henry* the Second, gave to the Court and Church of *Rome* for the death of *Thomas Becket*, forty thousand Marks of Silver, and five thousand Marks of Gold, in the year of our Lord 1187.

A worthy
Story of
Sibylla and
Guido in
Jerusalem.

Mention was made a little above of *Almarick* King of *Jerusalem*, which destroyed *Babylon*; so that it was never after to this day restored, but lyeth wast and desolate; wherein was fulfilled that which in the Prophets in so

many places was threatened to *Babylon* before. This *Almarick* had a Son named *Baldwin*, and a Daughter called *Sibylla*. *Baldwin* from the beginning of his reign was a Leper, and had the Falling-sickness, being not able for feebleness of body (although valiant in heart and stomach) to satisfy that function.

Sibylla his sister was first married to one *Willermus*, Marquess of *Mount Ferrat*, by whom she had a Son called also *Baldwinus*. After him she was married to another Husband named *Guido de Liziniaco* Earl of *Foppe*, and of *Ascalon*. Upon this it befell that the foresaid *Baldwin* the Leper, son of *Almaricus*, being thus feeble and infirm, as is said, called his Nobles together, with his Mother and the Patriarch, declaring to them his inability, and by the consents of them committed the Under-government of the City unto *Guido* the Husband of *Sibylla* his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not lucky in the Government thereof, the Office was translated to another named *Raimundus* Earl of *Tripolis*. In the mean time the Soldan with his *Saracens* mightily prevailed against the Christians, and over-ran the Country of *Palestina*; in which mean time, *Baldwin* the King departed. Whereby the Kingdom fell next to *Baldwinus*, the Son of *Sibylla* by her first Husband *Willermus*; the which *Baldwinus*, being but five years old, was put to the custody of *Raimundus* aforesaid. Who also in his Minority, before he came to his Crown died, whereby the next Succession by descent fell to *Sibylla* the wife of *Guido* above mentioned. The Peers and Nobles joyning together in Council, offered unto the said *Sibylla* as to the lawful heir to the Crown, that she should be their Queen, with this condition, that she should sequester from her by solemn divorcement the foresaid *Guido* her Husband; but she refused the Kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at last the Magistrates with the Nobles in general, granted unto her, and by their Oaths confirmed the same, that whomsoever she would chuse to be her Husband, all they would take and obey as their King. Also *Guido* her Husband with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her that the Kingdom for his sake, or for his private loss, might not be destitute of Government. At length she with tears consenting to their intreaty, was contented, and solemnly was Crowned their Queen, who after the manner again received their fidelity by their Oath. Whereupon *Guido* without all hope both of Wife and Kingdom, departed home quietly to his own. This done, the Queen assembling her States and Prelates together, entered talk with them about the chusing of the King, according to that which they had promised, and sworn unto her, and to obey him as their King, whom she would name to be her Husband. Thus whilst they were all in great expectation, waiting every

A worthy
Example of
a true Wife
to her Hu-
band.

A worthy
Example in
Guido of a
true subject
to the Com-
monwealth.

A singular
Example of
Prudence in
a Princess,
and fidelity
in a Wife.

man whom she would nominate; the Queen with a loud voice said to *Guido* that stood amongst them: *Guido* my Lord, I chuse thee for my Husband, and yielding my self and my Kingdom unto you, openly I protest you to be the King. At these words all the Assembly being amazed, wondered that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men. And worthy was she no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular virtue, both of faithful chastity and high prudence: so tempering the matter, that both she obtained to her Husband the Kingdom, and retained to her self again her Husband, whom she so faithfully loved. *Anno* 1186. *Ex Historia manuscripta, cui initium, Rex Pictorum: ex Bibliotheca Cariensis mutua.*

As I have hitherto described the publick Acts of King *Henry*, so now I mean to touch something of his private conditions. He was of mean stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in Chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of War, more lamenting the death of his Souldiers dead, than loving them alive; none more courteous and liberal for the obtaining of his purpose; in peace and tranquillity none more rough; stubborn against the stubborn, sometimes merciful to those whom he had vanquished, strict to his household-servants, but liberal to strangers; publicly of publick things liberal, sparing of his own; whom once he took a displeasure against, hardly or never would he receive again to favour; somewhat lavish of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise, a lover of his ease, but an oppressor of his Nobility, a severe revenger and furtherer of justice, variable of word, and crafty in his talk, an open adulterer, a nourisher of discord amongst his children; more over

over the *Papists* bearing him (for *Thomas Becket's* quarrel, and such like, as may be gathered) no good will, term him to be an adversary of the Faith, the Mall and Beetle of the Church.

Also in the Chronicle intituled *Scala mundi*, I find of him, that he followed the steps, manners and conditions of *Henry* the first his Grandfather, in every point. He preserved firm peace, and executed strict justice through all his Dominions. He loved marvelous well his Forests; and again, those that were transgressors either to his Crown or Person, he most severely punished.

Moreover, in a certain History intituled *De Regibus Anglie*, I find that this King was sundry times admonished to reform and amend his life, and first by one that was an old man in the Castle of *Cardif* in *Wales*, at that time of the year called *Dominica in albis*, the 8th day after *Easter*; where also after that he heard Mass, and was going to take his Horse, there stood a certain man by him, somewhat yellowish (his hair being rounded, lean and ill favoured) having on a white Coat, and being bare-foot, who looked upon the King, and spake on this wise, Good old King, (that done, thus he proceedeth) the King saluteth you and his blessed Mother, John Baptist and Peter straitly charge you, that upon the Sundays throughout all your Dominions, there be no buying and selling, or other servile business (those only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink) which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thou takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to pass. Then spake the King in French unto the Knight that held his Horse by the Bridle: Ask of this Churl whether he dreamed this or not. And in the mean while that the Knight should have interpreted the Kings words and message, he spake before and said, Whether this be a Dream or not, mark well what day this is; for unless that thou do these things and amend thy life, such news shalt thou hear within these twelve months, that will make thee lament and mourn till thy dying day. And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight; and within one year next after, *Henry*, *Gaufrid*, and *Richard* his Sons, forsook him their Father, and took part with the French King. The King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Chester*, and Earl of *Leicester*, made an Insurrection against the King. Many other premonitions were given also to the King, but all these did he little esteem. The second, which did admonish him, was a certain Irishman, giving him certain secret signs. And thirdly, a certain Knight of *Findefey*, named *Philip de Easferby*, sayling with him over into *France*, declared unto the King in *Normandy* seven Articles which he should amend. Which thing if he would do, he should Reign seven years most honourably, and should take the holy Cross from his enemies; or else he, in the fourth year, should die in a great ignominy. The three first things were these, which he at his Coronation sware to observe, that is, to defend the Church, to maintain good Laws, and to condemn no man to death without judgment. The fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was in doing justice without reward; the sixth, was of Ministers and Officers Wages and Stipends; the seventh was of expelling the *Jews*, leaving them some money to depart withal. But the King not amending his life, there rose up against him three strong enemies, that is to say, his three Sons with the French King. But, after that the King forsooth had gone on Pilgrimage to the Martyrs Tomb barefoot, *William* King of *Scots*, and the Earls of *Chester* and *Leicester* were taken at *Alnewike*.

In the five and thirty year of his Regn, being in the Castle of *Chiven* in *Normandy*, he died; at whose death those that were present, were so greedy of the spoil, that they left the body of the King naked, and not so much could be found as a Cloth to cover it, till that a Page coming in, and seeing the King so ignominiously to lie, threw his Cloak upon his nether parts; wherein, saith the Author, was verified the surname which from his youth he bare, being called *Henry Curt Mantil*.

King RICHARD.

In this year of our Lord above recited, which was 1189, King Richard the eldest Son of *Henry* the Second, succeeding his Father, entered his Crown; at which time

Pope *Clement* sat at *Rome*, succeeding after *Gregory*, which died a little before with sorrow for the loss of the Holy-Cross.

During the time of whose Coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the King, the day before his Coronation, by publick Edict commanded both the *Jews* and their Wives, not to presume either to enter the Church; or else his Palace, during the solemnization of his Coronation, amongst his Nobles and Barons, yet (whilest the King was at Dinner) the Chieftain of the *Jews*, with divers other of his Jewish affinity and superstitious Sect, against the King his prohibition, together with other priests, entered the Court Gates. Whereat a Christian man being offended, struck one of them with his hand or fist, and bade him stand further from the Court Gate, as the King had given in commandment; whose example others also following, being displeased against the *Jews*, offered them the like contumely. Others also, supposing that the King had so commanded indeed, as using the authority of the King, fell upon all the *Jews* that stood by without the Court Gate. And first they beat them with their fists, but afterwards they took up stones and such other things as they could get, and threw at them from the Court Gates, some of them they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

There was amongst this number of the *Jews*, one which was called the blessed *Jew* of *York*, which was so fore wounded and beaten with the rest, that, for fear of his life, he said he would become a Christian, and was indeed of *William* the Prior of the Church of *St. Mary* of *York* baptised; whereby he escaped the peril of death he was in, and the persecutors hands. In the mean while, there was a great rumor spread throughout all the City of *London*, that the King had commanded to destroy all the *Jews*. Whereupon as well the Citizens, as innumerable people more, being assembled to see the Kings Coronation, armed themselves and came together. The *Jews* thus being for the most part slain, the rest fled into their houses, where for a time, through the strong and sure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they destroyed therein.

These things being declared to the King, whilst he with his Nobles and Barons were at Dinner, he sendeth immediately *Ranulfe de Glanville*, the Lord High Steward of *England*, with divers other Noblemen to accompany him, that they might stay and refrain these so bold enterprises of the *Londoners*, but all was in vain: for in this so great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the Nobility said, or else any whit revered their personages, but rather with stern looks and threatening words advised them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation, thinking it the best so to do, departed; the tumult and insurrection continuing till the next day. At which time also the King, sending certain of his Officers into the City, gave them in commandment to apprehend and present some such as were the chiefest of the malefactors: of the which, three were condemned to be hanged, and so were; the one, for that he had robbed a Christians house in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the Houses, to the great danger of the City. After this, the King sent for him, that from a *Jew* was converted to Christianity, and in the presence of those that saw where he was baptised, the King asked him whether he was become a Christian or not? He answering the King, said, No, but to the intent he might escape death, he promised to do whatsoever the Christians would have him. Then the King asked the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (other Archbishops and Bishops being present) what were best to be done with him? Who unadvisedly answering, said: If he will not be a Man of God, let him be a Man of the Devil: and so revolted he again to Judaism.

Then the King sent his Writs to the Sheriffs of every County, to inquire for the authors and stirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, divers were imprisoned. So great was then the hatred of *Englishmen* against the *Jews*, that as soon as they began to be repulled in the Court, the *Londoners* taking example thereof, fell upon them, set their Houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The Country again, following the example of the

The Kings restraint, that no Jew should enter the Palace nor Church, during his Coronation.

A Jew through fear was baptised.

The Jews in London slain, and their houses set on fire.

The small regard of Nobility had in tumults and insurrections.

A new Christian revolteth to an old Jew.

An unadvised answer of an Archbishop.

Londoners.

Ex Chron.
Westm. cui
initium, &
non cum
ascensu, &c.

A miserable
and deserv-
ed destru-
ction of the
Jews.

Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the year, which the Jews took to be their Jubile, was to them a year of confusion; inasmuch, as in the City of York, the Jews obtaining the occupying of a certain Castle for their preservation, and afterward, not willing to restore it unto the Christians again, when they saw no other remedy, but by force to be vanquished, first they offered much Money for their lives; when that would not be taken, by the counsel of an old Jew amongst them, every one with a sharp Razor, cut anothers Throat, whereby a thousand and five hundred of them were at that present destroyed. Neither was this Plague of theirs undeserved; for every year commonly their custom was, to get some Christian mans child from the Parents, and on Goodfriday to crucifie him in despite of our Religion. Ex Chron. Westm.

Anno
1189.

The covet-
ous greed-
iness of Bi-
shops noted
in buying
great Lord-
ships.

King Richard, after the death of his Father, coming unto remembrance of himself, and of his Rebellion against his Father, fought for absolution of his trespass, and, in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French King, about Easter next ensuing, to take his Voyage with him for the recovery of Christs Patrimony, which they called the Holy Land. Whereupon the said King Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himself the better towards his journey, set to sale divers of his Manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then Bishop of Winchester, bought a couple for two thousand Marks; to wit, Wergrave and Melenge. The Abbot of Bury bought another for a thousand Marks, called Middlesey. Hugh Pusaz Bishop of Durham bought the Lordship of Seggesfield, or Sedberga with the Wapentake, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging; he bought also the Earldom of Northumberland, whom when the King should solemnize after the manner of Secular Earls, merrily with a mocking jest Lo (said he) of an old Bishop I have made a young Earl. And because the said Bishop had professed before by a solemn Vow, to visit the Holy-Land, to be released of his Vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great sum of money therefore; and moreover, gave to the King a thousand Marks to remain at home, as the Chief Justice of England. Over and besides, the King set out all that he had to sale, Woods, Castles, Townships, Lordships, Earldoms, Baronages, ordaining also divers new Bishops, and not without some advantage (as appeared) to his Purse, feigning moreover, his old Seal to be lost, that they which had Lands to hold, might be driven to renew their Writings again by the new Seal, whereby great substance of money was gained.

Sleights to
get Money.

A tenth ga-
thered
through all
England.

Above all this, by the commandment of Pope Clement the third, a Tenth also was exacted of the whole Realm, in such sort, as the Christians should make to the King 70000 Pounds, the Jews 60000. Ex Gerv. fol. 134. King Richard, after his Coronation, sent certain Earls and Barons unto Philip the French King in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, desiring him to remember his promise made for the recovery of Christs holy Patrimony out of the Saracens hands. Unto whom he sent word again in the Month of December, certifying him how he had bound himself by solemn Oath, depoling upon the Evangelists, that he, the next year following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to address himself towards that journey; requiring him likewise not to fail but to be ready at the term above limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meet together.

K. Philip and
K. Richard
concluding
to travel to
the Holy
Land.

Anno
1190.
A Northern
brawl in
the Cathed-
ral Church
of York, be-
tween the
new Archbi-
shop and
the Dean.

The next year then ensued, which was one thousand one hundred and ninety, in the beginning of which year upon Twelf-even, fell a foul northern brawl, which turned well near to a fray, between the Archbishop new elected of the Church of York and his company on the one side, and Henry Dean of the said Church with his Catholick partakers on the other side, upon occasion as followeth: Gaufridus or Geoffry, Son to King Henry the second, and Brother to King Richard, whom the King had elected a little before to the Archbishoprick of York, upon the Even of Epiphany, which we call Twelf-day, was disposed to hear Evensong with all solemnity in the Cathedral Church, having with him Hamon the Chanter, with divers Canons of the Church. Who tarrying something long, belike in adorning and attiring himself, in the mean while Henry the Dean, and Bucardus the Treasurer, disdainingly to tarry his coming, with a bold courage,

Henry Dean
of York, and
Bucardus be-
gin Service,
not tarrying
for their
Archbishop.

lustily began their holy Evensong, with singing their Psalms, ruffling of descant, and merry piping of Organs. Thus this Catholick Evensong with as much devotion begun, as to Gods high service proceeding, was now almost half compleat, when as at length (they being in the midst of their mirth) cometh in the new elect with his Train and Gardevians, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be so bold, not waiting for him, to begin Gods service, and so eftsoons commanded the Quire to stay and hold their peace. The Chanter likewise, by virtue of his office, commandeth the same. But the Dean and Treasurer on the other side, willed them to proceed; and so they sung on, and would not stint. Thus the one half crying against the other, the whole Quire was in a rore, their singing was turned to scolding, their chanting to chiding; and, if instead of the Organs they had had a Drum, I doubt they would have sole-faced by the ears together.

The Dean
and Treasu-
rer would
not cease
Evensong at
the Archbi-
shops com-
mandment.

At last, through the authority of the Archbishop, and of the Chanter, the Quire began to surcease and give silence. Then the new elect not contented with that had been sung before, with certain of the Quire began the Evensong new again. The Treasurer, upon the same, caused by virtue of his office, the Candles to be put out: whereby the Evensong, having no power further to proceed, was stopped forthwith. For, like as without the light and beams of the Sun, there is nothing but darkness in all the world; even so you must understand the Popes Church can see to do nothing without Candle-light, albeit the Sun do shine never so clear and bright. This being so, the Archbishop, thus disappointed on every side of his purpose, made a grievous plaint, declaring to the Clergy and to the People, what the Dean and Treasurer had done; and so upon the same, suspended both them and the Church from all Divine Service, till they should make to him due satisfaction for their trespass.

The Archbi-
shop begin-
neth Evensong
against
being half
done before.

The Treasu-
rer putteth
out the can-
dles at
Evensong.

The Popes
Church can
do nothing
without
candle light

The Dean
and Church
of York sus-
pended by
the Archbi-
shop from
Divine
Service.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany, when all the People of the City were assembled in the Cathedral Church, as their manner was, namely in such Feasts, devoutly to hear Divine Service (as they call it) of the Church, there was also present, the Archbishop and the Chanter, with the residue of the Clergy, looking when the Dean and Treasurer would come and submit themselves, making satisfaction for their crime. But they, still continuing in their stoutness, refused so to do, exclaiming and uttering contemptuous words against the Archbishop and his partakers. Which when the People heard, they in a great rage would have fallen upon them; but the Archbishop would not suffer that. The Dean then and his fellows, perceiving the stir of the People, for fear, like pretty men, were fain to flee, some to the Tomb of S. William of York, some ran unto the Deans house, and there shrowded themselves, whom the Archbishop then accursed. And so for that day the People returned home without any service. Ex veteri chronico manuscripto, cui initium, Anno gratie millesimo, &c.

The stout-
ness of the
Dean and
Treasurer,
in not sub-
mitting them-
selves to the Arch-
bishop.

The people
incited to
against the
Dean of
York and his
Canons.

Ex Chron.
Anonimo,
cui initium:
Anno gratie

After this, King Richard, preparing to set all things in an order before his going, committed the whole government of the Realm, principally to William, Bishop of Ely, his Chancellor, and to Hugh Bishop of Durham, whom he ordained to be the Chief Justice of all England in his absence, the one to have the custody of the Tower, with the oversight of all other parts of the Land, on this side of Humber, the other (which was the Bishop of Durham) to have charge upon all other his Dominions beyond Humber, sending moreover unto Pope Clement, in the behalf of the foresaid William Bishop of Ely, that he might be made the Popes Legat through all England and Scotland, which also was obtained. Thus the Bishop being advanced in high authority, to furnish the King towards his setting forth, provideth out of every City in England two Palfries, and two Sumpters, and also out of every Abby one Palfrey and one Sumpter.

K. Richard
prepareth
towards his
journey.
William Bi-
shop of Ely
the Kings
Chancellor,
and Hugh
Bishop of
Durham,
made chief
overscers of
the Realm
in the Kings
absence.
William Bi-
shop of Ely
made the
Popes Le-
gat in Eng-
land and
Scotland.

These things and other thus set in a stay, the King according to his former appointment, about the time of Easter, sailed into France, where the French King and he conferring together, because they could not make ready at that time of Easter, concluded to take a longer day, pro-roguing their Voyage till after Midsummer. In which mean time, the King occupying himself in redressing and

stablishing

stablishing such things as further were to be ordered, there determined that *Gaufridus* and *John* his Brethren, should not enter into *England* in three years after his departure; nevertheless he released that bond afterward to his Brother *John*. Then he appointed the Captains and Constables over his Navy, and set Laws to be observed in his Journey upon the Seas, but especially his care was to make unity and concord between parties that were at variance, and to set them together at one. At which time the long contention began also to be appeased, which so many years had continued between *Baldwinus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Monks of *Christ's-Church*: the discourse whereof, although it be somewhat tedious to be set forth at large, being enough to make a whole Tragedy; yet to the intent the age now present may see what great conflicts and dissensions, upon what little trifles, have been stirred up, what little peace and unity hath been not only in this Church, but commonly in all other Churches under the Popes Catholick regiment; I thought it not labour ill bestowed, somewhat to intermeddle in opening to the eyes of the Reader, the consideration of this matter. Wherein first is to be understood, that the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, commonly being set up by the Pope, especially since the time of the Conquest, have put the Kings of this Land to much sorrow and trouble, as appeared by *William Rufus* and *Lanfrank*, and also *Anselm*; by *Henry* the first and *Anselm*; King *Stephen* and *Theobald*; *Henry* the Second and *Becket*, &c. For which the Kings of this Land have used the more care and circumspection, to have such Archbishops placed in the See, as either should stand with them, or at the least, should not be against them.

Now to the purpose of our matter intended: First, after *Lanfrancus*, who was Archbishop twenty years, the See standing vacant five years, succeeded *Anselmus*, and sat seventeen years; after whom the See standing vacant four years, succeeded *Rodulphus*, and continued nine years, then followed *William*, who sat twelve years, and died in the year 1137. after whom came *Theobaldus* in the time of King *Stephen*. This *Theobaldus*, being no great favourer of the Monkish Generation, fell out with *Jeremias*, Prior of the House of *Canterbury*, for certain causes between them; for which the Archbishop, taking stomach against the Prior, would lay the sentence of interdiction against him. The Prior, seeing that, to save himself, made his appeal to Pope *Innocent*. The Archbishop, provoked the more by that, deposed him from his Priorship, and placed one *Walter* in his room. *Jeremias* notwithstanding, making his complaint and appeal to *Rome*, obtained Letters from the Pope to *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, being the Popes Legate; by the virtue whereof, he against the heart of the Archbishop was restored, and *Walter* displaced. Nevertheless, the said *Jeremias*, not willing there to continue with displeasure of the Archbishop, shortly after of his own accord, renounced his Priorship, and *Walter* again was received in his stead. Not long after this followed the General Council at *Rhemes*, in the year 1140. To the which Council, *Theobald*, contrary to the commandment of the King, would needs resort, to shew his obedience to the Pope. Wherefore at his returning home again, the King took such displeasure with him, that within a while after the Archbishop was driven to avoid the Realm, and fly into *France*, where he, by censure of interdiction, suspended divers Churches and religious Houses which refused to come to the Council; and also hearing how the King had seized upon all his Goods, he interdicted likewise all the Kings Land whatsoever, belonging to the Crown: so that the King, in conclusion, was fain to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the year 1148. *Ex Gervaf.*

After this in the year of our Lord 1151. after the death of *Hugh* Abbot of *S. Austins* in *Canterbury*, *Silvester* was elected by the Covent to be their Abbot in the Reign of King *Stephen*. Which *Silvester* when he came unto *Theobald* the Archbishop to make his profession of subjection unto him, and to receive of him Consecration; the Archbishop was contented, so that the Abbot would come to *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*, and there make his profession. But to this *Silvester* in no case would grant to take his Consecration there; but else in any other Church, wheresoever the Archbishop would, he was contented.

Whereunto when the Archbishop in no wise would agree, *Silvester* making a great Bag of Money, went to *Rome*, where he obtained of the Pope for money (for what cannot money do at *Rome*?) Letters that the Archbishop should consecrate the Abbot in his own Church of *S. Austen*, and also not exact of him any profession of Canonical Subjection. Whereupon the Archbishop was compelled against his will to come to the Abbots Church, and there at the Popes Commandment to consecrate him simply, and without any further profession to be required.

Then *Walter*, Prior of *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*, seeing that, and perceiving how prejudicial and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majesty of their Church, through counsel of his Brother went thither: and notwithstanding the Doors were straitly watched and kept; yet by means, he at last got in. And as he saw the Archbishop attired in his Pontificalibus, ready to minister Consecration to the Abbot, he stepped straight to the Archbishop, and estoons appealeth him to *Rome*, for the great injury wrought against the Church of *Canterbury*, forbidding him in the name of him to whom he appealed, not to proceed any further. And so this holy Consecration was for the present time staid. For the which *Silvester* with a new Purse of Money was fain to travel and trot again to *Rome*, where he complaining of the Archbishop, and accusing him of contempt of the Pope, in not executing the commandment sent down, obtaineth again new Letters with more effectual charge to the foresaid Archbishop, that he without any profession, simply should give to *Silvester* his Consecration in his own Church, *Omni octasione & appellatione remota*, All manner of stay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithstanding. And so in conclusion, the Abbot, contrary to whatsoever the Archbishop and all the Monks of *Canterbury* could do, was in his own Church made Abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop left not the matter so, but within five years after, obtained of Pope *Adrian*, that *Silvester* should make profession of his obedience to the Archbishop, and so he did. *Ex Gervaf.*

In few years after this, died King *Stephen*, Anno 1154. and after him *Theobald* the Archbishop, Anno 1159. after he had sat three and twenty years; after whom through the instant procurement of King *Henry* the second, was placed *Thomas Becket*, the Kings Chancellor, Anno 1162. of whose sturdy rebellion against the King, because sufficient hath been said before, it shall not need to make a double labour now about the same.

After the death of *Becket*, much ado there was between King *Henry* and *Odo* Prior of *Canterbury*, about the Election of a new Archbishop. For the King seeing the Realm so oftentimes incumbered by those Popish Archbishops, and fearing lest the Monks of *Canterbury* should elect such another as would follow the steps of *Thomas Becket*, most humbly with Cap in hand, and courtie of knee, desired *Odo* the Prior, that at his request, and for contentation of his mind, such a one might be elected whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certain Bishop, which was a good simple man after the Kings liking) but the Prior dissemblingly answering the King again, that he neither could nor would, without the consent of his Covent, give promise to any man: in fine, contrary to the Kings so humble request, agreed to the Election of another, which was the Prior of *Dover*, called *Richard*, Anno Domini 1173. who continued in that See eleven years.

And here was renewed again the like variance between this Archbishop, and *Roger* Abbot of the *Austen* Monks in *Canterbury*, as was before mentioned between *Theobaldus* and *Silvester*. For when the said *Roger*, after his Election to be Abbot, must needs take his Consecration at the Archbishops hand, neither would the Archbishop grant it unto him, unless he made profession of obedience, according to the ancient custom of his Predecessors: then *Roger* consulting with his Monks, first denied so to do, but at length was contented, so it might not be done in the Archbishops Church: but in any other Church where he would, under-writing this clause withal, *Salvis utriusque ecclesie privilegiis*, that is, *Saving the privileges of both Churches*. To this the Archbishop said again, first, that he should

Silvester goeth up to *Rome*.

The Monks of *Christ's-Church* strive against the Monks of *S. Austen* in *Canterbury*, for the honour of their house.

Walter Prior of *Christ's-Church*, appealeth the Archbishop up to *Rome*.

Silvester trudgeth again to *Rome*.

Silvester consecrated Abbot in his own Church, whether the Archbishop would or not.

Odo Prior of *Canterbury*.

Richard Prior of *Dover*, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Anno 1173.

Another frivolous contention between *Richard* Archbishop, and *Roger* Abbot of the *Austen* Monks in *Canterbury* about profession of obedience.

make his due and Canonical Profession, and that he should not come to him with writing or underwriting, but should say in his heart, *Salve sancta parens*, or *Salve festa dies*, not *Salvis privilegiis*, or any such like thing. Whereunto when the *Austen* Monks in no case would consent, nor the Archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction: *Roger* the Abbot was fain to post to *Rome*, and there to bring the Archbishop in hatred in the Court of *Rome*, made his Abby Tributary to Pope *Alexander*.

Roger Abbot of Saint *Austen*, maketh his House Tributary to Pope *Alexander*. 1177.

Roger the Abbot returneth home with triumph.

Appellation of the Archbishop.

Council of Lateranum, sub *Alexandro* Papa.

Roger Abbot of St. *Austen*, travelleth up again to *Rome*.

Roger Abbot consecrated at *Rome* by the Pope.

The House of *Austen* Monks in *Canterbury* not able to shew for them any Deeds or Writings of antiquity.

Ex *Hister*. *Gervaf.* *Richard* the Archbishop, going towards *Rome* to complain of the Abbot, was staid by the King.

A Catholick practice of the *Romish* Court, to set men together at variance, that they might get their money.

Trouble in choosing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after the death of *Richard*.

Monks of *Canterbury* sent for by *K. Henry* the 2d. about choosing of their Archbishop.

The Pope well contented with this, not only granteth the Abbot his desire, but also in contumely of the Archbishop, dubbeth the Abbot with all such ornaments as to a Prelate appertain; and so in the year 1178. sent home the Abbot triumphantly with his Ring and Miter, and other Ensigns of Victory, with Letters also to the Archbishop, injoyning him immediately upon the sight thereof, to consecrate the Abbot in his own Church, and without making any profession. Although with these Letters the Archbishop was shrewdly pressed, yet notwithstanding his stout heart would not stoop for this; but he laid his Appeal against the same, and so the Consecration for that time was suspended.

Then *Roger*, for his more defence, getting the Kings Letters, travelled up the second time to *Rome*, where grievously he complained to Pope *Alexander* of the Archbishop. At the same time a General Council was summoned to be kept at *Lateran*, where *Richard* the foresaid Archbishop was also looked for amongst other Bishops to be present. Who then came as far as *Paris*; but being there, durst approach no further, and so retired home again. Whereupon the Pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the Abbot with his own Consecration, and invested him with all pomp and glory; howbeit, providing before that the said Consecration should redound to no prejudice against the Liberties of the Mother Church of *Canterbury*, and so upon the same, wrote to the Archbishop his Letters of Certificate, with this addition annexed, *Salvo jure & dignitate Cant. Ecclesie*: that is to say, *Saving the liberties and dignities of the Church of Canterbury*.

After the Council ended, *Roger* the Abbot returneth home, although with an empty Purse, yet full of Victory and Triumph. The Archbishop, again thinking to work some grievance to the *Austen* Monks, had procured in this mean time Letters from Pope *Alexander* unto the Bishop of *Durham*, and Abbot of *S. Albans*, that they should cause the said *Roger* Abbot of the *Austen* Monks, to shew unto the Archbishop all the old privileges of his House; which indeed, being shewed, seemed to be rased and new written, with Bulls of Lead, not after the manner nor stile of that age, nor pretending any such antiquity as should seem to reach from the time of *Austen*, but rather newly counterfeit.

All this notwithstanding, the Abbot, bearing him bold upon the Popes favour, ceased not still to disquiet and overcrow the Archbishop by all ways he could, in exempting all his Priests and Lay-men, belonging to his Jurisdiction, from the Archbishops obedience; forbidding also that any of his should come to his Chapters or Synods, or fear any Sentence of his Curse or Excommunication. Whereupon the Archbishop, about the month of *November* the same year, sayling over to *Normandy* where the King was, thought to take his journey to the Pope to complain of the Abbot; but being stayed by the King, he was not suffered to pass any further, the King labouring what he could, to bring them to agreement. Nevertheless the Pope and his *Romans* (saith my story) *Aurum & argentum magis quam justitiam sientes*, *seditiones inter eos & litigia commovebant*: that is, *Caring more for gold and silver, than for justice, still stirred coles of sedition and debate between them*. *Ex Historia Gervafii*.

The next year after this ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1184, died *Richard* the Archbishop aforesaid, in the eight and thirtieth year of King *Henry* the Second. After whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new Archbishop, between the King and Monks of *Canterbury*. And now to enter here into the story of *Baldwin* above mentioned: first the King sent to the Monks, that they should consider with themselves about the Election of their Archbishop, and to be ready against the time that he would send for them to the Court. Upon this the

Covent, gladly assembling together, agreed in themselves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer; yet naming four more, that if the King would refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practice in the Monks was, first to keep the Election only in their own hands, as much as they could. And secondly, Ever to give the Election either to some Prior or Monk of their own house or to some Abbot or Bishop, which sometimes had been of their company. Whereby as much inconvenience and blind Superstition was bred in the Church of *England*: so the same disliked both the King and the Bishops not a little.

As this past on, the King, when he saw his time, willed the Monks of *Canterbury* to be cited or sent for, to understand what they had concluded in their Election. Whereupon the Monks sent up their Prior called *Alanus*, with certain other Monks to *Reading*, where the King then lay, about the month of *August*. Who at first were courteously entertained; but after the King had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were sent home again with cold cheer, the King willing them to pray better, and to advise more earnestly upon the matter amongst themselves. *Alanus* the Prior with his fellows, thus departed; who coming home, in conclusion, so concluded amongst themselves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the King, without the Popes consent and knowledge. The King understanding hereof, sent his Embassadors likewise of the Pope, for the fortifying of his cause, being in the mean time grievously offended with the Prior, saying, *that he was proud, and would make Archbishop whom he listed, and would be the second Pope in England, &c.*

Not long after this, as these Letters were sent up to *Rome*, the King sent for *Alanus* the Prior, and more of the Monks to come to him; whom he intreateth, desiring them in gentle speech, that they would shew so much gentleness and favour to him being their Lord and King, as becometh his friends and subjects to do, as to confer with the Bishops of the Realm about this matter, and to take some better counsel, so as might redound to Gods glory, his honour and wealth of the publick State; with other like words to the same effect.

To whom when the Prior had answered again, with thanks and due reverence, according to the Kings request, the Bishops and Monks went to confer together about the matter. And first, the Bishops marvelled why the Monks should exclude them out of the Election, seeing they were professed and Suffragans to the said Church of *Canterbury*; *Neither is there any Prince*, quoth the Bishop of *Bath*, *that will refuse our counsel. There be some counsels*, said the Monks, *whereat you may be called; but as touching the doing of this Election, it pertaineth not unto you, further than to publish only, and denounce the party whom we have chosen*. The Bishop of *London* then asked, *if they had already made an Election*. No Election, said the Prior, as yet, but only we have denominated the persons. Then have ye proceeded further, quoth he, than ye ought, having commandment from the Pope, not to proceed without us. And with that was brought forth the Popes Letter, commanding that within forty days, the Bishops of *England*, and the Prior, and Covent of *Canterbury* should elect an able and fit person to their Archbishop. About the scanning of these Letters was much ado. The Bishops said, *they were first named, and therefore ought to have most interest in this Election*. The Monks said again, *That they also were not excluded, and required to have a transcript of the Letter, whereof much doubt was made*.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the King, coming between them both, called away the Bishops from the Monks, supposing, by separating the one from the other to draw both parties to his sentence. But that would not be for the Monks, stiffly standing to their Liberties, would lose no preheminance of their Church, still alledging how by the ancient privileges of the Church of *Canterbury*, the Covent should chuse their Pastor and Bishop, and the Prior was but to publish and denounce the person. The Bishops again replied, *That it was their right to appoint their Archbishop and Metropolitan, which were Bishops and Suffragans; and namely, the Bishop of London, also being Dean of the said Church of Canterbury*. The King then as Umpire between them, yet favouring rather the side of the Bishops, desired them to agree together

Monks of *Canterbury* persist in chusing their own Bishop.

Monks of *Canterbury* again sent for to the K. about their still on *Alanus* Prior of *Canterbury*. The King offered with the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*. The stubbornness of the Monks against the King.

The King eth to *Rome* against the Monks. The King gentle words to the Monks.

Bishops of *England* claim to have interest in the election of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The Popes Letter, commanding the Bishop of the Realm, with the Prior & Covent, to chuse the Archbishop.

The King rareth the Bishops from the Monks.

The Monks will lose no preheminance of their church.

in peace. When that would not prevail, he set the Lord Steward, and other Noblemen to intreat the Prior to draw to some agreement; at least to be contented with this form of election, which was, that the Bishop of London, or some other Bishops, should declare the Election in these words:

We Bishops, and the Prior and Convent of Christs Church in Canterbury, with the assent of our Lord the King, do chuse such a person to be Archbishop, &c. Or else thus, that the Prior should pronounce forth the Election in these words, saying: *The Bishops of England, and I Prior, and the Convent of Canterbury, with the assent of our Lord and King, do chuse such a person, &c.*

The form of election of the Archbishop, set between the Bishops and the Monks of Canterbury.

Upon this, the Prior said he would convent with his Convent. Who with much ado were content to grant to the Kings desire; but afterward being required to put down the same in writing, that they refused to do; yet notwithstanding, relented at last to the King. But when the Bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow Bishops, so the matter for that time staid; and the King, sending home the Monks again to their house in peace, deferred that business to a further day, which was till the first day of December; commanding the Prior with his fellows the same day not to fail, but to be at London about the choosing of the Archbishop.

The election of the Archbishop deferred to the Month of December Anno 1184.

The Kings message to the Monks of Canterbury, to agree and joyn with the Bishops.

As the day prefixed came, the Prior with his company, were also present, who giving attendance all that day, and the next day also following, so were driven off till the third day after. At length the Lord Steward, with other Nobles of the Realm, were sent unto them from the King to declare, *That whereas the King before had divided the Bishops from the Monks, that they both might have their Election by themselves, after the form of a Bill which was put down in writing: Now the mind of the King was, that the Monks, taking another way, should joyn with the Bishops, and so, having the matter in talk together, should proceed jointly in the Election.*

Against this many things were alledged by the Prior and his Mates, complaining much upon the Bishops, which said, that the Bishops had ever holden with the Kings, against the liberties of their Church and Archbishops. As first, they stood against *Anselm* for King *William*; then against *Theobald* for King *Stephen*; after that, against *Thomas Becket* for King *Henry*; and after him, did supplant the election of *Richard* their Archbishop; and now again, went about to practise and work against this their election present, &c. At last the Prior with his fellows concluding, desired they might speak with the King himself. Who, oftsoons coming unto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and go talk with the Bishops about the election; promising, that whom they agreed upon, he also would grant his assent unto the same. To whom when the Prior again had objected the writings that before were made: Truth it is (said the King) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will go against the council of my Realm; and therefore agree, said he, with my Bishops and Abbots, and remember that the voice of the People is the voice of God.

The Kings words to the Monks of Canterbury.

The Monks of Canterbury compell'd against their wills to joyn with the Bishops, touching the election of the Archbishop.

Upon this the Prior with his Monks, seeing no other remedy, went to the Bishops to confer, according to the King his request, about the election; who then were willed by the Bishops to nominate whom they would, and the Bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the Prior with his complices, had named three, after their choosing the Bishops, said they would nominate but one; and so did, which was the Bishop of *Worcester*, willing the Prior to go home, and to confer with his Convent about the same. To whom shortly after the Bishops sent certain Priests, to signify to the Convent, that they, according to the Popes Letters, should repair to the Bishops concerning the election of the Archbishop; also declared moreover to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men; but he whom they had to nominate was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The Monks, marvelling hereat, sent two Monks with the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* to the King.

This done, immediately after the return of the Priests, the Bishops caused all the Bells of the City to be rung, and *Te Deum* to be sung for the Archbishop new elect. Where-

of when the two Monks brought tidings to the Convent at *Canterbury* what was done at *London*, they were all in a marvellous dump. The King hearing this, and perceiving the stiffness of the Monks, in all haste sent messengers to *Canterbury* with gentle words, to will the Prior to come to the King, and certify him of the purpose of his Monks. Unto whom the Prior, oftsoons being come, declareth in the name of the whole Convent, that in no case he, nor the Monks would ever while the world stood, agree to that Election of the Bishops; unless the King in his own person would come to *Canterbury*, and there openly, before the whole Convent, protest by his own mouth the foresaid Election to be nought and void; and so, returning to *London* again, openly likewise, before the Clergy and People, would repudiate and reject the same: and furthermore, that the party also elected, should openly in the same place protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unless he entred by the consent of the Prior and Convent of *Canterbury*; and all this to be done in the same place where the Bishops had made their Election before; and so peradventure (said they) at the Kings so earnest sute and request, they would gratifie his will, and ratifie the said Election with the voices of their consent. To make the story short, after great hold between the Secular Clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the Kings indignation against the Prior, and the swooning of the Prior before the King, at length the King to take up the matter, and to save the Priors life, was fain to perform in his own person all those conditions above prescribed by the Monks. *Ex Geruasi. fol. 100.*

Bishops of the Realm make their Election of the Archbishop, with our the Monks of Canterbury.

Conditions prescribed to the King by the Monks of Canterbury, for the ratification of the Archbishop made by the Bishops.

Baldwin Bishop of Worcester elected Archbishop of Canterbury. Anno 1184.

And thus have ye heard the tragical election of the Bishop of *Worcester*, named *Baldwin*, made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Now what a troublesome time the said *Baldwin* had with the Monks in governing the Church of *Canterbury*, here followeth likewise not unworthy to be considered.

The troubles between Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Monks of the same Church.

IN the first year the Archbishop shewed himself friendly and loving to the Monks; the next year following he began to appear somewhat rough unto them. The manner then was of the house of *Christs Church*, toward the time of the Nativity and of *Easter*, to receive certain Presents or Gifts of their Farmers or Tenants, which the Cellarer should take and lay up. Those Presents the Archbishop began first to intercept from the Monks, and to bestow them upon his Secular Clerks. After this he took three Churches or Benefices (which the Monks claimed as proper to themselves) and placed in them three of his Chaplains. After this he incroacheth to his hands, certain Tenements, Revenues and Victuals, belonging before to the Monks (as they said) and committed the custody thereof to certain of his own Clerks and household servants.

The great trouble and contention between Baldwin Archbishop and the Monks of Canterbury.

The Monks which had born so much with the Archbishop before, seeing this, could forbear him no longer, but needs would make their appeal against him. The Archbishop, not much regarding that, waxed thereby the more fierce against them, inasmuch that such Farms and Tenements as he before had let alone, now he received to his own occupying, with many other grievances where-with he greatly vexed the Monks, so that three Abbots were fain to come and reconcile the Archbishop and the Monks; which reconciliation was this, that the Monks should let fall their appeal, and the Archbishop should restore again to them their Farms and Tenements. But as touching the Benefices and the Presents, the Archbishop still kept them in his hands for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheless, some there were of the ancient Monks which in no case would give over the foresaid appeal before the Archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

The Monks of Canterbury appeal to the Pope against their Archbishop. Reconciliation between the Archbishop and the Monks, which did not hold long.

After this agreement, such as it was, between the Monks and him, the Archbishop soon after sent up to *Rome* one of his Chaplains (unto whom he had given one of the Benefices afore-mentioned) partly for confirmation of his Benefice, partly also to obtain licence for the Archbishop to build a Church, which he intended to erect of Secular Priests near unto the Town of *Canterbury*. Which

The Archbishop sendeth to the Pope.

being obtained of the Pope, the Archbishop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to war fierce against the Monks, not only in taking from them their Churches and Oblations, but also in aggravating the whole state of their House, which he intended either to subvert, or greatly to diminish, to pluck down the pride and stubbornness of the Monks. Wherefore taking with him certain other Bishops (whom he knew bare no good will to that Monkish generation) he went to the King, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemn Church, in the honour of *S. Thomas of Canterbury*, of secular Priests or Canons, and therefore desired of the King to have his favourable licence to the same. The King right well perceiving the purpose of the Archbishop whether it tended, as to the bridling of the stiff-necked Monks, was the more willing to give assent, if he were not also the chief worker of that matter himself.

The intent of the Archbishop in planting of that new Church, was to found there divers Prebends, and to make both the King, and every Bishop being his Suffragans, Prebendaries thereof, so that every one of them should confer one Prebendship to the same foundation; minding there to consecrate Bishops, to make his Chrismatory, to celebrate his Synods, and to administer all other things belonging unto the function of his See, and the same to be called *Hakington Church*. The Monks, not ignorant how the Archbishop privily intended the defolation and subversion of their House and Liberties, consulting upon the matter, determined at length among themselves to appeal to the See of *Rome*, namely, for these three causes against the Archbishop: First, for spoiling them of their Gifts and Oblations: Secondly, for depriving them of their Churches and Benefices: and Thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular Canons, to the derogation and overthrow of their Religious Order; giving admonition to the Archbishop before by their Monks, sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the Archbishop answered, that the foundation, which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour of their House. Who answered again, that it was, and could not otherwise be, but to their subversion. *And what should let me then* (said the Archbishop) *but I may build in my own ground what I will?*

No (said they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you have by right are ours, forso much as you have them not of your self, but of the Church, and for the Churches cause. All which things have been given neither to you, nor to the Archbishops, but unto the Church of Christ: and therefore (said they) all such as appertain unto us inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our Church, we submit under the Popes protection, and now here make our appeal to the See Apostolick, assigning also the term when to prosecute the same.

The Archbishop receiving this appellation, and saying, that he would answer to the same either by himself, or by his respondent, within three days after, which was the sixteenth of *December*, came to *Canterbury*: where the Monks understanding how he was in mind to place new secular Priests in the Church of *St. Stephen*, where the Monks had served before, came to the Church to stop the proceeding of the Archbishop by way of appeal. Whereof the Archbishop having warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the Monks, again being sent by *Honorius* the Prior into the Church, charged the Archbishop in the name of Almighty God, and by virtue of their appeal made to the Apostolick See, to surcease those his doings; charging also the Parson of the Church in no wise to suffer those secular Clerks to be admitted into the Church. All which yet notwithstanding, the Archbishop proceedeth in his business. And first, placing in his Clerks, he suspendeth the Prior from his administration. Then he adjureth the Porters of the Gate, upon their Oath, to let none of the Monks pass out of the house without his licence. The Monks likewise he commanded, by virtue of obedience, not to stay any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the foresaid Monks, which served the Appeal against him, he utterly banished from that Covent. Upon this, the day next following, *Honorius* the Prior, trusting (saith the Story) on God, and *S. Thomas*, took his way to *Rome*, sent in commission by

the Covent, to prosecute the appeal against the Archbishop.

In this mean season, a new jar began between the said Archbishop and the Monks, about their Rents and Revenues, which the Archbishop would have committed to the receiving and keeping of three Monks, but the Sub-prior *Geffery*, with the Covent, in no case would suffer that: whereabout there was a foul stir. The Archbishop, craving the aid of the King, first had three Bishops sent down to him, of *Conventry*, *Norwich* and *Worcester*. Who, being instant with the Monks to submit their cause into the Kings hands, like as the Archbishop had done, they utterly refused it: especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the Apostolick See. The King seeing no other remedy, came himself with the Archbishop into the Chapter-house; where he commanded first the doors to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. A-*For this* month whom were two Bishops, to wit, of *Norwich* and *Durham*, and one *Petrus Blesensis* a learned man (whose Epistles be yet extant in Libraries) a chief worker in this matter against the Monks. Then was called in *Geffery* the Sub-prior, with a few other Monks whom he brought with him. The King then first talking with the Archbishop and his company, and afterwards with the Monks, laboured to intreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the Bishops, concerning the cause which was between the Archbishop and them in traverse.

To this the Monks answered, that these were good words, but served not for that time, forso much as their cause was already translated to the Court of *Rome*, and now was presently in hearing before the Popes Holiness: and therefore they could not, ne would do that injury to their Lord Pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter unto the judgment of any other. Then was it required of the Monks, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the Prior would consent thereto: upon this intent, that if the Prior consented, and the Monks not, then should they run in contempt and disobedience; or if the Monks would consent, and the Prior not, then should the Prior be excluded the Realm. The wily Monks, being not unprovided of this subtilty, made their answer, that seeing they had sent their Prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honesty to give any determinate consent, without the knowledge, and before the return of the said Prior: unless the Archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfully wrested from them. When the King could get no other answer of the Monks, neither could move the Archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, unless they would confess and acknowledge their fault, he, so parting from them, passed over into *France*.

Not long after this came a Messenger from *Rome*, bringing Letters from Pope *Urban* to the Archbishop, wherein the Pope considering and tendering (as he said) the enorme grievances done against the Monks, straitly enjoined and commanded him, within ten days after the receiving thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the Prior and others of the said Covent, and also to retract and restore again to the Monks whatsoever he plucked from them since the time of their appeal first made. Who, in case he should deny, or forestall the doing hereof, commission was given to three Abbots, of *Batell*, of *Feverham*, and of *St. Austins*, with ample authority to perform the same, &c. The Archbishop, receiving these Letters brought to him by a Monk of the foresaid House, first made his excuse that the Pope was misinformed. But the Monks not contented with that excuse, when they would needs know what answer he would make to the Popes *Nuncio*, his answer was, that he had yet ten days given him of the Pope. In which meantime the Archbishop went to *London*, and there in the Church of *St. Paul* consecrated his holy Oyl and Cream (making one of the Popes seven Sacraments) which was grievously taken in the Church of *Canterbury*. At last the ten days being ended, when the Archbishop refused to accomplish that which was in the Popes Letter enjoined him, the three Abbots aforesaid, to execute the Popes commandment, came at their day assigned to *Canterbury*, and there assailed all such as the Archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified Pope *Urban* by Letters what they had done.

The

The Archbishop appeal-
eth up the
three Ab-
botts to
Rome.
The Arch-
bishops new
Church
made of
wood.

A Letter of
Pope Urban
against the
Archbishop.

The Arch-
bishops mes-
sengers
come to the
Court.

Letters of
the King,
the Arch-
bishop, and
of other Bi-
shops to the
Pope.

At Pillow
Attorney in
the Popes
Court
for the
Monks of
Canterbury.

Petrus Ble-
fensis Agent
for the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

The Pope
holdeth on
the Monks
side against
the King,
the Arch-
bishop and
the Bishops
of the Realm.
The Popes
Execution
commanded
by R. Glau-
ville in the
Kings name
not to pro-
ceed against
the Arch-
bishop.

Monks of
Canterbury
commanded
to shew
their privi-
leges to
the King.

C. rein Of
scers put in
the house of
Christs
Church a-
gainst the
Monks will.

The Archbishop hearing this, within four days after, sent two of his Clerks, which appealed the three Abbots afore said up to Rome; and he himself in the mean time prepared busily for the building up of his Church, sending to all Churches in England upon releasement of their tins, to confer unto the same; and to make the more hast, for lack of Free-stone he made up his building with Timber, and such other stuff as he could get.

The Prior Honorius all this while remained still at the Court of Rome, giving attendance upon the Pope; who having intelligence of the Archbishops doings, procured another Letter of Pope Urban to the whole Clergy of England, straitly injoyning them that none should confer to the new Fraternity of Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury. To these Letters the Archbishop shewed such reverence, that where before he had planted his Chappel of wood and boards, now he provided the same to be builded of Lime and stone.

By this time Petrus Blesensis, with other messengers of the Archbishop, seeing Honorius the Prior to be gone from the Court of France, resorted to the Court of Rome, bringing with them Letters of Credit from the King, from the Archbishop, and also from other Bishops of the Realm; but the Pope reading only the Kings Letters, and the Archbishops, the residue he cast into a window by, saying he would read them at further leisure. Then the Pope giving audience in his Consistory to hear their cause, first came in Petrus Blesensis with the Agents of the Archbishop, exhibiting their Letters, and propounding their requests to the Pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the Monks to the Archbishop, wherein they had injured him. Item, That the things which had been granted before to the Prior in that Court, might be called in again. Thirdly, That the Archbishop might have license to proceed in building his Colledge of Canons, &c. After this was called in M. Pillow the Attorney for the Monks of Canterbury. Who alledging many great things against the Archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the Popes precepts, required that he should make restitution to the Monks for his injuries done to them; and also that his new foundation of Secular Canons, tending to the overthrow of the Conventual Church of Canterbury, should be utterly rased and thrown down to the ground. Thus between these parties pleading and repleading one against the other, much hard hold there was, but in conclusion for all the Kings Letters, and for all that the Archbishop and Bishops could do, the matter went on the Monks side. So that there was no remedy, but the Pope would needs have the Archbishops new building come down, and the Monks to be restored again to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three Abbots afore said, to wit, of Battel, of Faversham, of St. Austins in Canterbury, and to Geoffrey Subprior of Canterbury.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Glauville, Lord Steward of England, writing to the said Abbot of Battel, and to the Subprior and Convent of Canterbury, commandeth them in the Kings name, and upon their Oath and fealty given unto him, that they nor any of them do proceed in this Controversie between the Monks and the Archbishop of Canterbury, before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the Kings pleasure: and furthermore charging the Convent of Canterbury not to enter further in any Examinations as concerning the Archbishops matters; and also citing the Subprior of the said House, to appear before him at London, at the Feast of St. James the same year, which was 1187. Notwithstanding he excusing himself by sickness, sent two Monks in his stead, and so kept himself at home. To whom commandment was given, that the Monks of Canterbury within fifteen days should fall over to Normandy to the King, and there shew the tenor and evidences of their privileges; and also that such Stewards and Bailiffs whom they had placed in their Farms and Lordships, contrary to the will of the Archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three Abbots in the Kings name were commanded in no wise to execute the Popes commandment against the Archbishop. Not long after this the Archbishop took Shipping at Dover, and went over to the King, where he ordained three principal Officers over the Monks of Christs Church; the Sacrist, the Cellarer, and the Chamberlain, contrary to the will of the

Convent, with other Grievances more, whereby the Monks were not a little offended, so that upon the same they made a new Appellation to the Pope. Whereupon Pope Urban by the setting on of Honorius the Prior, who was now come again to the Court, wrote to him another Letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

Another
Appellation
of the
Monks a-
gainst the
Archbishop.

The Tenor of Pope Urban's Letters to Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury.

Urbanus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Baldwin Cantuar. Archiepiscopo & Apostolicae sedis Legato, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem, &c.

In that we have born with your Brotherhood hitherto, and have not proceeded in such grievous manner against you, as we might, although being thereto greatly provoked; the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would have relented from the oppression of the Conventual Church of Canterbury, committed unto you; if not for our reverence, which you seem to have contemned more than became you, yet at least for fear of Gods judgment. For well we hoped, our conscience persuading us to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignity in the Church of England, you would have been an example to others of obedience and reverence to be given to the See Apostolick of all Ecclesiastical persons. Wherefore at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to advance and honour you as we have done few others besides, thinking no less, but that we had found a faithful friend of the Church, for our honour. Wherein we perceive now (which maketh us not a little to marvel) our expectation greatly deceived. And whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we find a persecutor against us in our members.

The Copy
of Pope
Urban's Let-
ter to the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Note how
the Popes
stand all
upon their
honour.

The Popes
expectation
deceived in
the Arch-
shop of
Canterbury.

For whereas we sundry times have written to you in the behalf of our Brethren, and the Church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disturbing them, and not vex or disturb their liberties, at least for reverence of us: you not only in this, but in other things more (as commonly is reported of you in all places) set at light our Letters and Appellations made unto the Apostolick See. What you have wrought against them after their so manifold Appellations laid unto us, and our Inhibitions again unto you, we are ashamed to utter. But revolve and consider in your mind, if ye have well done, and advise in your own conscience what you have done. We for our part because we neither may ne ought with deaf ears to pass over the clamors of the Brethren, and such contempts of the Apostolick See; although our biddings and warnings given to you seem to be all in vain, yet notwithstanding we send our Mandates again unto your Brotherhood, in these Apostolical Writings, strictly and in virtue of obedience commanding you, that whether you be present in your Church, or absent; all that notwithstanding, whatsoever you have done in building of your Chappel (which you to the destruction of the Monastery of Canterbury have erected) after the time of their appeal made to us, or our inhibition sent to you, you fall not of your proper costs and charges to demolish; undoing again, and making void, whatsoever ye have begun and innovated concerning the institution of the Canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said Chappel; accounting moreover and reputing the place where the Chappel was, to be accursed and prophane, and also that all such, whosoever have celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appear before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those Monks whom you have presumed to remove from their office, or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeal made, you restore and assaile again, rendering also and restoring all such Farms, Manors, Tenements, and Oblations as you, after their appeal made, have inveigled from them; and finally, that you innovate nothing touching the state of that Monastery, during the time of this Controversie depending before us. Giving

The Pope
exhorta-
teth with
Baldwin for
contempt
of his See.

The Arch-
bishop com-
manded by
the Pope to
throw
down the
building of
his new
Church, of
his own
costs and
charges.

The Arch-
bishop com-
manded to
restore and
assaille the
Monks
whom he
did deprive
and excom-
municate.

The Arch-
bishop
threatened
by the Pope.

you to understand that in case you shall continue in your stubbornness and rebellion upon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirty days after the receiving thereof, we shall appoint others to execute the same; injoyning also your Suffragans that as you shall shew your self disobedient and rebelling to us, so they all shall refuse likewise to give any obedience or reverence unto you, &c.

Given at FERRARIA,
5 Non. Octob.

The Pope
writeth to
the Abbots,
and also to
the King.

Another Letter besides this the Pope also sent to the three Abbots aforeaid for the correction of these enormities. Likewise another Letter was sent to King Henry the Second, wherein the Pope injoyneeth and requireth him, upon remission of his sins, not to dissemble and bear with the Archbishop in his oppression of his Monks, but to help that those things may be amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

Pope Urban
dieth.
Baldwin
King of Je-
rusalem,
with many
Nobles taken
of the
Saracens,
and the City
vicon.

These Pontifical Letters were written Anno 1187, the third day of October, and in the nineteenth day after, the same month, the said Pope Urban died. In the which year, and about the which month, Baldwin King of Jerusalem was taken, with many Noblemen of Soldan the Saracens; and Jerusalem lost, after that it had been in the possession of the Christians, and so continued the space of eighty eight years, and eighty days, from the time that Godfridus Bolonius did first win it from the Infidels.

The King
and Arch-
bishop glad
to agree
with the
Monks. The
Monks got
the upper
hand over
the Arch-
bishop.

After the receiving of those Letters of Pope Urban above specified, both the King and Archbishop, with all the Bishops of the Realm were marvellously quailed, glad now to please, and speak fair to the Monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the King now and Archbishop so submiss, but the Monks on the other side were as brag and jocant, being fully assured that all now was their own. In the Narration of which History (as it is set in Gervasius at large) this we have to note by the way, in what fear and thralldom Kings in those days were under the Pope, who could not be Masters over their own subjects, but that every pild Monk, or pelling Prior, upon vertue of their appeal to the Court of Rome, and making their house Tributary to the Pope, was able not only to match, but to give Checkmate unto the best King Christened, as not in this Story only may appear.

The misera-
ble subjec-
tion of Kings
under the
Pope to be
noted.

Calipha is
the High
Priest of the
Saracens
sitting in
Damascus,
unto whom
all the Sul-
tans were
subject, as
our Princes
now are to
the Pope.

It followeth then in the Story of these Monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their joy and jollity, suddenly cometh news of the death of Pope Urban their great Calipha, and also how that Gregory the Eighth was placed in his room, who was a special friend and favourer of the Archbishop; which as it did greatly encourage the King and the Archbishop, so the Monks on the other side were as much discomforted, so that now all was turned upside down. For whereas the King and the Archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the Monks, and to seek their favour, now were the Monks on the contrary side fain to crouch to the King, and glad to have a good countenance; who then resorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirm and grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was answered again by the King, that seeing the Archbishop had granted to them their Sacrist, their Chamberlain, and their Cellarer, they should have no more restored of him; neither would he suffer the Liberties and Priviledges of the Archbishop to be impaired, or take any wrong. And touching the new Chappel of St. Thomas (said he) whereabout ye strive so long, with the Canonships and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receive into my hands, so that none shall have any thing to do therein but my self, &c. In like manner of the Archbishop such another like answer they received, and of Bishops little better. So the Monks sent away with a flea in their ear, went home again out of Normandy to their Cell.

The Kings
answer to
the Monks
of Canter-
bury.

Pope Gregory
8. dieth.

Now the Archbishop having the Monks where he would, wrought them much grievance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after, and less, died Pope Gregory the Eighth, about the sixteenth

day of December following. After whom succeeded Pope Clement the Third, who following the steps of Urban, bent all his power with the Monks against the Archbishop, sending divers Precepts and Mandates in the next year following, which was the year One thousand one hundred eighty eight, with an imperious Letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the Monks, and to throw down his new Chappel. Whereupon the Archbishop made his appeal, and minded to go to Rome, but was called back of the King, being ready to sail over. In the which year Honorius the Prior died at Rome of the Plague, which was some help and comfort to the Archbishop, for whom the Archbishop made Roger Noris Prior, against the wills of the Covent. After this, about the latter end of the same year, Pope Clement sent down his Legate called Radulphus a Cardinal, to Canterbury, with another Letter more sharply written to the same effect unto the Archbishop. Ex Hist. Gervas.

Pope Cle-
ment the 3.

Pope Cle-
ment Let-
ters to the
Archbishop.

Honorius the
Prior of
Canterbury
died at
Rome.

The second
Letter of
Pope Cle-
ment to the
Archbishop.

K. Henry the
2d. dieth.
K. Rich. the
first joynd
with the
Archbishop.

Furthermore, in the year next after, which was One thousand one hundred eighty nine, he wrote also the third Letter to him. In the which year also died King Henry the Second, after whom succeeded King Richard his Son, who joyning likewise with the Archbishop, took his part strongly against the said Monks. At last, after much ado on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning divers of the Monks, King Richard preparing his Voyage towards Jerusalem, and studying first to set peace between them, consulted and agreed with the Bishops and Abbots about a final concord in this matter, between the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury; which at length on both parts was made, upon these Conventions which follow:

1. That Roger Noris should be deposed, whom the Archbishop had made Prior against their wills: whom the King then at the request of the Archbishop promoted to be Abbot of Eusham.
2. Item, That the Archbishop should pluck down his Chappel, which he builded in the suburbs of Canterbury, against the minds of the Monks.
3. Item, That the foresaid Monks should make profession of their obedience and subjection to the Archbishop, as they had done to his other Predecessors before him.
4. Item, As touching all other complaints and injuries (except only the Chappel, and deposition of Roger Noris the Prior) the Monks should stand to the Arbitrement of the King, of the Archbishop, and the Prelates.
5. Item, That the Monks kneeling down before the King in the Chapter-house, should ask the Archbishop forgiveness. Which being done, they went all together to the Church, and sang Te Deum for this reformation of peace. Ex veteri Chronico Manuscripto, & ex Gervasio.

Agreement
between
the Arch-
bishop and
Monks of
Canterbury
upon this
condition.

Ex Lib. A.
manuscripto,
& ex Hist. Ge-
vasii Manu-
scripti Cam-
bridgensi.

The next day after the Archbishop coming into the Chapter, restored to the Covent their Manors and Farms again; also he discharged the Prior which he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made between the Archbishop and the Covent, then the Archbishop going about to dissolve the building of his new Church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therefore making exchange of Lands with the Bishop and Monks of Rochester, purchased of them their ground in Lambeth, Ann. 1191. Which done, he came to his Clerks whom he had placed to be Canons in his new Colledg of Hakington, and also willed them to remove all their Goods and Furniture to Lambeth, over against Westminster, where he erected for them another Church, and there placed the said Canons. About which Colledg of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said Monks of Canterbury, in the time of Hubert the Archbishop in the reign of the said King Richard, and in the year of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the deposing of Roger Noris Prior of Canterbury aforeaid, Baldwin the Archbishop, inforced to grant them another Prior by the assent of the King and of the Covent, assigned Osbernus to be their Prior, who had taken part before with the Archbishop; but the Monks not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin the Archbishop removed him again.

Archbishop
of Canter-
bury purcha-
sed of the
Bishop of
Rochester
Land in
Lambeth to
build his
house upon
Baldwin
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury build-
ed his house
at Lambeth.

And

Three things to be observed in this story of Canterbury Monks above rehearsed.

Hypocrite in Monks.

Kings made slaves under the Pope.

No concord nor unity in Popish Churches.

Examples proving what discord, and how little unity is in the Popes Church.

Ex Mat. Paris.

No unity in the Popes Church.

And thus have you the tedious Discourse of this Catholick Tragedy between the Monks of *Canterbury* and their Archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsal; notwithstanding, this I thought to give the Reader to see of purpose. First to shew forth unto the world the stout sturdiness of this Monkish generation, who professing profound humility in their coat, what little humility they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancy in their conversation, and what hypocrisy in their Religion, this one example among a thousand others may give some experience. Secondly, That the posterity now may see how little Kings could then do in their own Realms for the Pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appear to all Readers, what strife and debate, what dissention and division, what little unity and concord hath always followed the Popes Catholick Church, wheresoever the corrupt Religion and usurped ambition of the Pope prevailed. For not to speak only of this Monkish house of *Canterbury*, What Church Cathedral, Collegiate, or Conventual; what See, Church, Monastery or Chappel was under all the Popes Government, but ever there happened some variance, either between the King and the Archbishop, as between King *William* and *Lanfranke*, King *Henry* the First and *Anselm*, King *Stephen* and *Richard*, King *Henry* the Second and *Becket*, King *John* and *Stephen Langton*, King *Henry* the Third and *Boniface*, &c. Or else between Archbishop and Archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the Cross, for sitting on the right hand of the Popes Legate, &c. Or else between Archbishops and their Suffragans; or between Archbishops and their Convents; or between Bishops and Monks, between Dean and Chapter, between Monks and Secular Priests, Monks of one sort against another, Friars of one Order against another, Students against Friars, Townsmen against Scholars, &c. As for example: What discord was between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Richard* Archbishop of *York*, between *Lanfrancus* and Archbishop *Thomas*, between *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Sylvester* Abbot of *St. Austins*, between *Walter* of *Christs Church*, and *Sylvester* Abbot aforesaid, between *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Jeremias* Prior of *Canterbury*, Anno 1144. between the Monks of *Canterbury* and *Odo* their Prior for translating the Relicks of *Dunstan*, between King *Stephen* and *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Roger* Bishop of *Ely* his Son, Anno 1138, between Pope *Innocent* and *Anacletus* the space of seven years; the Cardinals for money (saith *Gervasius*) sometime holding with the one, sometime with the other; at last the Election was determined by a fore battle between *Lotharius* Emperor, and *Rogerius* Duke of *Apulia*, Ann. 1137; also between Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, and *Frederick* Emperor the Second, between King *Henry* the Third and *William* Rale Bishop of *Winchester*, when the King had the Gates of *Winchester* Town to be shut against him, Anno 1250, between *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Canons of *St. Paul*: Item, between the said *Boniface* and Monks of *St. Bartholomew*, who sat there in Harnes in his Visitation, Anno 1250; between the Abbot of *Westminster* and Monks of the same house, Anno 1251. Item, Between the fore said *William* Rale Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for a Priest of the Hospital in *Southwark*, Anno 1252; between the said *Boniface* and Canons of *Lincoln* after the death of *Robert Grosthead*, for giving of Prebends, Anno 1253; between the Monks of *Coventry* and Canons of *Lichfield*, for chusing their Bishop in the time of King *Henry* the Third?

And what should I speak of the discord which cost so much money between *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Monks of *Rochester*, for chusing *Richard Wandor* to be their Bishop, Anno 1328; between *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln* and Canons of the same house, for which both he and they were driven to travel to *Rome*, Anno 1244; between *Gilbert* Bishop of *Rochester*, Delegate to Archbishop *Baldwin*, and *Robert* the Popes Legate for sitting on the right hand of the Legate in his Council at *Westminster*, Anno 1190; between the Abbot of *Bardney* and the said *Grosthead* about the Visitation of their Abbey, Anno 1242. Item, between the Convent of *Canterbury* and the said *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Ann. 1243; between *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Hubert* Bishop of *Sarum*, and *Geffery* Archbishop of *York*, Ann. 1189;

between *William* Bishop of *Ely*, the Kings Chancellor and the Canons of *York*, for not receiving him with Proceffion, Anno 1190; between the Abbot of *Westminster* and his Convent of Black Monks, whom King *Henry* the Third had much ado to still and agree, Anno 1249. Item, Between the fore said Bishop of *Lincoln* and the Abbot of *Westminster*; likewise between *Nicolas* Bishop of *Durham* and *John* Abbot of *St. Albans*, Ann. 1246; also between *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks there for the house of *Lambeth*, Ann. 1146. And what a stir was between the Preaching Friars and the Gray-Friars, mentioned in *Matthew Paris* for Superiority, Anno 1243. Also between the said Gray-Friars, and the Prelates and Doctors of *Paris* about nine Conclusions, condemned of the Prelates to be erroneous?

1. Concerning the Divine Essence, that it cannot be seen of the Angels or men glorified.
2. Concerning the Essence of the Holy Ghost.
3. Touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, as he is love.
4. Whether men glorified shall be *In Cælo Empyreo*, or, *In Cælo Crystallino*.
5. That the evil Angel at his first creation was evil, and never good.
6. That there have been many Verities from the beginning which were not of God.
7. That an Angel in one instant may be in divers places.
8. That the evil Angel never had whereby he might stand, no more had *Adam* in his state of innocency.
9. That he which hath *Meliora naturalia*, that is to say, *More perfect strength of nature working in him*, shall have more full measure of necessity to obtain grace and glory. To the which Articles the Prelates answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming, that grace and glory shall be given according to that God hath elected and predestinate, &c. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 167.

Conclusions of the Friars condemned for erroneous by the Prelates of Paris. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 167.

In like manner between the said *Dominick* Friars, and the Gray Friars, what a brawl and tumult was about the conception of our Lady, whether she was without original sin conceived or not, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, and King *Henry* the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1559. Add moreover to these, the four and twenty hainous Schisms, and not so few, which happened between Pope and Pope in the Church and See of *Rome*. But what do I stand to recite the divisions and dissentions of the Popes Church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the Sea? For what Church, Chapter, or Convent, was in all that Religion, which either had not some variance with themselves, or with others? Upon which continual strife and variance among them, the Readers hereof may judge of them and their Religion as pleaseth them: in the mean time, my judgment is this; that where such dissention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the spirit of Christ.

Contention between Friars about the Conception of our Lady.

Continual variance in the Popes Church.

Anno 1190.

These things thus discoursed, touching the tragical dissention between *Baldwin* the Archbishop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*; now let us proceed by the Lords assistance, in continuing of our story. After King *Richard* had thus, as is declared, set the Monks and the Archbishop in some agreement, and had composed such things as were to be redressed within the Realm, he advanced forward his journey, and came unto *Turon* to meet with *Philip* the French King; and so after that went to *Vizellace*; where the French King and he joining together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemn Oath, swearing fidelity one unto the other; the form of whose Oath was this: *That either of them should defend and maintain the honour of the other, and bear true fidelity unto him of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them should fail one the other in their affairs; but the French King should aid the King of England in defending his Land and Dominions, as he would himself defend his own City of Paris, if it were besieged; and that Richard King of England likewise should aid the French King in defending his Land and Dominions, no otherwise than he would defend his own City of Rome, if it were besieged, &c.*

K. Richard takes his journey toward the land of Jerusalem.

The Oath and fidelity between Philip second French King, and K. Richard the first, going to the Holy Land.

But how slenderly this Oath did hold between these two Kings, and by whose chief occasion first it fell asunder, this

the sequel of the History (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

Discipline and Orders set up by K. Richard for his Navy, the form thereof was this :

1. That whosoever killed any person on Shipboard, should be tyed with him that was slain, and thrown into the Sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tyed with the party slain, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shall be convicted by lawful witness to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.

4. Also, he that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the Sea.

Item, Whoso speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath so reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.

Item, A thief or felon that hath stoln, being lawfully convicted, shall have his head shorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or downe strowed upon the same, whereby he may be known; and so the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast up, &c.

The French K. and King Richard come to Lions.

These things thus set in a readiness, King Richard sending his Navy by the Spanish Seas, and by the straits of Jubaltary, between Spain and Africa, to meet him at Marsilia, he himself went (as is said) to Vixeliace, to the French King. Which two Kings, from thence went to Lions, where the Bridge over the Flood Rhodanus, with press of people, brake, and many, both Men and Women, were drowned. By reason whereof the two Kings, for the cumbrances of their trains, were constrained to dis sever themselves for the time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicilia; and so Philip the French King took his way to Genua, and King Richard to Marsilia, where he remained eight days, appointing there his Navy to meet him. From thence crossing over to Genua, where the French King was, he passed forward by the Coast of Italy, and entred into Tyber not far from Rome, where meeting with Ottomanus, the Cardinal and Bishop of Hostia, he did complain greatly of the filthy Simony of the Pope and the Popes Court, for receiving seven hundred Marks for Consecrating the Bishop Cenomanensis; also a thousand and five hundred Marks of William the Bishop of Ely for his office Legantine; and likewise an infinite sum of money of the Bishop of Burdeaux, for acquitting him when he should be depofed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his Clergy, &c.

K. Richard cometh to Marsilia.

K. Richard complaineth of the filthy Simony of the Popes Court.

K. Richard departeth from Marsilia.

The Kings Ships arrive at Messana.

The coming of K. Rich. to Messana.

The French K. lodged in Messana.

The French King driven back again by the wind to Messana.

K. Richard obtaineth his sister Joan Queen sometime of Sicilia to be sent unto him.

To the said Town of Messana the French King was come before the sixteenth day of the same Month of September, and had taken up the Palace of Tancredus King of Sicilia for his lodging. To whom King Richard after his arrival, estoons resorted; and when the two Kings had communed together, immediately the same day the French King took shipping, and entred the Seas, thinking to sail toward the Land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the Haven, the Wind arising contrary against him, returned him back again to Messana. Then King Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the Suburbs without the City) after he had resorted again, and talked with the French King, and also had sent to Tancredus King of

Sicilia, for deliverance of Joan his Sister (who had been sometimes Queen of Sicilia) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the flood of Delfar, and there getting a strong Hold called de la Bagmare, or le Bamre, and placing therein his Sister, with a sufficient Garrison, he returneth home again to Messana. The second of October King Richard wan another certain strong Hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the River of Delfar, between Messana and Calabria; from whence the Monks being expelled, he reposed there all his Store and Provision of Victuals, which came from England, or other places.

K. Richard getteth the Monastery of Griffons.

The Citizens of Messana, seeing that the King of England had won the Castle and Island in de la Bagmare, and also the Monastery of the Griffons, and doubting lest the King would extend his power further to invade their City, and if he could, all the whole Isle of Sicilia, began to stir against the Kings Army, and to shut the Englishmen out of the Gates, and keep their Walls against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the Gates, and by force would have broken them open; inso much that the King riding among them with his staff, and breaking divers of their heads, could not assuage their fierceness; such was the rage of the Englishmen against the Citizens of Messana. The King, seeing the fury of the People to be such as he could not stay them, took Boat, and went to the Palace of King Tancred, to talk of the matter with the French King. In which time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancient of the City, that both parties laying down their Armour went home in peace.

Discord between the Citizens of Messana, and the English Army.

The King could not stay the rage of the People.

The fourth day of the said Month of October, came to King Richard the Archbishop of Messana, with two other Archbishops, also with the French King, and sundry other Earls, Barons and Bishops, for intreatance of peace. Who, as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the Town, some went up upon the Mountains, some with open force invaded the Mansion or Lodging of Hugh Brun an English Captain. The noise whereof coming to the ears of the King, he, suddenly breaking off talk with the French King and the rest, departed from them, and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arm themselves; who then with certain of his Souldiers, making up to the top of a Mountain (which seemed to pass their power to climb) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them down the Mountain, unto the very Gates of the City; whom also certain of the Kings servants pursued within the City, of whom five valiant souldiers, and twenty of the Kings servants were slain, the French King looking on, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary unto his Oath and League before made with the King of England. For the said French King with his Men, being there present, rode in the midst of them safely and without harm to and fro, and might well have eased the Kings party more than he, if it had so liked him.

Communication about peace among the Kings.

A skirmish between the Citizens of Messana and the Englishmen.

The French K. a bearer with strange against the Englishmen.

This being known to the English Host, how their fellows were slain, and the Frenchmen permitted in the City, and that they were excluded, and the Gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of Victuals and other things; they upon great indignation, gathered themselves in Arms, braut open the Gates, and scaled the Walls, and so, winning the City, set up their Flags, with the English Arms upon the Walls. Which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended; requiring the King of England, that the Arms of France might also be set up and joyned with his; but King Richard to that in no case would agree. Norwithstanding, to satisfy his mind, he was well contented to take down his Arms, and commit the custody of the City to the Hospitallars and Templars of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred King of Sicilia and he, should agree together upon conditions.

Englishmen win the City of Messana in Sicilia. English Arms set up at Messana.

These things being done the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then upon the eighth day of the same Month of October, that peace among the Kings was concluded. In which peace first King Richard and Philip the French King renewed again their Oath and League before made, concerning their mutual aid and society, during all the time of that Peregrination. Secondly, peace

The League renewed between K. Richard and the French King.

also was concluded between King Richard and Tancred King of Sicilia afore said, with this condition, That the Daughter of Tancred (in case King Richard should die without issue) should marry to Arthur Duke of Britain, the Kings Nephew and next heir to this Crown, &c. Whereof a formal Chart was drawn, and Letters sent thereof to Pope Clement, being dated the ninth day of November.

In this mean time as these two Kings of France and England were thus wintering at Messina, Frederick Emperor, first of that name (the same on whose neck Pope Alexander did tread in the Church of Venice, saying the verse of the Psalm, *Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis*, &c. whereof read before) and his Son Conradus, with a mighty Army of Almans and others, were coming up likewise toward the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Achaia; where by the way the good Emperor through a great mischance, falling off his horse into a river called Salef, was therein drowned. After whose decease Conradus his Son taking the Government of his Army, came to the siege of Achaia; in which siege also he died. Upon whose coming such a dearth followed in the Camp, which lasted two months, that a loaf of bread, which before their coming was sold for one penny, was afterward sold for three pounds, by reason whereof many Christian Soldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the Princes there had to feed upon was horse-flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good Bishops there were in the Camp, namely Hubert Bishop of Salisbury, with certain other good Bishops, who making a general Collection through the whole Camp for the poor, made such a provision that in this penury of all things, yet no man was so destitute and needy, but somewhat he had for his relief; till within a few days after by the merciful Providence of God (who is the feeder of all Creatures) Ships came unto them with abundance of Corn, Wine, and Oyl.

The siege of this Town of Achaia endured a long season, which as it was mightily oppugned by the Christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, specially by the help of wild-fire, which the Latins call *Græcum ignem*, so that great slaughter there was on both sides. During the time of which siege, many Noble Personages, and also Bishops died, among whom was Conradus the Emperors Son, Radulph Earl of Fougiers, the Earl of Pericio, Robert Earl of Leicester, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, with four Archbishops, and divers other Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and also Barons, to the number of four and thirty, and not so few. All this while King Richard, and King Philip of France still kept at Messina in Sicilia, from the month of September till April, for lack (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessity of repairing their Ships. In which mean time King Richard hearing of Joachim Abbot of Curacio, a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to have the spirit of Prophecy, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom he and his Bishops had much conference about the coming and time of Antichrist. This Joachim belike in his Book and Revelations uttered some things against the See and pride of Rome, for the which he was less favoured of the Popes, and judged an enemy to their See, and so by Pope Innocent the Third was condemned with his Books for an Heretick, in his Idolatrous General Council of Lateran, Ann. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

After this Henricus King of Almans, Son of Frederick the Emperor, hearing of the decease of his Father, standing now to be Emperor, first restoreth to Henry Duke of Saxony, and to others, whatsoever his Father before had taken from them. That done he sent unto Clement and his Cardinals, promising in all things to confirm the Laws and Dignities of the Church of Rome, if they would grant him their assent to be Emperor. Whereupon Pope Clement by advice of the Romans, assigned him the term of Easter in the next year insuing for his Coronation. But before the Easter came, Pope Clement died, after he had sit three years, and about four months; after whom succeeded Celestinus the Third, of whom more hereafter, God willing.

The time thus passing over in the month of February, the next year following, which was of the Lord 1191,

King Richard sent over his Gallies to Naples, there to meet his Mother Elenor, and Berengaria the Daughter of Sanctus King of Navar, whom he was purposed to marry. Who by that time were come to Brundysium, under the conduct of Philip Earl of Flanders, and so proceeding unto Naples, there found the Kings Ships, wherein they failed to Messina. In this mean space King Richard shewed himself exceeding bounteous and liberal unto all men. To the French King first he gave divers Ships; upon others likewise he bestowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treasure he distributed largely unto his Souldiers and servants about him. Of whom it was reported that he distributed more in one month, than ever any of his Predecessors did in a whole year; by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profit, as the sequel afterward proved.

To proceed then in the progress of King Richard, it followeth: In the first day of the month of March, he leaving the City of Messina, where the French King was, went to Cathbniensum, a City where Tancredus King of Sicilia then lay, where he was honourably received, and there remained with King Tancredus three days and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich Presents in Gold and Silver, and precious Silks; whereof King Richard would receive nothing, but one little Ring for a token of his good will. For the which King Richard again gave him a rich sword. At length when King Richard should take his leave, King Tancredus would not so let him part but needs would give him four great Ships, and fifteen Gallies; and furthermore, he himself would needs accompany him the space of two days journey to a place called Tavernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message which the French King a little before had sent unto him by the Duke of Burgundy, the Contents whereof was this: That the King of England was a false Traytor, and would never keep the peace that was between them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night invade him, he with all his power would assist him, and joyn with him to the destruction of him and all his Army, &c. To whom Richard the King protested again, that he was no Traytor, nor ever was; and as touching the peace begun between them, the same should never be broken through him; neither could he believe that the French King, being his good Lord and his sworn compartner in that Voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the Letters of the French King sent to him by the Duke of Burgundy; affirming moreover, that if the Duke of Burgundy would deny the bringing of the said Letters, he was ready to try with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiving the Letters, and muling not a little upon the same, returneth again to Messina. The same day that King Richard departed, the French King cometh to Tavernium to speak with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messina again.

From that same time King Richard moved in stomach against King Philip, never shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amity, as he before was wont. Whereat the French King greatly marvelling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him again by Philip Earl of Flanders, what words he had sent to the King of Sicilia; and for the testimony thereof the Letters were shewed which he wrote by the Duke of Burgundy to the King of Sicilia. Which when the French King understood, first he held his peace, as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrel with King Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to break with him, and to malign him, and therefore he forged these lyes (said he) upon him, and all because he by that means would void to marry with Alice his Sister, according as he had promised: adding moreover, that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alice his Sister, according to his Oath, but would marry another, he would be an enemy to him and his while he lived.

The bountiful liberality of King Richard.

K. Richard goeth from Messina, and cometh to Cathbniensum.

The honorable entertainment of R. Richard by Tancredus.

Philip the French King traitorously seeketh the destruction of K. Richard by secret Letters sent to the K. of Sicilia.

A faithful part of Tancredus K. of Sicilia towards K. Richard.

The first occasion of discord between the French King and King Richard.

K. Richard chargeth the French King with falsehood.

The French King quarrelleth with King Richard about marrying his sister.

To this King Richard said again, that he could by no means marry that Woman, forasmuch as his Father had carnal copulation with her, and also had by her a Son: for proof whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers and sundry witnesses to the Kings face, to testify with him. In conclusion, through counsel and perswasion of divers about the French King, agreement at last was made; so that King Philip did acquit King Richard from his bond of marrying his sister; and King Richard again should be bound to pay to him every year, for the space of five years, two thousand Marks, with certain other conditions besides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphered. Thus peace being between them concluded, the eight and twentieth day of the said month of March, the French King lanching out of the Haven of Messina, on the two and twentieth day after in Easter Week came with his Army to the Siege of Acon.

After the departure of the French King from Messina (King Richard with his Army yet remaining behind) arrived Queen Elenor the Kings Mother, bringing with her Bernegera the King of Navar's Daughter, to be espoused to King Richard. Which done, Elenor, leaving Bernegera behind her, departed, taking her journey toward Rome, to intreat the Pope for Gaufridus her other Son above mentioned, to be consecrated in the Archbishoprick of York, being before elected by the procurement of King Richard his Brother, as ye heard. In which time, as Queen Elenor was travelling toward Rome, Pope Clement above mentioned, died about the sixth day of April, in whose room succeeded Pope Celestine the third. Who the next day after his Consecration came from Lateran to Saint Peter's Church, where in the way meeteth him Henricus the Emperor, and Constantia his Wife, with a great rout of armed Souldiers, but the Romans making fast their Gates would not suffer them to enter their City. Then Pope Celestine, standing upon the Stairs before the Church door of St. Peter, received an Oath of the said Henricus King of the Almains, (his Army waiting without) that he should defend the Church of God, and all the liberties thereof, and maintain justice; also that he should restore again the patrimony of St. Peter full and whole, whatsoever hath been diminished thereof; and finally, That he should surrender to the Church of Rome again the City of Tusculanum, &c. Upon these conditions and grants, then the Pope took him to the Church, and there anointed him for Emperor, and his Wife for Empress; who, there sitting in his Chair Pontifical, held the Crown of Gold between his feet, and so the Emperor, bowing down his head to the Popes feet, received the Crown, and in like manner the Empress also. The Crown thus being set upon the Emperors head, the Pope effoons with his foot struck it off again from his head unto the ground, declaring thereby that he had power to depose him again, in case he so deserved. Then the Cardinals taking up the Crown, set it upon his head again. *Ex veteri Chronico manuscripto anonymo, de gestis Richardi Regis, cui initium: Anno gratiæ, &c. Item ex alio vetustatis Chronico manuscripto, cui initium: Eneas cum Ascanio, &c.*

Pope Celestine the 3.

Conditions required of Henricus K. of Almains, before he should be made Emperor by the Pope.

The Pope of Rome in the full top of his pride.

Pope Celestine crowneth Henricus the Emperor with his feet.

The Pope striketh off the Emperors Crown with his foot.

K. Richard cometh from Messina to Acon.

K. Richard overtaken with a tempest on the Seas going to Acon.

Not long after the departure of King Philip from Messina, which was in the Month of March, King Richard in April following, about the twentieth day of the said Month, sayling from the Haven of Messina with an hundred and fifty great Ships, and three and fifty great Gallies well manned and appointed, took journey towards Acon; who being upon the Seas on Good-friday, about the ninth hour rose a mighty South wind with a Tempest, which dispersed and scattered all his Navy, some to one place, and some to another. The King with a few Ships, was driven to the Isle of Creta, and there before the Haven of Rhodus cast Anchor. The Ship that carried the Kings Sister Queen of Sicilia, and Bernegera the King of Navar's Daughter, with two other Ships, were driven to the Isle of Cyprus. The King making great moan for the Ship of his Sister, and Bernegera his Wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the Tempest was overblown, sent forth his Gallies diligently to search the rest of his Navy dispersed, but especially for the Ship wherein his Sister was, and the Maiden whom he should marry; who at length were found safe and merry at the Port of Limfzem in the Isle of Cyprus. Notwithstanding the two other Ships, which were in their company before in the same Haven, were

drowned, with divers of the Kings servants, and Men of Worship, amongst whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the Kings Vice-chancellor, who was found having the Kings Seal hanging about his Neck. The King of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the Emperor of the Griffons) who took and imprisoned all Englishmen which by Shipwrack were cast upon his Land; also inveigling into his hands the goods and prizes of them which were found drowned about his Coasts, neither would suffer the Ship wherein the two Ladies were to enter within the Port.

The tidings of this being brought to King Richard, he in his great wrath, gathering his Gallies and Ships together, bordeth the Land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to King Isakius, how he with his Englishmen, coming as strangers to the supportation of the Holy Land, were by distress of Weather, driven upon his bounds; and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalf, and for reverence of the Holy-Cross, to let go such Prisoners of his which he had in Captivity, and to restore again the Goods of them which were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be employed for the behoof of their souls, &c. And this the King, once, twice and thrice desired of the Emperor. But he, proudly answering again, sent the King word, that he would neither let the Captives go, nor render the Goods of them which were drowned, &c.

When King Richard heard this, how little the Emperor Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force; effoons he giveth commandment through all his Host; to put themselves in armour, and to follow him, to revenge such injuries received of that proud and cruel King of Cyprus; willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but the Lord would stand with them, and give them the full Victory. The Emperor in the mean time, with his people, stood warding the Sea Coasts, where the Englishmen should arrive, with Swords, Bills and Lances, and such other Weapons as they had, setting Boards, Stools, and Chefts before them instead of a Wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert, and unskilful in the feats of War. Then King Richard with his Souldiers, issuing out of their Ships, first set his Bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen, thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Griffons, that after long fighting, and many blows, at last the Emperor was put to flight; whom King Richard valiantly pursued, and slew many, and divers he took alive, and had gone near also to have had the Emperor, had not the Night come on and parted the Battel. And thus King Richard with much spoil and great victory returning to the Port Town of Limfzem, which the Townsmen had left for fear, found there great abundance of Corn, Wine, Oyl and Victuals.

The same day after the Victory got, Joan the Kings Sister, and Bernegera the Maiden entered the Port and Town of Limfzem, with fifty great Ships, and fourteen Gallies; so that all the whole Navy, there meeting together, were two hundred fifty four tall Ships, and above three score Gallies. Then Isakius the Emperor, seeing no way for him to escape by the Sea, the same Night pitched his Tents five Miles off from the English Army, swearing that the third day after he would sure give Battel to King Richard. But he preventing him before, suddenly, the same morning before the day of Battel should be, setteth upon the Tents of the Griffons early, they being unawares and asleep, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperor was fain naked to run away, leaving his Tents and Pavilions to the Englishmen, full of Horses and rich Treasure, also with the Imperial Standard, the lower part whereof, with a costly Streamer was covered and wrought all with Gold. King Richard then returning with Victory and Triumph to his Sister, and Bernegera, shortly after in the Month of May next following, and the twelfth day of the same Month, married the said Bernegera Daughter of Rancon King of Navar, in the Isle of Cyprus at Limfzem.

The King of Cyprus seeing himself overmatched, was driven at length to yield himself with conditions, to give King Richard twenty thousand Marks in Gold, for amends of such spoils as he had gotten of them that were

Isakius K. of Cyprus a cruel enemy to Englishmen.

K. Richard maketh suit to the King of Cyprus for his souldiers in captivity.

The difficult and proud answer of Isakius to K. Richard.

K. Richard exhorteth his men to fight against Isakius.

K. Richard setteth upon Isakius. The battel between the Emperor of Cyprus and K. Richard. Isakius Emperor of the Griffons put to flight.

The Town of Limfzem taken by K. Richard.

The K. of Cyprus again put to flight.

K. Richard marrieth Bernegera Daughter of the K. of Navar in the Isle of Cyprus.

Isakius K. of Cyprus yieldeth himself to King Richard.

were drowned, also to restore all his Captives again to the King, and furthermore in his own person to attend upon the King to the Land of *Jerusalem*, in Gods service and his, with four hundred Horsemen, and five hundred Footmen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his Castles, and his only Daughter, and would hold his Kingdom of him. This done, and the Emperor swearing fidelity to King *Richard*, before *Guido* King of *Jerusalem*, and the Prince of *Antioch* (who were come thither to King *Richard* a little before) Peace was taken, and *Isakius* was committed to the Ward of certain Keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he, breaking from his Keepers, was again at defiance with the King. Whereupon King *Richard*, besetting the Island of *Cyprus* round about with Ships and Gallies, did in such sort prevail, that the Subjects of the Land were constrained to yield themselves to the King, and at length the Daughter also of the Emperor, and at last the Emperor himself, whom King *Richard* caused to be kept in Fetters of Silver and Gold, and to be sent to the City of *Tripolis*.

The King of Cyprus breaketh conditions with King Richard.

King of Cyprus again submitte himself, and is kept in Golden Fetters.

King Richard taketh his journey to Acon.

A thousand and five hundred Saracens sent to the rescue of Acon, vanquished on the sea by King Richard.

The City of Acon yielded to the Christians.

An honest part of a secret Christian in the City of Acon.

The form of Peace concluded between the Kings and the Princes of Acon.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Isle of *Cyprus*, the keeping whereof he committed unto *Radulph*, Son of *Godfrey*, Lord Chamberlain, being then the first day of *June*; upon the fifth of the said month, King *Richard* departed from the Isle of *Cyprus*, with his Ships and Gallies towards the siege of *Acon*, and on the next morrow came unto *Tyrus*; where, by procurement of the *French* King, he was constrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of *June*, crossing the Seas, he met with a great Bark, fraught with Soldiers and Men of War, to the number of one thousand and five hundred; which pretending to be *French* men, and setting forth their Flag with the *French* Arms, were indeed *Saracens*, secretly sent with wild-fire and certain Barrels of unknown Serpents, to the defence of the Town of *Acon*. Which King *Richard* at length perceiving, effoons set upon them, and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned, and some taken alive. Which being once known in the City of *Acon*, as it was a great discomfort unto them, so it was a great help unto the Christians for winning the City. The next day after, which was the seventh of *June*, King *Richard* came to *Acon*, which at that time had been long besieged of the Christians; after whose coming it was not long, but the *Pagans* within the City seeing their Walls to be undermined, and Towers overthrown, were driven by compulsion to escape with life and limb, to surrender the City unto the two Kings. Another great help to the Christians in winning the City was this: In the said City of *Acon* there was a secret Christian among the *Saracens*, who in time of the siege there, used at sundry times to cast over the Walls, into the Camp of the Christians, certain Bills written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, wherein he disclosed unto the Christians, from time to time, the doings and counsels of the Enemies, Adverting them how and by what way they should work, and what to beware: and always his Letters began thus: *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.* By reason whereof, the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heaviness unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the City was got, could they ever understand who he was. *Ex Chronico manuscripto, de gestis Richardi.*

To make of a long Siege a short Narration, upon the twelfth day of *July* in the year aforesaid, the Princes and Captains of the *Pagans*, upon agreement, referred unto the Tent of the *Templars*, to commune with the two Kings touching Peace and giving up of their City: the form of which Peace was thus: That the Kings should have the City of *Acon* freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was within: and five hundred Captives of the Christians should be restored unto them, which were in *Acon*; also the holy Cross should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian Captives, with two hundred Horsemen, whosoever they themselves would chuse out of all them which were in the power of *Saladine*; over and besides they should give to the Kings, two hundred thousand Bifants, so that they themselves would remain as pledges in the Kings hands for the performance hereof; that if in forty days these foresaid Covenants were not accomplished, they would abide the Kings mercy touching life and limb. These

Covenants being agreed upon, the Kings sent their Soldiers and Servants into the City, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the City, to close them up in Towers under strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in Houses and Streets, ministering unto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be Baptized, and receive the Faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the *Pagans*, which for fear of Death pretended to be Baptized; but afterward, so soon as they could, revolted again to the *Saladine*. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be Baptized against their wills.

Covenants made in giving up the City of Acon.

Religion would be taught and not coerced.

The two Kings divide the City of Acon with all the spoil thereof between themselves.

Commonly seen, who so taketh most pain, their part to be the least. Many of the Christian Soldiers for need were constrained to depart from Acon.

King Richard requirereth of the French King to remain three years with his Army, but he would not.

The thirteenth day of the said Month of *July*, King *Philip* of *France*, and King *Richard*, after they had obtained the possession of *Acon*, divided between them all things therein contained, as well the People, as Gold and Silver, with all other Furniture whatsoever was remaining in the City: who, in dividing the spoil, were so good carvers unto themselves, that many Knights, and Barons, with other Soldiers, who had there sustained the whole travel two years together about the siege, seeing the Kings to take all unto themselves, and their part to be but little, retracted themselves without the uttermost Trench, and there, after consultation had together, sent word to the Kings, that they would leave and forsake them, unless they were made partakers also of the gains for the which they had so long travelled. To whom answer was sent again by the Kings, that their wills should be satisfied. Howbeit, because of long deferring of their promise, many constrained by poverty departed from them.

The twentieth day of *July*, King *Richard*, speaking with the *French* King, desired him that they two with their Armies would bind themselves by Oath to remain there still in the Land of *Jerusalem* the space of three years, for the winning and recovering again of those Countries. But he would swear (he said) no such Oath: and so the next day after, King *Richard* with his Wife and Sister entered into the City of *Acon*, and placed there himself in the Kings Palace, the *French* King remaining in the Houses of the *Templars*, where he continued till the end of the Month. So about the beginning of the month of *August*, *Philip* the *French* King, after that he and King *Richard* had made agreement between *Guido* and *Conradus* the Marquess, about the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, went from *Acon* to *Tyrus*; notwithstanding King *Richard* and all the Princes of the Christian Army with great intreaty desired him to tarry; shewing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leave undone that for which he came; and on the third of *August* from *Tyrus* he departed, leaving his half part of the City of *Acon* in the hands of the foresaid *Conradus*, Marquess. After whose departure the *Pagans* refused to keep their Covenants made; who neither would restore the holy Cross, nor the Mony, nor their Captives; sending word to King *Richard*, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at *Acon*, they would chop off the heads of such Captives of the Christians, which were in their hands. Shortly after this, the *Saladine*, sending great gifts to King *Richard*, requested the times limited for beheading of the Captives to be Prorogued; but the King refused to take his gifts, and to grant his request. Whereupon the *Saladine* caused all the Christian Captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of *August*. Which albeit King *Richard* understood, yet would not he prevent the time afore limited for the Execution of his Prisoners, being the twentieth of *August*. Upon which day he caused the Prisoners of the *Saracens*, openly in the sight of the *Saladine*'s Army, to lose their heads: the number of whom came to 2500, save only that certain of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Cross, and certain others of the Christian Captives.

Christian Captives slain by the Saladine.

The Saracen Captives slain by K. Richard.

The Saladine put to flight.

After this, King *Richard* purposed to besiege the City of *Joppe*; where, by the way between *Acon* and *Joppe*, near to a Town called *Assur*, *Saladine* with a great multitude of his *Saracens* came fiercely against the Kings rearward: but through Gods Merciful Grace, in the same Battle the Kings Warriors acquitted them so well, that the *Saladine* was put to flight (whom the Christians pursued the space of three Miles) and lost the same day many of

A noble victory by God's power gotten by King Richard against the Saracens.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

The story of William the proud Bishop of Ely.

Ut iuste iudicarent clerici & populum, verba bisi. Four Chief Justices with two Bishops appointed overseers of the Realm in the Kings absence.

William Longchamp Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor and the Popes Legate. The Church and Bells of York suspended, because the Lord Legate was not set in with procession.

Bishop of Ely getteth the Castle of Windsor from the Bishop of Durham. Hugo Bishop of Durham vexed William Bishop of Ely.

his Nobles and Captives, in such sort (as it was thought) that the *Saladine* was not put to such confusion forty years before: and but one Christian Captain, called *James Avernus*, in that conflict was overthrown. From thence King *Richard*, proceeding further, went to *Joppe*, and then to *Ascalon*, where he found first the City of *Joppe* forsaken of the *Saracens*, who durst not abide the Kings coming. *Ascalon* the *Saladine* threw down to the ground, and likewise forsook the whole Land of *Syria*; through all which Land the King had free passage without resistance, neither durst the *Saracen* Prince encounter after that with King *Richard*. Of all which his achievements the said King *Richard* sent his Letters of Certificate as well into *England*, as also to the Abbot of *Clara Valle* in *France*; well hoping that he (God willing) should be able to make his repair again to them by *Easter* next.

A brief Story of William Bishop of Ely, the Kings Chancellor.

AND now to leave King *Richard* a while in the field, let us make a step into *England*, and look a little what is done at home while the King was abroad, and so return to the King again. Ye heard before how King *Richard*, at his setting forth, committed the Government of the Realm to *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, and to *William* Bishop of *Ely*, so that to the Bishop of *Durham* was committed the keeping of the Castle of *Windsor*. The other, which was the Bishop of *Ely*, had the keeping of the Tower of *London*, about which he caused a great Ditch with a Rampire to be cast, which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to these two Bishops the King also assigned four other Chief Justices, which jointly with them should have the hearing and oversight of all causes, as well to the Clergy as to the Laity appertaining: to wit, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marshal*, *Geoffrey Peterson*, and *William Bruer*. But the Bishop of *Ely* was the principal, or at least he that took most upon him: who both was the Kings Chancellor, and bought with his money to be the Popes Legate through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, as is before specified. Touching the excessive pride and pomp of which Bishop his ruffings outrageous, and full most shameful, it would make a long Tragedy to discourse the whole circumstances at full: only to demonstrate certain specialities thereof for our present purpose, it may suffice.

First, This *William* called *Longchamp*, being thus advanced by the King to be his High-Chancellor, and Chief Justice of the Realm, and also the Popes Legate, to shew abroad the authority of his Legateship, began to suspend the Canons, Clerks, and Vicars of the Church of *S. Peter* in *York*, because they received him not with procession: under which interdiction he held them, till they were fain at last both Canons, Clerks and Vicars to fall down at his feet, causing all their Bells to be let down out of the Steeple. After this cometh *Hugo* Bishop of *Durham*, whom the King sent home out of *Normandy* with his Letters; who, meeting with the aforesaid *William* Bishop of *Ely* in the Town of *Ely*, shewed him the Kings Letters, wherein was granted to him the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, and to be the Kings Justice from the River of *Humber* to the borders of *Scotland*. To the which Letters the Chancellor answered, That the Kings commandment should be done, and so brought him with him to *Swivel*; where he took him and kept him fast, till he was forced at last to surrender to him the Castle of *Windsor*, and other things which the King had committed to his custody; and moreover he was constrained to leave with the said Chancellor, *Henry de Puteaco* his own Son, and *Gilbert Leie*, for Pledges and Hostages of his fidelity, to be true to the King and Realm. And thus the bishop of *Durham*, being set at liberty, went to his Town of *Hoveden*; where after he had made his abode a few days, cometh thither *Osbert Longchamp* the Chancellors Brother, and *William Sturvil*, with a great Company of Armed Men sent by the Chancellor to apprehend him. But the said Bishop of *Durham*, putting in Sureties not to depart that Town without licence of the King and of the Chancellor, there still remained till he got Letters to be sent to the King, signifying how he was used. Whereupon the King writing his Letters from *Marsilia* to the Bishop of *Ely*, set the said Bishop of *Durham* free, and confirmed to him all the Possessions and Grants that he before had given him.

It is almost incredible to think how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused himself, after the Kings departure into *Syria*, in excess of pride, and in cruel exacti- ons and opressions of the Kings Subjects. First his fellow Justices, whom the King joined with him for Government of the Realm, he utterly rejected and refused to hear their counsel, reputing none to be equal with him in all the Realm. Neither was he contented with the authority of a Prelate, but played both King and Priest in the Realm. All Castles, Lordships, Abbies, Churches, and all other Appropriations belonging to the right of the King, he claimed to himself. And by virtue of his Legateship, when he came to any Bishops House, Abby, Priory, or any other Religious House, he brought with him such a superfluity of Men, Horses, Dogs, and Hawks, that the House was the worse for it three years after. For commonly he rode never under 1500 Horses, of Chaplains, Priests, and other Serving-men waiting upon him. From the Clergy and Laity he took away their Churches, their Vowfons, their livings and lands, to bestow upon his Nephews and other waiting Chaplains to serve his vain glory; or else converted them to his own use, to maintain his pomp and vanity. In getting and gathering of Treasures he had no measure; in mispending the same he kept no order. And that no vice should be wanting where such avarice taketh root, the money, which he wrongfully got, he committed to the Bank to be increased by usury. What wantonness and lasciviousness was used in that so riotous life, the stories do shame to declare it. All ruffantly Runagates, idle bellies, and light persons, whereforever he went, hanged upon his Court. To increase the vain jollity of this Royal Prelate, there was lacking no kind of musical instruments and melodious noise, to refresh belike his wearied senses, too much beaten and macerated with continual labor and study of Hunting, Hawking and Gaming; of Preaching and Reading I should have said.

Briefly, this foresaid Prelate, bearing the authority both of the King and of the Pope, kept such a stir in *England*, that the whole Realm was at his beck, with Cap and Knee crouching to him; neither durst any Man, rich or poor displease him, yea none in all the Realm so noble or worshipful, but was glad to please him, accounting themselves happy if they might stand in his favor. At his Table all Noble-mens Children did serve and wait upon him, with whom he coupled in Marriages his Nieces and Kinswomen. And when any, that stood waiting before him, durst once cast up his eyes, or did not demurely look downward upon the ground, he had a staff in his hand with a prick, wherewith he used to prick them; learning, belike, by the Carter his Father, which used at the Plough or Cart to drive his Oxen. Furthermore, as Kings use to have their Guard about them, so he because he would not also be unguarded, refusing Men of the *English* Nation, had his Waiters and Warders most of *Frenchmen* and *Flemmings*.

It hapned after this, in the year 1191. that a great discord rose between *John* Earl of *Morton* the Kings Brother, with other States of the Realm, and the said *William* Bishop of *Ely*; so that universally they all wrote over to the King concerning the misgovernment and enormities of the said Bishop. Who, understanding of the case, sent from *Messana* into *England*, *Walter* Archbishop of *Rome*, and *William Marshal* Earl, unto the Bishop of *Ely* with Letters, commanding him that in all his doings he should associate unto him the Archbishop of *Rome*, *William Marshal*, *Geoffrey Peterson*, *William Bruer*, and *Hugo Bardolfe* above mentioned. Who when they came into *England*, durst not deliver their Letters, dreading the displeasure of the Chancellor, for he despised all the commandments of the King, nor would suffer any fellow to joyn with him in his Kingdom.

Hitherto have you heard of the glorious vanity of this Lordly Legate and Chancellor of the Realm: now ye shall hear of his shameful fall, after his shameless exaltation. For shortly after this followeth an other breach between the said Earl *John* the Kings Brother and him, about the besieging of the Castle of *Lincoln*. Concerning the which Castle the said *John* sent him word, that unless he raised his Siege the sooner from thence, he would send him away by force of sword. The Bishop, either not able to make his party good, or not daring to resist, thought best to fall to some composition with the Earl, and so did. In which composition,

The excessive pride and enormities of William Bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Ely never rode under 1500 Horses.

His Vanity.

His Usury.

His riotous and delicate life.

The Bishop of Ely playeth both King and Priest.

William Bishop of Ely guarded with Frenchmen and Flemmings.

Anno 1191. A general complaint to the King of William Bishop of Ely.

Another difference between John the Kings Brother, and William Bishop of Ely.

composition, he was contented against his will, by mediation of divers Bishops and others, to make surrender not only of the Castle of *Lincoln*, but also of *Nottingham*, of *Tickhil*, *Wallingford*, and many more, which were then committed to the custody of sundry Men of worship and honour. And thus was that Controversie agreed; wherein the Bishop of *Ely* began a little to be cut shorter.

If followed then not long after in the same year, that another like business began to kindle between *Geoffrey* the Archbishop of *York* the Kings Brother, and the aforesaid glorious Bishop of *Ely* upon this occasion. Ye heard before how the King, at his setting out, left order that *Earl John* and *Geoffrey* his Brethren should not enter into the Realm the space of three years after his departure (howbeit his Brother *John* was shortly after released of that bond) and also after that, how King *Richard*, being at *Messana*, sent his Mother *Eleanor* to the Pope for his Brother *Geoffrey* (elected before to the Sea of *York*) to be Consecrated Archbishop. Whereupon the said *Geoffrey* being Consecrated through license of Pope *Celestine* by the Archbishop of *Turon*; the said *Geoffrey*, etsoons after his Consecration, deferred no time, but would needs come into *England*. Whereof the Bishop of *Ely* having intelligence, sent him word being at *Wissand* in *Flanders*, not to presume to adventure into the Realm, contrary to his oath made to King *Richard* before; commanding moreover, that if he came, he should be apprehended. All which notwithstanding, the Archbishop letted not for all that, but needs would repair to his See, and so arrived at *Dover* in the month of *September*, where the Chancellors Men stood on the Sea side to apprehend him; but he by changing his Apparel, and swiftness of his Horse, escaped their hands, and came to the Monks House of *Dover*: But the Chancellors Men, whom he sent to take him, beset the Church of the Monks round about, so that in no wise he could avoid their hands.

To make the story short: as the Archbishop on a day, when he had said Mass, was standing at the Altar, with his Garments yet about him, the rude Souldiers having little good manners, and less devotion, spared not boldly to rush into the Church, and there laid hands upon the Archbishop as he stood; took him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and mire, and (as we use to say) through thick and thin, and so committed him to *Matthew Clark* their Constable to be kept; whereat the people greatly disdained, seeing him that was a Kings Son, and the Brother of a King, so to be intreated: The hearing whereof, when it came to the ears of *Earl John* his Brother, he being not a little offended therewith, sent to know of the Chancellor, whether this was his doing or not. To whom when the Chancellor sent answer again, and stoutly confessed the fact to be his; then the Earl sent commandment that his Brother should be delivered, and so he was. Who, then coming to *London*, made his complaint to the Earl his Brother, and to other Nobles of the Realm of the injuries done to him by the Chancellor. Whereupon the Earl sent for the aforesaid Chancellor, and appointed a day peremptory for him to appear before the whole body of the Council, to make answer to such injuries as he had done, both to the Archbishop of *York*, and also to the Bishop of *Durham* above mentioned. But the Chancellor, driving off the time with delays, would neither come nor send. Then the Earl, with the Bishops about him, made their journey towards *London*, to have the matter there handled in a great audience.

The Chancellor seeing that, withdrew himself from *Windfor* to the City of *London*; where by the way it happened that the servants of the Earl and of the Chancellor meeting, did skirmish together. In which fray one of the Earls Family was slain, but yet his Men had the better; and the Chancellor with his Men were put to flight, and so fled to the Tower, where they did hide themselves. The next day after (which was about the twelfth day of *October*) *Earl John* the Kings Brother, and the Archbishop of *Rome*, with all the Bishops, Earls and Barons, and Citizens of *London* Assembled together in *Pauls Church*; where many and great accusations were laid against the said Chancellor; so that in fine it was agreed in that Assembly, That the said Chancellor should be deposed; and in his place was substituted the Archbishop of *Rome*, according to the tenor of the Kings Letters sent from *Messana*; which was, That

certain other persons should be associated with the Chancellor for the Government of the Realm; by whose Counsel if he would not be directed, the Archbishop of *Rome* should be set in his place, and he to be deposed. The third day after this, the Chancellor firmly promised not to depart out of the Realm before he had delivered out of his hands all such Castles, the keeping whereof he committed to certain Foreigners and strangers: and for assurance thereof he gave his two Brethren and Chamberlain for Pledges, and so went to *Canterbury*; where he said he would take the Cross of a Pilgrim, and leave the Cross of his Legateship.

Now when he was come to the Castle of *Dover*, and there had remained a few days, contrary to his promise made, his purpose was to take Ship, and to pass over the Seas. And because he durst not do it openly, he devised a new kind of disguising, decking himself in the apparel of a Woman; and so, as gowty as he was, he went to the Sea side in his Womens weed, having in his hand a Meetyard, and on his arm a piece of linnen cloth. And thus as he was sitting upon a rock, waiting for his Ship to come and convey him over, a certain Fisher-man espying him, and supposing him to be an Harlot, came to him, and so, with struggling with him, found him as he was indeed to be a Man, in likeness of a Woman: whereat he wondered and began to make an out-cry upon him. But the Bishops servants being not far off, came running and stilled him as well as they could.

The Fisher-man then going to the next Village, and there belike declaring what he had seen, to try out the matter further, came out certain Women, who seeing the linnen cloth hanging on his arm, began to question with him of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it: hut to this he would answer never a word, but smiled upon them. Whereat they musing with themselves, and whispering one with another, at last with their hands were so bold as to pluck down his muffler, and there by his beard new shaven found him indeed to be a Man; and so with a loud exclamation raised the Village upon him, and would have fallen upon him with stones. Then came running a great multitude both of Men and Women; who, wondering at him, as Birds are wont at an Owl, laid hands upon him, and pluckt him down to the ground, haling and drawing him by the sleeves and collar of his Gown through stones and rocks, whereby he was shrewdly hurt. His Servants once or twice made out to rescue their old Master, or new Mistress, but could not for the press of the people; who, beating him with their fists, and spitting at him, drew him thorow the whole Town, and so with shame enough at length laid him in a dark Cellar instead of a prison, at whom all the Country about wondred and cried out. In conclusion, *Earl John*, hearing thereof, within eight days after sent word, that they should deliver him and let him go.

The Bishop, then set at liberty, sailed over as he could to *Flanders*, where he had but cold welcoming: from thence he went to *Paris*, where he gave *Mauricius* their Bishop threecore Marks of silver to be received in with Procession, and so he was. Then returned he into *Normandy*. But the Archbishop of *Rome* there gave commandment that the Church doors should be locked, and no Service said so long as he there remained. The Bishop seeing that, directed his Letters and Messengers to Pope *Celestine*, and also to King *Richard* into *Syria*, signifying to them how *John* the Earl of *Morton* and his complices had handled him, and expelled him out of the Realm: requiring that he might be restored again to that was taken from him, and also offering himself to be tryed by the Law for that he had done; so that if the King should dislike in any thing that he had done, he was ready to satisfie the Kings contentation in all things wherein justly he could be charged.

Upon this, Pope *Celestine*, inflamed with an Apostolical zeal in the behalf of the said Bishop of *Ely* his Legate, wrote a sharp and thundering Letter to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of *England*; commanding them by his Authority Apostolical, That forso much as the injuries, done to his Legate, did redound to the contumely of the whole mother Church of *Rome*, they should not fail therefore, but with severe Censures of the Church, that is, with Book, Bell, and Candle, proceed as well against the said *John* Earl of *Morton*, as also all other whosoever had, or

The Bishop of Ely Chancellor of the Realm and Legate, deposed. The Bishop of Ely resigneth his Castles.

The Bishop of Ely cloatheth himself in Womens Apparel.

A Fisher-man taketh the Bishop of Ely to be a Woman.

The Bishop of Ely in womens apparel found to be a man.

Baited of women by the Sea side.

Cast into a dark Cellar instead of a Prison. Set at liberty by John Earl of Morton.

The Bishop of Ely giveth threecore marks to be received with Procession. The Bishop of Ely complaineth to the King and the Pope.

The Letter of Pope Celestine in the behalf of the Bishop of Ely his Legate.

Another droll between the Chancellor and Geoffrey Archbishop of York the Kings Brother.

The cruel handling of Geoffrey Archbishop of York by the Bishop of Ely the Popes Legate and Chancellor of England.

Geoffrey Archbishop of York delivered out of prison by commandment of Earl John his Brother.

A skirmish between the servants of the Bishop of Ely, and the servants of Earl John.

The Nobles assembled in Council against the Bishop of Ely.

should attempt any violence or injury against the said his Legate the Bishop of Ely, with no less severity than if the said injury should be offered to the person of the Pope himself, or any other of his Brethren the Cardinals, &c.

The Bishop of Ely bold upon the Popes favour.

The names of many which stood against the Bishop of Ely, appointed to be Excommunicated.

The Bishop of Ely complaineth to the King of the Earl of Devon his Brother.

Anno 1192

The Bishop of Ely the Popes Legate, bearing himself bold upon the favour and Letters of the Pope which took his part, writeth to Henry Bishop of Lincoln, charging and requiring, That he in virtue of obedience should execute the Popes Sentence and Mandat in Excommunicating all such as were offenders in that behalf, and there exciteth the names of divers against whom he should proceed, as the Archbishop of Rome, the Bishop of Winchester, W. Marshal, Geoffrey Peterson, Breuer, and Bardolf, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Melleni, Gilbert Basset, the Archdeacon of Oxford, and especially Hugh Bishop of Coventry, also M. Benet and Stephen Riddle Chancellor to Earl John the Kings Brother; to the which Earl he referred a further day of respite before he should be Excommunicate, with a number of other more beside these. Howbeit the said Bishop of Ely could find none to execute this commandment of the Pope. Then they with a general consent wrote again to King Richard, complaining of the intolerable abuses of the said Bishop his Chancellor. In like sort the said Chancellor also, complaining of them, wrote his Letters to the King, signifying how Earl John his Brother went about to usurp his Kingdom, and would also shortly set the Crown upon his own head, unless he made the more speed homeward. The King then was busie in repulsing the Saladine, and prepared to lay Siege against Jerusalem, and got Sclavonia, with divers other Towns from the Saracens, which was in the year 1192. having divers conflicts in the mean space with the Saladine, and ever put him to the worse. As the King was thus preparing to lay his Siege against Jerusalem; the Saladine, glad to fall to some composition with the King, sent unto him, that if he would restore to him again Sclavonia in as good state as it was when he took it, he would grant to him and to all Christians in the Land of Jerusalem truce for three years, and offered himself thereunto to be sworn. The King, seeing the Duke of Burgundy and the French-men to shrink from him, and his own Men to decay, and also his money and health to diminish; but especially for that he understood by the Bishop of Ely his Chancellor, that the French King intended to set up John his Brother to possess his Kingdom, being counselled thereto by the Templars, took the truce offered of the Saracens, and so began to draw homeward.

Strife between the Bishop of Ely and the Archbishop of Rome. Pope Celestine standeth in excuse of the Bishop of Ely. The Bishop of Ely with the Kings Letters cometh again into England.

In this mean while much grudge and strife increased more and more between the Bishop of Ely and the Archbishop of Rome above specified; insomuch that the Archbishop being Excommunicate, sent up his Clerks to Pope Celestine to complain of the Bishop: but the Pope ever stood in his Purgation. At last he sent two of his Cardinals, to wit, Ottomannus Bishop of Hostia, and Jordanus De fossa nova, to break the strife between the Bishop of Ely, and the Archbishop of Rome.

After this King Richard being taken, and in the custody of Henry the Emperor; the Bishop of Ely, resorting to him, was sent by him into England to Elenor his Mother, and other Nobles. Who then returning into England again, not as Chancellor, nor as Legate (as he said) but as a simple plain Bishop, so by that means was received. Ex Matth. Paris. Et ex aliis incerti nominis manuscriptis codicibus.

What discord doth.

The French King returneth from Palestine.

Anno 1193 King Richard returneth from Palestine.

But of this vain-glorious Prelate enough and too much. Now to return again to Richard; concerning whose worthy acts done abroad in getting of Cyprus, Acon, and and Ptolemaida, in pacifying Joppe, &c. partly is spoken of before. Many other valiant and famous acts were by him and the French King achieved, and more should have been, had not those two Kings falling into discord differed themselves: by reason whereof Philip the French King returned home again within short space. Who, being returned again, effoons invaded the Country of Normandy, exciting also John the Brother of King Richard, to take on him the Kingdom of England in his Brothers absence. Who then made League (upon the same) with the French King, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth year of King Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for three years. And not long after King Richard, the next Spring

following, returned also. Who, in his return, driven by distress of weather about the parts of Histria, in a Town called Synaca, was there taken by Limpold Duke of the same Country, and so sold to the Emperor for 60000 Marks; who, for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip the French King these Letters following.

The Letter of the Emperor to Philip the French King concerning the taking of King Richard.

Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & semper Augustus, dilecto & speciali amico suo Philippo, illustri Francorum Regi, salutem, & sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam letiorem effici, de universis, quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos & Romanum imperium honoraverit & exaltaverit, Nobilitati tuæ tenore presentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus imperii nostri, & turbator regni tui, Rex Angliæ, quem esset in transiundo mare ad partes suas reversurus, accidit ut ventus, rupta navis sua in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histrie, ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam & Venetias: Ubi Rex, Dei permissione, passus naufragium, cum paucis evasit. Quidam itaq; fidelis noster Comes Mainardus de Goocce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentius qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis prodicionem & traditionem, & prodicionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captivare, Ipse autem Rex in fugam converso, ceperunt de suis octo milites. Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salisburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, ubi Fredericus de Betefow, Rex cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cepit. Dilectus autem consanguineus noster Limpoldus, Dux Austriæ, observata strata, sepe dictum Regem juxta Denam in villa viciniore in domo despecta captivavit. Cum itaq; in nostram nunc habeatur potestate, & ipse semper tua molestavit & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea qua præmissimus Nobilitati tuæ insinuare curavimus, scientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita existere, animo tuo uberrimam importare letitiam. Datum apud Rithecountem 5. Calendas. Januar.

King Richard, thus being traiterously taken and sold to the Emperor by the Duke of Auftrige for 60000 Marks, was there kept in custody a year and three months. In some stories it is affirmed, That King Richard, returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous wind; where he desired of the Pope to be absolved from an Oath made against his will, and could not obtain it. And so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Country of Conradus the Marquis, whose death (he being slain a little before) was falsely imputed by the French King to the King of England, was there traiterously taken, as is before said by Limpoldus Duke of Auftrige. Albeit in another story I find the matter more credibly set forth, which saith thus; That King Richard slew the Brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chess in the French Kings Court. And Limpoldus, taking his advantage, was the more cruel against him, and delivered him, as is said, to the Emperor; in whose custody he was detained during the time above mentioned, a year and three months. During the which time the Kings indurance, the French King in the mean season stirred War in Normandy. And Earl John the Kings Brother made stir and invaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the Land mightily withstood him, and besieged him in the Castle of Windsor; where they took from him all the Castles and Munitions which before he had got. Thus the Earl seeing no hope to prevail in England, and suspecting the deliverance of the King his Brother, made into France, and kept with the French King: at length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperor, That King Richard should be released for an hundred thousand pounds; of the which money, part should remain to the Duke of Auftrige, the rest should be the Emperors. The sum of which money was here gathered and made in England of Chalices, Croffes, Shrines, Candlesticks, and other Church Plate, also with publick contribution of Frieries, Abbies and other Subjects of the Realm. Whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining hostages and pledges were taken, which was about

Confederacy of the French King and Earl John against K. Richard. Earl John besieged at Windsor.

Annō 1195. about the fifth year of his Reign. And then it was obtained of the Pope, that Priests might celebrate with Chalice of Latin and Tin, and so it was granted and continued long after, which, mine Author in his Chronicle intituled *Eulogium*, doth testify himself to have seen. At what time this foresaid money was paid, and the Hostages given for the ransom of this King. I have an old story that saith how the foresaid Duke of *Auftrige* shortly after was plagued by God with five sundry plagues: First, with burning of his cheif Towns; Secondly, with the drowning of ten thousand of his Men in a great flood, hapning no Man could tell how; Thirdly, by turning all the ears of his Cornfield into Worms; Fourthly, by taking away almost all the Nobles of his Land by death; Fifthly, by breaking his own Leg falling from his Horse, which Leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died upon the same: who then is said at his death to forgive King *Richard* fifty thousand marks, and sent home the Hostages that were with him. *Ex variis Chron.* The Book intituled *Eulogium*, before mentioned, declareth thus, That the said *Limpoldus* Duke of *Auftrige* fell in displeasure with the Bishop of *Rome*, and died Excommunicate the next year after, being the year one thousand one hundred ninety six.

Annō 1196. Thus the said King *Richard* being ransomed, as hath been declared, from the covetous Captivity of the Emperor, was restored again, and made his repair into *England*. At whose return Earl *John* his Brother, resorting unto him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned of his transgressions. To whom King *Richard* answered again, Would God (saith he) this your trespass, as it dieth with me in oblivion, so it may remain with you in remembrance, and so gently forgave him. And after he had again recovered his Holds and Castles, he caused himself to be Crowned again. Which done, he made his power against the French King, and drave him out of *Normandy*. After that, he turned his voyage against the *Welch-men*, and subdued them.

Annō 1197. The next year following, which was the year 1197. *Philip* the French King brake the Truce made between him and King *Richard*; whereupon the King was compelled to sail over again to *Normandy* to withstand the malice of his Enemy. About which time, my story recordeth of one called of some *Fulco*; some say he was the Archbishop of *Rome*, called *Gualter*. This *Fulco* being then in *England*, and coming to the Kings presence, said unto him with great courage and boldness; Thou hast, O mighty King, three Daughters very vicious and of evil disposition; take good heed of them, and betimes provide for them good Husbands; lest, by untimely bestowing of the same, thou shalt not only incur great hurt and damage, but also utter ruin and destruction to thy self. To whom the King in a rage said, Thou lying and mocking Hypocrite, thou knowest not where thou art, or what thou sayest: I think thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I have never a Daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou open lyer get thee out of our presence. To whom *Fulco* answered, No, and like your Grace, I lye not, but say truth: for you have three Daughters which continually frequent your Court, and wholly possess your person, and such three Whores and naughty Packs as never the like hath been heard of: I mean, mischievous Pride, greedy Covetousness, and filthy Luxury; and therefore again I say, O King, beware of them, and out of hand provide Marriages for them, lest in not so doing, thou utterly undo both thy self and all the whole Realm.

The which his words the King took in good part, with correction of himself, and confession of the same. Whereupon incontinently he called his Lords and Barons before him, unto whom he declared the communing and motion of *Fulco*, who had willed him to beware of his three Daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Luxury, with counsel out of hand to marry them, lest further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole Realm; whose good counsel (my Lords) I intend to follow, not doubting of all your consents thereunto. Wherefore here before you all, I give my Daughter swelling Pride to wife unto the proud *Templars*; my greedy Daughter Avarice to the covetous order of the *Cistercian* Monks; and last of all, my filthy Daughter Luxury to the riotous Prelates of the Church, whom I think to be very meet Men for her; and so severally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our Realm are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning *Fulco*.

Not long after this, it befel that a certain Noble personage (Lord of *Lemonice* in little *Britain*, *Widomarus* by name) found a great substance of Treasure both of gold and silver hid in the ground, whereof a great part he sent to King *Richard*, as chief Lord and Prince over the whole Countiy. Which the King refused; saying, *He would have all or none, for that he was the principal Chieftain over the Land.* But the finder would not condescend to that. Wherefore the King laid Siege to a Castle of his, called *Galuz*, thinking the Treasure to lie there. But the Keepers and Warders of the Castle, seeing themselves not sufficient to withstand the King, offered to him the Castle, desiring to depart with life and armor. To this the King would in no wise grant, but bid them to re-enter the Castle again, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It so befel, that as the King with the Duke of *Brabant* went about the Castle, viewing the places thereof; a Soldier within, named *Bertandus Cordoun*, struck the King with an Arrow in the arm, whereupon the Iron remaining and festring in the wound, the King within nine days after dyed; who, because he was not content with the half of the treasure that another Man found, lost all his own treasure that he had. The King, being thus wounded, caused the Man that strook him to be brought unto him, and asked the cause of him why he so wounded him? Who answered him again (as the story saith) That he thought to kill rather than to be killed: and what punishment soever he should sustain, he was content, so that he might kill him which had before killed his Father and Brethren. The King, hearing his words, freely forgave him, and caused an hundred shillings to be given him. Albeit (as the story addeth) after the death of the King, the Duke of *Brabant*, after great torments, caused him to be hanged. *Ex historia Regis Richardi secundi, cui initium, De patre istius Bruti, &c.* The story of *Gisburn* saith, That the killer of King *Richard* coming to the French King, thinking to have a great reward, was commanded to be drawn asunder with Horses, and his quarters to be hanged up.

Another story affirmeth, and *Gisburn* partly doth testify the same, That a little before the death of King *Richard*, three Abbots of the Order *Cistercian* came to him, to whom he was confessed: And when he saw them somewhat stay at his absolution, he had these words: *That he did willingly commit his body to be eaten of worms, and his soul to the fire of Purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgment, in the hope of God his mercy.* *Ex Jomalensi. Gisburn. & aliis.*

About the Reign of this King, the said *Jomalensis* maketh mention of *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, which put out of his Church the Monks, and placed for them secular Priests; saying, *That he would rather wish Ecclesiastical Benefices to be given to wanton Priests, than to abominable Monks; and that Thurstinus did sin never worse in all his life, than in building that House for Monks, &c.* Another story I have, which saith, That this was the Bishop not of *York*, but of *Coventry*.

The King not long after departed without issue, and *John* his Brother Reigned after him: in whom although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he far from that deserving, for the which he hath been so ill reported of divers writers: who, being led more with affection of Popery, than with true judgment and due consideration, depraved his doings more than the sincere truth of the History will bear them. Concerning which History, after so many writers, we thought also to bestow a little labor, although in this matter we cannot be so long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

King JOHN.

After the death of King *Richard*, called *Coeur de Lion*, Reigned his Brother *John* Earl of *Morton*. Afterward the Archbishop put the Crown on his head, and sware him to defend the Church and to maintain the same in her good Laws, and to destroy the ill. And except he thought in his mind to do this, the Archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. And on *S. John Baptists* Day next following, King *John* sailed into *Normandy* and came to *Rome*, where he

He that all would have shall all forgo.

Covetous greediness plagued.

The death of King Richard the First.

King Richard forgiveth him that killed him. *Ex Bibliotheca Cameracensi. Ex Gualtero Hemingford monacho Gisburnensi.*

Vain fear of Purgatory.

Ex Jomalensi. Gisburnensi & aliis.

Monks put out, and secular Priests received.

Annō 1195. *Ex Chronico cuiuslibet Eulogium.*

The just punishment of God upon the Duke of Auftrige.

The answer of King Richard to his Brother.

Three Daughters of the King noted.

King John.

was royally received, and Truce concluded between him and the French King for a time. And thither came to him the Earl of Flanders, and all other Lords of France that were of King Richard's band and friendship, and were Sworn unto him.

Arthur of
Britain.

A commu-
nication be-
tween the
King of
England
and the
French
King.

Not long after this, Philip the French King made Arthur Knight, and took his Homage for Normandy, Britain, and all other his possessions beyond the Sea, and promised him help against King John. After this, King John and the French King talked together with their Lords about one hours space; and the French King asked so much Land for himself and Knight Arthur, that King John would grant him none, and so he departed in wrath.

The same Year a Legate came into France, and commanded the King, in pain of interdiction, to deliver one Peter out of Prison, that was elect to a Bishoprick; and thereupon he was delivered.

And after that the Legate came into England, and commanded King John, under pain of interdiction, to deliver the Archbishop whom he had kept as Prisoner two Years; which the King denied to do, till he had paid him six thousand Marks; because he took him in harness in a Field against him, and Swore him upon his deliverance, That he should never wear Harness against any Christian man.

Marriage in
the third
degree for-
bidden by
the Pope.

This time Divorce was made between King John and his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, because they were in the third degree of kindred. And after, by the counsel of the French King, King John wedded Isabel, Daughter of the Earl of Anguilla: and then Arthur of Britain did homage to King John for Britain and others.

{ Anno }
{ 1200 }

At this time fell strife between King John and Geoffrey the Archbishop of York, for divers causes: first, because he would not suffer and permit the Sheriff of York, in such affairs as he had to do for the King within his Diocesis. Secondly, because he did also excommunicate the said Sheriff. Thirdly, because he would not fail with him into Normandy, to make the Marriage between Lewis the French Kings Son, and his Niece, &c.

{ Anno }
{ 1202 }

After this, in the Year of our Lord 1202, Philip the French King (in a communication between King John and him) required that the said King John should part with all his Lands in Normandy and Picardia which he had beyond the Sea, unto Arthur his Nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would War against him; and so he did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following, the French King, with the said Arthur, set upon certain of his Towns and Castles in Normandy, and put him to much disquietness. But he (the Lord so providing, which is the giver of all victory) had such repulse at the English mens hands, that they, pursuing the Frenchmen in their flight, did so follow them in their hold, and so enforced upon them, that not only they took the said

Not Parents
in vita
Joannis
Regis.

Arthur.

Arthur Prisoner, with many other of the French men, but also gave such an overthrow to the rest, that none was there left to bear tidings home. This Arthur was Nephew to King John, and Son to Geoffrey which was the elder Son to John. For King Henry the second (to make the matter more evident) had eight Children: one William, which died in his childhood; the second, Henry, which died also, his Father being yet alive; the third, Geoffrey, Earl of Britain, which likewise deceased in his Fathers days, leaving behind him two Children, Arthur and Brecca; the fourth, Richard Coeur de lion, King; the fifth, John, now reigning; and three other Daughters besides. The same Arthur, being thus taken in War, was brought before the King, at the Castle of Falesie in Normandy; who, being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the French King, and to incline to his Uncle, answered again stoutly, and with great indignation; requiring the Kingdom of England, with all the other Dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the Lawful Heir of the Crown. By reason whereof, he (provoking the Kings displeasure against him) was sent to the Tower of Rome, where at length (whether by leaping into the Ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other privy hand, or by what chance else it is not yet agreed upon in stories) he finished his life. By occasion whereof, the foresaid King John was had after in great suspicion; whether justly or unjustly, the Lord knoweth.

The Year following, Historiographers write, That King John, for lack of rescue, lost all his Holds and Possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French King.

{ Anno }
{ 1203 }
Normandy
lost and
gotten by
the French
man.

After these losses, came other troubles upon him, with other as great or more great enemies (that is, with the Pope and his popelings) by occasion of chusing of the Archbishop of Canterbury; as in this History following, by Christ his Grace is to be declared.

The Year of our Lord 1205, about the Month of July, Hubert the Archbishop of Canterbury deceased; whose decease after it was in Canterbury to the Monks known, and afore his Body was yet committed to the Earth; the younger sort of the Monks there gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior Reginald, and without the Kings license, or yet knowledge, privily placed him in the Metropolitcal Seat, singing *Te Deum* at midnight. And because the King should not make their election void, they charged him by virtue of his Oath to keep all secret by the way, and to shew nothing what was done before he came to the Pope: but he contrary to his Oath, so soon as he came into Flanders, opened abroad all the matter, and uttered their counsel: whereupon the Monks, being not a little grieved with him, sent him privily unto the Court of Rome out of hand. The next day the elder Monks sent to the King, desiring him of his gracious license Canonically to chuse their Archbishop. The King most gently and favourably granted their Petition; requiring them instantly, and desiring that for his sake they would shew favour to John Gray, then Bishop of Norwich, as they did indeed, erecting him into that See of their high Primacie. Moreover, because the Authority of Kings and Princes was then but small in their own Dominion, without the Popes consent and confirmation to the same: he sent also to Rome of his own charges to have the foresaid election ratified by the Pope. The Suffragans of Canterbury then (being not a little offended at these two Elections) sent speedily to Rome to have them both stopped; for that they had not been of counsel with them. And hereupon at the last grew a most prodigious tumult.

In this Year the Clergy grew so unruly, that they neglected their Charge, and thereby incensed the Kings displeasure so fore against them, that he took order about the goods of such as in that case were faulty: as shall appear more manifestly by that which followeth.

A Letter of King John, touching the Lands and Goods of such Clerks as refuse to celebrate Divine Service.

Rex omnibus de Episcopatu Lincolnie clericis & laicis, salutem. Scias quod a die lune proxime ante Floridum paschatis commissimus, &c.

Terris Lond.
Some think
that Flori-
dum pascha-
ris is Palm-
Sunday;
but Easter
is rather
thought to
be meant
thereby, sith
the Spani-
ards, at this
day, call the
same Flo-
rida.

In English:

The King to all Clerks and Lay people within the Bishoprick of Lincoln, Greeting: Know ye that from Monday next before the Feast of Easter, we have committed to William of Cornhill, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Joseline of Canvil, all the Lands and Goods of the Abbats, Priors, and of all the Religious Persons; and also of all Clerks within the Bishoprick of Lincoln, which will not from that time celebrate Divine Service. And we command you, that from thence you assist them as our Bailiffs; and believe them in those things which they shall tell you privately on our behalf. Witness our self at Clarendon the Eighteenth day of March, in the Ninth Year of our Reign.

The like was written to all within the Bishoprick of Ely. So that hereby we see the dissoluteness and wilfulness of those Popish Church-men, whom conscience of discharging their duty did so little move, as that they thought upon nothing less, sith the King was driven to use such austerity and sharpness against them. But to proceed in this troublesome Election you shall understand, that the next Year after, the Suffragans of the Province of Canterbury on the one side, and the Monks of Canterbury on the other side, came afore the Pope with their brawling matter. First the Monks, presenting Reginald their superior, desired

{ Anno }
{ 1206 }
Prelates of
the Church
had then
Money e-
nough be-
like, that
they could
keep play
at Rome a-
gainst their
Prince,
which thing
caused the
Princes af-
ter to seek
such means
to cut them
short.

11207
Diffention
amongst the
Monks of
Canterbury
about the
Election of
the Arch-
bishop.

desired that their Election might be confirmed. The Suffragans likewise complained that the Monks would presume to chuse the Archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired by divers reasons the first Election to be of none effect. The Pope, deciding the matter between both, pronounced with the Monks; charging the Suffragans and Bishops to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone. The Monks of Canterbury, now having the whole Election in their own hands, fell also at square among themselves, the younger sort with the elder. The younger sort, which had chosen *Reginald* their superior, would that Election to stand. The elder sort of the Monks replied again, saying, That the first Election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsel of other Monks. Over and besides, it was done without the Kings license, and appointment, and without the due solemnity thereunto belonging.

And as concerning our Election (said they) it was done in the clear light of the day, by which it had authority in presence of our Liege Lord the King; and his Council being willing to the same.

This Allegation thus proponed, the Suffragans Proctor or man of Law stood forth, and proved the former Election to be good; and this later to be void and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first Election (saith he) were just or unjust, ye ought first by the Law to have condemned it afore ye should have presumed to the second; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your later doing no Election at all, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both sides, with many frivolous allegations a long time, and could not agree upon one person; Pope *Innocent* condemned both their Elections, commanding them to chuse *Stephen Langton*, then Cardinal of *St. Chrysogon*, for their Archbishop. The Monks then answered, That they durst not so do without consent of their King, and for that it was prejudicial to their ancient Liberties. The Pope by and by (saith the text) as one in a fury, taking the words out of their mouths, said thus unto them: We will you to know, That we have full power and authority over the Church of *Canterbury*; neither are we wont to tarry the consent of Princes, therefore we command you, in pain of our great curse, that ye chuse him only whom we have appointed.

The pride
and tyranny
of the Pope

The Monks at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all in one, and thereupon sang *Te Deum*. Only Doctor *Helias Brantfield* withdrew himself from that Election; whom the King had sent for the admission of the Bishop of *Norwich*.

Stephen
Langton
made Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

Thus was *Stephen Langton* (in the high Church of *Westerby*, by the Popes hand) made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

¶ This Election thus past with the Popes grace and favour, the said *Stephen* had in *England*, among others that solicited his cause to the King, a brother named Master *Simon Langton*, who in tract of time also became Archbishop of *York*, as appeareth in the course of this Story, in the Reign of *Henry* the third, *An.* 1228. In this behalf the King seemed tractable; so he might have his Sovereignty entire. Against the which, because the said *Stephen* had vowed to oppose himself, and the King disliked such demeanor; he sent abroad his Letters certificatory about the Realm: therein giving intimation to all people of proud *Stephen Langton's* countenance. The form of the said Letters followeth:

Letters certificatory of King *John*, touching the contumacy of *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Popes Election.

Yorn Land.

R Ex omnibus hominibus, &c. Sciatis quod magister *Simon de Langton* venit ad nos apud *Winton* die *Mercurii* proxime ante mediam quadragesimam, &c.

In English.

The King to all men, &c. Know ye that Master *Simon Langton* came to us at *Winchester*, on the Wednesday next before Mid-lent, and in presence of our Bishops besought us that we would receive his Brother, Master *Stephen Langton*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And when

we spake unto him touching the reservation and saving of our Dignity unto us, he told us that he would do no such thing for us, unless we would wholly rely our selves upon his courtesie and gentleness. This therefore we command, that you know evil and wrong to be done unto us in this behalf: and we charge you, that you believe those things which *Reginald* of *Cornhill* shall tell you on our part, touching the aforesaid Deed between us and the Bishops above-named, &c. Witness the King at *Winchester*, the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth year of his reign.

Now, albeit the King took indignation at this proceeding in the Election of *Stephen*, yet from thenceforth (saith *Matthew Paris*) the Pope could do no less but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; considering that he was his own dear Darling, and a Child of his own creation.

Furthermore, upon this occasion King *John* conceived an exceeding displeasure against the Clergy and Monks of *Canterbury* (as he had good cause) they doing so many evils against his Princely Prerogative. Without his License they Elected their Archbishop, and put by the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his Treasure for the Wars; and, to bring all to the Devil, they made *Stephen Langton* their high Metropolitan, whom he took for a grievous Enemy to the whole Realm; being always so familiar with the French King. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of the Land, to the number of threescore and four, for this their contumacy, and contempt of his Regal Power.

The Monks of *Canterbury* thus being expelled, the King forthwith sendeth Messengers to the Pope with his Letters, wherein he doth sharply and expressly expostulate with the Pope. First, for that so uncourtously he repulsed the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, and set up one *Stephen Langton*, a man unknown to him, and brought up amongst his Enemies a long time in the Kingdom of *France*, Consecrating him Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and letting the other go. Also (which is more) for that it redoundeth to the Subversion and Derogation of the Liberties appertaining to his Crown: for notwithstanding his consent past (being before of the Monks, not made privy, which should have so done) yet he rashly presumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot marvel (he saith) enough, that neither the said Pope, nor the Court of *Rome*, doth consider and revolve with themselves, how necessary his love and favour hath been always hitherto to the See of *Rome*; and that they consider not what great profit and renewals have proceeded hitherto to them out of the Realm of *England*; the like whereof hath not been received out of any other Country besides on this side the *Alpes*. He addeth moreover, and saith, that for his Liberties he will stand (if need be) unto Death, neither can he be so removed and shaken off from the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, which he seeth to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, saying, That in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so provide by the Seas that there shall be no such gadding and courting any more over to *Rome*, suffering the Riches of the Land no more to be transported over, whereby he should be himself the less able to resist his Enemies. And seeing he hath of his own at home, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church (both of *Englishmen* and of others) sufficiently provided and instructed in all kind of knowledge: therefore he shall not need greatly to seek for judgment and justice further abroad.

The King
doth expo-
stulate
with the
Pope for
Consecra-
ting *Stephen
Langton*
Archbishop
of *Canter-
bury*.

When these came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth Letters again to the King in this form:

Innocentius, Pope, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved Son in Christ, the King of *England*, health, and Apostolical blessing. Whereas we have written to you heretofore, exhorting and intreating you after an humble, diligent, and gentle sort (concerning the Church of *Canterbury*) you have written to us again after a threatening sort and upbraiding manner; both spitefully and also frowardly. And whereas we more, and above that our right and duty required, have born and given to you: you again for your part have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your Devotion, as you say, hath been to us very necessary, yet

The Popes
Letters
answering
King *John*.

It is pity
but this
Pope should
be honour-
ed of Kings
and Princes.

yet consider again that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in such like cases have not shewed at any time the like honour to any Prince as we have unto you; you again have so much derogated our honour, as no Prince else hath presumed to do besides you alone; pretending certain frivolous causes and occasions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the Election of Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chryso-gono, chosen by the Monks of Canterbury; for that the said Stephen (as you say) hath been conversant and brought up amongst your Enemies, and his person is to you unknown. But you know what is the Proverb of Solomon: The Net is cast, but in vain in the sight of the flying Birds, &c.

A pitiful case that a King cannot constitute an Archbishop within his own Realm, whom he most liketh.

With much other matter in the same Epistle, wherein he falleth into the commendation of Stephen Langton his Cardinal, declaring how learned he was in the Liberal Arts, and in Divinity, in so much that he was Prebendated at Paris; also come of an honest stock, and an English man born, and not unknown to the King, seeing the King had written his Letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreover in the said Letter, how the Messengers of the King had specified to him another cause; which was, for that the Monks of Canterbury, which had to do in the Election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreover in the said Letter, how the said Messengers of the King intreated in the Kings behalf, that forasmuch as the Popes Letters (wherein the King was commanded to send his Proctors to Rome for the same matter) came not to the Kings hand, neither did the Monks direct any such Letters or Message to the King to have his consent; therefore the Pope, considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the Kings honour, that the Monks of Canterbury should not proceed without the Kings assent therein. And forasmuch as that hath not been done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be given, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, That he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his Letters and Messengers once or twice to the King for the same purpose, although he said it was not the manner of the See Apostolick (who had the fulness of power over the Church of Canterbury) to wait for Princes consents in such Elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting up his Letter, he thus concludeth in these words:

And therefore seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tarry for the Kings favour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the Canonical Ordinances of the holy Fathers shall direct us; that is (all impediments and delays set aside) so to provide that the Church of Canterbury be not any longer destitute of her Pastor. Wherefore be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that for so much as this Election of Stephen Langton hath orderly and concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a person meet for the same; therefore we will for no mans pleasure, neither may we without danger of fame and of conscience defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said Election. Wherefore my well-beloved Son, seeing we have had respect to your honour, above that our right and duty required, study to honour us so much as your duty requireth again, so that you may the more plentifully deserve favour, both at Gods hand and ours; lest that by doing the contrary, you bring your self into such a peck of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid your self of again. For this know for a certain, in the end it must needs fall out, that he shall have the better, unto whom every knee (of Heavenly, Earthly, and Infernal creatures) doth bow, whose turn I serve in Earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore settle not your self to obey their persuasions, which always desire your unquietness, whereby they may fish the better in the Water when it is troubled; but commit your self to our pleasure, which undoubtedly shall turn to your praise, glory, and honour. For it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the Church; in whose quarrel that blessed Martyr, and glorious Bishop, Thomas bath of late shed his blood; especially seeing your Father and your Brother

Note the proceedings of this ambitious Pope.

Tho. Becket he meaneth.

of famous memory, then Kings of England, did give over those three wicked customs into the hands of the Legates of the See Apostolick. But if you yield your self humbly into our hands, we will look that you and yours shall be sufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may arise hereupon to you-ward. Given at Lateran the tenth year of our Popedom.

Princes must be subject to the Pope.

Thus hast thou (gentle Reader) the glorious Letter of the proud Pope; I beseech thee mark it well. Now to the Story.

After this Letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandment sent into England, unto certain Bishops there, requiring them by authority Apostolick, That if the said King would not receive the said Prior of Canterbury, and his Monks, then they should Interdict him throughout all his Realm. For the executing whereof four Bishops were appointed by the usurped Power of the Popes Bulls: namely, William, Bishop of London; Eustace, Bishop of Ely; Walter, Bishop of Winchester; and Giles, Bishop of Hereford. Which said four Bishops went unto the King, and shewed their Commission from the Pope, as is aforesaid, willing him to consent thereto, &c. But the said King refused the same, and would by no means grant to their request. Whereupon they, departing from his Grace, went the morrow after the Annuntiation of our Lady, and pronounced the said general Interdiction throughout all England, so that the Church-doors were shut up with Keys, and other fastenings, and with Walls, &c.

Four Bishops appointed to interdict the Realm.

England interdicted by the Pope.

Now when the King heard of this, he began to be moved against them, and took all the possessions of the four Bishops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the Livings of the Clergy throughout the Realm, and that they should enjoy no part thereof. Which being done, the Bishops (seeing the same) cursed all them that kept, or should meddle with Church Goods, against the will of them that ought them: and understanding, for all that, that the King nothing regarded their doings, they went over Sea to the Bishop of Canterbury, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the same, willed them again to return to Canterbury, and he would come thither to them, or else send certain persons thither in his stead, that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the Bishops heard this, they returned again to England, to Canterbury; which tidings came shortly to the King, that they were come again thither. And because he might not himself travel to them, he sent thither Bishops, Earls, and Abbats to intreat them, that the Archbishop, whom he had chosen, might be admitted; promising the Prior and all the Monks of Canterbury in his behalf, that he should never take any thing of the Church Goods against the will of them that owe them; but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any such Goods, and that the Church should have all her Franchises in as ample manner as in St. Edward's time, the Confessor it had.

Discipline of the Church abused for private revenge.

When the form of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a pair of Indentures; and the foresaid four Bishops, to the one part thereof, set their Seals: and the other part the said Bishops, Earls, and Abbats carried to shew the King. When the King saw the order thereof, he liked it well, saving he would not agree to make restitution of the Church Goods. So he sent to the four Bishops again that they should put out that point of Restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one word. Then the King sent word to the Archbishop, by the four Bishops, that he should come to Canterbury to speak with him, and for his safe conduct to come and go again at his will, he sent his Justices as Pledges, Gilbert Peiteuin, William de la Bereuar, and John Letfritz. Which thing thus done, the Archbishop Stephen came to Canterbury, and the King (hearing thereof) came to Chelham; from whence he sent his Treasurer the Bishop of Winchester to him, to have him put out of the Indentures the Clause of Restitution aforesaid: who, denying to alter any word of the same, moved the King in such sort, that immediately it was proclaimed throughout England at the Kings Commandment; that all those that had any Church-Livings, and went over Sea, should come again into England by a certain day, or else lose their Livings for evermore. And further in that Proclamation, he charged all Sheriffs within the Realm, to inquire if any Bishops, Abbats, Priors,

The inconsiderate stoutness of the Prelates against the King.

Stephen Langton stout against his King.

Priors, or any other Church man (from that day forward) received any commandment that came from the Pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him: and also that they should take into their hands, for the Kings use, all the Church Lands that were given to any man through the Archbishop Stephen, or by the Priors of Canterbury, from the time of the Election of the Archbishop: and further charged that all the Woods, that were the Archbishops, should be cut down and sold.

When tidings came to the Pope that the King had thus done, being moved thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the King two Legates (the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant) to warn him in the Popes name that he should cease his doings to the holy Church, and amend the wrong he had done to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Priors and the Monks of Canterbury, and to all the Clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the Goods again that he had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the King by name: and to do this, the Pope took them his Letters in Bulls Patent. These two Legates, coming into England, resorted to the King to Northampton, where he held his Parliament, and, saluting him, said they came from the Pope of Rome, to reform the Peace of holy Church. And first, said they, we admonish you in the Popes behalf, that ye make full restitution of the Goods, and of the Lands, that ye have ravished holy Church of; and that ye receive Stephen the Archbishop of Camerbury into his Dignity; and the Prior of Canterbury and his Monks; and that ye yield again unto the Archbishop all his Lands and Rents without any withholding. And, Sir, yet moreover, That ye shall make such restitution to them, as the Church shall think sufficient.

Then answered the King, As touching the Prior and his Monks of Canterbury, all that ye have said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would Ordain; but as touching the Archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart: Let the Archbishop leave his Bishoprick; and if the Pope then shall intreat for him, peradventure I may like to give him some other Bishoprick in England; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him.

Then said Pandulph unto the King, holy Church was wont never to degrade Archbishop without cause reasonable: but ever she was wont to correct Princes that were disobedient to her.

What? How now (quoth the King) threaten ye me? Nay, said Pandulph, but ye have now openly told us as it standeth in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the Popes will; and thus it standeth: He hath wholly Interdicted and Cursed you, for the wrongs you have done unto the holy Church, and unto the Clergy. And for so much as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment; you shall understand, that from this time forward the Sentences upon you given have force and strength. And all those that with you have communed before this time, whether that they be Earls, Barons, or Knights, (or any other whatsoever they be) we affoil them safely from their sins unto this day: And from this time forward (of what condition soever they be) we accurse them openly, and specially by this our Sentence, that do commune with you. And we affoil moreover Earls, Barons, Knights, and all other manner of men of their Homages, Services, and Fealties that they should do unto you. And this thing to confirm, we give plain power unto the Bishop of Winchester, and to the Bishop of Norwich and the same power we give against Scotland unto the Bishop of Rochester, and of Salisbury: and in Wales we give the same power to the Bishops of St. David, and of Landaff, and of St. Asse.

Also Sir King (quoth Pandulph) all the Kings, Princes, and the great Dukes Christened, have laboured to the Pope to have License to Cross themselves, and to War against thee, as upon Gods great Enemy, and win thy Land, and to make King whom it pleaseth the Pope. And we here now affoil all those of their sins, that will rise against thee here in thine own Land.

Then the King, hearing this, answered: What shame may ye do more to me than this?

Pandulph again: We say to you in Verbo Dei, that neither you, nor any Heir that you have, after this day shall be Crowned. So the King said, By him that is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before ye came into this Land, and that ye had brought me such

news, I should have made you tarry out these twelve months.

Then answered Pandulph, Full well we thought, at our first coming, that ye would have been obedient to God and to holy Church, and have fulfilled the Popes commandment, which we have shewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye say, that if ye had wist the cause of our coming, ye would have made us tarry out a whole year; who might as well say, that ye would have taken a whole years respite without the Popes leave: but for to suffer what death ye can ordain, we shall not spare to tell all the Popes message and will, that he gave us in charge.

In another Chronicle I find the words between the King and Pandulph something otherwise described, as though the King should first threaten him with hanging, if he had fore-known of his coming. To whom Pandulph again should answer, That he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the Churches right. Whereupon the King, being mightily incensed, departed. The King the same time being at Northampton, willed the Sheriffs and Bailiffs to bring forth all the Prisoners there, that such as had deserved should be put to Death: to the intent (as some think) to make Pandulphs afraid. Among whom was a certain Clerk, who for counterfeiting the Kings Coin, was also condemned to be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered; and moreover, by the King was commanded (thereby to anger Pandulphs the more, as may be thought) to be Hanged up highest above the rest. Pandulphs hearing thereof, notwithstanding he somewhat began to fear lest he should be Hanged himself; yet with such courage as he had, he went to the Church to set out Book, Bell, and Candle, charging that no man, under pain of Accusing, should lay hands upon the Clerk. Upon this the King and the Cardinal departed in no little anger. And Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the Pope and the Cardinals what had been done.

Then the Pope Summoned all the Bishops, Abbats, and Clerks of England, to come and repair unto Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This Council began the first day of October. In the which Council it was Decreed by the Pope and his Assembly, That John King of England should be Accursed, with all such as held with him, every day so long as that Council endured. Albeit this was not yet Granted, that the People should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But afterwards the said Pope Innocent, seeing that King John by no means would stoop under his subjection, nor under the rule of his Popish See, he sent unto the French King, upon remission of all his sins, and of all that went with him, That he should take with him all the power he might, and so to invade the Realm of England to destroy King John.

This occasion given, Pope Innocent yet once again commanded, in pain of his great Curse, That no man should obey King John, neither yet keep company with him: he forbade all persons to Eat and Drink with him, or Talk with him, to Commune or Counsel with him; yea, his own familiar Household to do him any kind of service, either at Bed or at Board, in Church, Hall, or Stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them, which after such sort fled from him (by the Ordinance of God) of divers and sundry Diseases the same year died. And between both Nations (English and French) fell that year great amity; but secret, subtil, and false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the Pope content only with this, but moreover the said Pope Innocent gave Sentence definitive (by Council of his Cardinals) that King John should be put from his Seat Regal and Deposed, and another put in his Room. And to the speedy execution thereof he appointed the French King Philip, promising to give him full remission of all his sins, and the clear possession of all the Realm of England, to him and his Heirs, if he did either kill him or expel him.

The next year the French King began his attempt, in hope of the Crown of England; being well-manned with Bishops, Monks, Prelates, Priests, and their Servants, to maintain the same: bragging of the Letters which they had received from the great men there. But behold the work of God; the English Navy took three hundred of the French Kings Ships, well laden with Wheat, Wine, Meal, Fleth, Armor, and such other like meet for the War: and

Like master like man.

Pandulph worse afraid than hurt.

The Popes great Curse.

The just punishment of God upon disobedient Subjects.

The Pope found a murderess.

Annos 1212.

French Ships taken by English men.

The King moved against the Archbishop Legates.

Two Legates sent from the Pope.

Restitution required of the King.

Sentence of the Popes Curse pronounced against the King.

The Pope Author of Rebellion and disobedience of Subjects against their Prince.

Peter the
false pro-
phet.

and one hundred they burnt within the Haven, taking the spoils with them. In the mean time the Priests within England had provided them a certain false counterfeit Prophet, called *Peter Wakefield of Poiz*; who was an idle gadder about, and a prating merchant. This *Peter* they made to prophesie lyes, rumoring his prophesies abroad, to bring the King out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the Commons of the Realm, that Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a Child between the Priests hands, once at *York*, another time at *Pomfret*; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying, Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declated to the Bishops; and bid the people amend their naughty living. Being rapt also in spirit (they said) he beheld the Joys of Heaven, and Sorrows of Hell. For scant were there three (saith the Chronicle) among a thousand that lived Christianly. This counterfeit sooth-sayer prophesied of King *John*, that he should Reign no longer than *Ascension-day*, within the year of our Lord 1213. which was the fourteenth from his Coronation; and this (he said) he had by revelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether he should be slain, or expelled, or should of himself give over the Crown? He answered, That he could not tell. But of this he was sure (he said) that neither he, nor any of his stock or lineage should Reign, that day once finished. The King, hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoff thereof. Tush (saith he) it is but an Idiot Knave, and such a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the Kings displeasure, and that he made no more of it; he gat him abroad and prated thereof at large (as he was a very idle Vagabond) and used to tattle and talk more than enough: so that they which loved the King caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into Prison, the King not knowing thereof.

The false
prophet
found a
Lyer.

Anon after, the fame of this phantastical prophet went all the Realm over, and his name was known every where (as foolishness is much regarded of people, where wisdom is not in place) specially because he was then Imprisoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wondrings were the wantoner, their practising the foolisher, their busie talks, and other idle occupys the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old Gossips Tales went abroad, new Tales were invented, Fables were added to Fables, and Lyes grew upon Lyes: so that every day new slanders were raised on the King, and not one of them true: rumors arose, blasphemies were spread, the Enemies rejoiced, and Treasons by the Priests were maintained, and what likewise was furnished, or other subtilty practised, all was then fathered upon this foolish prophet: As, thus saith *Peter Wakefield*, Thus hath he prophesied, and, This shall come to pass; yea, many times when he thought nothing less. When the *Ascension-day* was come, which was prophesied of before, King *John* commanded his Regal Tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his Noble Council and men of Honour, in the greatest Solemnity that ever he did afore, Solacing himself with Musical Instruments and Songs, most in sight amongst his trusty Friends. When that day was past in all prosperity and mirth, his Enemies being confounded, turned all to an allegorical understanding, to make the prophesie good, and said, He is no longer King, for the Pope Reigneth, and not he; yet Reigned he still, and his Son after him, to prove that prophet a Lier. Then was the King by his Council perfwaded that this false prophet had troubled all the Realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and raised the Commons against him. For his words went over the Sea by the help of his Prelates, and came to the French Kings Ear, and gave unto him a great encouragement to invade the Land; he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most foully deceived, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such dark drowfie dreams of Hypocrites. The King therefore commanded that he should be drawn and hanged like a Traytor.

The false
prophet
hanged.

After that the Popish Prelates, Monks, Canons, Priests, &c. saw this their crafty juggling by their fained prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harm thereby; to help the matter more forward, they began to travel and practice with Pope *Innocent* of the one side, and also with the French King on the other side, besides subtil Treasons which they wrought within the Realm,

and by their confessions in the Ear, whereby they both blinded the Nobility and Commons. The King thus compassed about on every side with Enemies, and fearing the sequel thereof, knowing the Conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the Pope (in all that ever he might) as also by *Philip the French King* by his procurement: and moreover his own People, especially his Lords and Barons being rebelliously incited against him; as by the Popes Curses and Interdictions against such as took his part, and by his Absolutions and Dispensations with all those that would rebel against him, commanding them to detain from him such Homage, Service, Duties, Debts, and all other Allegiance that godly Subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their Liege Lord and Prince: All which things considered, the King, I say, in the thirteenth year of his Reign, for that the French King began to make sharp Invasion upon him within his own Realm, sent speedy Ambassadors to the Pope (as to the Fountain of all this his mischief, pretended to work and intreat his Peace and Reconciliation with him) promising to do whatsoever the Pope should will him, and command him in the reformation of himself, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy Church, and to make due satisfaction therefore unto all men that could complain.

King John
submitte
himself to
the Pope.

King John
intreateth
for Peace
with the
Pope.

Then sent the Pope again into England his Legate *Pandulph*, with other Ambassadors: the King also at *Canterbury* (by Letters, as it should seem, certified from his own Ambassadors) waited their coming. Where the thirteenth day of May the King received them, making unto them an Oath, That of and for all things wherein he stood Accused, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Unto whom also all the Lords and Barons of England (so many as there were with the King attending the Legates coming) sware in like manner, That if the King would not accomplish in every thing the Oath which he had taken, then they would cause him to hold and confirm the same whether he would or not (or by strength) to use the Authors words.

Then submitted the King himself unto the Court of *Rome*, and to the Pope, and resigning gave up his Dominions and Realms of England and Ireland from him and from his Heirs for evermore that should come of him. With this condition, that the King and his Heirs should take again these two Dominions of the Pope to Farm, paying yearly therefore to the Court of *Rome* 1000 Marks of Silver. Then took the King the Crown from his Head, kneeling upon his Knees, in the presence of all his Lords and Barons of England, to *Pandulph* the Popes chief Legate, saying in this wise, Here I resign up the Crown of the Realm of England to the Popes hands, *Innocent* the third; and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance. Then took *Pandulph* the Crown of King *John*, and kept it five days as a possession and seizin-taking of these two Realms of England and Ireland, confirming also all things promised by his Charter Obligatory as followeth:

King John
submitte
himself and
resigneth
his Crown.

The Copy of the Letter Obligatory that King John made to the Pope, concerning the yielding up of the Crown and Realm of England into the Popes hands, for a certain Sum of Mony yearly to be paid.

TO all Christian People throughout the World dwelling, John by the Grace of God, King of England, greeting: To your University known be it, That for so much as we have grived and offended God, and our Mother Church of Rome, and for so much as we have need of the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ: and we may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make to God and to holy Church (but if it were our own body) as with our Realms of England and of Ireland; then by the grace of the Holy Ghost we desire to meek us for the Love of him, that meeked him to the Death upon the Cross. And through Counsel of the Nobles, Earls, and Barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the Apostles St. Peter and Paul, and to our mother Church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope *Innocent* the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the Realm, Patronages of Churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and help and health of our Kings souls, and of

The Draught of
Instrument
Obligatory,
wherein
King John
resigneth
his King-
dom to the
Popes hand,
Christ was
offered a
Kingdom
and would
none of it,
but the
Pope doth
not refuse
it.

of all Christian souls. So that from this time afterward, we will receive and hold of our mother Church of Rome as in Form, doing fealty to our holy father the Pope, Innocent the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, in the manner above-said. And in the presence of the wise man Pandolph the Popes sooth-deacon, we make Liege Homage, as if it were in the Popes presence and we before him were, and as if he himself should have done all manner of things above-said; and thereto we bind us, and all that come after us, and our Heirs for evermore, without any gain-saying to the Pope, and eke the ward of the Church vacant. And in token of this thing ever for to last, we will, confirm, and ordain, That he be our special renter of the fore-said Realms (saving St. Peter-pence) in all things. To the mother Church of Rome, paying by the year 1000 Marks of Silver at two times of the year for all manner customs that we should do for the said Realms; that is to say, at Michaelmas and at Easter; that is, for England 700 Marks, and 300 Marks for Ireland; saving to us and to our Heirs, our Justices and our other Franchises. And all these things that before been said, we will that they be firm and stable without end, and to that Obligation we and all our Successors, and our Heirs in this manner been bound, That if we or any of our Heirs through any presumption fall in any point again of these things above-said (and be been warned and will not right amend him) he shall then lose the fore-said Realms for evermore: and this Charter of Obligation and our Warrant for evermore be firm and stable without gain-saying. We shall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother Church of Rome, and to thee, Innocent the third, and to all that comen after thee, and the Realms of England and of Ireland we shall maintain true lich in all manner points, against all manner of men, by our power through Gods help.

Upon this Obligation the King was discharged, the second day of July, from that tyrannical Interdiction, under which he continued six years and three months. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath been declared) to give over both his Crown and Scepter to that Antichrist of Rome for the space of five days, and as his Client, Vassal, Feudary, and Tenant, to receive it again of him at the hands of another Cardinal; being bound Obligatory, both for himself, and for his Successors to pay yearly (for acknowledgment thereof) 1000 Marks for England and Ireland: Then came they thither from all parts of the Realm, so many as had their Conscience wounded for obeying their Liege King, as blind Idiots, and there they were Absolved, every one of his own Bishop, except the Spiritual Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Soldiers, for they were compelled to seek to Rome, as Captives referred to the Popes own fatherhood. In this new ruffling the King easily granted, that Abbats, Deans, and Curates should be Elected freely every where, so that the Laws of the Realm were truly observed. But against that were the Bishops, alledging their Canonical Decrees and Rules Synodal, determining the King therein to have nothing to do, but only to give his consent after they had once Elected. But among this shaven Rabble, some there were which consented not to this wicked error: a fort also there were of the Prelates at that time, which were not pleased that the Lands Interdiction should cease, till the King had paid all that which their Clergy in all quarters of the Realm had demanded, without reason: yea, what every sawcy Sir John for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their Hedges, the stealing of their Apples, and their other occasional damages, which grew to an incredible sum, and impossible to be answered. Such was the outrageous cruel noise of that mischievous progeny of Antichrist, against their natural King.

Notwithstanding that which is uttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the Clergy against their Prince, yet did the Popes Legate and Cardinal Nicolaus Tusculanus much favour his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him that he was exceeding partial, and regarded not their matters Ecclesiastical, as he should have done. For leaving the account of their Restitutions, he went with the Kings Officers, as the Kings pleasure was, to the Cathedral Ministers, Abbies, Priories, Deanries, and great Churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent always he appointed two, one for the King, another for the Parties. But upon him only whom the King

nominated, he compelled most commonly the Election to pass: which vexed them wonderfully. Upon this therefore they raised a new Conspiracy against the Kings Person by help of their Bishops, seditious Prelates, and such Noble men as they had drawn to their Parties. We beheld (saith Hoveden) about the same time many noble Houses and Assemblies divided in many places. The Fathers and the Aged men stood upon the Kings part, but the younger sort contrary. And some there were that for the love of their kindred, and in other sundry respects forsook the King again. Yea, the same went that time, saith he, That they were confederated with Alexander the Scottish King, and Leo- lin the Prince of Wales, to work him an utter mischief. A Council at Oxford the Archbishop called; whereat some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof; the other sort, having very obstinate hearts, reviled the King most spitefully behind his back, and said, That from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no Governor of theirs. Their outrageous and frantick clamors so much prevailed in those days, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a most perillous commotion.

In the year of our Lord 1215, as witneseth Paulus ^{Anno 1215} ^{The Council of Lateran holden by Pope Innocent.} ^{The Pope to have jurisdiction of all Churches} ^{Johannes Scotus.} ^{Transubstantiation first brought in.} ^{Marriage of Priests forbidden by Pope Innocent.} ^{Ad} ^{Emilius} and other Histories, Pope Innocent the third held a General Synod at Rome, called the Council Lateran. The chief causes of that Council were these: In the days of this Innocent, Heresie (as he calleth the Truth of God, or the Doctrine that rebuketh sin) began to rise up very high, and to spread forth his branches abroad; by reason whereof many Princes were Excommunicated, as Orbo the Emperor, John the King of England, Peter King of Aragon, Raimund the Earl of Tholouse, Aquitania, Sataloni, and such other like, as is afore said. So that it could be no otherwise, saith Hoveden, but with the sharp Ax of the Gospel (so called he the Popes Excommunications) they ought of necessity to have been cut off from the Church. Therefore was this Council provided, proclaimed, and Prelates from all Nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefs which he then went about, he caused it by his Legates and Cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to have the Church universally reformed, and the Holy Land from the Turks hands recovered. But all this was craft and falsehood; as the sequel thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to subdue all Princes, and to make himself Rich and Wealthy. For there he made this Antichristian Act, and Established it by publick Decree, That the Pope should have from thenceforth the Correction of all Christian Princes, and that no Emperor should be admitted, except he were sworn before, and were also Crowned of him. He Ordained moreover, That who- soever he were that should speak evil of the Pope, he should be punished in Hell with Eternal Damnation: Conradus, Urspergensis, Hieronymus, Marius. He provided Confession to help these matters; he allowed their Bread a Pix to cover him; and a Bell when he goeth abroad; and made the Mass equal with Christs Gospel.

In this Council was first invented and brought in Transubstantiation: of which Johannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth Book, writing in these words: The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without Transubstantiation. But the Church did chuse this sense, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the Sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth, &c. And in the same place he maketh mention of Innocentius the third.

Moreover, in the said Council was Established and Ratified the wretched and Impious Act, compelling Priests to abjure Lawful Matrimony. Whereupon these Meeters or Verses were made the same time against him, which here follow under-written.

Non est Innocentius, imo nocens vere,
Qui, quod factu docuit, verbo vult delere:
Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,
Modo vetus Pontifex studeat prohibere.
Zacharias habuit prolem & uxorem;
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem;
Baptizavit etenim mundi Salvatorem:
Pereat qui tenet novum hunc errorem.
Paulus caelos rapitur ad superiores,
Ubi multas didicit res secretiores;

*Ad nos tandem rediens instruensque mores,
Suas, inquit, babeant, quilibet uxores.
Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor esse melius & magis decorum,
Quisque suam habeat & non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum feminas, filias, & nepotes
Violare nefas est, quare nil deceptes,
Vere tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,
Dicam ut sic ultimum tutius expectes.*

Noent, not innocent he is, that seeketh to deface,
By word the thing, that he by deed hath taught Men to embrace;
Which being now a Bishop old, doth study to destroy
The thing, which he a young Man once did covet to enjoy.
Priest Zachary both had a Wife, and had a Child also,
By means of whom there did to him great praise and honour grow.
For he did Baptize him which was the savor of mankind:
Ill him befal that boldeth this new error in his mind.
Into the higher Heavens good Paul was lifted from below,
And many secret hidden things he learned there to know:
Return'd at length from them to us, and teaching rules of life,
He said, Let each Man have his own and only wedded Wife.
For this and other documents of them that learned be,
Much better and more comly eke it seemeth unto me,
That each should have his own alone, and not his Neighbours Wife,
Lest with his Neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathful strife.
Thy Neighbours Daughters or their Wives, or Nieces to defile,
Unlawful is, therefore beware do not thy self beguile.
Have thou thine own true wedded Wife, delight in her alway,
With safer mind that thou mayst look to see the later day.

Stephen
Langton sus-
pended out
of the
Church.

Appeal to
the general
council.

The discord
between the
Nobles and
the King.

Now let us return to King John again, and mark how the Priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his Majesties will. In the fore-said Council of Lateran, and the same year, was Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury Excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those Bishops, Prelates, Priests, Barons, and Commons, which had been of counsel with him in the former Rebellion. And when the said Archbishop had made instant sute of him to be Absolved, anon he made him this answer with great indignation: Brother mine, I swear by Saint Peter, thou shalt not so soon at my hand obtain the benefit of Absolution: for why? thou hast not only done harm to the King of England, but also thou hast in a great many of things injured the Church of Rome here, and therefore thou shalt tarry my leaveure. The Archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the Church, and commanded to say no Mass at all, neither yet to exercise any other Ecclesiastical Office; because he would not at time convenient execute the Popes Curse upon the Rebellious Barons. With them the said Pope had been so deeply offended and angered a little before, that the great Charter of the Liberties of England (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroyed, by sentence definitive condemning it for ever; and by and by thereupon Cursed all the other Rebels, with Book, Bell, and Candle. The greater Captains of them (with the Citizens of London) for that assay were pronounced Excommunicate by name, and remained still Interdicted. They appealed then to the council general.

In the same year 1215, were those great men also summoned to appear at Rome in that general Synod, which would not consent to their Kings expulsion, nor yet tyrannical depoling. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, and required by oath to subscribe unto the same: yet could they not of their conscience do it, because he had humbled himself, and also granted to keep peace with all Men. Thus was the whole Realm miserably then divided into two factions through malice of the Clergy: so strifes increased in the Land every where. Yet were there of the Lords and Gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the King and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side (not a little suspecting the state that they were in) fled speedily to the French King Philip: desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest Son Ludovick, and they would Elect him to be their King, and that without much tarrance. They besought him moreover, that he would send with him a strong and mighty power, such as were able to subdue him utterly,

that they mighty (they say) be delivered of such a wicked Tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked Papists gave their Christian Governour, appointed to them of God: whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had been evil, even for very conscience sake, Rom. 13. And as certain of the Lords and Barons were busie to chuse the said Ludovick for their King, the Pope sent thither one Gualo the Cardinal of S. Martin to stay those rash and cruel attempts; charging the French King upon his Allagiance, That he with all power possible should favour, maintain, and defend King John of England, his Feudary or Tenant. The French King thereto made answer, as one not content with that arrogant precept; The Realm of England (said he) was never yet any part of Saint Peter's Patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter. Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his Son by treason of the Barons.

No Prince or Potentate (said Philip the French King) may pledge or give away his Kingdom, which is (beside the Realm) the Government of his whole Common-wealth, without the lawful consent of his Barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the Pope shall introduce or set up such a president in Christianity, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christian Kings and their Kingdoms to nought. I like not this example in these days begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of King John of England: though he be my utter adversary, yet I much lament that he hath so indamaged his Realm, and hath brought that noble ground and Queen of Provinces under miserable tribute. The chief Lords and Men of his Nobility standing by, when he uttered these words, (being as it were in a fury) cryed with one voyce: By the blood of God, in whom we trust to be saved, we will stick in this Article to the losing of our heads. Let the King of England do therein what him liketh: no King may put his Land under Tribute, and so make his Nobility Captive Servants. With that came in Ludovick the Kings eldest Son, and said unto them all there present; I beseech you, let not my purposed journey: the Barons of England have Elected me for their Lord and King, and I will not surely lose my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea so long as heart shall stir within my breast: and I doubt not but I shall well obtain it, for I have friends among them. His Father the King stood still as if he had been in a dump, and answered never a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter. Belike he mistrusted something therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the Priests, that they might live licentious in all wealth and freedom from the Kings yoke.

About the same time were such Treasons and Conspiracies wrought by the Bishops, Priests, and Monks throughout all the Realm, that the King knew not where to become or find trusty friends; he was then compelled, by the uncertainty of his Subjects, to travel from place to place, but not without a great Army of Men, looking every day when his Barons and their Confederates would cruelly set upon him. At last he came to Dover, and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loved him better than did his own people. And thither resorted to him from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on one side, and from Guian, Gascon, and Poitiers, on the other side, and from other Countries more, a wonderful number of Men. The report then went, That the Pope had written unto those Countries, mightily to assist him for divers considerations: one was, for that he had both submitted himself and his Dominions unto his protection; another was, Because he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the Cross, to win again Jerusalem; the third was, For that he had gotten by him the Dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three months he remained in the Isle of Wight, abroad in the Air to quiet himself for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitary life among Rivers and Water-men; whereas he rather coveted to dye than to live, being so traiterously handled of his Bishops and Barons, and not knowing how to be justly avenged of them. Upon the Purification day of our Lady, therefore he took upon him the Cross or Voyage against the Turks, for recovery of Hierusalem, moved thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, than for any other Devotion else. And thus he said to his familiar Servants: Since I submitted my self and my Lands (England and Ireland)

Gualo Cardinal sent into Eng-land.

The French King and his Son reasoning about England.

Prelates and Priests conspiring against the King.

to the Church of Rome (sorrow come to it) never thing prospered with me, but all hath gone against me.

Anno 1216. In the next year after 1216. was Simon Langton chosen Archbishop of York; but that Election anon after was dissolved; for information was given to the Pope, that the said Simon was Brother to Stephen Langton the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had been the occasion of all the Tumults which were at that time in England. And the Pope had the more hate unto him, for that he had brought him up of nought, and did find him at that time so stubborn: wherefore he placed in his Brothers place Walter Gray, the Bishop of Winchester.

Walter Gray Archbishop of York. Gualo the Popes Legate.

In the same year Gualo the Popes Legate renewed his great curse upon Lewis the French Kings Son, for usurping upon King John: Likewise upon Simon Langton, and Gervais Hoberge, for provoking him to the same, and that with a wonderful Solemnity: For in that doing he made all the Bells to be Rung, the Candles to be light, the Doors to be opened, and the Book of Excommunications or Interdictions publicly to be read, committing them wholly to the Devil for their contumacy and contempt. He also commanded the Bishops and Curates to publish it abroad over all the whole Realm, to the terror of all his subjects. The said Simon and Gervais laughed him to scorn, and derided much his doings in that behalf, saying, that for the just title of Ludovike, they had appealed to the general Council at Rome.

Raoul Niger cap. 43-44

The Magistrates of London, and Citizens of the same, did likewise vilipend and disdainfully mock all that the Pope had there commanded and done. And in spite both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were Excommunicated, both at Table and at Church, shewing themselves thereby as open contemnners both of him and his Laws. Ludovike at London, taking himself for King, constituted Simon Langton for his high Chancellor, and Gervais Hoberge for his chief Preacher; by whose daily Preachings (as well the Barons as the Citizens themselves being Excommunicated) he caused all the Church doors to be opened, and the service to be sung, and the said Ludovike was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was Pandulphus (then Cardinal) collecting the Peter-pence, and old pillage of the Pope, taking great pains therein. And for his great labours in those the affairs of holy Church, and for other great miracles besides, he was then made Bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

The Popes curse laught to scorn.

Pandulphus the Popes collector made Bishop of Norwich.

It chanced about this time, that the Vicount of Melun (a very Noble Man of the Realm of France, which came thither with the Prince Ludovike) fell deadly sick at London, and also moved in conscience to call certain of the English Barons unto him, such as were there appointed to the custody of that City, said unto them: I lament your sorrowful case, and pity with my heart the destruction that is coming towards you and your Country. The dangerous snares which are prepared for your utter confusion are hidden from you; you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince Ludovike hath Sworn a great Oath, and sixteen of his Earls and Noble Men are of Counsel with him, that if he obtain the Crown of England, he will banish all them from service, and deprive them of Lands and Goods, as many as he findeth now to go against their Liege King, and are Traytors to his Noble Person. And because you shall not take this Tale for a Fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercy of God, that I was one of them which was Sworn to the same. I have great conscience thereof, and therefore I give you this warning. I pity poor England, which hath been so Noble a Region, that now it is come to so extreme misery. And when he with tears had lamented it a space, he returned again unto them and said: My friends I Counsel you Earnestly to look to your selves, and to provide the remedy in time, lest it come upon you unawares, Your King for a season hath kept you under, but if Ludovike prevail, he will put you from all. Of two extreme evils chuse the more easie, and keep that secret which I have told you of good will. With that he gave over and departed this life.

M. Paris. Raoul Niger cap. 47.

The great providence of God for the help of England.

When this was once noised among the Barons, they were in great heaviness, for they saw themselves intrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that fear which then came upon the

Barons. They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, and every week came upon them new Excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their Lands and Houses, Corn and Cattel, Wives and Children: So that some of them were driven to such need, that they were enforced to seek preys and booties for sustaining their miserable lives. For look whatsoever Prince Ludovike obtained by his Wars, either Territories or Castles, he gave them all to his French-men in spite of their heads, and said that they were but Traytors, like as they had warning afore, which grieved them worst of all. At the last they perceiving that they in seeking to avoid one mischief, were ready to fall into another much worse: they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselves wholly with all Humility unto the mercy of their late Sovereign and natural Liege Lord King John. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their lives for the Treason afore committed, many of the friends of them which were of most credit with him, made sute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great sute made for them. I here omit his recovery of Rochester Castle and City, with many other dangerous adventures against the foresaid Ludovike, both at London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Norwich, and other places else, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I return to my matter again.

Into Suffolk and Norfolk he consequently journeyed, with a very strong Army of Men, and there with great mischief he afflicted them, because they had given place and were Sworn to his Enemies. After that, he destroyed the Abbies of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great Treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence into Lincolnshire.

In this year, about the seventeenth day of July, died Pope Innocent the third, and was buried in a City called Perusium in Italy: whereas he had traveled to make a peace between the Genovais and Pisces, for his own commodity and advantage. After him anon succeeded one Cintius, otherwise called Honorius tertius, a man of very great age: yet lived he in the Papacy ten years and an half, and more. When this was once known in England, greatly rejoiced all they which were King Johns enemies, specially the Priests: yet had they small cause, as will appear hereafter. They noised it all the Realm over, that this new Pope would set a new order, and not rule all things as the other Pope did; thinking thereby that he would have done all things to their commodity, but they found it otherwise. For he made all them, which were Excommunicated, to pay double and treble, ere they could be restored again to their former livings.

Pope Innocent the third dieth.

And in the self same year, as King John was come to Swinestead Abbey, not far from Lincoln, he rested there two days: where (as most writers testifie) he was most Traiterously poisoned by a Monk of that Abbey, of the Sect of the Cistercians or S. Bernards Brethren, called Simon of Swinestead. As concerning the Noble Personage of this Prince, this witness giveth Roger Hoveden therein, *Princeps quidem magnus erat, sed minus felix, atque, ut Marius, utramque fortunam expertus*. Doubtless (saith he) King John was a mighty Prince, but not so fortunate as many were; not altogether unlike to Marius the Noble Roman, he tasted of Fortune both ways, bountiful in mercy; in wars sometime he won, sometime again he lost. *Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, sed proditoris causa suorum deprædator, plus advenis quam suis confidens*. He was also very bounteous and liberal unto strangers, but of his own people (for their daily Treasons sake) he was a great oppressor, so that he trusted more to forreiners than to them.

King John poisoned by a Monk.

Among other divers and sundry conditions belonging to this King, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: For that being far from the superstition which Kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not the Popish Mass, as in certain Chronicles writing of him may be collected: for so I find testified of him by Matth. Paris, that the King upon a time in his Hunting, coming where a very fat Stag was cut up and opened (or how the Hunters tearme it I cannot tell) the King beholding the

St. Chrestien cui titulus Evangelium.

St. Math. Paris.

The saying
of King
John derid-
ing the
Maf.

Ex Caxtons
lib. 7.

Wo be to
you that
call good
evil, and evil
good.
Simon the
Monk ab-
solved of his
Abbot for
poisoning
his King.

The Monk
dieth of his
own poison.

The death
of King
John.

A Prince to
be loving to
his subjects.

King John
buried at
Worcester.

Anno
1216.

The death
of King
John.

fatness and the liking of the Stag: See, faith he, how easily and happily he hath lived, and yet for all that he never heard any Maf.

It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of William Caxton called *Fructus temporum*, and in the seventh Book: The foresaid Monk Simon being much offended with certain talk that the King had at his Table, concerning *Ludovike the French Kings Son* (which then had entred and assupped upon him) did cast in his wicked heart how he most speedily might bring him to his end. And first of all he Counsell'd with his Abbots, shewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alledged for himself the prophetic of *Caiaphas, Job. 11.* saying; *It is better that one man die, than all the people should perish.* I am well contented (faith he) to lose my life, and so become a Martyr, that I may utterly destroy this Tyrant. With that the Abbot did weep for gladness, and much commended his Fervent Zeal, as he took it. The Monk then being absolved of his Abbot for doing this Act (aforehand) went secretly into a Garden upon the backside, and finding there a most venomous Toad, he so pricked him and pressed him with his Pen-knife, that he made him vomit all the poison that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of Wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he said thus to the King, *If it shall like your Princely Majesty, here is such a Cup of Wine as ye never drank better before in all your life time; I trust this Wassail shall make all England glad:* and with that he drank a great draught thereof, the King pledging him. The Monk anon after went to the Farmary, and there died (his Guts gushing out of his Belly) and had continually from thenceforth three Monks to sing Maf for his Soul, confirmed by their general Chapter. What became after that of King John, ye shall know right well in the process following. I would ye did mark well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries, how virtuously they obey their King, whom God hath appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions, and Masses.

The King within a short space after (feeling great grief in his body) asked for Simon the Monk; and answer was made that he was departed this life. Then God have mercy upon me (said he) I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should thereof be glad; he meant now I perceive then of his own Generation. With that he commanded his Chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to *Slaford Castle*, and from thence to *Newark on Trent*, and there within less than three days he died. Upon his death bed he much repented his former life, and forgave all them with a pitiful heart that had done him injury; desiring that his Elder Son *Henry* might be admonished by his example, and learn by his misfortunes to be natural, favourable, gently, and loving to his natural people. When his body was embalmed and spiced (as the manner is of Kings) his bowels or intrals were buried at *Croxton Abbey*, which was of the sect of *Premonstratenses* or *Canons of S. Norbert*. His hired souldiers both *English*-men and strangers were still about him, and followed his Corps Triumphantly in their Armor, till they came to the Cathedral Church of *Worcester*, and there Honourably was he buried by *Silvester* the Bishop betwixt *S. Oswald* and *Saint Wolstan*, two Bishops of that Church. He died in the year of our Lord 1216. the nineteenth day of October, after he had Reigned in such calamity, by the subtil conveyance of his Clergy, eighteen years and six months and odd days. Now so soon as King John was dead and buried (as is said before) the Princes, Lords and Barons, so many as were of his part (as well of strangers as of them that were born here) by Counsel of the Legate *Gualdo*, gathered themselves together, and all with one consent proclaimed *Henry* his Son for their King. Of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Many opinions are among the Chroniclers of the death of King John. Some of them do write that he died of sorrow and heaviness of Heart, as *Polydorus*: some of fursitting in the night, as *Radulphus Niger*: some of a bloody flux, as *Roger Hoveden*: some of a burning ague, some of a cold sweat, some of eating Apples, some of eating Pears, some of Plums, &c.

Thus you see what variety is among the writers con-

cerning the death of this King John. Of which writers, although the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the Monk above named, yet *Matthew Paris* (something differing from the others) writeth thus concerning his death, That he going from *Lincoln* to *Lincolnshire*, and there hearing of the loss of his carriage and of his Treasures upon the *Washes*, fell in great heaviness of mind; inso much that he fell thereby into a fervent Fever, being at the Abbey of *Swinsford*. This Ague he also increased through evil fursitting and naughty diet, by eating Peaches and drinking of new Ciser, or as we call it *Sider*. Thus being lick, he was carried from thence to the Castle of *Slaford*, and from thence to the Castle of *Newark*; where calling for *Henry* his Son, he gave to him the succession of his Crown and Kingdom, writing to all his Lords and Nobles to receive him for their King; and shortly after, upon *S. Lucies Even*, departed this life, being buried at *Worcester*, &c.

In *Gisburne* I find otherwise, who, dissenting from others, faith; that he was poisoned with a dish of Pears, which the Monk had prepared for the King therewith to poison him. Who asking the King whether he would taste of his Fruit, and being bid to bring them in; according to the Kings bidding, so he did. At the bringing in whereof (faith the story) the precious stones about the King began to sweat; inso much that the King misdoubting some poison, demanded of the Monk what he had brought. He said, of his Fruit, and that very good, the best that ever he did taste. Eat, said the King. And he took one of the Pears which he did know, and did eat. Also being bid to take another, he did eat likewise favourly, and so likewise the third. Then the King, refraining no longer, took one of the poisoned Pears, and was therewith poisoned, as is before, &c.

In the Reign of this King John, the Citizens of London first obtained of the King to chuse yearly a Maior. In whose time also the Bridge of London was first builded of stone, which before was of Wood. *Rafal.*

King Henry the Third.

After this King John had Reigned (as some say) seventeen years, or as some say, though falsely, nineteen years; he was (as is above said) poisoned and died. This King left behind him four Sons and three Daughters, first *Henry*, the second *Richard*, and he was Earl of *Cornwal*, the third *William of Valentia*, the fourth *Guido Disenaie*: he had also another Son, who afterward was made Bishop. Of his Daughters, the first was *Isabel*, married afterward to *Fredrick* the Emperor; the second named *Elenor*, married to *William* Earl Marshal; the third to *Mountford* the Earl of *Leicester*, &c. Another Story faith that he had but two Daughters, *Isabel* and *Elenor*, or as another calleth her *Joan*, which was after Queen of Scotland. *Ex chronico vetusto Anglie.*

This King John being deceased, which had many Enemies both of Earls, Barons, and especially of the Popish Clergy; *Henry* the Eldest Son was then of the age of nine years, at what time the most of the Lords of England did adhere to *Ludovike* or *Lewis* the French Kings Son, whom they had sent for before, in displeasure of King John, to be their King, and had sworn to him their allegiance. Then *William*, Earl Marshal, a Noble Man, and of great Authority, and a grave and sound Counsellor, friendly and quietly called unto him divers Earls and Barons, and taking this *Henry* the young Prince, Son of King John, setteth him before them, using these Words, *Behold* (faith he) *Right Honorable and well Beloved, although we have persecuted the Father of this young Prince for his evil demeanor, and worthily; yet this young child whom here ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from these his Fathers doings: wherefore in as much as every man is charged only with the burthen of his own works and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the Scripture teacheth us) bear the iniquity of his Father: we ought therefore of duty and conscience to pardon this young and tender Prince, and take compassion of his age as ye see. And now for so much as he is the Kings natural and Eldest Son, and must be our Sovereign and King, and successor of this Kingdom; come and let us appoint him*

Mon. Paris
in vite Jo-
annis regis.

Another de-
scription of
King John's
death.
Ex b. p.
Guald. Hen-
rici regis.
Gisburni.

The first
Maior of
London.

King Henry
the third.

The issue of
King John.

An example
of a worthy
and faithful
Counsellor.
The oration
of the Earl
Marshal for
young King
Henry.
Truly said,
that you
persecuted
him, for per-
secutors ye
were of a
true man,
and your
own natu-
ral King.
But well
might Eng-
land cry
out of your
blind guide
and setter
on.

*The description of y^e poysoning of King Iohn by a Monke of Swinsted Abby
in Lincolne Shiere.*



Place this next after 290. fol. in Voll. 1.

him our King and Gouvernour, and let us remove from us this Lewis the French Kings Son, and suppress his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation, and the joke of our servitude let us cast off from our shoulders. To these words spake and answered the Earl of Gloucester: And by what reason or right (said he) can we so do, seeing we have called him hither, and have sworn to him our fealty?

Whereunto the Earl Marshal inferred again, and said, Good right and reason we have, and ought of duty to do no less; for that he contrary to our mind and calling hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our Chieftain and Governor; but he eftsoons, surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised us: And if we shall so suffer him, he will subvert and overthrow both us and our nation, and so shall we remain a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts of all the world.

At these words all they, as inspired from above, cryed all together with one voice, Be it so, he shall be our King. And so the day was appointed for his Coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude. This Coronation was kept, not at Westminster, forasmuch as Westminster the same time was holden of the French-men, but at Gloucester, the safest place (as was thought) at that time in the Realm, Anno 1216. by Swalo the Popes Legate, through Counsel of all the Lords and Barons that held with his Father King John, to wit, the Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of Bath, Bishop of Chester, and Bishop of Worcester, the Earl Radulph of Chester, William Earl Marshal, William Earl of Pembroke, William Tren Earl of Feres, William de Brues, Serle or Samarke de Mal Baron. These were at the Crowning of the King at Gloucester. Many other Lords and Barons there were, which as yet held with Lewis the French Kings Son, to whom they had done their Homage before. And immediately after the Crowning of this King he held his Council at Bristow at S. Martins feast; where were assembled eleven Bishops of England and Wales, with divers Earls and Barons and Knights of England, all which did swear Fealty to the King. After which Homage thus done to the King, the Legate Swalo interdicted Wales, because they held with the foresaid Lewis; and also the Barons and all others, as many as gave help or Counsel to Lewis, or any other that moved or stirred any War against King Henry the new King, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Lewis did not cease, but first laid siege to the Castle of Dover fifteen days. When he could not prevail there, he took the Castle Berkhamsted, and also the Castle of Hertford, doing much harm in the Countries, in spoiling and robbing the people where he went: by reason whereof the Lords and Commons, which held with the King, assembled themselves together to drive Lewis and his men out of the Land. But some of the Barons with the French-men in the mean season went to Lincoln and took the City, and held it to the use of Lewis. Which being known, eftsoons a great power of the Kings part made thither, as Earl Ranulph of Chester, William Earl Marshal, and William de la Bruce Earl of Feres, with many other Lords, and gave battel unto Lewis and his party; so that in conclusion Lewis lost the field, and of his side were slain the Earl of Parchis, Saer de Quincie Earl of Winchester, Henry de la Bobun Earl of Hertford, and Sir Robert le Fitzwater, with divers other more. Whereupon Lewis for succor fled to London, causing the Gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succor out of France. Which as soon as the King had knowledge of, immediately he sent to the Mayor and Burgeses of the City, willing them to render them and their City to him as their chief Lord and King, promising to grant tot hem again all their Franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirm the same by his great Charter and Seal. In this mean time on Bartholomew

Even, Eustace a French Lord, accompanied with many other Lords and Nobles of France, come with a grand power, to the number of a 100 Ships to aid and assist the said Lewis; who before they arrived, were encountered upon the Seas by Richard, King Johns Bastard Son; who, having no more but eighteen Ships to keep the Cinque ports, set eagerly upon them, and through Gods Grace overcame them, where presently he smote off the Head

of Eustace: the rest of the French Lords, to the number of ten, he brought with him to the Land, where he imprisoned them in the Castle of Dover, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunk their Ships in the Sea, only fifteen Ships (saith some of my stories) escaped away. Ludovike or Lewis hearing this loss of his Ships and Men, and misdoubting his own life for the great mischief he had done to the Realm, sought means by Swalo and the Archbishop of Canterbury and by other Lords, to be at accord with the King. With whom at length it was so concluded and agreed, that for his costs and expenses, he should have a Thousand pound of Silver given. Parisiensis speaketh of fifteen thousand Marks (which he borrowed of the Londoners) that he should depart the Realm never to return into England again, neither he nor none of his.

This done, upon the same he, with all the other Barons that took his part, was assailed of Swalo the Legate. And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Lewis took his leave, and being brought Honourably to the Sea with the Bishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, Earls and Barons, he returned home into France.

And here, saith Gisburn, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the French King, Father of Lewis. At what time the said Lewis was in England, his Father the French King demanded of his Messengers coming into France, where his Son was? And they said at Stamford. And he asking again whether he had got the Castle of Dover? And they said no. Then the Father swearing by the Arm of Saint James: My Son (quoth he) hath not one foot in England, as afterward well proved true. Ex Gisburn.

But the chiefest help that repelled Lewis and the French men out of the Realm, and that most preferred King Johns Son to the Crown, was the singular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confession of a certain Gentleman of the French Host (as Florilegus doth testify) who lying sore sick at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience for danger of his souls health, openly to confess and utter to the Barons of England, what was the purpose of the French-men to do; who were conspired and sworn together among themselves, with a privy compaction, that so soon as they subdued the Land, they should thrust all the chief and Nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the Realm, whereout they should never return again. This coming to the ears of the Barons, as is said, gave them to consider more with themselves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leave Lewis, and apply to their natural King and Prince. Which no less may also be an admonition to all times and ages for English-men to take heed, and not to admit or to place foreign Rulers into the Realm, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselves.

After the happy departure of this Lewis and his French-men out of the Land, whereby the State of this Realm, long vexed before, was now somewhat more quieted; immediately Swalo the Legate, looking to his Harvest, directeth fourth Inquisitors through every Shire, to search out all such Bishops, Abbots, Proirs, Canons, and secular Priests, of what order or degree soever they were, that with any succor or counsel did either help, or else consented to Lewis. For all these were exempted out of the Charter of pardon and absolution made before, between the King and Lewis. By reason whereof no small gain grew to the Pope and the Cardinal; for all such were either put out of their livings and sent up to the Pope; or else were fain to fine sweetly for them. Among whom (besides a great number of other Clerks, both Religious and Secular) was Hugo Bishop of Lincoln, who, for the recovery of his Bishoprick, disbursed 1000. Marks to the Pope, and 100. Marks to the foresaid Swalo the Legate, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a fair crop of that which he did never sow. Ex Mat. Paris, &c.

About this season, or not much before, died Pope Innocent the third, in the nineteenth year of his Popedom, to whose custody Fredricus the Nephew of Fredrick Barbarossa, being yet young, was committed by the Empress his Mother; of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next succeeded Pope Honorius the third, who writing to young King Henry

Ex Mat.
Parisensis.

Lewis the
French
Kings Son
driven out
of England

The answer
of the
French
King con-
cerning his
Son Lewis

An admoni-
tion to
English-men
not to ad-
mit foreign
rulers into
the Realm

It is a bad
wind that
bloweth no
man profit.

Money com-
ing unto
the Pope
and Cardi-
nal.

Hugo Bishop
of Lincoln
redeemeth
his Bishop-
rick for
1000.
Marks.
Ex Mat.
Paris in vita
reg. Henr. 3.

Pope Inno-
cent the
third.

Pope Honor-
ius the
third.

Ex chron
monach.
Gisburn.

King Henry
the third
Crowned.

Berkhamsted
and Hertford
taken by
Lewis.

Lincoln
taken by
Lewis.

Anno
1217.

This Eustace
some say he
was a Spani-
ard.

A noble vi-
ctory by
Gods grace
given to
King Johns
Son.

The effect
of the Let-
ter of Pope
Honorius the
third to
King Henry
the third.
Ex Parisi-
enf.

A strange
tale of
Pope Hono-
rius, if it
be true.

Ex Abbate
Ursperg. in
Chronico.

{ Anno }
1218.

King Henry
confirmed
the Liber-
ties granted
by King
John.

Two shil-
lings of e-
very plow-
land grant-
ed to King
Henry.

Thomas Bec-
ket shined.

Ex historia
D. Scates.
William
Marshall
died and
was buried
at the Tem-
ple.

in a special Letter, exhorteth him to the love of Vertue, and to the fear of God, namely to be circumspect with what Familiars and resort he acquainted himself; but principally above all other things he monisheth him to reverence the Church which is the Spouse of Christ, and to honour the Ministers thereof, in whom Christ himself (saith he) is both honoured and despised. And this seemeth the chiefest Article of that his writing to him.

Of this Pope Honorius, Abbas Urspergensis (who lived in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peradventure than credible; which is this, Honorius being Priest in Rome (whose name was then Centius) and Procurator to Facinthus a Cardinal: so it befel, that his Master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and procure money for him against his Journey into Spain: for Pope Clement then intended to send this Facinthus his Legate into Spain. As this Centius was walking by himself all sad and solicitous to speed his Masters Message, there cometh to him a certain aged and reverend Father, and asketh him, *What cause he had to walk so heavy and careful?* To whom he answered again, and signified the occasion of his business that then he had to do. Then the old Father said to him, *Go and return home again, for thy Master (saith he) shall not at this time go to Spain. How so (quoth the other) how is that true? As true (saith he) as it is certain that the Pope shall die, and thy said Master shall be Pope after him.* Centius, thinking that to be unlikely, said, *He could not believe that to be true.* To whom the other inferreth again, *So know this (saith he) to be as certain, as it is true that the City of Hierusalem this day is taken of the Saracens, and shall not be recovered again from them, before the time of thy Papacy.* And thus speaking (saith Ursperg.) he vaded suddenly away. Ex Abbate Ursperg. All which (saith the said Author) came afterwards to pass, and were testified of the same Honorius, being Pope afterward, in his publick Sermons at Rome. All which I grant may be, and yet notwithstanding this fabulous Narration may be a piece of the Popes old Practises, subtly invented to drive men forth to Hierusalem to fight, &c. Again, after Honorius (when he had governed ten years) followed Gregorius the Ninth, which two Popes were in the time of this King Henry the Third and of Frederick the Emperor; of whom we mind (Christ willing) further to touch, after that we shall have prosecuted more concerning the History of King Henry, and matters of England.

After that it so pleased the merciful Providence of Almighty God, to work this great mercy upon the stock of King John (which notwithstanding the unkind Prelates with their false Prophets had declared before, That never any of them should succeed in the Throne after that King) and also unto the whole Common-wealth of the Realm, in delivering them from the dangerous Service of Ludovick and the foresaid Frenchmen. After their departure, the next year following, Anno 1218, which was the third of this Kings Reign, the Archbishop S. Langton, and the Bishops, Earls and Barons resorted to London unto the King at Michaelmas next following, and there held a great Parliament, wherein were confirmed and granted by the King all the Franchises which were made and given by King John his Father at Ronemedow, and them he confirmed and ratified by his Charter; which long time after (saith mine Author) unto his days did continue, and were holden in England. For the which cause, by the Nobles and Commons was given and granted again unto the King two shillings for every plow-land through England. And Hubert Burgh was made Chief Justice of England, of whose Troubles more is to be said hereafter. And this was the third year of King Henry, and the fiftieth year after the death of Thomas Becket: wherefore the said Becket the same year next following was taken up and shined for a new Saint made of an old Rebel. Thither came such resort of people of England and of France, that the Country of Kent was not sufficient to sustain them. Ex Historia D. Scates. About the same time Isabel the Kings Mother was married to the Earl of March. And William Marshall the good Earl died, which was the Governor of the King and the Realm, not without great lamentation of the people of England. Then was the King committed

to the Government of Peter Bishop of Winchester. This noble Earl left behind him five Sons, and five Daughters.

The year next ensuing, Anno 1219, it was ordained and proclaimed through all the Land, that all Aliens and Foreigners should depart the Realm, and not return to the same again, only such excepted as used Traffick or Trade of Merchandize under the Kings safe Conduct. This Proclamation was thought chiefly to be set forth for this cause, to avoid out of the Land Foukes de Brent, Philip de Marks, Egelardus de Ciconia, William Earl Albermarle, Robert de Veteri ponte, Brihenne de Insula, Hugo de Baillnell, Roger de Gaug, with divers other strangers more, which kept Castles and Holds of the Kings against his will. Of whom the forenamed Foukes was the Principal, who fortified and held the Castle of Bedford, which he had by the Gift of King John, with might and strength against the King and his Power, near the space of three months. Moreover he went about to apprehend the Kings Justices at Dunstable; but they, being warned thereof, escaped all, except Henry Braibroke, whom he imprisoned in the said Castle. The King hearing hereof, and consulting with his Clergy and Nobles, made his Power against the same. Which after long Siege and some slaughter at length he obtained, and hanged almost all that were within, to the number of ninety and seven, which was (as Paris writeth) about the seventh or eighth year of his Reign. Foukes the same time was in Wales; who, hearing of the taking of the Castle, conveyed himself to the Church of Coventry. At length submitting himself to the Kings mercy, upon consideration of his Service done before to the Kings Father, he was committed to the Custody of Eustace Bishop of London, and afterwards being deprived of all his Goods, Possessions and Tenements within the Realm, was forced to perpetual banishment, never to return to England again.

Here (by the way) I find it noted in Paris, that after this aforesaid Foukes had spoiled and razed the Church of Saint Paul in Bedford, for the building up of his Castle; the Abbels of Helvestone, hearing thereof, caused the Sword to be taken from the Image of S. Paul standing in the Church, so long as he remained unpunished. Afterward he, hearing him to be committed to the custody of S. Paul in London, caused the Sword to be put into the hands of the Image again. Matth. Parisiens. in vita Henr. 3.

About this year the young King the second time was crowned again at Westminster, about which time began the new building of our Lady Church at Westminster. Shortly after Gualo the Legate was called home again to Rome. For the holy Father (as Matth. Paris reporteth) being sick of a Spiritual Dropsie, thought this Gualo (having so large occupying in England) to be able somewhat to cure his disease. And so that Legate returned with all his bags well stuffed, leaving Pandulph behind him to supply that Bayliwick of his great Grandfather the Pope.

The life and acts of Pope Innocentius the Third are partly described before, how he intruded Stephen Langton against the Kings will into the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, stirring up also sixty and four Monks of the same Church of Canterbury privily to work against the King. Moreover how he did Excommunicate the said King as a publick Enemy of the Church; so long as the said King withstood his tyrannical doings, putting him and his whole Kingdom under interdiction, for the space of five years and three months, and at length deposed and deprived him from his Scepter, keeping it in his own hands for five days. How he absolved his Subjects from their due Obedience and Subjection unto him. How he gave away his Kingdoms and Possessions to Lewis the French Kings Son, commanding the said Lewis to spoil him both of lands and life. Whereupon the King (being forsaken of his Nobles, Prelates, and Commons) was enforced against his will to submit himself, and swear Obedience unto the Pope, paying unto him a yearly Tribute of 1000 Marks by year, for receiving his Kingdom again, whereby both he and his Successors after him were Vassals afterwards unto the Pope. And these were the Apostolical Acts of this holy

{ Anno }
1219.
Alien com-
manded out
of England.

Foukes de
Brent rebel-
led against
King Henry.

Ex Parisi-
enf.

{ Anno }
1220.

King Henry
crowned
the second
time at
Westminster.

Pope Innocentius.

The Deeds
and Decrees
of Pope In-
nocent the
third.

Vicar

Almericus
condemned
Joachim
Abbas con-
demned.

Private
Tythes
brought in.

Bell and
Candle be-
fore the
Sacrament.
Canon of
the Mass
authorised.
Transub-
stantion.

Marriage in
the third
degree for-
bidden.

The Pope
seeth
Kings and
Emperors
together by
the ears.
Philip the
Emperour
deposed.
Otto the
Emperour
deposed.

The Council
of Lateran.

Martyrs of
Alfisia to
the number
of one hun-
dred burned
in one day.
Ex Hermanus
Matius.

Collets sent
from the
Brethren of
Millan to
them of
Alfisia.

Observant
Fryers be-
gan.

Dominick

Fryers up-
holders of
the Popes
Church.

Vicar in the Realm of England. Moreover, he con-
demned Almericus a worthy learned man and a Bishop,
for an Heretick, for teaching and holding against Images.
Also he condemned the Doctrine of Joachim Abbas
(whom we spake of before) for Heretical. This Pope
brought first into the Church the paying of private Tythes.
He ordained the receiving once a year at Easter. Unto the
Papal decretals he added the Decree, *Omnes utriusque sexus*,
&c. Also the reservation of the Sacrament, and the going
with the Bell and light before the Sacrament was by him
appointed. In the said Council of Lateran he also ordain-
ed that the Canon of the Mass should be received with equal
Authority, as though it had proceeded from the Apostles
themselves. He brought in Transubstantiation. Look in
the decretals, *Titulo 1. De summa Trinit. & fide Catholica*,
cap. firmiter credimus.

Item, the said Innocentius the Third ordained that none
should marry in the third degree, but only in the fourth
degree, and so under.

The said Pope stirred up Otto against Philip the Empe-
ror, because the said Philip was elected Emperor against his
will; upon the occasion whereof followed much war and
slaughter in Germany. And afterward against the said
Otto, whom he had made Emperor, he set up Frederick
King of Sicile, and caused the Archbishop of Maience to
pronounce him Excommunicate in all his Titles, and to
be deposed of his Empire. For the which cause the Princes
of Germany did invade his Bishoprick, spoiling and burning
his Possessions. The cause why the Pope so did accurse and
depose him, was for that the said Otto did take and occupy
Cities, Towns and Castles, which the Pope said appertained
to him.

Item, the said Pope Ordained, That if any Princes of-
fended one another, the correction should appertain unto
the Pope. In this Council of Lateran were Archbishops
and Primates 61, Bishops 400, Abbots 12, Priors and
Conventuals 800, besides other Ambassadors, Legates,
Doctors and Lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

In the History of Hermanus Mutius, we read how in
the year of our Lord, 1212. in this Popes time divers No-
blemen, and others in the Country of Alfisia, contrary to
the tradition of the Romish Popes, did hold that every day
was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly. Also that
they did wickedly, which restrained Priests and Ministers
from their lawful Wives, for the which cause (as is in the
foresaid Author) by this Pope Innocentius the Third and his
Bishops, an hundred of them in one day were burned and
martyred.

Some other History (as Naclerus) recordeth also, that at
the same time many were in the City of Millan of the
said Doctrine, which used to send Collets unto the fore-
said Saints of Alfisia. Ex Naclero.

In the Chronicle of Gualter Hemingsford, otherwise
called Gisleburnensis, it is recorded, that in the days of this
King John and Pope Innocent, began the two Sects, or
Orders of Fryers, one called The Preachers Order, and
black Fryers of S. Dominick; the other called The Mi-
norists of S. Francis. The Preachers of black Fryers Or-
der began of one Dominick a Spaniard, about the parts of
Tholouse, who after he had laboured ten years in preaching
against the Albigenses, and such other as did hold
against the Church of Rome, afterward coming up to
the Council of Lateran with Fulco Bishop of Tholouse,
desired of the foresaid Innocent the Third, to have his or-
der of preaching Fryers confirmed, which the Pope a
great while refused to grant: at length he had a dream,
that the Church of Lateran was ready to fall. Which
when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing thereat,
cometh in this Dominick, who with his shoulders under-
proped the Church, and so preserved the building thereof
from falling, &c. And right well this dream may seem
verified, for the Fryers have been always the chief Pillars
and Upholders of the Popes Church. Upon this the
Pope (waking out of his dream) called Dominick to
him, and granted his petition: and so came up this
wolvish Order of the Dominicks. I call it wolvish, for
that his Mother when she was great with this Dominick,
dreamed that she had in her womb a Wolf, which had a
burning Torch in his mouth. The which dream the
Preachers of that Order do greatly advance, and expound
to their Orders glory, as well as they can. Nevertheless,

howsoever they expound it, they can make a Wolf but
a Wolf, and this a wolvish Order. The rule which
they follow seemeth to be taken out of S. Augustine, as
who should say, That Christs Rule were not enough to
make a Christian man. Their profession standeth upon
three principal Points, as thus described, *Charitatem habentes*,
humilitatem servantes, & *paupertatem voluntariam*
possidentes; That is, Having Charity, holding Humility,
and possessing wilful Poverty. Their habit and clothing is
black.

The Order of the Minors or Minorit-Fryers descended
from one Francis an Italian of the City of Assisum. This
Assisian-Asi, who I suppose was some simple and rude
Idiot, hearing upon a time how Christ sent forth his Dis-
ciples to preach, thought to imitate the same in himself
and his Disciples, and so left off his shooes: he had but
one Coat, and that of course Cloth. In stead of a latchet to
his shooe, and of a Girdle, he took about him an hempen
Cord, and so he apparelled his Disciples, teaching them
to fulfill (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the Gospel,
to apprehend poverty, and to walk in the way of holy
simplicity. He left in writing, to his Disciples and Fol-
lowers, his Rule, which he called *Regulam Evangelicam*,
The Rule of the Gospel. As though the Gospel of Christ
were not a sufficient Rule to all Christian men, but it
must take his perfection of frantick Francis. And yet
for all that great presumption of this Francis, and not-
withstanding this his rule, founding to the derogation of
Christs Gospel, he was confirmed by this Pope Innocent.
Yea, and such Fools this Francis found abroad, that not
only he had Followers of his doltish Religion (both of the
Nobles and unnobles of Rome) but also some there were,
which builded Mansions for him and his Fryers. This
Francis, as he was superstitious in casting all things from
him, as his Girdle, girding a Cord about him; so in
outward chastising of himself, so strait he was to
his flesh (leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by
God) that in Winter season he covered his body with Ice
and Snow. He called poverty his Lady, he kept nothing
over night. So desirous he was of Martyrdom, that he
went to Syria to the Soldan, which received him honour-
ably. Whereby it may be thought, that (surely) he told
not the truth, as S. John Baptist did in Herods house.
For truth is seldom welcome in Courts, and in the world.
But it is hard to make a Martyr of him which is no true
Confessor. I will here pass over the Fable, how Christ
and his Saints did mark him with five wounds. These
Franciscan or begging Fryers, although they were all un-
der one Rule and clothing of S. Francis, yet they be di-
vided into many Sects and Orders, some go on green shooes
or pattins, some barefooted, some regular Franciscans or
Observants, some Minors or Minorists, others be called
Minimi, others of the Gospel, others De Caputio. They
all differ in many things, but accord in Superstition and Hy-
pocritie. And for so much as we have here entred into the
matter of these two Orders of Fryers, by the occasion here-
of I thought a little by the way to digress from our story,
in reciting the whole Catalogue or Rabblement of Monks,
Fryers and Nuns of all Sects, Rules and Orders, set up and
confirmed by the Pope. The names of whom here in order
of the Alphabet follows.

The Minor-
ite-Fryers
descended
from S.
Francis.

Divers Sects
of Francis-
cans.

The Rabblement of Religious Orders.

The Rabble
of all reli-
gious Or-
ders.

A ugustinians, the first Order.		Galilei or Galileans.		New Canons of S. Austin.	1430
Ambrosians two sorts.	409	Heremits.		Nestorini.	
Antonies Heremits.	324	Helens Brethren. Humiliati.	1166	Nalheart Brethren.	
Austins Heremits.	498	Hospital Brethren.		New Order of our Lady.	
Austins Observants.	490	Holy Ghost Order.		Nazaræi.	
Armenians Sect.				Pauls Heremits.	345
Ammonits and Moabits.		Feroms Orders two sorts.	1412	Præmonstratensis Order.	1119
Basilus Order.	384	Johns Heremits.		Preacher-Order or Black Fryers.	
Benets Order.	524	Justins Order.	1432	Peter the Apostles Order.	1409
Bernardus Order.	1120	Johns Order Joannits.	380	Purgatory Brethren.	
Barefooted-Fryers.	1222	Otherwise Knights of the Rhodes.		Rechabits.	
Bridgets Order.	1370	Inesuati.	1308	Sarrabits.	
Begbearts or white Spirits.	1399	Feroms Heremits.	1365	Sambonits.	1199
Brethren of Hierusalem.	1103	Josephs Order.	490	Scourgers the first Sect.	1266
Brethren of Saint John de civitate.		Jacobits Sect.		Souldiers of Jesus Christ.	1323
Black Fryers.	1220	James Brethren Order.		Scopenits, or S. Salvators Order.	
Brethren of wilful Poverty.		James Brethren with the Sword.			1367
Cluniacensis Order.	913	Indians Order.		Specularii or the Glass-Order.	
Canons of S. Augustine.	1080	Katharine of Senes Order.	1455	Sepulchers Order.	
Charter-house Order.	1086	Keiedmonks Knights of Rhodes.		Sheer Order.	
Cisterciensis Order.	1098	Lazarits of Mary Magdalens our		Swords Order.	
Cross-bearers or crossed Fryers.	1216	Lady Brethren.	1034	Starred Monks.	
Carmelits or White Fryers.	1212	Lords of Hungary.		Starred Fryers.	
Clares Order.	1225			Sclavony Order.	
Celestines Order.	1297			Scourgers the second Sect, called	
Camaldulensis Order.	950			Ninivits.	
Cross-starred Brethren.		Minorits		Stool Brethren.	
Constantinopolitanish Order.		which be		Scotland Brethren Order.	
Cross-bearers.		divided		Sicarli.	
Chapter-Monks.		into		S. Sophies Order.	
				Templar Lords.	1110
Dutch Order.	2216			Templar Knights.	1120
Dominick Black Fryers.	1220			The Vale of Jolaphat his Order.	
				Vallis umbrosa.	1400
Franciscans.	1224			Waldensis Sect.	
Grandmontensis Order.	1076			Wentzelaus Order.	
Gregorian Order.	594			Wilhelmer Order.	
Georges Order.	1407			White Monks of mount Olivet.	
Gulielmits.	1246				1406
Gerundinenis Order.				Zelotes Order.	

Thus hast thou, if thou please (gentle Reader) to know what Orders and what Sects of Religion have been set up by the Pope, the Catalogue and number of them all, so far as we could search them out, not only in Books printed of late in *Germany*, namely by the reverend Father *Martin Luther*: but also conferred with another *English* Book which came to our hands, containing the same likes Notes of ancient Antiquity, the number of which Rabblement of religious persons came to 101. Now as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of these prodigious Sects, it cometh to mind consequently to infer the Prophecie of *Hildegardis*, as well against the whole rout of *Romish* Prelates, and the fall of that Church, as especially against the begging Fryers, and such other unprofitable bellies of the Church. This *Hildegardis* is holden of the *Papists* themselves to be a great Prophetess: whose Prophecie proceedeth in this manner, first against the Priests and Prelates of the *Romish* Church, as followeth.

The Prophecie of Hildegardis of the ruine of Rome, and against the begging Fryers.

Hildegardis a Nun, and (as many judged) a Prophetess, lived in the year 1146. In her prophecies she doth most grievously reprehend not only the wicked and abominable life of the spiritual *Papists*, but also the contempt of the Ecclesiastical Office, and also the horrible destruction of the Church of *Rome*. In a certain place she hath these words, *And now is the Law neglected among the spiritual people, which neglect to teach and to do good things; the Master likewise and the Prelates do sleep, despising Justice and laying it aside.* In a certain Vision the Church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the Priests

had berayed her face with dust, and rent her coat, &c. and that they did not shine over the people, neither in Doctrine, neither in example of life; but rather contrariwise, that they have driven the innocent *Lamb* from them. She said moreover, *That all Ecclesiastical Order did every day become worse and worse, and that Priests did not teach but destroy the Law of God: and for these horrible Crimes and Impieties, she threatneth and prophesieth unto them Gods most heavy wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments.* There is no cause why the spiritual *Papists* should flatter themselves upon this, that she promised again to the Ministers of the Church those good things to follow, like as *Johannes de Rupe scissa* doth, and other such like Prophets; for they say, it will come to pass, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing (undoubtedly) they mean the godly Ministers in the reformed Churches, which for the most part were of the spiritual number, and yet did forsake the dishonest life and those wicked Idolatries. Now, whereas the Priests and Monks; that is, the whole Rabble and Spirituality do account *Hildegard* for a true Prophetess; they ought to consider that by her they are more severely accursed, not as by a woman, but as by God himself. And I pray you, what Abomination, Impiety, and Idolatry hath been committed since that time by the spirituality? I will note here a certain Prophecie of hers, taken out of the common places of *Henry Token*, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time. She prophesieth of the reformation of Religion, and saith that it shall be most godly.

Then shall the Crown of Apostolical Honour be divided, because there shall be found no Religion among the Apostolical Order, and for that cause shall they despite the dignity of that Name, and shall set over them other men and other

A Prophecie
for the de-
cay of the
Romish
Church

other Archbiſhops. Inſomuch that the Apoſtolick See of that time (by the diminution of his Honour) ſhall ſcarce have Rome, and a few other Countries thereabout under his Crown. And theſe things ſhall partly come to paſs by incuſion of Wars, and partly alſo by a Common Council and conſent of the ſpiritual and ſecular perſons. Then ſhall Juſtice flouriſh, ſo that in thoſe days men ſhall honeſtly apply themſelves to the ancient cuſtoms and diſcipline of ancient men, and ſhall obſerve them as ancient men did.

The gloſs agreeeth, &c.

Theſe things thus premiſed, now will we come to the Propheſie of the foreſaid Hildegard, concerning the foreſaid Begging Fryers above mentioned, reciting her words, not only as they are printed in a Book, printed of late in Germany; but alſo as my ſelf have ſeen and read, agreeing to the ſame Book word for word, and yet have the ſame to ſhew, written in old parchment leaves, in ſuch fort, as the thing it ſelf moſt evidently declareth a great iniquity of time. The words of her Propheſie be theſe:

Hildegard's propheſy of Fryers and Monks.

In thoſe days ſhall ariſe a ſenſeleſs people, proud, greedy, without faith, and ſubtil, the which ſhall eat the ſins of the people, holding a certain Order of fooliſh devotion under the ſained Cloke of beggary, preferring themſelves above all others by their ſained devotion, arrogant in underſtanding, and pretending holineſs, walking without ſhamefaſtneſs or the fear of God, in inventing many new miſchiefs ſtrong and ſtout. But this Order ſhall be accuſed of all wiſe men and faithfull Chriſtians. They ſhall ceaſe from all labour, and give themſelves over unto idleneſs, chooſing rather to live through flattery and begging. Moreover they ſhall together ſtudy how they may perverſly reſiſt the Teachers of the Truth, and ſlay them together with the Noblemen; how to ſeducer and deceive the Nobility, for the neceſſity of their living, and pleaſures of this world: for the Devil will graſt in them four principal Vices, (that is to ſay) flattery, envy, hypocriſie, and ſlander. Flattery, that they may have large Gifts given them. Envy, when they ſee Gifts given to others, and not to them. Hypocriſie, that by falſe diſſimulation they may pleaſe men. Detraction, that they may extol and commend themſelves, and backbite others, for the praife of men, and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo they ſhall inſtantly preach, but without devotion or example of the Martyrs, and ſhall detract the ſecular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true Paſtors, receiving Alms of the poor, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating themſelves with the common people, having familiarity with women, inſtructing them how they ſhall deceive their Huſbands and Friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and to rob their Huſbands to give it unto them, for they will take all theſe ſtolen and evil gotten goods, and ſay, Give it unto us, and we will pray for you; ſo that they being curious to hide other mens faults, do utterly forget their own. And alas, they will receive all things of Rovers, Pickers, Spoilers, Thieves and Robbers, of Sacrilegious perſons, Uſurers and Adulterers, Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Apoſtates, Whores and Bawds, of Noble men, Perjurers, Merchants, falſe Judges, Souldiers, Tyrants, Princes, of ſuch as live contrary to the Law, and of many perverſe and wicked men, following the perſwaſion of the Devil, the ſweetneſs of ſin, a delicate and tranſitory life, and fulneſs; even unto eternal damnation.

All theſe things ſhall manifeſtly appear in them unto all people, and they (day by day) ſhall wax more wicked and hard hearted: and when as their wickedneſs and deceits ſhall be found out, then ſhall their gifts ceaſe, and then ſhall they go about their houſes hungry, and as mad dogs looking down upon the Earth, and drawing in their necks as Doves, that they might be ſatiſfied with bread. Then ſhall the people cry out upon them: Woe be unto you ye miſerable children of ſorrow; the world hath ſeduced you, and the Devil hath bridled your mouths, your fleſh is frail, and your hearts without ſavour, your minds have been unſtedfaſt, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly, your dainty bellies deſire delicate meats, your feet are ſwift to run unto miſchief. Remember when you were apparently Bleſſed, yet envious; poor in ſight, but rich; ſimple to ſee to, but mighty flatterers, unfaithful betrayers, perverſe detractors, holy hypocrites, ſubverters of the truth, overmuch upright, proud, unſhamefaſt, unſtedfaſt teachers, delicate martyrs, confeſſors for gain;

meek, but ſlanderers; religious, but covetous; humble, but proud; pitiful, hard hearted liars; pleaſant flatterers, perſecutors, oppreſſors of the poor, bringing in new ſects newly invented of your ſelves; merciful thought, but found wicked; lovers of the world, ſellers of pardons, ſpoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, ſeditious conſpirators, drunkards, deſirers of honours, maintainers of miſchief, robbers of the world, unſatiable preachers, menpleaſers, ſeducers of women, and ſowers of diſcord, of whom Moſes the glorious Prophet ſpoke very well in his ſong, A people without counſel or underſtanding: would to God they did know and underſtand and foreſee the end. You have builded up on high, and when you could aſcend no higher, then did you fall even as Simon Magus, whom God overthrew, and did ſtrike with a cruel plague; ſo you likewise through your falſe Doctrine, naughtineſs, lies, detractions, and wickedneſs, are come to ruine. And the people ſhall ſay unto them, Go ye Teachers of wickedneſs, Subverters of the Truth, Brethren of the Sunamite, Fathers of Heretics, falſe Apoſtles, which have ſained your ſelves to follow the life of the Apoſtles, and yet have not fulfilled it in part: ye Sons of Iniquity, we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for Pride and Preſumption hath deceived you, and inſatiable Concupiſcence hath ſubverted your erroneous hearts. And when as you would aſcend higher than was meet or comely for you (by the juſt Judgment of God) you are fallen back into perpetual opprobry and ſhame.

This Hildegard's (whole Propheſie we have mentioned) lived about the year of our Lord 1146. as we read in Chronico Martini.

About the ſame time that theſe Franciſcans and Dominick Fryers began (which are above mentioned) ſprang up alſo the Croſs-bearers, or Crouched-Fryers, taking their Original and occaſion of Innocent the Third, which Innocent raiſed up an Army (ſigned with a croſs on their Breaſt) to fight againſt the Albingenſes, whom the Pope and his Sect accounted for Hereticks about the parts of Tholouſe. What theſe Albingenſes were, it cannot be well gathered by the old Popiſh Hiſtories: for if there were any that did hold, teach or maintain againſt the Pope or his Papal pride, or withſtand and gainſay his beggerly Traditions, Rites, and Religions, &c. the Hiſtorians of that time (for the moſt part in writing of them) do ſo deprave and miſreport them (ſuppreſſing the truth of their Articles) that they make them and paint them forth to be worſe than Turks and Infidels. And that, as I ſuppoſe, cauſed Matth. Pariſienſis and others of that fort, to write ſo of them as they did: otherwiſe it is to be thought (and ſo I find in ſome Records) that the Opinions of the ſaid Albingenſes were found enough, holding and profeſſing nothing elſe but only againſt the wanton Wealth, Pride and Tyranny of the Prelates, denying the Popes Authority to have ground of the Scriptures: neither could they away with their Ceremonies and Traditions, as Images, Pardons, Purgatory of the Romiſh Church, calling them (as ſome ſay) blaſphemous Occupying, &c. Of theſe Albingenſes were ſlain (at times) and burned a great multitude by the means of the Pope, and Simon Eccleſiaſticus, with others more. It ſeemeth that theſe Albingenſes were chiefly abhorred of the Pope, becauſe they ſet up a contrary Pope againſt him about the coaſts of Burgarorum: for the which cauſe the Biſhop called Portinenſis, being the Popes Legate in thoſe quarters, writeth to the Archbiſhop of Rome and other Biſhops in this wiſe:

Venerabilibus patribus, Dei gratia Rothomagenſi Archiepiſcopo & ejus ſuffraganeis Epiſcopis, ſalutem in Domino Jeſu Chriſto. Dum pro ſponſa veri Crucifixi veſtrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari ſingultibus & plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, & quod ſcimus teſtificamur. Ille homo perditus, qui extollitur ſuper omne quod colitur aut dicitur Deus, jam habet perſidia ſua preambulum hæreſiarum, quem hæretici Albingenſes Papam ſuum nominant, habitantem finibus Burgarorum & Croatia, & Dalmatia, juxta Hungarorum Nationem. Ad eum conſuunt hæretici Albingenſes, ut ad eorum conſulta reſpondeat. Et enim de Carcaſona oriundus vices illius antipapæ gerens Bartholomæus, hæreticorum Epiſcopus, ſuneſtam ei exhibendo reverentiam, ſedem & locum conſeſſit in villa quæ Portos appellatur, & ſeipſum tranſtulit

A Letter of the Biſhop Portinenſis concerning the Albingenſes.

in partes Tholosanas. Iste Bartholomæus, in literarum suarum undique discurrerentium tenore, se in primo salutacionis alloquio intitulat in hunc modum: Bartholomæus servus servorum, M. sancta fidei salutem. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates creat Episcopos, & Ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius, & per aspersio-nem sanguinis Jesu Christi, & propensius obsecramus, autoritate domini Papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte dis-strictè præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in oct. Apo-stolorum Petri & Pauli proxime futuris, ubi & alii Prælati Franciæ, favente Domino congregabuntur, parate consili-um dare in negotio prædicto, & cum aliis qui ibidem ade-runt providere super negotio Albingensi. Alioquin inobedi-entiam vestram domino Papæ curabimus significari. Da-tam apud Plaurium 6. nonas Julii.

For so much as mention is here made of these super-stitious Sects of these Friers, and such other beggerly Re-ligions, it might seem not much impertinent, being moved by the occasion hereof, as I have done in *Hildegardis* be-fore, so now to annexe also to the same a certain other ancient Treatise compiled by *Geoffrey Chaucer*, by the way of a Dialogue or Questions, moved in the person of a certain uplandish and simple Ploughman of the country. Which Treatise, for the same, the Author intituled *Jack Upland*, wherein is to be seen and noted to all the world, the blind ignorance and variable discord of these irreligious Religions, how rude and unskilful they are in matters and principles of our Christian institution, as by the contents of this pre-sent Dialogue appeareth, the words whereof in the same old English wherein first it was set forth in this wise do proceed. Wherein also thou mayest see, that it is no new thing that their blasphemous doings have by divers good men in old time been detected, as there are many and divers other old Books to shew.

*A Treatise of Geoffrey Chaucer, intituled,
Jack Upland.*

The blind
ignorance
of Friers
described.

The Frills
of Anti-
christ.

Antichrist
his brood.

Patience
proveth
master
trier.

The Friar
must answer
according
to Gods
word.

Friers may
better break
Gods Law
then Mans
Law.

I *Jack Upland* make my mone to very God and to all true in Christ, that Antichrist and his Disciples (by colour of holiness) walking and deceiving Christs Church by many fake figures, where through (by Antichrist and his) many virtues been transposed to vices.

But the felliest folk, that ever Antichrist found, been last brought into the Church and in a wonder wise, for they been of divers Sects of Antichrist, sown of divers countries and kindreds. And all men known well, that they be not obedient to Bishops, ne Leegemen to Kings: neither the tillen, ne sownen, weeden, ne repen, wood, corn, ne grafs, neither nothing that man should help: But only themselves their lives to sustain. And these men han all manner power of God as they seen in Heaven and in Yearth, to fell Heaven and Hell to whom that them liketh, and these wretches weet never were to been them-selves.

And therefore (Freer) in thine orders and rules been grounded on Goddis Law, tell thou me *Jack Upland*, that I aske of thee, and if thou be or thinkest to be on Christs tide keep thy paciens.

Saint Paul teacheth, that all our deeds should be doo in charity, and else it is nought worth, but displea-ling to God and harme to our own souls. And for that Freers challenge to be greatest Clerks of the Church, and next following Christ in living: Men should for charity ax them some Questions, and pray them to ground their answers in reason and holy writ, for else their answer would nought be worth, be it florished never so fair: and as mee think men might skilfully ask thus of a Freer.

1. **E** Freer, how many orders be in Earth, and which is the perfectest order? Of what order art thou? who made thine order? What is thy rule? Is there any perfe-cter rule then Christ himself made? If Christs rule be most perfect, why rulest thou thee not thereafter? With-out more, why shall a Freer be more punished if he break the rule that his patron made, then if he break the hefts that God himself made?

2. Approoveth Christ any more religions then one, that *S. James* speaketh of? If he approoveth no more, why hast thou left his rule and takest another? Why is a Freer Apo-stata that leaveth his order and taketh another Sect, lith there is but one Religion of Christ?

3. Why be you wedded faster to your habits then a man is to his wife? For a man may leave his wife for a year or two as many men done: and if you leave your habit a quarter of a year, ye should be holden Apostatas.

4. Maketh your habit you men of religion or no? If it do, then ever as it weareth, your Religion weareth, and after that your habit is better, your religion is better, and when you have ligen it beside, then lig ye your religion beside you, and bin Apostatas: why bie you so pretious clothes? lith no man seeketh such but for vain glory, as *S. Gregory* saith.

What betokeneth your great hood, your scalpery, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5. Why use ye all one colour, more then other Christian Men doo? What betokeneth that ye been clothed all in one manner of clothing?

If ye say, it betokeneth love and charity, Certes then ye be oft Hypocrites, when any of you hateth another, and in that that ye wooll be said holy by your clothing.

Why may not a Freer wear clothing of another Sect of Friers, sith holiness stondeth not in the cloths?

6. Why hold ye silence in one House more then ano-ther, lith men ought over all to speak the good and leave the evil?

Why eat you flesh in one House more then in another, if your rule and your order be perfect, and the Patron that made it?

7. Why get you your dispensations to have it more easie? Certes, either it seemeth that ye be unperfect, or he that made it so hard, that ye may not hold it, And liker, if ye hold not the rule of your Patrons, ye be not then her Freers, and so ye lie upon your selves.

8. Why make you as dead Men when ye be professed, and yet ye be not dead, but more quick beggers then ye were before? And it seemeth evil a dead Man to go about and beg.

9. Why will yee not suffer your novices hear your Coun-cels in your Chapter House ere that they have been professed, if your Counsels been true and after Gods Law?

10. Why make ye you so costly Houses to dwell in? sith Christ did not so, and dead Men should have but graves, as falleth it to dead Men, and yet ye have more Courts then many Lords of England: For ye now wenden through the Realm, and each night will lig in your own Courts, and so mow but few right Lords do.

11. Why heire you to ferm your limitors, giving therefore each year a certain rent, and will not suffer one in anothers limitation, right as yee were your selves Lords of Countries?

Why be ye not under your Bishops Visitations, and leege men to our King?

Why axe ye no letters of bretherheds of other men prayas, as ye desire that other men should axe letters of you?

If your letters be good, why grant ye them not generally to all manner of men for the more charity?

12. Mow ye make any man more perfect brether for your prayers then God hath by our believe? By our ba-ptism and his own grant? If ye mow, Certes then ye be above God.

Why make ye men believe that your golden trental song of you, to take therefore ten shillings, or at least five shillings, wool bring Souls out of Hell, or out of Pur-gatory? If this be sooth, Certes ye might bring all Souls out of pain, and that wool ye nought, and then ye be out of charity.

13. Why make ye men believe that he that is buried in your habit shall never come in Hell, and ye weet not of your self whether ye shall to Hell or no? and if this were sooth, ye should sell your high Houses to make many habits for to save many mens Souls.

14. Why steal ye mens children for to make hem of your Sect, lith that theft is against Gods hefts, and sith your Sect is not perfect? ye know not whether the rule, that ye bind him to, be best for him or worst.

There is but
one Religh-
on.

The Friar
more bound
to his habit
then the
Man to his
Wife.

If the habit
make the
Friar religi-
ous, as his
habit wear-
eth, so doth
his religion.

Holiness of
all Hypo-
crites con-
sisteth in
clothing
and out-
ward ap-
pearances.

All Friers
found liars.

Friers be
dead Men
and quick
beggers.

Grave bent
dead men
and not
courty
Houses.

Friers not
the Kings
Liegemen.
Friers need
no men
prayers.

Friers grea-
ter and bet-
ter then
God.

O unchari-
table Friars.

Friers steal-
ers of mens
children.

15. Why undemene ye not your brethren for their trespass after the Law of the Gospel, sith that undemeneing is the best that may be? But ye put them in prison oft when they do after Gods Law, and by S. *Augustines* rule, If any do amys and would not amend him, ye should put him from you.

Shrift and burial were more salutary than the ministring of the Sacrament.

16. Why covet ye shrifts and burying of other mens parishens and none other Sacrament that falleth to Christian folk.

Why busye ye not to hear to shrift of poor folk as well as of rich Lords and Ladies, sith they now have more plenty of shrift Fathers than poor folk now.

Why say ye not the Gospel in houses of bedred men, as ye do in rich mens that now go to Church and hear the Gospel?

Poor men have no souls, sith my fellow frer.

Why covet you not to bury poor folk among you? sith that they bin most holy (as ye saie that ye been for your poverty?)

17. Why will ye not be at hir dirges as ye have bin at rich mens? sith God praiseth him more then he doth other men.

These be they that will not enter themselves, nor suffer other men that would.

What is thy Prayer worth? sith thou wilt take therefore, for all Chapmen ye need be most wise for dread of Simony.

What cause hast thou that thou wilt not Preach the Gospel, as God saith that thou shouldst? sith it is the best lore and also our believe.

Why be ye evil apaid that secular Priests should Preach the Gospel? sith God himself hath bodden hem.

The Prier getteth by, in Principio, and yet hateth the Gospel.

18. Why hate ye the Gospel to be Preached, sith ye be so much hold thereto? For ye win more by year with *In Principio*, then with all the rules that ever your patrons made, and in this minstre, bin better then ye, for they contrarien not to the miris that they maken, but ye contrarien the Gospel both in word and deed.

Judas for thirty pence, but the Prier for four pence sel. Ieth Christ. A comparison between Judas and the Prier.

19. Freer, when thou receivest a penny for to say a Mass, whether sellest thou Gods body for that penny, or thy prayer, or else thy travel? If thou saiest thou wolt not travel for to say the Mass, but for the penny, that certes if this be sooth, then thou lovest too little meed for thy soul: and if thou sellest Gods body, other thy prayer, then it is very Simony, and art become a Chapman worse then *Judas* that sold it for thirty pence.

The Prier writeth because God forgetteth.

20. Why writest thou her names in thy Tables that yeveth thee money? sith God knoweth all things: For it seemeth by thy writing that God would not reward him, but thou writest in thy Tables, God would els forgetten it.

Why bearest thou God in hand and slanderest him that he begged for his meat? sith he was Lord over all, for then had he bin unwise to have begged, and have no need thereto.

Freer, after what law rulest thou thee? where findest thou in Gods law that thou shouldst thus beg?

21. What manner men needeth for to beg?

For whom oweth such men to beg?

Why beggest thou so for thy Brethren?

If thou saist, for they have need, then thou dost it for the more perfection, or els for the least, or els for the mean. If it be the most perfection of all, then should all thy brethren do so, and then no man needed to beg, but for himself, for so should no man beg but him needed. And if it be the least perfection, why lovest thou then other men more then thyself? For so thou art not well in charity, sith thou shouldst seek the more perfection after thy power, living thy self most after God. And thus leaving that imperfecti- on, thou shouldst not so beg for them. And if it is a good mean, thus to beg as thou doest, then should no man do so, but they bin in this good mean, and yet such a mean granted to you may never be grounded on Gods law; for then both leied and leaud that bin in mean degree of this world, should go about and beg as ye do. And if all should do so, certes, well nigh all the world should go about and beg as ye done, and so should there be ten beggers against one yever.

Why procurest thou men to yeve thee their Alms, and saiest it is so needful, and thou wilt not thy self win thee that meed?

22. Why wilt not thou beg for poor bedred men that bin poorer then any of your sect? That ligger and now not go about to help themselves, sith we be all brethren in God, and that bretherhed passeth any other that ye or any

man could make, and where most need were, there were, most perfection, either els ye hold them not your pure brethren, but worse, but then ye be imperfect in your begging?

Why make ye so many matters among you? sith it is against the teaching of Christ and his Apostles?

23. Whose been all your rich Courts that ye han, and all your rich Jewels? sith ye saie that ye han nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye saie they been the Popes, why gether ye then of poor Men and Lords so much out of the Kings hand to make your Pope rich? And sith ye saie

Friens beg from all men to make the Pope rich.

that it is great perfection to have nought in proper ne in common, why be ye so fast about to make the Pope that is your Father rich, and put on him imperfection? sithen ye saie that your goods been all his, and he should by reason be the most perfect man, it seemeth openlich that ye been cursed children so to slander your Father and make him imperfect. And if ye saie that the goods be yours, then do ye aienst your rule, and if it be, not aienst your rule, then might ye have both Plough and Cart, and labor as other good men done, and not so to beg by losengery, and idle as ye doone. If ye say that it is more perfection to beg, then to travel or to worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to do so? sith it is the best and most perfect life to the help of their Souls, as ye make children to beg that might have been rich heirs.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why do the friens desire to make the Pope unperfect.

Why make ye not your feasts to poor men and yeveth him yetis, as ye done to the rich? sith poor man han more need then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go twain and twain together? If ye be out of charity, ye accord not in souls.

Why beg ye and take salaries thereto more then other Priests? sith he that most taketh, most charge hath.

24. Why hold ye not S. *Francis* rule and his testament? sith *Francis* saith, that God shewed him this living and this rule: and Certes if it were Gods will, the Pope might not fordo it; or else *Francis* was a liar that said on this wise. And but this testament that he made accord with Gods will, or else erred he as a liar that were out of charity: and as the Law saith, he is accursed that letteth the rightfull last will of a dead man. And this testament is the last will of *Francis*, that is a dead man; it seemeth therefore that all his Freers been cursed.

If *Francis* order be contrary to Christ his testament then is *Francis* accursed.

25. Why will you not touch no coined money with the cross, ne with the Kings head, as ye done other Jewels both of Gold and Silver? Certes if ye despise the Cross or the Kings Head, then ye be worthy to be despised of God and the King; and sith you will receive money in your hearts, and not with your hands, and it seemeth that ye hold more holines in your hands then in your hearts, and then be false to God.

He that is more holy in hand then in heart, is false to God.

26. Why have ye exempt you from our Kings Laws and visiting of our Bishops more then other Christen men that liven in this Realm, if ye be not guilt of Traitory to our Realm, or trespassers to our Bishops? But ye will have the Kings Laws for the trespass do to you, and ye will have power of other Bishops more then other Priests, and also have leave to prison your brethren, as Lords in your Courts, more then other folks han that been the Kings leege men.

A subject to exempt himself from the Laws of his Prince smelleth of Treason.

27. Why shall some sect of your Freers pay ech a year a certain to her general Provincial or Minister, or else to her Sovereigns? but if he steal a certain number of children (as some men saie) and certain if this been sooth, then ye be constrained upon a certain pain to doe theft against Gods commandment, *Non furtum facies*.

Friens are forced to be thieves.

28. Why be ye so hardy to grant by Letters of Fraternity to men and women, that they shall have part and merit of all your good deeds, and ye weeten never whether God be apaid with your deeds because of your sin? Also ye witten never whether that man or woman be in state to be saved or damned, then shall he have no merit in Heaven for his own deeds ne for none other mans. And all were it so, that he should have part of your good deeds: yet should he have no more then God would give him after that he were worthy, and so much shall each man have of Gods yest without your limitation. But if ye will say that ye been Gods fellows, and that he may not do without your assent, then be ye blasphemers to God.

Works of supererogation.

God is the limiter of meed and reward, and not the frict.

Fryers will
not pray,
but for
them that
be of their
Fraternity.

29. What betokeneth that ye have ordained, that when such one as ye have made your Brother or Sister, and hath a Letter of your Seal, that Letter might be brought in your holy Chapter and there be read, or else ye will not pray for him. And but ye willen pray especially for all other that were not made your brethren or sistren, then were we not in right charity, for that ought to be common, and namely in ghostly things.

Fryers do
make Apo-
stases.

30. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to overcharge the people by mighty begging under colour of preaching or praying, or Masses singing? sith holy Write biddeth not thus, but even the contrary: for all such ghostly deeds should be done freely, as God yeveth them freely?

31. *Freer*, What Charity is this to beguile Children or the common to discretion, and bind hem to your Orders that bin not grounded in Gods Law against her Friends will? sithen by this folly bin many Apostatas both in will and deed, and many bin Apostatas in her will during all her life, that would gladly be discharged if they wist how, and so many bin Apostatas that shoulde in other States have bin true men.

The number of Fry-
ers superfluous,
and as
necessary as
ten fingers
on one
hand.

32. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to make so many *Freers* in every Country to the charge of the people? sith Parsons and Vicars alone, yea secular Priests alone, yea Monks and Canons alone, with Bishops above them were enough to the Church to do the Priests Office. And to add more then inough is a foul error, and great charge to the people, and this openly against Gods will that ordained all things to be done in weight, number and measure. And Christ himself was apaid with twelve Apostles and a few Disciples, to preach and to do Priests Office to all the whole world, then was it better done then is now at this time by a thousand dele. And right so as four fingers with a thumb in a mans hand helpeth a man to work, and double number of fingers in one hand should let him more, and so the more number that there were passing the measure of Gods Ordinance, the more were a man letted to work: right so (as it seemeth) it is of these new Orders that bin added to the Church without ground of holy Write and Gods Ordinance.

See, so fast
the Fryer
followeth
Christ in his
Poverty.

33. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to the people to lye, and say that ye follow Christ in poverty more than other men done? and yet in curious and costly housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in Treasure and Jewels, and rich Ornaments, *Freers* possen Lords and other rich wordly men, and soonest they should bring her cause about (be it never so costly) though Gods Law be put back.

Fryers are
the letters
of preach-
ing the Gos-
pel.

34. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to gather up the Books of holy write, and put hem in treasury, and so emprison them from secular Priests and Curates, and by this cautel let hem to preach the Gospel freely to the people without wordly meed, and also to defame good Priests of Herefie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods Law by the holy Gospel to the Christian people?

What holi-
ness is in a
Fryers coat.

35. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to fain so much holiness in your bodily clothing (that you clepe your habit) that many blind Fools desiren to die therein more than in another? and also that a *Freer*, that leaveth his habit late founden of men, may not be affoiled till he take again, but is Apostata as ye fain, and cursed of God and man both? The *Freer* believeth truth, and patience, chastity, meekness and sobriety, yet for the more part of his life he may soon be affoiled of his Prior, and if he bring home to his house much good by the year (be it never so falsely begged and pilled of the poor and needy people in Countries about) he shall be hold a noble *Freer*. O Lord whether this be Charity?

The stouter
begger the
nobler
Fryer.

Why Fry-
ers so much
desire to
have rich
men buried
in their
Fryeries.

36. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to prease upon a rich man, and to intice him to be buried among you from his Parish-Church, and to such rich men give Letters of Fraternity confirmed by your general Seal, and thereby to bear him in hand that he shall have part of all your Masses, Mattens, Preachings, Fastings, Wakings, and all other good deeds done by your Brethren of your Order (both whilst he liveth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten never whether your deeds be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that Letter be able by good living to receive any part of your deeds, and yet a poor man (that ye wite well or supposen in certen to have no good of) ye ne given no such Letters, though he be a better man

to God than such a rich man: nevertheless, this poor man doth not retch thereof. For as men supposen such Letters and many other that *Freers* behotten to men, be full false deceits of *Freers*, out of all reason, and Gods Law and Christian mens faith.

Fryers be-
lieve are
false deceits

37. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to be Confessors of Lords and Ladies, and to other mighty men, and not amend hem in her living? but rather as it seemeth, to be the bolder to pill her poor Tenants, and to live in lechery, and there to dwell in your Office of Confessor for winning of worldly goods, and to be hold great by colour of such ghostly Offices? this seemeth rather pride of *Freers*, than charity of God.

Fryers de-
sire to be
Lords and
Ladies Con-
fessors.

38. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to fain that who so liveth after your Order, liveth more perfectly, and next followeth the state of Apostles in poverty and pennance, and yet the wisest and greatest Clerks of you wend or send, or procure to the Court of Rome to be made Cardinals or Bishops of the Popes Chaplains, and to be affoiled of the vow of Poverty and Obedience to your Ministers, in the which (as ye fain) standeth more perfection and merit of your Orders, and thus ye farren as Pharisees that fain one and do another to the contrary.

Fryers and
Pharisees
say one
thing and
do another.

Why name ye more the Patron of your Order in your Confessor when ye begin Mass, then other Saints, Apostles, or Martyrs, that holy Church hold more glorious then hem, and clepe hem your Patrons and your Avowries?

Freer, Whether was S. Francis in making of his rule that he set thine Order in, a Fool and a Liar, or else wise and true? If ye fain that he was not a Fool, but wise; ne a Liar but true: why shew you contrary by your doing, when by your suggestion to the Pope ye said, That your Rule that Francis made was so hard that ye mow not live to hold it without Declaration and Dispensation of the Pope, and so by your deed? Ne let your Patron be a Fool that made a Rule so hard that no man may well keep, and eke your deed proveth him a Liar, where he faith in his Rule, That he took and learned it of the Holy Ghost. For how might ye for shame pray the Pope undo that the Holy Ghost bit, as when ye prayed him to dispence with the hardness of your Order?

Dilemma.

Freer, Which of the four Orders of *Freers* is best to a man that knoweth not which is the best, but would fain enter into the best, and none other? If thou sayest that thine is the best, then saiest thou that none of the other is as good as thine, and in this each *Freer* in the three other Orders wooll say that thou lyest, for in the self manner each other *Freer* wooll say that his Order is best. And thus to each of the four Orders bin the other three contrary in this point: in the which if any say sooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the best of four. So followeth it that if each of these Orders answered to this question as thou dost, three were false, and but one true, and yet no man should wite who that were. And thus it seemeth, that the most part of *Freers* bin or should be Lyers in this point, and they should answer thereto. If you say that another Order of the *Freers* is better than thine, or as good; why took ye not rather thereto as to the better, when thou mightst have chose at the beginning? And eke why shouldst thou be an Apostata to leave thine Order and take thee to that is better, and so why goest thou not from thine Order in that?

Which is
the best Or-
der of Fry-
ers.

Fryers ne-
ver agree
one with
another.

Freer, Is there any perfecter rule of Religion than Christ Gods Son gave in his Gospel to his Brethren? Or then that Religion that S. James in his Epistle maketh mention of? If you say Yes, then putteth thou on Christ (that is the Wisdome of God the Father) unknunning, unpowar, or evil will: for then he could not make his Rule so good as another did his. And so he had unknunning, that he might not so make his Rule so good as another man might, and so were he unmighty, and not God, as he would not make his Rule so perfect as another did his, and so he had bin evil willed, namely to himself.

The Fryer
thinketh his
Rule per-
fecter than
Christ's, be-
cause he
leaveth the
one and fol-
loweth the
other.

For if he might and could, and would have made a Rule perfect without default, and did not, he was not Gods Son Almighty. For if any other Rule be perfecter than Christs, then must Christs Rule lack of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfecter, and so were default, and Christ had failed in making of his Rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blasphemy. If thou say

say

say that Christs Rule, and that Religion which S. James maketh mention of, is perfectest; why holdest thou not thilk Rule without more? And why clepest thou the rather of S. Francis or S. Dominicks Rule or Religion or Order, than of Christs Rule or Christs Order?

Freer, Canst thou assign any default in Christs Rule of the Gospel (with the which he taught all men likerly to be saved) if they kept it to her ending? If thou say it was too hard, then sayst thou Christ lyed; for he said of his Rule, *My Yoke is soft, and my Burthen light*. If thou say Christs Rule was too light, that may be assigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou sayst that there is no default in Christs Rule of the Gospel, sith Christ himself saith it is light and easie: what need was it to Patrons of Freers to add more thereto? and so to make an harder Religion to save Freers, than was the Religion of Christs Apostles and his Disciples hielden and were saved by. But if they wolden that her Freers saten above the Apostles in Heaven for the harder Religion that they keepen here, so would they sitten in Heaven above Christ himself, for their more and strict Observations, then so should they be better than Christ himself with mischance.

Go now forth and frain your Clerks, and ground ye you in Gods Law, and gif Jack an answer, and when ye han assailed me that I have said sadly in truth, I shall soil thee of thine Orders, and save thee to Heaven.

If Freers kun not or mow not excuse hem of these questions asked of hem, it seemeth that they be horrible guilty against God, and her even Christian; for which guilts and defaults it were worthy that the Order that they call their Order were foredone. And it is wonder that men sustain hem or suffer her live in such manner. For holy write biddeth, *That thou do well to the meek, and give not to the wicked, but forbed to give hem bread, leaft they be made thereby mightier through you*.

After these Digressions, now to return to the course of our story again. As Henry this King succeeded King John his Father, so after Innocent the Pope came Honorius the Third, then Gregory the Ninth, &c. And after Otto the Emperor (whom the Pope had once set up, and after deprivd again) succeeded Frederick the Second, as it is partly before touched. In the days of these Kings, Popes, and Emperors, it were too long to recite all that happened in England, but especially in Germany, betwixt Pope Honorius, Gregorius and Frederick the Emperor: the horrible Tragedy whereof were enough to fill a whole Book by it self. But yet we mean (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these Ecclesiastical matters, first beginning with this Realm of England.

After that the Kingdom of England had been subjected by King John (as hath been said) and made Tributary to the Pope and the Romish Church, it is incredible how the unsatiable avarice and greediness of the Romans did oppress and wring the Commons and all Estates and Degrees of the Realm, especially benefited men, and such as had any thing of the Church. Who, what for their domestical Charges within the Realm, what for the Pope, what for the Legates, what for contributing to the holy Land, what for Relaxations, and other subtil sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slavery, captivity, and penury, that whereas the King neither durst nor might remedy their Exclamations by himself: yet notwithstanding by his advice, Simon Montfort and the Earl of Leicester, with other Noble men (not forgetting what great grievances and distresses the Realm was brought into by the Romans) thought to work some way how to bridle and restrain the insatiable ravening of these greedy Wolves. Wherefore they devised their Letter, giving strait commandment to the religious men, and to such as had their Churches to farm, that henceforth they should not answer the Romans of such Farms and Rents any more, but should pay the said Farms or Rents unto their own Proctors appointed for the same purpose, as by their writings sent abroad to Bishops or Chapters, and other Ecclesiastical Houses, may appear, in this form and effect as followeth.

A complaint of the Nobles of England against the intolerable Covetousness of the Pope and Prelates of Rome.

To such and such a Bishop, and such a Chapter; all the University and Company of them, that had rather die than to be confounded of the Romans, wisheth health. How the Romans and their Legates have hitherto behaved themselves toward you and other Ecclesiastical Persons of this Realm of England, it is not unknown to your discretions, in disposing and giving away the Benefices of the Realm after their own lust, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of Benefices should and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow-Bishops (Ecclesiastical Persons) they, thundering against you the Sentence of Excommunication, ordain that you should not bestow them upon any person of this Realm, until in every Diocese and Cathedral-Church within the Realm, five Romans (such as the Pope shall name) be provided for, to the value of every man an hundred pounds by year. Besides these, many other grievances the said Romanists do inflict and infer, both to the Laity and Nobles of the Realm, for the Patronages and Alms bestowed by them and their Ancestors, for the sustentation of the poor of the Realm, and also to the Clergy and Ecclesiastical Persons of the Realm touching their Livings and Benefices. And yet the said Romanists, not contented with the premises, do also take from the Clergy of this Realm the Benefices which they have, to bestow them on men of their own Country, &c.

Wherefore, we considering the rigorous austerity of these foresaid Romanists, which, once coming in but as strangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but also to condemn us, laying upon us importable burthens, whereunto they will not put to one of their own fingers to move; and laying our heads together upon a general and full advice had among our selves concerning the same, have thought good (although very late) to withstand them, rather than to be subject to their intolerable Oppressions, and greater slavery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cause we straitly charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliver you, the Church, the King, and the Kingdom from that miserable yoke of Servitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning such Exactions or Rents to be required or given to the said Romans. Letting you to understand for truth, that in case you shall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your Goods and Possessions shall be in danger of burning, but you also in your persons shall incur the same peril and punishment as shall the said Romish Oppressors themselves.

Thus fare ye well.

¶ Thus much I thought here to insert and notifie concerning this matter, for that not only the foul and avaricious greediness of the Romish Church might the more evidently unto all Englishmen appear: but that they may learn by this example how worthy they be so to be served and plagued with their own Rod, which before would take no part with their natural King against foreign Power, of whom now they are scourged.

To make the story more plain: in the Reign of this Henry the third (who succeeding, as is said, after King John his Father reigned six and fifty years) came divers Legates from Rome to England. First Cardinal Orbo sent from the Pope with Letters to the King, like as other Letters also were sent to other places for exactions of money.

The King opening the Letters, and perceiving the contents, answered, *That he alone could say nothing in the matter which concerned all the Clergy and Commons of the whole Realm*. Not long after a Council was called at Westminster, where the Letters being opened, the form was this, *Petimus imprimis ab omnibus Ecclesiis Cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, unam de portione Episcopi, & alteram de capitulo: & similiter de canoniis ubi diversæ sunt portiones Abbatis & Conventus; a conventibus quantum pertinet ad unum Monachum, æquali*

A Complaint of the Nobles of England against the covetousness of Rome.

Example teaching never to take part against their King with foreign Power.

Cardinal Orbo Legate.

The Pope requireth two Prebendships in every Cathedral-Church.

Note the cause why the Pope is compelled to crave money of other Countries.

facta distributione bonorum suorum, & ab Abbate tantumdem; That is, We require to be given unto us, first, of all Cathedral-Churches two Prebends, one for the Bishops part, the other for the Chapter: and likewise of Monasteries where be divers portions, one for the Abbot, another for the Covent: of the Covent so much as appertaineth to one Monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided; of the Abbot likewise as much. The cause why he required these Prebends was this, It hath been (saith he) an old slander, and a great complaint against the Church of Rome, and it hath been charged with insatiable covetousness, which as ye know is the root of all mischief, and all by reason that Causes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceed in the Church of Rome without great gifts and expence of money. Whereof seeing the poverty of the Church is the cause, and the only reason why it is so slandered and evil spoken of: it is therefore convenient that you (as natural Children) should succour your Mother. For unless we should receive of you and of other good men as you are, we should then lack necessities for our life, which were a great dishonour to our Dignity, &c.

When those Petitions and Causes of the Legate were propounded in the foresaid Assembly at Westminster on the Popes behalf (the Bishops and Prelates of the Realm being present) answer was made by the mouth of Master John Bedford on this wise: that the matter there propounded by the Lord Legate in especial concerned the King of England, but in general it touched all the Archbishops with their Suffragans, the Bishops, and all the Prelates of the Realm. Wherefore, seeing both the King by reason of his sickness was absent, and the Archbishop of Canterbury with divers other Bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so do without prejudice of them which were lacking. And so the Assembly for that time brake up.

A Council at London called.

Not long after, the said Osbo, Cardinal De carcere Tulliano, coming again from Rome, Cum autentico plenarie potestatis, indicted another Council at London, and caused all Prelates, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other of the Clergy to be warned unto the same Council, to be had in the Church of S. Pauls at London about the Feast of S. Martin. The pretence of which Council was for redress of matters concerning Benefices and Religion; but the chief and principal was to hunt for money: for putting them in fear and in hope, some to lose, some to obtain Spiritual Promotions at his hand, he thought gain would rise thereby, and so it did. For in the mean time (as Parisiensis in vita Henrici tertii writeth) divers precious Rewards were offered him in Palfries, in rich Plate and Jewels, in costly and sumptuous Garments so richly furred, in Coin, in Victuals, and such like things of value well worthy of acceptation. Wherein one endeavoured to go beyond another in Munificence (not considering, by means of the servility wherewith they were oppressed of those Popish shavelings and shameless shifters, that all was meer Pillage and Extortion.) Inasmuch that only the Bishop of Winchester (as the story reporteth) hearing that he would winter at London, sent him fifty fat Oxen, an hundred Coome of pure Wheat, eight Tun of choson Wine toward his house keeping. Likewise other Bishops also for their part offered unto the Cardinals Box after their ability.

Great Rewards given to the Cardinal.

The time of the Council drawing nigh, the Cardinal commanded at the West end of Pauls Church an high and solemn Throne to be prepared, rising up with a glorious Scaffold upon mighty and substantial Stages strongly builded, and of great height. Thus against the day assigned, came the said Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other of the Prelacy, both far and near throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the Winters Journey, bringing their Letters Procuratory. Who being together assembled, the Cardinal beginneth his Sermon. But before we come to the Sermon, there hapned a great discord between the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious Cardinal, for the which the one appealed against the other. The Cardinal to pacifie the strife between them both, so that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certain Bull of the Pope: in the midst of which Bull was pictured

Contention for sitting on the right hand of the Cardinal.

the figure of the Cross. On the right side of the Cross stood the Image of S. Paul, and on the left side S. Peter: Lo, saith the Cardinal (holding open the Bull with the Cross) here you see S. Peter on the left hand of the Cross, and S. Paul on the right side, and yet is there between these two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet S. Peter for the prerogative of his Keys, and for the prebeminence of his Apostleship and Cathedral dignity, seemeth most worthy to be placed on the right side. But yet because S. Paul believed on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the Cross: For blessed be they (saith Christ) which believe and see not, &c. And from that time forth the Archbishop of Canterbury enjoyed the right hand, and the Archbishop of York, the left. Wherein yet this Cardinal is more to be commended than the other Cardinal Hugo mentioned a little before, which in the like contention between these Archbishops ran away.

Why S. Paul standeth on the right hand of the Pope's Cross. Why the Archbishop of Canterbury hath the right hand, and the Archbishop of York, the left hand.

Thus the Controversie ceased and composed between these two, Osbo the Cardinal, sitting aloft between these two Archbishops, beginneth his Sermon, taking this Theme of the Prophet; *In medio sedis & in circuitu ejus quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro, &c.* that is, In the midst of the Seat, and in the circuit about the Seat, were four Beasts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this Theme the Cardinal proceeded in his Sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. He compared them about him to the four Beasts about the Seat, declaring how they ought to have eyes both before and behind (that is) that they must be provident in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spiritual matters, continuing and joyning wisely things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of his Clerical Sermon. That done, he giveth forth certain Statutes for ordering of Churches, as for the dedication of Temples, for seven Sacraments, for giving of Orders, for framing of Benefices, collations and resignations of Benefices and Vicarages, Priests Apparel, and single life, for eating of flesh in religious Houses, or Archdeacons, Bishops, Proctors, and such other like matters. But the chiefest intent of all his proceeding was this, That they should be vigilant, provident, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the Popes Pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other travels besides. Inasmuch that the King, dreading the displeasure of his Commons for the doings of the Legate, willed him to repair home to Rome again, but yet could not so be rid of him; for he, receiving new Commandments from the Pope, applied his Harvest, still glean- ing and raking whatsoever he might scrape, writing and sending to Bishops and Archdeacons in this form and tenor,

Note the Theme of the Cardinal applied to God, how he applyeth it to himself. Scripture Clerks applied.

Otto miseratione divina, &c. Discreto viro N. Episcopo vel N. Archidiacono salutem. Cum necesse habeamus de mandato summi Pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem, nec possimus propriis stipendiis militare, discretionem vestram qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, ut procuraciones nobis debitas in Episcopatu, vel Archidiaconatu vestro colligi faciatis nostro nomine diligenter, eas quam citius poteritis, nobis transmissuri, contradicentes per censuram Ecclesiasticam compescendo. Proviso, quod qualibet procuratio summam 4. marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, & ubi una Ecclesia non sufficit ad procuracionem hujusmodi habendam, due pariter unam solvant. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Gregor. Papae 9.

A letter of the Cardinal to Bishops and Archdeacons. Content of the Church well applied.

Four Marks to be paid to the Pope of every Procuracion.

And moreover, note again the wicked and cursed trains of these Romish Rakehels, who, to pick simple mens purses, first send out their Fryers and Preachers to stir up in all Places and Countries, men to go fight against the Turks: whom when they have once bound with a Vow, and signed them with the Cross, then send they their Bulls to release them both of their labour, and their Vow for money, as by their own stile of writing is here to be seen, thus proceeding,

Note the crafty pretence of Romish Preachers to pick mens purses.

N. Episcopus dilectis in Christo filiis omnibus Archidiaconis per Diocesim suam constitutis, salutem. Literas Domini Legati suscepimus in hac verba; Otto miseratione divina, &c. Cum sicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce signati Regni Anglie, qui sunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad

*ad sedem Apostolicam accedant, ut ibidem a voto crucis absolvi valeant, & nos nuper recepimus a summo Pontifice in mandatis, ut tales non solum absolvere, verum & ad redimenda vota sua * compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expensis, fraternitatem vestram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus, partem predictam a summo Pontifice nobis concessam faciatis in nostris diocesis sine mora qualibet publicari, ut prefati cruce signati ad nos accedere valeant, * beneficium super his juxta formam nobis traditam accepturi, Datum Londini 15. Kal. Mart. Pont. D. N. Papae Gregor. 9*

The cause why the Pope was so greedy and needy of Money, was this; because he had mortal hatred, and waged continual battel the same time against the good Emperor, *Frederick* the second, who had to Wife King *Johns* Daughter, and Sister to King *Henry* the third, whose name was *Isabel*. And therefore because the Popes war could not be sustained without charges, that made the Pope the more importunate to take money in all places, but especially in *England*. Inasmuch that he shamed not to require the fifth part of every Ecclesiastical mans living, as *Parisensis* writeth. And not only that, but also the said Pope *Gregory* (convening with the Citizens of *Rome*) so agreed with them, that if they would joyn with him in vanquishing the foresaid *Frederick*, he would (and so did) grant unto them, that all the Benefices in *England* which were or should be vacant (namely pertaining to religious Houses) should be bestowed at their own will and commandment to their children and kinsfolks. Whereupon it followed in the forenamed History, *Unde infra paucos dies misit D. Papa sacra precepta sua domino Cant. Archiep. Eliensi & Lincol. & Salisb. Episcopis, ut trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficiis vacantibus, providerent, scientes se suspensos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter providerentur*. That is, the Pope sent in commandment to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and four other Bishops, that provision should be made for three hundred *Romans* in the chiefest and best Benefices in all *England* at the next voidance: So that the foresaid Archbishop and Bishops should be suspended in the mean time from all collation or gift of Benefices, until the foresaid three hundred were provided for. Whereupon the Archbishop the same time seeing the unreasonable oppression of the Church of *England*, left the Realm and went into *France*.

Again, mark another as much or more easie sleight of the Pope in procuring money. He sent one *Petrus Rubens* the same time with a new device, which was this, Not to work any thing openly, but privily to go betwixt Bishop and Bishop, Abbot and Abbot, &c. Telling in their ears, such a Bishop, such an Abbot hath given so much and so much unto the Popes Holiness, trusting that you also will not be behind for your part, &c. By the means whereof it is incredible to think what a Mass of Money was made out of the Realm unto the Pope.

At length the foresaid Bishops, Abbots, and Archdeacons feeling their own smart, came to the King (whose Father before they did resist) with their humble sute, lamentably complaining of the unmeasurable exactions of the Pope, and especially against *Petrus Rubens* and his fellow *Otto* the Legate; desiring the King, that seeing the matter toucheth not themselves alone, but the whole Church, and seeing the valuation of Churches was known better to their Archdeacons than to themselves, therefore there might be a general calling and talk had in the matter. In the octaves of *S. John* the Baptist, the day and place was assigned where they should talk; at which day and place the Prelates of *England*, convening together, durst not give any direct denial of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuate certain exceptions against the same.

1. First they say, that for so much as the contribution is demanded to war against him, who was joyned in Matrimony with their Prince, they were not bound so to do.
2. Secondly, for that the said contribution tended to the shedding of Christian blood; for so the form of the bill pretended to fight against the Emperor.
3. Thirdly, because it was against the liberty of the Church; for so it is in the bill, that they that would not should be Excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, because that when of late they gave the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that they should contribute to the Pope no more hereafter.

5. Item, because they had contributed before; if they should now contribute again, it were to be feared lest an Action twice done should grow into a custom, as is in the Law, *Lege nem, &c.*

6. Item, for so much as they shall have causes continually to seek to *Rome* through the Emperors Land; it were to be feared lest the said Emperor by the way would work their Annoyance.

7. Item, because the King hath many Enemies abroad, and for his wars hath need of much money at home, it is not convenient that the goods of the Realm should be alienated out of the Realm.

8. Item, because that could not be done without prejudice to the Patrons of their Churches, not knowing whether their Patrons did or would agree unto the same.

9. Lastly, because they hear say, that the general State of the Church is in danger, for the which they understand there shall be shortly a general Council, wherein such matters shall be determined: and therefore if they should contribute now, it should be to the hinderance and damage of the Church.

The Legate and his fellow hearing these Allegations, seeing their own confusion, were the less importunate.

Not long after this followed a general Council at *Lions*, called by Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, in the which Council the *English* Nation did exhibit certain Articles of their grievances not unworthy to be known, *Gravatur regnum Angliae, eo quod D. Papa non est contentus subsidio illo, quod vocatur denarius beati Petri, &c.*

In English thus.

1. The Kingdom of *England* is grieved that the Pope, being not contented with his *Peter-pence*, requireth and extorteth from the Clergy great exactions (and more is like) both without the consent of the King, and against the Customs of the Realm.

2. Item, the Church and Kingdom of *England* is grieved, that the Patrons of the same cannot present as they were wont, unto their Churches, for the Popes Letters: But the Churches are given to *Romans*, which know neither the Realm nor the Tongue thereof, both to the great peril of souls and robbing away the money out of the Realm.

3. Item, it is grieved, for that the Pope promising by the Tenor of his Letters, that in requiring of pensions and provisions in the Realm of *England* he would require but only twelve Benefices, now contrary to the Tenor thereof many more Benefices and provisions are bestowed away by him.

4. Item, the Realm is grieved and complaineth, that in the Benefices in *England*, one *Italian* succeedeth another, the *English-men* being not only excluded, but also compelled (for the determining of their matters) to seek to *Rome*, contrary both to the Customs of the Realm, and also to the privileges granted by the Popes predecessors to the King and Kingdom of *England*.

5. The fifth grievance is for the oft recourse of that infamous Legate, by whom both faith and fidelity, the ancient Customs of the Realm, the Authorities of old Grants, Statutes, Laws and Privileges, are imbecilled and abrogated, whereby an infinite number in *England* be grievously afflicted and oppressed.

6. The said Realm is also grieved in general Tallages, Collections, and Asseses, made without the Kings consent, the appellation and contradiction of the Kings Proctors to the contrary notwithstanding.

7. Seventhly, the foresaid Realm complaineth and is grieved, that in the Benefices given to *Italians*, neither the old Ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor Hospitality, nor any Preaching of Gods Word, nor care of Men Souls, nor service in the Church, nor yet the walls of the Churches be kept up and maintained, as the manner and Custom of the same Realm requireth. Over and above these foresaid grievances, there came moreover from the Pope other fresh Letters, charging and commanding the Prelates of *England* to find of their proper costs and charges for one whole year, some ten armed souldiers, some five, some fifteen, to be ready at the Popes commandment there where he should appoint.

Articles exhibited in the Council of *Lugdun* for the grievances sustained by the Pope. The first grievance. The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth, He meaneth percase *Otto* or master *Martino*.

The sixth.

The seventh.

The Babylonical captivity and slavery of *England* under the Pope.

After these and other grievances and enormities of Rome, the States of England consulting together direct their Letters to the Pope, for reformation thereof. First the Abbots and Priors, then the Bishops and Suffragans, after the Nobles and Barons, last of all the King himself. But as the proverb is, *Venter non habet aures*; so the Popes purse had no ears to hear. And as our common saying goeth; *As good never a whit as never the better*: so went it with the Pope, who not long after the same sent for new Tallages and exactions to be collected. Which thing when it came to the Kings ear, he being moved and disturbed vehemently withal, writeth in this wise to the Bishops, severally to every one in his Diocesis.

The Letter of King Henry the third to the Bishops.

Henricus tertius Dei gratia, &c. Venerabili in Christo, N. Episcopo salutem. Licet alias vobis, &c.

In English thus.

King Henry the third commandeth no tax nor tallage to be sent to the Pope.

Henry the Third by the Grace of God, to the Reverend in Christ Bishop of N. Whereas we have heretofore Written unto you, once, twice, thrice, as well by our privy seals, as by our Letters Patents, that you should not exact or collect, for the Popes behalf, any Tallage or other help of our Subjects, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity, for that no such Tallage nor help either can or is used to be exacted in our Realm without the great prejudice of our Princely Dignity, which we neither will nor can suffer or sustain: yet you contemning and wilfuly disobeying our commandment, and contrary to the provision made in our last Council at London (granted and agreed upon by our Prelates, Earls, and Barons) have that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the said your Taxes and Tallages. Whereupon we do greatly marvel and are moved (especially seeing you are not ashamed to do contrary unto your own Decrees) whereas you and other Prelates in the said Council in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should be hereafter, until the return of our and your Ambassadors from the Court of Rome, sent thither purposely of us, and in the name of the whole Realm for the same, to provide redress against those oppressions. Wherefore we straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you do not proceed any more in collecting and exacting such Tallages or helps, as you will enjoy our favour and such possessions of yours as within this our Kingdom you have and hold. And if you have already procured or gather any such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our Realm, but cause it to be kept in safe custody till the return of the said Ambassadors, under the pain of our displeasure in doing of the contrary, and also of provoking us to extend our hand upon your possessions, further than you will think or believe. Moreover, willing and charging you that you participate and make common this our inhibition, with your Archdeacons and Officials, which we here have set forth for the liberties of the Clergy and of the people, as knoweth God, &c.

The Popes saying against King Henry.

King Henry against restraining the Popes taxes.

The Pope taketh one against the King.

The King compelled for fear to give over to the Pope.

At length the Ambassadors which were at Rome came home about the later end of December, bringing word that the Pope, hearing what was done in the Council of Winchester, and of the King, was greatly displeased with him and the Realm, saying, *Rex Anglorum, qui jam recalcitrat & frederisat, suum habet consilium, ego vero & meum habeo, quod & sequar, &c.* Whereupon when the Ambassadors began to speak in the Kings behalf, from that time they were half counted for Schismatics, and could no more be heard in the Court of Rome. The King hearing this was marvelously incensed therewith, commanding by general Proclamation through all his Realm, that no man should hereafter consent to any Tax or subsidy of money for the Court of Rome. When this came to the Popes ear, upon a cruel rage he directed his Letters to the Prelates of England, charging that under pain of suspension or interdiction, they should provide the same sum of money to be collected against the Feast of Assumption, the charge being given to the Bishop of Worcester to be executer of the said Curse. The King lately intended to stand to the liberties of the Church, now for fear of the Pope, and partly for persuasions of the said Bishop of Worcester and other Prelates, durst not stand to it, but gave over. Moreover the greedy gulf of the Romish avarice waxed so unmeasurable, that at length the Pope shamed not, upon the censure

of his Curse, to ask the third part of the Church goods, and the yearly Fruit of all vacant Benefices. The chief Doers and Legates in England, were Otho, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubens Nuncius, Mag. Martin, and Mag. Marinus, Johannes Anglicus Episcopus Sabinensis. Of whom to speak further (for that I have matter much more to write) for this present time I think best to surcease, lest in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps, not only molest good ears, but also infect the Air. Yet one thing concerning the said Otho I cannot well overpass.

The Pope asketh the third part of the Church goods.

This Otho, as he left no place unfought, where any vantage might be got: so amongst all others he came to Oxford, where lying in the House of Osney, he was received with great honour; the Scholars presenting him Honourably with such Dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratifie the Cardinal after the best manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reverently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtesie again of him be entertained. As they came to the Gate, the Porter (being an Italian) with a loud voice asketh what they would have? They said they came to see the Lord Legate. But Cerberus the Porter, holding the door half open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The Scholars seeing that, by force thrust open the Gate and came in; whom when the Romans which were within would have repelled with their Fists, and such Staves as they had in their Hands, they fell to Alarum and by the ears together, with much heaving and shoving, and many blows on both sides. In the mean time, while some of the Scholars ran home for their Weapons, there chanced a poor Scholar (an Irish-man) to stand at the Gate waiting for his Alms. Whom when the Master saw at the Gate, he, taking hot skalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his Face. One of the Scholars a Welsh-man, that came with his Bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth drive an arrow, and shooteth this Nabuzardan (that Master of Cooks) clean thorow the body, and slaieth him out of hand. The Cook falling dead, there was a mighty broil and a great clamour throughout all the House. The Cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a Valiant Roman runneth as fast as he could into the Steeple, and there locketh the doors fast unto him, where he remained till midnight. The Scholars in the mean while, not yet all pacified, sought all corners about for the Legate, exclaiming and crying out; Where is that Usurer, that Simoniack, that piller and poller of our livings, that proller and extortioner of our Money, which perverteth our King, and subverteth his Kingdom, enriching himself with our spoils? &c. All this heard the Cardinal, and held his peace. When the night approaching had broken up the field, the Cardinal coming out of his Fort, and taking his Horse (in silence of the night) was privily conveyed over the River toward the King, conveying himself away as fast as he could. After the King heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed Men, to deliver the Romans which were there hidden for fear of Scholars. Then was Master Otho a Lawyer, with thirty other Scholars apprehended, and carried to Walsford Castle, and from thence had in Carts to London, where at length (through much intreaty of the Bishops) they, being brought barefoot to the Legates door, had their pardon, and the University released of interdiction. And thus much concerning the Popes Legate in England.

A story of Cardinal Otho at Oxford.

A skirmish between the Scholars of Oxford and the Cardinals men.

The Cardinal runneth away.

Thirty Scholars taken and had to prison.

Thus partly you have heard, and do understand the miserable Thralldom and Captivity of this Realm of England, and the Clergy of the same, who before refused to take part with King John their natural Prince, against the foreign power of the Pope; and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same Pope; whose insatiable extortion and rapacity did so exceed in pilling and polling of this Realm long after this, that neither the King now could help them, neither could the Pope with any reasonable measure be content. Inasmuch (as writers record) in the days of Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1360. the Pope by his Proctors gat from the Clergy, in less than one year, more than forty Thousand Florens, of the meer contribution: besides his other avails and common revenues out of Benefices, Prebendaries, first Fruits, Tributes,

Threecore Thousand Florens contributed to the Pope, in one year of the Clergy.

Tributes, Peter-pence, Collations, Reservations, Relaxations, and such Merchandise, &c.

Mention was made a little before of *Albigenes* keeping about the City of *Tholouse*. These *Albigenes* because they began to sinell the Pope, and to control the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the See of *Rome*, the Pope therefore recounting them as a people heretical, excited and stirred up about this present time and year, Anno 1220.

Ludovike the young French King, through the instance of *Philip* his Father, to lay siege against the said City of *Tholouse* to expunge and extinguish these *Albigenes* his Enemies. Whereupon *Ludovike* (according to his Fathers commandment) reared a puissant and mighty Army to compass about and beset the forenamed City, and so did.

Here were the men of *Tholouse* in great danger. But see how the mighty Protection of God fighteth for his people against the might of Man: For after that *Ludovike* (as *Matth. Paris* testifieth) had long wearied himself and his men in waste, and could do no good with all their Engines and Artillery against the City, there fell more-over upon the French Host, by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence both of Men and Horses, besides the other daily slaughter of the Souldiers, that *Ludovike* was informed to retire, and with such as were left to return again home to *France* from whence he came.

In the slaughter of which Souldiers, besides many others, was *Earl Simon de monte forti*, General of the Army, to whom the lands of the *Earl of Tholouse* were given by the Pope; who was slain before the Gate of the City with a stone, and so was also the Brother of the said *Simon* the same time, in besieging a Castle near to *Tholouse*, slain with a stone in like manner. And so was the siege of the French-men against *Tholouse* broke up. *Ex Mat. Parisiens.*

As the siege of these French-men could do no good against the City of *Tholouse*; so it happened the same time that the Christians, marching towards the Holy land, had better success in laying their siege to a certain Tower or Castle in *Egypt* near to the City *Damietta*, which seemed by nature for the situation and difficulty of the place inexpugnable: which being situate in the midst of the great flood *Nilus* (hard by the City called *Damietta*) could neither be come to by land, nor be undermined for the water, nor by famine subdued, for the nearness of the City; yet notwithstanding through the help of God and Policy of Man, Erecting Scaffolds and Castles upon tops of Masts, the Christians at last conquered it, and after that also the City *Damietta*, albeit not without great loss of Christian people. In the expugnation of this City or fort, among others that there died, was the Lantgrave of *Thuring*, named *Ludovike* the Husband of *Elizabeth*, whom we use to call *S. Elizabeth*. This *Elizabeth* (as my Story recordeth) was the Daughter of the King of *Hungary*, and married in *Almain*, where she lived with the forenamed *Ludovike* Lantgrave of *Thuring*; whom she through her persuasions provoked and incited to take that voyage to fight for the Holy land, where he in the same voyage was slain. After whose death *Elizabeth* (remaining a widow) entered the profession of cloysterly religion, and made her self a Nun, so growing and increasing from vertue to vertue, that after her death all *Almain* did found with the fame of her worthy doings. *Matthieu Paris* addeth this more, that she was the Daughter of that Queen, who, being accused to be caught with a certain Archbishop, was therefore condemned with this sentence pronounced against her; *Regiam interficere nolite timere bonum est, et si omnes consenserint non ego contradico*. That is (although it be hard in English to be translated as it standeth in Latin) To kill the Queen will ye not to fear, that is good, and if all men consent thereto, not I my self do stand against it, &c. The which sentence being brought to Pope *Innocent*, thus in pointing the sentence, which otherwise seemeth to have a double understanding, he so saved the Queen, thus interpreting and pointing the same, *Regiam interficere nolite, timere bonum est, et si omnes consenserint, non ego contradico*. That is, To kill the Queen will ye not, to fear, that is good: And if all do consent thereto, yet not I, my self do stand against it, and so escaped she the danger. This Queen was the Mother (as is said) of *Elizabeth* the Nun, who for her holy wannifness was Canonized of the Popes Church for a Saint in *Almain*, about the year of our Lord 1220. *Ex Matth. Parisiens.*

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the years and life of this King *Henry*. The next year following, which was Anno 1221. the King went to *Oxford*, where he had something to do with *William Earl de Albemarle*, who had taken the Castle of *Bibham*: but at last, for his good service he had done in the Realm before, he was released of the King with all his men, by the intercession of *Walter* Archbishop of *York*, and of *Pandulph* the Legate. About which present year entered first the Frier *Minorits*, or Gray-Friers into *England*, and had their first House at *Canterbury*, whose first Patron was *Franciscus*, which died Anno 1227. and his Order was confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third, Anno 1224.

About the first coming of these *Dominick* and Gray-Friers *Franciscan* into the Realm (as is in *Nicol. Trivet* testified) many Englishmen the same time entered into their orders. Among whom was *Johannes de sancto Egidio*, a man famously expert in the Science of Physick and Astronomy, and *Alexander de Hales*, both Englishmen and great Divines. This *Johannes* making his Sermon *Ad claram*, in the House of the *Dominick* Friers, exhorted his Auditory with great persuasions unto wilful poverty. And to confirm his words the more by his own example, in the midst of his Sermon he came down from the Pulpit and put on his Friers habit; and so, returning into Pulpit again, made an end of his Sermon. Likewise *Alexander Hales* entered the order of the *Franciscans*, of whom remaineth yet the Book intituled *De summa theologia* in old Libraries.

Moreover, not long after by *William de longa spata*, which was the bastard Son of King *Henry* the second, and *Earl of Salisbury*, was first founded the House of the *Carthusian* Monks at *Heitrope*, Anno 1222. After whose death his Wife *Ela* was translated to the House of *Henton* in *Berkeshire*, An. 1227. which *Ela* also founded the House of Nuns at *Lacock*, and there continued her self Abbess of the place. The Bishop of *London*, named *William*, the same time gave over his Bishoprick, after whom succeeded *Eustace* in that See. *Flor. hist.*

In the Town of *Oxford* above mentioned, where the King kept his Court, *Simon Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* held a Council, where was condemned and burned a certain Deacon, as *Nicol. Trivet* saith, for Apostasy. Also another rude Country-man, who had crucified himself, and superstitiously bare about the wounds in his feet and hands, was condemned to be closed up perpetually within walls. *Ex Nicol. Trivet*. About which year also *Alexander* King of *Scots* married *Juan* Sister to King *Henry*.

Not long after began the new building of the Minster of *Salisbury*, whereof *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate laid the five first stones; one for the Pope (such was the Fortune of that Church to have the Popes stone in his Foundation) the second for the young King *Henry*; the third, for the good *Earl of Salisbury*; the fourth, for the Countess; the fifth, for the Bishop of *Salisbury*, &c. Which was about the same year above mentioned, Anno 1221. *Ex Chron. de Sal.*

In the same year about *S. James* tide fell a dissention between the Citizens of *London*, and the men of *Westminster*; the occasion whereof was this. A certain gain between these two parties was appointed, to try whether part in wrestling could overcome the other. Thus in striving for mastery, each part contending against the other (as the manner is in such pastime) it happened that the *Londoners* got the Victory, and the other side was put to foile, but especially the Steward of the Abbot of *Westminster*; who, being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethink in his mind how to be revenged again of the *Londoners*. Whereupon another day was set, which was at *Lammast*, that the *Londoners* should come again to wrestle, and who so had the Victory should have the *Bellwether*, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their Play, the Steward suddenly brought upon the *Londoners* unawares, a company of hamessed men prepared for the same before, and leteth drive at the *Londoners*; who, at length being wounded and grievously hurt, after much bloodshed were driven back again into the City. This contumely thus being received, the Citizens, eagerly stricken with ire and impatience, ran to the common Bell, and by ringing thereof

Anno 1221.

Ex subita pugna in a de drol Pauli. The Gray-Friers first entered into England. The order of Gray-Friers first confirmed.

Johannes de S. Egidio. Alexander de Hales.

Charter-house Monks founded by William Longespée.

Ela foundress of the House of Lacock.

Two condemned as a Council in Oxford.

Ex Nicol. Trivet.

Dissention between the Citizens of London and of Westminster.

Ex Nicol. Trivet.

Ex Nicol. Trivet.

Ex Nicol. Trivet.

Wholesome
Council of
the Mayor
of London
refused of
wild heads.

assembled their Commons together, to consult with themselves what was to be done in that case so contumelious. Wherein when divers sentences were given diversly, *Serle* the same time Mayor of London (a wise and discreet Man) gave this Council, that the Abbot of Westminster should be talked withal, who if he would rectifie the injury done, and satisfe for the harm received, it should be to them sufficient. But contrary, one *Constantine* a great Man then in the City of London, in much heat exciting the people, gave this sentence, that all the Houses of the Abbot of Westminster, but especially the House of the Steward should be cast down to the ground. In fine, that, which he so unadvisedly Counsell'd, was as madly performed: For the furious people according to his Council so did. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be privy, coming to the knowledge of *Hubert de Burgo*, Lord chief Justice of England above mentioned, he coming with a sufficient strength of armed souldiers to the City of London, sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to will them to come unto him. Who so obeying his commandment, he required of them the principal beginners of the Riot. To whom *Constantine* there being present answered, that he would warrant that which was done; forrowing moreover that they had not done more than they did in the matter. The Justice, upon the same his confession, commanded him with two others, without any further tumult, to be taken; and so with the same two he was hanged, he offering for his life 1500. Marks, &c.

Constantine
executed at
London for
Riot.

Hubert Lord
chief Justice
of England.

Ex Matth.
Paris.

Discord and
contention
among
Church-
men.

Ex Matth.
Paris & ex
Flores.

Whether
the Monas-
tery of
Westminster
be exem-
pted from
the subje-
ction of the
Bishop of
London or
not.

{ Anno }
1222.
Horrible
Tempest in
England.

A woman
with eight
of her thou-
sand slain
with Thun-
der.
Grantham
Church burn-
ed with
Lightning.

{ Anno }
1223.

The said *Hubert* Earl of Kent, and Lord chief Justice, although he was a faithful and trusty officer to his Prince, and had the whole guiding of the Realm in his own hands, the King as yet being in his Minority: yet afterward, what indignation he sustained for this his severity and other things, both of the Nobles and of the Commons, and how sharply he was tossed and trown'd of his Prince, wonder it is to see, as in his due place and time (by the Lords leave) hereafter shall appear. *Hæc ex Matth. Paris.*

And forsomuch as mention hath been made of the wrangling between the Commoners of London and of Westminster, both time and occasion bringeth me in remembrance something to speak likewise of the Ecclesiastical conflicts among Church-men, nothing inferior in my mind, nor less worthy to be noted than the other. For so I read in *Matth. Paris*, and in *Flores Hist.* that at what time this wrestling was among the Citizens for the sheep, the like contention kindled and enflamed between *Eustace* Bishop of London and the Chapter of *Pauls* on the one side, and the Abbot of Westminster with his Covent on the other side, about spiritual jurisdiction and subjection: to wit, whether the Monastery of Westminster were exempted from the subjection and jurisdiction of the Bishop of London or not. Which controverſie at last coming in to compromise, was committed to the Arbitrement of *Stephen* Archbishop of Canterbury, *Philip* Bishop of Winchester, *Thomas* of Merton, and *Richard* Prior of Dunstable; and at length it was thus agreed, that the Monastery of Westminster should be utterly exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and that *Stanes*, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, should appertain to the Monastery of Westminster. Also, that the manner of *Sunbury* should be due and proper to the Church of *S. Paul*, and also that the Church of *S. Margaret* with all the Lands belonging to the same should be exempted from all other jurisdiction, but only of the Bishop of Rome: and so was this matter decided. *An. 1222. Ibidem Flores Hist.*

The same year (as writeth *Mat. Paris*) horrible tempests with thundring and lightning, and whirlwinds, went through all the Land, that much harm was done, Churches, Steeples, Towers, Houses, and divers Trees with the violence of Winds were blown up by the Roots. In *Warwickshire* a certain Wife with eight others in her House were slain. In *Grantham* the Church was set on fire by Lightning most terrible, with such a stink left there behind, that no Man could after a long time abide it. The Author addeth, that manifest Marks of the Tempest did remain long after in that Monastery to be seen. Some also write that fiery Dragons and Spirits were seen then flying in the Air.

Anno 1223. Philip the French King died, after whom

his Son *Ludovick* succeeded in the Crown. To whom King *Henry* sending his Message, and desiring him to remember his Promise and Covenant made in rendring again the Lands lost in *Normandy*, could obtain nothing at his hands. Whereupon *Richard* Earl of Cornwall, also *William* the Kings Uncle Earl of Salisbury, with divers other Nobles made over into France, where they recovered *Poitiers*, and kept *Gascon* under the Kings obedience. *Ex Matth. Paris. Trivet. Flor. Hist.*

Lewis King
of France.
The French
King gave
of his
Promise.

In the same year, or as *Fabian* giveth, the next following, which was 1224. By the vertue of a certain Parliament, it was granted of the Lords and Barony of the Land, that the King and his Heirs, should have the ward and marriage of their Heirs, which then was called, and after so proved to be, *Inisium malorum*, the beginning of harms.

{ Anno }
1224.
Wardship
first granted
to the King.

In the same year, by the account of *Gisburn* and other Writers, the said King holding another Parliament at *Oxford*, by the advice of his Council and of his Clergy, did grant and confirm, under his great Seal, two Charters of the old Liberties and Customs of this Realm, for ever to be kept and observed, the one called *Magna Charta*, the other *Charta de foresta*. The Contents whereof fully in the forenamed Author be expressed. For the which cause was granted again by the whole Parliament a Quindecim, or a Fifteen of all his Subjects, as well of Lay-men as also of the Clergy.

Ex Gisburn
nassi &
alii.
Magna
Charta.
Charta de
foresta.

Where is to be noted, that these Liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed again by the said King, Anno 1236.

Anno 1226. died Pope *Honorius* a great Adversary against *Fredrick* the Emperor, after whom succeeded *Gregory* the ninth, more grievous than his Predecessor. In which year also died *Ludovick* the perjured French King at the siege of *Avinion*; whom the Pope now the second or third time had set up to fight against *Reimund* the good Earl of *Tbolouse*, and the Hereticks *Albingenses* of that Country: For so the Pope calleth all them, which hold not in all points with his glorious pride, and usurped power and ungodly proceedings. The Origin whereof was this, as in *Matth. Paris* appeareth. In the days of *Philip* the French King, this *Reimundus* Earl of *Tbolouse* was disdained of the Pope for holding with the *Albingenses*; and therefore, by the instigation of the Pope, the Lands of the Earl were taken from him and given to *Simon Montfort*; and instruments made upon the same: But when the said Earl *Reimundus* would not be removed from the right of his possessions by unrighteous dealing; then the Pope seteth *Philip* the French King to make open War against him. Whereupon *Lewis* the French King was sent with a great power (as is above declared) to besiege the City of *Tbolouse*; but being repulld from thence by the marvellous hand of God fighting for his people, he could not prevail, and so returned home, after he had lost the most part of his Army by pestilence and other calamity, as hath been before described. And thus continued the good Earl still in quiet possession till this present time, Anno 1226. In the which year the Pope not forgetting his old Malice against the Earl, and no less enflamed with insatiable avarice, directeth down his Legate Master *Romanus* to the parts of France for two several purposes; one to extirpe the Earl, the other to enlarge his Revenues. Thus the Legate, being entred into France, beginneth to summon a Council, willing the French King with the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of France to appear before him at *Bisures*; to whom erstoons repaired six Archbishops with the Bishops and Suffragans of nine Provinces, to the number of an Hundred, besides the Abbots, Priors, and Proctors of all the Covents of France, to hear the Popes will and commandment. But because there was a discord feared to rise (saith *Matthæus*) about Preheminence of sitting, for that the Archbishop of *Lions* challenged the Superior place above the Archbishop of *Sens*, also the Archbishop of *Rome* above the Archbishop of *Bisures*, and above the Archbishop of *Narbon*, &c. Therefore the Session was holden there not in manner and form of a Council, but of a certain parly or consultation. Thus the meek and holy Council being set, and the Popes Majesties Letters read and declared, appeareth before them *Reimund* Earl of *Tbolouse* of the one part, and *Simon Montfort* on the other part: which *Simon* required to be restored unto

The Pope
railed with

{ Anno }
1226.
The Popes
wicked
malice
against
the
Christian
Earl of
Tbolouse.

Mark Rea-
der the
right nature
of Plores
driving for
the chief
place.

The Pope
giveth the
right posses-
sion away
from the
owners.

unto him the Lands and possessions of the said Reimund, which the Pope and Philip the French King had given to him and to his Father before, having good evidences to shew for the same, confirmed by the donation of the Pope and of the King. Adding moreover, that the Earl Reimund was deprived and disinherited in the general Council at Rome for Heresie, which is called the Heresie of Albigenses. At least, if he might not have the whole yielded unto him, yet the most part of his Lordships he required to be granted him.

To this the Earl Reimund answered again, offering himself ready to all duty and office both toward the French King, and to the Church of Rome, whatsoever duly to him did appertain. And moreover, touching the Heresie wherewith he was there charged; he did not only there offer himself in that Council before the Legate, but most humbly did crave of him, that he would take the pains to come into every City within his Precinct to inquire of every person there the Articles of his Belief; and if he found any person or persons holding that which was not Catholick, he would see the same to be corrected and amended according to the censure of holy Church to the uttermost. Or if he should find any City rebelling against him, he, to the uttermost of his might with the inhabitants thereof, would compel them to do satisfaction therefore. And as touching himself, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembreth not that he had done) he offered there full satisfaction to God and Church, as becomen any faithful Christian Man to do; requiring moreover there before the Legate to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (saith Matthæus) the Legate despised; neither could the Catholick Earl (saith he) there find any grace, unless he would depart from his Heritage; both from himself and from his Heirs for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that he should stand to the arbitrement of twelve Peers of France: To that Reimundus answered, that if the French King would receive his Homage which he was ready at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For else they would not, said he, take him as one of their society and fellow Subjects.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the Legate willeth every Archbishop to call aside his Suffragans, to deliberate with them upon the cause, and to give up in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly, the Legate denounceth Excommunication to all such as did reveal any piece of that which was there concluded, before the Pope and the King had intelligence thereof.

These things thus in huddler mutter among themselves concluded, the Legate gave leave to all Proctors of Covents and Chapters to return home, only retaining with him the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and certain simple Prelates, such as he might be more bold withal, to open, and of them to obtain the other part of his Commission, which was indeed to obtain of every Cathedral Church two Prebendships; one for the Bishop, the other for the Chapter. And in Monasteries also after the like sort, where the Abbot and Covent had divers and several portions, to require two Churches; one for the Abbot, the other for the Covent, keeping this proportion; that how much should suffice for the living of one Monk, so much the whole Covent should find for their part; and as much the Abbot likewise for his. And forso much as he would not seem to demand this without some colour of cause, his reason was this; that because the Court of Rome had long been blotted with the mote of avarice, which is Mother of all evil, for that no man could come to Rome for any business, but he must pay for the expedition of the same; therefore for the removing away of the occasion of that slander, the publick help of the Church must necessarily be required, &c.

The Proctors and Parties thus sent home by the Legates, marvelling with themselves why the Bishops and Abbots should be staid and they sent whom, and suspecting no less but as the matter was indeed, conferred their Counsels together, and devised with themselves to send certain unto him in the behalf of all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches in France; and sent to the said Legate his Messengers, to signify to him, that they were credibly informed he came with special Letters from the Court of Rome for the obtaining of certain Prebendaries in every Cathedral and Conventual Church. Which being so, they much mar-

velled that he would not in the publick Council make manifest to them those Letters which specially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their request was to him in the Lord, that no such offensive matter might rise by him in the French Church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriseth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and inestimable damage to the Church of France. For grant (said they) that certain will assent unto you, yet their assent standeth in no effect concerning such matters as touch the whole: especially, seeing both the States of the Realm, with all the inferior Subjects, yea, and the King himself they are sure will withstand the same, to the venture not only of their honour, but of their life also, considering the case to be such, as upon the offence whereof standeth the subversion both of the Realm publick, and of the whole Church in general. Declaring Moreover the cause of this fear to rise hereof, for that in other Realms such communication hath been with Bishops and Prelates for the procuring of such Prebendships, whereas neither the Prince nor the Subjects were made any thing privy thereto.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the Legate, the objections of the inferior parties against the cruel exaction were these in brief effect, as is in Parisiensis noted.

First, They alledged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustain thereby, by reason of the continual Procurators of the Pope, which in every Diocess must live not of their own, but must be sustained upon the charges of the Cathedral Churches, and other Churches also; and many times they being but Procurators, will be found as Legates.

Item, By that means they said great perturbations might insue to the Covents and Chapters of Cathedral Churches in their elections: forso much as the Popes Agents and Factors being in every Cathedral Church and Chapter house, percase the Pope would command him in his person to be present at their Elections, and so might trouble the same, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the Court of Rome to give; and so should be placed more of the Popes Clientel in the Churches of France, than of the proper inhabitants of the Land.

Item, By this means they affirmed, that all they in the Court of Rome should be richer, and should receive more for their proportion than the King of the Realm: by reason of which abundance of riches it was like to come to pass, that as the Worm of rich Men is pride; so by the means of this their riches, the Court of Rome would delay and drive off great Sutes, and scarce would take any pains with small causes. The experiment whereof is evident, for that now also they use to delay their matters, when they come, with their gifts, and being in assurance to receive. And thus should Justice stand aside, and poor Sutors die at the Gates of the Court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in full abundance of all Treasure and Riches.

Item, Forso much as it is meet and convenient to have friends in the Court of Rome, for the better speeding of their causes; therefore they thought to keep them needy, whereby their gifts may be the sweeter, and their causes sooner dispatched.

Item, When as it is impossible the fountain of greedy desire to be stopped, it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by themselves, or else they should be enforced to give greater rewards than before; for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not looked upon.

Item, Where he alledged the removing away of the slander which goeth on the Court of Rome: by this means rather the contrary were to be feared, wherein they alledged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,
Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Further, they alledged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking; so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruine and destruction of the City, whereof some experiment they had already.

Cc 3

Item,

The Clergy
of France
answering
to the
Legate.

Inferiours
ever more
bold to
speak in
difficult
causes of
truth, than
the rich.
The ob-
jections of
the Clergy
of France
against the
Popes
exaction.

Reimundus
was
deprived
and
disinherited
by the
Pope.

Reimundus
the good
Earl of
Tholouse
answereth
for himself.

Albigenses
falsely
sus-
pected for
Heresie.

Mark Re-
minder the pre-
cise here of
Proctors,
for they
remain

Item, they added, that although they would condescend and oblige themselves to that Contribution, yet their Successors would not so be bound, nor yet ratifie the Bond of theirs.

Lastly, thus they conclude the matter, desiring him that the Zeal of the Universal Church, and of the Church of Rome would move him: for if this Oppression of the Church should be universal, it were to be doubted lest an universal departing might follow from the Church of Rome, which God forbid (say they) should happen.

God grant, say we.

The Cardinal repulsed and defeated of his purpose in France.

The Legate hearing these words, being therewith something moved (as seemed) excused himself, that he being in the Court, never agreed to this Exaction; and that the Letters hereof came not to him before he was in France, whereat he said he was greatly sorry, adding this withall, that the words of his Precept included this secret meaning in them, thus to be understood and taken: so far forth as the Empire and other Realms would agree unto the same. And as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were proved what other Countries would say and do therein.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind Commission of this Legate, touching his Exaction of Prebendships in every Cathedral and Conventual Church, wherein, as ye hear, he was repulsed: *Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 62.*

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 62.
The Pope raiseth War against the Earl and the people of Tholouse.

Now to return to the first part of his Commission again, which was concerning *Reimundus* the godly Earl of Tholouse, thus the story proceedeth, that while the Legate was in hand with this matter of the Popes money, in the mean season certain preaching Fryers were directed by the said *Romanus* the Popes Legate into all France, to incite and stir up the French-men to take the Cross upon them, and to war against the Earl of Tholouse and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for Hereticks. At the preaching whereof, a great number of Prelates and Lay-men signed themselves with the Cross, to fight against the Tholosians, being thereto induced, as the story saith, more for fear of the French King or favour of the Legate, than for any true zeal of Justice. For so it followeth in the words of Paris, *Videbatur enim multis abusus, ut hominem fidelem Christianum infestarent, præcipue cum constaret cunctis, eum, in concilio nuper Bituricensi, multis precibus persuasisse Legato, ut repiret ad singulas terræ suæ civitates, inquirens a singulis articulos fidei: & si quempiam contra fidem inveniret, &c.* For to many (saith he) it seemed an abuse, to move War against a faithful Christian man, especially seeing in the Council of Bitures, (before all men) he intreated the Legate with great instance that he would come into every City within his Dominions, and there to inquire of every person the Articles of his Faith: where if he found any man to hold any thing contrary to the Catholick Faith, he promised a full satisfaction to be had thereof, according to the Censure of the Church, to the uttermost, &c.

Testimony of the Author for the clearing of *Reimundus* and of the *Albigenesi*.

The unreasonable tyranny of the Pope against the Tholosians.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the proud Legate, condemning this so honest and reasonable purgation of the Earl *Reimundus*, ceased not by all manner of means to prosecute the Popes fury against him and his Subjects, stirring up the King and the Frenchmen, under pain of Excommunication, to war against them. *Ludovick* the French King, thus being inforced by the Legate, answered again, That he for his own safety would not achieve that Expedition, or adventure against the Earl, unless it were first obtained of the Pope to write to the King of England: commanding him, that, during the time of that Expedition, he should invade and molest no piece of his Lands and Possessions which he the same present time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howsoever they were holden, while the time of the said War against the Hereticks (as they were then termed) did indure, but rather should aid and assist him with counsel and money in that Enterprize. All this being done and accomplished, the French King and the Legate (crossing themselves to the field) appointed a day peremptory for the French Army to meet together at *Lions*, under pain of the Popes Excommunication, and with Horse and Harnes to set upon the Tholosians, against the *Ascension-day* next ensuing.

Excommunication abused.

When the *Ascension-day* was come, which was the day peremptory appointed, the French King, having prepared at *Lions* all things necessary for his Army,

marcheth forward with a great and mighty Host; after whom also cometh the Legate, with his Bishops, and Prelates. The number of fighting-men in his Army, besides the Victuallers and Waggoners, were 50000 men. The Legate by the way openly Excommunicated the Earl of Tholouse, and all that took his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole Land. Thus the King came marching forward, till he came into the Province of Tholouse, and the first City which he came unto there of the Earls, was *Avinion*: which City they thought first to have besieged, and so in order after, as they went, to have destroyed and wasted all the whole Province belonging to the Earl. And first the King demanded of them to have his passage through the City; faining himself in peaceable wife (for the expedition of his Journey) but to pass through the same. The Citizens, consulting with themselves what was to be done, at length gave answer, That they mistrusted their coming, and supposed that in deceit they required the entrance of their City, and for no necessity of their journey.

Lew the French King and Reimundus the Pope's Legate marching against the Albigenesi.

The City of Avinion besieged.

The King, hereat being much offended, sware an Oath, That he would not depart thence till he had taken the City; and immediately in those places, where he thought most meet, he began to make sharp assaults, with all manner of faultable means; the Citizens again within manfully defended themselves, casting stone for stone, and shooting shot for shot, and slew and wounded many of the Frenchmen. Thus when they had long besieged the City, and could not win the same: at length Victuals in the French Camp began to fail, and many of them died for hunger. For the Earl of Tholouse as a wise man of war, hearing before of their coming, took into the Town all the provision that was abroad, and left nothing without to serve for their defence and succour, he plowed up the fields, that there should no stover be found to serve their Horses; he put out of the Town all the old people and young children, lest they should want victuals that kept the Town, and before their coming sent them far away, so that within the Town, they had plenty, and without they died for Famine. And besides in seeking far for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the City, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad and slew many of them; besides a great number of cattel and horses died for want of forage: and poor Souldiers, that had no great store of money, died for want of Victuals. By which mortality and stink both of men and cattel grew great Infection and Pestilence among them; insomuch that the King himself and also the Legate were greatly dismayed, thinking it to be no little shame, as well to the Realm of France, as also to Rome, that they should so depart and break up their Siege. Thus again thought the Souldiers, that much better it were for them to end their lives by bartel, than so to die like dogs and starve. Wherefore with one consent they purposed to give a new assault at the Bridge that goeth over the flood *Rhodanus* into the Town; to which place they came in such number, that either by the debility of the Bridge or subtilty of the Souldiers that kept the Town, three thousand of them, with Bridge and all, fell armed into the violent stream, and were drowned. What was there then but joy and gladness of the Citizens part, and much lamentation and haviness on the other part? Then shortly after, the Citizens of *Avinion* (when they saw a convenient time, whilst their enemies were eating meat) came suddenly upon them out of the Town, and slew of them two thousand, and took the Town again with safety. But the Legate with his company of Prelates (like good men of War) practised none other Martial feats, but all to be cursed the Earl of Tholouse, his Cities, and his people. *Ludovicus* the King, to avoid the Pestilence that was in the Camp, went into an Abbey not far off, where shortly after he died; of whose death are sundry Opinions, some saying, That he was poisoned; some, That he died of a Bloody-flux.

Policy of War.

Famine and Pestilence in the French Camp.

The French Souldiers destroyed at the siege of Avinion.

Lewis the French King dieth at the Siege of Avinion.

The false dealing of the Pope's Legate in betraying the City of Avinion.

Whole death notwithstanding the Legate thought to keep secret and conceal, till that the Town might be rendered and given up: for he thought himself shamed for ever, if he should depart before the Town were won. Wherefore after he had encouraged the Souldiers afresh, and yet after many sharp assaults could not prevail; he bethought him how by falsehood he might betray them, and sent unto them certain Heralds, to will them that they should amongst themselves consult upon Articles of Peace, and bring

bring the same to their Camp, whose safe Conduct they faithfully promised and warranted both of coming and going. And when they had given their pledges for the same, the Messengers from the Citizens talked with the Legate: who promised them, if they would deliver up their City, they should have their Lives, Goods, and Possessions in as ample manner as now they enjoyed the same. But the Citizens and Souldiers refused to be under the Servitude of the French King, neither would so deliver up their City to those, of whose insolent pride they had so good experiment. After much talk on both sides, and none like to take effect, the Legate requested them, and friendly laboured, that he, and his Prelates which were about him, might come into their City to examine what Faith and Belief they were of, and that he neither sought nor meant any other thing thereby, but their own safeties as well of Body as Soul, which thing he faithfully swore unto: For (saith he) *the bruise of your great Infidelity hath come to the Lord Popes ear, and therefore desired he to make true Certificate thereof.* Whereupon the Citizens, not mistrusting his faithful Oath and Promise made unto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the Clergy, bringing with them no weapon into the Town. The Souldiers of the Camp, as it was agreed before, made them ready; so that at the entrance of the Prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their Oath and Fidelity, the other suddenly were ready, and with violence rushed in, slew the Porter and Warders, and at length won the City and destroyed the same, and slew many of them that were within. Thus by falsehood and policy when they had gotten this noble City, they carried the Kings Corps unto Paris, where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French Souldiers which in this Siege were destroyed by Famine, Pestilence, and drowning, be recounted more than two and twenty thousand: Whereby, saith the story of *Mat. Parisiensis*, it may evidently appear the War was unjustly taken in hand; &c. *Ex Mat. Parisiensis.*

After these things finished, and after the Funeral of the King celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said History of *Parisiensis*, that the said Legate Romanus was vehemently suspected, and grievously infamed to abuse himself with *Blanca* the Kings Mother: *Sed impium est* (saith he) *hoc credere, quia amuli ejus hoc disseminaverunt, benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur;* that is, But it is ungodly to suspect any such thing of him, because his enemies so rumoured the same abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtful in the better part.

To pass further to the year next following, which was 1227. of the Lord, first it is to be noted, that in this year King Henry, beginning to shoot up unto the twentieth year of his age, came from Reading to London, where he began to charge the Citizens of London, for old reckonings; namely, for giving or lending one thousand Marks to Lewis the French King, at his departing out of the Realm, to the great prejudice of him and of his Kingdom. For the recompence whereof they were constrained to yield to the King the full sum of the like money. That done, he removed to Oxford, where he assembled a great Council, there denouncing and protesting before them all that he was come to sufficient age, no more to be under Tutors and Governors; but to be his own man; requiring to be freed from the custody of others. Which thing being protested, and contraried forthwith: he by the counsel of *Hubert* the Chief Justice (whom he made then the Earl of Kent) removed from his company the Bishop of Winchester, and others, under whom he was moderated. And immediately in the same Council by the sinister perswasion of some, he doth annihilate and make void the Charters and Liberties before by him granted, pretending this colour, for that they had been granted and sealed in the time of his minority, at what time he had the rule neither of himself, nor of his Seal. Whereupon much muttering and murmuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to *Hubert* the Justice. Moreover, it was the same time proclaimed, that whosoever had any Charter, or Gift sealed in the time of the Kings minority, they should come and renew the same again under the new Seal of the King, knowing otherwise that the thing should stand in no effect. And finally, for renewing of their Seals, they were taxed not according to their ability, but according as it pleased the Justice and other to levy them.

Moreover, beside this general Subsidy of the fifteenth granted to the King through the whole Realm, and besides all the Contribution of the Londoners, divers other parcels and payments he gathered through several places: as of the Burgeses of Northampton he required a thousand and two hundred Marks, for his helping of them, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of money was made toward the furnishing of his Voyage to recover Normandy. And yet because he would gratifie the City of London again with some pleasure; he granted the Citizens thereof should pass Toll-free (saith *Fabian*) throughout all England. And if of any City, Borough, or Town they were constrained at any time to pay their Toll, then the Sheriffs of London to attach every man coming to London of the said City, Borough or Town, and him with his goods to withhold, till the Londoners were again restored of all such money paid for the said Toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same. *Ex Fabiano.*

I declared before, how after the death of *Honorius* succeeded Pope Gregory the Tenth, between the which Gregory and the people of Rome, this year, fell a great Sedition. Inasmuch that about the Feast of Easter, they thrust the Pope out of the City, pursuing him unto his Castle at *Viterbium*. Where also they invaded him so valiantly, that they chased him to *Perusium*. Then having no other remedy wherewith to revenge his Persecutors, fiercely he did Excommunicate them. *Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 69.*

Here, by the way, is to be observed and considered, Christian Reader, not only by this Sedition, but by so many other Schisms, Divisions, Tumults, Fightings, Brawls and Contentions in the Church of Rome from the first beginning of the Popes usurped Power, and that not only within the City of Rome, but universally almost in all Popish Monasteries, Colledges, Churches, and Convents under the Popes subjected, continually reigning amongst them, what is to be thought of their Religion and Holiness, having so little peace, so great disquietness, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stories both manifest it is to behold, and wondrous to consider.

And for so much as I have here entred into the mention of this Schismatical Commotion between the Pope and his Citizens; it followeth moreover in the History of *Parisiensis*, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befel the same year, and time, *An. 1228.* between the Prior and Convent of Durham, and this King Henry the Third, upon this occasion: after the death of *Richard* Bishop of Durham, the Prior and Chapter of the said Church came to the King, to obtain licence for the electing of their Bishop. The King offered to them one *Lucas* a Chaplain of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their Bishop. To this the Monks answered, *That they would receive no man, but by their Order of Canonical Election.* Meaning belike, by their Canonical Election, thus much, when as they elect either some Monk out of their own company, or else some Monkish Priest after their own liking. Contrary, the King again sendeth word unto them, and bound it with an Oath, *That they should tarry seven years without a Bishop, unless they would admit the foresaid Lucas to that place of that Dignity.* All which notwithstanding, the Monks, proceeding in their Election, refused the said *Lucas*; and preferred another Clerk of theirs, named *William* Archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the King: but the King, bringing in exceptions and causes against the party, would not admit him. Then the Monks in all hasty speed send up to Rome certain of their Convent, to have their Election ratified by the Authority Apostolical. On the other side the King, likewise hearing, sendeth also to Rome against the Monks, the Bishop of Chester, and the Prior of *Lentony* on his behalf, to withstand the purpose of the Monks. And so the matter, being traversed with great altercation on both sides, did hang in suspense (saith mine Author) till at length thus it was concluded between both, that neither Master *William*, nor yet *Lucas* should be taken, but that *Richard* Bishop of Sarum should be translated to Durham, and be Bishop there, *Anno 1228. Ex Matth. Parisiensis.*

The like stir also happened both the same year, and for the like matter, between the Monks of Coventry and the Canons of Lichfield, about choosing of their Bishop, which of them should have the superior voice in the Election of their Prelate. After much ado, the cause, at length being

The Citizens of London freed from Toll throughout all England.

Anno 1228.

Ex Fab. par. 7.

Sedition between the Romans and the Pope.

The Popes Church may be judged by their dissensions and schisms. No peace in the Popes Church.

Dissention between the Prior and Convent of Durham and the King.

Canonical Election.

The Monks of Durham send to Rome against their King.

Another contention between the Monks of Coventry and the Canons of Lichfield.

The Popes Legate wickedly perjured.

Perjury of the Popish Clergy. The City of Avinion taken by treason and perjury of the Popes Legate.

The number of the French Souldiers in this siege destroyed.

The inconsistent life of these Romanish Prelates to be noted.

The King claimeth to be freed from Governors, and to be his own man.

Hubert the Justice made Earl of Kent. The King undoeth and dissolveth the Liberties which before he granted. Prudence of Princes to such in money.

being hoisted up to Rome, had this determination; that the Monks of Coventry and the Church of Lichfield should chuse their Bishop by course, each part keeping his turn the one after the other: provided notwithstanding, that the Prior of Coventry should always have the first voice in every Election, whereas the old custom was, saith mine Author, that the Covent with the Prior of Coventry was wont to have the whole Election of the Bishop without the Canons, this was Anno 1228. *Ex Parisiensi, pag. 68.*

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 68. Stephen Langton Archbishop died. The Chapters of the Bible first distinguished by Stephen Langton.

In the which year died Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom (as is recorded by Nic. Trivet) the Chapters of the Bible, in that order and number as we now use them, were first distinguished. The said Langton also made *Postils* upon the whole Bible. The same moreover builded the New Hall in the Palace of Canterbury.

Another contentious dissention between the Monks of Canterbury and King Henry the third. Objections laid against the new Archbishop.

After the death of this Langton ensued another variance about the Election of the Archbishop of Canterbury, between the Monks of Canterbury and the King. The perturbation whereof as it was no less seditious, so the determination of the same was much more costly. After the death of Stephen Langton, the Monks of Canterbury, obtaining licence of the King to proceed in the Election of a new Archbishop, did chuse one of their own Society, named Master Walter Hemesham. Whom when the Monks had presented unto the King, he, after long deliberation, began to object against that Election, saying, First, That the Monks had elected such a one as neither was profitable to him nor his Kingdom. Secondly, He objected against the party elect, that his Father was convicted of Felony, and hanged for the same. Thirdly, That he stood in Causes against his Father King John in the time of the Interdict. Moreover, the Bishops his Suffragans charged the party elect, That he had lien with a certain Nun, and had Children by her; adding further, That the Election of the Archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c. But the Archbishop again, stoutly standing unto the Election, appealed up to Rome, and estoons, taking with him certain Monks, presented himself to the Popes own proper person, there to sue his Appeal; instantly intreating, that his Election might stand confirmed by his Authority pontifical. But the Pope understanding that the said Election was resisted by the King and the Bishops, deferred the matter until he did hear further of the certainty thereof. The King and the Bishops, having intelligence that the Archbishop with his Monks were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foresaid Objections above alledged, in writing; and sealing the same with the Seals both of the King and of the Bishops, to exhibit them to the Bishop of Rome. The Messengers of these Letters were the Bishops of Rochester, of Chester, and the Archdeacon of Bedford, Master John, &c. Who coming to Rome, and exhibiting their Message with their Letters unto the Pope (consideration being had upon the same) were commanded to waite attendance against the next day after *Ash-Wednesday*: then to have a resolute answer concerning the Cause, which was the second day of March the next year following; that is, in the year of our Lord, 1229. In the mean season, the Kings Proctors ceased not with all instance to labour the Pope and his Cardinals to be favourable to the Kings side. But finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter (as is the guise of that Court) they began to misdoubt their speeding. Wherefore consulting together with themselves upon the premises, they came to the Pope, promising in the Kings behalf to be given and granted to him, out of the Realms both of England and Ireland, the tythe or tenth part of all the goods within the said Realms moveable, to sustain his Wars against the Emperor, so that he would incline favourably to the Kings Suit and Petition herein. *At dominus Papa (saith Paris)*

Appeal sued to Rome.

King Henry sendeth to the Pope.

Tythe of all moveable goods in England and Ireland promised to the Pope for granting the Kings Suit.

O auri sacra fames.

It is pity the Pope will take no bribes. The Pope answer to the Election of Walter Archbishop of Canterbury.

qui rebellem Imperatorem super omnia aestuabat desicere, tantis promissionibus exultantibus, trahitur ad consensum: That is, But the Pope (saith the Author) which boiled with desire above all measure, to have the Emperor his Enemy cast down, being cheered with so great promises, granted his consent to them, who, sitting then in his Consistory, had these words, which here follow.

There hath come of late to our Intelligence the Election of a certain Monk named Walter, to be Archbishop of Canterbury; whereupon after that we heard and ad-

vised as well those things which the said Monk hath said for himself and for his Election; as also on the contrary side, the Objections and Exceptions of the Bishops of England alledging against him and against his Election; namely, of the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Rochester, and John Archdeacon of Bedford: We upon the same committed the Examination touching the person of the man, unto our reverend Brethren Lord Cardinal Albany, Lord Cardinal Thomas de Sabina, and Master Peter. And when the foresaid Elect, coming before them, was asked of them, first concerning the Lords descending into Hell, Whether descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the body of Christ on the Altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreover how Rachel wept for her Children, she being dead before, he answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the Sentence of Excommunication denounced against the Order of Law, he answered not well. Again, being required of Matrimony, if one of the married parties be an Infidel, and do depart, he answered thereto not well. Upon these Articles he was (as is said) diligently examined of the Cardinals; to the which we say he answered not only not well, but also very ill. For so much therefore, as the Church of Canterbury is a noble Church, and requireth a noble Prelate, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosome of the Church of Rome; and for so much as this new Elect (whom not only here we pronounce to be unworthy, but also should say more of him, if we would proceed with him by the rigor of the Law) is so insufficient, that he ought not to be admitted to such a room: we do utterly infringe, annihilate, and evacuate his Election, always reserving to our selves the provision of the said Church. *Hæc ex Mat. Parisiensi ad verbum.*

No, but when your darling the Becket came he was heard with out such communication.

The Election of Walter Archbishop of Canterbury dissolved of the Pope for the Kings money.

Richard Chancellor of Lincoln, to be appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound Learning and Knowledge, of an honest Conversation; and which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the Church of Rome, as also for the Realm of England.

Richard made Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope without Election. The effect of the Popes Letters to the Suffragans of Canterbury. The Pope beginneth first with a lye.

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 68.

Thus the Election of Walter being frustrate and dissolved, the Kings Procurators bringing forth the Letters of the King, and of the Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury, presented the same unto the Pope for the Ratification of Richard Chancellor of Lincoln, to be appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound Learning and Knowledge, of an honest Conversation; and which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the Church of Rome, as also for the Realm of England. And thus the said Richard being commended to the Pope by the Letters Procuratory of the King and of the Bishops, had the consent of the Pope and of the Cardinals, and so was made Bishop of Canterbury before he was elected. Whereupon the said Pope Gregory in his behalf directeth down his Letters to all and singular Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lye, that for so much as by the fulness of Ecclesiastical Power the charge of Pastoral Office is committed to him in general upon all Churches, he therefore for the sollicitude he beareth, as well to all other Churches in general, as in special to the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, repudiating and disannulling the former Election of Walter the Monk upon just causes, hath provided for that See a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so for that Function very fit and commodious; and willett and commandeth them, and all others, by his Authority Apostolical, with all devout reverence to receive him, and humbly to obey him, &c. which was Anno 1229. *Ex Paris.*

These things thus finished at Rome, the Pope not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English Silver which he so greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedy wise sendeth unto the King of England M. Stephen his own Chaplain and trusty Legate, to require and collect the foresaid Tythes of all the moveable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promised to him before, therewith to maintain his War against Frederick the Emperor. And to the intent he might inflame all Christian Realms with the like hatred which he bare against Frederick the Emperor, he sendeth also with the said Stephen special Letters full of manifold Complaints, and grievous Accusations against the said Emperor, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be shewed hereafter. Upon the coming of this Stephen the Legate, the King assembled all his Earls and Barons, with the Archbishops, Bishops, Ab-

This was a dear Archbishop of Canterbury, bought with the tythe of all England.

bots,

The Pope requireth the tenths of all the moveables in England, Wales, and Ireland.

The Kings mouth stop-

Excommunication doubtful.

The Popes Extortion.

Usurers brought in to England by the Pope to serve him with money.

Cur upon the ground, tynd to the Pope. Ranulph Earl of Chester declined to pay the Pope's Tenth.

Annos 1229. The Church of Coventry gathered. The Pope's Priest Alexander, being a Frenchman, was elected Bishop of Coventry.

bots, Priors, Templars, Hospitallers, Parsons and Vicars, and other such as held of him *In Capite*, to appear before him at *Westminster*, to hear and to commune of the matter. In the Assembly of whom, the Popes Patent Letters were brought forth and read, wherein he required the Tenth of all the moveables in *England, Wales* and *Ireland*, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, to maintain his Expedition against the foresaid *Frederick* the Emperor. The which Expedition as he pretended to achieve, and to take in hand for the cause of the Universal Church, and happily had begun the matter already; and for so much as the Riches of the Apostolick See did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise: he therefore, enforced by mere necessity, did implore the aid and help of all the true obedient and natural Chickens of the Church of *Rome*, lest the Members thereof together with the Head should be subverted. These Letters of the Pope to this effect being openly recited and explained by the Popes Chaplain, which he with much more allegation and perswasion of words did amplifie to his uttermost; the King (saith mine Author) in whom all men did hope for help to their defence, became then as a staffe of Reed. For so much as he had obliged himself to the same before, for the Election of his Archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The Earls, Barons, and all the Laity utterly refused so to bind their Baronies to the Church of *Rome*; but the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, with other Prelates of the Church, first requiring space and respite to deliberate for three or four days; at length for fear of the Popes Curse (although they durst not utterly withstand) had brought to pass to have concluded for a sum of money much less, had not *Stephen Segrave*, one of the Kings Counsellors, craftily convented with the Legate, and by subtil means brought it so to pass, that the whole Tenth was gathered and paid, to the incalculable damage (saith *Parisensis* both of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal State. The means whereof (saith the Author) was this, The Legate shewing to the Prelates his Procuratory Letters, to collect and gather up all the foresaid Tenth in the name and authority of the Pope, declared moreover the full Authority to him granted by the virtue of his Commission, to Excommunicate all such, and to interdict their Churches, who ever did gainstand or go contrary to the said Collection. Whereupon by the said vertue Legantine, he sendeth to every Shire his Proctors to gather the Popes money, or else to Excommunicate them which denied to pay. And for so much as the present need of the Pope required present help without delay, he sendeth moreover to the Bishops and Prelates of the Realm, in pain of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him either of their own, or by loan, or usance, or by what means soever, so much money in all post speed for the present use of the Pope; and after to take up again the said money of the Tenth of every singular person, by the right taxing of their goods. Upon this, the Prelates to avoid the danger (having no other remedy), were driven to sell their Chalice, Cruets, Copes, Jewels, and other Church-Plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borrow upon usance to make the money which was required. Moreover, the said *Stephen* the Popes Chaplain (as reporteth *Paris*) brought with him into *England*, for the same purpose, such Bankers and Usurers, who lending out their money upon great usury, did unreasonably pinch the *English* people, which Merchant-Usurers were then called *Coursini*. Briefly, such strict Exaction was then upon the poor *Englishmen*, that not only their present goods were valued and taxed, but also the Corn, yet growing in the field, against the next Harvest was tythed, &c. Only the Earl of *Chester*, named *Ranulphus*, stood stoutly against the Pope, suffering none within his Dominion either lay-man or Clerk to yield any Tenth to the Popes Proctors. *Ex Matth. Paris. pag. 74.* And this was the end of the strife between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the King for the Election of their Archbishop, which was about the year of our Lord, 1229. in the which year was finished the new Church of *Coventry*, by *Alexander* Bishop of the said City, and partly by the help of the King: which Church *Richard* his Predecessor Bishop before him of *Coventry* had begun.

The *Frenchmen* about this time again prepared themselves towards *Provence*, to war against the foresaid *Reimundus* Earl of *Toulouse*, and to expulse him out of his

Possessions. And hearing that he was in his Castle of *Saracene*, they made thither all their Power, thinking there to inclose and compass him about: but the Earl being privy of their conspired purpose, set for them by the way, appointing certain ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receive the coming of the *Frenchmen*, and to give them their welcome. Thus when the *Frenchmen* were entred the wood, the Earl with his train of well armed and able Warriors, suddenly did fly upon them unawares, and gave them a bitter meeting, so that in that Conflict five hundred of the *French* Souldiers were taken and many slain. Of their Servitors to the number of Two thousand men with their armor were taken, of whom some lost their Eyes, some their Noses, some their Ears, some their Legs, and so were sent home; the rest were carried away Prisoners into the Castle. And to be brief (saith the History) thrice the same Summer were the *Frenchmen* discomfited, put to flight, taken and imprisoned by the foresaid *Reimundus* the godly Earl. *Ex Paris. pag. 69.* Wherein is to be seen and to be praised the gracious Protection of the Lord our God against the furious *Papists*, which is glorious always in his Saints.

The same year the King, being at *Portsmouth*, had assembled together all his Nobility, Earls, Barons, and Knights of *England*, with such an Army of Horsemen and Footmen, as hath not been lightly seen, thinking to recover again the Country of *Normandy*, of *Gau*, and other Possessions which King *John* his Father before had lost. But when the Captains and Marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not half Ships enough to receive the Host. Whereupon the King was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault in *Hubert* the Lord Chief Justice (who under the King had all the Government of the Realm) calling him old Traytor, charging him that he should be the let of his Voyage, as he was before when he took of the *French Queen* five thousand Marks to stay the Kings Journey into *Normandy*. Inso much that the rage of the King was so kindled against him, that drawing his Sword, he made at him to run him through, had not the Earl of *Chester*, *Ranulph* stopt the King. *Hubert* withdrew himself away till the Kings rage was past. This was about the time of *Michaelmas*, at which time arrived *Henry* Earl of *Normandy* in the Haven of *Portsmouth* in the month of *October*; who should have conducted the King upon his Allegiance and Oath into *Normandy*. But he with other of the Kings Army counselled the King not to take that Voyage towards *Winter*, but rather to defer it to the *Easter* next following: wherewith the King was stayed and well contented, and pacified again with *Hubert* the Justice, &c. *Ex Parisensis.*

Fabian recordeth this year the Liberties and Franchises of the City of *London* to be confirmed by the King, and to every of the Sheriffs to be granted two Clerks, and two Officers without any more. *Ex Fabian.*

Then followed the year 1230. in which upon the day of the Conversion of *S. Paul* (as saith *Paris*) as a great multitude of people for the solemnity of the day were congregate in the Temple of *S. Paul*, the Bishop then being at his Mals, a sudden darkness with such thicknes of Clouds fell in the Air, that unneeth one man might see another in the Church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leaving such a scent in the Church, that the people, looking for *Doomes-day*, thought no less but that the Steeple and whole Church would have fallen upon their heads: inso much that they running out of the Church, as people amazed, fell down together by thousands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were; only the Bishop and his Deacon stood still at their Mals, holding the Altar fast. *Ex Parisensis.*

Of the death of *Stephen Langton*, and of the troublesome Election of the next Archbishop, also of the costly and chargeable bringing in of *Richard* to succeed in the room, which did cost the whole Realm of *England* the tenths of all their moveables, sufficient hath been declared before. This *Richard*, being now confirmed in his Seat, came to the King complaining of *Hubert* the Lord Chief Justice, oft mentioned before for withholding from him the Castle and Town of *Tunbridge* with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other Lands of the Earl of *Clare* late deceased. Which Lands appertain to the right of his Seat, and to the Church of *Canterbury*; for the which the said

The incessant love of Princes towards them that be chief about them.

A sudden terror among the people in *Pauls* Church by thunder and lightning.

Ex Parisensis. pag. 75. Anno 1231. *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The complaint of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* against *Hubert* Lord Chief Justice.

The Kings
Answer to
Richard the
Archbishop.

Excommu-
nication
abused.

Richard the
Archbishop
complaineth
to the Pope
of his King
and other
matters
more.

Piety of
Benefices
complaineth
of by the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

The Kings
Attorneys
could not
speed with
the Pope.
Respect of
persons
doth much
with the
Pope.
Richard the
Archbishop
in his jour-
ney from
Rome dieth.

Ralph No-
vil Bishop
of Chiche-
ster elected
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury. The King
investeth the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.
Ex Mat.
Paris.

A rare ex-
ample of a
good Arch-
bishop.

The prayer
of the Arch-
bishop elect.

said Earl with his Ancestors were bound to do Homage to him and to his Predecessors; and therefore he required the keeping of the foresaid Castle, with the demains thereof to be restored to him. To this the King answered again, That the said Earl did hold of him in Capite, and that the Castles being vacant of Earls and Barons, with their Heirs, did belong to his Crown, till the lawful age of the said Heirs. The Archbishop, when he could get no other answer of the King, did Excommunicate all such as invaded the foresaid Possessions, with all others that took their part, the King only excepted. Which done, eftsoons he speedeth himself to Rome, there to prosecute his Suit before the Pope. The King hearing thereof, not long after sendeth up Master Roger Cantelu, with certain other Messengers, unto Rome against the Archbishop.

This Richard the Archbishop, coming before the Popes presence, beginneth first to complain of his King, for that he committed all the Affairs of his Realm to the disposition and government of Hubert his Justice, using only his counsel, all his other Nobles despised.

Against the said Justice, moreover he complained, laying to his Charge; first, that he had married a wife, being the Kinswoman of her whom he had married before; also that the said Hubert the Justice did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain such Possessions as belonged to the See and Church of Canterbury.

As touching the Wife of this Hubert, here is to be noted, that he married the elder Sister of the King of Scots: which, as it seemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complaineth of certain Bishops his Suffragans, who, neglecting their Pastoral Function, did sit on Chequer-matter belonging to the King, and exercised Sessions and Judgments of blood.

Over and besides, he complaineth of beneficed Persons, and Clerks within Orders, for having many Benefices joynt with cure of Soul: and that they also, taking example of the Bishops, did intermeddle in Secular matters, and in Judgments of Lay-men.

Of these and such other defaults he required redress to be had. The Pope weighing and considering the cause of the Archbishop to stand upon right and reason (at leastwise seeming so to his purpose) commanded incontinent his Petitions and Requests to be dispatched according to Justice.

Against these Complaints of the Archbishop, the Kings Attorneys alledged and defended, in as much favour of the King as they might, but could do no good. Such favour found the Archbishop in the Popes light, being (as the story reporteth) of a comely Personage, and of an eloquent Tongue, that he obtained whatsoever he asked. Thus the Archbishop, with all favourable speed being dispatched at Rome after his own will and desire, returned homeward; who in his Journey, within three days of his setting forth, departed in the house of Gray-Friers at S. Gemmes, and so his cause departed with him: who, winning his Suit, lost his life; for whom it had been better, I suppose, to have tarried at home. And here of him an end, with all his Complaints also, *Ex Parisensi.*

After the death of this Richard, the Monks of Canterbury (according to the manner) address themselves to a new Election: at which was chosen Ralph Nevil, Bishop of Chichester, who was the Kings Chancellor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithful, upright, and constant: which from the way of Justice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was upright and sincere both in word and deed. This Ralph (thus chosen of the Monks) was presented unto the King to be their Archbishop, wherewith the King was right well contented, and glad also of his Election: and forthwith invested him for Archbishop of the Church of Canterbury. But this investing of the King was not enough, unless he should also be confirmed by the Pope. Wherefore the Monks, ready to take their journey unto Rome, came to the new Archbishop, requiring his help for their expences by the way, and to know what Service he would command them to the Court of Rome. But he, fearing in his mind the same not to be without some scruple of simony and ambition, said, *He would not give an half-penny, and, holding up his hands to heaven, thus prayed, O Lord God, if I shall be thought worthy to be called (although indeed unworthy) to the See*

and Office of this Church; so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise in this troublesome Office of Chancery, and this my inferior Ministry, wherunto I have been assigned, I shall seem more necessary for this thy Kingdom and People I refuse not my labour, thy will be done.

The Monks beholding the constancy of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no money, yet refused not their travel and journey to Rome, to have their Election confirmed by the Popes Authority. The Pope inquiring of Simon Langton (Brother of Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported again to him by the said Simon (maliciously depraving the good man behind his back) declaring to the Pope, that he was a Courtier, unlearned, hasty, and fervent in his doings, and such a one, who, if he should be promoted to that Dignity, would go about, with the help of the King and of the whole Realm, to remove and bring the Realm of England from under the Yoke of the Pope and of the Church of Rome: and so to bereave the See of Rome of the Tribute, under which King John had once subjected himself and his Realm, at what time he yielded his Crown to the hands of Pandulphus the Legate, &c. With these and such other words Simon Langton fallily and maliciously depraved the godly Bishop. The Pope hearing with one ear, and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other party accused, sendeth incontinent to the Monks of Canterbury to proceed in a new Election, and to choose them another Archbishop, such as were an wholesome Pastor of Souls, profitable unto the Church of England, and devote to the Church of Rome: and thus was the lawful Election of this good Archbishop made frustrate; too good peradventure to serve in that place wherunto he was elected.

After the repulse of this Radulph, the Canterbury Monks, entering a new Election, agreed upon John their Prior, to be their Metropolitan: who, going up to Rome, to have his Election confirmed by the Pope, was three days together examined of the Cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiency in him, touching those things wherein they tried him: yet notwithstanding the Pope finding fault with his age (he peradventure being more aged himself) repelled him, for that he said he was too old and simple to sustain that Dignity. *Ex Paris.*

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the Author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he, which was able to take that Journey to Rome and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficiently to take pains in keeping the Chair of Canterbury.

In the former parts of this story preceding, partly before hath been declared, partly hereafter more shall appear (Christ willing) how the Church of England and Commons of the same was grieved and miserably afflicted by the intolerable Oppression of the Pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the best Benefices to be given unto his Romans, and the chief fruits of them to be reserved to his own Coffers. And what complaints thereof have been made, ye heard before; but yet no redress could be had. Such was the insatiable avarice of these Roman Rakehels, profling, and polling, wheresoever they came, with their provisions and exactions out of measure, and never satisfied. Inasmuch that here in England, whosoever lacked, their Barns were always full of Corn; and what penury soever pinched the people, they were sure to have enough. And these importunate Exactions and Contributions of these Italian Harpies, besides the Peter-pence, besides the common Tribute, daily more and more increased, to the great grievance of the Realm, inasmuch that the wealth of this Land was almost clean sucked up, and translated to the Court of Rome. Neither was the King ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherefore it was devised by some of the Nobles (as appeareth in the story of Parisensis) this foresaid year, An. 1231. that certain Letters, under the pretended colour of the Kings Authority, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding, that such Corn and Grain with other Revenues, as were taken up for the Pope, should be staid and forth coming by a certain day in the said Letters appointed; the which Letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the means of Hubert Lord Chief Justice of England, who then, next under the King, ruled the most Affairs of the Realm. The words and contents of the Letters be these:

After

The Copy
of the Letter
written un-
der the
Kings Au-
thority to
straiten the
Benefices of
the Roman
within the
Realm.

After divers and sundry Grievs and Oppressions which this Realm, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the King himself, as also of the Nobility of the same, concerning the Advowsons of their Churches, and about their Tythes: who also go about to take from the Clerks and spiritual men their Benefices, and to bestow them upon their own Nation and Country-men, to the spoil and confusion both of us and our Realm: we therefore by our common consents have thought good (although very late) now yet rather, than any longer to suffer their intollerable Oppressions and Extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their Benefices through all England, in like manner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to have kept under and bridled others: whereby they may desist any longer to molest the Realm. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that as touching the farming of their Churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you have presently in your hands, or else do owe unto the said Romanists, that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from henceforth the same. But that you have the said your Rents and Revenues ready by such a day to pay and deliver unto our Procurators thereunto by our Letters assigned; and that all Abbots and Priors have the same in a readines at the time appointed, in their own Monasteries: and all other Priests, Clerks and Lay-men, at the Churches of the Romanists, there ready to pay. And further, know ye for certainty, that if ye refuse thus to do, all that you have besides shall be by us burnt and spoiled. And besides, look what danger we purpose shall fall upon them, the same shall light upon your Necks if you refuse thus to do.

Farewell.

When this was done, they sent their Letters abroad by certain Souldiers thereunto appointed, to the which Letters they had devised a new Seal with two Swords engraved, and between the Swords was written, *Ecce gladii duo, &c.* Behold these two Swords, ready to take vengeance of all those that shall withstand the form and order in these Letters contained.

At that time the sixteenth day before the Kalends of January, about the beginning of the year 1232. there was kept at S. Albans a great Consistory of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, with divers both of the Nobility and Clergy by the Popes Commandment, for the Celebration of a Divorce between the Countess of Essex and her Husband. At the breaking up of which Consistory, when every man was about to depart thence, there was a certain Clerk, whose name was Cincius a Roman, and also a Canon of Pauls in London, taken by some of the said University not far off from Saint Albans, and was carried away from his company by the Souldiers. But Master John, Archdeacon of Norwich, a Florentine, hardly escaping from that company, got to London, where he hid himself, and durst not be seen. Cincius after five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent again without any more hurt to London.

Not long after this, about the beginning of January, the Barns of a certain beneficed man a Roman, and Parson of Wingham, being full of Corn, were broke up by a like company of armed Souldiers, and the Corn brought out to be sold and given away to the poor people. The Farmer seeing this, and not able to resist, complaineth to the Sheriff of the Shire of this injury done to his Master, and of breaking the Kings peace: whereupon the Sheriff sent certain of his men to see what was done. Who coming to the empty Barns, and there finding the foresaid Souldiers to them unknown, who had sold away the most part of the Corn upon easie price, and some for charity had given to the poverty of the Country about, required of them what they were, that so durst presume to break the Kings peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and shewed them the Kings Letters Patents (pretending at least the Kings Name and Seal) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose. Whereof the Sheriffs Servants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

This coming to the knowledge of Roger Bishop of London, he (with the assistance of other Bishops) proceededeth

in solemn Excommunication, first against them that robbed Cincius the Roman; then of them which spoiled the Barns of the Parson of Wingham another Roman; thirdly, he Excommunicated them that forged the Letters and Seal of the King above specified.

Neither yet, for all this, did that so cease, but the same year about Easter next following, all the Barns in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise wasted, and the Corn sold to the best Commodity of the poor Commons. Of the which, great Alms were distributed, and many times Money also with Corn together was spared for the needy people to gather up. Neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselves, they were stricken in such fear, that they hid themselves in Monasteries and Cells, not daring to complain of their Injuries received; but held it better to lose rather their goods, than to lose their lives. The Authors and Workers of this feat were to the number of fourscore armed Souldiers; of whom the principal Captain was one naming himself William Wubers, surnamed Twing.

This coming to the Popes knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his Letters immediately to the King upon the same, with sharp Threatnings, and imperious Commandments, charging him for suffering such Villany within his Realm, straitly injoyning him, under pain of Excommunication, to search out the doers hereof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take Example. Likewise he sendeth the same Charge to Peter Bishop of Winchester, and to the Abbot of Saint Edmund, to inquire in the South parts: Also to the Archbishop of York, and to the Bishop of Durham, and to Master John, Canon of York, a Roman, to inquire in the North parts for the said Malefactors, and after diligent Inquisition made, to send up the same to Rome, there needs to appear before him, &c.

Thus after earnest Inquisition made of all Parties, and Witnesses sworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some that were Factors, some that were Consenters, of whom some were Bishops and Chaplains unto the King, some Archdeacons and Deans, with other Souldiers and Lay-men. Amongst whom, certain Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs, with their Servitors under them, were apprehended and cast into prison by the King. Many for fear fled and escaped away, who being sought for, could not be found: but the principal of this number (as is aforesaid) was supposed to be Hubertus Lord Chief Justice; who, both with the Kings Letters and his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durst interrupt them. Moreover, in the same Society of them which were noted in these doings, was the same Robert Twing above mentioned, a comely young man and a tall Souldier: who of his own voluntary accord with five other Servitors, whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, came unto the King, openly protesting himself to be the Author of that deed doing, and said he did it for hatred of the Pope and the Romans, because that by the Sentence of the Bishop of Rome, and fraudulent Circumvention of the Italians he was bereaved of the Patronage of his Benefice, having no more to give but that one: wherefore to be revenged of that injury, he enterprised that which was done; preferring rather justly to be Excommunicated for a season, than to be spoiled of his Benefice for ever. Then the King, and other Executors of the Popes commandment, gave him counsel, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the Popes Sentence, he should offer himself to the Pope to be absolved of him again, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he justly and canonically was possessed of that Church. The King moreover with him sent his Letters Testimonial unto the Pope, witnessing with the said Souldier, and instantly desiring the Pope in his behalf, that he might with favour be heard. At the request whereof, Pope Gregory afterwards both released him of the Sentence, and restored unto him his Patronage, writing unto the Archbishop of York, that he might again injoy the right of his Benefice, in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

Hubert de Burgo Lord Chief Justice, being one of them which held against the Romish Priests, as is afore signified, was therefore not a little noted of the Bishops; who to requite him with the like despite again (after their

A general
spoil of the
Roman Pa-
sons in Eng-
land.

A famili-
Vicar of
mild Christ.

Inquisition
made for
the spoiling
of the Popes
corn.

Hubert de
Burgo.

Robert
Twing spoil-
ed of his
Benefice by
the Roman.

The Barn
of a Roman
Parson
broke up,
and the
corn distri-
buted to
the poor.

The Roman
and Italian
Parsons in
England
robbed of
their rents
and corn.

The Bishops
go about to
bring Hu-
bert out of
the Kings
favour.

their accustomed manner of practice) went about by subtil working to shake him out of the Kings favour. And first cometh Peter Bishop of Winchester to the King, grievously complaining of certain about the King; but especially of the foresaid Hubert the Kings Justice: inso-much that he caused him to be removed from his Office, notwithstanding he had the Kings Seal and writing for the perpetuity of the same, and procured Stephen Segrave to be placed in his Function. And after a few days, the King more and more incensed against him, called him unto account of all the Treasure which he was accountable for by his Exchequer-Office: also of all such debts by him due from the time of his Father, till his time: also of all the Lordships which were in the possession of William Earl of Pembroke, Chief Justice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in Forests, Warrens, Shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of prizes likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of wastes made contrary to the Kings profit, of his liberties how he did use them. Item, of Injuries and Damages wrought against the Clerks of Rome and other Italians, and the Popes Legates; for the redress whereof he would never adjoin his counsel, according as pertained to his Office, being then Chief Justice of England. Also of Scutages, Gifts, Presents, escapes of Prisoners. Item, of Marriages which King John committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these Hubert answered, That he had King John's own hand to shew for his discharge, who approved his fidelity, that he never called him to any, but clearly discharged him from all such Counts. Whereunto answered again the Bishop of Winchester, saying, The Charter of King John hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this King for the same.

Objections laid against Hubert by the King.

Note, that in Winchester the Kings Charter is no longer in force than whilst he liveth.

Other Crimes objected to Hubert by the King.

Princes Favours not to be trusted unto.

The Kings disgrace against Hubert.

Over and besides these, other greater Objections were laid to his charge by the King, as for sending and writing unto the Duke of Austria, that he might marry his Daughter, to the prejudice of the King, and of the Realm, disswading that she might not be given him. Item, for counselling the King not to enter into Normandy with his Army, which he had prepared for the recovery of Lands there belonging to his right, whereby great Treasure was there consumed in vain. Item, for corrupting the Daughter of the King of Scots, whom King John his Father committed unto his custody for him to marry. Item, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a virtue to make him victorious in War, and for sending the same unto Leolin, Prince of Wales: and that by his Letters sent to the said Leolin, William Brues a Nobleman was caused there trayterously to be hanged, &c. These with other Crimes (whether true or false) were suggested to the King against the said Hubert by his Adversaries: whereunto he was required to answer by order of Law. Hubert then, seeing himself in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the King objected to him, which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September: but in the mean time, Hubert, being in fear of the King, fled from London to the Priory of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before for the love of the King, and defence of the Realm (saith mine Author) had got the hatred of all the Nobles of England, now being out of the Kings favour, was destitute of comfort on every side; save only that Lucas Archbishop of Dublin, with instant prayers and tears laboured to the King for him. By this example, and many like, is to be seen, how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortal and mutable Princes is: to teach all such as have to do about Princes, how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find help in Christ the true Prince of all Princes, which never faileth. By like example was Clito Servant of King Alexander, Joab of King David, Belisarius of Justinian, Harpagus of Astiages, Cromwel of King Henry, with innumerable more, which in Histories are to be found.

When the day was come that this Hubert should answer, keeping amongst the Monks of Merton, he durst not appear. Then was it signified unto him from the King, that he should come up and appear in the Court, there to answer to his Charge. Whereunto he answered

again, That he misdoubted the Kings anger, and therefore he did fly to the Church, as the uttermost Refuge to all such as suffer wrong: from whence he would not stir, till he heard the Kings wrath to be mitigated towards him. With this the King, moved and sore displeased, directed his Letters, in all hast to the Major of London, commanding him at the sight thereof to muster and take up all the Citizens that could bear Arms in the City, and to bring to him by force of Arms the foresaid Hubert either quick or dead out of Merton. Whereupon, the Major immediately, causing the great Bell to be rung, assembled together the people of London, and opening before them the Kings Letters, commanded them to prepare and arm themselves in all readiness to the executing of the Kings Will and Message.

The Citizens hearing this were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert, because of the Execution of Constantine their Citizen afore-mentioned. Notwithstanding, certain of the Citizens; namely, Andrew Buckerell, John Travers, and others more, men of more grave and sage discretion (wisely pondering with themselves, what inconvenience might rise hereof) went in haste to the Bishop of Winchester, lying then in Southwark, and waking him out of his sleep, desired of him his counsel in that so sudden and dangerous distress, declaring unto him what peril might thereby ensue as well to the Church of Merton, as also to the City, by the fury of the unordinate and fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and spoiling, neither will spare shedding of blood, &c. Unto whom again the bloody Bishop gave this bloody counsel (saith Parisiensis) Dangerous it is (quoth he) both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the Precept of the King, I counsel you plainly. At the which counsel of the Bishop, they, being amazed, went with an ill will about the business enjoined. But the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly coveted to be revenged, and to shed the blood of the said Hubert.

The cause, why Peter Bishop of Winchester was so cruelly set against the Justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Roman Priests, as before is touched; partly also for the old grudge, because the King coming to his lawful age before (through the counsel of this Hubert) loosed himself from the government of the said Bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this Bishop towards him.

On the next morrow, the Londoners issuing out of the City, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the Abbey of Merton, where Hubert was lying prostrate before the Altar, commending himself to God.

In the mean season, while the Citizens were in their Journey, raging against the poor Earl of Kent, it was suggested to the King by Radulph Bishop of Chichester, and Lord Chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite up the vulgar and unruly multitude, for fear of Sedition; lest peradventure the rude and heady people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought down again, when the King would have them. Moreover, what shall be said (quoth he) among the Frenchmen and other Nations, which of great things love to make them greater, and of evil things to make them worse than they are? but thus jestingly and mockingly: See what a kind Bird is the young King of England, which seeketh to devour his old Nurse, under whose wings he had been brought up and nourished in his youth. And thus the King, by the perswasion hereof, changing his counsel, sent in all hasty wife after the Army again, willing them to retract their Journey, and to retire. And thus the Londoners (although much against their wills) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be observed another notable example of Gods working Providence. For when the King (saith the History) had sent by two Messengers or Pursivants to revoke and call back again the Army of the Londoners, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent Justice: one of the Messengers posting with all speed possible, with the Kings Letters, overtook the Army; and coming to the fore-ward where the Captains were, by virtue of the Kings Letters (said their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other Messenger crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said Hubert, and rather wishing him to be slain than to be delivered, lingred by the way of purpose

The Kings Message to the Major of London.

Old grudge born in mind.

Some wit than some.

Good advice of discreet Citizens.

Cruel counsel given of Peter Bishop of Winchester.

The cause of displeasure between Hubert and the Bishop of Winchester.

Hubert prostrate upon the ground commending himself to God.

Sage counsel of an Earl given to the King.

The malicious working of the Lords help at close of night.

The Kings displeasure against Hubert.

purpose (although being commanded to make haste) and when he came, went only but to the middle sort; more like a Messenger meet to serve a dead mans arrant, than to serve the turn of them which be alive. And so in like manner, by the just hand of God it fell upon him. For the same Messenger stumbling with his Horse, riding but a soft or foot pace, and rather walking than riding, fell down backward from his Horse back, and there brake his neck and died. This merciful message of the King was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Radulph Bishop of Chichester, Lord Chancellor (a vertuous and a faithful man) and one that could skill to have compassion on the miseries of Men. Of whom was declared before, that he, being elected Archbishop of Canterbury, would not give one half-penny to their expences by the way, to get his Election confirmed by the Pope: and afterward by the said Pope was defeated and frustrated of his Election, as relation was made afore. And thus through Gods Providence, by the means of the Kings Letters, the Army returned, and Hubert's life (contrary to his expectation) was preserved.

After this, the Archbishop of Dublin, with much labour and great sute, intreated and obtained of the King to grant unto the said Hubert, respite till the twelfth day of January, to provide himself of his answer to such things as were commended against him. Then Hubert, trusting to enjoy some safety by the Kings permission to him granted, to breath himself a little, and to walk abroad, took his journey towards S. Edmundsbury, where his Wife was; and, passing through the Country of Essex, was inned there in a certain Town belonging to the Bishop of Norwich. Whereof when the King was certified, fearing lest he would raise up some commotion in the Realm, sendeth in hasty anger after him Sir Godfride Crancombe Knight, with three hundred Men; commanding under pain of Hanging, that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the Tower of London: which commandment to accomplish, there lacked no haste. Hubert having intelligence of their coming (rising out of his Bed, naked as he was) ran unto the Chappel standing near unto the Inn, where he holdeth with the one hand the Crofs, with the other hand the Sacrament of the Lords Body. Then Godfrid with his foresaid armed Souldiers, entering into the Chappel, willed him to come out. Which when he would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the Chappel, and taking the Crofs and the Sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with Fetters and Gives under the Horse belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the Tower. And so certifying the King what they had done (who then tarried up waking for them) he rejoiced not a little thereat, and went merry to his Bed.

The next morrow following after, Roger Bishop of London, having knowledge how and in what order he was taken violently out of the Chappel, cometh unto the King, blaming him boldly, for violating the peace of holy Church, and protested, that unless the party were loosed again, and sent to the Chappel from whence he was drawn, he would enter Sentence of Excommunication against all the deed doers.

The King as he did not deny his transgression herein, so he sendeth him (albeit against his will) out of the Tower unto the said Chappel again, and by the same Souldiers which brought him out before. Which done, he giveth in straight charge and commandment under pain of hanging, to the Sheriffs of Herford and Essex, that they in their own persons, with the strength of both Shires, should watch and compass about the Chappel, and see that the said Hubert no ways might escape. Which commandment of the King was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert took all this patiently, and continued in the Chappel praying both night and day, and commending his cause unto the Lord, whom he desired so to deliver him from that instant danger, as he always sought the Kings Honour by his faithful and trusty service. And as he continued in his prayer, so the King continuing in his rage, commanded that no Man should intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet, Lucas Archbishop of Dublin, his true and almost only friend, ceased not to pray and weep to the King for him, desiring the King at least to intimate to him what he purposed should be done with Hubert. Whereunto the King answering, said, That of these three

things one he should chuse, Whether he would abjure the Realm of England for ever, or be condemned unto perpetual Prison, or else confess himself openly to be a Traitor? But Hubert hereunto said, that he would chuse none of these Articles, as who knew himself neither guilty nor worthy of any such confusion: but, to satisfy somewhat the mind of the King, he would be contented to depart the Realm for a season, but to abjure the Realm he would not so do.

In this mean time it befel that Ranulphus Earl of Chester and of Lincoln, one of his forest enemies died. Hubert all this while remained in the Chappel inclosed and guarded about with the power (as is said) of two Shires, and so continued, till at length, by the commandment of the King, his two Servitors, which ministered unto him within the Chappel, were taken from him. Then Hubert seeing no other remedy, but there to starve for famine, offered himself of his own accord to the Sheriffs, saying, That he would put himself rather in the Kings mercy, than there desperately to perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and being fast bound in Fetters, was brought again and clapped, by the Kings commandment, in the Tower of London.

Not long after this, word was brought unto the King by certain, that the said Hubert had much Treasure lying in the House of the new Templars in London. Whereupon the King, to try out the truth thereof, sendeth for the Prior or Master of the House; who, not daring to deny, confessed that there was indeed Treasure brought into the House, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The King, desirous to seize upon the Treasure, required and charged the Master with his Brethren, with threatening words, to bring forth the Treasure to him, saying, that it was taken and stoln out of his Treasury. But they answered again, That the Treasure was committed with trust and faith unto their hands, and therefore they neither would nor ought to let it go out of their hands, being trusted withal, without the assent of him which committed the same unto them. When the King could get no other answer, at their hands, neither durst shew any further violence against them, he sendeth unto Hubert in the Tower, requiring of him the foresaid Treasures. To whom he, answering again mildly, yielded both himself, his Treasures, and all that ever he had, unto the Kings will and pleasure; and so, sending word unto the Master and Brethren of the Temple, willeth them to take all the Keies, and deliver the Goods, with all that there was, unto the King, who receiving the same, and taking an Inventory of that which was received, caused it to be brought unto his Treasury; whereof the number both of the Plate, of Coin, and of the Jewels, was of Price unknown. The enemies of Hubert, supposing thereby to take advantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the King, crying out against Hubert, That he was a Thief, a Traitor, and a robber of the Kings treasure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged, and thus cried his accusers daily in the Kings ear. But the hearts of Kings (saith the wise Man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after Mans will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this King having now his will and fill upon poor Hubert, and somewhat coming more unto himself, answered again in this wise, That there was no such need to deal so

straitly with him, who from the time of his youth first served mine Uncle King Richard, then my Father King John, in whose service (as I heard say) beyond the Seas, he was driven to eat his Horse. Paritienus, pag. 81. And in my time hath stood so constantly in defence of the Realm against foreign Nations, who kept the Castle of Dover against King Lewis, and vanquished the Frenchmen upon the Seas, also at Bedford and at Lincoln hath done such service. And though against me he hath dealt any thing untruly, which yet is not evidently proved; yet he shall never be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather be counted a King foolish and simple, than to be judged a Tyrant or seeker of blood, especially of such as have served me and mine Ancesters, in many perils so dangerously, weighing more the few evils which yet be not proved, than so many good deserts of his evident and manifest service done both to me and to the whole Realm, &c. And thus the King, somewhat relenting to poor Hubert his old Servant, granted un-

Three things put to Hubert to chuse:

Hubert yielded himself to the Sheriffs.

Hubert reduced again to the Tower.

Faithful depositaries.

Hubert bereft of all his Treasures. Anno 1232.

God ruleth the hearts of Kings.

The Kings answer in defence of Hubert.

A worthy word of a King.

De to

to him all such Lands as he had given by King John his Father, and whatsoever else he had by his own purchase.

The Kings mind relenteth toward Hubert.

Four Earls sureties for Hubert.

Hubert put in the Castle of Devizes.

Anno 1233.

Hubert conveyed out of the Castle into the Parish Church.

Hubert again taken out of the Church, and brought back to the Castle.

Hubert delivered out of prison and carried into Wales.

Roger Bishop of London goeth to Rome to purge himself before the Pope.

Against Usurers.

Usurers Excommunicated and expelled by the Bishop of London.

Excommunication well used against Usurers.

Thus Hubert after long trouble, a little cheered with some piece of comfort, let Lawrence his trusty friend that never left him, one that belonged to St. Albans, to be his Steward and Overseer of those possessions granted unto him by the King. And shortly upon the same, after the Kings mind was seen thus something to relent, the envy also of the Nobles, being now partly satisfied, began to turn to mercy; inasmuch that four Earls, to wit, Earl Richard the Kings Brother, William Earl of Warreine, Richard Earl Marhal, and William Earl of Ferris, became sureties to the King for him. Upon whose surety he was transferred to the Castle of Devizes, where he was under the keeping of four Souldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of that Castle. But the Bishop of Winchester, who always hunted after the life of Hubert, craftily cometh unto the King, and desireth the custody of the Castle, making no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof he might the sooner dispatch him. Hubert having thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his servants; who with compassion tending his misery, watched their time (the Keepers being asleep) and conveyed him by night on their backs, fettered as he was, into the Parish-Church of the Town, and there remained with him. The Keepers when they mist their prisoner, were in great perplexity, and after diligent search finding him at length where he was in the Church, with violent force drew him from thence to the Castle again. For the which injury to the Church, the Bishop of Sarum, understanding the order of the matter, cometh to the Castle where the Keepers were, and required that Hubert should be brought again into the Church from whence he was taken. Which when the Keepers denied to do, saying, they would rather he should hang than they; then the Bishop gave sentence of Excommunication against them. Which done, he with the Bishop of London, and other Bishops, goeth immediately unto the King, complaining of the injury done unto Hubert, and especially of the contumely against Holy Church; neither would they leave the King before they had obtained that he should be reduced again into the Church, and so he was. It was not long after, but the King in great displeasure sendeth to the Sheriff of the Shire to keep him well watched in the Church, till either he came forth, or there perished with famine.

It befell in the mean season that great dissention rose between the King and the Nobles of the Realm; by reason whereof Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard Earl Marhal into Wales, and there remained until the King at length was reconciled with his Nobles, and so received (with the rest) the said Hubert again into his favour. *Ex Matthæo Parisiensi, & ex Floribus Historiarum.* Of the which dissention more shall be shewed (Christ willing) hereafter.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert first sprang of vexing the Popes Barns; so likewise Roger Bishop of London, suspected for the same cause, was enforced to travel up to Rome, there to purge himself before the Pope. Where after much money consumed, and robbed also by the way, he got nothing else but lost his labour, and so came home again. Who then doing the part of a good Bishop, after his return from Rome attempted to expell and exclude out of his Diocess all those Italian Usurers called, as before said, *Causinini*. These *Causinini* coming with the Popes Legates into England, and lending their money to Religious Houses, to Colledges and Churches, had their Debtors bound unto them in such sort as was much vantageable to them, and much injurious to the other, as in the form of their Obligations in the Story of *M. Parisiensis* is largely expressed, fol. 65. Against these *Causinini* the Bishop of London being worthily inflamed with zeal of justice, first with loving admonition went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their souls, afterward with sharp words began to charge them. But they disregarding Christian counsel, and despising the Bishops threatnings, would not leave the sweetness of their occupation. Wherefore the Bishop proceeding unto the sentence of Excommunication, precisely and distinctly charged them to depart his Diocess. But they again being confident and imboldened upon the Popes defence, not only set at light his Excommunicati-

on, but also wrought such ways with the Pope that they caused the said Bishop of London, being both aged and sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appear beyond the Seas, there to answer to such objections as they should infer against him. And thus the Bishop minding rather to cover than to open the faults of the Church, and partly being let with infirmity and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

And thus much of the Popes Merchants here in England, which were not so busie here for their part, but the Pope, the great Master of these Merchant Usurers, was as busie for his. And although his Barns here in England were destroyed, and his bank something decayed, yet he thought to win it up another way; for he proclaimed the same year a general Visitation through all the Religious Houses, exempt or not exempt, universally pertaining to his jurisdiction; where by the cruel dealing of the Visitors, many were compelled to appeal and to travel up to Rome, to the great expences of their money, and filling the Popes Coffers. But as touching this Visitation, to make short (saith the Story) it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of universal order: *Dum omnes, qui in diversis orbis partibus unicam Benedicti secuti fuerant regulam, per novas constitutiones ita inveniantur ubique discordes, quod ex omnibus cenobiis, vel aliis religiosorum Ecclesiis vix duo habeantur in norma vivendi concordēs*: that is, While all they which before through all parts of the world followed only the rule of *Benedict*, now through new devised constitutions are found in all places so divided and divers, that of all Monasteries, and other Churches of Religion, scarce may two be found, which do agree in one rule and institution of life.

All this while that Hubert above mentioned was secluded from the King, Peter Bishop of Winchester bare all the rule, and above all other alone was accepted. This Bishop being in such principal favour with the King, as by whose counsel all things were administrated, removed the natural Servitors that were Englishmen, out of their Offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of *Pistavia*, and of other Countries in their rooms. Among whom was thrust out William Under-marhal, which supplied the room of Richard Great Lord Marhal of England; for the which cause the said Lord Richard was mightily offended. Also Walter, Treasurer of the Kings house was not only expelled, but also merced at an hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the Kings Patent granted to him.

Moreover by the counsel of the said Bishop of Winchester, all the old Counsellors, as well Bishops, as other Earls and Barons, and all the Nobles were rejected from the King in such sort, that he would hear and follow no mans counsel, but only the said Peter Bishop of Winchester, and his Cousin Peter de Rivallis. Whereby it came to pass, that all the greatest holds and munitions in the Realm were taken from the old Keepers, and committed to the custody of the said Peter. Then the Bishop of Winchester, to plant and pitch himself more strongly in the Kings favour, adjoynd to his fellowship Stephen Seagrave succeeding in the place of Hubert the Justice: also Robert Paslew, who had the keeping of the Treasure under the foresaid Peter Rivall. So by these three all the affairs of the Realm were ordered. Moreover, to make their party more sure, by them it was provided, that Souldiers and Servitors from beyond the Sea, as *Pistavians* and *Britains* were sent for, to the number of two thousand, which were placed partly about the King, partly were set in Castles and Holds within the Realm, and had the oversight and Government of Shires and Baronies, who then oppressed the Nobles of the Land, accusing them to the King for Traytors; whom the simple King did lightly believe; committing to them the custody of his Treasures, the sitting in Judgments, and the doing in all things. And when the Nobles, thus oppressed came to complain of their injuries to the King, by the means of the Bishop of Winchester, their cause was nothing regarded; inasmuch that the said Winchester moreover accused certain Bishops also to the King, so that he did fly and shun them as open Traytors and Rebels.

These

KING Hen. 3.

The general Visitation of the Pope through all Religious Houses.

Ex Paulini.

The great diversity among all Religious Orders noted.

Old Servitors of the King put out and discharged.

The King forsaketh his Nobles and sticketh to strangers.

KING These things standing thus out of order, *Richard* the Noble Marshal of England, with others of the Nobles joining with him, seeing these oppressions and injuries daily growing contrary to the Laws and Wealth of the Realm, came to the King, and blamed him for retaining such perverse Council about him of the *Pictavians* and other Foreigners, to the great prejudice of his natural Subjects, and of the liberties of the Realm; humbly desiring and beseeching him, that he, with as much speed as might be, would reform and redress such excesses, whereby the whole Realm seemed to lie in danger of subversion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, he with other Peers and Nobles, would withdraw themselves from his Council, so long as he maintained the society of those foreigners and strangers about him.

The dissentful answer of the Bishop of Winchester to the King. To this *Peter Winchester*, answering again, said, *That the King right well might call unto him what foreigners and strangers him listed for the defence both of his Kingdom, and of his Crown; and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious Subjects, and so to keep them in awe and good order.* When the Earl and the Nobles could get no other answer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselves, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole Realm, they would constantly joyn together, to the parting of their life.

Wicked Council about a King. After this, the foresaid *Petrus* Bishop of Winchester, with his complices, ceased not by all means to inflame the Kings heart to hatred and contempt of his natural People, whom they so vehemently perverted, that he counting them no other than his enemies, sought by all diligence the utter destruction of them, sending daily for more Garrisons of the *Pictavians*, that in short space, they replenished well-near the whole Land, whose defence the King only trusted unto: neither was any thing disposed in the Realm, but through the guiding of this *Peter*, and of the *Pictavians*.

The King, thus guarded and strengthened with these foreign aliens and strangers, proclaimed a Parliament to be holden at *Oxford*, where the Nobles were warned to be present. They considering the indignation of the King conceived, would not appear. Again they were required the first, second and third time to present themselves. The Assembly proceeded, but they came not, for whom the King looked. In this Assembly or Parliament, it was plainly told the King by a *Dominick* Frier preaching before him, *that unless he removed from him the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rival his Kinsman, he should not, neither could long enjoy peace in his Kingdom.* This although it was bluntly spoken of the Frier against the Bishop, yet this remedy he had; the Frier had nothing to lose. Yet was there another Chaplain of the Court, who perceiving the King somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a Courtlike dexterity handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrily came to the King asking a question, *What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that travel by the Seas?* That, said the King, *is best known to such as travel in that kind of Traffick.* Nay (saith he) *this is easie to be told.* The King demanding what it was, *Forsooth* (quoth he) *Stones and Rocks;* alluding merrily (but yet truly) to the Bishop of Winchester whose name and surname was *Petrus de Rupibus*, for so *Petræ* in Latin signifieth *Stones*, and *Rupes* *Rocks*. Notwithstanding, the King either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, again sendeth to his Nobles, to have them come and speak with him at *Westminster*. But they fearing some train to be laid for them, refused to appear, sending plain words to the King by solemn Message, *That his Grace without all delay should seclude from him Peter Bishop of Winchester, and other Aliens of Pictavia, or if he would not, they with the common assent of the Realm, would displace him with his wicked Counsellors from his Kingdom, and have within themselves tractation for choosing a new King.*

A merry Apothegme of the Kings Chaplain. The King at the hearing of this Message being mightily moved, partly to fear, partly to indignation, especially having the late example of King *John* his Father before his eyes, was cast in great perplexity, doubting what was best to be done. But *Winchester* with his wicked counsel, so wrought with the King, that he proceeded

War raised by the King against his Nobles. with all severity against them; insomuch that in short time, the sparkles of poisoned counsel, kindling more and more, grew to a sharp Battel between the King and *Richard* Earl Marshal, with other Nobles, to the great disquietness of the whole Realm. The which War was prefigured by terrible thundring and lightning heard all England over in the Month of *March*, with such abundance of Rain and Flouds growing upon the same, as cast down Mills, overcovered the Fields, threw down Houses, and did much harm through the whole Realm.

To prosecute here at large the whole discourse of this War between the King and the Earl Marshal, which continued near the space of two years, to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof; what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought unto the whole Realm, what trains were laid, what slaughter of men, what waste of whole Countries infused from *Wales* unto *Shrewsbury*, how the Marshal joyned himself with *Leolin* Prince of *Wales*, how the *Pictavians* were almost all slain and destroyed, how the King was distressed, what forgery wily *Winchester* wrought by the Kings Letters to intrap the Marshal, and to betray him to the *Irishmen*, amongst whom he was at length slain; all this I refer to other Authors, who at large do intreat of the same, as *Matth. Parisiens.* *Florilegus*, and such others. This is to be noted and observed (which rather pertaineth to our Ecclesiastical History) to see what sedition and continual disquietness was in those days among all Christian People almost, being under the Popes Catholick obedience: but especially to mark the corrupt Doctrine then reigning; it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to see the King and the People then so blinded in the principal Point and Article of their Salvation, as we find in Stories, which making mention of a House or Monastery of Converts, builded the same year by the King at *London*, do expresse in plain words, that he then did it, *Pro redemptione animæ suæ & Regis Johannis patris sui, & omnium antecessorum suorum:* that is, *For the redemption of his soul, of the soul of King John his Father, and for the souls of all his ancestors, &c.* Whereby may be understood, in what palpable darkness of blind ignorance the silly souls redeemed by Christ were then inwrapped, which did not know, nor yet were taught the right Doctrine and first Principles of their Redemption. *Ex Matthæo Parisiens.* pag. 86.

Mention was made a little before of dissolving the election of *John* Prior of *Canterbury*, which was chosen by the Monks to be Archbishop of the said Church of *Canterbury*, but by the Pope was defeated. After whom one *John Blund* was elected, who travelling up to *Rome* this year, Anno 1233. to be confirmed of the Pope, was also repealed and unelected again, for that it was thought in *England*, and so complained of to the Pope, that he had received of *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* a thousand Marks, and had another thousand promised him of the said *Winchester*. Who by his Money thought to make him of his side, and also wrote unto the Emperor to help forward his promotion in the Court of *Rome*. Notwithstanding, both he with his giving, and the other with his taking of Bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the Pope hating then the Emperor, for the same cause, admitted not the Election; pretending the cause, for that he was proved to hold two Benefices without his dispensation. After whom, by the commandment of the Pope, one *Edmund* Canon of *Salisbury* was ordained Archbishop, and had his Pall sent to him from the Pope. Which *Edmund* after, for his virtues, was canonized of the Popish Monks there for a Saint, and was called *S. Edmund*. About which time also *Robert Grossthead* was made Bishop of *Lincoln*.

This *Edmund* accompanied with other Bishops, during this trouble between the King and his Nobles, being in Council at *Westminster*, in the year next ensuing, which was 1234. came uttering their minds boldly in the name of the Lords, and declaring unto the King as became his faithful servants, that his Counsel, which then he followed, was not sound nor safe, but cruel and dangerous, both to him, and to the state of the Realm, meaning the counsel of *Peter Winchester*, and of *Peter Rival*, with other adherents.

John Archbishop of Canterbury elected by the Chapter again unelected by the Pope. **Corruption of Bribes.** **Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury.** **S. Edmund canonized.** **Robert Grossthead made Bishop of Lincoln.** **A 1234.** **Faithful counsel of the Bishop given to the King.**

The counsel
of Winches-
ter and
such other
Bishops a-
bout the K.
disproved
for certain
causes.

1. **F**irst and Imprimitis, For that they hate and contemn the English Nation, calling them Traitors and Rebels, and turning the Kings heart from the love of his natural Subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the Earl Marshal and others, sowing discord among them.

2. Item, By the said counsel, to wit, by the foresaid Bishop and his fellows, King John the Kings Father, lost first the hearts of his Barons, after that lost Normandy, and afterwards, other Lands also, and in the end wasted all his Treasure, so that since that time the regiment of England had never any quiet after.

3. By the said counsel also, in their time and memory, the Kingdom of England had been troubled and suspended, and in conclusion, she that was before the Prince of Provinces, became Tributary; and so War ensuing upon the same, the said King John his Father incurred great danger of death, and at last was extinguished, lacking both peace of his Kingdom and of his own heart.

4. Item, By the said counsel the Castle of Bedford was kept long time against the King, to the great loss both of Men and Treasure, beside the loss of Rupella, to the shame of the Realm of England.

5. Moreover, Through their wicked counsel, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang over the whole Realm; for else if it had not been for their counsel, and if that true justice and judgment might have been ministered unto the Kings Subjects, these tumults had never been stirred, and the King might have had his Land unwasted, and his treasure unconsumed.

6. Item, In that Faith and Allegiance, wherewith they were obliged unto him, they protested unto him, that the said his Council, was not a Council of peace, but of division and disquietness, to the end that they which otherwise by peace could not assire, by disturbing and disheriting others, might be exalted.

7. Item, For that all the Castles, Forts, Munitions, also all the Officers of the Exchequer, with all other the greatest Escheats of the Realm, were in their hands, of the which if the King would demand account, he should prove how true they were.

8. Item, For that neither by the Kings Seal, nor Commandment, except it bare withal the Seal of Peter Rival, almost any business of any weight could be dispatched in the Realm, as though they counted their King for no King.

9. Furthermore, by the foresaid Counsel, the natural Subjects and Nobles of the Realm, were banished the Court, which was to be feared would grow to some inconvenience both to the King and to the Realm; forsomuch as the King seemed more to be on their side, than they of his, as by many evident conjectures may appear.

10. Item, It was not well to be taken and liked, the said Council standing of Strangers and Aliens, that they should have in their power both the Kings Sister, and many other Noblemens Daughters; and other Women marriageable, with the Kings Wards and Marriages, which they bestowed and divided among themselves, and Men of their affinity.

11. Also, The said Council regarding neither the Laws, nor Liberties of the Realm, confirmed and corroborated by Excommunication, did confound and pervert all Justice: wherefore it was to be feared, that they would run under Excommunication, and the King also, in communicating with them.

12. Item, Because they kept neither Promise nor Faith, nor Oath with any person, neither did observe any Instrument made never so formal by Law, nor yet did fear any Excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for People desperate, as which were departed from all truth and honesty.

These things (said the Bishops) we as your faithful Subjects before God and Men, do tell and advertise your Grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you will remove and seclude from you such counsel: and as the custom is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will so govern in like manner your Kingdom by your own natural Liege People, and such as be sworn unto you of your own Realm. For thus (said they) in verity we denounce unto you,

that unless in short time you will see these things reformed, we, according to our duty, will proceed by the censure of the Church against you, and all others that gainstand the same, tarrying no other thing, but only the consecration of this our reverend Archbishop.

These words of the Bishops thus said and finished, the King required a little time of respite, wherein to advise with himself about the matter, saying, That he could not in such a sudden, remove from him his Council, before he had entred with them account of his Treasure committed to them; and so that Assembly brake up.

It followed then after this communication so broken up, that the King resorted to the parts of Northfolk, where coming by Saint Edmundsbury, where the Wife of Herbert the Justice was, he being moved with zeal of pity toward the Woman, who very humbly behaved her self to the King, did grant her eight Mannors, which her Husband before with his Mony had purchased, being then in the custody and possession of Robert Passlew, one of the Kings new Counsellors above specified. It was not long after this, but Edmund the Archbishop was invested and consecrated in the Church of Canterbury; who shortly after his Consecration, about the Month of April, coming with his Suffragans to the place of Council, where the King with his Earls and Barons was assembled, opened to him the cause and purpose of his coming, and of the other Prelats, which was, to put him in remembrance of their former talk had with him at Westminster; denouncing moreover to him expressly, that unless with speed for a Saint, he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithful Nobles of his Realm, he incontinently, with the other Prelats there present, would pass with the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and against all them that would be enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

The King, after he heard the meaning of the Bishops, with humble and gentle language answered them again, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few days after, the King, coming to some better remembrance of himself, commanded the foresaid Bishop of Winchester to leave the Court, and to return home to his Bishoprick, there to attend unto the spiritual charge and care of his Flock committed to him. Moreover, he commanded Peter Rival the Bishops Cousin, (some Stories say his Son) who had then the disposing of all the affairs of the Realm, to render unto him his Castles, and to give account of all his Treasures, whereof he had the keeping, and so to void the Realm, swearing moreover unto him, but for that he was benefited, and was within Orders of the Church, else he would have caused both his eyes to be plucked out of his head.

He expelled likewise the Pictavians out of the Court, and from the custody of his munitions, sending them home into their Country, and bidding they should no more see his face. And thus the King, wisely dispatching himself of his wicked Counsellors, first did send Edmund the Archbishop with the Bishops of Chester and of Rochester, into Wales to Leolin, and to Richard Earl Marshal and others, to intreat with them of peace. Also he received to his service again Men of his natural Country, to attend about him, offering himself willing to be ruled by the counsel of the Archbishop and the Bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his Realm should be reduced again to a better quietness.

But in the mean time, while these things were doing in England, the foresaid Richard Earl Marshal, by the fallhood of the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rival, forging the Kings Letters to the Irishmen against him, and partly by the conspiracy of Gilbert de Marisco, being circumvented by the Irishmen in War, and there taken and wounded, was by them, through the means of this Surgeon slain.

Great slaughter the same time was of them which were called Catini, about the parts of Almain. These Catini were esteemed of Pope Gregory and the Papists to be Hereticks; but what their opinions were, I find it not expressed, In Paris.

Albionensis also of the Popes flock to be Hereticks, with their Bishops, and a great number and company of them were slain by the commandment of Pope Gregory at the same time, in a certain Plain in Spain, *Ex Matth. Parisiens.* fol. 87.

How the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other two Bishops, were sent into Wales, for intreaty of peace, ye heard before. At whose return again, after the time of Easter, the King going toward Gloucester to meet them by the way, as he was in his journey at Woodstock, there came Messengers of Ireland, declaring to the King, the death of Richard Earl Marshal, and the order thereof, through the forged Letters of Winchester, and others: whereat the King made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining, that he left not his like in all the Realm again.

After this the King proceeding in his journey came to Gloucester, where the Archbishop with the other Bishops, coming to the King, declared to him the form and condition of peace, which they had concluded with Leolin, which was this: If the King would be reconciled before with the other Nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the King had banished out of his Realm, to the end that the concord might be the more firm between them: Thus (said they) was Leolin contented, although with much ado and great difficulty, to receive the League of Peace, saying and protesting this unto them, That he feared more the Kings Alms, than all the Puissance both of him, and of all his Clergy within England.

This done, the King there remaining with the Bishops, directed his Letters to all the Exiles and banished Lords, and to all his Nobles, that they should repair to him about the beginning of June, at Gloucester; promising to them his full favour, and reconciliation to them and to their heirs, and that they should suspect no fraud therein, they should have their safe conduct by the Archbishop and Bishops.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the said Archbishop and the Bishops, first cometh to the King, Hubert Earl of Kent, offering himself to the Kings good will and favour. Whom the King, with cheerful countenance, received and embraced, restoring him, not only to his favour, but also to his Household and Counsel, with his Livings and Possessions, from which he had been disseized before. Then Hubert, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, gave praise and glory to God, by whose gracious Providence he, being so marvelously preserved from so great distresses and tribulations, was again so happily reconciled to the King and his faithful friends. After him, in like sort, came in Gilbert Bassett a Nobleman, Richard Sward, also Gilbert the Brother of Richard Marshal that was slain; which Gilbert recovered again his whole inheritance, as well in England as in Ireland, doing his Homage to the King, and his service, due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high Marshal Court, belonging before to his Brother Richard.

In the same counsel or communication continuing then at Gloucester, the said Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, bringing the forged Letters, wherein was betrayed the life of Richard Earl Marshal, sealed with the Kings Seal, and sent to the Great Men of Ireland, read the same openly, in the presence of the King and all the Nobles. At the hearing whereof, the King, greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the Bishop of Winchester and Peter de Rivallis, he commanded his Seal to be set to certain Letters presented unto him, but the tenor thereof, he said and swore he never heard. Whereunto the Archbishop answering again, desired the King to search well his Conscience; and said, That all they which were procurers, or of knowledge of those Letters, were guilty of the death of the Earl Marshal, no less than if they had murdered him with their own hands.

Then the King, calling a Council, sent his Letters for the Bishop of Winchester, for Peter Rival, Stephen Segrave, and Robert Passlew, to appear and yield account for his treasures unto them committed, and for his Seal by them abused. But the Bishop and Rival, keeping them-

selves in the Sanctuary of the Minster Church of Winchester, neither durst nor would appear. Stephen Segrave, who succeeded after Hubert the Justice, and was of the Clergy before, after became a Lay-man, and now hiding himself in Saint Marys Church in the Abby of Leicester, was turned to a Clerk again. Robert Passlew covertly hid himself in a certain Cellar of the New Temple, so secretly, that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length, through the foresaid Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, means was made, that a dilatory day was granted by the King for them to answer. At which day, first appeared Peter de Rivallis, then Stephen Segrave, after him Robert Passlew, each of them severally, one after another, shewed themselves; but not able to answer for themselves, like Traitors they were reprov'd, and like Villains were sent away. *Ex Matth. Paris.* fol. 91.

Variance between Pope Gregory the Ninth, and the Romans.

WHILE peace thus between the King and the Nobles was reconciled in England, dissention and variance the same time and year began in Rome, between the Pope and the Citizens of Rome. The cause was, for that the Citizens claimed by old custom and law, that the Bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any Citizen of the City, nor suspend the said City with any interdiction for any manner excess.

To this the Pope answered again, *Quod minor Deo est, sed quolibet homine major* (to use the very words of mine Author) *Ergo, major quolibet civis, ne etiam Rege, vel Imperatore, &c.* That is, that he is less than God, but greater than any Man: Ergo, Greater than any Citizen, yea also, greater than King or Emperor. And forso much as he is their spiritual Father, he both ought, and lawfully may chastise his children when they offend, as being subjected to him in the Faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way again when they stray out of course.

Moreover, The Citizens alledge again for themselves, that the Potestates of the City, and Senators do receive of the Church of Rome yearly Tribute, which the Bishops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new, and also ancient Laws. Of the which yearly Tribute they have been ever in possession before this present time of this Pope Gregory the Ninth.

Hereunto the Pope answered and said, that although the Church of Rome in time of Persecution, for their defence and cause of peace, was wont to respect the head Rulers of the City with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a custome; for that custome only ought to stand, which consisteth not upon examples, but upon right and reason.

Further and besides, the Citizens said that they, at the commandment of the Senators, would appropriate their Country with new and larger limits, and infranchise the same, being enlarged with fines and borders.

To this the Pope again made answer, that certain Lordships, and Cities and Castles, be contained within the compass of the said limits, as the City *Viterbium* and *Montecaster*, which they presume to appropriate within their Precinct; but to ascribe to them, and usurp that which pertaineth to others, is against right and justice.

For these and such other controversies rising between the Pope and the Romans, such dissention kindled, that the Pope with his Cardinals, leaving the City of Rome, removed to *Petrusium* (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remain and to plant themselves; but the Romans prevailing against him, overthrew divers of his Houses in the City, for the which he did excommunicate them. The Romans then flying to the Emperor, desired his aid and succour; but he, belike to pleasure the Pope, gathering an Army, went rather against the Romans. Then the Popes Army, whose Captains were the Earl of *Tholouse* (to purchase the Popes favour) and Peter the foresaid Bishop of Winchester, (whom the Pope for the same end had sent for from England, partly for his Treasure, partly for his practice and skill in feats of War) and the Empe-

Peter Rival Stephen Segrave, Robert Passlew, called to their answer.

Variance between the Pope & the Citizens of Rome.

The allegation of the Romans.

The Popes Answer.

The second allegation of the Romans. The Pope bound to pay to Rome yearly Tribute.

The Pope replieth.

The third cause and allegation of the Romans.

The Popes answer.

The Pope fleeth the City of Rome.

Excommunication abused.

The Pope warreth against the Romans.

rors Host joyned together, and bordering about the City of Rome, cast down the Castles or Mansions belonging to the Citizens round about the Suburbs, to the number of eighteen, and destroyed all their Vines and Vineyards about the City. Whereat the Romans being not a little offended, brast out of the City with more heat than order, to the number of 100000 (as the story reporteth) to destroy *Viterbium* the Popes City with Sword and Fire. But the multitude, being un-ordered, and out of Battel-ray, and unprovided for jeopardies which by the way might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number; so that on both parts were slain to the view of 30000; but the most part was of the Citizens. And this diffention thus begun, was not soon ended, but continued long after.

A great slaughter of the Romans by the Pope. Ex. Paris. pag. 92.

The Church of Rome degenerated from the image of the true Church.

Difference between the Church of Rome that was, and the Church of Rome that now is.

East-Church West-Church

Catholic.

The schism between the Greek Church and the Church of Rome. Equality Mother of concord.

By these and such other stories, who seeth not how far the Church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right Church of Christ, which by the rule and example of the Gospel, ought to be a Daughter of peace, not a Mother of debate, not a revenger of her self, nor a seeker of Wars; but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of souls; not contending for worldly masterhip, but humbling themselves as servants; and not Vicars of the Lord, but jointly like Brethren serving together, Bishops with Bishops, Ministers with Ministers, Deacons with Deacons; and not as Masters, separating themselves by superiority one from another; but briefly communicating together in Doctrine and Counsel, one particular Church with another; not as a Mother, one over another, but rather as a Sister Church one with another, seeking together the glory of Christ, and not their own. And such was the Church of Rome first in the old ancient beginning of her primitive state, especially while the cross of persecution yet kept the Bishops and Ministers under in humility of heart, and fervent calling upon the Lord for help; so that happy was that Christian then, which with liberty of Conscience only might hold his life, how barely soever he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the World, as striving for Patrimonies, buying of Bishopricks, gaping for Benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure, and less list so much as once to think upon them. Neither did the Bishops then of Rome fight to be Consuls of the City, but sought how to bring the Consuls unto Christ, being glad if the Consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the City. Neither did they then presume so high, to bring the Emperors necks under their Girdles, but were glad to save their own Necks in any corner from the Sword of the Emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward consolation, Gods Holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then was one Catholick unity of truth and doctrine amongst all Churches against Errors and Sects. Neither did the East and West, nor distance of place divide the Church; but both the East-Church and West-Church, the Greeks and Latins made all one Church. And albeit there were then five Patriarchal Sees appointed for order sake, differing in Regions, and peradventure also, in some Rites one from another; yet all these consenting together in one unity of Catholick Doctrine, having one God, one Christ, one Faith, one Baptism, one Spirit, one Head, and linked together in one bond of Charity, and in one equality of Honour, they made altogether one Body, one Church, one Communion, called one Catholick Universal and Apostolick Church. And so long as this knot of charity and equality did joyn them in one unity together, so long the Church of Christ flourished and increased, one ready to help and harbour another, in time of distress, as *Agapetus* and *Vigilius* flying to *Constantinople*, were there aided by the Patriarch, &c. So that all this while, neither foreign enemy, neither *Saracens*, nor *Soldan*, nor *Sultan*, nor *Calipha*, nor *Coraſmine* nor *Turk*, had any power greatly to harm it.

But through the malice of the enemy, this Catholick unity did not long continue, and all by reason of the Bishop of Rome, who not contented to be like his Brethren, began to extend himself, and to claim superiority above the other four Patriarchal Sees, and all other Churches in

the world. And thus as equality amongst Christian Bishops was by pride and singularity oppressed, so unity began by little and little to be dissolved, and the Lords Coat, which the Souldiers left whole, to be divided. Which Coat of Christian unity, albeit of long time it hath bin now searript before by the occasion aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, in some piece it held together in some mean agreement, under subjection to the See of Rome, till the time of this Pope Gregory the Ninth, Anno 1230. at which time this rupture and schism of the Church brake out into a plain division, utterly dis severing the East Church from the West Church upon this occasion.

There was a certain Archbishop elected to an Archbishoprick among the Grecians; who, coming to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted unless he promised a great sum of Money. Which when he refused to do, and detested the execrable Simony of the Court of Rome, he made his repair home again to his own Country unconfirmed, declaring there to the whole Nobility of that Land, the case how it stood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others also, which coming lately from Rome, and there had proved the same or worse, came in and gave testimony to his saying. Whereupon all the Churches of the Grecians, the same time hearing this, departed utterly away from the Church of Rome, which was in the days of this Pope Gregory the Ninth. Inſomuch that the Archbishop of *Constantinople*, coming afterward to the General Council at *Lions*, there openly declared, that whereas before time he had under him above thirty Bishopricks and Suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreover, that all the Grecians, and certain others, with *Antioch* and the whole Empire of *Romania*, even to the Gates almost of *Constantinople*, were gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome, &c. *Mat. Paris. fol. 112. &c. fol. 186.*

The cause and occasion why the Greek Church utterly brake from the Romans.

Mat. Paris. fol. 112. All Grecians gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Ex. Mat. Paris. fol. 186.

By the occasion of which separatian aforesaid of the Grecians from Pope Gregory, it happened shortly after, being the year of our Lord 1237. that *Germanus* Archbishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople* wrote to the said Pope Gregory the Ninth, humbly desiring him to study and seek some means of unity, how the seamless Coat of the Lord Jesus thus lamentably rent, not with hands of Souldiers, but by discord of Prelats, may be healed again; offering this moreover, that if he will take the pains to stir out, he for his part, notwithstanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuse to meet him in the mid-way, to the intent that the truth on both sides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the slander stopped, and unity reformed between them.

This request of the Patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it had been the Bishops part again with like humility to have condescended to the same, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of Christian unity in the Church of Christ, and so to have shewed himself the son of peace: but the proud Bishop of Rome, more like the son of discord and dissention, standing still upon his Majesty, refused thus to do: but writing again answer to his Letters, with great disdain, seeking nothing else, but only how to advance his See above all other Churches; and not only that, but also shortly after sent forth his Preaching Friars, to move all Christians to take the sign of the Cross, and to fight against the Grecians no otherwise than against the *Turks* and *Saracens*: Inſomuch that in the Isle of *Cyprus* many good Men and Martyrs were slain for the same, as by the Letters of the said *Germanus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* is to be seen.

The Pope stirreth the West Church to fight against the East Church. Mat. Paris. fol. 112.

The tenor of the which Letter to the Pope, with the Popes answer again to him, being long and tedious to read, are extant in the History of *Mat. Parisensis*, there to be seen and found. The summary effect whereof, notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notifie for the simple and unlearned multitude, which, understanding not the Latin, may hereby perceive the fault of this Schism, not so much to rest in the Greek Church, as in the Church of Rome, as by the Contents of his Letter may appear.

Ex. lib. Mat. Paris. fol. 112.

The

The effect of the Patriarch of Constantinople his Letter to Pope Gregory the Ninth.

The Letter of Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople to Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1237.

He sheweth the inconvenience of discord.

Gal. 1.

Solomon.

Whether the Church of the Greeks or the Pope's Church lyeth more under the danger of Gods curse.

The Greek's afraid of the Pope's opposition.

The Patriarch of Constantinople prophesie. h. of the Martyrdom and slaughter of the Grecians

The Pope's persecution in the Isle of Cyprus.

IN the which Letter the said Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople, writing to Pope Gregory, first after his reverend Salutation and Preamble following upon the same, entring then towards the matter, sheweth the occasion of his writing, which was by five observant Friars repairing that ways, whom he gently receiving into his house, had conference with them touching this discord between the two Churches, how it might be reduced again to unity; and afterwards perceiving the said Friars to make their journey towards Rome, he thought therefore by them to write his Letters. Wherein he first lamenting this division in the house of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, also of other such like, both private and publick Societies, where Brother fighteth against Brother, like as amongst fishes the greater devoureth the lesser; he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the study of unity.

And forsomuch as the Pope had accursed (belike) those Churches of the Greeks before, he therefore taking his ground upon the words of St. Paul, (Gal. 1.) where he accurseth every such person and persons whatsoever they be, either Man or Angel of Heaven that shall preach any other Gospel than hath been preached, &c. willet the Pope to stand with him upon the same ground of the Apostles curse; so that if the stroke of that curse have light upon him or his Churches, he desireth him to shew the wound, and to help to wipe away the blood, to minister some spiritual implanter, to bind up the sore, and to save his Brethren from perishing which lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man, A brotherly friend is tried in adversity, &c.

But if we (saith he) of the Greek Church be free from the stripe of this curse of the Apostle, and that you Italians and of the Latin Church be stricken therewith, and lye thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you through ignorance and wilful obstinacy, will not so suffer your selves to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die.

And as touching this great discord between us, if either contrariety of Doctrine, or swerving from the ancient Canons, or diversity of Rites received of our forefathers be any cause thereof, we here take Heaven and Earth to witness, that we for our parts are ready, and desire also, upon due trial of profound truth by Gods Word, and invocation of the Holy Ghost, to joyn hands with you, or you to joyn with us. But to say the very truth, and to tell you plain, this we suppose, that many mighty and noble Potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjust oppressions, your insatiable exactions, and inordinate provisions wherewith you wring your subjects. By reason whereof have risen amongst us cruel wars, one fighting against another, desolation of Cities, Bulls and Interdictions set upon Church-doors, division of Brethren, and Churches of the Grecians left without service, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I believe to be predefined and appointed from above long before to us Grecians, the time I mean of Martyrdom, which also now hasteneth and fast upon us, that the Tribunal of Tyrants should be opened, and the seats of torments be set, that the blood of Martyrs should be spilled, and we brought to the stage of Martyrdom, to fight for the Crown of Glory.

This that I do speak, and wherefore I speak it, the noble Island of Cyprus doth already know and feel which hath made many new Martyrs, and hath seen valiant Souldiers of Christ, which of long time before, passing by water and tears of sorrow, now at last have

also passed through fire, and so entred into the Heavenly rest. How say you, be these good and seemly, O holy Pope, the successor of Saint Peter the Apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meek and humble Disciple of Christ? Doth he thus instruct the Seniors and Elders in his Epistle, where he writeth in this wise? The Elders which are among you, I beseech, which am also a fellow Elder with them, and witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be opened: Feed the flock of God which is amongst you, having care and oversight of it, not of coercion as compelled against your wills, but willingly of your own accord; not for filthy lucre sake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing Dominion and Lordship over the Church, but shewing your selves as an example to the flock: and when the chief Pastor shall appear, you shall receive an incorruptible Crown of eternal glory, &c. And this is the Doctrine of Peter, as they shall see, which do not obey it. As for us, the other part of the said Epistle is sufficient: wherein he willet them to rejoice which are in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glory, at the appearing of the Lord Jesus, &c. But bear with me I pray you (O holy Father, and of all your Predecessors most meek) and suffer my words though they be something sharp, for they be sighings of a sorrowful heart.

The tyranny and avarice of the Pope chastened by the words of St. Peter. 1 Pet. 5.

1 Pet. 1.

Wherefore gird about your loyns with fortitude, and light up the candle of your discretion, and seek the Groat that is lost, of the unity I mean, of faith. And we will also with like compassion joyn with your Holiness, and I will not spare this weak body of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or length of the way: for the more laborious the travel is, the more Crowns it bringeth. And St. Paul saith, Every man shall receive reward according to his travel, &c.

He exhorteth the Pope to come and meet with him, that they might confer together about the unity of faith.

Neither are we ignorant (if it please your Holiness) that like as we Grecians for our parts, do labour in all respects to keep and observe the sincerity of true faith and doctrine, not to err, ne swerve in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed Apostles and ancient Fathers: so the Church likewise of old Rome doth for her part labour also (we know well) to follow the sincere verity of Christian Doctrine, and thinketh her self to err in nothing, nor to need any remedy or reformation. And this we know is the judgment and saying of both the Churches, as well of the Greeks, as of the Latins. For no man can see any spot in his own face, without he stoop down to the glass, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face be blotted or no. Even so have we many great and fair glasses set before us: First, the clear Gospel of Christ, the Epistles of the Apostles, and Divinity-Books of ancient Writers. Let us therefore look in them well; they will shew every mans mind and judgment, whether he go right or wrong. The God of Peace tread down Satan speedily under our feet. The Author of Peace confound the sower of Discord. He that is the cause of all goodness destroy the biter of all that which is good, and which giveth cause of offence and slander. And he which is God of all joy and peace, send to us, which are the shepherds of his sheep reasonable, the Angel of Peace, and the Messenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the Nativity of Christ, to the shepherds of brute sheep and unreasonable, and make us worthy to sing that joyfull song of Gods praise, Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas; and to receive one another with an holy kiss. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the peace of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you always: Amen.

The Greek Church found and sincere in Doctrine.

He exhorteth the Church of Rome to look her face in Gods Glass; that is, to try their Doctrine by Gods Word.

Another

Another Epistle of the said Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople, and Primate of the Greek Church, to the Cardinals of Rome.

Another Letter of Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople to the Cardinals.

ANother Letter the said Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the Popes Cardinals, wherein he first commendeth them for their wisdom and counsel, and sheweth what utility cometh by good counsel giving. Forasmuch as God (saith he) many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the Almighty God is sundrily dispensed to divers, through common counsel and conference spreadeth to the publick utility of many, &c. After this effusions he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable Ministers, and discreet Counsellors, will take in hand the Spiritual armor of God, to cast down the stop and partition-wall of the old discord between the Greek and Latin Church, and that they will be a means to the Bishop of Rome, that they which so long have been dislevered by dissention, may now be conjoyed in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter I have (saith he) already written to his Holiness. And now I beseech the King of Heaven, which took the shape of a servant to help his miserable servants, and was exalted upon the Cross, to raise them up which were fallen into the profundity of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling it self over and above the unity of your brethren and fellow servants, and to lighten your consciences with the true light of understanding, that we may altogether agree in one, and that there be no schism amongst us. Let us therefore, as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it be not said of us, as it was of the Corinthians before us, *I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Christ*: but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called Christians, so may also abide in that wherein we are instructed, in one mind, that is, to follow love and charity in Christ Jesus, having always in our hearts the words of the Apostle, saying, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*.

And now to be plain with you in that I have to say, I shall desire you not to be offended with me in uttering the truth as a friend unto you. *The words (saith Solomon) of a wise man telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deep*: And truth for the most part breedeth enemies. And therefore though I am partly afraid, yet will I simply confess the truth unto you. Certes this division of Christian unity amongst us, proceedeth of no other cause but only of the tyranny, oppression, and exactions of the Church of Rome, which of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time she nourished (after the manner of a ravening bird, which driveth her young from her) which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the less she esteemeth them, and treadeth them under foot, not regarding the saying of the Gospel, *Who so humbles himself shall be exalted*.

Let modesty therefore something temper you, and let the avarice of the Court of Rome, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet surcease a while, and let us together condescend to the trial of the truth: which truth being found out on both sides, let us constantly embrace the same.

For why we have been altogether sometimes both *Italians* and *Grecians* in one faith, and under the same Canons, having peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the Church. At what time many flying out of the West parts (whilest that the tyranny of the Hereticks indured) made their concourse to us, and were received: and part fled unto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong tower of refuge, and so received they comfort in both places, and one Brother was thus received into the bosom of another, by mutual love for their defence.

Then after when Rome had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen Nations, the *Grecians* were ever ready to rescue and deliver them. Did not *Agapetus* and *Vigilius* flee unto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and being honourably received, were

here defended under our protection? although the like kindness was never yet shewed of your part to us again in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be ungrateful; for so doth the Sea participate her smooth and calm tides even unto the Pirates. And so God causeth the Sun to shine upon the just and unjust. But (alas for sorrow) what bitter division is this, that hath thus sequestred us asunder? One of us detracteth another, shunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his soul. What a mortal hatred is this come amongst us? If you think we are fallen, then do you help to lift us up, and be not to us a stumbling block to our bodily ruin, but helpers unto the Spiritual resurrection of our souls. So shall we acknowledg our selves bound unto you to give you condign thanks accordingly.

But if the blame and first original of this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the Successors of Peter the Apostle; then read ye the words of St. Paul to the Galatians, saying, *When Peter came to Antioch I withstood him in the face, because he was to be rebuked, &c.* Howbeit this resistance was no cause of any discord, or breach between them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, provoking temporal agreement. For they were fast joyned together in the bond of charity in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformity of Doctrine, separated by no ambition or avarice. In which points would God we also were like unto them! This to us in our minds gendreth a great offence, that you gaping so greedily after terrene possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heap up gold and silver, and yet pretend that you be the Disciples of him which said, *Gold and silver I have none, &c.* You make whole Kingdoms Tributary to you, and Kings and Princes your vassals. You augment your money by ulury, and by feats of Merchandize. You unteach by your deeds that which you teach in words.

Moderate your selves therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to us and to all the world. You see how good a thing it is one Brother to help another. Only God alone needeth no help or counsel, but men need to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I do reverence the blessed Apostle Peter, the chief of Christs Apostles, the Rock of our faith; I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this Rock was shaken and removed from the foundation at the sight of a silly woman; and Christ of his secret purpose permitted the same, which by the crowing of the Cock brought him again to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. Then he being thus waked, washed his face with tears, confessing himself before God and all the world, to be a true pattern of repentance, which before bare the Keys of the Kingdom, as saying thus unto us, *May not he which falleth, rise again? Oh you which are fallen, rise up and behold me, and hearken unto me, travelling towards Paradise; the Gates whereof to open, I have received power.*

And thus do I write unto you, not for any instruction, but only to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath indued you with all wisdom and knowledge, as Solomon saith, *Give only occasion to the wise, and he will learn wisdom: Teach the just man, and he will be glad to take instruction.*

This one thing more I will say, and so make an end: There be great and mighty Nations that are of like mind and opinion with us. First, the *Ethiopians* that inhabit the chiefest part of the East. After that the *Syrians*, and other more of greater number than they, and more disposed to vertue, as the *Hiberi Alani, Gotbi, Charari*, with innumerable people of *Russia*, and the Kingdom of great Victory of the *Vulgarians*. And all these are obedient unto us as their Mother-Church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true Orthodox faith immoveable.

The God of all holiness which for our sakes became Man, and which only is the Head of his Church and Congregation, vouchsafe to gather us again together in unity, and grant that the *Grecian* Church together with her sister Church of old Rome, may glorifie the same Christ, the Prince of Peace, by the unity of faith, to the restitution of sound and wholesome Doctrine, wherein many years agoe they have agreed and were united. God grant unto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the most mighty God govern

The tyranny and oppression of the Church of Rome is the only cause of breaking unity between the Greek Church and the Latin.

Luk. 18.

The old amity and concord between the East Church and the West.

Agapetus and Vigilius fled to Constantinople for succour.

Paul rebuketh Peter. Gal. 2.

Mat. 9.

He meaneth of the Kingdom of England, and other more which were made Tributary to the See of Rome. The moderate avarice of the Court of Rome.

Peter's fall. Mathew.

Peter as an example of repentance.

Children Countries and Nations in the East parts which are not under the Bishop of Rome.

Christ only Head of the Church.

govern you all (holy Cardinals) till that joyfully ye arrive in the haven of everlasting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all, Amen. *Ex Mat. Parisiens. fol. 111.*

Shortly after the sending of these Letters, Pope Gregory prepared to send men of War, signed with the Crois, to fight against the *Grecians*; whereupon the Archbishop of *Antioch*, with the said *Germanus* solemnly Excommunicated the Pope, after he first had Excommunicated them: *Paris. fol. 118.* In the mean time by the tenor of these Letters of the Patriarch sent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is evident to all men that have eyes in their heads to see: First, how the whole Universal Church of Christ from the East parts to the West, in ancient times were altogether united in one consent of Doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one Church brotherly to help another, both with temporal aid and spiritual counsel, as case required. Neither was then any one Mother-Church above other Churches, but the whole Universal Church was the Mother-Church and Spouse of the Lord to every faithful believer. Under which Universal Church in general were comprehended all other particular Churches in special, as sister Churches together, not one greater than another, but all in like equality, as God gave his gifts so serving one another, ever holding together the unity of faith and sisterly love. And so long was it and rightly might so be called the Catholick Church, having in it true unity, universality, and free consent. Unity in Doctrine, universality in communicating and joyning together of voices, consent in spirit and judgment. For whatsoever was taught at *Rome* touching Faith and Salvation, it was no other than was taught at *Antioch*, *Syria*, &c.

Secondly, How in process of time, through occasion of the Bishops of *Romes* tyranny and violent oppression, this ring of Equality being broken, all flew in pieces, the East Church from the West, the *Greeks* from the *Latins*, and that which was one before, now was made two; unity turned to division, universality to singularity, and free consent to dissention.

Thirdly, Here is also to be noted after this pitiful breach of Equality, how many and what great Nations departed from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and especially about this time above specified of Pope Gregory the Ninth, Anno 1230, so that both before and after that time many Councils were holden, and many things concluded in the West Church, whereunto the one half of Christendom lying in the East parts, did never agree; and contrary, many Councils holden with them, which in the *Latin* Church were not received. So that the Church now as she lost the benefit of universal consent, so also she lost the name Catholick. Whereupon this question is to be asked, that when the Council of *Lateran*, under Pope Innocent the Third, ordained the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and Auricular Confession here in the West Church, without the free consent of the East Church, whether the same Doctrine is to be counted Catholick or not?

Fourthly, In the departing of these Churches from the Bishop of *Rome*, here also is to be noted that the same Churches of the *Greeks*, notwithstanding they sequestered themselves, and fell out with the Church of *Rome*, and that justly, yet they kept their unity still with their God, and received still the true *Orthodox*, that is, The true and sincere Doctrine of Faith, ready to debate and try the truth of their Religion by the Scriptures, as they here in their own writings desire to have the truth examined, according as ye have heard. Wherefore the Church of *Rome* hath done them open wrong, which being offered so gently to try and to be tried by the truth of Gods Word, not only would stand to no trial, nor abide conference, but also hath Excommunicated them as Hereticks, which appear here to be more orthodox Christians than they themselves.

Fifthly, These things thus standing, then have we to conclude that the Church of *Rome* falsly pretendeth it self Catholick: For if the name of Catholick must needs import an universal consent of the whole, how can that be Catholick where the consent of so many famous and true Christian Churches hath been lacking; and furthermore, where the consent that hath been amongst themselves, hath rather been coerced than any true or free consent? Which is easie to be proved: for let these *Fires* and *Fagots* cease,

let Kings and Princes leave to press their Subjects with the Popes obedience; let the Scripture and the Bishops alone every one in his own Diocess to govern their flock after the rule of Gods Word, and how few be there in this West end of the world (trow you) that would not do the same that these *Grecians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Syrians*, have done before us? And thus much by the occasion of this Patriarchs Letters sent to Pope Gregory concerning the *Grecians*.

Whose doings when I consider, as I cannot but commend their wisdom, and judg their state happy and blessed, in shaking off from their necks the miserable yoke of the Popes tyranny; so on the other side considering with my self the wretched thralldom of these our Churches here in the West part of the world under the Bishop of *Rome*, I cannot tell whether more to marvel or to lament their pitiful state, who were brought into such oppression and slavery under him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So intolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyranny, his Suspensions and Excommunications much like to a mad mans Dagger, drawn at every trifle, that no Christian patience could suffer it, nor Nation abide it. Again, so deep did he sit in their consciences, they falsly believing him to have the authority of *St. Peter*, that for conscience sake neither King nor *Cesar* durst withstand him, much less poor subjects once mute against him. And although his takings and spoilings, namely in this Realm of *England*, were such that neither the Laity nor Spirituality could bear them; yet was there no remedy, bear them they must, or else the Popes sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch.

In reading the Histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue, to see the miserable captivity of the people what they suffered under this thralldom of the Bishop of *Rome*, whereof part hath been shewed before, more (God willing) shall follow hereafter, and some part presently I mind to express.

A brief Table or Declaration of the Popes unreasonable Gatherings, Exactions, and oppressions in the Realm of England.

AND first to begin with the Elections of the Bishops, Abbots, Deans, and Priors within this Realm, it cannot be told what mass of money grew to the Popes Coffers thereby, especially in this Kings days; forasmuch as in his time lightly no Election happened either of Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, or any room of Dignity, but when the Covent or Chapter had chosen one to their mind, the King who had married a stranger, and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would set up another. By reason whereof when the other part was fain to appeal to *Rome*, and there to plead the case, no small rivers of *English* money, besides expences and travel by the way, went flowing to the Popes Sea. And although the Election went never so clear, yet the new Elect must needs respect the holy Father with some gentle reward, and further by his Oath was bound every three years, either in his own person or by another, to visit *Limina Apostolorum*.

So in the house of *St. Albans* when *John Herford* was elected Abbot, their publick Election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the same, the Monks were fain to send *Reinold* the Physician, and *Nicholas* a Monk, to *Rome* with a sufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the Election might stand, and the new Abbot was sworn every third year by himself or another, to visit the Doorfells of the Apostles.

Another such like contention happened between the King and the Monks of *Winchester*, about the Election of *William Rale*, whom the Monks had chosen, but the King refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to *Rome* his messengers, *Theobald* a Monk of *Westminster*, and Master *Alexander* a Lawyer, with no small sum of money to evacuate the Election of the foresaid *William Rale*; commanding moreover, that the Gates of *Winchester* should be shut against him, and that no man should be so hardy there to receive him in the house. Whereupon the said *William* being excluded, after he had laid his curse upon the whole City of *Winchester*, made his repair to *Rome*.

The miserable state of the West parts of Christendom under the Pope.

The Popes Excommunications like to a fools Dagger. The false persuasion of the Popes Supremacy cause of much wretchedness.

A brief Table of the Popes spoiling and getting of *English* money in the days of *K. Henry* the third.

Money coming to the Pope by Election of *John Herford*, Abbot of *St. Albans*.

5000 Marks given out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to the Pope, about the Election of *William Rale*, Anno 1243.

The Pope proclaimed war against the Greek Church. The Archbishop of Antioch and Constantinople Excommunicate the Pope. Five Notes to be considered. The first Note.

The true Catholick Church where it was, and what.

Unity, Universality, Consent.

The second Note.

The third Note.

The Church hath her name of Catholick, whereby and when. Whether the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, made without the free consent of the East Churches, be Catholick or no?

The fourth Note.

The fifth Note.

The Church of Rome proved not to be Catholick. The proceedings of Rome stand upon no true consent but are coerced.

Rome, where for eight hundred Marks being promised to the Pope, his Bishoprick (spite of the Kings heart) was confirmed, and he received. *Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 164. & 240.*

The tenth part of all Moveables in England and Ireland given to the Pope. 1229.

After the death of *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, ye heard before how the Monks had elected *Walter* a Monk of *Canterbury*. But the King to stop that Election, sent up his Proctors *Mr. Alexander Stanes*, and *Mr. Henry Sandford* Bishop of *Rochester* to the Pope, to evacuate that Election, and to place *Richard* Chancellor of *Lincoln*. Which Proctors perceiving at first how hard and unwilling the Pope and Cardinals were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for money; rather than the King should fail of his purpose, they promised on the Kings behalf to the Pope, for maintaining his Wars against *Frederick* the Emperor, a Disim or tenth part of all the Moveables in the Realm of *England* and of *Ireland*. At the contemplation of which money the Pope eftsoons thinking to pass with the King, began to pick quarrels with the foresaid *Walter*, for not answering rightly to his Questions about Christs descending to Hell, making of Christs Body on the Altar, the weeping of *Rachel* for her Children, he being dead before; about the sentence of Excommunication, and certain causes of Matrimony. His answers whereunto when they were not to the Popes mind, he was therefore put back, and the Kings man preferred, which cost the whole Realm of *England* and *Ireland* the tenth part of their Moveable Goods, by reason whereof, what money was raised to the Popes *Gazophylacium*, I leave to the estimation of the Reader, *An. 1229. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71.*

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71. b.

Money spent at Rome between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

And yet for all this the said *Richard*, the costly Archbishop of *Canterbury*, within less than two years after, falling out with the King about the Castle and Lordship of *Tunbridge*, went and complained of him to the Pope. In the traverse whereof it cost the King a great piece of money besides, and yet mist he his purpose. In the which journey the said Archbishop in his return homeward, by the way departed, *Ann. 1231.*

The costly Election of the Bishop of *Durham*.

Of the like dissention ye heard before between the King and the Convent of *Durham*, for not chusing *Mr. Lucas* the Kings Chaplain, whom the King offered to be their Bishop. About the sute whereof, when much money was bestowed on both sides wellfavouredly, the Pope defeating them both, admitted neither *M. William*, nor *M. Lucas*, but Ordained the Bishop of *Sarum* to be their Bishop, *An. 1228. Ex Paris.*

Money coming to the Pope for the Election of the Bishop of *Conventry* and *Lichfield*.

Between the Monks of *Conventry*, and the Canons of *Lichfield* rose another like quarrel, which of them should have the superior voice in chusing their Bishop. In which sute after much money bestowed in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope to requalifie again each part with some retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently between them, that each part by course should have the chusing of their Bishop. *An. 1228. Ex Paris. fol. 68.*

Edmund Archbishop of *Canterbury* condemned at *Rome* in 2 1000 Marks.

What business fell likewise between *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks of *Rochester*, about the Election of *Richard Wendour*, to be their Bishop? And what was the end? First, the Archbishop was fain to travel himself to the Pope, and so did the Convent also send their Proctors. Who belike being better monied, weighed down the cause, so that the good Archbishop in that cause against the Monks, and partly in another cause against the Earl of *Arundel*, was condemned of the Pope in a thousand Marks. Whereof the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes Coffers, *An. 1238. Mat. Paris. fol. 114.*

The fifth part of all the Clergy granted to the Pope.

After the returning of the said *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* again from *Rome*, it chanced that the Monks of *Canterbury* had elected their Prior without his assent; for the which he did Excommunicate the Monks, and evacuate their Election. Not long after this, the Popes Exactors went about to extort from the Churchmen the fifth part of their Goods to the Popes use, fighting then against the Emperor. This cruel exaction being a great while resisted by the Prelates and Clergy, at length the foresaid Archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the Monks, was contented to grant to the said exaction, adding moreover of his own for an overplus 800 Marks; whereupon the rest of the Clergy was fain to follow after, and contribute to the Popes Exactors, *Ann. 1240. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 132. b.*

In the Church of *Lincoln* (whose See before the Conquest was in *Dorcester*, and afterwards by *William Rufus* translated from thence to *Lincoln*) rose a grievous contention between *Robert Grosbead* then Bishop, and the Canons of the Cathedral Church about their Visitation, whether the Bishop should visit them, or the Dean; which matter being put unto Arbitrators, could not so be composed, before the Bishop and the Chapter, after their Appeal made unto the Pope, went both unto *Rome*, and there after they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid full sweetly for it, *An. 1239. Par. fol. 119.*

Great ex-
pence of
money in
the Court
of *Rome* be-
tween the
Bishop of
Lincoln and
the Cathed-
ral Church.

At what time the Canons of *Chichester* had elected *Robert Passelow* to their Bishop, at the Kings request the Archbishop with certain other Bishops, taking part against the Kings Chaplain, repelled him, and set up *Richard Wiche*. Upon this, what sending and going there was unto *Rome*, and what money bestowed about the matter, as well of the Kings part as of the Bishops; read the Story thereof in *Mat. Paris. 182, 184, 186.*

Money com-
ing to the
Pope be-
tween the
Bishop of
Lincoln and
the Monks
within his
Diocess.

Robert Grosbead Bishop of *Lincoln* (of whom relation was made before) having a great care how to bring the privileged Orders of Religious Houles within his Precinct, under his subjection and discipline, went unto *Rome*, and there with great labour and much effusion of money (as the Story saith) procured of the Pope a Mandate, whereby all such Religious Orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after the Monks not abiding that (who could soon weigh down the Bishop with money) sent their Factors to the Pope, who with their golden eloquence so perswaded him, and stirred his affections in such sort, that soon they purchased to themselves freedom from their ordinary Bishop. Whereof *Robert Grosbead* having intelligence, made up to *Rome*, and there complaining to the Pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope *Innocent* looking with a sterna countenance, made this answer again, Brother (said he) what is that to thee? Thou hast delivered and discharged thine own soul. It hath pleased us to shew favour unto them. Is thine eye ill, for that I am good? And thus was the Bishop sent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himself, yet not so softly, but that the Pope heard him say these words: O money, money, what canst not thou do in the Court of *Rome*? Wherewith the Pope being somewhat pinched, gave this answer again, O ye *Englishmen*, *Englishmen*, of all men most wretched, for all your seeking is how ye may consume and devour one another, &c. *An. 1250. Ex Paris. fol. 230.*

How readily
the Pope
can take
with both
hands.

Money may
do much at
Rome.

The Pope
answers to
*Robert Gros-
bead*.

It happened moreover the same year that the said *Robert Grosbead* Excommunicated and deprived one *Ranulphus* a beneficed person in his Diocess, being accused of incontinency, who after the term of forty days, refusing to submit himself, the Bishop wrote to the Sheriff of *Rutland* to apprehend him as Contumax. Which Sheriff, because he deferred or refused so to do (bearing favour to the party) and being therefore solemnly Excommunicate by the Bishop, uttered his complaint to the King. Whereat the King taking great displeasure with the Bishop for Excommunicating his Sheriff, and not first making his complaint to him, sendeth forth with a substantial messenger (*M. Moneta*) such as he was sure would speed, unto Pope *Innocent*, by virtue of whose words the Pope, easie to be intreated, sendeth down a Proviso to the Abbot of *Westminster*, charging that no Prelate nor Bishop in the Realm of *England*, should molest or enter action against any of the Kings Bailiffs or Officers, in such matters as to the Kings jurisdiction appertained. And thus was the strife ended, not without some help and heap of *English* money; so that no wind of any controversy here stirred in *England*, were it never so small, but it blew some profit for the Popes advantage, *Ann. 1250. Ex Paris. fol. 231.*

Justice per-
verted by
the Popes
authority
for money.

In like manner no little treasure grew to the Popes Coffers by the Election of *Boniface*, the Queens Uncle, a Frenchman, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1243, and of *Ethelmare*, the Queens Brother to be Bishop of *Winchester* against the wills of the Prior and Convent there, Anno 1250, besides many such other Escheats, which made *England* poor, and the Pope rich.

Money com-
ing to the
Pope by the
Election of
Boniface
Archbishop
of *Canter-*
bury, and of
Ethelmare
Bishop of
Winchester,
both stran-
gers and
Frenchmen.

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the Popes Dispensations, Provisions, Exactions, Contributions and

KING and Extortions in England in this Kings days; for to discourse all, it is not one Book will hold it.

Marriage with Eleanor the Kings Sister, a Nun, dispensed by the Pope for money.
Simon Monifort Earl of *Leicester* had married *Eleanor* the Kings Sister, and Daughter of King *John*, who by report of Stories had taken the Mantel and Ring. Wherefore the King, and his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Excester*, were greatly offended with the marriage; which the Earl *Simon* seeing, made a hand of money, and posting over to *Rome*, after he had talked a few words in Pope *Innocents* ear, the marriage was good enough; and Letters were sent to *Orbo* the Popes Legate here, to give sentence solemnly with the Earl. Notwithstanding the *Dominick* Friars, and other of the like Religious fraternity, withstood that sentence of the Pope stoutly, saying, that the Popes Holiness was therein deceived, and souls in danger; that Christ was jealous over his wife; and that it could not be any wise possible that a woman which had vowed Marriage with Christ, could afterward marry with any other, &c. Anno 1238. Ex *Parisi*. fol. 114.

What Inconvenience cometh by the Popes Dispensations.
 As there was nothing so hard in the wide world, wherewith the Pope would not dispense for money; so by the said Dispensations much mischief was wrought abroad. For by reason thereof the people trusting upon the Popes Dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they swore. As well appeared by this King *Henry* the Third; who being a great exactor of the poor Commons, as ever was any King before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people sooner to his devotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, and thereto bound himself with a solemn Oath, both before the Clergy and Laity, to grant unto them the old Liberties and Customs as well of *Magna Charta*, as *Charta de Foresta*, perpetually to be observed. Whereupon a *Quindecim* was granted to the King. But after the payment was sure, the King trusting by the Popes Dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his Oath and Covenant, went from that he had promised and sworn before.

Willful perjury maintained by the Popes Dispensations.
 In like manner the said King another time, being in need of money, signed himself with the Cross, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole Parliament, that he would himself personally fight in the Holy Land against the *Saracens*. But as soon as the money was taken, small care was had for performance of his Oath, being so put in the head by certain about him, that he needed not to pass of that perjury, forasmuch as the Pope for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof. Ex *Parisi*. fol. 273.

Exemptions which spring out of the Popes Dispensations.
 Out of the same corrupt spring of these Popish Dispensations, have proceeded also many other foul absurdities. For where many young men were in those days which enjoyed Benefices, and were no Priests, and when by the procurement of *Robert Grossthead*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter Orders, they laying their purses together, sent to *Rome*, and obtained of the Pope a Dispensation to remain still as they were, that is, to have the fruits of Benefices to find them at School or University, and yet themselves neither Ministers to take charge, nor yielding any service for their profits taken. Ex *Matth. Parisiens*. fol. 256. Besides innumerable heaps of enormities more, proceeding of the Popes Dispensations, as dispensing one man to have sundry Bishopricks, to incroach Pluralities of Benefices, to make children Parsons, to legitimate Bastards, with such other like; the particulars whereof for brevity sake, I do omit to further opportunity.

The intolerable oppression of the Realm of England by the Popes Exactions and Contributions, and other sleights used in the time of King Henry the Third.

The miserable impoverishing of the Realm by the Popes provisions and contributions.
 Although these emoluments, thus rising daily to the Popes purse by Simony and Bribery, by Elections and Dispensations, might seem sufficient to satiate his greedy appetite; yet so unfatiable was the avarice of that Sec, that he not yet contented herewith, over and besides

all this, sent every where almost some Legate or other into this Realm to take for his advantage. Inasmuch that during all this Kings time, the Realm was never lightly without some of the Popes Legats, with all violence exacting and extorting continual provisions, contributions, and sums of money to be levied out of Cels, Abbies, Priories, fruits of Benefices, and Bishopricks, and also Laymens purses, to the miserable impoverishing both of the Clergy and Temporality, as hereunder followeth.

First, after *Pandolphus* was sent into this Realm Cardinal *Orbo*, procured by the King without the assent of his Nobles, to the intent to assist him in certain affairs he had to do. At receiving of which Legate, great preparation was made; many rich and precious gifts in Scarlet, in Plate, in Jewels, in Money and Palfrys, were given him. Whom the King also himself went as far as the Sea-side to receive, bowing down his head in low courtesie to the Cardinals knees. To whom also the Bishop of *Winchester* for his part gave towards keeping of his house, fifty fat Oxen, an hundred femes of Wheat, and eight great vessels of pure Wine. This Legate at his first coming, begetteth first to bestow such Benefices, as he found vacant, upon them whom he brought with him, without respect whether they were meet or unmeet. Ex *Parisiensi*, fol. 103.

After this the Pope hearing how the Nobles and Commons of the Realm began to stomach the Cardinal for his excessive Procurations and Exactions, sent for him home; but the King by reason he stood in fear of his Nobles, and thought to have a stay by the Cardinal against all occurrences, intreated him to stay while he wrote to the Pope to obtain further license for him to tarry; and so he did, not without some English money ye may be sure.

In this mean time of vacation, *Orbo* thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crums in *Scotland*, made as though he would set things there in order, which were in the Church of *Scotland*, to be reformed, and so cometh to the King of *Scots*, being then in *York* with King *Henry*, to have leave to enter. Unto whom the King thus made answer, that he never saw to his remembrance, any Popes Legate in his Land, neither was there any such need (God be praised) for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could never learn neither in the days of his Father, or any his Predecessors, that any such entrance to any Legate was granted; so he for his part would not now begin. But yet notwithstanding forasmuch as I hear (said he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if you will needs adventure in, do it warily, and take heed to your self, lest it happen to you otherwise than I would wish; for they be a savage and unruly people, given much to murder, and shedding blood, whom I my self am scarce able to bridle; so that if they fall upon you, I shall not be able to help you. And how they also invaded me, and sought to expell me from my Kingdom, ye heard of late. And therefore I warn you before, take heed betime what you think best to do. After the Cardinal heard the King speak these words, he pluckt in his horns, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of King *Henry*. Notwithstanding shortly after, the same Legate coming to the borders of *Scotland*, there called the Bishops to him, and so when he had well filled his Bags, came back again, Ex *Mat. Parisi*. fol. 106. 123. b.

It was not long after but license came from Pope *Gregory* to his Legate *Orbo*, for his longer abode here in the Realm (as welcome as water in the Ship) with new authority also to proceed in the Popes affairs. Who first shewing to the Bishops and the Clergy his Letters of longer tarrying, required of them, forasmuch as no man (said he) warreth of his own charges, to be supported with new procurations; which was to have of every able Church four Marks; and where one Church was not able to reach thereto, that other Churches should joyn withal to make the said money. Notwithstanding the Bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof. *Parisi*. fol. 123, 128, 132.

Besides he assembled together all the Black Monks of *St. Benedicts* Order, giving to them strict Orders, which shortly after for money he released to them again. *Parisi*. fol. 116, 119.

More

Cardinal Orbo Legate in England. The receiving of Orbo the Popes Legate into the Realm.

Anno 1237.

Orbo the Legate seeketh to come into Scotland.

The King of Scots his answer to Cardinal Orbo. The Realm of Scotland hitherto never troubled with any Popes Legate.

Cardinal Orbo stopped from going into Scotland.

Oppositions of the Cardinal Orbo the Popes Legate.

Anno 1238.

Moreover, by the said Ordo, and other the Popes Exactions, with special Bulls directed down for the same, collation of Benefices being taken out of the hands of the Patrons, were give to light and vile Runnagates, coming from Italy and other places, such as pleased the Pope and his Legate to bestow them upon, to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true Patrons thereof. Whereupon the Earls, and Barons, and Nobles of the Realm, addressed Letters unto Pope Gregory by Sir Robert Twining Knight, for redress of such wrongs and injuries; who otherwise should be forced (they said) to invoke the succour of their King, who both was able, and was no less willing, according to his duty (they trusted) to reform such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his Realm. The tenor of whose writing is to be read in *Matt. Paris. fol. 128.a.*

The Nobles of England write to Pope Gregory for collation of Benefices wrested out of their hands.

Petrus Rubens the Popes carrier. All beneficed Men in England compelled to give the fifth part of their Revenues to the Pope.

Anno 1240.

Excuses of the Clergy, why they would not contribute to the Pope.

Three hundred Children of Rome placed in Benefices in England.

Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury departed the Realm, and dieth in Exile.

Three thousand pounds to the Popes use.

Romans brought to England to be beneficed

Not long after the same, in the Year of our Lord 1240. came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by Petrus Rubens the Popes Nuncio, to the foresaid Ordo, that all Beneficed Men of the Clergy, as well in England as in France, should pay to the Pope the fifth part of their Revenues. Whereupon when the Clergy Men made their complaint to the King, seeking to be relieved by him; the King answered them again, that he neither would, nor durst stand against the Pope in any case, and so without all hope of succour sent them away, *Paris. fol. 132.* Then were the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Prelates of the Church commanded to assemble together at Reading, there to hear the Popes pleasure and commandment concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end, thus the matter concluded; that the Prelates desired a further time to be given them to advise upon the matter; and for that season the Assembly brake up, *Paris. 122.* Notwithstanding at last, after many excuses and exceptions laid in by the Clergy; First, *That because the money was gathered to fight against the Emperor, they ought not to contribute their money, contrary to the liberties of the Church.* Item, *Forasmuch as they had paid a tenth not long before unto the Pope, upon condition that no more such payments should be required of them, much less now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done, maketh a custom.* Item, *Seeing they had oftentimes to repair unto the Court of Rome, if they should give this money against the Emperor, it would turn to their danger coming through his Land.* Item, *Seeing their King had many enemies, against whom they must needs relieve the King with their money, they could not so do if the Realm were thus impoverished, &c.* All which excuses, with divers other more notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conform themselves to the Popes good pleasure, through the example given of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, who to obtain his purpose against the Monks of Canterbury (with whom he was then in strife) began first to yield to the Legates 800 Marks for his part, whereby the rest also were fain to follow after. *Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 132, 136.*

Furthermore, the same year, the Pope agreed so with the People of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederick the Emperor, look what Benefices were to be given in England, the same should be at their arbitrement to be bestowed upon their Children. Whereupon commandment was sent to the foresaid Edmund Archbishop, to the Bishops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all the Collations of Benefices within the Realm should be suspended, till provision were made for three hundred Children of the Citizens of Rome to be first served. Upon the which so miserable request, the said Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, for sorrow to see the Church so oppressed, departed the Realm, and so continued in France, and died at Pontinnac: *Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 134.b.* Which Edmund was afterward made a Saint, and canonized by Pope Innocent the fourth.

This done, then went Petrus Rubens the Popes Nuncio, and Ruffinus into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand Pounds to the Popes use about Alhollontide the same year. At which time moreover, cometh another Harpax from the Pope to England, named Mumelins, bringing with him three and twenty Romans here into the Realm to be beneficed. Thus, what by the King on the one side, and what by the Cardinal Ordo, Petrus Rubens, Ruffinus and Mumelins on the other side,

poor England was in a wretched case. *Matt. Paris. fol. 137.*

Another pretty practice of the Pope to prol for money, was this: The foresaid Petrus Rubens, coming into Religious Houses, and into their Chapters, caused them to contribute to the Popes Holiness, by the example of this Bishop and that Abbot, pretending that he and he, of their own voluntary devotion, had given so much and so much, and so seduced them. *Paris. fol. 134.* Also the Pope craftily suborned certain Friars, authorized with full Indulgence, that whosoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was disposed to be released of his Vow, needed not to repair to Rome for Absolution, but paying so much money as his charges would come to going thither, he resorting to the said Friars, might be absolved at home.

¶ This passed in the year 1240. Now all these troubles laid together, were enough to vex the meekest Prince in the World; whereto by way of access to the Kings further molestation, he had much ado with the Prelates and Clergy Men of his Realm, who were always tampering with his Title, especially in their Assemblies and Councils; to whom the King, to restrain them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by this evidence of Record, *Rex misit Galfridum de Langley, &c.* That is, The King sent Geoffry Langley to the Archbishop of York, and to other Bishops purposed to meet at Oxford, to appeal for him, lest, in the said Council there called, they should presume to ordain something against his Crown and Dignity. This was done in the year of our Lord 1241. In which year also came a commandment Apostolical to the House of Peterborough, that they at the Popes contemplation must needs grant him some Benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof were worth at least an hundred Pounds, and if it were more it should be the better welcome; so that they should be as the Farmers, and he to receive the profits. In fine, the Convent excused themselves by the Abbot, being then not at home. The Abbot, when he came home, excused himself by the King, being the Patron and Founder of the House. The King being grieved with the unreasonable ravaging of these Romanists, utterly forbade any such example to be given. *Ex Paris. fol. 143.* But what happened? The Abbot being therefore accused to the Pope by one of the Legates, and coming up about four years after, in the time of Pope Innocent, to the Council of Lyons, was so rated and reviled, and so shamefully thrust out of the Popes Court, that for sorrow he fell sick upon the same, and there died. *Paris. fol. 184.*

In the time of which Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent the fourth (forasmuch as the instrument or obligation, whereby the Realm of England stood Tributary to the Pope, was thought to be burned in the Popes Chamber a little before) brought forth either the same, or another Chart like unto it, whereunto he straitly charged and commanded every English Bishop, being there present at the Council, severally to set to his Hand and Seal. Which unreasonable petition of the Pope, albeit it went fore against the hearts of the Bishops, yet (see in what miserable subjection the Pope had all the Bishops under him) none of them durst otherwise do, but accomplish the Popes request therein, both to their own shame, and prejudice to the publick freedom of the Realm. Amongst which Bishops, the longest that held out, and last that put to his Seal, was the Bishop of London. Which act when the King and the Nobility understood, they were mightily and worthily therewithall offended. *Ex Paris. fol. 192. Anno 1245.*

After what time Cardinal Ordo was sent for by Pope Gregory in all haste to come to the General Council, two other in his room here remained, whose Names were Petrus Rubens, and Petrus de Supino. Of whom the one, bearing himself for the Popes Kinsman, brought out his Bills and Bulls under the Popes Authority, to such an Abbot, or to such a Prior, or to such and such a Bishop, and so extorted from them a great quantity of Gold and Silver. The other, to wit, Petrus de Supino sailed to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thousand and five hundred Marks to the Popes use, *An. 1241. Ex Paris. fol. 247.b.* All which money notwithstanding, gotten by both the Col-

KING Hen. 3.

The Pope for money released Christians of their Vows.

The Archbishop of York should ordain nothing against the King.

Mumelins another messenger of the Pope.

Abbot of Peterborough thrust out of the Popes Court.

The obligation of the Pope's Tribute to the Pope burned.

The Bishops of England put their Hands and Seals to the Popes Bill.

Petrus Rubens, Petrus de Supino, the Popes Collectors in England.

A thousand five hundred Marks brought out of Ireland for the Pope.

KING Collectors, in the carriage of it up to Rome, about the death of Pope Gregory, happened into the hands of Frederick the Emperor; who caused it again to be restored, as near as he could, to them of whom it was taken. *Parif. fol. 151.*

M. Martinus another Messenger for the Popes money. *An. 1244.* After these came in then *M. Martinus* a new Merchant from the new Pope *Innocent* the fourth, *An. 1244.* armed with full power to suspend all Prelates in England from giving Benefices, till the Popes Kinmen were first preferred. Neither would he take the fruits of any Benefice, unless it were above the value of thirty Marks. At his first coming, he required of Prelates, and especially of Religious Houses to furnish him with Horses and Palfreys, such as were convenient for the Popes especial Chaplain and Legate to sit upon; also with Plate, Raiment, Provision for his Kitchen and Cellar, &c. and such as denied, or excused, he suspended; as the Abbot of *Malmesbury*, and the Prior of *Merton*. All Prebends that were void he fought out and reserved them for the Popes behoof; among which was the golden Prebend of *Sarum*, belonging to the Chancellor of the Quire, whom he preferred to the Bishoprick of *Bath*, and so seized upon the Prebend being void, against the wills both of the Bishop and the Chapter. *Parif. fol. 167, 180.* Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, signed in the Popes Chamber with his stamp and Seal; wherein he might afterward write to whom, and to what he would, *Parif. fol. 178.b.* requiring furthermore of the King, in the Popes behalf, to help his Holiness with a contribution to be taxed amongst his Clergy, at least of 10000 Marks, *Ibid.* And to the end that the Pope might win the King sooner to his devotion, he writeth in the Kings behoof to the Nobles and Commons of the Realm, that they should not fail, upon pain of his great Curse, to confer such Subsidy of money to the subvention of the King, as he then had demanded of them; but they stood stiff in not granting to him.

While the insatiable avarice of the Pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in England; the Nobles and Barons, with the community as well of the Clergy as the Laity, weighing the miserable state of the Realm, and namely, of the Church, which now neither had liberty left them to chuse their own Ministers, nor yet could enjoy their own Livings, laid their heads together, and so exhibited an earnest intimation to the King; beseeching him to consider the pitiful affliction and profession of his Subjects under the Popes extortion, living in more thralldom than ever did the people of *Israel* under *Pharaoh*. Whereupon the King beginning at last to look up, and to consider the injuries and wrongs received in this Realm, through the avarice of the Court of Rome, directeth to Pope *Innocent* the fourth this Letter, in tenor as followeth.

The Kings Letter to Pope Innocent the fourth.

Sanctissimo in Christo Patri, ac Domino, *Innocentio*, Dei gratia summo Pontifici, *Henricus* eadem gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Salutem & pedium oscula beatorum, &c.

To the most Holy Father in Christ, and Lord, *Innocent*, by the Grace of God chief Bishop, Henry by the same Grace King of England, &c. Greeting and kissings of his blessed feet. The more devout and obsequious the Son sheweth himself in obeying the Fathers will, the more favour and supportation doth he deserve to find at his Fathers hands again. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our Realm have ever and in all things been hiterto at the devotion and commandment of your Fatherhood; and that although, in some certain affairs of ours and of our Kingdom, we have found your Fatherly favour and grace sometimes propitious unto us, yet in some things again, as in provisions given and granted to your Clerks of Foreign Nations, both we and our Kingdom have felt no small detriment. By reason of which provisions, the Church of England is so sore charged and burthened, that not only the Patrons of Churches, to whom the Donations thereof do appertain, are defrauded of their right, but also many other good works of Charity thereby do decay, for that such Benefices, which have been mercifully bestowed upon Religious Houses to their sustentation, are now wasted and consumed by your provisions.

Wherefore forsomuch as your See Apostolick ought to be favourable to all that be petitioners to the same, so that no person be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therefore to be suters to your Fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your Holiness, that you will desist and surcease for a time from such provisions to be exacted. In the mean season, it may please your Fatherhood, we beseech you, that our Laws and Liberties (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receive to your tuition, to be conserved whole and sound, nor to suffer the same by any sinister suggestion in your Court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your Holiness be any whit moved therefore with us, if in some such cases as these be, we do or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandments; forsomuch as the complaints of such, which daily call upon us, do necessarily enforce us thereunto; which ought, by the charge of this our Office and Kingly dignity committed to us of Almighty God, to foresee that no Man in that which is their right be injured, but truly to minister justice to everyone, in that which duly to him appertaineth. This Letter was sent the eight and twentieth year of the Kings Reign. *Ex Parisiensis, fol. 172.*

A Man would think that this so gentle and obedient Letter of the King to the Pope would have wrought some good effect in his Apostolical breast, to withdraw his provisions, and to have tendered the Kings so reasonable and honest request: but how little all this prevailed to stop his insatiable greediness and intolerable extortions and oppressions, the sequel well declareth. For besides that, shortly after the Pope sent *M. Martin* with blanks, being bulled for contribution of 10000 Marks, in all haste to be paid also, even immediately upon the receiving of this Letter. It followeth in mine author, that the said Pope *Innocent* the fourth, after all this great submission of the King, and so manifold benefits, and payments yearly out of his Realm received, was not alhamed to take of *David*, Prince of North Wales, five hundred Marks by year, to set him against the King of England, and exempted him from his fealty and obedience due to his own Liege Lord and King, to whom both he and all other *Welch-men* had sworn their subjection before, as by the seals and obligations as well of that *David* himself, as other *Welch* Lords in this be half doth appear: *In Matth. Parisiensis, fol. 172.*

Neither did *M. Martinus* in the mean while slip his business, in making up his market for the Popes money of ten thousand Marks, but still was calling upon the Prelates and Clergy. Who, first excusing themselves by the absence of the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, afterward being called again by new Letters, made their answer by the Dean of *Pauls* their Prolocutor:

First, That the poverty of the Realm would not suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, Whereas they had given before a contribution to Cardinal *Orbo*, for paying of the Popes Debts, and knew the said money to be employed to no such end as it was demanded for, more cause they had now to misdoubt, left this contribution in his hands, which was a much more inferior messenger than the Cardinal, would come to the same or a worse effect.

Item, If they should now agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it would grow to a custom, seeing that one action, twice done, maketh a custom.

Item, Forsomuch as a general Council is shortly looked for, where every Prelate of the Realm must needs bestow both his travel and expences, and also his present to the Pope, if the Prelates now should be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide this burthen.

Item, Seeing it is alledged, That the Mother Church of Rome is so far in debt, reason and right it were, that the Mother so oppressed should be sustained of all her devout Children meeting together in the general Council; whereas by helps of many, more relief might come than by one Nation alone.

Item, Last of all, they alledged, That for fear of the Emperor and his threatnings, they durst not consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talk between the Popes Priests and the Clergy of England, cometh in

E e

John

The Popes provisions.

The Kings too much subjection to the Pope.

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 172.

The Pope setteth Welchmen against the King of England.

Contribution required of the Pope with their excuses and reasons against the same.

King Henry's Letter to the Pope. The King offereth to kiss the Popes feet.

Damage received by the Pope in the Realm of England.

John Mariscal and other Messengers from the King, commanding in the Kings name, that no Bishop, that held his Baronage of the King, should infect his Lay fee to the Court of Rome, which they ought only to him, &c. Paris. fol. 139. An. 1243.

The Ports of England laid to stop the Popes Letters, yet all would not serve.

Not long after this, in the year of our Lord 1245. the whole Nobility of the Realm by general consent, and not without the Kings knowledge also, caused all the Ports by the Sea side to be laid, that no Messenger with the Popes Letters and Bulls from Rome should be permitted to enter the Realm, whereunto some were taken at Dover and there stayed. Notwithstanding when complaint thereof was brought to the King by M. Martinus the Popes Legate, there was no remedy but the King must needs cause these Letters to be restored again and executed to the full effect, Paris.

Sixty thousand Marks yearly going out of England to the Pope and his Italian Clerks.

Then the King upon advice caused a view to be taken through every shire in England, to what sum the whole revenues of the Romans and Italians amounted, which by the Popes Authority went out of England: the whole sum whereof was found yearly to be threescore thousand Marks, to the which sum the revenues of the whole Crown of England did not extend, Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 185. a.

The Nobles then understanding the miserable oppression of the Realm, being assembled together at Dunstable for certain causes, sent one Fulco in the name of the whole Nobility, unto M. Martinus the Popes Merchant with this Message; That he indelaidly upon the same warning should prepare himself to be gone out of the Realm, under pain of being cut all to pieces. At which Message the Legate being fore agast, went straight to the King, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom when he found little better comfort, he took his leave of the King, who bad him adieu in the Devils name (saith Matth. Paris.) and thus was the Realm rid of M. Martinus. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 185. b. An. 1245.

M. Martin the Popes Legate sent out of England in the Devils name.

The Pope in displeasure with the King of England.

Isis regales The proud words of the Pope against the French King and the King of England.

As soon as Pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his Legate, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembering how the French King and the King of Arragon not long before had denied him entrance into their Land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, he began in great anger to knit his brows, and said, It is best that we fall in agreement with our Prince, whereby we may the sooner bring under these little petty Kings; and so the great Dragon being pacified, these little Serpents we shall handle at own own pleasures as we list.

After this, immediately then followed the General Council of Lions, to the which Council the Lords and States of the Realm, with the consent of the Commonalty, sent two Bills: one containing a general supplication to the Pope and the Council; the other with the Articles of such grievances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other Bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes: First, That Men now in these days may see the pitiful blindness of those ignorant days, wherein our English Nation here did so blindly humble themselves and stand to the Popes courtesie, whom rather they should have shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, That the pride of the Pope might the better appear in his colours, who so disdainfully rejected the humble sute of our Lords and Nobles, when they had much more cause to disdain rather, and to stamp him under their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

{Anno} 1245

The Copy of the Supplication written in the names of all the Nobles and Commons of England, to Pope Innocent the fourth, in the General Council at Lions, Anno. 1245.

To the Reverend Father in Christ Pope Innocent, Chief Bishop, the Nobles, with the whole Commonalty of the Realm of England sendeth commendation with kissing of his blessed feet.

The supplication of the Lords and Commons of England to the Pope.

OUR Mother the Church of Rome we love with all our hearts, as our duty is, and covet the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, as to whom we ought always to flee for refuge, whereby the grief, lying upon the Child, may find comfort at the Mo-

thers hand, Which succor the Mother is bound so much the rather to impart to her Child, how much more kind and beneficial she findeth him in relieving her necessity. Neither is it to be said our Mother unknown, how beneficial and bountiful a giver the Realm of England hath been now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yearly Subsidy, which we term by the name of Peter-pence. Now the said Church not contented with this yearly Subsidy, hath sent divers Legates for other contributions, at divers and sundry times to be taxed and levied out of the same Realm: all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding have been lovingly and liberally granted.

{KING} {Hea. 3}

Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your Fatherhood, how our fore-fathers, like good Catholics, both loving and fearing their Maker, for the souls health as well of themselves, as of their Progenitors and Successors also, have founded Monasteries, and largely have endowed the same, both with their own proper Lands, and also Patronages of Benefices, whereby such Religious persons, professing the first and chiefest perfection of Holy Religion in their Monasteries, might with more peace and tranquility occupy themselves devoutly in Gods Service, as to the Order appertained: and also the Clerks; presented by them into their Benefices, might sustain the other exterior labours for them in that second Order of Religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said Religious Monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their Patronages and Collations of Benefices, but the same must touch us also very near, and work intolerable griefs unto our hearts.

The superstitious founding of Monasteries in England.

And now see, we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries we sustain by you and your predecessors, who not considering those our Subsidies and Contributions above remembered, do suffer also your Italians and Foreigners (which be out of number) to be possessed of our Churches and Benefices in England, pertaining to the right and Patronage of those Monasteries aforesaid: which Foreigners, neither defending the said Religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet having the language, whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their souls, but utterly leave them of wild Wolves to be devoured. Wherefore it may truly be said of them, that they are no good shepherds, whereas neither they know their sheep, nor the sheep do know the voice of their shepherds, neither do they keep any Hospitality, but only take up the rents of those Benefices, carrying them out of the Realm, wherewith our Brethren our Nephews, and our Kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell upon them, and employ such exercises of mercy and Hospitality as their duty required. Whereof a great number now for meer necessity are Laymen, and fain to flee out of the Realm.

Injuries received in England by the Pope.

Benefices in England wickedly given away to Italians.

Threescore thousand Marks yearly given to Italians out of the Church of England.

And now to the intent more fully to certify you of the truth, ye shall understand that the said Italians and strangers receiving of yearly rents out of England not so little as threescore thousand Marks, by year, besides other Awaits and Excises deducted, do reap in the said our Kingdom of England more emoluments of meer rents, than doth the King himself being both tutor of the Church, and governour of the Land.

Furthermore, whereas at the first Creation of your Papacy we were in good hope and yet are, that by means of your Fatherly goodness we should enjoy our Franchises, and free Collation of our Benefices and Donatives, to be reduced again to the former state, now cometh another grievance which we cannot but signify unto you, pressing us above measure, which we receive by M. Martin; who entering late into our Land without leave of our King, with greater power than ever was seen before in any Legate, although he beareth not the state and shew of a Legate, yet he hath doubled the doings of a Legate, charging us every day with new Mandates, and so most extremely hath oppressed us: first, in bestowing and giving away our Benefices, if any were above thirty Marks, as soon as they were vacant, to Italian persons.

Italians received more in this Land of meer rents, than did the Kings Crown.

Detestable dealings of the Popes Legate in England.

Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, unknown to the Patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true Patrons have been spoiled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly,

KING
Hen. 3.

Thirdly, The said M. Martinus, yet also ceaseth not to assign and confer such Benefices still unto the like Persons; and some he reserveth to the Donation of the Apostolical See; and extorteth moreover from Religious Houses immoderate Pensions; Excommunicating and Interdicting who soever dare gainstand him.

Complaint
of M. Mar-
tin the
Pope's Le-
gate.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the said M. Martin hath so far extended his Jurisdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole Realm, and no less derogation to our Kings Privilege, to whom it hath been fully Granted by the See Apostolick, that no Legate should have to do in his Land, but such as he by special Letters did send for: with most humble Devotion we beseech you, That as a good Father will always be ready to support his Child, so your Fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compassion to relieve us your humble Children from these grievous Oppressions.

King Henry
the third
will every
day to hear
three Masses
by note.

And although our Lord and King, being a Catholick Prince, and wholly given to his Devotions and Service of Christ Jesus our Lord, so that he respecteth not the health of his own Body, will fear and reverence the See Apostolick, and, as a Devout Son of the Church of Rome, desireth nothing more than to advance the Estate and Honour of the same: yet we which travel in his Affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is to tender the preservation of the publick Wealth, neither can patiently suffer such Oppressions, so detestable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by Gods Grace will suffer them, through the means of your godly remedy; which we well hope and trust of you speedily to obtain. And thus may it please your Fatherhood, we beseech you to accept this our Supplication, who in so doing shall worthily deserve of all the Lords and Nobles, with the whole Commonalty of the Realm of England, condigne and special thanks accordingly. An. 1245. Ex Mat. Paris. Fol. 188.

The first
words of
the Lords to
the Pope.

The Suppli-
cation of
the English
Nation
took no
place with
the Pope.

This Supplication being sent by the hands of Sir R. Bigot, Knight, and W. de Powick, Esqs. Henry de la Mare, with other Knights and Gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope Innocent, first keeping silence, deferred to make answer thereunto, making hast to proceed in his detestable Excommunication and Curse against the good Emperor Frederick. The which Curse being done, and the English Ambassadors waiting still for their answer; the Pope told them flat they should not have their request fulfilled. Whereat the Englishmen, departing in great anger, Swore with terrible Oaths, That they would never more suffer any Tribute, or Fruits of any Benefices, namely, whereof the Noble men were Patrons, to be paid to that insatiable and greedy Court of Rome, worthy to be detested in all Words. Ex. Mat. Paris. fol. 193.

The English
Ambassa-
dors grie-
ved with
the Pope.

The Pope in
an anger
with En-
gland.
The Bishops
of England
set their
Seals to the
Pope's Tri-
bute.

The Pope hearing these words, albeit making then no Answer, thought to watch his time, and did. First, incontinent upon the same, during the said Council, he caused every Bishop of England to put his Hand and Seal to the Obligation made by King John for the Popes Tribute, as is above specified; Threatning moreover, and saying, That if he had once brought down the Emperor Frederick, he would bridle the insolent Pride of England well enough.

But here by occasion of this Council at Lions, that the Reader may see upon what slippery uncertainty and variableness the state of the King did depend; it is material here to interlace the form of a Letter sent by Henry the third to the Prelates of his Land, before they were transported over Sea to Lions; wherein may be gathered, that the King doubted they would be shoving and heaving at his Royalty; and therefore directed these Letters unto them; otherwise to prepare their affections: the tenor whereof followeth:

A Letter of charge to the Prelates of England,
purposed to Assemble in the Council at Lions,
that they should ordain nothing, &c. to
their Kings prejudice.

Torn. Lond.

REX Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & omnibus aliis Prelatis terræ suæ Angliæ, conventuris ad concilium Lugdunense, salutem. Vinculo juramenti nobis (ut nostis) adstricti, &c.

In English thus:

The King to the Archbishops, Bishops, and to all other Prelates of his Land of England, appointed to meet at a Council at Lions, Greeting: You are (as you know) bound unto us by Oath, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can unto us in all things, concerning our Royal Dignity and Crown. Wherefore we command you upon the fealty and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound unto us, injoyning that you do your uttermost endeavour, as well to get as to keep, and also to defend the right of us and our Kingdom. And that neither to the prejudice of us, or of the same Kingdom, nor yet against us or our rights, which our predecessors and we by ancient and approved custom have used, you presume to procure or attempt any thing in your Council at Lions: nor that you give assent to any that shall procure or ordain ought in this case, upon your Oath aforesaid, and the loss of your Temporalities, which you hold of us. Wherefore in this behalf so behave your selves, that for your good dealing and vertue of thankfulness, we may rather specially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reprove your unthankfulness, and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witness my self, &c. the nine and twentieth year of our Reign.

In like sort wrote he to the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. of Ireland and Gascoigne.

After this Council ended, in the beginning of the next year following, Anno 1246, Pope Innocent came to Cluniack, where was then appointed a secret meeting or colloquie between the Pope and Lewis the French King (who was then preparing his Voyage to Jerusalem) in which colloquie the Pope sought all means to perfwade the French King, in revengement of his injury, to War Contra regulum, (as he termed him) that is, against the weak and feeble King of England, either to drive him utterly from his Kingdom, or else to damnify him, whereby he should be constrained, whether he would or no, to stoop to the Popes will and obedience; wherein he also would assist him with all the Authority he could. Nevertheless, the French King to this would not agree. First, for the consanguinity that was between them (for their two Queens were Sisters.) Also for the Truce that they had taken. Thirdly for fear of the Emperor, lest he should take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much spilling of Christian blood. And lastly, because he was preparing his Voyage to the Holy Land, where his coming was already looked for. And thus the French King, denying the Popes bloody request, refused not only to enter War against the King and the Realm of England, but also shortly after concluded with him longer Truce, Anno 1246. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 196. b.

Anno
1246

The Pope
stirreth
Lewis the
French King
to War a-
gainst the
King of
England.

Lewis the
French King
refuseth to
War against
England.

Straight upon the neck of this followed then the exaction of Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, that he had bought of the Pope; which was to have the first years Fruits of all Benefices and Spiritual Livings in England for the space of seven years together, until the Sum should come to Ten thousand Marks. Whereat the King first was greatly grieved. But in conclusion, he was fain at last to agree with the Archbishop; and so the mony was gathered. Paris. Fol. 197.

The first
years Fruits
for seven
years ga-
thered of
all Benefices
for the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Over and besides all other exactions wherewith the Pope miserably oppressed the Church of England, this also is not to be silenced, how the Pope, sending down his Letters from the See Apostolick, charged and commanded the Prelates to find him some ten, some five, and some fifteen able men well furnished with Horse and Harnes for one whole year, to fight in the Popes Wars. And lest the King should have knowledge thereof, it was injoynd them under pain of Excommunication, that they should reveal it to none, but to keep it in secret only to themselves: Ex. Parisiensis, Fol. 200.

The Pre-
lates of
England
charg'd to
find Horse
and Harnes
for the
Popes Wars

A subtil
practice of
the Pope.

The Pope yet notwithstanding, partly being laboured by Suters, partly of his own mind thinking good somewhat to give to the King and People of England, as Fathers are wont to give something to their Babes to play withal to keep them still, sent down this releasement to the King, that hereafter whensoever any of the Popes Nephews, or of his Cardinals were to be Beneficed in any Church of England, either he or the Cardinals should first

The Popes
bait laid
for more
mony.

make the King privy thereto, and instantly crave his good will in obtaining the procuration, or else the same to stand in no effect, *Paris. 202.* Howbeit all this seemed to be done but of a policy, to get the Kings favour, whereby he might be suffered more freely to pass with greater exacti- ons, as afterward appeared.

A new Law of the Pope to seize upon all the goods of Clergy-men that dye intestate. A note of certain Ecclesiastical persons dying in England worth great substance.

For when the foresaid Pope *Innocent* the fourth had knowledge at the same time of certain rich Clerks leaving great substance of money, which dyed intestate, as of one *Robert Hailes*, Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, which dyed leaving thousands of Marks and much Plate behind him, all which, because no Will was made, came to Temporal mens hands: also of *M. Almarike*, Archdeacon of *Bedford*, being found worth a great substance when he dyed; and likewise of another, *M. John Hotoz*, Archdeacon of *Northampton*, who dyed suddenly intestate, leaving behind him five thousand Marks, and thirty standing pieces of Plate, with other infinite Jewels besides: he sent forth upon the same a Statute to be proclaimed in *England*, that whatsoever Ecclesiastical person henceforth should decease in *England* intestate, that is, without making his Will, all his goods should redound to the Popes use. *Paris. fol. 203.*

Six thousand marks to be gathered of the Clergy of England for the Pope. The King beginneth to withstand the Pope, but durst not hold out. The Pope in a chafe.

Furthermore, the Pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new Letters to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *W. Bishop of Norwich*, for gathering up amongst the Clergy, and Religious Houses in *England*, six thousand Marks to the behoof of the Holy Mother Church, without any excuse or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the Clergy, when it came to the Kings ear, he effoons directeth contrary Letters to all the Prelates and every one of them, commanding them upon forfeiting their Temporalities to the King, that no such Subsidy-money should be gathered or transported out of the Realm. But the Pope again hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the Prelates of *England*, that this collection of money, upon pain of Excommunication and suspension, should be provided, and brought to the new Temple in *London*, by the Feast of the Assumption next ensuing.

The words *Johannes Anglicus* Cardinal to the Pope.

And furthermore, forsomuch as he perceived the King to go about to gainstand his proceedings, taking thereat great disdain, he was about the same time to interdict the whole Land. To whom then one of his Cardinals called *Johan. Anglicus*, an English-man born, speaking for the Realm of *England*, desired his Fatherhood for Gods cause to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance to assuage the passion of his mind: which (said he) to tell you plain, is here stirred up too much without cause. Your Fatherhood (quoth he) may consider that these days be evil. First, the Holy Land lyeth in great perils to be lost. All the *Greek Church* is departed from us. *Frederick* the Emperor is against us, the mightiest Prince this day in all Christendom. Both you and we which are the Peers of the Church, are banished from the Papal See, thrust out of *Rome*, yea, excluded out of all *Italy*. *Hungary*, with all Coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter subversion by the *Tartarians*. *Germany* is wasted and afflicted with inward Wars and tumults. *Spain* is fierce and cruel against us, even to the cutting out of the Bishops Tongues. *France* by us is so impoverish- ed, that it is brought to beggery, which also conspireth against us. Miserable *England* being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to *Balaams* Ass, beaten and bount with spurs and staves, beginneth at length to speak and complain of her intolerable griefs and burthens, being so wearied and dammed, that she may seem past all recovery; and we after the manner of *Ismael*, hating of Men, provoke all Men to hate us, &c. *Ex Parisiensis, fol. 207.*

OF Spain he meaneth, because the King of *Aragon* a little before had cut off the tongue of a certain Bishop that did reprehend him.

Paris. fol. 207.

Power given to the Bishop of *Worcester* to interdict the Land. The King fain to relent to the Pope.

For all these words of *Johannes Anglicus* his Cardinal, the Popes Cholerick Passion could not yet be appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandment with full authority to the Bishop of *Worcester*, That in case the King would not speedily surcease his Rebellion against his Apostolical proceedings, he would interdict his Land. So that in conclusion, the King, for all his stout enterprize, was fain to relent at last, and the Pope had his money, *Anno. 1246. Ex Parisiensis, fol. 204.*

Of this division read before.

Ye heard before of the *Greek Churches*, under the Empire of *Constantinople*, how they sequestered themselves

from the company of the *Romish Church*. Inasmuch that *Germanus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Archbishop of *Antioch* did Excommunicate the Bishop of *Rome*. And after the said *Germanus* another Bishop of *Constantinople*, at the Council of *Lions*, protested, That whereas before were thirty Suffragans belonging to that Province, now there were not three that held with the Church of *Rome*. And this breach, albeit it chiefly braut out in the time of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, *Anno. 1230.* to open War and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, and so continued long before in such sort as in the time of Pope *Innocent* the third, if any Priest had said Mass in their Churches, they would wash the Altar afterwards; as appeareth by the Acts of the *Lateran Council*, *Capit. 4.* Wherefore Pope *Innocent* now (as his other predecessors had done before) bearing an old grudge against those Churches of the *Greeks*, and neither willing by Conference to try with them, nor able by Learning to match with them, thought by force of Arms to subdue them, and sent the Provincial of the *Gray-Friers*, with other Associates of the same Order, into *England* with his Precept Authentical, containing in it these Articles.

KING Hen. 3.

The *Greek* are used to wash their Altars, if any Latin Mass had been said upon them. *Ex antiquis litteris, c. 4.*

1. *First*, That the said Provincial, or his Friers, should inquire upon all Usurers being alive; and of all such evil gotten goods, gained per ulurarium pravitatem, should make attachment for the use and preparation for this War against the *Greeks*, Excommunicating all them by dis- strict censures of the Church that repugned against it.

Goods gotten by Usury, attached for the Pope. Excommuni- cation abused.

2. That all they which took the badge of the Cross, for the recovery of the said Empire of the *Greeks*, or with Goods and Cattel would help sufficiently unto the same, should be absolved of all their sins.

False Abolition of sins.

3. Item, That all the goods left in the Testaments of them that were departed, being gotten by Usury, should be taken up to the Subsidy of the Empire aforesaid, and who- ever repugned against the same, should be Excommunicated.

Usuria pravitati.

4. Item, That such goods as in the Testaments of the dead were left, or which should be left three next years to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had evil gotten, they should take up for the Subsidy of the Empire aforesaid, Excommunicating, &c.

Goods left in dead Mens Wills for restitu- tion, converted to the Pope.

5. Item, Such goods as were left to be distributed in godly uses, after the arbitrament of Executors, by the Wills of the dead, or were not in their Wills deputed to any cer- tain places or persons named, nor yet were bestowed by the said Executors to the foresaid uses, they should collect to the use and Subsidy aforesaid, and give Certificate to the See Apostolick of the quantity thereof, Excommuni- cating all repugners and rebellers against the same.

Goods be- queathed in dead Mens Wills converted to a War against the *Grecians*

6. Item, That they should diligently inquire of such Mens goods evilly gotten or evilly come by, as were alive, and them they should attach for the Subsidy aforesaid, in case the party, which ought to be satisfied for those goods evilly gotten, could not be found, giving Certificate there- of, and Excommunicating, &c.

Goods ill gotten given to the Pope.

7. Item, That the said Provincial, or his Friers, should have full power to absolve those that were Excommuni- cated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the Collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid, *Ex Matth. Parisiensi, fol. 205.*

Abolition for money.

What Man having eyes is so blind which seeth not these execrable dealings of the Pope to be such, as would cause any Nation in the world to do as the wise *Grecians* did, and perpetually to abrenounce the Pope, and well to consider the usurped authority of that See not to be of God? But such was the rude dulness then of miserable *England*, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that they feeling what burthens were laid upon them, yet would play still the Ass of *Balaam*, or else the Horse of *Esop*, which receiving the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his own misery, nor yet recover liberty. And so it fared with *England* under the Popes thralldom: as partly by these stories above hath been declared, partly by other in like case following is to be seen.

For so it followeth in the History of the said *Mat. Paris.* how the Pope taking more courage by his former abused boldness, and perceiving what a tame Ass he had to ride upon, ceased not thus, but directed a new Precept the same

An unrea- sonable ex- action of the Pope.

year,

KING year, 1246. to the Prelates of England, commanding by the Authority Apostolick, That all Beneficed Men in the Realm of England, which were resident upon their Benefices, should yield to the Pope the third part of their goods, and they which were not resident should give the one half of their goods, and that for the space of three years together; with terrible comminations to all them that did resist: and ever with this clause withal, *Non obstante*, which was like a Key that opened all Locks. Which sum cast together, was found to amount to 60000 pounds; which sum of money could scarce be found in all England to pay for King Richards Ransom, *Paris. fol. 207.* The execution of this Precept was committed to the Bishop of London, who conferring about the matter with his Brethren in the Church of Pauls, as they were busily consulting together, and bewailing the importable burthen of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustain, suddenly cometh in certain Messengers from the King, Sir John Lexington Knight, and M. Lawrence Martin the Kings Chaplain, straightly in the Kings name forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which should be greatly to the prejudice and desolation of the whole Realm, *Paris. fol. 207.*

This being done, about the first day of December in the year above said, shortly after in the beginning of the year 1247. about February the King called a Parliament, where by common advice it was agreed, That certain Ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to make manifest to the Court of Rome the exceeding grievances of the Realm, delivering moreover these Letters to the Pope in the name both of the Temporality and also of the Clergy, as here followeth.

Another Letter sent to Pope Innocent the fourth, in the names of the whole Clergy and Commonalty of England, Anno 1247.

A Letter sent to the Pope in the name of all the Estates and Commonalty of the Realm.
Sanctissimo Patri in Christo, ac Domino Innocentio, Dei providentia summo Pontifici; universitas cleri & populi per Provinciam Cant. constituti devota pedum oscula beatorum. Cum Anglicana Ecclesia, &c. To the most holy Father in Christ, and Lord Innocent, by Gods Providence Chief Bishop; the whole Commonalty both of the Clergy and Laity within the Province of Canterbury sendeth devout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the Church of England, since it hath first received the Catholick Faith, hath always shewed her self faithful and devout in adhering to God, and to our Holy Mother the Church of Rome, studying with all kind of service to please and to serve the same, and thinking never otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun: even so now the same Church, most humbly prostrate before the feet of your Holiness, intirely beseecheth your Clemency to accept her petition, in sparing this imposition of money, which so manifold ways for the subversion of other Nations, by the commandment of your Holiness, is laid upon us: considering that not only it is importable, but also impossible which is enjoined us. For although our Country sometimes yieldeth forth fruit for the necessary sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor silver, neither were able to bring forth of long time so much as now adays is required. Which also being burdened and overcharged of late days with another such like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answer unto that which is exacted.

Furthermore, besides this commandment of your Holiness, there is required of the Clergy a subsidy for our temporal King, whose necessities neither possibly we can, nor honestly we ought to forsake, whereby he may both withstand the Invasion of the Enemy, and maintain the right of his patrimony, and also recover again that hath been lost. In consideration whereof, we have directed the prayers herof to the presence of your Holiness with our humble supplication, to explain to you the dangers and inconveniences which are like to insue upon the premises, which by no means we are able to sustain, although notwithstanding we know our selves by all bonds of Charity to be obliged to your devotion and obedience. And because our general community hath no Seal proper; we have signed therefore these presents with the

publick Seal of the City of London, &c. Ex Pariliensi, fol. 209.

The like Letters were sent also unto the Cardinals to the same effect. The Pope understanding these things, and perceiving that there was no striving against such a general consent, and yet loth to forgo his sweet harvest, which he was wont to reap in England, craftily devised to send this answer again unto the King, much like to the same which he sent before, which was, That although the Pope in time past, upon his own will and pleasure to the importable grievance of the Realm of England, hath every where, and without respect, through the whole land made his provisions in giving their Benefices unto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest, said he, is overblown: so that hereafter, if the Pope shall grant his provision for any of his Nephews or of his Cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant suit unto the King, without all enforcement, so that it shall stand wholly in the Kings free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good, &c. *Mat. Paris. fol. 209. b.*

This answer of the Pope albeit it was but a subtil shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that he had thus promised to the King. For shortly after, and within few days upon the same, and in the time also of the said Parliament holden at Winchester, the Pope sent two English Friars into the Realm, whose names were John and Alexander, with full authority, after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lowly submission to the King, while they had leave granted to range about the Realm, afterward, coming to the Bishops and rich Abbots, shewed themselves forth in their full authority, in such sort as they became rather Tyrants than Extortioners.

Among others, coming to Robert Bishop of Lincoln, who of all other bare a special mind to the Order of Observants, these two Friars as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible Mandate with the Popes Bulls, required and eke commanded under the Popes mighty Curse, to have the gathering in his Diocese of six thousand marks. Likewise of the Abbot of Saint Albans they required four hundred marks, under great penalty, and that in short time to be paid.

The Bishop, although well liking before that Order of those Friars, yet seeing the impudent behaviour, and more impudent request of those Merchants, thus answered to them again, That this exaction (saying, said he, the Popes authority) was never heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed; and moreover, was such as did not only concern him, but the whole publick state of the Clergy, and of the whole Realm in general; and therefore it should be absurdly and rashly done of him to give them answer herein, before the King and the rest of the Council, with others to whom the matter generally did appertain, were made privy thereunto, &c. and so for that time he shook them off, *Paris. fol. 210.*

Furthermore, as touching the Abbot of S. Albans, when he also alledged the same causes, he pretended moreover that he would appeal, and so did, to the Pope and his Cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent down from Pope Innocent another Legate called Johannes Anglicus, an English Friar and Cardinal, who, bringing down a new special precept to the foresaid Abbot, cited him either to appear at London the morrow after S. Giles day, or to disburse to the use of the Pope the foresaid four hundred marks. By reason whereof the Abbot was driven to send his Proctors again, with a new supplication, to the Pope at Lyons; who in the end, through great instance of moneyed friends, agreed with the Abbot for two hundred marks, besides his other charges born, and so was that matter compounded little to the Abbots profit, *Paris. fol. 213.*

To recite all damages and grievances received by the Bishop of Rome in this Realm of England, neither is any History sufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, uneth is there any that would believe it. Notwithstanding to those above declared, this own I thought to commit likewise to memory, to the intent that they which now live in this age may behold and wonder in themselves to see into what miserable slavery, passing all measure, not only the Subjects, but Kings also of this Realm were

The Popes answer answer to the King of England.

The Pope, false of his promise.

Note the subtil practices of the Pope to get money.

The Bishop of Lincoln answer to the Friars the Popes Messengers.

The Abbot of S. Albans maketh great suite to the Pope for the 400 marks that he should pay. This Johannes Anglicus was the more fierce against the Abbot, because he received him not with such reverence as he thought meet for the Popes Legate.

brought under the intolerable yoke of the Popes tyranny, which in those days neither durst any Man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example insuing, with infinite others like to the same may appear.

Example
how this
Realm of
England
was oppress-
ed miser-
ably by the
Pope.

In the year of our Lord 1248. after that Pope *Innocent* the fourth had taken such order in the Realm, that all Prelates of the Church were suspended from collation of any Benefice, before the Popes Kinsfolks and Clerks of *Italy* had been first provided for; it happened upon the same, that the *Abbot of Abington* had a commandment from the Pope, to bestow some Benefice of his Church in all haste to a certain Priest of *Rome*, which the *Abbot*, as an obedient Child unto his Father the Pope, was prest and ready to accomplish accordingly. But the *Roman* Priest, not contented with such as fell next hand, would tarry his time, to have such as were principal and for his own appetite, having a special eye to the Benefice of the Church of *S. Helen* in *Abington*, which was then esteemed worth an hundred marks by year, besides other vales and commodities belonging to the same: the Collation whereof the Priest required by the authority Apostolical to be granted unto him.

As this past on, it chanced at last the Incumbent to dye and the Benefice to be empty. Which estoons being known, the same day cometh a commandment, with great charge from the King to the *Abbot*, to give the Benefice to one *Aetbelmare* the Kings Brother by the Mothers side, who at the same time was possessed with so many Benefices, as the number and value thereof was unknown. The *Abbot* here being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to do, whether to gratifie his King or to obey the Pope, took counsel with his friends: who, well adviling of the matter, gave him counsel to prefer the Brother of his Prince and Patron, so that the King would undertake to stand in his defence against the Pope, rather than the *Romish* Priest, whom always he should have lying there as a spie and watcher of him, and like a thorne ever in his eye: and so the King assuring the *Abbot* of his undoubted protection, and indemnity against all harms, the Benefice was conferred forthwith to the Kings Brother.

The *Roman* Priest, not a little grieved thereat, speedeth himself in all haste to the Bishop of *Rome*, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of Men) making it worse than it was. Upon whose complaint the Pope estoons in great anger cited up the *Abbot* personally to appear before him, to answer to the crime of disobedience. The *Abbot* trusting upon the Kings promise and protection (which neither could help him in that case, neither durst oppose himself against the Pope) being both aged and sickly, was driven to travel up to the Court of *Rome*, in great heaviness and bitterness of mind. Where in conclusion, after much vexation and bitter rebukes, besides great expences, he was faine to satisfie the Pope after his own will, compounding to give him yearly fifty marks in part of making him amends for his trespass of disobedience, *Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 222.*

The *Abbot*
of *Abington*
cited to ap-
pear before
the Pope.
The *Abbot*
of *Abington*
condemned
in 50 marks
for denying
of an Eng-
lish Benefice
to an *Italian*
the Popes
Nephew.

A detestable
extortion of
the Pope u-
sed against
the *Priory*
of *Binham*.

To this also may be added another like fact of the Pope, as outrageous as this, against the House of *Binham*. For when the Benefice of *Wesfle* in the Diocess of *Ely* was void by the death of the Incumbent, who was an *Italian* and one of the Popes Chamber, the Donation of which Benefice belonged to the *Priory* of *Binham*; another *Italian* which was a Bastard and unlearned, born in the City of *Genoa*, called *Heriggetto de Malchano de Valta*, brought down the Popes Letters to *M. Berardo de Nympha*, the Popes Agent here in *England*, with strict charge and full authority, commanding him to see the said Benefice to be conferred in any case to *Heriggetto*. Yea, and though the Benefice had been given already, yet notwithstanding the possessor thereof should be displaced, and the said *Heriggetto* preferred: Yea also *Non obstante*, that the said Pope himself had before given his grant to the King and Realm of *England*, That one *Italian* should not succeed another in any Benefice there; yet for all that the said *Heriggetto* upon pain of Excommunication to be placed therein, *Ex Matth. Parisiens. fol. 240.*

The *Greci-
ans*, excused
and purged
in parting
from the
Church of
Rome.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the East Churches and the *Grecians*, to the intent all Men that read these Stories, and see the doings of this Western Bishop, may consider what just cause these *Grecians* had to seclude themselves from his subjection,

and Communion. For what Christian Communion is to be joyned with him which so contrary to Christ and his Gospel seeketh for worldly Dominion, so cruelly persecuteth his Brethren, so given to avarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in revenging, stirring up Wars, depriving Kings, deposing Emperors, playing *Rex* in the Church of Christ, so erroneous in Doctrine, so abominably abusing Excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of Gods fear: and briefly, so far from all the parts of a true Evangelical Bishop? For what seemeth he to care for the souls of Men, which setteth in Benefices Boys and outlandish *Italians*: and further, one *Italian* to succeed another, which neither did know the language of the flock, nor once would abide to see their faces? And who can blame the *Grecians* then for dis severing themselves from such an oppressor and giant against Christ?

KING
Hen. 3

The mis-
eries that
have risen
in *England*
through
subjection
under the
Church of
Rome.

Whose wife example if this Realm had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, wars, commotions, great travels and charges, besides the saving of innumerable thousands of pounds, which the said Bishop full falsly had raked and transported out of this Realm of ours. But not to exceed the bounds of my History, because my purpose is not to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will pass this over, leaving the judgment thereof to the further examination of the Reader. For else if I listed to prosecute this Argument so far as matter would lead me, and truth peradventure would require me to say, I durst not only say, but could well prove the Pope and Court of *Rome* to be the only fountain and principal cause, I say not only of much misery here in *England*, but of all the publick calamities and notorious mischiefs which have happened these many years through all these West parts of Christendom, and especially of all the lamentable ruine of the Church, which not only we, but the *Grecians* also this day do suffer by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As whosoever well considereth by reading of Histories the course of times, and vieweth withal the doings and acts passed by the said Bishop of *Rome*, together with the blind leading of his Doctrine, shall see good cause not only to think, but also to witness the same. Only one Narration touching this Argument, and yet not transgressing the Office of my History, I mind (the Lord willing) to set before the Readers eyes, which happened even about this present time of this King *Henry's* Reign, in the year of our Lord, 1244.

England
plagued by
the Pope
when it
needed not.

The Pope
and Court
of *Rome* the
principal
cause of all
the publick
calamities
through
Christendom

In the which year it chanced, that *Lewis* the French King, Son to Queen *Blanch*, fell very sore sick, lying in a swoond or in a trance for certain days, in such sort as few thought he would have lived, and some said he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his Mother, who sorrowing bitterly for her Son, and given somewhat (as commonly the manner of Women is) to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the Holy Cross, with the Crown and the Spear; which piece of the Holy Cross *Baldwinus* Emperor of *Constantinople* (whom the *Grecians* had deposed a little before for holding with the Bishop of *Rome*) had sold unto the French King for a great sum of money, and blessing him with the same, also laid the Crown and the Spear to his body, making a Vow withal in the person of her Son, That if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him of that infirmity, he should be crossed or marked with the Cross, to visit his Sepulchre, and there solemnly to render thanks in the Land which he had sanctified with his blood. Thus as she, with the Bishop of *Paris*, and others there present were praying, behold the King, which was supposed of some to be dead, began with a sigh to pluck to his arms and legs, and so stretching himself began to speak, giving thanks to God, who from on high had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. Which as the Kings Mother with others there took to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the Holy Cross: so the King amending more and more, as soon as he was well recovered, received solemnly the badge of the Cross, vowing for a Freewill Sacrifice unto God, that he, if the Counsel of his Realm would suffer him, would in his own person visit the Holy Land: forgetting belike the rule of true Christianity, where Christ teacheth us otherwise in the Gospel,

The sickness
of *Lewis* the
French King

The super-
stition of
the Kings
Mother.

The King
recovereth
his sickness.

The people
of *France*
blinded
with a false
miracle.

The vain
vow of
Lewis the
French King

KING Gospel, saying, *That neither in this Mount nor in Samaria, nor at Jerusalem the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, which shall worship him in truth and verity, &c.* An. 1244. Parisiensis, fol. 182.

After this was great preparation and much ado in France toward the setting forth to the Holy Land. For after the King first began to be crossed, the most part of the Nobles of France, with divers Archbishops and Bishops, with Earls, and Barons, and Gentlemen to a mighty number, received also the Cross upon their Sleeves. Amongst whom was the Earl *Atrebaensis* the Kings Brother, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brabant, the Countess of Flanders with her two Sons, the Earl of Britain with his Son, the Earl of Barenfis, Earl of Swesson, Earl of St. Paul, Earl of Druis, Earl of Retel, with many Noble persons more. Neither lacked here whatsoever the Pope could do, to set forward this holy business, in sending his Legates and Friers into France, to stir the People to follow the King, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the King, to gather of the Universal Church of France, by the Popes Authority, the tenth part of all their Goods for three years space together, upon this condition, that the King likewise would grant to the Pope the twentieth part for so many years after, to be gathered of the said Church of France. Which was agreed, An. 1246. *Ex Matt. Parisiensis*, fol. 204. b.

Shortly after this, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred forty and seven, followed a Parliament in France, where the King with his Nobles being present, there was declared how the King of Tartarians or Turks, hearing of the Voyage of the French King, writeth a Letter to him, requiring that he will become his subject. In the which Parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which should be after the Feast of St. John Baptist the very next year ensuing. Also they that were crossed were sworn to persist in their purpose, and sentence of the Popes great Curse denounced to all them that went from the same: *Matt. Paris.* Fol. 211. Furthermore, for the better speed in his journey, the King through all his Realm caused it to be Proclaimed, That if any Merchant or other had been injured at any time by the Kings Exactors, either by oppression, or borrowing of Money, let him bring forth his Bill, shewing how or wherein, and he should be recompensed. At which time *William Longspath* a worthy Warriour, with the Bishop of Worcester and certain other great men in the Realm of England, moved with the example of the French men, prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

The next year after this ensuing, which was 1248, the French King yet still remaining in his purposed journey, Lady *Blanch* his Mother, also the Bishop of Paris his Brother, with the Lords of his Council, and other Nobles, and his special Friends, advertised him with great persuasions to alter his mind, touching that so adventurous and so dangerous a journey, for that his Vow (said they) was unadvisedly made, and in time of his sickness, when his mind was not perfectly stablished: and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertain; the King of England being on the one side, the Emperor on the other side, and the *Pictavians* in the midst, so fugitive and unstable: and as concerning his Vow, the Pope should friendly dispenze with him, considering the necessity of his Realm, and weakness of his Body. Besides all this, his Mother upon her blessing required him, his Brethren of all love desired him to stay at home, and not in his Person to adventure; others might be sent in his room, with no less Furniture to achieve that Enterprize, and to discharge him of his Vow, especially seeing at the making thereof his Senses were feeble, his Body weak, and Reason, through sickness and very death almost decayed.

To whom the King again, Forasmuch (said he) as you say, that for feebleness of my Senses I took this Vow upon me: so therefore as you here will me, I lay down the Cross that I took. And putting his hand to his Shoulder, he tare off the Badges of the Cross, saying to the Bishop, Here I resign to you the Cross wherewith I was signed. At the sight whereof there was no small rejoicing of all that were there present. To whom the King then, both altering his Countenance and his Speech, thus spake: My Friends (said he) whatsoever I was then in my sickness, now I thank God I am of perfect Sense, and Reason sound,

and now I require my Cross again to be restored unto me: saying moreover, That no Bread should come in his Head, before he were Recognized again with the same Cross, as he was before. At the hearing whereof all there present were astonished, supposing that God had some great matter to work, and so moved no more Questions unto him.

Upon this drew nigh the Feast of *John Baptist*, which was the time set for the setting forth. And now being in a readiness, the King in few days after was entering his journey: but yet one thing lacked. For the King, perceiving the mortal variance between the Pope and good *Frederick* the Emperor, thought best first before his going to have that matter appeased, whereby his way both might be safer through the Emperors Countries, and also less jeopardy at home after his departure; and therefore upon the same, he took first his way to *Lions*, where the Pope was, partly to take his leave; but most especially to make reconciliation between the Emperor and the Pope.

Where is to be noted by the way, That as touching the good Emperor there was no let nor stay. Who rather sought all means how to compass the Popes favour, and never could obtain it: inasmuch that before he should be Excommunicated in the Council of *Lions*, he not only answered sufficiently by *Thudens* his Attorney, discharging himself against whatsoever Crimes or Objections could be brought against him; but so far humbled himself to the Pope and the Council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done of his part, what amends soever the Pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the uttermost. This would not be taken.

Furthermore, if the Pope (he said) could not abide his tarrying in his own Dominions and Empire, he would go fight against the *Saracens* and *Turks*, never to return into Europe again, offering there to recover the Lands and Kingdoms whatsoever did at any time belong to Christendom, so that the Pope only would be contented that *Henry* his Son (which was then Nephew to King *Henry* here in England) should be Emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

Then he offered for truth of his Promise, to put in the French King and the King of England to be his Sureties, or else for trial of his cause to stand to their Award and Arbitrement. Neither would that be granted.

At last he desired, that he might come himself and answer before the Council. But the proud Pope in no case would abide that, saying, That he did not yet find himself so ready and meet for Martyrdom, to have him to come thither to the Council; for if he did, he would depart himself, &c. *Ex Mat. Parisiensis*, Fol. 187.

This obstinate rancor and divellish malice of Pope *Innocent* and his predecessor, against that valiant Emperor, and against the *Grecians*, what disturbance and mischief it wrought to the whole Church, what strength it gave to the *Saracens* and *Tartarians*, how it impaired Christian Concord, and weakened all Christian Lands, not only the Host of the French King did find shortly after, but Christendom even to this day may and doth feel and rue. Neither can in Stories be found any greater cause which first made the *Turks* so strong, to get so much ground over Christendom as they have, than the Pestilent working of this Pope, in Deposing and Excommunicating this worthy Emperor. For as there was never Emperor of long time, which more victoriously prevailed in bridling and keeping under these enemies of Christ, or would have done more against them, than the said *Frederick* if he might have been suffered: so after the Deposing and Excommunicating of him, when the French King neither would abide at home, as he was Counsell'd, neither was yet able, without the help of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said *Saracens* and *Tartarians* being now joyned together, neither yet could the Emperor be suffered by the Pope to rescue the King: it followed thereof, that the good King being taken Prisoner, and all his Army destroyed, the *Turks* thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the Christians, that ever since they have burst in further upon us, and now have prevailed so far, as neither the power of the Pope, nor of all Christendom is able to drive them out; as hereafter by sequel of Stories is further to be declared.

The French King set forth on his journey.

The French King desired to reconcile the Pope and the Emperor.

The Emperor Frederick purged himself to the Pope and Council.

The submission of the Emperor.

The worthy offer of the noble Emperor.

The Emperor offered to put in the French King and King of England to be his Sureties.

The beginning of the Turks Victories over Christendom.

Pope Innocent the fourth would not be reconciled with the Emperor.

The French Army relieved by the Emperor Frederick. The French King again intreateth the Pope for the Emperor.

Damietta gotten again by French men.

The Pride of the Earl of Artois.

Death of certain of the French Captains in the way.

ANNO 1250
Victory of the French men over the Saracens.

French men discomfited by the Saracens.

The French men again well offered by the Soldan.

The Earl of Artois and the Popes Legate again refuse the Form of Peace offered.

In the mean time, to return where before we left, when the French King coming thus unto the Pope at *Lions* to intreat for the Emperor, could find no favour, he took his leave, and with great heaviness departed, setting forward on his journey unto *Marfilia*, and so Sailed to the Isle of *Cyprus*, where he remained all that Winter, so that falling into penury and lack of Victuals, he was fain to send to the *Venetians* and other Islands by, for help of Provision. The *Venetians* gently sent unto him six great Ships laden with Corn, Wine, and other Victuals requisite, besides the relief of other Islands more. But especially *Frederick* the Emperor, understanding of their want, so furnished the French Camp with all plenty of necessaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French King, moved with the kindness of the Emperor, wrote his special Letters to the Pope in the Emperors behalf, but the hard heart of the Pope would not relent. *Blanchia* the Kings Mother in France, hearing what the Emperor had done to her Son, sent him most hearty thanks, with presents and rewards manifold: *Mat. Paris. Pag. 226.*

In this mean time, about the beginning of October, the French men got *Damietta*, being the principal Fort or Hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, in the year one thousand two hundred forty and nine. After the winning of *Damietta*, the Prince and People of the Saracens, being astonished at the loss thereof, offered to the Christians great ground and possessions more than ever belonged to Christendom before, so that they might have *Damietta* to them restored again. But the pride of the Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother, would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but requireth both *Damietta* and *Alexandria* the chief Metropolitan City of all Egypt, to be delivered unto them. The Saracens, seeing the pride and greediness of the French men, in no case would abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Christians, as in the end it proved. *Ex Mat. Paris. Fol. 229.*

First, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, and in the journey before, died the Earl of *Palatin*, and one of the twelve Peers of France, also the Earl of *St. Paul* and *Blesse*, who had under him fifty Ensigns, which were all after his Death scattered abroad and dispersed; also died *Johannes de Denis* a valiant Captain, with many other Noble Personages both Men and Women, which, by altering the Air and Diet, there deceased.

The next year ensuing, which was 1250, about *Wednesday*, the French men, issuing out of their Tents by the City of *Damietta*, flew upon the Saracens which besieged them, and so after a great number of the Enemies slain, with Victory and great Spoils, returned to their Tents again. Now within the City of *Damietta* was the Queen with her Ladies, the Popes Legate, and Bishops, with a Garison of Horsmen and Footmen for the Defence of the City strongly appointed. The next day, the French men supposing to have the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gave a fresh assault upon them, but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly appointed themselves, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more than they got the day before, and so, after a great slaughter of their men, retired unto their Tents again. Whereupon the Saracens began to take great hearts and courage against our men, stopping also the passages round about the City of *Damietta*, that no Victuals could pass unto them. In like manner the Soldan also, gathering all the Gallies about *Alexandria* and all the Land of Egypt, so inclosed the Seas, that no intercourse should be to them by Water.

At length after long Talk and Consultation between them on both sides, the Soldan advised them betimes to resign unto him the City of *Damietta*, with the Furniture which they found therein, and they should have all the Country about *Jerusalem*, with all the Captives of the Christians, friendly restored unto them: wherewith the Christians (said he) ought to be contented, and to seek no further, but only to have the Land of *Jerusalem*; which being granted to them, they should not incroach into their Lands and Kingdoms, whereto they had no right. This form of Peace, as it liked well the meaner sort of the poor Soldiers, and divers others of the said Council and Nobility; so the proud Earl of *Artois*, the Kings Brother, in no case would assent thereto, but still required the City of *Alexandria* to be yielded

unto them. Which the Egyptians by no means would agree unto. KING Rich. 3.

From that time the French Army, being compassed by Sea and by Land, began every day more and more to be distressed for lack of Victuals and with Famine, being driven to that misery, that they were fain to eat their own Horses in the Lent-time, which should have served them unto other uses. Neither could any Christian, nor *Frederick* being Deposed by the Pope, be able to send them any succor. Furthermore, the more misery the Christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens press upon them on every side, detesting their forward wilfulness. Infomuch that divers of the Christian Soldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privily conveyed themselves, as they could, out of the Camp to the Saracens, who were gladly received and relieved, and some suffered still to keep their Faith, some Marrying Wives amongst them, and for hope of honour did Apostate to their Law, and so wrought no little harm to the Christians. The Soldan, being perfectly instructed by these fugitives of all things belonging to the Kings Army, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his Mattocks, Forks, and Rakes, his Scithes, Plowes, and Harrows, which he brought over with him, or why he did not occupy them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker? All this and much more the King with his Frenchmen were fain to take well in worth. It happened shortly after that this Soldan died, being Poysoned of his own Servants; which was to the Christians a more heaping of their miseries. For albeit the said Soldan had been a cruel Tyrant to the Christians, yet was he hated of his own people, wherby his strength was the less: after whom succeeded another much more cruel. Who as he was better loved, so he became much stronger, by a general confederacy of all the Saracens which were in the East parts, joining now together. So that when the Christians desired now to have the form of Peace before proffered, he precisely denied them. And so the French Host, which at first began to be feared, by their pride and over-much greediness grew more and more in contempt amongst their Enemies, and now was utterly despised.

The Christians, thus seeing all things to go backward with them, and how the Infidel Saracens daily did prevail, began to murmur against God, and some also, which were well settled before, to stagger in their Religion, casting out these words of Infidelity: How is this (said they) that the Lord hath left us, in whose cause we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we been confounded by these Saracens and Infidels, who with shedding of our blood have enjoyed great spoils and victories? First this City of *Damietta*, which we Christians had gotten dearly with effusion of so much Christian blood, afterwards we were constrained for nought to resign up again. After that, the Army of the Templars, fighting for the Holy Temple against the Saracens, near to *Antioch*, was vanquished, and the Standard-bearer slain in the fields. Again, within these few years, our French men, fighting in like manner against the Saracens at the City of *Gazara*, were put to the worst, and many afterward out of Captivity Ransomed, by *Richard*, Duke of *Excester*, Brother to the King of England, *Henry* the third. Then came in the *Chobmorins* sent by the Soldan of *Babylon*, which by a vile Invaded the Christians in the City of *Jerusalem*, where almost all the Christian Army being in the Holy Land, were destroyed. And now here our most Christian King, together with the whole Nobility, is like to be in danger, utterly to be overthrown. And how is it that the Lord thus standeth against us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them, than of us, &c? *Matthæus Paris. fol. 231.* Such murmuring words of an unstable Faith many there began to cast out, as taking displeasure for their sufferings: but not considering on the other side what Idolaters they were, what Pride and Discord was amongst them, what Cruelty and Murder they had shewed at home in persecuting the poor *Albigenses*, what Superstition they first brought out with them, with what Idolatry they proceeded, putting their trust in Masses, in the Popes Indulgences, in worshipping of Images, and praying to Saints. And what helps then could they look for at Gods hand, which had Images in their Temples, to fight against them which had none? Or what marvel, if the Lord of Hosts went not with their Army, committing such Idolatry every day in their

Famine and misery in the French Camp. The French men eat their Horses in Lent-time.

The Soldan's Message deriding the French men.

The Soldan's death, a worse followeth.

The French men desire again the Peace offered before and could not have it.

Victories over the Templars and Keepers of Jerusalem.

Causes debated why the Lord did not protect the Christians fighting against the Saracens.

KING their Pavilions to their Sacramental Bread and Wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their own merits, and not only by the power of their Faith in Christ, which is only the Victory that overcometh the World? **John** 1. Finally, having in their Camp the Legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his Enemy: as by example of *Frederick* the Emperor may be well perceived; who, after he was accused by *Pope Gregory* a little before, coming the same time in War against the *Saracens* in *Palestina*, Gods Blessing wrought so mightily with him, that without any blood-shed he recovered *Jerusalem*, and set all the Country about it in great quietness, till at last the *Papish* Templars, which at the *Popes* setting on went about to betray him to the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, and so lost all again by their own malicious mischief, that the Emperor before had gotten. *Ex Mat. Parisiens.*

But let us proceed further in this holy progress: The *French* King with his Army seeing himself distressed, and no good there to be done against the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, after he had sufficiently Fortified the City of *Damiata*, with an able Garrison left with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he removed his Tents from thence to go Eastward. In whose Army also followed *William Longspath* (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied with a picked number of *English* Warriors retaining unto him: But such was the disdain of the *French* men against this *William Longspath* and the *English* men, that they could not abide them, but flouted them after opprobrious manner, with *English* Tails, inasmuch that the good King himself had much ado to keep peace between them.

The original cause of this grudge between them began thus: There was, not far from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, a strong Fort or Castle, replenished with great Ladies, and rich Treasure of the *Saracens*: the which Hold it chanced the said *William Longspath* with his Company of *English* Soldiers to get, more by good luck and politick dexterity, than by open force of Arms, whereby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the *French* men had knowledge hereof, they, being not made privy thereto, began to conceive an heart-burning against the *English* Soldiers, and could not speak well of them after that. It happened again, not long after, that the said *William* had intelligence of a company of rich Merchants among the *Saracens*, going to a certain Fair about the parts of *Alexandria*, having their Camels, Asses, and Mules, richly Laden with Silks, precious Jewels, Spices, Gold and Silver, with Cart-loads of other Wares, besides Victuals and other Furniture, whereof the Soldiers then stood in great need. He having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of *English* men unto him that he could, and so by Night falling upon the Merchants, some he slew with their Guides and Conductors, some he took, some he put to flight. The Carts with the Drivers and with the Oxen, and the Camels, Asses and Mules, with the whole Carriage and Victuals he took and brought with him, losing in all the Skirmish but one Soldier, and eight of his Servitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being known in the Camp, forth came the *French* men, which all this while loitered in their Pavilions, and meeting their Carriage by the way, took all the foresaid Prey whole unto themselves, rating the said *William* and the *English* men, for so adventuring and issuing out of the Camp without leave or knowledge of their General, contrary to the Discipline of War. *William* said again, he had done nothing but he would answer to it, whose purpose was to have the spoil divided to the behoof of the whole Army: when this would not serve, he being fore-grieved in his mind, so cowardly to be spoiled of that, for the which he so adventurously had travelled, went to the King to complain. But when no reason nor complaint would serve, by reason of the proud Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother, which upon despite and disdain stood against him, he bidding the King farewell, said he would serve him no longer. And so *William de Longspath* with the rest of his company, breaking from the *French* Host, went to *Achbon*. Upon whose departure then said the Earl of *Artois*: Now is the Army of *French* men well rid of these tailed people. Which words, spoken in great despite, were evil taken of many good men that heard him: *Ex Mat. Parisiens.* fol. 233, 234.

Before the arriving of the *French* Army in the Land of *Egypt*, the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, having before intelligence of their coming, committed the custody of *Damiata* unto a certain Prince of his whom he specially trusted, committing also to his Brother the keeping of *Kaira* and *Babylonia*. It followed now after the taking of *Damiata*, that the *Soldan* of *Babylon* accused the Prince which had the custody thereof, before his Nobles, of prodution, as giving the City unto the Christians. Who notwithstanding in judgment did sufficiently clear himself, declaring how he was certified that the King would Land at *Alexandria*, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the Kings arrival there. But by distress of weather, he missing of his purpose, and the King Landing about *Damiata*, by reason thereof the City was taken unprovided, he notwithstanding with his Company resisting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and so departed out, cursing (said he) *Mahomet* and his Law. At which words the *Soldan*, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a Traytor and Blasphemer, and to be Hanged, albeit he had sufficiently purged himself by the judgment of the Court. His Brother which was the Keeper of *Kaira* and *Babylonia*, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good mind to the Christian Religion, devised in himself how to give the said City of *Kaira* and *Babylonia* to the *French* King, and so in most secret wise sent to the King, shewing his full purpose and what had happened: and furthermore instructing the King in all things how and what he should do, and moreover requiring the Sacrament of Baptism, meaning indeed good Faith, and sending also away all the Christian Captives which he had with him in Prison. The King, being glad hereof, sent in all haste for *William Longspath*, promising a full redress of all injuries past, who, upon hope of some good luck towards, came at the Kings request, and so joyned with the *French* power again.

The lamentable overthrow and slaughter of the *French* Army fighting against the Infidels, through the sinister counsel of the *Popes* Legate.

TO make the Story short, the King, setting forward from *Damiata*, directed his journey towards *Kaira*, slaying by the way such *Saracens* as there were set to stop the Victuals from *Damiata*. The *Soldan* in the mean time hearing of the courageous coming of the *French* Host, as being in great hope to Conquer all; sent unto the King by certain that were next about him, offering to the Christians the quiet and full possession of the *Holy Land*, with all the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and more; besides other infinite Treasure of Gold and Silver, or what else might pleasure them, only upon this condition, they would restore again *Damiata*, with the Captives there, and so would joyn together in mutual Peace and Amity. Also they should have all their Christian Captives delivered home, and so both Countries should freely pass one to another with their Wares and Traffick, such as they listed to adventure. Furthermore, it was also firmly affirmed and spoken, that the *Soldan* with most of his Nobles were minded no less than to leave the filthy Law of *Mahomet*, and receive the Faith of Christ, so that they might quietly enjoy their Lands and Possessions. The same day great quietness had entred (no doubt) in all Christendom, with the end of much bloodshed and misery, had it not been for the *Pope* and his Legate, who (having commandment from the *Pope*, that if any such offers should come, he should not take them) stoutly & frontose (as the words be of the Story) contradicens, in no wise would receive the conditions offered: *Paris.* fol. 233.

Thus, while the Christians unprofitably lingered the time in debating this matter, the *Soldan* in the mean time got intelligence of the compact between the Tribune of *Kaira* and the *French* King; whereupon he sent in all haste to the City of *Kaira* to apprehend the Tribune till the truth were fully tried, which seemed to him more apparent, for that the Christian Prisoners were already delivered. Hereupon the *Soldan* being in some better hope, and less fear, refused that which before he had offered to the Christians; albeit they with great instance afterward sued to the

Babylon in Egypt.

How *Damiata* was taken of the Christians.

The Keeper or Tribune of *Damiata* wrongfully put to death by the *Soldan*.

The Tribune of *Kaira* desired to be Christened.

William Longspath sent for again, and cometh.

The Story how the *French* Army was overthrown fighting against the *Saracens*.

The fare-offers of the *Soldan* to the *French* men, if they had had grace to take it.

The *Pope* and his Legate cause of all this mischief.

The Christians refusing good offers could not have them even they would.

A cruel Proclamation of the Saracens against the Christians.

the *Soldan*, and could not obtain it. Then the *Soldan*, being wholly bent to try the matter by the sword, sent to the East parts for an infinite multitude of *Souldiers*, giving out by Proclamation, that whosoever could bring in any Christian Mans head, should have ten talents, besides his standing wages. And whosoever brought his right hand should have five. He that brought his foot should have two talents for his reward.

The Earl of Artois with the third part of the Christian Army passeth over the River Nilus.

After these things thus prepared on both sides to the necessity of War, the King cometh to the great River *Nilus*, having gotten together many Botes, thinking by them to pass over, as upon a sure Bridge. On the other side the *Soldan* pitched himself to withstand his coming over. In the mean time happened a certain Feast amongst the *Saracens*, in which the *Soldan* was absent, leaving his Tents by the water side. Which being foreseen by a certain *Saracen* lately converted to Christ, serving with Earl Robert the Kings Brother, and shewing them withal a certain shallow Ford in the River of *Nilus*, where they might more easily pass over; The said Earl Robert and the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the Army, issued over the River, after whom also followed *William Longspath* with his band of *English* Souldiers. These, being together joyned on the other side the water, encountered the same day with the *Saracens* remaining in the Tents, and put them to the worke. After this Victory gotten, the French Earl surprised with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole Earth, would needs forward, dividing himself from the main Host, thinking to win the spurs alone. To whom certain sage Men of the Temple giving contrary counsel, advised him not so to do, but rather to return and take their whole Company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid privily for them. The manner of that people (they said) they better knew, and had more experience thereof than he: alledging moreover, their wearied bodies, their tired Horses, their famished Souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the Enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all, or losing all: with other such like words of perswasion. Which when the proud Earl did hear, being inflamed with no less arrogancy than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts he reviled them, called them cowardly dastards, and betrayers of the whole Country, objecting unto them the common report of many, which said, That the Land of the Holy Cross might be won to Christendom, were it not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hospitalars and their fellows, &c.

The despiteful rebukes of Earl Robert to them that gave him good counsel.

To these contumelious rebukes when the Master of the Temple answered again for him and his fellows, bidding him display his Ensigne when he would; and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to go before them. Then began *William de Longspath* the worthy Knight to speak, desiring the Earl to give ear to those Men of experience, who had better knowledge of those Countries and people than he had, commending also their counsel to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the Master of the Temple began with gentle words to mitigate him likewise. The Knight had not half ended his talk, when the Earl, taking the words out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying out of these cowardly *English-men* with tails. What a pure Army (said he) should we have here, if these tails, and tailed people were purged from it? With other like words of great villany and much disdain. Whereunto the *English* Knight answering again, Well, Earl Robert, said he, whosoever you dare set your foot, my step shall go as far as yours; and as I believe, we go this day where you shall not dare to come near the tail of my Horse: as in the event it proved true, *Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 236.*

The worthy answer of the English Knight to Earl Robert the Kings Brother.

In this mean time the French King, intending to advance forward his Army, thought best to send away such as were feeble and lacked Armor, unto *Damiata* by Boats. The *Soldan*, hearing thereof prepared a great number of Boats to be carried by Wain and Cart to the water side; which meeting them by the way, drowned and destroyed by wild-fire every one, so that of all that company of our Christians, of whom some were burned, some

A number of French Souldiers sent to Damiata, drowned and slain by the way.

slain, some drowned, not one escaped alive, save one only *English-man*, named *Alexander Giffard*; who, although he was sore wounded in the chase in five places in his body, yet escaped to the French Camp, bringing word unto the King what was done. And this was upon the water.

Now upon the Land, seeing Earl Robert would needs set forward, weening to get all the glory unto himself before the coming of the Host; first they invaded a little Village or Castle which was not far off, called *Manfar*. The Country Boors, and Pagans in the Villages by, seeing the Christians come, ran out with such a main cry and shout, that it came to the *Soldans* hearing, which was nearer than our Men did think. In the mean while the Christians, invading and entering into the Munition incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood above, whereby a great number of our Men were lost, and the Army sore maimed; and almost in despair. Then immediately upon the same cometh the *Soldan* with all his main power; who seeing the Christians Army to be divided, and the Brother separated from the Brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about that none should escape, had with them a cruel fight. Then the Earl began to repent him of his heady rashness, but it was too late: who, then seeing *William* the *English* Knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the Enemies, cryed unto him most cowardly to flee, seeing God (said he) doth fight against us. To whom the Knight answering again, God forbid (saith he) that my Fathers Son should run away from the face of a *Saracen*: The Earl then turning his Horse fled away, thinking to avoid by the swiftness of his Horse, and so taking the River of *Thafnis*, oppressed with Harnes, was there sunken and drowned. Thus the Earl being gone, the French Men began to despair and scatter. Then *William de Longspath*, bearing all the force of the Enemies, stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a *Saracen*, until at length his Horse being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer stand, who yet notwithstanding, as he was down, mangled their feet and legs, and did the *Saracens* much sorrow, till at the last after many blows and wounds, being stoned of the *Saracens*, he yielded his life. After the death of him, then the *Saracens* setting upon the residue of the Army, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, inso much that scarce one Man escaped alive, saving two Templars, one Hospitalar, and one poor rascal Souldier, which brought tidings hereof to the King.

These things being known in the French Camp unto the King and his Souldiers; first of their drowning which were sent to *Damiata*, then of their ruine and slaughter of the Army, with the Kings Brother by the Town of *Manfar*, there was no little sorrow and heaviness on every side, with great fear and doubt in themselves what was best to do. At last, when they saw no remedy, but they must stand manfully to revenge the blood of their Brethren, then the King with his Host past over the flood of *Nilus*, and coming to the place where the Battel had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the *Saracens* for the reward before promised by the *Soldan* or *Sultan*, unto them that could bring the head or hand of any Christian, had so mangled the Christians, leaving their bodies unto the wild Beasts. Thus as they were sorrowing and lamenting the ruful case of their Christian fellows, suddenly appeareth the coming of the *Soldan*, with a multitude of innumerable thousands. Against whom the French-men estoons prepare themselves to encounter, and so the Battel being struck up, the Armies began to joyn. But alack for pity, what could the French-men here do, their number first so maimed, their hearts wounded already with fear and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and Famine, their Horses for feebleness not able to serve them? In conclusion, the French-men were overthrown, slain, and dispatched; and seeing there was no flying, happy was he that first could yield himself. In which miserable conflict, the King with his two Brethren, and a few that clave unto him, were taken Captives, to the confusion of all Christian Realms, and presented to the *Soldan*. All the residue were put to the Sword, or else stood to the mercy of the *Saracens*, whether to be slain or to remain in woful Captivity. And this was the end of that sorrowful Battel,

THE KING, Hen. 3.

The Village and Castle of Manfar assaulted by the French men.

The French men distressed by the Siege of Manfar.

Earl Robert's Army inclosed by the Soldan of Babylon.

The cowardly flying away of the Earl Robert the Kings Brother drowned. The manly courage of William Longspath.

William Longspath slain in Battel.

The French men overthrown.

The sorrows in the French Camp for loss of their brethren.

The heads and hands of the Christians cut off.

The battel between the French King and the Soldan. The French Army overthrown.

The pitiful slaughter of the French men. The French King with his two brethren, taken Captives by the Soldan.

KING **HEN. 3.** Battel, wherein almost all the Nobility of France was slain, neither was there one man well-near in the multitude which escaped free, but either was slain, or taken Prisoner. Furthermore, they that were slain or left half alive, had every one his Head and Hand cut off, upon the Soldans Proclamation above-mentioned.

The Sultan or Soldan, after the taking of the French King, fraudulently Suborning an Army of Saracens to the number of the French Army, with the Arms and Ensigns of them that were slain, made toward Damiata, where the Duke of Burgundy, with the French Queen, and Orbo the Popes Legate, and other Bishops and their Garisons were remaining; supposing under the shew of French-men to be let in: but the Captains mistrusting their hasty coming, and misdoubting their Visages, not like to the French-men, shut the Gates against them, and so returned they frustrate of their intent.

The purpose of the Soldan was, if he might have gotten Damiata, to send the French King up higher in the East-Countries to Calipha, the chief Pope of Damascus, to increase the Titles of Mahomet, and to be a spectacle or gazing-stock to all those quarters of the World. The manner of which Calipha was, never to let any Christian Prisoner come out, whoever came once in his hand. But forso much as the Soldan missed his purpose, he thought by advice of Council, to use the Kings life for his own advantage in recovering the City of Damiata, as in the end it came to pass. For although the King at the first was greatly unwilling, and had rather die than surrender Damiata again to the Saracens, yet the conclusion fell out, that the King was put to his Ransom, and the City of Damiata was also resigned; which City being twice won, and twice lost by the Christians, the Soldan or Saladin afterward caused it utterly to be rased down to the ground. The Ransom of the King, upon condition that the Soldan should see him safely conducted to Achon (which I take to be Cesarea) came to 60000 Marks. The number of French-men, and others which miscarried in that War by Water and by Land, come to 80000 persons. *Hæc Mat. Paris. fol. 237, 238.*

And thus have ye the brief Narration of this lamentable peregrination of Lewis the French King: In which when the French-men were once or twice well offered by the Soldan, to have all the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and much more in free possession; they not contented with that which was reasonable and sufficient, for greediness to have all, lost all, having at length no more than their naked bodies could cover lying dead upon the ground, and all through the original cause of the Pope and Orbo his Legate. By whose sinister means and pestilent pride, not only the lives of so many Christians were then lost, but also to the said Pope is to be imputed all the loss of other Cities and Christian Regions bordering in the same quarters: forso much as by the occasion hereof the hearts of the Saracens on the one side were so encouraged, and the Courage of the Christians on the other side so much discomfited, that in short space after, both the Dominion of Antioch and of Achon, with all other Possessions belonging to the Christians, were lost, to the great diminishing of Christs Church.

During the time of this good King lying at Achon or Cesarea: Almighty God sent such Discord betwixt the Soldan of Halaphia, and the Soldan of Babylon for letting the King so escape, that the said Soldan or Saladin of Babylon, to win the King unto his side, entred League with him (whom both his Brethren, and all his Nobles almost at home had forsaken) and remitted his Ransom, and also restored unto him such Prisoners as were in the said Battel found to be alive. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forsaketh. *Matth. Parisensi, fol. 261.*

Another cause moreover, why the ruine of this French Army may worthily be imputed to the Pope, is this, For that when Lewis the French King perceiving what a necessary friend and helper Frederick the Emperor might be to him in these his Affairs against the Saracens, and therefore was an earnest sutor for him to the Pope to have him released; yet neither he, nor the King of England by any means could obtain it. And although the Emperor himself offered to Pope Innocent with all humble submission to make satisfaction in the Council of Lions, promising also to expunge all the Dominions of the Saracens, and never to return into Europe again, and there to recover what-

soever the Christians had lost, so that the Pope would only grant his Son Henry to be Emperor after him: yet the proud Pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceed against him with both Swords, that is, first, with the Spiritual Sword, to Accurse him, and then with the Temporal Sword to Depose him from his Imperial Throne. Through the occasion whereof, not only the French Kings power went to wrack, but also such a fire of mischief was kindled against Christendom, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this overthrow of the French King and his Army, the Christians of Antioch and of other Christian Regions thereabouts, being utterly discouraged, gave over their Holds and Cities. Whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turks, got such an hand over Christendom, as to this day we all have great cause to rue and lament. Besides this, where divers Christians were crossed to go over and help the French King, the Pope for many dispensed with them to tarry still at home.

But as I said, the greatest cause was, that the Emperor which could have done most, was Deposed by the Popes tyranny, whereby all those Churches in Asia were left desolate. As touching the which Emperor Frederick, because we have divers and sundry times made mention of him before, and for that his story is strange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragical, which he sustained against four or five Popes one after another, I thought (not out of story) in a whole Narration to set forth the same, for the Reader to consider, what is to be judged of this Cathedral See of Rome, which had wrought such abominable mischief in the World, as in the sequel of the story following, faithfully Translated out of Latin into English, is to be seen.

The whole Tragical History of Frederick the Second, Emperor, Translated out of the Latin Book of Nich. Ciferus.

Frederick the second, came out of the ancient House of the Beblins or Gibillins; which Gibillins came of the most famous stock of the French Kings and Emperors.

He had Frederick Barbarossa to his Grand-father, whose Son Henricus the sixth was Emperor after him; who of Constantia, the Daughter (or as some write, the Niece) of Roger the first, King of Sicily, begat this Frederick the second.

This Constantia was fifty years of Age before she was conceived with him; whom the Emperor Henry the sixth, to avoid all doubt and surmise that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the peril of the Empire ensue, caused his Regal Tent to be pitched abroad in place where every man might resort. And when the time of his Queens travel approached, Constantia (in presence of divers Ladies and Matrons, and other Gentlewomen of the Empire, a great number) was brought abed and delivered of this Frederick, the seventh day before the Kalends of January in the year of Christs Incarnation 1193. who by Inheritance was King of Naples, Apulia, Calabria and Sicilia.

Henricus his Father, shortly after he was born, obtained of the Princes Electors, that by their Oath unto him given, they would chuse his Son Frederick for their Emperor after his decease, and so did, and immediately called him Cesar, being yet but in his Cradle.

This Henry when he died (which was shortly after the birth of Frederick) committed the protection of him to Constantia his Wife, to Philip his Brother chief Governor of Hetruria, and to the Bishop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry her Husband, being sickly and growing into Age, and thereby not so well able to govern the troubles and unquiet state of the Empire, resigned, and willed by her Testament the safety both of her Son Frederick, and also of his Dominions, to the Protection and Government of Innocent the third, thinking thereby safely to have provided, &c.

This Pope Innocent, as soon as he had the Protection of the young Emperor and his Seignories, became, instead of a Patron and Protector to him and his Dominions, both an Enemy and Conspirator. The examples are many: One is, he perswaded Sibyll the late Wife of Tancredus (whom Henry put from the Kingdom of Sicily) to recover the same again, and that she should thereunto require Philip the French Kings aid. Whereupon one Waltherus being of the Noble House of the Earls of Brenno, which in the Province of Barrenceis had great Living, and Marrying with Ate-

The Tyranny and devilish mischief of the Pope against the Emperor.

What house Frederick came of.

What Father and Mother.

The time and manner of his birth.

What Patrons he had.

The Conspiracies of Pope Innocent against Frederick during his minority. The first conspiracy.

rig the eldest Daughter of *Tancredus* once King of *Sicilia* (as is said) now by the instigation, counsel, and aid of the *French* King with the Pope (well-hoping to recover the Kingdom) entred and invaded with great power *Campania* and *Apulia*. At which time also, the same worthy Protector *Innocentius* the third, sent his Legates with Letters of Excommunication against all those that would not admit and take the said *Waltherus* for their King.

The second Conspiracy.

Another was, that where the Princes, Electors, and other Nobles, as before is said, had promised by their Oath to *Henricus*, that they would make *Frederick* his Son Emperor after his decease (whom the Pope saw to put their endeavour thereunto: to bring it to pass) absolved them all from the Oath which they had taken and given for the Election of *Frederick* the Emperor, as one not content he should obtain the same. And further, he raised slanders and defamations against *Philip*, whom the Electors had chosen to govern the Empire, during the minority of *Frederick* his Nephew. He wrote his Epistle (which is yet extant) to the Duke *Barthold* of *Zaringia* to be Emperor. Who for that he gave place to *Philip*, he went about to procure that *Orbo* the Son of *Henry Leo* should be made Emperor, and that the Princes and Lords, Electors of *Germany* would Crown him forthwith after the manner of *Aquisgrane*. He deprived all such Bishops as he knew to favour *Philip* as Emperor, in the defence of his Nephews right. But *Philip* whose cause was better, his skill in Martial Affairs greater, and in power and strength mightier, after divers and great conflicts, the marvellous disturbance and vastation of the whole Empire, by Gods help put the other to the worse. All which calamities and mischiefs *Conradus Lichtenanus*, at that time living, in his *Annals*, most pitifully complaineth of, and accuseth the Bishop of *Rome* and his Adherents to be the chief Authors and devisers of this great and lamentable mischief, as such that, for to make themselves rich by the spoil thereof, fought by all means and desired the same.

The third Conspiracy.

Not long after, a Peace was concluded between *Philip* and *Orbo*, and *Philip* reconciled again to the Pope; who within a while after, between *Orbo* and him, was murdered in his Chamber and slain. And then was *Orbo* again brought to the Imperial Seat, and new Elected for Emperor, with the counsel and consent of this *Innocent* the third, and so continued until that a great variance and discord chanced to arise between the said *Orbo* and the Pope. Whereupon *Innocentius* fought by all means, how against him likewise he might work mischief, and bring him unto his end. The occasion of this sudden change and alteration my Author maketh no mention of, but that *Orbo* (now being of great power) invaded and destroyed the Dominions of *Frederick*, as *Flaminia*, *Picenum*, *Umbria*, *Hetruria*, but chiefly *Campania*, and *Apulia*, for that those properly appertained to the Inheritance of *Frederick*.

The fifth Conspiracy.

Philip slain.

Variance between Orbo and the Pope.

Thus you see, how first by the counsel and consent of Pope *Innocentius*, and by his instigation, besides his secret Conspiracies, this good *Frederick* and his Dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then again through his default what damage he sustained by *Orbo*, who by him and his means was made so strong as he was: notwithstanding the great trust he was put in for the Protection both of *Frederick* and his Dominions.

What Learning and Knowledge he was of.

At this time *Frederick* was come unto the age of twenty years; who in his youth, by the provision of *Constantia* his Mother, was so well instructed in Letters, and with other arts and virtues so induced, that at these years there appeared and did shine in him excellent gifts both of wisdom and knowledge.

What Vertue he was indued with.

He was excellently well seen in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, although at that time Learning began to decay, and barbarousness to increase. He had also the *German* Tongue, the *Italian* Tongue, and the *Saracen* Tongue. He daily exercised and put in practise those virtues which Nature had planted in him, as Piety, Wisdom, Justice and Fortitude: insomuch that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthiest and most renowned Emperors his predecessors.

Frederick suspected for his Grand-father's sake.

Faxellus (the Historician of *Sicilia* in this time) writeth, That *Fredericus* was again after this had in great honor and estimation with *Innocentius*; but yet notwithstanding he had no sure confidence in him, for that he had the suspected name of *Frederick* his Grand-father often in

remembrance, and for that occasion was much desirous to have him far from *Italy*. KING Hen. 3.

When *Frederick* had gathered his power, he purposed to set upon *Orbo* his Enemy; of which thing *Orbo* hearing (as he was painful in travel) came out of *Italy* with his Army into *Germany*, thinking to have met *Frederick* at the river of *Rhine*, and to have stopped his passage; but he was deceived of his expectation, and *Fredericus* was Crowned, as the manner of *Aquisgrane* is, before he came. And after that *Frederick* in the Winter-time took his journey to *Franckford*, and after many meetings in *Norico* had, and after that *Orbo* was dead, he set the Empire in a stay, and the whole Country of *Germany* he in a manner appeased. And then with all his Nobles and Princes he returned to *Rome*, and of *Honorius* the third was with great Solemnity Consecrated and called *Augustus*. Which *Honorius* succeeded *Innocentius* the third in the Papal See, and was a great help to *Frederick* (although he loved him not) in this behalf, to revenge himself upon *Orbo*. The Coronation of Frederick.

After the Consecration of *Frederick* the second, he gave many great and liberal gifts, as well unto the Bishop of *Rome* himself, as also unto the Court of *Rome* besides. Also he gave and assured by his Charter, to the Church of *Rome*, the Dukedom of *Fundanum*. For by the unfatiable covetousness of the Romish Bishops, this wicked use and custom grew, that unless the Emperors Elect and Crowned would give unto them such like great and large gifts, they could not obtain of them their Consecration or Confirmation, which for that intent they devised. The death of Orbo. The Consecration of Frederick the Emperor.

Furthermore, *Frederick* the Emperor willing to shew himself more bountiful and liberal unto the Church, neither yet to restrain any privilege that might benefit the same, gave and admitted those constitutions which the Pope himself would desire, and are yet extant in their Civil Law: by which his doings he delivered to their hands a Sword (as it were) to cut his own Throat: for the Bishops of *Rome* now having even what they listed, and all in their own hands, might by the pain of proscription, bring what Emperor or King they listed under *Coram nobis*, and keep them by their own Laws, as if they were bound in certain bands, out of which they might not start. For whatsoever he were which for the diminution of the Liberties of the Church were Excommunicated, and so continued a years space, then he should be within the danger of this Proscript, and should not be released before he had made satisfaction, and were admitted by the Pope to the Church and Congregation of good men again. Whereby it came to pass, that whatsoever Emperor, in the Government of his Dominions, should in any point displease, or do contrary to the lust of the Bishop of *Rome*, he then as Enemy to the Church was Excommunicate. And unless within a year he were reconciled to them again (by this their Principal Law) he was in the Proscript. And often it chanced that Princes, to avoid the pain of this Proscript, were ready to do whatsoever the Pope would have them, and commanded them to do. The liberal munificence of Frederick to the Pope and Church of Rome.

After the Consecration of *Frederick* was with great Solemnity finished, and that the Pope and Church of *Rome* in all ample manner (as is partly described) were gratified, and yet larger constitutions to them confirmed, he departed from *Rome*, and went into *Italy*, there to set in order and stay the Cities and great Towns, for the better Tranquility of himself, and safety of his Subjects, and from thence into his own Provinces and Dominions: where he heard of certain that began to raise and make new Factions against him. Amongst whom were found *Thomas* and *Richard*, the Brethren of *Innocentius* the third, Earl of *Anaquinos*, that held certain Castles in the Kingdom of *Neopolitans* from him by force: which Castles he besieged and beat down, and took from them all that he in them found. *Richard*, he took and sent as a Prisoner into *Sicilia*; but *Thomas* escaped and came speedily to *Rome*; whither also repaired certain Bishops and others that were Conspirators against *Frederick*, as also such others as the fear of the Emperors Laws, and their own guilty Consciences caused to fly, and were (that notwithstanding) of this Bishop of *Rome*, *Honorius* the third (to gratify again the liberality of the Emperor bestowed upon him) under his Nose succoured, maintained and defended. Which thing when *Frederick* understood, he began to expostulate with the Bishop, considering the unseemliness of that his Fact. Against whom Frederick gave through his liberality a Sword to cut his own Throat.

The liberality of Frederick well recompensed of Honorius the third. Frederick expostulateth, the Pope curseth.

KING whom the Pope on the other side was so chafed and vexed, that immediately, without further delay, he thundereth out against him, like a Tyrant, his Curses and Excommunications.

Tho. Fazellus declareth the detestation or defiance to happen between them somewhat otherwise. There were (saith he) amongst those which were found Traitors to the Emperor, certain Bishops, which, flying to the Pope, requested his aid: whereupon the Pope sent his Legates to the Emperor, and requested him, that he would admit and receive to favour those Bishops which he had banished and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any Ecclesiastical charge wherewith he had not to do: and said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the Bishop of Rome, and not to him. And moreover, that the oversight of those Churches in that Kingdom, from the which he had expelled the Bishops, pertained and belonged unto him.

Whereunto **Frederick** thus replieth, *That forsomuch as now four hundred years and more (from the time of Carolus Magnus) all Emperors and Kings in their Dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same, such Ecclesiastical functions and charges as within their Territories and Kingdoms fell; that he looked to have the like privilege and authority also, that other his Predecessors before him had. And further said, That he had the same and like authority in the Empire that his Father Henry, and Frederick his Grandfather, and other his Predecessors before them had; neither had he so deserved at the hands of the Church of Rome, either of Honorius himself, to be deprived of those privileges which his ancestors before him had and kept. And further, Frederick being chafed and moved with these demands of the Pope, breaketh forth and saith, How long will the Bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his covetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious desire grow? With such like words more, repeating certain injuries and conspiracies, both against him and his Dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocentius the third his Predecessor, as also other like injuries of Popes to his ancestors practised. What man (saith he) is able to suffer and bear this so incredible boldness and intolerable insolency of so proud a Bishop? Go, (saith he, unto the Legates) and tell Honorius, that I will hazard both the Seigniorie of my Empire, and Crown of my Kingdom, rather than I will suffer him thus to diminish the authority of our Majesty.* **Tho. Fazellus** lib. 8.

Now because much disquietness and controversy hath arisen (for the most part through all Christendom in every Kingdom and Realm severally) for and about the authority of chusing and depriving of Bishops (as may be seen by the example of this Frederick) which the Pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himself, and saith it doth not appertain to another: I thought good not with silence to overpass, but somewhat to say, and to prove the authority of Christian Kings and Princes in this behalf to be both sufficient and good. Which thing not only by the holy Scriptures is right ealie to be done; but also that it is by Synodal Decrees and Councils (divers and sundry) established and confirmed, may easily be proved; as also by the ancient custome and manner of the Primitive Church may further be corroborated and made good.

Whereunto appertain certain places collected and gathered out of the Decrees of **Gratianus**, and especially in these Canons, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63 Distinctions. Furthermore, when Christian Kings and Princes began to embrace Christ his Religion, both for honour and orders sake it was granted, that when the people desired such ministers as were convenient, and by them thought meet; that they which were then in the Ecclesiastical function, and chiefest in authority, should either confirm such as were presented, or else themselves should place fit men in their Churches as need required. So did the Emperors of **Constantinople** (receiving the order and manner from **Constantine** the Great) use and give the right of Ecclesiastical function with the consent both of the people and Ecclesiastical persons, and long so retained the same. As **Honorius** the Emperor unto **Boniface**, can. 8. dist. 79. and can. 2. dist. 97. Also by the example of **Pelagius** and **Gregorius Magnus**; of which one in the Reign of **Justinian** the Emperor, and **Torila** governing Italy; the other in the time of **Mauritius** the Emperor (when the Lombards possessed Italy) were

appointed Bishops to the Church of Rome, Chap. 15. 21. 24.

And whereas **Gratianus** in the beginning of the 96 and 97 Distinction doth declare, that the Rescript of **Honorius** the Emperor is void and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the Bishop of Rome, contrary to the authority of the holy Canons, when as yet neither to the Civil Magistrate, nor to any of the Ecclesiastical order, can there be read of any licence given them to dispence it withal: each man may plainly see and discern his great folly and want of understanding. As though at that time any Decrees were made which should debar Emperors from the constituting of the Ecclesiastical Ministers. Or that it were doubtful whether the Emperors at that time had past any constitutions touching the causes of Ecclesiastical discipline, and the same laws then put in ure; when the contrary most manifestly (both by the Laws and Histories of that age and time, as well of the Church as of the Empire) may appear. And that we need not seek far for the matter, this thing is sufficiently proved by these Titles; *De sacrosanctis Ecclesiis, Episcopis, Clericis*, besides other Ecclesiastical Chapters and matters touching Religion. All which are to be seen in the Books of the principal and chiefest constitutions, collected and set forth by **Justinian**. Amongst the which, many of the Chapters are said to be accepted and allowed of **Honorius** and **Theodosius**: so in like case, the 21 Can. in the 63 distinction doth declare, that the **Grecian** Emperors, that next ensued after **Justinian**, did observe that manner of ordaining and election of the Bishop of Rome, although then at that time *Interpellatum erat*, it was somewhat spurned at. Amongst whom mention is made of **Constantinus** the 4th. which was surnamed **Pogonatus**.

Carolus Magnus in like manner followed their steps and manner in the same, as in the 22d Canon, and the same Distinction is declared. And further, it was at a Synodal Council in **Lateran** (**Adrian** being high Bishop, where were convened and assembled 153 other Bishops) decreed, *That the power and authority of creating the Bishop of Rome, and ordaining of all other Prelates and Ecclesiastical Orders, should be in the power and will of Carolus Magnus, as well in Italy as other his Dominions and Provinces, and that whosoever was not promoted and allowed by him, should not be consecrated of any; and that those which repugned and disobeyed this Decree, should incur the most sharp pain of proscription and publication of law.* The worthy example hereof is extant in the 18 Can. and 18 Title. Yet notwithstanding, **Stephanus** the fourth, author of this Rescript against the said Decree, without the Emperors consent, was made Bishop of Rome; who, to the intent he might delude the decreed and solemnized penalty, thereby to excuse himself, went into France to **Ludovicus Pius**, the Son of **Carolus Magnus**, and at **Rheims** Crowned he him with the Imperial Diadem. Neither could this Bishop here stay himself, but spying the great lenity of the Emperor, assaied to make frustrate the foresaid Constitution. For his purpose was, and so he brought it to pass, as in the 27 Can. and the same Distinction appeareth, that it might be lawful for the Ecclesiastical order, with the People and Senate of Rome (without the authority of the Emperor) to chuse the Bishop of Rome, reserving that he should not be consecrated without the will and consent of the Emperor. Thus it is manifest, that the Bishops of Rome themselves, not regarding, but despising the strict penalty and sanction of the foresaid Decree of the **Lateran** Council, were not only the first that brake the same, but also, by contrary rescripts and constitutions, laboured and indeavoured to extol and set up themselves above all others.

Whereupon **Lotharius**, afterward being Emperor, and Nephew to **Carolus Magnus**, coming into Italy, there to dissolve the conspiracy and confederacy of **Leo** the fourth about the translation of the Empire, renewed and established again the Synodal Decree of **Lateran** touching the Jurisdiction of the Emperor for the election of the Bishop of Rome and other Ecclesiastical persons. And hereof it came, that those Epistles were written of **Leo** in the 16 and 17 Can. and the same distinction, which also, as in the 9 Can. and 10 dist. made a profession, that the same imperial precepts should be kept in all ages. This **Leo**, when he was reprov'd of treason and other evils, pleaded his cause before **Ludovicus** the second, Emperor of Rome, and Son of **Lotharius** above recited: 2 quest. 7. Can. 40.

Gratianus in his distinction on reprov'd for the election of Bishops to be in the Pope.

The titles of **Justinian** for the election.

The **Grecian** Emperors electors of Bishops.

The election decreed by 153 Bishops in the council of **Lateran** to be in the Emperor.

Stephen the 4th. first alterer of this election.

The Bishop of Rome the first breaker of the Decrees of the Council.

Lotharius renewed the **Lateran** decree for election of Bishops.

Orto deposed
John the
14th, and
ratified a
new Decree
of election.

Leo the 5th,
was instituted
by Orto
the Empe-
ror.

The election
once again
ratified to
be in the
Emperors
jurisdiction.

Henry the
3d. and Leo
the 9th.

Henry the
4th. and Ni-
cholas the
second.

The elec-
tion hitherto
in the Empe-
rors, and
now begin-
neth to fall
by Hilde-
brand.

Henry the
4th. again
challengeth
the election.

Henry the
5th. also
striveth for
the election
and faitheth.

Priests ac-
cursed that
take any
Benefice at
the hands
of a Lay-
man.

But after this, as time grew on, the Bishops of Rome nothing relinquishing their ambitious desires; Orto the first Emperor of that name, deprived and put from the See of Rome that most filthy and wicked Bishop John the thirteenth, both for divers and sundry wicked and heinous acts by him committed, as also for his great Treasons and Conspiracies against his Royal Person, and did substitute in his place Leo the fifth; who, calling a Synod at Lateran in the same Temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new Constitution with consent of the Senate and People of Rome, concerning the Emperors Jurisdiction in the forefaid Election; which in the 23 Canon is contained and 63 distinction. Whereby the old right and power of the Emperor in the Election of the Bishop of Rome, and other Ecclesiastical Prelates, was again with sharper and stricter sanction confirmed and ratified. Again, John the eighteenth, whom Crescentius the Roman (usurping the Imperial Crown) had made Bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the Ecclesiastical Order, having his Nose cut off, and his Eies put out, and so thrust out of the Capitol, was again of Orto the third established and made Bishop. But when as yet notwithstanding, the Bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry indeavoured to abrogate that Jurisdiction of the Emperor over the Bishop of Rome (as people loth to be under subjection) Henry the third (then Leo the ninth being constituted Bishop) did once again ratifie the same, and caused the Bishop (which extolled himself before all his fellow Bishops) to stoop and give place to Moguntius.

So after the death of Henry the third Emperor, Nicholas the second, although in his Decree (which in the 1 Canon, and 23 distinction is recited) he gave the primacy for the Election of the Bishop of Rome by the means of the Priests and People of Rome, unto the Cardinals; yet he would after that, that the Prerogative therein should be reserved to Henry the fourth the young Emperor, from whom the Empire afterwards was for a time wrested and taken.

But now after this, when Hildebrand, which was called Gregory the seventh, was Pope, this prerogative of the Emperors in their Election, which before in the creation of Alexander the Bishop, was neglected and broken; the Bishops of Rome not only did seek to diminish the authority thereof, but also to evacuate and quite undo the same. For he not only aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the Emperor, but also made restraint, that no Emperor, King, Duke, Marquess, Earl or any Civil Magistrate, should assign and appoint to any, any Ecclesiastical function and charge; neither that any of his Prelates should be so hardy, as to take them at any of their hands: as *quest. 16. can. 7. 9. and 10.* may be seen.

Yet notwithstanding, after that this horrible Monster Hildebrand was proscribed and thrust out of the Papal Seat, and Clement the third put in his stead, Henry again challenged his Imperial Prerogative of Election. But yet, when the Bishops which succeeded after this Hildebrand, and led by his example, began to derogate from the Imperial Prerogative of Election; and Henry on the other side, by all the means possible, sought to defend and maintain the same; by the subtil fraud and mischievous policy of the Bishops, which set the Son against the Father, and found means to steal from him the hearts of his Nobles and Subjects, and to set them all against him, and especially the Princes of Germany, he was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

And although Henry the fifth (coming to Rome) brought Paschalis the second to that point, that he both in publick concion, and in writing sealed, and also by Oath confirmed, restored again to the Emperors of Rome the Prerogative of Election, and of giving Ecclesiastical Dignities: yet notwithstanding, after that Henry the Emperor was gone from Rome, Paschalis the Pope, greatly repenting and sorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming the priviledges of Emperors through fear) touching the giving and disposing of Ecclesiastical functions, excommunicated the Emperor, and in a Synodal Council at Lateran, ordained and decreed, that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any Ecclesiastical function or preferment at the hands of a civil Magistrate; whereupon were made these Decrees, *qm. 16. chap. 7. 13, 14, 15 and 16.*

Therefore when these Decrees touching the designation of Bishops, in spight and contempt of the Emperor, were practised and put in ure; and when that now (especially by the means and procurement of the Bishops) intestine and Civil Wars began to rise in the Empire; the Imperial Jurisdiction in this matter was not only weakened and much debilitate, but also in manner utterly broken and lost. For when Henry the fifth Emperor was sharply of Lotharius and his Vassals the Bishops beset, and laid unto by the provocation of the Pope, and was mightily, by the Bishops that took his part on the other side, requested and intreated (in hope of publick peace and tranquility) that he would condescend and somewhat yield to the Popes demands: he at length (the more was the pity) that he might be reconciled and have peace with Pope Calixtus the second, in the City of Vangio, departed from and with that his Prerogative or Jurisdiction of giving Ecclesiastical Preferments, to the Pope and his Prelates, now more than three hundred years (from the time of Carolus Magnus) in the hands of the Emperors of Rome, and until this time with great fortitude and Princely courage conferred and kept; which resignation turned to no small detriment both of the Church of Christ, and Christian Commonwealth.

Then first, and never before, obtained the Bishop of Rome, and quietly enjoyed that Prerogative of Election, and bestowing of Benefices, which he so long before with such great policies (now secretly, now openly, and now with force) had sought for. And with what sufficient and good authority Gratianus will prove, that before this time the same authority was given to the City of Rome for the Election of the Pope without the consent of the Emperor, he sheweth, as in the 29 and 30 Canon, and what good stuff he putteth in the later, and how subtilly that Papistical flatterer or Pontifical Parasite hath forged the same, both Carolus Molinius sufficiently in divers places hath noted, and by the observation of times may of a mean Historiographer, that hath read the French and German Histories, soon be espied and discerned. For first, five Bishops one after another succeeded this Gregory the 4th. upon whom 29th. Canon is intitled or fathered; that is, Sergius the 2d. John the 8th. Adrian the 2d. John the 9th. and Adrian the third. Which Adrian by force, wresting the authority of the Election from the People, was made Pope; when as Gregory (specially to be noted) would not take on him the Papacy, before that the Emperor had consented to his Election. After this, Molinius compareth Raphael Volateranus with the 30 Canon, which again is suspected. For why? When Eugenius was Bishop, who was the successor of this Paschalis, with whom Ludovicus Pius is said to have made a League or paction, the same Ludovicus Pius with his Son Lotharius, together with the help of the King of Romans, at Rome made Laws both to all his Subjects in the Empire, as also to the Romans themselves; speaking nothing of the renewing of the Decree made by Lotharius. Then again, how could Leo the fourth write to Lotharius and Ludovicus Emperors, that counterfeit or forged Decree beginning with *Constitutio, &c.* when in the same, mention is made of Henricus Aucupes, and Orto the first, which reigned more than fourscore years after them, and Leo the fourth Bishop of Rome.

Now with what face dare this fond fellow Gratianus make Orto the first to be Author of the 31 Canon, when as Orto deprived the same John the twelfth of the Papacy; and not only took nothing from the Imperial Jurisdiction concerning the Election, nor from the City of Rome, nor any other Bishops subject to the Roman Empire, but added somewhat more thereunto, as was said before. And yet notwithstanding, so shameless and senseless was this Gratian, that he durst obtrude and lay before the Reader so manifest fraud and evident Legerdemaine (fained and made of his own Brains in the compiling of this Decree) being so necessary, as he thought for the Dominion and Primacy of the Roman Bishops, in the stead of good and true laws; neither fearing that the same might be after his days reprehended, neither to his great shame and discredit to him attributed. Where also by the way is to be noted, that as this graceless Gratianus to please these Holy Fathers, and to erect their Kingdom, would give so impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiving of all Posterities, inserting for grounded Truths, and holy Decrees

KING
HEN. 3.

Henry the
5th. com-
pelled by
the dispo-
sition
of election
as his father
was.

Henry the
5th. re-
signeth his
prerogative of
election.

The election
gotten to
the Bishop
of Rome.

Gratianus
found a
sight of the
Canon.

Sergius the
second.
John the
fourth, and
Adrian 3d.

The second
fault found
with Gra-
tianus.

The third
fault found
with Gra-
tianus.

Horribus
factus et in-
produitus
Gratianus in
forging the
Decrees.

KING Decrees such loud lies and detestable Doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the rest of Writers in those days, what attempts might hope of gain cause them to work, by whom and such like is to be feared the falsifying of divers other good works now extant, in those perilous times written?

The Electi Thus when the Bishops had once wrested this authority out of the Emperors hands, they then so fortified and armed themselves and their dominion, that although afterwards *Frederick* the first, Grandfather unto this good Emperor *Frederick* the second, as also *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Henricus Lucelburgensis* (as men most studious and careful for the Dignities of the Empire, unfained lovers and maintainers of the utility of the Commonweal, and most desirous of the preservation and prosperity of the Church) did all their endeavours, with singular wisdom and strength, as much as in them lay, to recover again from the Bishop of *Rome* this authority of the Imperial Jurisdiction lost, most cruelly and wickedly abusing the same, to the destruction both of the Empire, undoing of the Commonwealth, and utter subversion of the Church of God, yet could they not be able to bring the same to pass in those dark and shadowed times of perverse Doctrine and Errors of the People, and most miserable servitude of Civil Magistrates.

Not with The same and like privilege also in the Election of their Bishops and Prelates, and disposing of Ecclesiastical Offices, as the Emperor of *Rome* had, every Prince and King in their several Dominions had the like. For by the Decree of the Council of *Toletan*, which in the 25 Canon and 63 Distinction is mentioned, the authority of creating and chusing Bishops and Prelates in *Spain*, was in the power of the King of *Spain*. The like also by the Histories of *Clo-*
dovendus, Carolus Magnus, Ludovicus nonus, Philippus Aug-
ustus, Philippus Pulcher, Carolus quintus, Carolus sextus,
Carolus septimus, Kings of France, is apparent and well known; for all these Kings had the chief charge and government of the *French* Church, and not the Bishops of *Rome*.

England had And by our *English* Histories also, as you heard, it is manifest, that the authority of chusing Ecclesiastical Ministers and Bishops was always in the Kings of *England*, till the Reign of King *Henry* the first; who by the labour and procurement of *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was deprived and put from the same.

Germany Also the Princes of *Germany* and Electors of the Emperor, till the time of *Henry* the fifth, had all (every Prince severally in his own Dition and Province) the same Jurisdiction and Prerogative, to give and dispose Ecclesiastical Functions to their Prelates at their pleasure, and after that it appertained to the People and Prelates together. And how in the Reign of *Frederick* the Prelates gat unto themselves alone this immunity, *Johannes Aventinus* in his 7th. Book of the Annals of the *Boiores* doth describe.

Switzerland Also it is probable, that the Kings of *Sicilia* had the same faculty in giving and disposing their Ecclesiastical promotions and charge of Churches: *Andreas de Istomia ad 1. consilii. Neap. nu. 12.* And that because *Frederick* defended himself against the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, therefore (as *Faxellus* saith) he was excommunicated of *Honorius*; but that *Platina* and *Blondus* alledged other causes, wherefore he was excommunicate of *Honorius*, I am not ignorant; howbeit, he that will compare their Writings with others, that write more indifferently between *Honorius* and him, shall easily find, that they more sought the favour of the *Roman* Bishops, than to write a verity. But now again to the History of *Frederick*.

The death *Nicolaus Cismernus* affirmeth, that whilst *Frederick* the Emperor was in *Sicilia*, his Wife *Constantia* died at *Catania* or *Catana*. In the mean time the Christians which with a great Navy sailed into *Egypt*, and took the City *Heliopolis*, commonly called *Dalmatia*, and long ago named *Pelusiunum*, being in good hope to have driven *Sultanus* the Soldan out of *Egypt*, had a great and marvelous overthrow by the conveying of the Water of the Floud *Nilus* (which then overflowed into their Camp) and were fain to accord an unprofitable Truce with the Soldan for certain years, and to deliver the City again; and so departing out of *Egypt*, were fain to come to *Achon* and *Tyrus*, to the no small detriment and loss of the *Chri-*

stian Army. Whereupon King *John* surnamed *Brennus* (being King of *Jerusalem*) arrived in *Italy*, and prayed aid of the Emperor against his enemies, in whom he had great hope to find remedy of the evils and calamities before declared; and from thence he went to *Rome* to the Pope, declaring unto him the great discomfiture and overthrow past, as also the present peril and calamity that they were in, desiring also his aid therein. By whose means (as *Cisnerus* saith) the Emperor was reconciled again to the Pope, and made friends together; to whom also King *John* gave *Joel* his Daughter in Marriage, which came of the Daughter of *Conradus* King of *Jerusalem*, and Marquess of *Montferrat*; with whom he had for Dowry the inheritance of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, as right Heir thereunto by her Mother. By whom also he after obtained the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and promised, that, with as much expedient speed as he might, he would prepare a power for the recovery again of *Jerusalem*, and be there himself in proper person; which thing to do, for that upon divers occasions he deferred (whereof some think one, some another) *Honorius*, unto whom he was lately reconciled, purposed to have made against him some great and secret attempt, had he not been by death before prevented, upon whom were made these Verses:

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,
Est tibi decus vivere, vade mori.

After whom succeeded *Gregorius* the Ninth, as great an enemy of *Frederick*, as was *Honorius*; which *Gregory* came of the race whom the Emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of Treason which they wrought against him. This *Gregory* was scarcely settled in his Papacy, when that he threatened him greatly with Excommunication, unless he would prepare himself into *Asia* according to his promise as ye heard before, to King *John*; and what the cause was why the Pope so hastened the journey of *Frederick* into *Asia*, you shall hear hereafter: In effect, he could not well bring that to pass, which in his mischievous mind he had devised, unless the Emperor were further from him. Notwithstanding, *Frederick* it should seem smelling a Rat, or mistrusting somewhat (as well he might) alledged divers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to *Honorius*.

Faxellus a *Sicilian* Writer saith, that the special cause of the Emperors stay was, for the Oath of Truce and Peace during certain years, which was made between the *Saracens* and Christians as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

The same *Faxellus* also writeth thus of King *John* of *Jerusalem*, that when his Daughter was brought to *Rome*, the Emperor and the Pope were reconciled together. And being called up to *Rome* to celebrate the Marriage, Pope *Gregory* (as the manner of those proud Prelates is) offered his right foot unto the Emperor to kiss. But the Emperor, not stooping so low, scarcely with his Lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kiss his foot; which thing the Pope took in very evil part, and was therewith marvellously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time served to revenge his conceived grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same, as he might for that time, thinking to recompence it at the full, as time would serve, and fall out therefore.

After this, it fortuned that the Emperor hearing how the Christians were oppressed by the Soldan in *Syria*, and that from *Arfacida*, there came a great power against the Christian Princes; he made the more haste, and was with more desire encouraged to set forward his journey into *Asia*. Wherefore, assembling the Nobility of the Empire at *Ravenna* and *Cremona*, he gave in commandment to *Henry* his Son (whom not long before he caused to be created *Cesar*) that he should perswade the Nobles and Princes of the Empire, that they all would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterprise. This writeth *Faxellus*; howbeit, some others affirm that these things were done in the time of *Honorius*. But howsoever the matter is, this thing is manifest; that *Frederick* to satisfy the Popes desire, which never would lin, but by all means sought to provoke him forward, gave him at length his promise, that by a certain

Frederick & the Pope made friends.

Honorius the Pope death before he put his practice in use against *Frederick*.

Gregory the 9th. as great an enemy to *Frederick* as *Honorius*.

Frederick refused to go into *Asia* at the Popes bidding: The Pope is angry.

The cause of the stay of the Emperors journey into *Asia*.

The Pope dissembled his grudge.

The preparation of the Voyage of *Frederick* to *Jerusalem*, and stay thereof.

time he would prepare an Army, and fight himself against those which kept from him the City of *Jerusalem* (which thing he also confesseth himself in his Epistles, and also how he desired and obtained of the Peers and Nobility of the Empire, their aid thereunto) and also appointed a convenient time when they should be at *Brundisium*.

The preparation of the Emperors War against the Turk.

In the mean season, he with all his power and endeavour, made speedy and hasty preparation for the Wars: he rigged and manned a puissant Navy; he had the pickest Men and best Souldiers that were in every Country, and made warlike provision and furniture for every thing that to such a Voyage and Expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slack, but at the time appointed great Bands assembled and mustred both of *German* Soldiers and others, and under their Captains appointed, set forth and marched to *Brundisium*: (Their Generals were *Thuringus* and *Sigibertus*, and *Augustinus* the Bishop) where they long time lying, and attending the Emperors coming, being let by infirmity and sickness, great Pestilence and sundry Diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that Country; and many a Souldier there lost his life; among whom also died *Thuringus*, one of their Generals. The Emperor when he had somewhat recovered his health, with all his Navy lanchd out, and set forward to *Brundisium*. And when he came to the Straits of *Peloponnesus* and *Creta*, being Islands lying in the Sea, and there for lack of convenient Wind was stayd, suddenly the Emperor (his Diseases growing upon him again) fell sick; and sending before all or the most part of his Bands and Ships into *Palestina*, promising them most assuredly to come after and follow them so soon as he might recover and get never so little health; he himself with a few Ships returned and came to *Brundisium*, and from thence for want of health, went into *Apulia*.

Great sickness in the Emperors Army.

The Emperor himself sick.

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperor for staying his Voyage. He layeth false accusations to his charge.

When tydings hereof came to the Popes ear, he sent out his thundring Curfes and new Excommunications against the Emperor. The causes whereof I find noted and mentioned by his own Letters, that is, How that when he had robbed and taken from *Brundisius*, Prince of *Thuring*, his Horses, his Mony and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, he failed into *Italy*; not for the intent to make War against the Turk, but to convey his prey that he had stoln and taken away from *Brundisius*; and so neglecting his Oath and promise which he had made, and faining himself to be sick, came home again: And that by his default also, *Damiata* was lost, and the Host of the Christians sore afflicted. *Faxellus*, besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the Pope alledged these also; that he defiled a certain Damsel which was in the Queens Nursery; and that he slew his Wife when he had whipped her in the Prison, for declaring the mischievous act to her Father King *John*. But all the Writers, and also *Blondus* himself doth declare, that this *Joel* died after the publication of the Proscript and Excommunication; wherefore the Pope could not without great shame allege the cause upon the death of *Joel*; for undoubtedly the truth is, that she of her Son *Conradus* died in Childbed. Then *Frederick*, to refel and avoid the foresaid slanders, sendeth the Bishop of *Brundis* and other Legates to *Rome*, whom the Pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the Councils of the Cardinals to make his purgation. Wherefore the Emperor, to purge himself of the crimes which the Pope did so falsely accuse him of, both to all Christian Kings, and especially to the Princes of *Germany*, and all the Nobles of the Empire, writeth his Letters (which are to be seen) that those things are both false and also fained, and of the Popes own head invented; and sheweth, how that his Embassadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the Popes presence; also doth largely intreat, how unthankful and ungrateful the Bishops of *Rome* were towards him for the great benefits, which both he and also his Predecessors had bestowed upon them and the *Roman Church*: which Letter, for that it is over tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the History is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this:

The effect of the Emperors Letters.

He protesteth and declareth universally, that he had always great care for the Christian Commonwealth, and that he had determined even from his youth to fight against the Turk and Saracens. And for that occasion

he made a promise to the Princes Electors of *Aquisgrane*, how that he would take the War upon him. Afterward he renewed his promise at *Rome* when he was consecrated of *Honorius*; then when he married the Daughter of the King of *Jerusalem*, which was an Heir of the same. And for because that Kingdom might be defended and kept from the injuries of the enemies, and because he favoured it even as he did his own, he prepared an huge Navy, and gathered together a strong Army of Men, neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the War. But when the time was come, and his Band was gathered together, his sickness would not suffer him to be there. And afterward when he had recovered the same, and came to *Brundisium*, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to Sea, he fell into the same sickness again, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (saith he) he is able to prove by sufficient testimony. How the Pope also doth lay the losing of *Damiata*, and other things which prospered not well with him, unjustly to his charge, when as he had made great provision for the same journey, both of Soldiers and other necessary things. But he that will understand these things more plainly, among other Epistles of *Petrus de Vinea*, written in the name of *Frederick*, let him read these especially which begin thus: *In admirationem, & iusticiam, & innocentiam, & Levate oculos*. And truly, even as *Fredericus* the Emperor declareth in his Letters concerning this matter, all the old Writers of *Germany* do accord and agree in the same.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another Letter which he wrote to the King of *England*, complaining unto him of the Excommunication of the Pope against him, whose words are these: And amongst other Catholick Princes (saith he) he also wrote his Letters unto the King of *England*, embulled with Gold; Declaring in the same, that the Bishop of *Rome* was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifest concupiscence, that he was not contented with the Goods of the Church which were innumerable, but also that he shamed not to bring Princes, Kings and Emperors to be subjects and contributors to him, and so to disherit them, and put them from their Kingly dignities: And that the King of *England* himself had good experience thereof, whose Father (that is to say, King *John*) they so long held excommunicate, till they had brought both him and his Dominions under servitude, and to pay unto him tribute. Also that many have experience of the same by the Earl of *Tholouse* and divers other Princes, which so long held their Persons and Lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like servitude. I pretermitt (saith he) the Simonies and sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which daily are used amongst the Ecclesiastical persons, besides their manifest Usury (yet so cloaked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithal they infect the whole world) They be (sugard and embalmed Simonists, the insatiable Horse-leaches or blond-suckers, saying, that the Church of *Rome* is our Mother and Nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling Court in the universal World, the root and right Mother of all mischief, using and exercising no motherly doings or deeds, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked Step-dame, making sufficient proof thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparent. Let the Barons of *England* consider whether this be true or not, whom Pope *Innocent* by his Bulls with one consent encouraged to rise and rebel against their Sovereign Lord and Prince King *John* your Father, as an obstinate enemy to the Church of *Rome*. But after that the King (far out of square) remembering himself had crouched unto him, and obliged both himself and Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*, more like a Woman than a Man; and that the wise Barons, whom the Pope had first maintained and stirred up, without all shame, either of the World, or fear of God, had done the same, he sought how he might with gaping mouth devour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betrayed and disinherited, as the manner of the *Roman Bishops* is. By whose greedy avarice it came to pass, that *England* the Prince of Provinces was brought under miserable subjection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our *Roman Bishops*; behold the snares wherewith these Prelates do seek to intangle men withal, to wipe their noses of their mony, to make their children bond-

KING
Heir
The Emperors page.

The Emperors Epistle beginning thus:
In admirationem, & iusticiam, & innocentiam, & Levate oculos.

A Letter of the Emperour to the King of England.

Many Kings have experienced the power of the Popes practices.

The Church of Rome the mother of mischief.

K. John submission to the Pope blamed by the Pope.

KING bondmen, to disquiet such as seek to live in peace, being clothed with Sheeps clothing, when indeed they be but ravening Wolves, sending their Legates hither and thither to excommunicate and suspend; as having power to punish whom they list, not sowing the Seed, that is the Word of God, to fructifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens persons, and reap that which they never did sow. Thus cometh it to pass, that they spoil the holy Churches and Houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poor, and the Mansion-Houses of Saints, which our devout and simple Parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refection of poor Men and Pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate Varlets, whom only Letters have made both mad and malepert, do strive and gape to be both Kings and Emperors.

Who be the ravening Wolves in sheeps clothing.
The Treasure of the Church be longed to the Pope.
Christ Church was builded in humility: the Popes Church is all superfluity: Ergo, the Popes Church is not Christs Church.
 Doubtless the Primitive Church was builded and laid in poverty and simplicity of life, and then as a fruitful mother begat she those her holy Children, whom the catalogue of Saints now maketh mention of; and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other Church, than that which is laid by Jesus Christ. But this Church as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluity of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory; so is it to be feared lest the Walls thereof fall to decay, and when the Walls be down, utter ruine and subversion follow after. Against us, he knoweth that is the searcher of all hearts, how furiously these Catholics rage and go to work, saying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take upon me the journey I have promised beyond the Seas, whereas inevitable and most urgent causes and perils, as well to the Church of God, as also to the Empire, besides the annoyance of mine infirmity and sickness, do detain me at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? neither do we think it safety to our Empire, nor expedient to the Christian State, that we should now take our journey into Asia, leaving behind us at home such intestine and Civil Wars; no more than for a good Surgeon to lay a healing Plaster to a grievous wound new made and stricken with the Sword. In conclusion also this he addeth, admonishing all the Princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their avaricious iniquity) of like peril and danger to themselves, because that, as the Proverb is, It becometh him to look about, that seeth his neighbours house on fire. Thus much out of Paris. pag. 69.

But now, that *Fredericus* the Emperor might in very deed stop the mouth of the cruel Pope, which did persilt and go forward still in his Excommunication against him: and that he might declare to the whole World, how that the last year he foreflowed not his journey by his own voluntary will, but by necessity; when he had devised and prepared all things meet for the War, and that he had gathered together, and levied a great Army of Men, he departed from thence to *Brundisium*, committing the government of his Kingdom to *Reinaldus* the Son of *Duke Spoletus*, and to *Anselmus* a Baron of *Insigenfis*, and came by Sea to *Cyprus* with his Host.

Another journey of the Emperor to Jerusalem.
The Emperor oppressed by famine, and by prayer miraculously relieved.
 From *Cyprus* the Emperor with his whole Navy, sailed into *Joppa*, which City he fortified, for that the passages by Land were stopped and kept of the enemies; and by Sea he might not pass nor travel, by means of the extreame Weather and Tempest; whereby it came to pass, that within short space they lacked Victuals, and were sore afflicted with Famine. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God; with whose tears his wrath being appeased, the great Tempest, and long continued foul Weather ceased, whereby (the Seas being now calm) they had both Victuals great plenty, and all other necessary things for their need brought unto them, whereby immediately it came to pass, that both the Emperor and his Army, as also the Inhabitants of *Joppa* were greatly refreshed and animated; and on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; in somuch that the King of *Egypt*, who with great power (accompanied with *Scarapho* his Brother, Prince of *Gaza*, and the Prince of *Damascus* their Nephew, with many other Dukes and Nobles) had incamped themselves within one days journey of *Joppa*,

thinking to have besieged the same, were contented upon the coming of the Emperors Heralds unto them, to intreat of a peace. Whereupon Embassadors were sent unto them with the Emperors demands, right profitable to the Christian Commonweal. The Saracens (immediately consulting upon the same) granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten years was concluded, and was confirmed by solemn Oath on the behalf of both Princes, according to their several usages and manner: the form and condition of which Articles of Peace briefly collected, are these:

A conclusion of a profitable peace during ten years, betwixt the Turks & the Christians.

First, That *Frederick* the Emperor should be crowned and anointed King of *Jerusalem*, according to the manner of the Kings of *Jerusalem* before him.

The Articles of the Peace agreed upon.

Secondly, That all the Lands and Possessions which were situate betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Ptolomaida*, and the greatest part of *Palestina*, and Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, which were in *Syria*, and all other Territories which *Baldwinus* the fourth at any time had and did occupy there, should be delivered unto him, only certain Castles reserved.

Thirdly, That he might fortifie and build what Fortresses and Castles, Cities and Towns he thought good in all *Syria* and *Palestina*.

Fourthly, That all the Prisoners which were in the Saracens hands, should be ransomed freely and sent home: And again, That the Saracens might have leave without Armour, to come into the Temple where the Lords Sepulcher is, to pray; and that they should hold and keep still *Chratum*, and the Kings Mount.

Frederick now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be both necessary, and also profitable for all Christians, and had also gotten as much thereby, as if the Wars had continued, he should; sent his Legates with Letters unto the West to all Christian Kings, Princes and Potentates, as also to the Bishop of *Rome*, declaring unto them the circumstance and success of his Journey and Wars, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they also would praise and give God thanks for his good success and profitable peace concluded: And desireth the Pope, that forsomuch as he had now accomplished his promise, neither was there now any cause wherefore he should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtain his favour.

The Letters of Frederick to the Princes & Pope of his success.

In the mean season the Emperor with all his Army marcheth to *Jerusalem*; where, upon *Easter* day, in the year one thousand two hundred twenty and nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his Nobles, and also the Magistrates of that Kingdom (only the Patriarch of *Cyprus* the Kings Legate, and *Oliver* the Master or Captain of the Temple with his company excepted) solemnly and with great applause crowned King.

The Emperor crowned King of Jerusalem.

After this, he re-edifieth the City and Walls thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten down and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he buildeth up the Churches and Temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth *Nazarethum* and *Joppen* with strong Garisons, Victuals, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold I pray you, whilst *Frederick* was thus occupied in the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, what practices the Pope had in *Italy*; not I warrant you, any whit at all careful in the affairs of the Christian Commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischief and spite he might work against the Emperor, whom of set purpose he had so occupied (partly for hate, and partly to enrich himself) in *Asia* and *Jerusalem*, so far out of *Italy* ye may be sure. First, he caused the Souldiers, which the Emperor sent for out of *Germany* to the maintenance of the holy wars, to be staid as they passed through *Italy*, letting them of their journey, and took from them, and spoiled them of all such provision as they had. And not only this, but he sent secretly also his Letters into *Asia* to those that were of his own faction, that is, to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and Souldiers that kept the Temple and the Hospital, inciting and inciting them to rebel against the Emperor; which thing *Blondus* himself, that Popish Parasite, or Historiographer, dissembleth or hideth not. But furthermore, he dissuaded the Princes of the Saracens, that they should make no League nor take any Truce with *Frederick*, neither deliver up unto him the Crown and Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. Which Letters, as they were mani-

The first and secret practice of Pope Gregory the Ninth.

nifest testimonies of his Treachery and Treason towards him, whom God had instituted and made his Liege Lord and Sovereign, and mightiest Potentate upon the Earth; so was it his will that he should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those Letters should fall into his hands. And that he kept the same Letters for the more credible testimony thereof, in the same his last Epistle unto the Christian Princes he protesteth. The Copy of which Letters amongst his other Epistles you shall have expressed.

The Emperor with-standeth the secret treason which the Pope had wrought against him at Jerusalem.

Neither were the Popes Letters written to that leavened and factious Sect in vain; for the Patriarch and his Colleaguers, which took their name of the Temple, did mightily repugne against Frederick. They raised a Tumult in Prodomaida against him; they accused him and his Legates openly of Treason, and did malapertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But as God would, by the help of the inhabitants of Pisa and the Genoways, and the Dutch Soldiers; both their false accusations were refuted, and also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And this was the cause that when all other Men rejoiced and were glad of the Emperors Coronation, they, as wicked confederators, were heavy therefore, and obtrectors of his worthy laud and fame.

The second and manifest treason of the Pope against Frederick.

The Pope, when he had thus conspired against Frederick, and had betrayed him to the publick Enemy of all Christian Men, the Turk, he could not dissemble this his mischievous fact, nor content himself therewith, but he would devise and practice yet another. For, by reason of those slanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and slaughter of his Wife Joël, he incited John Brennus his Father-in-law to make War against him, who caused the Subjects of his Empire to withdraw from him their Allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Picenum, and inhabitants of Lombardy. And thus joining themselves together, they craved further aid of the French King, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their Host in two Armies, invading with the one the Empire, and with the other the proper Territories and Ditions belonging to the inheritance of Frederick; John Brennus and Pandolph Sarvellanus leading the one (as Generals) into Campania and the Kingdom of Naples; and the other (with John Columma Cardinal, his Legate, and that Thomas before convicted of Treason, being his Lieutenant) he sendeth into Picenum.

Brennus, Pandolphus, Johannes Columma, & Thomas the Traitor, the Popes Generals and Leaders of his Host.

Of this Treason of the Pope against Fredericus doth also Matthæus Parisiensis make mention, during his Wars in Asia, who (saith he) purposed to have deposed him, and to have placed Alium quemlibet filium pacis & obedientie loco ejus subrogare; That is, any other, he cared not whom (so that he were the child of peace and obedience) in his stead. And for the more certainty thereof, the said Matth. Parisiensis, pag. 71. repeaterh the Letter which a certain Earl of Syria wrote unto him concerning the same, which Letter hereunder ensueth word for word.

TO the High and Mighty Prince, Fredericus, by the grace of God Emperor of Rome, and ever Augustus, and most puissant King of Sicilia, Thomas Earl of Aetran, his faithful and trusty Subject in all things, humble salutation. After your departure, most excellent Prince, Gregory the Bishop of Rome, and publick enemy to your magnificence, gathering together a great power and Host of Men by Johannes Brennus, late King of Jerusalem, and other stout Captains, whom he hath made Generals of the same his Host, as a foreign enemy invading your Dominions and Possessions of your Highness Subjects, against the Law of Christianity, hath purposed and determined to vanquish and subdue you with the material or temporal Sword, whom he cannot master and overcome with the spiritual Sword he saith. For the foresaid John Brennus gathering out of France, and other Provinces near adjoining, a great Army, giveth unto them of the Treasure he hath gotten together (by what means I cannot tell) great Wages, in hope to recover and get from you the Empire. And furthermore, the same John and others (the Captains of the See Apostolical) invading your Land, burn and destroy all as they go, driving away, and taking for their booties; all that they can come by, as well Cattel as other things, and such as they take prisoners, they constrain, by afflicting them with grievous punishments,

to ransom themselves for great Sums of Money: neither spare Man, Woman nor Child, but take and keep your Towns and Castles, having no regard that you be in the service of Jesus Christ. And further, if any make mention of your Majesty unto him, he saith, there is none other Emperor but himself. Your friends and Subjects, most excellent Prince, much marvel hereupon; yea, and also the Clergy themselves of the Empire, do marvel with what Conscience, or upon what consideration the Bishop of Rome can do the same, making such bloody Wars and slaughter upon Christian men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Peter, when he strook with the material Sword, to put up the same into the Scabbard, saying; All that strike with the Sword, shall perish with the Sword, Or else, by what Law he daily can excommunicate such Pirates, burners of Mens Houses, and Robbers, when he is the patron and maintainer of such himself: hereat they greatly muse and marvel. Wherefore most mighty and renowned Emperor, I beseech your Highness to consider your own safety, for that the said John Brennus hath laid and fortified all the Ports and Havens with no small company of Men and Souldiers; that if (not knowing thereof) your Grace should arrive in any of them, the same Garrisons of his may apprehend and take you as a Prisoner, which thing to chance God forefend.

(KING) Hen. 3.

Thus whilst the Host of this Hostile enemy the Pope was incamped in the Dominions of Frederick, he received the Letters which Frederick by his Legates sent into Europa, as you heard, whereby he understood the good success he had in Asia; who not only took no delectation at all therein, but was also in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifestly it may appear, what was the cause and meaning of the Pope, that he was so solicitous and urgent to have Frederick the Emperor make a Voyage into Asia. Doubtless even the same that Pelias had, when by his instigation, he procured Jason, with all the chosen youth and flower of Grecia, to sail into Colchus to fetch away the golden Fleece; and that by the opportunity of his absence he might use, or rather abuse his power and tyranny; and that Frederick might either be long afflicted and molested in the Asian War, or that he might perish and lose his life therein, was that he sought, and all that he desired.

What meaning the Pope had to send Frederick to fight against the Turk.

And when he saw, that Fortune neither favoured his fetches, nor served to his longing lust, he was as a Man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings of the prosperous success of the Emperor. He tore and threw all his Letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reviled the Legates for the Emperor their Masters sake; which thing also Blondus himself denieth not, though he write altogether in favour of the Pope. And to the intent that he might cover this his rage, and unbridled fury with some cloak and colour of just deserved dolor, he fained himself therefore so much to millike therewith, as though the Emperor therein had only respected his own private commodity, not regarding the utility of the Christians; for that the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon to have repaired unto the Sepulchre of Christ, and had left for them somewhat near the same an Hostery or lodging place; for which occasion (saith Blondus) his Lord Pope rebuked the Emperors Legates, by the name of Traitors and such like other opprobrious words. Now go to, friend Blondus, by what strong arguments prove you and your Lord Pope, either that the peace which the Emperor hath concluded, was against the Christian Common-wealth, or that the Emperor was a Traitor? But who is it that seeth not these things either by reading of old and ancient Writers, or else partly by me that have gathered and collected the same out of divers Monuments and Histories, and plainly perceiveth not the conspiracies and treasons of your good Lord the Pope, so notable and filthy, as also his manifest shame and infamy? What? there be divers that write how the Pope commanded these Legates of Frederick to be made secretly out of the way, and also how he commanded divers Soldiers, returning out of Asia, to be slain, to the end that none should hear the report of those good News which were in Asia, nor any go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more than of those thing which all the Writers with most consent agree upon. This is most certain, that

How the Pope chafeth and fretteth at the prosperous success of the Emperor.

Blondus reproved, that he wrote so greatly in the Popes favour.

(KING)
(Hen. 3)

that the Pope caused this rumour to be spread of the death and taking of the Emperor upon this consideration, that he might allure unto him the fidelity of those Cities in the Kingdom of Naples, which yet kept their Allegiance unto Frederick, of whom they should now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the Emperor, in his Epistle intituled *Lervate oculos*, greatly against him complain.

The third
practice of
Pope Gre-
gorie against
the Empe-
ror.

The Pope
setteth the
Sons against
the Father,
as a good
father of
peace.

Henry Cesar
at the Popes
intecement,
parteth
from him
his trusty
Counsellor
Ludovicus.

Great are these injuries of the Pope against Frederick, and most wicked Treasons. But herewith could not the cruel and tyrannical mind of him be contented, nor his lust satisfied, but it so far exceeded, as scarce is credible that it could: for he presumed not only to set variance between Henry (whom Frederick his Father had caused to be made King of Germany) and him, but also by his allurements, he caused him to become an enemy unto him. To whom when his Father had assigned the Duke of Boioria (named Ludovicus) to be his Overseer and Counsellor; neither knew he amongst all the Princes of Germany, a Man more faithful to him in his office and duty, or else more vertuous, or else more grave and apt to be in authority: Henry fearing lest he should understand and know of these secret counsels, which he with his Conspirators had in hand against his Father, or that he should utter the same unto him, or that he should go about to disswade him from that he was purposed to do by authority of the Court and Senate of Rome, he put him out of Office. And this was the fetch of all their policy, that together and at one instant (but in divers and sundry places far one from another) sharp and cruel War might be made against the Emperor, so that, his power being distract to the appeasing of variable contention, he might himself be the easier oppressed of a few.

The Empe-
ror hearing
of the Popes
practices,
returneth
secretly out
of Asia.

When the Emperor now understood what stir the Pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, and when he had somewhat reformed and appeased the troubles which he secretly had wrought him in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, thinking to prevent the Popes purpose in that he went about, and also to confirm the friendship towards him of them whom in his absence he found his trusty Subjects: he left in Asia Renaldus with his Garrisons, commanding all the other bands to be under his appointment; and with all speed he came forth in certain Gallies to Calabria. During the time of his there being, which unlooked for came thither, he assembled his power, and made with his friends all the speedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to Berleta, where he tarried twenty days, to whom came the Duke of Spoletanum with all his Garrisons; and

John Bren-
nus removed
from the
Siege of
Calatia.

God pro-
pitieth Fre-
derick in all
his affairs.

so from thence with all his power he came into Apulia, and removed John Brennus his Father-in-law from the Siege of Calatia, and within short time by Gods help recovereth again all his Holds and Dominions there. And from thence going into Campania, he winneth Beneventum, and as many other Towns and Holds as the Pope had there, even almost to Rome, and so after that Umbria and Picena. And now although the Emperor (being moved thereunto upon good occasion, and upon the Popes worthy desert) had gotten and recovered this so likely an entrance upon the Popes Dominions, whereby he might have revenged him of all the injuries done to him: yet notwithstanding, for that he preferred nothing before the Christian and publick tranquillity (for the love of which he restraining his wrath so vehemently urged and kindled) he sendeth unto him his Legates to intreat a peace, declaring unto him, that if no other conceived grudge towards him were than that he dissembled and pretended, he promiseth that he would make to him an account voluntarily, of all things that ever he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to submit himself unto the Church; and also that for this cause he willingly offered unto him both duty and observance. Furthermore, to the intreating of this peace, and deciding of all controversies, he sent to the Pope eight or ten of the noblest and chiefest about him that were Princes and Dukes of the Empire; as Bartoldus the Patriarch of Aquileia, and his Brother Orbo Prince of Dalmatia and Histria, Eberhardus, Juvanensis, Sigisfridus, Reginoburgensis, Sibbotus, Augustanus a worthy Prelat, Leopaldus of Austria and Styria, and Bernbardus, being all Dukes; besides others of the Nobility to accompany them.

But yet so great was the insolency and pride of the stubborn Pope, that by no gentleness or beneficence he could

of those Princes be brought that year to the profitable concord of the Church and Christian Commonweal. O worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himself in the Church of Christ, and in respect of his own wilful revenge, setteth nothing by the health and utility of all Christendom! Then therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the most part of these Noblemen departed from Rome, the next year after (with much ado) a peace was made and concluded them, by the help and industry of Leopaldus of Austria, Hermanus Captain of the Dutch Souldiers, and the President of Messania. The Pope then absolving the Emperor Frederick of his Excommunication, took therefore of him 120000 ounces of Gold, restoring unto him again the Titles both of his Empire, and also of his Kingdoms. Now considering the uncourteous dealing of the Pope with Frederick the Emperor herein, who can sufficiently muse and marvel at the unshamefastness of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the Pope (yet notwithstanding) had dealt more gently and courteously with Frederick than was meet, or becomed him to do? Who is it that doth not see his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason, nor secret dissimulation? But much more truly and better writeth Cuspinianus concerning this matter, which saith, that the Pope doth occupy very profitable Merchandize, which for so much money selleth that he received freely, paying nothing therefore, if he had received it of Christ indeed, as he saith he had.

The Pope
refuseth a
peace with
the Empe-
ror.

The price of
the Empe-
rors abso-
lution.

Unshameful
Blondus.

Cuspinianus
pretily gird-
eth the
Pope.

And yet although the Emperor Frederick concluded with the Pope this unprofitable peace for himself, yet he performed those things that were agreed upon faithfully and diligently. But the Pope which thought it but a trifle to break his promise, would not stand to the conditions of that peace he made. For by the way, to pass over other things, neither had he restored, as he promised, the Customs of the Land of Sicily, neither yet the City Castellana, which he before the peace concluded between them, did occupy and enjoy. And that do both Frederick in his Epistles testify, and also Fazellus in his eighth Book, writing of the affairs of Sicily. Yet notwithstanding Frederick, for the quietness and utility of the Commonwealth, purposed with himself to bear and suffer these small injuries, and further studied in all that he might, as well by liberal gifts as otherwise, to have the Pope to be to him a trusty friend. As when the Romans and others of the Ecclesiastical number made War against the Pope for certain possessions which he kept of theirs, he coming to him at Reat, and as one that tendered the unity of the Church, and thinking to help the Pope at his earnest request in these matters, sent his Legates unto them, willing them to lay down their armour which against the Pope they bare. And when that would not serve, at the Popes further request and desire, he levied an Army against them at his own charge, and drave them from the Siege of Viterbium; with other such like assured tokens of amity and friendship which he shewed him. Who notwithstanding, so soon as the Emperor was departed with a small company which he took with him into Sicilia, leaving with him the greater and most part of his Army for the maintenance of his Wars, concluded a peace with the Romans (unknown to the Emperor) whom he had procured to travel and labour therein with great expences; affirming, that without his will and commandment, the Emperor had expelled them, and driven them out of the Territories of Viterbium. And hereof doth Frederick also himself make mention in his second and third Epistle, where he complaineth of the injuries of the Pope towards him.

What bene-
ficence the
Emperor
useth to
have the
Popes
friendship,
which he
shall never
get.

A well fed
compenced
good turn
of the Pope
to the Em-
peror.

Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserved, if he had written of these treacheries of the Pope, than forgetting himself (as unto liars often it chanceth) in writing both contrary to himself in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of Frederick his story; which saith, that the Romans were incited to these new tumults by his inticing and setting on. As though simple men of understanding could not both by the offering of his Son in Hostage, by the great preparation of the Wars, and by the event specially of the thing it self, gather the contrary. But too too impudent will Blondus needs shew himself.

Blondus tak-
ken with
untruth.

What?

The Emperors Sons no longer suborned, make manifest rebellion against their Father.

A wicked murder by Henry Cesar, for true and faithful service.

The outrage of Henry Cesar against the Emperor his Father.

The Emperor 14 years out of Germany.

The Pope feareth that his treason should be spied by the Emperor going into Germany.

Henry Cesar condemned of treason, and dieth in prison.

Frederick Austriacus proclaimed an open enemy to his Father, and disinherited.

The Emperor married King John's Daughter of England.

Whilst that these things were done in *Italy* and *Sicilia*, great rebellions were moved in *Germany* against the Emperor by *Henricus Cesar*, and *Frederick* of *Austria*, his Sons being the chief Authors thereof. For *Henry* being disappointed and shaken off from his Lord Pope, and other Conspirators, by reason of the peace between his Father and him (as ye heard) began now to make open challenge to the Empire. And for that cause he (as before is said) put from him *Ludovicus*, whom he knew to be unto the Emperor his Father so loving and assured a friend; who as willingly (perceiving and smelling what mischief he went about) forsook his Court, and came to *Boioria*; who had not there remained a year, but was, as he walked abroad at a certain time, stabbed in with a Dagger of one *Kelhemius*, and presently died, his servants not being far from him, of whose death divers diversly write. Notwithstanding the sequel doth shew them to write truest, that affirm the said striker to be suborned by *Henry Cesar*; who coming unto him in the habit of a Messenger, delivered unto him certain Letters, which he fained to be sent from the Emperor; And whilst *Ludovicus* was in reading the same, he strake him in with a Dagger, and gave him his mortal wound, and with speed fled upon the same. After whose death succeeded in that Dukedom his Son *Orto*, who when solemnly according to the manner of the *Boiores* he should have been created, was also let by the same *Henry Cesar*; who forbad the Assembly of the Magistrates and Citizens the same. They notwithstanding, neglecting his unjust restraint, created him; wherefore he first besieged *Reginoburg*, and with another company sacked, burnt, and wasted *Boioria*; with many more such great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of these things to the Emperor, he sent his Legates, and commanded that both the *Cesar* his Son, and other Princes of *Germany*, which had assembled their Armies, should break up and disperse the same. And because he saw and perceived now manifestly that his Son made so apparent rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections to ensue in *Germany*, he thought good to prevent the same with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to go in all haste to *Germany* with his Army, from whence he had now been absent fourteen years, and hereunto he maketh the Pope privy. The Pope promised the Emperor hereupon, that he would write his Letters in his behalf to all the Princes of *Germany*; but perswaded him to the uttermost of his power, that he should in no case go into *Germany* himself. For why? his conscience accused him that he had written to the Nobles in *Germany*, even from the beginning of his Papacy (for the hate and grudge he had against the Emperor) that they should not suffer him, nor any of his heirs to enjoy the Empire; and further, had stirred them all up to rebel against him; and had moved *Henry* the Emperors Son, by his bribes and fair promises to conspire against his Father. And to conclude, he was the Author and procurer of the Conspiracy which the *Lombards* made then against him, and fearing lest these things should come now to the Emperors ear, he was greatly troubled and careful. But the Emperor not thinking it good at so needful a time to be absent, he (all doubt set apart) with his second Son *Conradus*, went speedily into *Germany*. And assembling there a Council in the City of *Nurenburch*, *Henry Cesar* his Son after his Conspiracy was manifestly detected, which he had in practice with the *Longobards* (whereof the Pope was chief Author) was by judgment and sentence of seventy Princes condemned of High Treason: And being commanded by his Father to be bound, was as prisoner brought to *Apulia*, where not long after in prison he died. In whose stead he ordained *Conradus* his second Son *Cesar*, by consent of all the Peers and Princes. Furthermore, by publick commandment he renounced *Frederick Austriacus* for his Son, and he caused him to be proclaimed an enemy to the publick weal. And further, when he saw that neither that punishment could cause him to remember himself, and acknowledg his abuse, the Emperor with a great Army (accompanied with divers of the Noblemen of *Germany*) took from him all *Austria* and *Stiria*, and brought them again under his own obedience and fidelity.

The same year married he with his third Wife named *Isabel*, the Daughter of King *John* of *England*. Then when he had set *Germany* in a stay and quietness, he left

there *Conradus Cesar* his Son; and with his Host returneth again into *Italy*, there to punish such as had with *Henry* his Eldest Son conspired against him; whose Treasons were all detected at the condemnation of *Henry Cesar* his Son, chiefly set on by the Pope. When the Pope had understanding that the Emperor with Warlike Furniture marched toward *Italy*; although he fained himself reconciled, and to be a friend to *Frederick*, yet was he notwithstanding to him a most secret and infestive enemy. And understanding that he brought with him such a power both of Horsemen and Footmen, to do execution of such as he understood to be Conspirators against him in the late tumult and rebellion; those which were faulty herein and guilty (and all other that took their parts) he admonished to joyn themselves together, and that they should furnish strongly their Cities with Garrisons, that they should send for aid to their friends, and that with all the force they were able, they should prepare them for the war. The rest of the Cities also in *Italy*, whether they were the Emperors or his own, he endeavoureth to make them all his, and proper to himself.

Furthermore, unto the Emperor he sendeth his Ambassadors; to whom, under the pretence of nourishing a peace, he had given a secret commandment that they should Interdict him and his Host, so soon as he came within the borders of *Italy*. To the preservation of which peace, faith he, he had (but late since) promulgate a Subsidy to be gathered amongst the Christians, when he began the Holy War. And also to say (not by way of intreaty, but commandingly) that what cause of controversie he had with the *Longobards*, the same he should commit to him, and stand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the Emperor replying maketh his Legate this answer:

Shortly after, faith he, the peace was made between the Pope and me, he called me for a chief defence both of the Church and himself, against the *Romans* which made war with him; and at his request, with mine own proper charge I maintained that his War, and gave his enemies the overthrow. And further said, that he should not do well, through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by Law and right he might and ought to do; but rather he ought to dispose himself, with force to restrain and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themselves from the subjection both of him and the Empire; and that such rebels as both had restrained the Souldiers which the Emperor sent for when he was in *Asia*, and divers others also (which for necessary causes he had called to him) which they had so wickedly dealt with and abused, he (as they had deserved) should rather desire to see punished and reformed, than to maintain them (under colour of peace) being so wicked and manifest evil doers. And touching that he demandeth of him, that he should commit and defer so great a cause, wherein the wealth and safety of the Empire consisteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either assignment of any time when, or adding thereunto any condition or exception for not doing the same, neither the diminishing and impairing the Dignity and Regality of his Empire considered, he could not but marvel; seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculty, nor to the benefit or commodity of the Empire. To this effect also writeth *Frederick* in his last Epistle unto the Pope: the effect whereof amongst other Epistles you may read.

And in the same his Letters he sheweth that when the Emperor at a certain time had been with the Pope, at his going away he requested, that when he came again, he would come into *Italy* but with his household-band and family; for that if he should come as before he did accustomed with his Army, he should terrifie them over-much; amongst whom (faith he) you may assure your self to be in great safety, and find all things in rest and quiet; when quite contrary (as the Emperor for a certainty had tried) he had there all things ready and prepared for his destruction; so that when he pretended unto him greatest friendship, he was busied in conspiring his death. The certain time when the Pope had this exercise in hand against the Emperor, I cannot search out, neither may it be in his Epistles undated easily found out; but that of the certainty thereof no man need to doubt, I have assigned you to the Empe-

St 1867
Em. 3

The Pope again be-
ginneeth to
play his
part.

The Popes
Ambassage
to the Em-
peror.

The Empe-
ror again
unto the
Pope.

A secret
Conspiracy
of the Pope
against the
Emperor.

KING Emperors Epistle, where he maketh mention of the same.

The Empe-
ror march-
eth into
Italy, not-
withstand-
ing the
Popes for-
bidding.

The Emperor then as he had determined, prosecuted his purpose, and marcheth into *Italy*, where he brought under his subjection those Cities that against him rebelled, as *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Ternisium*, *Patavium*, and others. And then he afterward set upon the great Host of the *Mediolanenses*, the *Brixians*, the *Placentines*, and other Confederators, unto whom the Popes Legate *Georgius Longomontanus* had joyned himself, of whom he took one thousand prisoners, and also their General, being the chief Magistrate in the City of *Mediolanum*, and *Petrus Tenopolus* the Dukes Son of *Venice*, and slew divers Captains more, and took all their Ensigns. And in this Battel, especially at the recovering of *Marchie* and *Ternissana*, he used the friendly aid of *Actiolinus*.

The Empe-
ror loth to
break the
peace of
late con-
cluded.

The Pope now somewhat dismayd at this overthrow of his Confederates and Mates (though not much) began yet somewhat to fear the Emperor; and whereas before, that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to work with might and main to subdue and deprive the Emperor. And although the Emperor saw and perceived what inward hate and mortal malice he bare towards him, not only by that he so apertly stood with his Conspirators against him, but also that on every side he heard, and from all parts was brought him certain word how greatly he laboured against him, as with opprobrious words, naughty reports and slanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his subjects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take up and cease from such evil and wicked practices; yet notwithstanding, for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace between them a little before concluded, he sendeth four Legates to the Bishop of *Rome*, which should answer unto and refute those criminous objections which he laid unto him, as also make him privy unto his purpose, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocency towards him (in such causes) and simplicity.

The Pope
refuseth to
speak with
the Empe-
ror Legate.

The Bishop when he understood these Ambassadors to be not far off from *Rome*, and knew the cause of their coming, he thought with himself that in hearing the excuse and reasonable answer of the Emperor, perhaps he might be provoked to desert from his purpose, and so degenerate from others of his Predecessors, he refuseth to speak with them, and at the day appointed pronounceth the sentence of Proscription against him, depriving him of all his Dignities, Honours, Titles, Prerogatives, Kingdoms, and whole Empire. And that he had no occasion hereunto, as well *Pandulphus* and *Colonicus*, as the Letters of the Emperor himself, do both right well declare. For it may appear he dedicated as it were himself to his utter ruin and destruction, when he did sollicite against *Fredericus Jacobus Tenopolus* the *Venetian* Duke, whom for the displeasure he took with the Emperor in the imprisoning of his Son, he was in good hope he should allure unto him, he being in so troublous time such a comforter and aider unto him, that as *Blondus* writeth, in a certain Epistle Gratulatory, he calleth him Lord of the fourth part of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and Lord of half of the *Roman* Empire. And calling unto him the *Venetian* and *Genovetian* Legates, he made a peace betwixt them (which for certain causes about their Sea-coasts were at variance) and Covenanted with them upon this condition, that at their publick charges they should rig and man five and thirty Gallies, which should spoil and burn all alongst the Sea-coasts of the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Frederick*.

The Pope
wageth and
hireth 55
Gallies to
spoil the
Coasts of
the Empe-
ror.

But the Pope when he saw the good will and fidelity which the Duke of *Venice* bare unto the Emperor, and saw also what aid the Emperor had of him, neither that he was like to win him to his purpose; then had he recourse again to his old crafty practices and subtilties. And further, he devised to put forth an Edict at *Rome* to the Universal Church and people, the beginning whereof is, *Ascendit de mari bellica bestia*; wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and giveth the Emperor to the Devil of Hell, and hath dejected him from all his Princely dignity. He in the same accuseth him of so many and so huge a heap of mischiefs, as to nominate them my heart detesteth. And besides that he restraineth his Sove-

The Popes
Edict a-
gainst the
Emperor.

Ascendit de
mari bellica
bestia.

raign Lord and Emperor of the Appellation, which every private man by law may have. He slandereth him of Treason, Perjury, Cruelty, Sacrilege, killing of his Kindred, and all impiety; he accuseth him for an Heretick, a Schismatick and a Miscreant: and to be brief, what mischief soever the Pope can devise, with that doth he charge him and burthen him. All this doth he, saith the Pope, that when he hath brought our Holiness and all the Ecclesiastical estate to beggary, he might scoff at, and deride the Religion of Christ, which as a miscreant he detesteth. And now for that the Pope had a great and special trust in *Albertus Behavus* of the noble house called *Equestri* (as crafty as an Apostle as the best) as one whom he saw ready to lean to his lust; to him the Pope delivered two other Mandates in several Letters sealed, in which he commanded all Bishops, Prelates, and other of the Clergy, that they should solemnly recite the same in their Churches instead of their Sermon, that by his Decree he had Excommunicated *Frederick* out of the fellowship of Christian men, put him from the procuration or Government of the Empire, and that he had released all his subjects of their Allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them, and all other Christian men, under pain of cursing and damnation, that neither they succour the Emperor, nor yet so much as wish him well. Thus he, being the Popes special and trusty Servitor, and made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of publick unquietness, as shall after appear.

Albertus
Behavus the
Popes one
hand.

The Pope
threateneth
to curse all
those that
wish well
to the Em-
peror.

Amongst all other Noblemen of *Germany* at that time, was *Orbo* the Governour of *Rhenus*, and Duke of *Boiora*, towards the Emperor both most serviceable, and also a Prince of great honour, riches, and estimation. This Prince both with fair promises and also rewards, he enticed from him; for that he was made by him to believe, that *Ludovicus* his Father, of whom we spake before, was by the Emperor murdered and slain. And the same *Orbo* again caused three other Princes and Dukes to revolt from the Emperor to the Pope, which were neighbours, and near adjoyning unto him, *Uvenceslaus*, and *Belus*, Princes of the *Hungarians*, and *Henry* Duke of *Polonia*. To whom came also *Fredericus Austriacus* his Son; who because he was proscribed or out-lawed of his Father, and had his Dukedom wasted and burnt, as you heard, was easily won unto the Pope. These gathering a Council (when they had thought to have translated the Empire unto the Kings Son of *Denmark*) desired to have the Popes Legates to be sent from him, to the effect of that Election.

Orbo with
divers other
Princes of
Germany, by
the Popes
means, do
forsake the
Emperor.

The Emperor was at *Patavium* when these news were brought unto him, what the Pope had done at *Rome*. Therefore he commanded *Peter de Vineis* his Secretary (upon *Easter-day*) to make a Narration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the Bishops and Church of *Rome*, and again, of the injuries of them toward him in recompence thereof; of his innocency also in that whereof he had accused him, and of the unseemliness of such an act or deed, of the right use of the Ecclesiastical censure, and of the errors and abuse of the Church of *Rome*. By which Oration of his, he so removed the cloud from many mens hearts of blind superstition, and the conceived opinion of holiness of the Church of *Rome*, and Bishops of the same, and also of their usurped power, and subtil perswasion, that both they plainly saw and perceived the vices and filthiness of the Church of *Rome*, and Bishops of that See, as also their fraudulent deceits, and flagitious doings, most vehemently lamenting and complaining of the same. *Albertus* maketh mention of certain verses which were sent and written between the Bishop of *Rome* and the Emperor. The which verses in the later end of this present History of *Frederick* you shall find.

What great
good the
Oration of
*Peter de Vi-
neis* did in
the Empe-
rors behalfs.

The Emperor moreover both by his Letters and Legates, giveth intelligence unto all Christian Kings, to the Princes of his own Empire, to the Colledge of Cardinals, and people of *Rome*; as well of the fained crimes where-with he was charged, as also of the cruelty of the Bishop of *Rome* against him. The Copy of which Letter or Epistle follows here under inserted:

The

The Emperor to the Prelates of the World.

The Emperors Letter to all Prelates to bridle the Pope and restrain him of his will.

Man being made of two parts hath two several Regiments, Gods word and the material sword.

The Apology of the Emperor to the Popes Edict. Ascendit de mari, &c.

Antichrist long agoe decried to the world by the Emperor.

The confession of the Emperors faith, wherof he was accused by the Pope.

The Pope under pretence of his holiness deleveth simple souls and ignorant men.

IN the beginning and creation of the World, the inestimable foreknowledge and providence of God (who asketh counsel of none) created in the Firmament of Heaven two Lights (a greater and a less) the greater he created to govern the Day, and the less to govern the Night: which two so do their proper offices and duties in the Zodiack, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique aspect unto the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other: but rather doth the Superior communicate his light with the inferior. Even so the same eternal foreknowledge hath appointed upon the earth two Regiments, that is to say, Priesthood and Kingly power: the one for knowledge and wisdom, the other for defence: that man which is made of two parts (over-wanton and dissolute) might have two reins to govern and bridle him withal, that peace thereby, and love might dwell upon the face of the earth. But alas, the Bishop of Rome sitting in the Chair of perverse Doctrine or pestilence, that Pharisee anointed with the oyl of iniquity above the rest of his consorts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from Heaven, endeavoureth with his power to destroy and undo all, and thinketh (I believe) to stellifie again himself there, from whence he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the light of our unspotted life, whilst that (altering the verity into lies) his Papal Letters, stuf with all untruths, are sent into sundry parts of the world: of his own corrupt humor, and upon no reasonable cause, blemishing the sincerity of our Religion. The Lord Pope hath compared us unto the Beast rising out of the Sea, full of names of blasphemy, and spotted like a Leopard. But we say, that he is that monstrous Beast of whom it is said, and of whom we thus read: And there shall come another red horse out of the Sea, and he that shall sit on him shall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell upon the earth destroy him. For since the time of his promotion he hath not been the father of mercy, but of discord: a diligent steward of desolation, instead of consolation, and hath inticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right sense and interpretation, he is that great Dragon that hath deceived the whole world: he is that Antichrist, of whom he hath called us the forerunner: he is that other Balaam hired for money to curse us: the Prince of darkness, which hath abused the Prophets. This is the Angel leaping out of the Sea, having his Vials filled with bitterness, that he may both hurt the Sea and the land: the counterfeit Vicar of Christ, that setteth forth his own imaginations. He saith, that we do not rightly believe in the Christian faith, and that the world is deceived with three manner of deceivers, which to name, God forbid we should open our mouth: seeing that openly we confess only Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour to be the everlasting Son of God, coequal with his Father and the Holy Ghost, begotten before all worlds, and in process of time sent down upon the earth for the salvation of mankind: conceived, not by the seed of man, but by the Holy Ghost: which was born of the Glorious Virgin Mary, and after that suffered and died, as touching the flesh: and by his Godhead the third day he raised from death that other nature which he assumed in the womb of his mother. But we have learned that the body of Mahomet hangeth in the air, and his soul is buried in Hell: whose works are damnable and contrary to the Law of the most High. We affirm also, that Moles was the faithful servant of God, and a true Teacher of the Law: and that he talked with God in mount Sinai, unto whom the Lord said, Rubum, &c. By whom also God wrought miracles in Egypt, and delivered the Law written to the Israelites, and that afterwards with the Elect he was called to Glory. In these and other things our enemy and envier of our state, causing our Mother the Church to accuse her Son, hath written against us venomous and lying slanders, and sent the same to the whole world. If he had rightly understood the Apostles meaning, he would not have preferred his violent will, which beareth such sway with him, before reason: neither would he have sent out his Mandates to the suggestion of those which call light darkness, and evil good: which suspect honey to be gall, for the great good opinion they had conceived of that holy place, which indeed is both weak and infirm, and conver-

teth all truth into falsehood, and affirmeth that to be which is not.

Truly my opinion (so indifferent on every side) ought not in any case to be infringed and averted from the Faith, to such enemies of so corrupt a conscience. Wherefore we greatly are enforced not a little to marvel, which thing also doth much disquiet us to see: that you, which be the pillars and assistants in office of righteous dealing, the Senators of Peters City, and the principal beams in Gods building, have not qualified the perturbation of so fierce a Judge: as do the Planets of Heaven in their kind, which to mitigate the passing swift course of the great Orb or Sphere of Heaven, draw a contrary way by their opposite movings. In very deed our Imperial felicity hath been (almost even from the beginning) spurned against, and envied at of the Papal See and dignity: As Simonides being demanded why he had no more enemies and enviers of his state, answered and said, Quia nihil feliciter gessi: Because (saith he) I have had no good success in any thing that ever I took in hand. And so for that we have had prosperous success in all our enterprizes (the Lords name be blessed therefore) especially in the overthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies, the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrel he promised life and absolution, with remission of their sins, is the cause wherefore this Apostolical Bishop mourneth and lamenteth. And now not by your counsels (I suppose) he laboureth to impugn this our felicity, but out of his own power of binding and loosing, whereof he glorieth so much, he impugneth it. But presently where power and ability wanteth to redress, there doth abuse take place. We see in him which was so mighty a King, and the Worthiest Prince amongst all the Prophets, to desire and crave the restitution of Gods holy Spirit, when he had polluted the dignity of his Office. But the Proverb is, Ut iudicabilia non solvantur, ita inligabilia non ligantur: As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound, are not to be bound. Which thing manifestly is proved in him. For why, the Scriptures of God do instruct men how to live, they mortifie our souls which are immortal, and quicken the same which are dead for want of life. And doubtless he is able to humble and bring down those that are unworthy of dignity, as much as him pleaseth, and when him pleaseth. Doubtless if the Bishop of Rome were a true Bishop indeed, innocent, impollute, and not associate with wicked livers and evil men, his life should declare him so to be. He would not then be an offerer of dissention sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of love and charity, and would cense, not with the incense of grief and hatred, but with the sweet smelling incense of concord and unity, neither yet would alter Suum Pontificium in maleficium: that is, make of a sanctified Office an execrable abuse. If he were such a Bishop as he ought to be, he would not wrest or abuse the preaching of the Word into the fruit and gain of his own dissention, neither should we be accused for such an enemy of our Mother the true Church, as is laid unto her Sons charge by such a Bishop. Which true and Mother-Church with all reverence we honour, and benignity embrace, so beautified and adorned with Gods holy Sacraments. Some singular persons notwithstanding, faining themselves to be our Brethren by that Mother, and yet are not, but of a strumpet begot: such, I say, as are subject and slaves to corruptible things (putting them from amongst us) we utterly reject: especially for that injuries by them done are not only transitory and mundane, wherewith our Majesty is so molested, vexed and grieved. Wherefore we cannot so easily mitigate our mood, neither ought we in very deed so to do, and therefore are we enforced the more to take the greater revenge of them. You therefore that are men of grave and deliberate counsel, having the excellent gift (as from God) of wisdom and understanding: refuse you that roaring enemy of ours in these his proceedings, whose beginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past, with those to come. Otherwise you that are under our subjection, as well of our Empire as other our Dominions, shall feel and perceive (both of my chief enemy and persecutor, as also of the Princes that are his factors and adherents) what revenge by sword Fredericus Augustus shall take upon them, God so permitting.

This

KING
Hen. 3.

The Emperor
for calling
a Parli-
ment or
Council to
express the
Pope's ma-
lice.

The godly
Bishops of
Germany are
obedient to
their King
and Prince.

The Bishops
of Germany
Excommu-
nicate the
Pope's Le-
gate and
Cardinal.

Johannes
the Bishop a
true subject
to his
Prince.

The passage
of the Pope
to maintain
the War a-
gainst his
Lord and
Master.

This done he denounceth a solemn Parliament or Council of all the Princes and other Nobility of the Empire at *Aegra*; whither came *Conradus Cesar*, *Moguntinus Presul*, the *Saxon Dukes*, the *Lords of Brandenburg*, *Misna*, *Thuringus*, and the *Legates of all the Nobles of Brabant* to aid the Emperor. But the *Princes Boiemus* and *Palatinus*, being dissuaded by the *Legates*, unto whom the *Austrians* had joyned themselves, refused to come to the Council holden at *Aegra*. And being at their wits end, not knowing well what they might do, forsook at last the Emperor, and took part with the Pope and the other Conspirators. Then *Fredericus Austriacus* the Emperors second Son (whom he disinherited as ye heard) by the aid of the *Boiers* and *Bohemians* recovered again the Dukedoms of *Austria* and *Stiria*, putting to flight and discomfiting the Emperors Bands and Garrisons which he had there. And although the Cardinals (especially that honest man *Albertus Boiemus*) had allured to the Pope *Otho* the Duke of *Boiora*, as ye heard, and divers other Noblemen of Germany; yet notwithstanding certain Bishops in *Boiora* (as *Eberhardus Juvanenensis*, and *Sigisfridus Reginoburgensis*, being at that time the Emperors Chancellor, *Rudicenus Rathevisensis*, *Conradus Frisingensis*, and others) left not nor yet forsook the Emperor. All which the foresaid *Albertus* not only did excommunicate, but also by process sought to bring them up to Rome before the Pope, giving commandment to their Collegioners and Cloysterers, that they should deprive them of their offices, and chuse such others in their stead as would obey the Pope. All which things the Pope understanding by *Albertus*, and of this their fidelity to the Emperor, corroborated and confirmed the same his doings, commanding them to chuse other Bishops in their steads.

But the Bishops and Prelates with one consent condemning the Popes Mandates and Writs, and also the curses and threatnings of *Albertus*, accused, reprov'd, and greatly blamed his temerity; and also tyranny which he usurped against the Churches of Germany, and especially against the good Emperor; that without his consent he durst be so bold as to meddle in Churches committed to the Emperors Government against the old and ancient customs; and that he had Excommunicated the Emperor without just cause; that he had condemned the Emperors faithful subjects as enemies to the Church, for standing with their Liege and Sovereign Prince (which Allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquity they might not) and so had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations; and had also in that quarrel given such defiance to the Emperor. They accused and condemned the same *Albertus* also for a most impudent impostor and wicked varlet, and for a most pestiferous botch and sore of the Christian Commonweal; and they do give him to the Devil as a ruinous enemy, as well of the Church as of his own natural Country, and further think him worthy to have his reward with the rest of the Popes Pursuivants, being the most wicked inventors and devisers of mischief that were in all Germany. This done they make relation hereof to the Emperor by their Letters; and further, they advertise all the Princes of Germany (especially those which were of the Popes faction or rebellion, and were the favourers of *Albertus*) that they should take heed and beware in any case of his subtil deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they should not assist the Pope for all his words against the Emperor. And doubtless by the counsel of the high Prelate or Archbishop of *Boiora* (whose name was *Juvanenensis*) and by his industry and perswasion, *Fredericus Austriacus* was again reconciled unto the Emperor his Father, from whose aid and obedience after that, by no promises, threatening, bribes, nor pains, no nor for the execrable curses of the Popes own holy mouth, he would be induced or removed. But *Albertus* persecuteth still his purposed mischief, alluring and inticing by all means possible (and that not amongst the worst but the best) friends to the Pope, and enemies to the Emperor. Unto some he gave their Tythes to fight against the Emperor, to other some he gave the Glebe-lands of Benefices, and to other some he gave the spoil of such Colledges and Monasteries as took not part with the Pope; and to some other also he gave the Colledges and Monasteries themselves. And assuredly I find by *Johannes Aventinus*, Lib. 7. *Annalium Boiorum*, that there were certain of the Popes own birds, that had their

Ecclesiastical Tythes taken from them; and other some had the rents and revenues of their Colledges pluckt away by force to the maintenance of the Popes quarrel against the Emperor. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they lust (every man according to his ravening and detestable lust) and all things lay open unto their greedy and insatiable desires. Who listeth to hear more hereof, let him read *Aventinus* in his Book before noted, and there shall he see what vastation grew thereby to the whole state of Germany, who largely intreateth of the same.

While these things were thus in working in Germany, *Frederick* leaving in Lombardy *Adrianus* with a great part of his Host (he passing with the rest by *Apeninum*) came to *Hetruria* and set the same in a stay, after that he had allayed certain insurrections there, and from thence to *Pisas*, where he was with great amity and honour received and welcomed. This City was always assured and faithful to the Emperors of Germany. The Pope understanding of the Emperors coming into *Hetruria*, and knowing what power the Emperor had also left in Lombardy, with a great Army besieged the City *Ferraria*, that always loved the Emperor full well; which City when the Popes Legate had assaulted sharply the space of five months, and could not win the same; he devised with himself to send for *Salingwerra* out of the Town by way of a parlee, promising his faith and truth to him for his safe return. Who by the perswasion of *Hugo Rambartus*, that said without peril he might do the same (being but by way of parlee) was coming to the Legate; who preventing him in his journey, took him as prisoner, contrary to his truth and fidelity. And thus gat he *Ferraria*, and delivered the keeping thereof to *Azones Astensis*. And that the Popes Legate thus falsified his truth, and circumvented the Captain and old man *Salingwerra*, the same is confessed of the Popes friendly Historiographers, to be but a stratagem or warlike policy. But to return again. About the same time also the Venetian Navy, at the Mount *Garganum*, chased twelve Gallies of the Emperors, which were appointed to the keeping of that Coast, and spoiled, burnt, and wasted all the region; and further took one of the Emperors great Ships, being driven by tempest and weather into the Haven *Sipontium*, fraught with men and munition.

Fredericus again getting on his side the *Lucenses*, the *Volaterrans*, the *Genenses*, the *Aretines*, and divers Cities besides in *Hetruria* to help that Country, came to *Pisas* and *Viterbium*, which took part with him. Some say, that the names and factions of *Gibellins* and *Guelphs* sprang from *Frederick*, that by them he might spie and know (having recourse to all the Towns and Cities in Italy) which took part with, and favoured the Pope, and which the Emperor; and called the one by the name of *Gibellins*, and the other by the name of *Guelphs*. But for that both *Blondus* and *Platina*, and some others, bring no sufficient proof thereof, but only slender conjecture, I rather cleave to the opinion of *Nauclerus*, *Hermanus*, *Antoninus*, *Florentinus*, and other such writers, which say, that these *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in Italy took their beginning of *Conradus* the Third, *Fredericus* his great Uncle being Emperor; and that these *Guelphs* were dedicated to the Pope, of *Guelphs* the younger Brother of *Henry* the Proud; and that those which were called the *Gibellins*, were appointed either of *Conradus* himself, or else of his Son, being brought up in the Lordship of *Vaibingen*. But to our purpose.

The Pope when he understood that *Frederick* was come to *Viterbium*, he was very heavy; for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which City the Pope much mistrusted. He therefore caused a supplication to be drawn, portraying about the same the Heads of *Peter* and *Paul*, and with a sharp and contumelious Oration he much defaced the Emperor; promising them everlasting life, and gave the badge of the Cross to as many as would arm themselves and fight against the Emperor, as against the most wicked enemy of God and the Church. Now when the Emperor, marching somewhat near to *Rome*-Gates, beheld those whom the Pope had, with his goodly spectacle of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and with his alluring Oration, stirred up against him, and marked with the badge of the Cross to come forth in battel against him; disdainful to be accounted for the ene- my

The Pope
besiegeth
Ferraria.

The fidelity
of *Papists*
learned by
this exam-
ple.

The Empe-
rors Gallies
chased, and
one of his
Ships taken
by the Pope.

The *Gibellins*
and
Guelphs
from
whence
they came.

The Pope
afraid of
the Empe-
rors coming
into Italy.

The Emperor hangeth all the Crooked Souldiers.

The Emperor retaineth the Saracens in his Wars against the Pope.

The effect of a Letter sent by the Emperor to the Princes of Germany.

No enemy more hurtful to the Church of God than is the Pope.

The Emperor voweth to remove the Pope, and put another more careful shepherd into the Church of God.

Boiemus relenteth at the Emperors Letter.

my of the Church, who had been thereunto so beneficial, giving a fierce charge upon them, he put them soon to flight, and as many as he took (cutting off that badge from them) he caused to be hanged. From thence he marching into *Campania*, and his own Kingdoms, levied a great mass of money, and mustered the new bands, and augmented his Army; and in these bands he retained the *Saracens* also. And to the intent he might find the *Saracens* the more trusty to him, he appointed them to inhabit in a City named *Luceria*. For which thing, although the Papistical writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write of *Frederick*, yet notwithstanding *Nicholaus Machiavellus* doth write, that therefore he retained them, lest that through the Popes execrable curses he should be quite destitute of Soldiers, as was *Fredericus Barbarossa* his Grandfather, a little before, when that of *Alexander* the Pope he was Excommunicated, as ye have heard.

After this when the Emperor had greatly afflicted by battel the Popes Ecclesiastical comforts, such as conspired with the Pope against him, and that he had wasted and destroyed *Beneventum*, the *Mount Casenum* and *Sora*, for that they took part with the Pope against him; *Frederick* when he had manned the City of *Aquila*, marched forth with a great Host both of Horsemen and Footmen to *Pice-num*, that he might vanquish his enemies in *Italy*. And by the way he besieged the strong Town of War named *Aculinum*, which was also converted to the Popes faction and rebellion. He there having understanding what the Popes assistants had done with the Princes Electors, and other Princes of *Germany*, especially with *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Orbo Palatinus*, writeth his Letters unto them. In the which, first he shewed how that those contumelies and spiteful words, which the Pope blustered out against him, are lighted upon himself; and how the Bishops of *Rome* have taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are become so lofty, that not only they seek to bring Emperors, Kings, and Princes under their obedience, but also seek how to be honoured as Gods, and say that they cannot err, neither yet be subject or bound to any Religion; and that it is lawful for them to do all things what they list, neither that any account is to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any; so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as Princes they command (and that under pain of cursing) that men believe every thing they say, how great a lye soever it be. Inasmuch that by this covetousness of his all things go backward, and the whole state of the Commonweal is subverted, neither can there any enemy be found more hurtful or perillous to the Church of God than he. He wrote unto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greatest charge and dignity was in the whole Commonweal appointed and committed) seeing and perceiving to his great peril, their good hearts, wills and practices towards him, would with all the power and ability that God had given him, do his endeavour that he which in the likeness of the shepherd of the flock, and the servant of Christ, and chief Prelate in the Church, sheweth himself so very a Wolf, Persecuter and Tyrant, may be removed from that place, and that a true and careful shepherd of Gods flock may be appointed in the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, if they desire the safety and preservation of the whole state of the Commonweal and Empire, that they be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings; lest otherwise they also should happen to fall into the same snare of servitude with the Bishop of *Rome*. And further, he gave them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he sought for, (that is, to be an Emperor, and King over Kings) yet should that be no stay of his insatiable desire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is. Therefore if they be wise, to withstand him betimes, lest hereafter when they would, it should be too late, neither were able to withstand his tyranny. The effect of this Epistle I took out of *Aventine*, which more largely dilateth it, who also writeth that the Emperor (by his Legates) sent the same to *Wenceslaus*.

Boiemus somewhat relenting at this Letter, promiseth to accomplish the Emperors biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assembly of Princes and Nobles at *Agra*; where by common consent they think to renovate with the Emperor a new League and Covenant. And furthermore, they find *Orbo Boius* (which was absent, and

would not be at this their assembly to be the Author of this defection, and an enemy to the Commonweal. *Orbo* then seeing himself not able to stand against *Cesar* and the other Princes with whom he was associate, desiring aid of the Pope by his Letters, came with all speed to *Boiemus* his Kinsman; whom when he could not persuade unto him again, neither would he to their parts also be won, he obtaineth notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the League and Covenant (which they were in hand to make with the Emperor) might for a time be deferred, and that another assembly might be made, whereat he also would be, and joyn himself with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his Father, bewitched also his Son, and brought him to be both a Rebel and a Traytor. In the mean season the Pope sent his rescript unto the King of *Bohemia* and to *Orbo*, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the Church, to take the Emperors part. And so much prevailed he by the means of *Bobuslaus* and *Budislaus* (which were the chieftest of the Senate Regal) and by his fair promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that again at *Libussa* by *Boiemus* and *Boius* new assemblies were gathered for the Creation of a new Emperor, in despite of *Augustus* the Emperor, and *Cesar* his Son. And whilest that this was thus in hand, *Conradus Cesar* casteth *Landshuta* the Wife of *Orbo* (being absent) in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her Husband had, and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that unless her Husband took a better way with himself, and shewed his obedience to the Emperor his Father, that he should not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which *Orbo* had by the ancestors of *Conradus Cesar* came thus: *Fredericus Barbarossa* in the year of our Lord 1180, at a Parliament holden at *Reginoburg*, condemned *Henricus Leo* of High Treason, and deprived him of his Dominions of *Boiora* and *Saxony*, and gave *Boiora* to *Orbo Wiltaspachius*, for that he had done him so faithful service in his *Italian* Wars. After that, *Ludovicus* the Son of this *Orbo*, obtained of this Emperor *Frederick* the Second, in recompence of his assured and trusty fidelity, the dition of *Palatinatum Rheni* so called, which gave also *Agnetes* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Palatine* to *Orbo* his Son in marriage. This *Henry* was the Son of *Henry Leo* the Traytor, unto whom *Henry* the Sixth, the Father of *Frederick*, gave in marriage *Clementia* his Brothers Daughter, *Conradus Palatine* of *Rhenus*, and gave unto him the keeping of the Palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of *Boiora*; that he had also now long possessed by the heirs of *Orbo Wiltaspachius*. But to our purpose again.

At the same time also the Governour of *Colonia Agripina* revolted to the Pope; who not long after, in a skirmish between *Brabantinus* and him, was vanquished and taken prisoner. And doubtless, *Fredericus Austriacus*, after he was received into favour again with the Emperor (keeping most constantly his promise and fidelity renewed) during this time made sharp war upon the *Hungarians*, which took part with the Pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in *Germany*, the Emperor when he had gotten *Ascalum*, and led his Host into *Flamminia*, having *Ravenna* at his Commandment, from thence came to *Faventia*, which City never loved the Emperor; the circuit of whose walls is five miles in compass, and pitched his Camp round about the same. And although the siege was much hindered by austerity of the time and weather (being in the very dead time of Winter) yet notwithstanding through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his Soldiers in the painfulness of the laborious siege, he endured out the same, who thought it no little shame, having once made that enterprise, to come from thence without any assault given. And therefore when now the Winter (so extrem cold and hard) was well near ended, and the Spring-time now hard at hand, and by long battery he had made the same in divers places faultable; the Citizens (being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof) sent their Legates to the Emperor, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant unto them their lives, and so yielded themselves unto his mercy.

The

KING
The Em-
peror great
lenity and
clemency,
but yet
marvelous-
ly informed.

The Emperor, having against them good and sufficient cause of revenge, yet for that his noble Heart thought it to be the best revenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men: He thought it better to grant them their requests, to save the City and Citizens thereof, with innumerable people, than by Arms to make the same his Souldiers prey, to the destruction both of the City, and great number of People therein. So doth this good Emperor in one of his Epistles, *Ad Adrianum*, confess himself. Which Epistle, to declare the Lenity and merciful Heart of so worthy a Prince, if that with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the midst of the History here to have placed. But thus I have kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

The Em-
peror infor-
med to make
his money
of leather.

In this siege the Emperor, having spent and consumed almost all his Treasure both gold and silver, caused other Money to be made of Leather, which on the one side had his Image, and on the other side the spread Eagle (the arms of the Empire) and made a proclamation, that the same should pass from man to man for all necessities in stead of other money: and therewithal promised, that whosoever brought the same Money unto his Exchequer when the wars were ended, he would give them gold for the same, according to the value of every Coin limited: which thing afterward truly and faithfully he performed, as all the Historiographers do accord.

The Pope
findeth for
foreign aid
and is pro-
voked.

Thus when the Pope, as before is said, had stopped his ears, and would not hear the Emperors Legates that came to intreat for peace, but rejected and despised his most courteous and equal demands; neither yet had he left any wily policy unattempted or force unpractised, that with his confederates he thought himself either able to revenge or else resist: he by his Legates calleth to a Council at Rome, all such Prelates out of Italy, France, and England, as he thought to favor him and his proceedings, that hereby, as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helps might deprive *Fredrick* of his Empire, as an utter enemy to God and to the Church. All which things *Fredrick* having understanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be but to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to Rome, as well by Sea as by Land, in all that ever he might. So that all the passages by Land being now stopped and prevented, he commanded his Son *Henry* with certain Gallies to go and keep the Coasts of *Sardinia*, which Kingdom the Italians call *Entinum*: and from thence to go to *Pisas*, and with the *Pisans* to rig out a Navy to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aid the Pope at Rome.

The Em-
peror right-
forth a
Navy to
the Sea.

The Popes Champions understanding that by Land they could not safely repair to Rome: they procured of Gallies and Ships out of *Genoa* (having *Gulielmus Braccius* for their chief Captain or Admiral) Forty sail for their defence; thinking hereby, that if they should Fortune to meet with any of the Emperors Ships or Gallies, which should lye for them in wait, they should be able to make their part good, and give them also the repulse. *Enrico* in like manner and *Huglinus* (being Captain and Admiral of the *Pisan* Navy for the Emperor) Lanced forth to Sea with Forty Ships and Gallies: and betwixt the Isles of *Lilium* and *Mons Christi*, which lye between *Lisburnium* and *Corfica*, they met with the *Genovaise* Ships; and straightways fiercely began to grapple with them and board them, in which fight at length were three of the *Genovaise* Ships both boulded and sunk, with all the riches and Treasure in them. In these were taken three Legates of the Popes, whereof were two Cardinals, *Jacobus Colonna*, *Otho Marchio*, and *Gregorius de Romania* (all cruel enemies against the Emperor) and many other Prelates more; besides a great number of Legates and Procurators of Cities, with an infinite number of Monks and Priests, besides of *Genovaise* Souldiers 6000, with divers others.

A great Vi-
cary on
the Sea a-
gainst the
Popes con-
federates by
the Empe-
ror Navy.

Pandolphus Colonusius, in describing the Circumstances of the great loss and misfortune of these Champions of the Pope by Sea, amongst the rest declareth, that besides the great prey and booty which the takers had from them, they also found many Writings and Letters against *Fredrick*, which much helped them in the defence of those causes, wherein they had labored against him. The like mischance also almost about that time happened on the

Popes side, by the Emperors Souldiers which lay in the garison at *Ticinum*, thus: There went forth upon a time out of *Ticinum* into the borders of *Genovaise*, certain bands to give them Larums in the Country: which bands the souldiers of *Mediolanum* (where lay a great Garison of the Popes) descrying, told the Captain of the Town, that now a very Opportune and fit time was to give an assault to *Ticinum*; for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a Foraging. Whereupon they immediately calling together the Captains and such as had charge, set their Souldiers in Array, and marched forward to *Ticinum*. And now when they were come almost thither, the *Ticinian* bands (whom they thought to have been far a Foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gave a full charge upon them: Who being dismayed at the suddenness of the matter, fought not long, but gave over and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slain) three hundred and fifty Captains, and brought prisoners into *Ticinum* with all their Ensignes with them.

The Empe-
ror obtain-
eth another
Victory by
Land at
Ticinum a-
gainst the
Pope and
his confeder-
ates.

News hereof was brought to the Emperor not long after, who then was removing from the siege of *Faventia* (as ye heard) to the City of *Benonium*, thinking to have destroyed the same. But upon the hearing of these good News, he altereth his purpose, and thinking to have hereafter a more convenient time thereunto, leadeth his Army towards Rome: and in the way he reconciled to him the City of *Pisarum*. But *Favum*, for that the Townsmen shut their Gates and would not suffer the Emperor to come in, he took by force and destroyed. For the Emperor, seeing that neither by Petition made to the Pope, nor yet by his Lawful excusation, he could do any good with him, thought, that by his sudden coming thither, and with fear of the peril imminent, he might be brought to some uniformity, and caused to leave off his accustomed pertinacy. And although the Emperor was too strong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more than the publick tranquillity of the Empire, and that he might then take the *Tartarian* wars in hand, if he could by any means conclude, he refused not so to intreat a peace with him, as though he had been both in force and Fortune much his inferior.

The Empe-
ror thinketh
to make the
Pope a
foe.

Whilest that this ruffle was betwixt the Emperor and the Pope *Ochodarius* the Emperor of the *Tartarians* his Son, with a great power and provision made, invaded the borders next adjoining unto him, and there wan *Roxolanum*, *Bodolium*, *Mudanum*, with divers other Cities, Towns, and Villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the Countries all about, killing and slaying Man, Woman, and Child, sparing none of any Sex or Age. At whose sudden invasion, the people being in such fear and perplexity (having no City, no refuge, nor aid to stand in defence for them) were fain to leave all that ever they had, and disperse themselves into Woods, and fly into Marishes and Mountains, or wheresoever any succour else did offer it self to them. And by this time the *Tartarian* Host was come as far as *Uratistavia*, where *Henricus* of *Polonia* and the Duke of *Silesia* with their Armies met with them; who, for the inequality of the number and small strength they were of, had soon an overthrow, and almost all their Souldiers being slain, they themselves were taken and put to the Sword. From thence they came to *Moravia*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which Country, while the King kept himself in strong defended Forts, and durst not come abroad, he invaded, and destroyed all *Hungary*, putting to flight and vanquishing *Colmannus* the Brother of *Belus*, the fourth King of *Hungary*, by whom also was great spoil made in both the *Pannonias*, *Misiatum*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*. When *Belus* the King of *Hungary* had gotten to *Pola* (which is a City of *Histria*) unto *Otho* the Duke of *Dalmatia*, he sent his Legates to *Fredrick* the Emperor, promising that if he would send him aid that the *Tartarians* might be expelled, then *Hungary* should ever after be under the jurisdiction of the Emperor: which thing if he refused to do, that then the same were in great danger to be subject to the *Tartarians*, to the no little peril of the whole Empire. And he said further, that the cause wherof he with more instance required the same, was, that so many Christian Men and Countries made such pitiful Lamentation in this their great calamity and misery,

The Turk
invadeth
Christen-
dom with a
great and
mighty
power.

The unex-
pected cru-
elty and
slaughter of
Christian
Men by the
Turk.

The King of
Hungary
craveth aid
of the Em-
peror, for
the which
he offereth
him his
Land.

and that there was none able to help them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole Christian State and Empire. And also he said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, then he thought they would make invasion upon the Empire and Provinces of the same.

The Pope will grant to have no peace.

The Emperor although he thought it very requisite, that with all convenient speed this mischief should be remedied and prevented: Yet notwithstanding, his great Enemy the Pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceived that he himself could do no good, and only labored in vain in seeking peace with the Pope, he gave commandment to *Bohemus* and *Bojas*, to intreat and persuade with him. And (considering the imminent peril like to issue by reason of such civil dissention to the whole State of Christendom) that he would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. Wherefore when he saw further, that neither by that means of intreaty, nor any other, the Pope would desist from his stubborn and malicious forward purpose, he writeth again to the King of Hungary, that he was right sorry and greatly lamented their miserable State, and that he much desired to relieve the need and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But why that he could not redress the same, nor stand him then in any stead, he blamed greatly the Bishop of Rome; who refusing all intreaty of peace, he could not without great peril to himself depart out of Italy, lest that when he should come to the aid of him (by the Popes mischievous Imaginations) he should be in peril of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent *Conradus Cesar* King of Bohemia, and other Princes more of Germany to resist and withstand the Enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The great Army and number of such Souldiers, as wore the Cross by the Popes assignement, deferred their journey against the *Tartarians*, and had commandment given unto them by one *Albertus* (the Popes Procurator) to tarry and abide at Home, until they should be called for in battle to fight against the Emperor. This was the loving zeal and affection of the Pope and his adherents: (To conclude) in this time of Calamity towards the Christian State and Commonwealth; that he had rather bend his force and revenge his malice upon the Christian and good Emperor, than either he himself to withstand, or suffer and permit, by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this most bloody and cruel *Tartarian* should be let and restrained from so great havock, spoil and slaughter of the Christian Men: and yet forsooth these men will seem to have the greatest regard of all others to the Christian preservation, and think to have the supremacy given therein: what thing else is this, but manifest mockery and deceiving of the people? But notwithstanding, even in the midst of this spoil and havock of *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungaria*, was it determined, that at *Libussa*, the Princes confederate should be assembled about the deposing of the Emperor, and creation of another.

The Popes fault that the Turk is not resisted.

The Pope had rather fight against the Emperor than against the Turk.

The Emperor dwell in his own person, as his Predecessors have trial of the Popes subtil practices.

But now notwithstanding, the provident foresight and wise policy of the Emperor (as you heard before) in restraining the passages both by the Sea and Land, who had special regard thereunto, and gave most strict charge that none should pass without privy search and examination, as one having sufficient trial, as well in his own person as by the example of his Predecessors, what great mischief and dissension by their Legates every way sent out, they had procured, both to the Imperial State and Dignity, and to the whole Country of Germany: yet found they such means, and wrought such policies, that they had not only secret passage and repassage with their Letters and spials into all Christendom where they listed, but also so laboured the matter and handled the same, That the long continued league of amity between the French King and the Emperor, whose Predecessors, as also they themselves, had many years reverently observed it in Christian concord and unity, was, by this seditious Prelate and arrogant Vicar of Satan, now either utterly infringed, or else in variable suspense: as by their Letters each to other, and hereunder insuing, is to be read and seen: which for the more probability of this History of *Fredrick* (not being long or greatly tedious) I thought meet here to intert and place.

The Epistle of the French King to Fredrick the Emperor, touching the imprisoning of certain Cardinals of France.

(KING)
(FRENCH)

H liberto (Noble Emperor) hath the good opinion and great confidence (many years in mutual love established betwixt us) lasted and continued well, hoping that no such cause should rise betwixt us to hatch either hatred or other occasion offensive between your Highness Empire, and our Kingdom. Especially, seeing that all our Predecessors, King of France, late of most worthy memory (till these our days) have been so zealously affected to the most high and regal State of your Empire; and also that we, whom God hath placed successively to Reign as King, have been no otherwise minded nor affected towards the same. None otherwise also on their behalf have the Ancient and renowned Emperors of Rome, our Neighbours and your Predecessors, shewed themselves towards us (each other esteeming the Empire and Kingdom of France as one) and faithfully conserving together the unity of peace and concord. Inasmuch that there hath not chanced between them these many years so much as one spark of Discord and Dissention. But this notwithstanding, we for our part cannot but greatly marvel, and not without good cause are troubled and vexed; that, without desert or any offence, you have taken the Prelates of our Realm upon the Sea, making their repair to the See Apostolical; to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience they stand bound and are obedient, neither could they withstand the Pope his commandment: These have you imprisoned, and so still detain the same. Whereat (we do your Majesty to wit) we are not well pleased, neither yet take in so good part, as you peradventure think we do. For by their own Letters we understand, they had excogitated nothing prejudicial to your Imperial Estate and celsitude, although the Pope had prosecuted therein more than became him to do. Wherefore, seeing that there is no cause why you should detain them; it is meet and cometh no less your magnificence, but that you restore unto us and set at liberty the said Prelates of our Realm: wherein also you shall appease our Grudge, and keep us your friend; which account the displeasure you do to them as our own and proper injury. For why? It were a great dishonour to our Realm and Kingly Estate, if we would wink hereat and overpass the same with silence. Wherefore if you will consider and respect the thing that we have said, we doubt not but that you will release the Bishop of Penestrum, with the other Legates and Prelates of the Church, which you to our prejudice do detain. In desiring of our aid doubtless we gave unto them a manifest nay: neither could they obtain in our Kingdom any thing at all which seemed to be against or prejudicial to your Majesty. Let therefore your Imperial Providence ponder in the Ballance of Justice, those things which we write unto you, neither let our lawful request unto you be frustrate or made in vain. For our Realm and Kingdom of France is not so debilitate or impoverished that it will be spurned at, or trodden under your feet: Fare ye well.

The great amity and long continued league between the Empire and Kingdom of France.

The King without great solicitation of the Pope, would not so have written to the Emperor.

Here V. should have been the Emperor found the fault of contrivance.

The Rescript of the Emperor to the same Letter of the King of France.

O Ur Imperial magnificence hath perused your Kingly Letters; wherein if we had not found manifest contradiction, they might peradventure have obtained at our hands all that they required. But even as with a little leaven a whole lump of dough is soured; so a manifest untruth alledged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faulty and unsavoury. It is apparent that you wanted the virtue of mediocrity in the conclusion of the same your Gracious letter: For that they themselves bewray no less than we give you manifestly to understand, and many more besides do know. It is notorious also, and to all the world revealed, in what sort that Apostolical Father hath impugned our innocency, as well with the one Sword, as with the other; and how that whilst we at his commandment took our Journey beyond the Seas, the same our great enemy and hostile adversary invaded our Kingdom.

The French Kings letter contains contrary to themselves.

A good A-political Father with a two-hand ed sword.

KING Kingdom of Sicilia: and the same, not in one place or two, but in divers and sundry parts thereof hath wasted, spoiled, and destroyed. After this, when with great intreaty at our return from Alia, we had concluded a Peace with him, which with us at his own pleasure he made, and had taken and received our devotion for the same, which in serviceable manner we granted him: the said Apostolical Father (that notwithstanding) hath since that time rather aggravated his displeasure toward us, than any thing at all qualified the same: and further hath to our deprivation and subversion, excogitate and devised against us all the mischief he might or hath been able, no cause in all the world given of us to provoke the same: and further hath promulgated to our great defamation and shame (as well by his Letters as Legates) the Sentence of Excommunication against us unto all Nations. Lastly, he aspiring to our Imperial State, and conspiring our supplantation, hath made War against us, as against King David, Gods anointed: and hath unto a private Council for that purpose called all the Prelates he can get, as one that meaneth to set all the whole world together by the ears. But such is the marvelous Wisdom of God, by whom we live and reign: who beholding the wicked purpose he went about (confounding the Crafty in their craftiness) hath given into our hands as well your Prelates of the Realm of France, as also of other Regions and Provinces: all which we imprison and detain, as Enemies and Adversaries to our Imperial Crown and Person. For where there desired not to be a Persecutor, there hath not wanted also a sufficient Withstander and Defender. Let not therefore your kingly Highness marvel, although Augustus detaineth in prison your French Prelates, which have endeavoured themselves to Conspire, and so to disturb our Imperial Estate and Regiment. Fare ye well.

When Frederick now saw there was none other remedy, and that in vain he laboured to have peace with the Pope, he prosecuted this War to the uttermost: and when he had gotten Tudertum and reconciled the same, he destroyed the Town of Geminum and Narvia, and giveth the spoil of them unto his Souldiers: he gently received the yielding up of Suburnum, and wasteth all the Country round about Rome. The Pope herewith dismayed and troubled with such as otherwise dissuaded and counselled him, and seeing that things prospered not so well with him and against the Emperor as he wished and desired, being in despair of obtaining his purpose, died for very anger and thought.

What Opinion the Prelates of Germany at that time had of this Gregory is extant, and to be seen by the Oration of Eberhardus Bishop of Furavence, that he made to the Nobility of Bojoria in the Parliament at Reginoburg, written by Johannes Aventinus in his seventh Book. Doubtless he not only brought great and ruinous Calamities to the whole Christian Common-wealth and also the Empire, whilst he sought thus to depresse and biddle the Emperour, and advance his Papal See and Dignity, but also brought into the Church of God much horrible Impiety, Blasphemy and Wickedness, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Balens, and others make mention: and amongst others that most detestable Cantilene, Salve Regina, in the which he attributeth the Honour and Worship proper only to Christ, unto the Virgin his Mother. This is he in whose name the Book of the Decretals was set out, which (to omit the opinion of divers other learned men) Johannes Balens calleth it *The sink or puddle of Foolishness and Impiety*. Doubtless Carolus Molinans, a man both of singular judgment in that Law, which in Tribunal Courts and Judgments is used, as also in this, painted forth the Decree of this Gregory in his Book of Annotations unto Platina, whose words whereof are these, *Certum est, multa capita in eis mutila & decurata esse, ut invidiosum argumentum lateret, &c.* That is, Doubtless divers Chapters in the same Book of Decretals be mangled and imperfect, that many contentious Arguments therein might lurk. For when the ambitious desire of reigning like Kings took them, they studied nothing else but how to enlarge and advance their See and Dominion with the Empire it self and other Kingdoms (oft shaken and weakened through Contention:) and this purpose and end had they and none other in all their Constitutions.

The proof whereof Molinans declareth in his Book *De regibus Gallie & Anglie*. But many more Examples by the Emperors, Princes, and Lords Electors of the Empire may be gathered, whereof to speak, more convenient place shall serve hereafter.

In the stead of this Gregory was placed Celestine, born in Mediolanum amongst the Castellians: who, as Blondus declareth, by fained promises offered a League with Frederick, and the eighteenth day after he was created Pope, he also died.

Thus when the Author of all this Conspiracy was gone, Frederick now thinking himself free and void of that fear which before he had, and not daring to be absent out of Italy, with all his indeavour levieth an Army, and prepareth his furniture and other necessaries for the delivery of the Christians, so mightily oppressed as ye heard by the Turk or Tartarians. Who, hearing of the coming of the Emperor, left the straight way through Hungary, which they came, and returned by the River of Danubium to Taurica, and so through the Fens of Meotida, and by the River Tanauum, into Sarmatia Asiatica. When the Cardinals had now a long time protracted the creation of the Pope, and would not agree upon the same, the Emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their disagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more careful for the Christian Common-wealth. His two Epistles touching this matter are extant: whereby appeareth, that only for the care and desire he had of peace and of the Christian unity and state, he did the same: and for that (peradventure) the Cardinals refused to make peace with him before they had created a new Pope: the one for more brevity I have omitted, and here inserted the other.

An Epistle Invektive of the Emperor unto the Cardinals, for that they cannot agree upon the creation of the Pope.

Unto you I write, O ye Children of Ephraim, which evil have bent your Bows, and worse have shot your Arrows, filthily turning your backs in the day of battel: unto you I speak, O ye Children of Belial, and sparkled Flock, you insensible people and assistants of the great Fudge, unto you I write, O ye dissentious Cardinals, whom the world for your deserts doth hate: for whose causes the whole world being at variance is evil spoken of. Doubtless, I cannot speak unto you, but to your detraction, because I am worldly and you spiritual. I am imperfect, wherefore I must do as the imperfect world doth: neither can the part be dissimant to the whole, nor I contrary to my self that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude Epistle, wanting the dignity of rhetorical stile. My provoked Tongue burleth forth into words, before my conceiving spirit hath delivered the same: and so not attending to the higher Regiment, hath hastened to express my words not fully conceived or premeditated. Thus, I say, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget disordered talk, and unimely uttereth the same. This therefore it is that our hearts hath conceived, that we believe and all men confess, that Jesus Christ the Mediator between God and man, which came from Heaven to make peace upon the Earth, is not divided and at variance, being also the Master and Lord of the Apostles. But Satan, being divided in himself, that blaspheming Prince is amongst you, as those to whom he ministrerh: he, even he, the Perswader of Discord and dissention, that Man-killer, Father of Lyes, and Spirit of Darknes, that hath divided your Tongues, and set Dissention amongst your selves: neither do ye good one to another, nor yet to the World, being by you into so perilous a state brought: and the little Ship of Peter, which is tossed upon the Sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard: which Ship, though it need not indeed utterly to fear drowning, yet suffereth it by your negligence many great storms and perilous tempests. Doubtless, if ye would diligently consider how the Nations and People whom ye were wont to judge, in scorn shake their heads at you: every one of you would be ashamed of another. And to say the truth, they cannot do so much to detest your so detestable Opprobry: for whilst every one of you aspirerh to the Chair, every one is at variance with

The creation and death of Pope Celestine.

The Emperor preparerh an Army to fight with the Tartarians, the Tartarians by.

Frederick against the Cardinals.

Peters Ship by the dissolution of the Cardinals greatly afflicted.

with his Fellow, and whilst one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilst none is promoted, the Cathedral Dignity vanisheth. And thus by your discord, the peaceable state and concord of the Church is confounded, and the perfection of the Faith and Religion, whereby ye should live, perisheth. And surely, through your default it perisheth; so that, whereas nature hath placed the sense and understanding to be, that part, like a Monster, remaineth with you both senseless and headless. And no marvel, for why, your hearing is impaired, and that sound of the mouth which shrilly was heard throughout the whole Earth, is utterly dumb, and become a scoffing Eccho. For why, the thundrings of Peter and Paul are now no more heard; the Preachers are become dumb Dogs, and are commanded to silence. Perhaps you have hands ready to receive, but there be no bribes; for why, those that were wont to come from Saba, and bring gold with them, now come no more, seeing the Lord is not in the Manger, and the Celestial shining Star refusing to be their guid. Moreover, ye want feet to walk with ball, for seeing there is no man to give you ought, you will not remove one foot for any mans pleasure. Fie shameless people, the least and simplest Beast may learn you Obedience, for the Birds have their Captain, and the silly Bees their King, but you will come under no Government, &c.

Peter's still voice turned into a scoffing eccho.

The Emperor re-leafeth the Cardinals out of prison.

Innocentius the fourth created Pope.

The Emperor rejoiceth of the Popes election, but without cause why.

The Pope taketh Viterbium while the Emperor hoped for peace.

The Emperor yet after this, at the request of Baldwinus the Emperor of Constantinople, who came to Frederickus to Parma, released the Cardinals out of prison, thinking thereby not only to gratifie the Emperor Baldwinus, but also thinking that thereby things would have the better grown to publick tranquillity on every side. When the Cardinals were all assembled at Avignia, they made Sinibaldus, a Genoway, Pope, whom by a contrary name, for that he had determined (as I suppose) to be hurtful to the Commonwealth, they called Innocentius the Fourth. Of which Election when Frederick understood, he was well pleased therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, he well hoped that the Christian Commonwealth should by him have been brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he sent both his Legates and Letters gratulatory unto him, letting him to understand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made Pope; and what peace and quietness thereby he promised (as it were to himself) he maketh full relation thereof; offering again unto him observance, help and aid in all things, commending his Dignity to the publick State and quietness of the Christian Commonwealth and Empire, &c.

He also wrote his Letters to Otto Duke of Bojoria, who a little before was reconciled to the Emperor, that he which was elected Pope was a good Man, a lover of peace, and studious as well for the tranquillity of the Christian Commonwealth, as of the Empire.

The Legates of Frederick also, with the furtherance of Baldwinus the Emperor of Constantinople, laboured very diligently for the conclusion of the promise of peace. And to be brief, every Man was in good hope and looked for no less. But far otherwise fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectation. For the Pope (set on and encouraged by the Cardinals and others against Frederick) secretly and amongst themselves wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little disappointed both Frederick and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the Popes holiness. For whilst the Emperors Legates attended the answer of their peace before promised, Rainerus the Cardinal went secretly to Viterbium with a certain number of Souldiers, and took the Town which before was on the Emperors part.

The Emperor having understanding hereof, mustereth his bands, and with a sufficient power entrencheth the Popes dition, again to recover Viterbium: But yet, taking this war so in hand (not thinking thereby to expel all conditions of peace) at the request of certain of the Cardinals he was contented to leave Viterbium, being furnished by the Emperor of war-like provision before, and came to Aqua. From thence he sent again other Ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the Emperor of Constantinople, with the Earl of Tholouse, who he thought were able to do much with the Pope in the prosecuting of this peace.

And although at the time of Easter the matter seemed to have been through, and peace concluded, for that his Legates had Sworn in the behalf of the Emperor (and as he willed them) that he would submit himself to the Pope. And again, for that the Cardinals and others, commonly called and named him Frederickus the Christian Prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpose. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to go through therewithal, but that through this diffimulation and likelihood of peace, which they understood the Emperor much desired, he should set free and open the passages which he straitly kept, that no man could pass and come to Rome, whether a great multitude daily resorted and flocked for Religion sake. But when all came to all, and that the Legates perceived no conclusion of peace was simply purposed on their behalf, they began to despair of the matter; letting the Emperor so to understand. The Emperor yet notwithstanding doubted not, but if he might himself speak with the Pope, he upon reasonable conditions should well enough accord with him; wherefore he by his Legates and Letters desired him to appoint a place where the Emperor might resort to him. The Pope seemed to be contented herewithal, and appointed a day at Fescennia, where they would talk together; and the Pope promised that he would be there before him, and expect the Emperors coming. But the Pope in this while had made a confederacy with the French King against Frederick; who when he knew those three Gallies to be ready and brought unto Centumcellas, which he before had spoken for unto the Genowais, secretly in the night with his company (hastening thither in Post speed) took ship, and first came to Genoa, and from thence to Lions in France; where he (calling a Council) with a loud voice summoneth Frederick, and appointing him a day, commanded him there personally to plead his cause.

And yet although he understood that the sudden departing of him out of Italy, made plain demonstration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace; and also knew the Council which the Pope had called, wherein he was himself both Plaintiff and Judge, and at the same Council those, which he had by bribes allured, pretended the destruction of the Emperor; with many other such evident Demonstrations, both of his envious and hateful heart towards him: yet the most modest Emperor, using the innocency and uprightness of his cause, and as one most desirous of peace and Christian Concord, sent the Patriarch of Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the Bishop of Panormia and Thadeus Sueffanus the President of his Court (a most skilful and prudent Civilian) to the Council at Lions; which signified unto them that the Emperor would be therefor the defence of his own cause; And, for that the day was very short, required a time more convenient for him thither to make his repair. The Emperor also being onward on his way, and come as far as Taurinum, sent before other Messengers, as the Master of the Flemish order, and Peter de Vineis, to give them understanding of the Emperors coming, and to intreat that he would Prorogue the day of hearing, till that he might conveniently travel thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or upon how just cause soever required, the Pope would not give so much as three days space, in the which time the Ambassadors assured them of the Emperors presence; as though there had been no common proviso for every man in that case by the law to have used upon any reasonable let. What would I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the Pope with his confederates (whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that Council) against Gods law, against Christian Doctrine, against both the Prescript of the Law of nature and reason, against the rule of equity, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of Emperors, and also the Decrees of the Empire, without any observation of the Law, or granting dilatory days, without probation of any Crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded unto, or heard what might be answered therein, taking upon him to be both adversary and judge, condemned the Emperor being absent. What more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What more cruel fact, considering the person, might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could have been imagined or devised?

(KING) Hen. 3. The diffimulation of the subtil Pope Innocentius the fourth.

The Emperor hath too much confidence in the Pope.

The Pope mocketh the Emperor and goeth to Lions, where he profiteth the Emperor.

The Emperor coming to make his appearance before the Pope.

The extremity of the Pope to the Emperor.

KING vided? And yet hereat were those Bishops nothing ashamed; but meaning to leave their doings in writing (as an impudent Testimony to their posterity) established the same for a law to continue.

But mark what vengeance God took upon this wicked judge. The writers of the Annals record, that when *Fredericus* the Emperor, and *Conradus* his Son being *Cesar*, were both dead; the Pope gaping for the inheritance of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and thinking by force to have subdued the same, came to *Naples* with a great Host of Men, where was heard in the Popes Court manifestly pronounced this voice, *Veni miser ad iudicium Dei*, Thou wretch come to receive thy Judgment. And the next day after the Pope was found in his Bed dead, all black and blew as though he had been beaten with bats, as before in the History of King *John* is declared.

Vengeance
fallen
upon
the
Pope
for
his
false
judgment.

When the Emperor had understanding of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the Pope, passed and pronounced against him (considering his furious purpose and mind therein) thought good by his Letters, to let all Christian Princes and Potentates understand, as well that injurious and manifold displeasure he had sustained by the four Popes in all their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this Pope, in pronouncing the sentence of Judgment and condemnation against him (passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason) which Letter as he wrote the same, hereunder followeth to be seen.

The Letter of the Emperor to the French King and other Princes, for the sentence given against him in the Council of *Lions* by the Pope and Cardinals.

Although we suppose not the contrary, but that both by true certificate and common rumor you have heard of the indifferency of our cause and good handling thereof: yet for that more credit is commonly given to that the eye seeth, than to that the ear receiveth, we thought good to present unto you the naked truth of such things, which the Popes successively have put forth, and forged against us. To the perusing and consideration of which my cause and letter, I beseech your gentleness amongst other times of leisure, that you will spare some fit and convenient time therefore. And all other whatsoever that shall have desire to hear Princes counsels and affairs, let them in like sort attentively consider. First, whether our Predecessors have been destitute or not, of Godly zeal, just dealing, and righteousness: and whether we may not lawfully revenge our selves, being so much provoked, of such evils and injuries as have been wrought against us. Secondly, let them consider whether Christ's Vicar doth follow Christ's steps or not; and whether Peters Successors do follow his example or not; and also by what Law, equity and right, that sentence which they have pronounced against us, may be maintained and allowed: as also what name they may justly give it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence, which is given by an insufficient Judge or not. For although we acknowledge that the Lord hath given full power in spiritual things unto his Church, that whatsoever the same bindeth in Earth, is bound in Heaven; and whatsoever the same looseth, is also loosed; yet we read neither by Gods Law, nor by any Law of Man, that we ought of duty to be subject unto him, or that an Empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may give any such sentence or Judgment to punish Princes temporally, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. For why? Although our consecration belongeth unto him by right and custom (as he challengeth) yet our deposing and depriving doth no more belong to him, than doth that presumption belong to any other Prelate of other Realms, which do consecrate and anoint their Kings, as the custom and manner is. Or put case it were so (we nothing hindered hereby) that he had such power: hath he that power to the intent to revenge himself upon whomsoever his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equity and law to bring them under his jurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against us, as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forasmuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither went there out any inscription or process before; neither

yet by denunciation, forasmuch as there lacked a lawful denouncer, neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before it no manifest accusation. But he peradventure will say, that all things that he layeth against us were manifest and notorious. But that we deny, and nothing to be notorious, but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approved and tried. For so may every Judge himself (concerning the order of law) affirm what he list to be notorious, and thus condemn whom he list. There were against us (as well it may be said in Council) certain false witnesses, although not many, of whom the Bishop of *Calin* was one, whose near Kinsman or Nephew (by our Laws condemned for Treason to be hanged) maketh also to us an infestive Enemy. ¶ To such like effect prosecuting the rest of his Epistle, which for brevity sake I omit.

This policy used the Pope to vex and disturb both the Country of *Germany*, and the whole Empire; and not so only, but also utterly to destroy and subvert the same: By the ruinous decay whereof, the Pope and his Prelates thought to make up their mouths. And thus, whilst that *Germany* was now newly again divided, some taking part with *Fredrick* the Emperor, and *Conradus Cesar* his Son, and other Nobles and Princes of the Empire; some with those that should by the Popes procurement be the Electors of the new Emperor, other some with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending to the publick Utility, but to serve their own purposes, armed themselves; and thus was the publick Peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and all together in tumult and hurly burly. For whilst the one part laboured by all force to retain the dominion by publick and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort endeavored themselves with all force and power to use and occupy the same, according unto the decree of the Bishop of *Rome*, and to take it from *Fredrick*: Thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

Germany
altogether
hurly
burly
through
the
Popes
malicious
mind.

By these Civil wars, *Germany* suffered no little calamity; in every place was manslaughter and murder, the Country spoiled, the Towns and villages set on fire and burnt, the Churches and Temples, wherein the Husbandmen had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed: Houses were pulled down, the goods divided, and every Mans cattel driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of depoling and choosing another Emperor, in this faction of Princes, and this liberty of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and sinning, the impudent boldness of divers private Souldiers, and especially of such as were the Horsemen, then counted the better sort of Souldiers, were so great, and their unbridled and unsatiable desire in robbing, spoiling and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be sure and in safety that any good man enjoyed. Wherefore a little before the death of *Gulielmus* the King, threescore Cities and Towns which were belonging to *Ludovicus Palatinus Duke of Boiora* and *Rhenus*, and *Otho* his Son, and other Princes, whose names *Aveninus* in his seventh Book of the Annals of the *Boiores* maketh mention of, joynd themselves in a league for the expelling of these rebels, and expressing of their so great injurious rapines and slaughter of men. Of which Army the said *Ludovicus* being Captian, he chafeth and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermost parts of *Germany*, and pulled down and overthrew their Castles and Fortresses, and every other place where they had intrenched themselves.

Germany
spoiled
by
civil
dissension
through
the
Popes
only
practice
against
the
Emperor.

The robbers
and rebels
chased
out
of
Germany.

Otho Boius yet notwithstanding, keepeth his promise and faith most constantly made before to the Emperor *Fredrick* and *Conradus* his Son. Whereupon *Philippus Favarvensis*, *Albertus* and others calling a Council at *Mildorsus* (by the Popes commandment) sent for *Otho* unto them, unto whom they opened the Popes pleasure and commandment. To all which, when he had heard, *Otho* answered: I cannot marvel at some of you enough, that when as heretofore you perswaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the Bishop of *Rome*, whom you your selves affirmed to be Antichrist, and that I should take part with the Emperor, why that you your selves will not keep your fidelity and promise made unto those good Princes: and he said, that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity, both in their words and

The fidelity
of Otho
to the
Emperor.

The answer
of Otho
to the
Legates.

deeds, which now call that wicked, unjust and violent wrong, that but lately they thought equal, just and right. He said further, That they were overcome with Pleasures, corrupted with Superfluity, won with Bribes, gaping for Honour and Estimation: and that they neither regarded honesty, godliness, nor their duty and office; but studied how to make dissention and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battel.

Orbo excommunicated for turning from the Pope to take the Emperors part.

He said further, That for his part he would obey God and his Prince, to whom he had sworn Fidelity; and that he nought esteemed the fained Holiness and detestable practices of such Prelates. He said he believed in Christ, and would trust to his Mercy; and that he believed how those whom they cursed and gave to the Devil, were in greatest favour with God. Howbeit, and notwithstanding those Prelates took in good part this Expostulation of his, and seemed to bear *Orbo* no malice or grudge for that he had said, but to be desirous of peace and unity: yet not long after *Orbo* was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as the worst.

Cæsar in danger of Albertus.

Albertus the Popes Champion now in Germany playeth not only *Rex* amongst the Citizens, but also bethought him of a mischievous Device against *Conradus Cæsar* the Emperors Son. When by fraud and subtilty he had gotten and taken many of the rich Burgesses and Citizens of *Reginoburg*, which bare the Emperor good will, and had sent them prisoners to *Staffum*, *Conradus* joyning with other Noblemen of the Empire (after he had spoiled and wasted much of his Lands and others his Companions) drave him so near, that upon certain other conditions he delivered again the Citizens. And shortly after coming again to *Reginoburg*, and being received and welcomed into the Colledge of *D. Hamaranus*: *Albertus* with certain of his Confederates, by the means of *Ulricus* a Chief Officer of the Monks, came in the dead time of the night into the Chamber, where the *Cæsar* with a few others about him did lie; and falling upon them, some they took, and other some they slew; and finding no other body in the Chamber or Lodging, they thought that *Cæsar* had been slain among the rest. But he hearing the noise, forsook his bed, and hid himself under a bench, and so escaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proscribed the Bishop and his Mates, and also the Monks Bayliff of Treason, and seized upon all the goods of the house. But at the Suit of the guiltless Monks he released all to them again, taking by way of fine 100 pounds. *Ulricus* lost his Office, and *Albertus*, thereby to escape danger of punishment, took upon him the habit of a Monk. *Conradus Hochensfelsen*, which was the Murtherer of these men, though he escaped the punishment of mans hand, yet the Vengeance of God for the Fact he escaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, he was suddenly stricken with a Thunderbolt and died.

Albertus to escape punishment taketh the order of Monkery.

The Emperor, when he had somewhat suppressed these Tumults, came to Cremona.

The Emperor thinketh to go to Lions to the Pope.

Parma taken and kept by the Popes Legate and other friends of his.

During all this busie and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that *Frederick* the Emperor lay not still, but had his hands full: who notwithstanding (by Gods help) overcoming and suppressing these or the greater part of these rebellious Popish Tumults, and having done strict execution on those especially that had conspired against his Person, calling a Council, and setting in some stay the troublesome Affairs of his Kingdom, came to *Cremona* with *Fredericus* Prince of *Antioch*, *Richardus* Earl of *Umbria*, the Governor of *Flamminia*, and *Encius* King of *Sardinia*, with a great number besides of Souldiers and men of war. And besides he took with him (which he sent for out of every part) the wisest, most vertuous, and best left Learned men that there were, thinking with them to have gone himself to *Lions* to the Pope, and there to have with him Communication, as well concerning the Sentence definitive, as also about the conclusion of any peace, if by any means he might. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the Journey in hand, and came to *Taurinum*, having with him both a great Army of Souldiers, and also a great Company of Legates and Ambassadors. From thence sending his Carriages before, within three days Journey of *Lions*, he was certified that *Parma* was taken and kept by the Outlaws of divers and sundry Factions of the Pope, his near Neighbours and Friends; as by the Popes Legate, and other Citizens, as of *Brixia*, *Placentia*, and such like. Which thing when he understood, and that the Pope herein

was the only and chief doer, he saw manifestly it should little prevail to attempt any further the thing he went about, and then at length when he saw no other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himself to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpose and journey, he took the straightest way into *Lumbardy*, and with an Army of 60000 men he besieged *Parma*. And to the intent he might more aptly and near the Town plant his siege and battery without disturbance, first he intrenched his Camp, and fortified the same about with Bulworks and other defensible munition. After that, he caused divers Victualling-houses and Taverns in his Camp to be sleightly builded of timber; and without the Camp he appointed the place where the Market should be kept, and all Victuallers resort that would. He appointed places for their Churches and Temples, and in seemly manner adorned the same: and for the most part their Tents were builded with wood, so that it was like another *Parma*. All which things when he had finished, which was not long in doing, for this happy and prosperous success he called and named it *Victoria*, and had thought to have made the same to be in the stead of the City of *Parma*, the which he purposed to have made level with the ground. And in the beginning both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with *Frederick*, and had good success; for he sharply laid to their charges that defended and kept the City of *Parma*. And further, *Robertus Castiglioneus*, which was the Emperors Lieutenant in *Picenum* near unto *Auximum*, discomfited the Popes Army, and slew of them more than 4000, and took many such as were of the Confederate Cities prisoners. And when the Factions or Companies of the *Gibelines* and *Guelphs* in *Florentia* were at controverlie, when *Fredericus* of *Hetruria* came to the *Gibelines*, to whom they had sent for Aid: the *Guelphs* therewith dismayed, fled from thence to *Bononia*, whose goods and substance came all to the Emperors Coffers, and *Florentia* also it self to the Emperors Obedience. But this good success and prosperous fortune lasted not long. For as at a time *Fredericus* to recreate himself (which seldom had his health) rode about the fields with certain of his Horsemen to hawk and hunt, many of the Emperors Souldiers, thinking nothing less than of such a matter to be attempted of a many starvelings within the Town of *Parma*, wandred and ranged unarmed out of their City *Victoria* about the fields. The Souldiers in *Parma*, having this occasion offered, with all force and speed possible entered the Emperors Camp or Town *Victoria*: which being not strongly fenced, nor having Gates to shut against them, was a thing easie enough to do. The sudden strangeness of the matter much abashed the Souldiers, and they rang out their Larum-bell. The first assault was given upon *Marcus Malaspina* his charge; whom when the Emperor, returning in all haste, found to be hard beset, he had thought to have rescued him. But when that was perceived of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that side: insomuch that the Emperor was forced to take the Trench, lest he should have been of the enemy invironed; and from thence he retired into the City or Camp, where he had thought to have gathered further Aid. But the enemy giving not so much time thereunto, with all force entered the City *Victoria*. The Emperor now, when the enemies were entered, left the Camp, and came to *Dominum*; who when they had killed and slain a great number of the Emperors Souldiers, and had burnt and destroyed the same Camp *Victoria*, came again to *Parma*. The Emperor then suspecting this thing to be wrought by treason, whereby the enemy had understanding as well of the Emperors absence, as also of the negligence of his Souldiers, imprisoned certain of the chiefest about him, amongst whom also was *Petrus de Vineis*. Yet whilst he was at *Dominum*, gathering together his Souldiers and residue of his bands; *Encius* getteth a great Victory of the *Manfuanos*, who coming to the rescue of *Parma*, lost fifty of their Ships, and all that they had in them.

After this also, *Richardus* in another Conflict in *Picenum*, discomfited the Popes Souldiers, and slew their Captain *Hugolinus*, besides 2000 others slain and taken prisoners. When now *Fredericus* had gathered again, and new mustered his Bands at *Dominum*, he marched forth to *Cremona*: and notwithstanding that there he understood of the good success and victory that *Encius* had

{ KING
{ Hen 3.

The Emperor altered his journey from Lions to the siege of Parma.

The Emperor named his Camp and siege about Parma, Victoria.

The Popes Army discomfited by the Emperors Lieutenant at Auximum.

The negligence of the Souldiers offered an occasion to the enemy.

The discomfiture of the Emperor at the siege of Parma.

The Emperor upon suspicion of treason imprisoned divers of his Captains.

(KING) had at *Rhegium*, yet for that he perceived the defection and backsliding of all or most part of *Lombardy* from him, he determined to take his Journey into *Apulia*: And when he had there levied a strong and sufficient Power, he purposed to make his speedy return again into *Lombardy*. Therefore, in his Journey through *Hetruria* into *Apulia*, he joyned with his Son *Fredericus*, which besieged *Capras*, and took the same: and led with him divers of the chiefest Captains prisoners, and after that, subduing unto the Obedience of the Empire *Miniatum*, he came into *Apulia*.

Capras besieged and taken of the Emperor.

When news was brought him thither, that *Encius* his Son (coming to aid the *Mutineses* against the *Bononians*) was taken prisoner two miles from *Mutina*; and that in his absence, the Popes Captains with their Bands and Garrisons went throughout all *Lombardy*, *Emilia*, *Flamminia*, and *Hetruria*, to stir and procure the Cities to revolt from the Obedience of the Emperor, and working the same partly by subtil policies, and partly by force and sinister means to bring them to his purpose: he determined with himself, with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make to have begun afresh, and prosecuted this War to the uttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as *Pandolphus Colonucius* writeth) but that he would have wrought some marvellous Exploit and great Attempt, but that he was of this his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) prevented by unlooked for death. For when he fell into this Ague, being at a certain Castle of his in *Apulia* called *Florentinum*, and saw by the extremity thereof his days to be short, he remembered that which was once shewed him, how he should die at *Florence*; whereupon he made and ordained his Testament. And when unto *Conradus* and other his Children he had given and appointed the great and innumerable mass of money which he had collected and levied for the maintenance of his Wars, and godly purpose (as it is called) and unto them also had given all other his Kingdoms and Dominions (to every one according to their ages and years) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

The Emperor purposed to make some great attempt.

The Emperor prevented by death.

Pandolphus writeth, that *Fredericus* was very willing to die, and as they made certain report to him which were present at his death, that his mind was altogether set and bent on the heavenly joy and felicity. Which thing also *Gulielmus Puteanus*, *Andreas Pandalus*, and *Manardus* the Bishop, being *Italian* Writers do all affirm, of whom this last writeth, that he assuredly believeth *Frederick* to be one of the number of Gods Elect.

Frederick one of Gods Elect. Sundry opinions of the death of Frederick the Emperor.

The Writers notwithstanding are of sundry Judgments and Opinions touching this good Emperors death. Some write, that he was traitorously poisoned by his Cupbearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was strangled with a pillow, of *Manfredus* the Son of *Pherus*. But *Pandolphus* a good Writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was given him, but only that he died of an Ague. The last opinion of *Manfredus* he manifestly reiteth, and sheweth that there is no manner of likelihood of the same: and further, that the contrary is affirmed by divers other Writers that were of that time. He died in the year of our Lord, 1268, the thirteenth day of *December*, in the seven and fiftieth year of his age, and seven and thirtieth year of his Reign, whose Corps was brought to *Panormum*, and there interred.

The issue of Frederick the Emperor.

Frederick a most puissant Prince in Martial affairs.

Frederick had three Wives, the first was *Constantia*, the Daughter of the King of *Aragon*; of whom he begat *Henry* the Duke of *Suevia* and King of the *Romans*: the other *Jole* the Daughter of *Johannes Brennus* King of *Hierusalem*, by whom he had the Inheritance of *Hierusalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; of whom he begat *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, King of *Hierusalem* and *Naples*, being *Cæsar*: the third, *Isabell* the Daughter of King *John* of *England*, by whom he had a Son named *Henry*, which is said to die in his Childhood. This *Fredericus* had not his Peer in Martial affairs and Warlike policies to be compared unto him, amongst all the Princes of that age: a wife and skilful Souldier he was, a greater indurer of painful labours and travels, most bold in greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that he took in hand, and in adversity most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attain perfection, neither yet is there any

Prince almost of such Government and godly Institution both in life and doctrine as is required of them: so neither was this *Frederick* without his fault and humane fragility, for the Writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith he was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that he was not clear thereof, forso much as by sundry Concubines he had sundry Children; as *Encius* the King of *Sardinia*, *Manfredus* the Prince of *Sarentinum*, and *Frederick* King of *Antioch*. And this is all that I find of the Description of *Frederick* by *Colonucius*, which he affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable Authors. But as touching the hainous Acts and flagitious Deeds, which the Pope burtheneth him withall, and in his Sentence against him maketh mention of; *Fredericus* not only purgeth himself thereof, but also divers Historicians (as well German Writers as *Italians*) affirm the same to be false and of the Popes own brains, invented to do him skath and teen withall. Of which matter those things which *Pandolphus* (touching the commendation or dispraise of *Fredericus* writeth) I thought good out of *Italian* to translate; whose words be these:

Frederick was not without his fault of humane fragility.

Albeit the Emperor *Fredericus* was indued with many goodly Gifts and Vertues, yet notwithstanding was he accounted an Enemy of the Church, and a Persecutor of the same: of which both *Innocentius* the Fourth in his Sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the same Sentence have other Popes registred in their six Books of *Decretals*, and established the same for a Law, how that he ought to be taken for no less. Therefore peradventure it should not become me to fallise or call in question that, which others have confirmed, or else to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithstanding as much as his Acts and Deeds in writing declare, and the Books of the chiefest Authors affirm, as also his own Epistles do testifie; I cannot precisely say, whether the Bishops of *Rome* so call him and judge him therefore: Or else for that he was somewhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth, and reproving the Ecclesiastical Order of their great abuses: Or else, whether for that he would have had them gone somewhat more near the conditions and lives of the ancient Fathers of the Primitive-Church and Disciples of Christ: Or whether for that he defended and stood with them for the Prerogative and Dignities belonging to the Empire or not: Or else whether they stood in fear and awe of the great Power he was of in *Italy*, which thing indeed *Gregory* the Ninth in a certain Epistle of his confesseth: but of these things let them judge and discern, that shall read the Monuments and Histories of *Frederick*. Truly (saith he) when I consider with my self that Christ (whose Vicar the *Roman* Bishops boast themselves to be) said unto his Disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitate his example, as of their Master and Teacher; and commanded them furthermore, how they should not draw the sword, but put up the same into the Scabbard; and further gave them in precept, that they should not only forgive Injuries seven times, but seventy times seven times to those that offended them; and when I now compare the lives of the Bishops of *Rome*, how near they follow him whose Vicar they say they be; and consider so many and great Conspiracies, Treasons, Rebellions, Disloyalties, lyings in Waite, and treacherous Devices, so many Legates of the Popes (being Ecclesiastical Persons) which will needs be called the Shepherds of Christs Flock, to be such Warriors and Captains of Souldiers in all the parts of *Italy*, *Campania*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, (being the Emperors Dominions) in *Picenum*, *Emilia*, *Flamminia*, and *Lombardy*, to be sent out against him, and also when with my self I meditate the destruction of so many great and famous Cities, the subversion of such Commonwealths, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much Christian blood: and lastly, when I behold so victorious, prosperous and fortunate Emperors to be, and so many miserable, unfortunate and vanquished Popes put to flight; I am perswaded with my self to think and believe, that the Judgments of God are secret and marvelous, and that to be true which *Aeneas Sylvius* in his History of *Austria* writeth, that there is no great and marvelous slaughter, no notorious and special Calamity (that hath happened either to the Publick Weal, or to the Church of God) of the which the Bishops of *Rome* have not been the Authors.

The words of Pandolphus touching the praise and dispraise of the Emperor.

Frederick The Popes Church compared with Christ his Church, are like as black and white.

Authors. *Nicholaus Machiavellus* also saith, That all the ruinous Calamities and miserable Chances, that the whole Christian Common-weal, and also Italy hath suffered, have been brought in by the Popes and Bishops of Rome.

Many Epistles of *Fredericus* there be, which he wrote unto the Bishops of Rome, to the Cardinals, and to divers other Christian Princes, all which I have read; and in them is to be seen nothing contrary unto Christian Doctrine, nothing wicked and ungodly, nothing injurious to the Church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of *Frederick*. But indeed I deny not the same to be fraught and full of pitiful Complaints and Lamentations, touching the avaricious ambition of the Ecclesiastical Persons, and pertinacy of the Bishops of Rome, and that he would receive and take no satisfaction nor yet excuse, in the defence of the right and privilege of the Empire, which he maintained: also of their manifold and infinite Conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him: and of the often admonitions which he gave to the whole multitude and order Ecclesiastical, to attend upon and discharge their Functions and Charges. And who that further is desirous to know and understand the truth, and coveteth to search out the renowned Virtues of Magnificent Princes, let them read the Epistle of *Frederick*, dated to all Christian Princes, which thus beginneth, *Collegerunt Principes, Pontifices & Pharisei concilium*: and another, wherein he perswadeth the Colledge of Cardinals to take up the dissention between the Emperor and the Pope, which beginneth, *In exordio nascens mundi*; and also another which thus beginneth, *Infallibilis veritatis testem*; besides yet another, *Ad Reges & Principes orbis Christiani*; with divers others more, wherein may well be seen the Princely Virtues of this so worthy a Peer: all which Epistles collected together in the *Latine-Tongue*, the learned sort I wished to read, whereout they may pick no little benefit and commodity to themselves. In his Epistle last recited, these are his words, *Non existimetis id me a vobis ideo contendere, ac si ex sententia Pontificia privationis Majestas nostra sit percussa. Cum enim nobis sit recte voluntatis conscientia, cumq; Deum nobiscum habeamus, eundem testem invocamus id nos spectasse, cum totum ordinem Ecclesiasticum, tum presertim primores, nervis potentia dominationisque eorum succisis extirpatisque tyrannidis radicibus, ad primitivæ Ecclesiæ conditionem & statum revocaremus*: That is, *Think ye not that we so earnestly desire or crave this peace at your hands, as though our Majesty were terrified with the Popes Sentence of Deprivation: when as God (upon whom we trust and invoke) is our witness, and judge of our conscience, that when we went about to reform the Ecclesiastical State, but especially the Ringleaders of the same, and should restrain their Power, and extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the same to the state and condition of Primitive Church, we looked for no less at their hands. For these causes peradventure, those which had the Government of the Ecclesiastical Dignity, decreed and pronounced *Frederick* to be an Enemy to the Church: which (as I have said) I leave to others to judge thereof.* ¶ Hitherto *Pandolphus Colonucius*.

Deferred commendation upon the Epistles of *Frederick*

Frederick purposed with the hazard of the Imperial State to reform the Church of Rome.

Frederick sheweth himself no enemy, but a friend to the Church of Rome.

Self do, self have, the Proverb is.

And doubtless Examples to the contrary do appear, that *Frederick* was no Enemy to the Church of Rome, for that he both gave large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great Privileges and Immunities, which things by his own Constitutions, Statutes and Customs, may be perceived and understood. But rather contrariwise that the Bishops of Rome most filthily recompensed the same his great liberality, and princely Benevolence again, which he gave and bestowed upon the same, as partly in the discourse of this History you have heard: who notwithstanding they so molested and tired him with such and so many Injuries as you have seen, he nevertheless, forgiving and pardoning all the same, for the great zeal he had to the common Christian wealth (whereof he more forced, than of any other thing) fought by all means he might for to have peace, although it were to his own great hinderance. Therefore seeing he was of necessity by the Bishops of Rome provoked to that War, if he did them any skath in revenge of his Imperial Dignity, let them thank their own selves which

might otherwise have remedied the same. Notwithstanding upon this occasion divers (both Italian and German Writers, which at that time sought for fat Benefices, and ever since even unto these our days have done the like, by flattery rather to obtain that which they hunted for, than to bear true and faithful Testimony of things as they were indeed) took great occasion to write and slander this good Emperor. But let us pass over these Parasites, and return to those, which although they themselves were of that Calling, I mean of the Ecclesiastical Order: yet notwithstanding, for that they rather preferred the study of verity, and to reverence the truth before Popish authority, and flattering servitude, greatly extolled and commended this good Emperor *Frederick*. So did *Nicolaus Cusanus* a Cardinal in his writing affirm this Emperor to be an *Alter Carolus Magnus*, both for his wisdom and also diligent regard to the Common-weal. So also writeth *Aegidius Biturigum* the Bishop, in his Books of the institution and bringing up of a Prince, which he wrote to the French King, exhorting him and all others to take a pattern of this most worthy and excellent Prince: in commendation of whose worthy praise and vertue these Verses are written on his Tomb.

KING Hen. 3.
Hope of gain allureth many to flatter and write untruths.

*Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
Nobilitas, orti possent resistere morti:
Non foret extinctus Fredericus, qui jacet intus.*

Wherefore, inasmuch as it appeareth by the approved Writers, of whom I have made mention, who and what manner of Prince *Frederick* this Emperor was, and that because he diligently laboured, as well in the preservation of the Christian Commonweal, as in the conservation of the Imperial Dignity, he procured to himself the great hatred and displeasure of the Roman Bishops (who have been to all the good Emperors for the most part utter foes and enemies) and with what wicked slanders and other injuries both by them, and by their Ministers they continually molested him: this Lesson ought to be ours, that having the same in our memory, we imitate and follow his virtues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy Fathers that will so be called, and Bishops of Rome; desiring God that he will so guide the hearts of all Kings and Princes, that they may by his Grace advance and set forth his Glory, and reform the corrupt and vitious manner and order of the Church to all sincerity and purity both of Life and Doctrine.

These Verses which here insue were sent and written between the Emperor and Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth, which, for that to the learned they are both commodious and profitable, at the end of this History I thought good to place.

Fredericus Imper. Innocent 4. Papæ.

*Fata monent, stellæque docent, aviumque volatus,
Totius subito malleus orbis ero:
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi desinet esse caput.*

Innocent. Papa Frederico Imper.

*Fata silent, stellæque tacent, nil prædicat ales,
Soli est proprium nosse futura Dei:
Niteris incassum navem submergere Petri:
Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,
Quod tibi vita brevis, pena perennis erit:
Quod divina manus potuit, sensit Julianus,
Tu succedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.
Fre. fremit in mundo, de. deprimit alta profundo,
Ri. mala rimatur, cuf. cuspide cuncta minatur.*

Fredericus Innocentio.

*Fata monent, stellæque docent, aviumque volatus,
Lapsurum te mox ad stygis antra nigra:
Cymba Petri non est, sed Christi, quæ natat undis
Fluctuat, at nusquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, tua scripta docent, peccata nefanda
Insertum ostendunt, exitumque suum.*

Strangulat

KING } Strangulat Adrianum musca; annon ira tonantis
Hen. 3 } Cogitat, & de te sumere supplicium?
 Carcere suspendit sese Benedictus, & alter
 In stupro captus, saucius ense perit.
 Sylvestrum extinguit Satan scelerator ipse:
 Ergo tuis factis premia digna feres.
 Innocuum te voce notas, cum sis nociturus
 Orbi terrarum Christianoque gregi.

Fredericus Innocentio de integro.

Esse si membrum, non te caput orbis & urbis
 Faciatis, cum sis orbis & urbis onus.
 Nunc membrum non es, sed putre cadaver & ulcus,
 Ense recidentum, ridiculumque caput.
 A Daniele & deluvium, nefasque caputque malorum
 Diceris, a Paulo filius exitii.
 Nos solum Christum nostrum caput esse: malorum
 Totius orbis te caput esse facis.
 Et caput est unum, quod Paulus dicit ubique;
 Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
 Corporis ergo caput monstrasti, monstra parisque,
 Monstra paris Monachos, scorta nefanda foves.
 Est tua Religio stuprum, ira, superbia, cædes,
 Error, deliciae, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
 Ex his ergo liquet Christum te spernere: Christo
 Hostem esse invisum, dedecorique Deo.
 Rex tandem veniet Cælo delapsus ab alto,
 Tunc non defendent te, sacra missa, cruces;
 Non in sublimi surgentes vertice cristæ,
 Non diploma potens, non tua sacra cohors.
 Nec diadema triplex, nec sedes sanguine parva,
 Nullus bonus solis, purpura nulla tui:
 Triginta argenteis Christum vendebat Iudas,
 Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.
 Corpora tu vendis Christi parvo ære, polumque,
 Cælestes genios, sidera, jura, Deos.

Certain
Preachers
in Suevia.

As ye have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the Popish-Church against their lawful Emperor; so now shall ye hear (Christ willing) how God beginneth to resist and withstand the corruption of that Whorish-Church, by stirring up certain faithful Teachers in sundry Countries; as in the Country of Suevia about the time of this Emperor, Anno 1240. or near upon the same, where were many Preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle of Urspergensis, and also in Crantzius, lib. 8. cap. 16. & 18. which preached freely against the Pope. These Preachers (as Crantzius saith) ringing the Bells, and calling the Barons in Hallis of Suevia, there preached that the Pope was an Heretick, and that his Bishops and Prelates were Simoniacks and Hereticks; and that the inferior Priests and Prelates had no authority to bind and loose, but were all Seducers. Item, that no Pope, Bishop or Priest could restrain men from their duty of serving and worshipping of God, and therefore such Cities or Countries, as were then under the Popes Curse, might notwithstanding lawfully resort to the receiving of Sacraments as well as before. Item, that Fryers, Dominick and Franciscan, did subvert the Church with their preaching. And that the Indulgence of the Pope and his Popelings was of no regard; but that remission which they did preach unto them, they preached it not from the Pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appear how the resisting of the Popes usurped Power and corrupt Doctrine is no new thing in these days in the Church of Christ, &c.

Resistance
against the
Pope, no
new thing
in Christs
Church.

Arnoldus de
nova villa
was will
condemned
of Heretick.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose up Arnoldus de nova villa, a Spaniard, and a man famously learned and a great Writer, Anno 1250. whom the Pope with his Spirituality condemned among Hereticks for holding and writing against the corrupt Errors of the Popish-Church. His teaching was, that Satan had seduced the world from the Truth of Christ Jesus. Item, that the Faith (which then Christian-men were commonly taught) was such a Faith as the Devils had; meaning belike (as we now affirm) that the Papists do teach only the Historical Faith, which is the Faith Historie, non fiducia. Item, that Christian-people (meaning belike, for the most part) are led by the Pope unto Hell. Item, that all Cloisterers are void of Charity and damned; and that they all do falsifie the

Doctrine of Christ. Item, that the Divines do evil in mixing Philosophy with Divinity. Item, that Masses are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to sacrifice for the dead. Certain other Opinions there be, which the slanderous Sects of Monks and Fryers do attribute unto him; but (as they are wont in all others to do) rather upon envious taking, than of any just cause given.

Vide librum
de iustibus
veritatibus.

Johannes
Semeca the
Gloss-writer
of the
Popes De-
crees Ex-
communi-
cated.

And as this Arnoldus was condemned, so also the same time Johannes Semeca, the Gloss-writer of the Popes Decrees, and Provost of Halberstat was excommunicated and deprived of his Provostship, for resisting Pope Clement the Fourth, gathering certain Exactions in Germany; and therefore he appealed from the Pope to a General-Council, and had many great Favourers on his side, till at last both the Pope and he died.

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthy and valiant Champion of Christ, and Adversary of Antichrist Gulielmus de S. Amore, a Master of Paris, and chief Ruler then of that University. This Gulielmus in his time had no small ado writing against the Fryers, and their Hypocrisie, but especially against the begging-Fryers, both condemning their whole Order, and also accusing them, as those that did disturb and trouble all the Churches of Christ by their preaching in Churches against the will of the Ordinaries and Pastors, by their hearing of Confessions, and executing the charges of Curates and Pastors in their Churches. All the Testimonies of Scripture that make against Antichrist, he applieth them against the Clergy of Prelates, and the Popish Spirituality. The same Gulielmus is thought to be the Author of the Book, which is attributed to the School of Paris, and intituled, De periculis Ecclesie: where he proveth by nine and thirty Arguments, that Fryers be false Apostles.

Gulielmus
de S. Amore.

Moreover, he doth well expound this saying of Christ (If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me) declaring there, poverty to be enjoined us of Christ, Non actualem, sed habitualem; not in such sort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but inward affection of heart when need shall require. As though the meaning and Precept of our Lord were not, that we should cast away actually all that we have; but that, when the Confession of the Name of God and the Glory of Christ shall so require, then we be ready to leave and relinquish what things soever for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth in us after the like phrase, hatred of Father and Mother, and of our own lives, he biddeth us not to dishonour Father or Mother, much less to hate them; but that then, when case shall require, we set all things behind the love of Christ. Many other worthy Works he compiled, wherein albeit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet notwithstanding he was by Antichrist and his Rabble condemned for an Heretick, exiled, and his Books burnt; whose heretical Arguments, as they called them, that thou mayst better judge thereof, hereunder I thought good to place.

The place
of the Gos-
pel ex-
pounded,
Go and sell
all and
come follow
me.

Gulielm. de
S. Amore
condemned
of the Pope
for an Here-
tick.

Against false Prophets with signs to know them by, these his words do follow: For because these Seducers (saith he) name themselves to be Apostles, and say that they are sent of God to preach, to absolve and dispenche with the Souls of men, by means of their Ministry, read the saying of the Apostle in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. 11. For such Apostles are subtil and crafty Workmen, disguising themselves to be like the Apostles of Christ. Therefore, we mean to shew some certain infallible Tokens and probable, by the which false Apostles may be discerned from the true Preachers and Apostles of Christ.

The first sign or mark is, that such as be true Preachers do not enter into simple Womens houses laden with sin, and take them as it were captive, as many of the false Preachers do; as in the second Epistle of S. Paul to Timothy the third Chapter is manifest, saying, Of those sorts are they, which enter into Womens houses, &c. Therefore those Preachers which come into Womens houses, to the intent they may take them captive, be not true Preachers, but false Apostles.

The first
sign and
token to
know a
false Fryer
and Pro-
phet by.

The second sign and token is, that those that be true Preachers do not deceive simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their own Trash and Tradition; as all false Prophets do, as in the last Chapter to the Romans appeareth, saying, By their pleasant

True
Preachers
do not
deceive men
with paint-
ed flatter-
ing words.

pleasant and sugred talk, and by their blessing and crossing they deceive and beguile the hearts of innocent men and women. Gloss. Which gay glorious words they extol and set forth their Traditions, whereby they deceive simple men. Very greatly do they deceive the Souls of simple men, which cause them to enter into their Sect, which they term Religion. And they which before led a naughty life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicity, after their entrance, become subtil and false deceiving Hypocrites, entering together with the rest into poor mens houses; yea, and oftentimes become worse than the others. Whereupon, *Mat. 22. Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, which go about, &c.* Therefore they which do this, are no true Messengers, but false Apostles.

The third sign is, that true Apostles take in good part when they be reproved

The third sign is, that the true Apostles, if they be reproved, suffer the same patiently, *2 Cor. 12.* saying, *The Tokens of my Apostleship are accomplished among you, in all patience and sufferance,* meaning that patience, which pertaineth to the manners of the Preachers. Therefore they, which suffer not correction or punishment, be no true Apostles, but rather shew themselves to be no Christians at all, *1 Cor. 12.* *No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.* Gloss. It is meet that Christians should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselves to be reproved, and not to be holden up with Yea and Nay. And also such men do shew themselves to be carnal, and not spiritual at all, although they faine themselves to be spiritual, *Gal. 3.* *Therefore am I become an enemy unto you.* Notwithstanding the Gloss faith, *No carnal man will be reproved although he err.* Wherefore, those Preachers which suffer not correction, seem not to be true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The fourth sign is, that true Preachers commend not themselves.

The fourth sign is, that true Apostles commend not themselves, *2 Cor. 4.* *For we dare not joyn our selves, nor yet compare our selves unto others which commend and boast of many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all.* Also true Preachers, although they be indeed praise-worthy for their good deserts, in the consciences of men are they praise-worthy, and not to the outward shew alone, *2 Cor. 3.* *We commend our selves (saith the Apostle) to the consciences of all men.* Then they do not commend themselves in comparison of others. Wherefore the Gloss faith upon the same place, *Those, that deserve no Commendation, but in comparison of other, do challenge to themselves other mens deserts and praise.* Wherefore in the second Epistle of Saint Peter the last Chapter, it is said, *Even as our welbeloved Brother Paul, according to the Wisdom that God hath given unto him, hath written unto you,* Gloss. The chiefest of the Apostles hath here forgotten his Papal Authority, and also his Keys that were delivered unto him; for he is astonished as it were at the great wisdom given unto his Brother Paul. For indeed it is the manner of the Elect Children of God, to be more in love with the virtues of other men, than with their own. Wherefore in the second Chapter to the Philippians it is written, *Let those that are Superiors esteem of themselves in all humility.* They therefore that do the contrary, saying, *That their state or doings be better than other mens, although they be Preachers, yet are they no true Apostles indeed, but false Prophets.*

The fifth sign is, that true Preachers need no Letters of Commendation.

The fifth sign is, that true Apostles need no Letters of Commendation; nor yet desire to have themselves praised of men, as in the *2 Cor. 3.* the Apostle faith, *We need not the Letters of Commendation of any man; that is to say, of false Prophets.*

The sixth sign is, that true Apostles preach not unless they be sent.

The sixth sign is, that true Apostles do not preach unless they be sent, as in the *10. Chap.* to the Romans, *How shall they preach, unless they be sent?* There be no true Apostles, but those that be sent: for they have no need of signs which are true Witness-bearers, but those that be not sent and do preach are false Prophets.

The seventh sign is, when those false Prophets preach, that were never sent.

The seventh sign is, forso much as false Prophets have their authority in their own names; wherefore in the second Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians it is written, *For we dare not boast of our selves, or make comparison, Gloss. That is to say, with those that be false Prophets, not taking their authority from God, but usurping the same, desirous to bear Rule, claiming in their own name their authority. And therefore although peradventure by presumption they say that they are sent of God,*

as all Hereticks will say; yet notwithstanding, unless they shall prove their sending either by spiritual Prophecie, as John Baptist did, saying, *I am the Voice of a Cryer in the Desert*; as out of the Prophet *Esaie* in the first Chapter of Saint *Johns* Gospel is alledged; or else by Miracles, as *Moses* did, which turned his Rod into a Serpent, and again, from a Serpent to a Rod, as in the seventh Chapter of *Exodus*, they ought for to be excommunicated, till such time as they cease from preaching. Yet notwithstanding, a Miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimony of their sending, forso much as they be done oftentimes and that of evil and wicked men, *1. q. 1.* we may perceive towards the end. But Miracles ought to be suspected, forso much as our Saviour faith in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, *Then shall false Prophets arise, &c.* Therefore they which do challenge authority in their own name, forso much as they have not their authority from God, they are not true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The eighth sign is, that false Prophets, pretending great Wisdom and Holiness to be in Superstition, have named their own Traditions to be Religion, the which are rather to be counted Sacrilege or Church-Robbery, and do usurp unto themselves, for due deserts of other men, by boasting and bragging among strange and unknown people. Wherefore the Apostle speaking of false Prophets in the second Chapter to the *Colossians*, faith, *According to the Precepts of men, which having a face of wisdom consist in Superstition, interlaced with humility,* Gloss. That is to say, mingled with fained Religion, that it might be called Religion, when in very deed it is nothing else but Sacrilege, because it is contrary to all authority; that is, contrary to God himself, that any man should desire to have Government of a multitude without publick commandment, as in *Deuteronomium* the three and twentieth Chapter, *Thou hast entred into thy Neighbours Vineyard,* Gloss. That is to say, into the Church of another Bishop. May a man warn and admonish others, or else correct that Congregation which is not lawful for him to govern, nor yet to take so great a charge on him? No. And that it is not lawful to enter into another Bishops Diocess, it is apparent, because it is not lawful for the Archbishop so to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, *6. q. 3.* And also it is written *9. q. 2.* throughout. Therefore those Preachers, which against God and his Divine Scriptures do call their own Traditions Religion, are not Apostles, but false Prophets.

The eighth sign is, that false Prophets pretend great Holiness in Superstition

The ninth sign is, by the authority which they have: for although they be no Preachers of the Gospel or Ministers of the Sacraments, yet they will live by the Gospel, and not by the labour of their own hands, against the Text in the *2 Thess. 3.* *Neither have we eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free cost,* Gloss. Then those false Prophets ought much more to live by their labour, which have not that authority which we ought to have; that is to say, to live by the Gospel. And S. *Augustine* speaketh of this more expressly in his Book *De opere Monachorum*, by these words, *Those our Brethren do claim to themselves (very rashly as me thinketh) that they have any such authority to live by the Gospel. If they be Preachers of the Gospel, I grant that indeed they have such authority; if they be Ministers of the Altar, if they be disposers of the Sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselves this authority, as also manifestly to challenge the same; if at the least they have not wherewithall to sustain this present life, without labour of their hands. As though he would have said, If they be not such manner of men, then have they no authority to live by the Gospel. Therefore those Preachers which have no authority to live by the Gospel, or else Minister the Sacraments, because they have no Congregation whereby to take charge of Souls, and yet for all that will needs live upon the Gospel; they be no true Apostles, but false Prophets.*

The ninth sign is, that false Prophets take that to themselves which they live upon other mens labour.

The tenth sign is, that false Teachers rejoyce more to be commended themselves, than that the word of God should have the commendation and praise. But they that are true Preachers and Apostles are far otherwise minded, as to the *1 Thess. 2.* *Not seeking the praise of men, &c.* And herein be toucheth those false Prophets, which desire rather to be commended themselves, than that the word of God which they preach should have the commendation:

The tenth sign is, that false Prophets take that to themselves which they live upon other mens labour.

but

KING but he is an Apostle, which not seeking the glory of this present world, but for the glory to come, doth abase himself, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to have praise and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God should have the praise, be no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The eleventh sign is, that true Apostles do preach only for Gods cause, and for the health of Souls, and for no Temporal gain, as in the 2 Cor. 4. saying, *We preach not our selves, &c.* Glossa. Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gain, but only to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ, by those that are false Prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in the Philip. 1. is said, *Whether it be upon occasion given, or else for the verities sake, let Christ be preached, &c.* Glossa. False Prophets do preach the Gospel upon some occasion, as either by seeking some commodity at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honour, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they be ready and willing, as it should seem, to bear and sustain injuries; yet they seek not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their own commodity and gain. Whereupon, 2 Cor. 12. *Because I seek not the things that be yours; that is to say, not your Treasure, as gold and silver, but only you your selves,* Glossa. For otherwise it could by no means be gathered that they should understand him to speak or mean of their substance, because he more esteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might understand his great good will towards them. Therefore these evil and naughty Preachers which preach for worldly gain or honour, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true Apostles but false Prophets. But it may be asked, how shall men understand when these good Fellows preach for their own vain-glory sake? It may be answered thus, When they preach before they be called, as in the 2 Cor. 11. *Whoever boasts, let him boast and rejoice in the Lord,* Glossa. Which thing he cannot by any means do that hath not his Authority from God. For if any such Prophet preach, he seeketh his own glory, and that may easily be perceived. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such Authority of him; that is to say, of his Church or Congregation, as to the Heb. 7. *No man taketh to himself any dignity, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was,* Glossa. He is called of God, that is, lawfully chosen of the Congregation.

The twelfth sign or token of a false Prophet is, because such Prophets do counterfeit themselves to have greater care and love to mens Souls, than those that be their very Governors and Pastors have, although they have no charge at all of them; against whom the Gloss speaketh, and the 1 Thes. 2. *We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the Nurse which giveth her Child suck,* Glossa. A woman nurseth other mens Children for wages, and not for love alone; but she giveth her own suck of very love without respect of money. Therefore those Preachers which fain themselves to have a greater love and affection to the Souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, seem not to be true Apostles. The Apostles study not for Eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false Prophets do them both, as in the 2 Cor. 12. *If the simple and uneloquent man, &c.* Glossa. The Apostles were not eloquent, but false Prophets are full of curious Eloquence. Also upon the same another gloss, The Corintheans were led away from the Gospel by over-nice Eloquence, 2 Cor. 7. *Let us shew our selves before all men as the Ministers of God,* Glossa. The Ministers of God do not flatter as false Prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true Apostles have not their abiding in Princes Courts and Noblemens houses, knowing this saying of Christ in S. Matthews Gospel, *Behold, those that are clothed with Silks dwell in Kings Courts.* And therefore true Apostles are not conversant in Princes Courts, and Noblemens houses, Glossa. Hard and strict life with the preaching of the Gospel loveth not to come near Princes Palaces, and Noblemens houses. Oftentimes it cometh to pass that Courtiers are found great Flatterers, therefore those Preachers that have their abode in Princes Courts, or that in any other place do use to flatter, are no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirteenth sign is, that true Apostles or Messengers do not circumvent or subtilly go about to deceive men, that they should give unto them their goods, either in their life-time, or else at the time of their death, as in the 2 Cor. 7. *We have falsely deceived no man,* Glossa. By the subtil and deceitful getting away of your substance, as false Prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours under pretence of great Friendship. Also Mat. 23. *Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, you Hypocrites, which spoil widows houses by your long prayers;* which mean nothing else by your Superstition, but that you may spoil and rob the people, as Luke 20. *Which devour widows houses by dissembling of your long prayer,* Glossa. The which make over-long prayers, to the intent they may seem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burthen of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall have for making those prayers greater damnation, forso-much as by the same they deceive others: for by this, that they receive and take, both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for Souls health sake, but only for filthy lucre and gain sake, Mat. 10. *Be ye Possessors neither of gold nor silver,* Glossa. If they then have these things, they cannot seem or be thought to preach for the health of the Soul, but for lucre sake. And so saith Hierome upon the Prophet Malachi, Because some Prophets took money their Prophetic became Divination; that is to say, their Prophetic appeared not to be Prophetic, but Divination, or Inchantment: that is, that such Prophetic proceedeth not from God, but from the Devil. And this appeareth in 1. q. 1. having this beginning, *Nunquam Divinatio, &c.* Therefore those Preachers which circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they should give them their goods, either in their life-time, or after their death, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The fourteenth sign is, that false Prophets when any Verity is preached, which for the most part they are not acquainted withall, or that toucheth them, then begin they to chafe and bark against the same. Whereupon the Apostle in the third Chapter to the Philipians saith, *Behold the Dogs, &c.* Glossa. Understand you that they are not Dogs by nature, but by their usage and conditions, barking against the Truth, which they were never acquainted with. And so he compareth them right well to Dogs, because Dogs follow rather custom than reason: so false Apostles do keep the custom of the Law, and do bite and bark against the Truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. And also in the second Epistle to Timothy, the fourth Chapter, saying, *They get them Instructions according to their own desires,* Glossa. Which may teach them what things they themselves are willing to hear, because the Truth seemeth nothing pleasant unto them. Therefore those Preachers which bark against the late revealed Truth, which toucheth them very near, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept under, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The fifteenth sign is, that the true Apostles do not inforce any to receive or hear them which be unwilling thereunto, but send them away rather, lest they should seem to seek after some earthly and transitory thing, Mat. 10. *Whosoever will not receive you, get you out of that City, and shake the dust from off your feet, &c.* Glossa. That you may thereby shew that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore those Preachers which strive and wrestle (as it were) to the intent they would be received and heard, are no true Apostles, forso-much as the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 11. *If any man appear among you to be over-contentious or full of strife, such customs have we none, nor yet the Congregation of Christ.*

The sixteenth sign is, that the Apostles did not procure the Indignation of those Princes, with whom they were esteemed and regarded, against such persons as would not receive them and hear them, according as we read in the life of Simon and Jude, the Apostles. The chief Ruler, being very angry, commanded a very great fire to be made, that the Bishops might be cast into the same, and all others which went about to defame the Doctrine of the Apostles of Christ. But the Apostles fell

The thirteenth sign is, that false Prophets do circumvent men to have their goods, and care for nothing else

The fourteenth sign is, that false Prophets cannot abide to have the truth preached.

The fifteenth sign is, that false Prophets do inforce them to hear that are not willing to hear.

The sixteenth sign is, that false Prophets do cause Princes to be angry against them, and punish them that will hear them.

fell down before the Emperor, saying, *We beseech you Sir, let not us be the Authors or Causes of this destruction or calamity; nor let us which are sent to be the preservation of Men, and to revive those that are dead through Sin, be killers of those that be alive.* Therefore those Preachers which seek to stir up the displeasure of Princes against them (whose favours now they enjoy) that will not receive and hear them, or rather whom they themselves hate, are no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The seventeenth sign is, that false Prophets do not know neither what God hath done, or yet will do, as true Prophets do.

The seventeenth sign is, that the Apostles of Christ have not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in the *Apocalypse* 3. Chapter, *The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before,* Glossa. Obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the World. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the Church in the later time which are prophesied before, or that they care not for them, or else if they know them, they have not eyes behind and before, are no true Apostles; therefore what time as they call themselves Apostles, they are false Prophets.

The eighteenth sign is, that false Prophets do Preach for Money, and are not to be discerned from Wolves.

The eighteenth sign is, that true Apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they Preach, whereby they are discerned from Wolves, that is to say, from false Prophets, *Act. 20. I have desired no mans gold nor silver,* Glossa. By this are Wolves discerned, for they desire such things. And again in the same place; *For those things which I have need of, and those which were with me, these hands have ministered,* Glossa. This example also of labouring is a Spectacle for Bishops whereby they are discerned from Wolves. For such as ask or beg of those to whom they Preach, or set any other to ask or beg in their names, do seem to commit Simony, like *Gabaz*, of whom it is read in the 2. Book of *Kings* the fifth Chapter, that he craved certain apparel of *Naman* the Syrian, to whom his Master *Elizeus* had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those Garments unwitting to his Master. Whereupon *Gregory Nazianzen* saith, 1. q. 1. *Qui isti debetur.* But some Man perhaps will say, Cannot the Preacher ask Money or Money-worth of those to whom he Preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered; If the Preacher by Authority Preach and feed his flock as a true Pastor with the food of Gods word, he may take money or money worth; but then it is not begging or craving, but it is by Authority, as the 2 to *Timothy* 2. Chapter. *It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and after others receive the commodity of his increase.* Glossa. He putteth the Vertuous Preacher out of doubt, not Preaching for that intent to make Merchandize of the Gospel, and giveth him to understand, that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock, what things soever he hath need of, and doth it not in begging or craving, but by good Authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the Preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the Apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of *Salomon* and *S. Augustine*, and reproved by divers other Holy Men. Therefore it is manifest that the true Apostles do not desire the Temporal goods of them to whom they Preach, neither do they beg or crave the same. They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they Preach, or else set any other man to ask for them, or in their names, do not seem to be true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The nineteenth sign is, that true Apostles do not render evil for good, as false do.

The nineteenth sign is, that true Apostles are patient in Tribulation, neither do they render evil for good, *Matth. 10. Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves.* Glossa. They, that occupy the place of Preaching, ought not to procure any evil toward their Brethren, as the example of Christ Teacheth, 1 *Pet. 2.* saying; *Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but did submit himself to him that judgeth justly.* They therefore that suffer not injury, but rather do wrong themselves, are not true Apostles, but false Apostles.

The twentieth sign is, that true Apostles are not so well entertained as false Prophets be.

The twentieth sign is, that true Apostles at their first coming are evil entertained, as the Lord saith in the 24. of *Mat. Ye shall be hated of all men for my names sake.* But yet at the length such get the victory, according to that saying of first the of *S. John* the 5. Chapter; *Every thing that*

is of God overcometh the world. They therefore that in the beginning rejoyce and are well entertained, but in the end are rejected, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

The twenty first sign is, that true Preachers build not upon any other mans foundation.

The twenty first sign is, that true Preachers go not to Preach unto those which have Preachers appointed unto them, because they have not to rejoyce of a company belonging to another mans charge, as to the *Romans* the 15. Chapter. *I have preached the Gospel where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build upon another mans foundation.* And in the second Epistle of *S. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, the 10. Chapter, he saith; *We are no boasters, nor busy in other mens matters.* Glossa. Where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same Chapter; Not having pleasure to boast of other mens labours, that is to say, of those which be committed to the government of another man. Likewise *Augustinus* saith; Honour ought to seek thee, and not thou Honour. Also *Crisostom*; Authority is in love with such a Man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and have a desire to Preach unto the people committed to another Mans charge, which is an Office of Honour, especially in Councils, Synods, and great Assemblies, also in Kings and Princes Courts, and Prelates Palaces, are not true Apostles, but false Teachers.

Authority loveth them that refuse her, and yet abhorreth her not.

The twenty second sign is, that true Apostles, when they know themselves to do much good in the Church and Congregation of God, yet notwithstanding are not puffed up with pride; *Ezekiel 3. O son of man I have made thy face as an adamant stone.* The adamant stone, when it draweth Iron unto it, is not thereby either lifted up or altered. Likewise a true Preacher when he draweth sinners unto him by his Preaching (whose Hearts were as hard as Iron) is never the more lifted up or higher minded therefore. But as in *Luke* the 18. Chapter, *When ye have done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are unprofitable servants.* *Psal. 115. Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be given the glory.* They therefore that do arrogantly boast themselves of the fruit and benefit that they have done in the Church of God, saying; We have given light to the Universal Church, which was blind before our time, and we have put out the flame of sin in the Church of God (when perhaps they have more furthered hypocrisy than either truth or verity) they are not true Prophets but false, of whom it is spoken in the *Psalms*, *The mouth of them that speak proud things, &c.*

The twenty second sign is, that true Prophets are not proud and vainglorious, as false Prophets be.

The twenty third sign is, that true Apostles do not seek the favour of the World, nor yet how to please men, as to the *Galath. 1. If I should please men, that is to say, if I had desired to please men, I should not be the servant of God.* Whereupon to *Timothy* the first Epistle and second Chapter; *Not as men-pleasers,* Glossa. Seeking to please, because we have not the pleasing Spirit. Therefore those Preachers that seek the favour of the World, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true Apostles, but false.

The twenty third sign is, that false Prophets be always men-pleasers.

The twenty fourth sign is, that true Apostles when they have meat and drink, they are contented, neither do they desire over-dainty fair, according to the saying of *Mat. 10. Chapter. Eating and drinking those things that are set before them,* Glossa. The Gospel condemneth not altogether costly and delicate fair, yet it so alloweth the same, that if we have meat and drink, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith content. Therefore those Preachers, which although that neither they be sent, nor have Authority to Preach, and yet are offended when they have not fine and delicate fair, are not true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The twenty fourth sign is, that true Prophets eat what is set before them, and give God thanks, but that do not the false Prophets.

The twenty fifth sign is, that true Apostles do love more the Law of God than their own Estimation amongst their Neighbours, according to that in the 7. Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *keep my Law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same upon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart.* Whereupon in the 119. *Psalms*, *The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver,* Glossa. Charity doth more love the Law of God, than the desire of gold and silver a thousand fold. He therefore that seeth the Gospel of Christ trodden under foot, which is the Eternal glad tidings, to be taken away

The twenty fifth sign is, the false Prophets do love more their own Estimation, than that the word of God should be truly taught.

KING away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and condemn the same, or else peradventure consenteth unto the same to the outward appearance of the world; and yet, because he will keep his temporal dignity and estimation, refuseth to stir up strife and contention about the same, and so to be evil spoken of, seemeth not to be an Apostole of Christ, but rather a false Prophet, if he be a Preacher.

The twenty sixth sign is, That false Prophets are not contented with necessary things, but look after superfluities.

The twenty sixth sign is, That true Apostles seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest resting places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the same. According to that in the tenth of *Matthew*, saying, *Into what City or Town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same City or Town.* Gloss. Your Host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be evil spoken of, by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such Men to run from House to House. But whom shall we call worthy of good report? Gloss. Him who knoweth better to do other Men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true Apostles receive nothing of such Men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins, whereupon the 2 to the *Corinthians* the seventh Chapter, *They have given themselves first to the Lord.* Gloss. Because they now amending their old errors and vicious manners have vowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their Brethren: for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that give where there is no cause of reproof in their doings, have just cause to give. Therefore those Preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty Men that have this world at will, to the intent that those Preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtilty, which give indeed to remove the shameless importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of present shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets, according to that in the 2 to the *Corinthians* the 9. Chapter, *The Lord doth love a willing giver.* Gloss. He that giveth for present shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: wherefore he that hath respect to these things, doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift it self, as the Apostle to the *Philippians* the 4th. Chapter, saith, *Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver.*

The twenty seventh sign is, That false Prophets, whose belly is their God.

The twenty seventh sign is, That true Apostles do not endeavour themselves to seek and enjoy the fruit of other Mens labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the belly is such Mens God, according to that in the 2 to the *Thessalonians* the 3. Chapter, *We have heard of some amongst you which walk inordinately, not labouring at all, but living delicately, or idly.* Gloss. Of other Mens labours, and deserve they to be fed? The Discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the Belly is their God, which provide to have more than necessary dishes of meat. Therefore those Preachers which so do, are no true Apostles, but false.

The twenty eighth sign is, That true Apostles do not rejoyce only of the miracles or other excellent works, which the Lord doth by them; but they rejoyce rather of the salvation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing those miracles they desire any honour; according to that which is written in *Luke* the 10th. saying: *Rejoyce ye not for that the spirits be subject unto you, but because your names are registered in Heaven.* They therefore that boast of their own miracles, or of any that belong unto them, for this cause that they are saved by

the doing of them, as many do say, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

The twenty ninth sign is, That the true Apostles do never seek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ; as in *John* 7. *He that speaketh of himself doth seek his own glory, but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him* (that is, of whom he is sent) *is a true Apostle.* Therefore those which seek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be assistant to those that bear rule and authority, according to that saying of *Boetius De consolatione*; Those that do desire to be extolled, either they Reign and bear Rule themselves, or else do desire to be near about them that have such dominion. Another is, They desire to have the same and victory of that which they have nothing at all deserved before God, whereupon is written that saying of the Apostle, in *Gal.* 5. *Let not us become desirous of vain glory.* Gloss. To be desirous of vain glory, is to have victory without any merit or desert; and those, I say, that do such things, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

The twenty ninth sign is, that true Prophets seek not their own glory, as false Prophets do.

The thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles care not for the solemnities of Men, neither their salutations, nor feastings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which love and seek the company and fellowship of Men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seem to be true Apostles, but false.

The thirtieth sign is, That true Prophets do not force upon the solemn salutations of men, as false Prophets do. The one and thirtieth sign is, That false Prophets resort to other mens boards and flatter them for a meals meat, which true Prophets do not.

The one and thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles do not commonly resort to other Mens tables, lest that they should for a meals meat become flatterers, as in 2 *Thess.* 3. *That we should give an example to follow us.* Gloss. He that cometh oftentimes to another Mans Table, being given to idleness, cannot chuse to flatter him which feedeth him; but Christs Religion calleth Men to liberty and to no such bondage: they therefore that resort oftentimes, and that of their own minds; to other Mens Tables (living idly) are not true Apostles, but false.

The two and thirtieth sign is, That true Apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which Doctrine the Lord taught, *Matthew* the fifth, saying: *Love your enemies, do well to them which hate you;* but false Prophets do hurt and defame their Neighbours, according as *Jeremiah* 14. saith, *The Prophets of Jerusalem have defiled the whole earth.* Gloss. They are not contented to hurt their Neighbours only, but also whom they before this time have hated, they defame and speak evil of in every place they come: therefore those Preachers which hate them whom they think are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true Apostles, but false Preachers.

The two and thirtieth sign is, that true Prophets do not hate their enemies, as the false Prophets do.

The thirty third sign is, That false Prophets, when they are examined and proved whether they be true Apostles or liars, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can prove them to be so, and also do stir up and provoke others to persecute the same Men, which also joyn themselves together by secular power, even as certain false Prophets did in the Primitive Church against the Bishop of *Ephesus*, to whom the Lord said, *Apoc.* 2. *I know, that is to say, I do allow thy works and thy labour;* that is, thy tribulation, because thou canst not away with those that be evil men. Gloss. But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expel them, and hast examined those which say that they are Apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suffered this patiently. Gloss. The evils which these false Prophets, joynd together by secular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty third sign is, that true Prophets do not persecute men as the false Prophets do.

The thirty fourth sign is, That true Apostles go not to Preach to those which are converted already by other Men, but rather do convert those which are not yet converted, lest that they should build upon another Mans foundation, as *S. Paul*, *Romans* 15. saith, *I have laboured so, that from Jerusalem to Illyricus, I have replenished the Gospel in every place.* Gloss. That is, I have preached the same abundantly, in whom the great virtue of the Holy Ghost appeareth, because so many Nations, that is, the Gentiles have received the Gospel by me preaching.

The thirty fourth sign is, that true Prophets preach to those which be not yet converted, which the false Prophets do not.

But I have preached the Gospel there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build upon another mans foundation, *Gloss.* I should not preach to those that were converted by another Man. Also 2 Cor. 10. *We are not such as boast and glory in other mens labours,* *Gloss.* Where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinately. Also in the same place, not thinking to boast where another man hath government, but in those things which are put in experience, *Gloss.* Of other Preachers; Because the Apostle did Preach to those to whom the Gospel was never preached, that he might get praise by his own proper labour. Therefore, those preachers which go not to that people which have need to be converted, but to those which are converted already, which have Apostles of their own, that is to say, Bishops and Priests, and yet do boast over another mans flock, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty fifth sign is, That true Prophets chiefly preach in their own Dioceses, and not in other mens.

The thirty fifth sign is, Because true Apostles, when they are sent, go to their own Dioceses, and not to another mans Dioceses, even as Paul being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach, *Acts 13. Separate Paul and Barnabas for the business which I have chosen them unto:* *Gloss.* According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a Teacher unto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand upon their feet, that is to say, those Preachers which have but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more ready to go which way soever it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those that be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we read in *Ezek. 2. After that, the Spirit of the Lord set Ezekiel upon his feet,* In quam spem litus unus tangitur, and he said unto him, O Son of Man, behold I sent thee to the Nations which have sinned against me, that is, to the Jewish Hereticks, and to those Nations which sometimes have been Christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that observe the Law of Mahomet. Therefore, if such go to those that are already instructed, having both Apostles, Bishops, and Priests of their own; they go not into their own Dioceses, but into another mans Dioceses, and are not true Apostles, but false Preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the Church be in hazard and danger by such, unless they be thrust out of the same betime; even as Jonas, when he was sent to Ninivoy of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the Hill, that is to the Infidels we spake of before: They go not to those Infidels according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turn another way, take their journey into Tharsis, which is interpreted, seeking after joy and pleasure; that is, they go unto those which receive them with joy and gladness, and do well provide for them, that is to say, to godly and devout Christians: and therefore it is to be feared, lest the Ship in which they be (that is the Church) be in great peril, unless they be thrown forth. And therefore the Apostle spake of such false Prophets not without good cause, 2 Tim. 2. *And shun thou those:* *Gloss.* That is, such men as those be.

The thirty sixth sign is, That false Prophets do attribute to themselves that which they never did.

The thirty sixth sign is, Because true Apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute unto themselves any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul, *Rom. 15. faith, I dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by me,* *Gloss.* That is, I speak only those things (which by me) that is, by my ministry Christ hath wrought. They therefore that boast of many things, and do attribute much unto themselves which they never did, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty seventh sign is, That false Prophets do cleave and lean to Logical and Philosophical reasons. The thirty eighth sign is, That false Prophets do love carnally and not spiritually.

The thirty seventh sign is, That true Apostles do not apply themselves or lean at Logical or Philosophical reasons. Therefore those Preachers which do endeavour themselves to such kind of reasons, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The Thirty eighth sign is, That true Apostles do not love carnally, or after the flesh, but hate what thing soever doth resist them in the service of God, as Luke 14. *He that doth not hate his Father and Mother, his Son and Sister, and also himself, he cannot be my disciple,* *Gloss.* That is, He that doth not hate whatsoever doth resist or let him in the service of God, is not worthy to be a Disciple, neither can he abide in that Office. Therefore

forasmuch as true Preachers are the true Disciples of the Lord, it must needs follow that those Preachers which do promote their Nephews and Kinsfolk (how unworthy soever they be) to Ecclesiastical promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the service of God, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets.

The thirty ninth sign is, That true Apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world, for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemy of God; therefore those Preachers, which purchase the friendship of this world, are not true Apostles, but false Prophets. Therefore forasmuch as the Scripture is infallible, as in the twenty fourth Chapter of Matthew, saying, *Heaven and Earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for ever;* and the Holy Ghost which spake in the Apostles cannot lie; for Prophecie (for the most part) is not spoken by the will of Man, but the Holy Men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as it is read in the first Epistle of Peter, the first Chapter; it remaineth, That all Men which are bound to defend the Church, may rise up in the defence of the same, according unto that in the 24. Chapter of the Proverbs; *deliver those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those which are drawn to destruction.* Neither may he alledge vain accusations, because it is said in the same place, *If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of Mens hearts, shall know it, &c.* Whatsoever perisheth in the Church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them at the day of Judgment; as Jacob confesseth to Laban, whose Sheep he fed, *Genesis 31. I did restore all the loss, and that which was stolen I made answer for. I will demand his blood at thy hands.* Ezekiel 3. This is said to the Pastor or Prelate. But if the other things which we have spoken of before could not move the Prelates and Cardinals, this at the least should move them; because that then the Spiritual power which doth consist for the most part in the exercise of Preaching, in hearing Confessions, and enjoying of Penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piecemeal doth the Wolf devour the poor and needy Man: 3. *Quest. Chap. 1. When the authority Ecclesiastical therefore shall be quite taken from them and disposed to others, such as either by their Order, or Apostolical grant do challenge to have the same; then doubtless shall neither the jurisdiction of Civil causes and pleadings, nor any authority that such Prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporal goods of the Church any longer remain amongst them. Shall such have the temporal goods of the Church which minister not the spiritual Treasure thereof? 1 Cor. 9. Know ye not that they which kill the Sacrifice ought to eat of the Sacrifice? and they that serve at the Altar are partakers of the Altar? For as the body without the soul cannot stand; so corporal things without spiritual things cannot continue, 1 Quest. 1. if any shall take away the same.* Thus have you had the 39 Arguments, for the which both he the said Gulielmus was condemned, and his Books burned.

In the days of this Gulielmus, there was a most detestable and blasphemous Book set forth by the Fryers (mentioned also in *Matth. Parisiensis*) which they called *Evangelium æternum*, or *Evangelium Spiritus Sancti*, That is, The Everlasting Gospel, or the Gospel of the Holy Ghost. In which Book many abominable errors of the Fryers were contained, so that the Gospel of Jesus Christ was utterly defaced, which, this Book said, was not to be compared with this Everlasting Gospel, no more than the shell is to be compared with the kernel, than darkness to light, &c. Moreover, that the Gospel of Christ shall be preached no longer but fifty years, and then this Everlasting Gospel should rule the Church, &c. Item, That whatsoever was in the whole Bible, was in the said Gospel contained. At length this Fryers Gospel was accused to the Pope, and so six persons chosen of the whole University to peruse and judge of the Book: as *Christianus Canonicus Baluacensis*, *Odo de Doaco*, *Nicolaus de Baro*, *Johannes de sicca Villa Anglus*, *Johannes Belim Gallus*. Among whom this Gulielmus was one, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and divelish Book. These six, after the perusing of the Book, were sent up to Rome. The Fryers likewise sent their messengers withal, where they

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The thirty ninth sign is, That false Prophets do hunt after the friendship of this world.

Whatsoever perisheth in the Church of God for want of preachers shall be required.

A detestable Book of the Fryers called Evangelium æternum.

The eternal and spiritual Gospel of the Fryers condemned with much ado of the Pope.

[KING] they were refuted, and the errors of the Book condemned; but so, that the Pope with the Cardinals commanded the said Book to be abolished and condemned not publickly (tendering the estimation of the Religious Orders, as of his own most chief Champions) but that they should be burned in secret wise, and the Books of the foresaid *Gulielmus*. to be burnt withal.

Besides other his Books, two Sermons we have of his yet remaining, one upon the Gospel of S. Luke, of the Pharisee and the Publican, the other upon the Epistle read in the Church on *May-day*; where in the first he resembleth the Pharisees to our Monks, and that he proveth by all the properties of the Pharisees described in the Gospel. The Publican he resembleth to the Laity, such as because the sooner they are reduced to acknowledge their sins, the more hope they have of mercy. The other, because they stand confident in their own righteousness, are therefore further from their justification. In the later Sermon he setteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall upon the Church by these Religious Orders of Monks and Fryers.

Laurentius Augustus condemned of the Pope. Among the other besides of that age, which withstood the Bishop of Rome and his Antichristian errors, was one *Lawrence* an English-man, and Master of Paris; another was *Petrus Johannes* a Minorit. Of whom the foresaid *Lawrence* was about the year of our Lord 1260. who in his teaching, preaching and writing, did stoutly defend the part of the foresaid *Gulielmus* and the rest of his side against the Fryers. Against the which Fryers he wrote two Books; one in the defence of *William* afore-mentioned; the other upon this Argument and Title, *To beware of false Prophets*, &c. Certain other things also he wrote, wherein by divers proofs and testimonies he argued and proved, That Antichrist was not far off to come.

The Pope Antichrist. The Synagogue of Rome to be great Babylon. The other *Petrus Johannes* was about the year of our Lord 1290. which taught and maintained many things against the Pope, proving, That he was Antichrist, and that the Synagogue of Rome was Great Babylon. He wrote upon *Matthew*, upon the Epistles, and upon the Apocalypse. Mention of this *Petrus Johannes* is made in *Nicolaus Emericus*, in *libr. Inquisitionum*, &c. And he saith moreover that *Michael Cefenas* (of whom, Christ willing, shall follow hereafter) took of him a great part of his opinions; and because the Pope could not burn him alive, after his death, he caused his bones to be taken up and burned.

Robertus Gallus prophesies against the Pope. To these, and with these above specified, is to be added *Robertus Gallus*, who being born of a right noble Parentage, for devotion sake was made a Dominick Fryer, about the same year of our Lord above touched, Anno. 1290. This Man as appeareth by his writing, had divers and sundry Visions, whereof part is annexed with the Visions and Prophecy of *Hildegardis*. His Visions all tend against the spirituality of Rome, where in the first Chapter he calleth plainly the Pope an Idol, which having eyes seeth not, neither lusteth to see the abominations of his people, nor the excessive enormity of their voluptuousness, but only to see to the heaping up of his own treasure, and having a mouth speaketh not; but saith, I have set good Men over them (which is sufficient for me) to do them good either by my self, or by some other. And it followeth in the same Chapter, Woe to that Idol, woe to the mighty and proud, who shall be equal in all the Earth to that Idol? He that exalteth up his name in Earth, saying, Who shall bring me under? Is not my House compared with the mighty Potentates of the Land? I am higher than Dukes; Knights on their Horse back do service unto me, that which my Fathers had not before me, that I have done to me. My House is strowed with silver; gold and pearl are the pavement of my Palace, &c.

The Pope described. Again in the twelfth Chapter, and also in the first, under the name of a Serpent he painteth out the Pope, whom he declareth to extol himself above measure, and to oppress the few that be godly, and to have many false Prophets about him, which neglecting the word and name of Christ, do preach and extol him only, obscuring the name of Christ. The Church of Rome and the Pope he describeth in these words: *I was praying* (saith he) *on my knees, looking upward to Heaven, near to the Altar of Saint James in Paris, on the right side of the Altar, and saw*

in the Air before the body of a certain High Bishop all clothed in white silk; who, turning his back on the East, lift up his hand towards the West, as the Priests are wont in their Mass turning to the people, but his head was not seen. And as I was considering advisedly, whether he had any head or no; I perceived a certain head in him all dry, lean and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the spirit of the Lord said to me, This signifieth the state of the Church of Rome.

The state of the Church of Rome described.

Moreover, the same Author in his Visions, well describing the manner of the School Sophisters and Sorbonists, addeth in this wise; *Another day as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit; and behold, I saw a Man apparelled like to the other before, which went about having fine bread and excellent wine that banded about him on both sides; and the same, having in his hand a long and hard flint stone, was gnawing hungrily upon the same, as one being hungry is wont to bite upon a loaf of bread; out of which stone came two heads of two Serpents, the Spirit of the Lord instructing me and saying, This stone purporteth the frivolous, intricate, and curious questions, wherein the hungry do travel and labor, leaving the substantial food of their souls. And I asked what these two heads did mean? And he said, The name of the one is Vain Glory, the name of the other is the marring and dissipating of Religion.*

The Schoolmen and the frivolous questions described.

Also, concerning reformation of the Church, this Vision he declareth: *It happened as I was* (saith he) *in the same City in the House of a certain Noble Man (a Brittain) and was there speaking with certain, I saw a cross of silver very bright, much like to the Cross of the Earl of Tholouse. But the twelve Apostles, which did hang beside the arm of the Cross, were very vile, like the Apples which the Sea is wont to cast up. And I said, What is this Lord Jesus? And the Spirit answered me, This Cross which thou seest is the Church, which shall be clear and bright in pureness of life, and shall be heard and known all over through the shrill voyce of the preaching of sincere verity. Then being troubled with the Apples, I asked what these Apples so vile did signifie? And he said, It is the humiliation of the Church, &c.*

The reformation of the Church presigified.

This godly Man did forewarn (as in a certain Chronicle is declared) how God would punish the Simony and Avarice of the Clergy with such a plague that Rivers should run with blood, &c. It is said, That there is remaining a great Volume of his Visions which are not yet abroad; for these that be are but a brief extract out of his Visions and Revelations.

The simony and avarice of the Clergy to be punished.

After that we have thus long strayed in these foreign stories of *Frederick*, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other Countries; now, after this sufficient digression, it is time that we return to our own Country again. Wherein following the continuation of time and course of the Church, we will now adjoyn to these good Fathers and Writers, the History of the Learned Bishop of Lincoln, named *Robert Grossthead*, a Man famously learned (as that time served) in the three Tongues both Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, also in all Liberal Sciences; whose works and Sermons yet to this day are extant, which I have seen in the Queens Majesties Library at *Westminster*. Wherein is one special Sermon written and exhibited in four sundry scrolls to the Pope, and to other four Cardinals, beginning *Dominus noster Jesus Christus*, &c. *Nicolaus Trivet* in his Chronicle, writing of this Bishop, affirmed that he was born in *Suffolk*, in the Diocels of *Norfolk*: who giving him the praise to be a Man of excellent wisdom, of profound Doctrine, and an example of all vertue, witnesseth that he being Master of Arts, wrote first a Commentary *In librum posteriorum* of *Aristotle*. Also that he wrote tractations, *De sphaera*, & *de arte comput.* and that he set forth divers Books concerning Philosophy. Afterward being Doctor in Divinity, and expertly seen in all the three Tongues, drew out sundry Treatises out of the Hebrew Glosses, also translated divers works out of the Greek, as namely the testament of the twelve Patriarchs, and the Books of *Dionysius*, Commenting upon the new translation with his own Gloss, *Hec, ille*. Many other Works and Volumes besides were written by the said *Grossthead*, as *De oculo morali*, *De dotibus*, *De cessatione legalium*, *Parvus Cato*, *Annotaciones in Suidam*, in *Batium*, *De potestate Pastoralis*, *Expositiones in*

The story of Robert Grossthead Bishop of Lincoln.

Ex Nic. Trivet.

Robert Grossthead a Suffolk man born.

The commendation of Robert Grossthead.

The Books and Works of Robert Grossthead.

Gen. in Lucam, with a number more, besides divers Epistles, Sermons, and invectives sent to the Pope for his unmeasurable Exactions, wherewith he overcharged and oppressed the Church of England.

Anbo
1253
The death
of Robert
Grosthead.

This godly and learned Bishop, after divers conflicts and agonies sustained against the Bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederick, of Guliel. de Sancto amore, of Nico. Gallus, and others after named, at length after great labors and travels of life finished his course, and departed at Bugden in the month of October, Anno. 1253. Of his decease thus writeth Matth. Paris. fol. 278. Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy Bishop of Lincoln Robert, at his Manor of Bugden in the Even of S. Dionysie; who was an open reprover of the Pope and of the King, a rebuker of the Prelates, a corrector of the Monks, a director of the Priests, an instructor of the Clerks, a fautor of Scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the Incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scripture, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings, &c. Hæc Matth. What a mall he was to the Romans in the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall better appear. The story is this:

Malleus Romanorum
Grosthead.

The troubles of Robert Grosthead with the Pope.

It fo befel among other daily and intolerable Exactions, wherein Pope Innocent was grievous and injurious (manifold ways) to the Realm of England, he had a certain Cousin or Nephew (so Popes were wont to call their Sons) named Frederick, being yet young and under years, whom the said Innocent the Pope would needs prefer to be a Canon or Prebendary in the Church of Lincoln, in this time of Robert Bishop of the said Church; and upon the same directed down Letters to certain his factors here in England for the execution thereof. The Copy of which Letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune sending of God, came to my hands, as I was penning this present story, written in the end of an old Parchment Book, and otherwise rare I suppose to be found; and it is this:

An unreasonable Letter of the Pope.

* Rite dictum foris
sui filio.

* Conf. Bii.

Dilectis filiis Archidiacono Cant. & Magistro Innocenti. scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius noster G. Sancti Eustachii Diaconus Cardinalis dilecto * filio Frederico de Lavavia, Clerico, Nepoti nostro, de speciali Mandato nostro Canonizationem Lincolnien. cum plenitudine juris Canonici duxeris conferendum, ipsam per suum annulum corporaliter & presentia literis investiens de eodem, ut ex tunc Canonicus Lincolnien. existat, & plenum nomen & jus Canonici consequatur ibidem, ac Prebendam, si qua vacaverit in Ecclesia Lincol. a tempore quo dudum literæ nostræ super receptione, ac provisione faciendâ sibi in Eccles. eadem de præmissis venerab. fratri nostro Episcopo Lincol. præsentatæ fuerant, aliquot post vacaturam conferendam sibi donationi Apostolicæ reservavit: decernendo irritum & inane, si quid de Prebenda huiusmodi a quoquam fuerit attentatum, nec non & contraditores & rebelles Excommunicationis sententiam ubique promulgando, prout in literis ejusdem exinde de * constitutis plenius continetur. Nos ipsius Frederici devotis supplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem Cardinale factum est super hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem Autoritate Apostolica duximus confirmandum. Quocirca discretionis vestre per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fredericum, vel procuratorem suum ejus nomine in corporalem possessionem prædictorum Canonatus & Prebendæ, autoritate nostra inducat, & defendatis inductum, contraditores per censuram Ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus aliquibus consuetudinibus vel statutis, iuramentis, vel confirmationibus sedis Apostolicæ, seu quacunque alia infirmitate roboratis; vel quod dictus Fredericus præsens non fuerit ad præstandum iuramentum de observandis consuetudinibus ejusdem Eccles. consuetis; si prædicto Episcopo vel capitulo ipsius Ecclesiæ communiter vel singularim, seu aliis quibuscunque personis a dicta sede idulum existat, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem aliqujus compelli nequeant, siue quod nullus alius in eorum Ecclesia nemini providere valeat; vel quod interdicti, suspendi, aut Excommunicari non possint, per literas Apostol. sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamsi totus tenor indulgentiarum huiusmodi de verbo in verbum in iisdem literis sit insertus, siue quibus aliis

indulgentiis quibuscunque personis, dignitati, vel loco, sub quacunque forma verborum concessis a sede Apost. vel etiam concedendis, per quas effectus huiusmodi provisionis posset impediri aliquatenus vel differri. Tamen volumus, ea de certa scientia, quantum ad provisionem factam & faciendam Frederico prædicto in Ecclesia Lincol. viribus omnino carere. Ceterum, si aliqui prædicto Frederico vel Procuratori super præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum, aliquatenus duxerint opponendum: illos ex parte nostra citari curetis, ut peremptorie infra duorum mensium spacium post citationem vestram personaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem Frederico super præmissis legitime responsuri. Non obstantibus privilegiis, siue quibuscunque indulgentiis personis Regni Angliæ generaliter vel cuiusvis alii personæ, vel dignitati, vel loco specialiter a prædicta sede sub quacunque forma verborum concessis, quod non possint ultra mare, seu extra civitatem vel Diocesin suam in iudicium evocari per literas Apost. sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas; quod privilegium & indulgentias eisdem personis de certa scientia nullatenus volumus suffragari, & constitutione edita de duabus dictis in concilio generali non obstante. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, vestris literis renorem præsentium continentionibus fideliter intimeris. Quod si non ambo his exequentis interesse poteritis, alter vestrum nihilominus exequatur. Datum Petus. 7. Cal. Febr. Pontificat. nostri anno decimo.

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Which foresaid Letter is thus in English.

Unto our beloved Sons the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and to Master Innocent our Scribe abiding in England, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction. Forasmuch as our well-beloved Son G. of S. Eustace Deacon Cardinal, upon our special commandment hath given and granted to our well-beloved Son Frederick de Lavavia (a Clerk and our Nephew) a Canonship in the Church of Lincoln with full power and grant of the same; investing him also corporally and presently with his own Ring in the said Canonship; to be from henceforth Canon of Lincoln, and to have full power of the said Canonship in the Church, and a Prebend when any shall fall in the Church of Lincoln: from that time, since which our former Letters of late, concerning this receiving and provision to be given to him in the said Church, were presented and exhibited to our Reverend Brother the Bishop of Lincoln, or else after the next avoiding the said Prebendship to be reserved to the Apostolical Donation, and to be given to him, making it void and frustrate if the said Prebendship shall be given to any other Man beside, and also denouncing the sentence of Excommunication against all them that shall rebel and gainsay the same; as in the Letters of the said Cardinal is more fully contained.

Excommunicationibus.

We therefore graciously inclined by the devout supplication of the said Frederick, ratifying and gratefully approving that which hath been done by the said Cardinal in the premises; we thought good by the Authority Apostolical to confirm the same. Wherefore we give all commandment by our Letters Apostolical to your wisdoms, that you will see the said Frederick (or his Proctor in his behalf) to be really and corporally possessed in the said Canonship or Prebend by our Authority, and also defend the said party being therein possessed, denouncing the sentence of Excommunication against all such as shall withstand the same, all manner of customs or statutes to the contrary notwithstanding; corroborated either with Oath, or confirmations of the See Apostolick, or by what stay or let soever; or whether that the said Frederick be not present to take the Oath accustomed to be given for observing the customs of the said Church, or whether it be given and granted by the said See to the foresaid Bishop, or to the Chapter of the said Church jointly and severally, or to what person or persons else, that no Man by compulsion should have admission or provision for any person in their Church whereby they cannot be Interdicted, Suspended, or Excommunicated by the Letters Apostolical obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, under what form or words soever; yea, although the whole tenor of the said indulgence be inserted word for word in the said your Letters, or by any other indulgences to what person or persons soever, of what estate, dignity or place soever, under any manner

or

KING or form of words, granted hereafter by the See Apostolick, by the which indulgences the effect of the said provision may be by any manner of ways hindered or deferred: yet of our certain knowledge we will that they shall want their strength in the provision made or to be made for the said Frederick in the Church of Lincoln. And if any, upon the premisses or any of them, shall alledge against the foresaid Frederick, or his procurator; that you will cause them to be cited on our behalf: so that they, being cited peremptorily, shall within the space of two months of your citation, personally appear before us there according to the Law, to make answer to the said Frederick upon the premisses: any privileges or indulgences whatsoever given and granted either generally to the Kingdom of England, or peculiarly to any other person of what state, degree, and place soever, granted by the foresaid See, under whatsoever manner and form of words for them not to be called up beyond the Sea, or out of their own City or Diocese by Letters Apostolical, under whatsoever form of words obtained, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. All which privileges and indulgences, we will in no case shall stand in any force or effect to the said parties. Moreover, the day and form of the Citation we will that ye faithfully do intimate unto us by your Letters containing the tenor thereof, and if both of you cannot be present at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithstanding that one of you do execute the same without fail. Dated the 7th. Kal. February, the 10th. year of our Popedom.

As there is no Man which hath any eyes to see, but may easily understand in reading this Letter of the Pope, how unreasonable his request is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the Church of God, in placing Boys and strangers in the Ministry and cure of souls, and also in making them his Provisors, to raven up the Church goods: so is it no great marvel, if this godly Bishop Robert Grossthead was offended therewith; who, in my mind deserveth herein a double commendation, not only that he so wisely did discern error from sincerity and truth; but also that he was so hardly and constant to stand to the defence thereof against the Pope, according as in this his answer to the Pope again may appear, as followeth.

The Answer of Robert Grossthead.

The answer of Robert Grossthead to the Pope.
Salutem, Pleaseth it your wisdom to understand, That I am not disobedient to any the Apostolick Precepts, but both devoutly and reverently with the natural affection of a Son obey the same, and also am an utter enemy to all those that resist such Apostolick Precepts, as a Child zealous of his Fathers honour. And truly, I am no less than bound thereunto by the Precept and commandment of God. For the Apostolick Precepts are none other, nor can be, than consonant and uniform to the Doctrine of the Apostles, and of our Saviour Christ being the Master and Lord of all the Apostles: whose type and person, specially in the consonant and uniform Hierarchy of the Church, the Lord Pope seemeth to bear the same, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, *Whoever is not with me, the same is against me.* Therefore, against him neither is nor can be the most divine sanctity of the See Apostolical. The tenor then of your foresaid Apostolical Letter is not consonant to true sanctity, but utterly dissonant and disagreeing to the same. First, for that the clause of this your Letter, and many such other Letters like, which clause always ye so much do urge (*Nom obstante*) induced and brought in upon no necessity of any natural Law to be observed, doth swarm and flow with all inconstancy, boldness, pertinacy, impudency, lying, and deceiving, and is also a Sea of mistrust in giving credit to no Man. Which as it swarmeth with these, so in like manner with innumerable other vices which hang and depend upon the same; moving and disturbing the purity of Christian Religion and life agreeable to the same, as also the publick tranquillity of Men. Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer (which shall be in the later time, to wit, of Antichrist, the Child of Perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth) there is not nor can be any kind of sin so repugnant and contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles and Holy Scripture, and to our Saviour Christ himself more hateful, detestable,

and abominable, than to destroy and kill mens Souls, by defrauding them of the mystery of the Pastoral Office, which by the ministry of the Pastoral cure ought to save and quicken the same. Which sin by most evident places of the Scripture, such Men are discerned and known to commit, which being in the authority of the Pastoral Dignity, do serve their own carnal desires and necessities with the benefit of the Milk and Wool of the Sheep and flock of Christ, and do not minister the same Pastoral Office and charge to the benefit and salvation of those their sheep. The same therefore by the testimony of the Scripture is not the administration of the pastoral ministry, but the killing and destruction of the sheep. And that these two kind of vices be most vile and wicked (although after a differing sort) and far exceeding all other kind of wickedness hereby it is manifest: for that the same are directly contrary to two virtues most chiefly good (although differing in themselves) and unlike together. For that is called most wicked, which is contrary to a thing most good. So much then as lyeth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly against the Deity, which of himself is always essentially and supernaturally good; the other is against the deification and the image of God in Man, which is not always, but by the participation of Gods lightsome Grace, essentially and naturally good. And forasmuch as in things being good, the cause of good is better than the effect; and like as again in evil things, the cause of evil is worse than the effect of evil proceeding thereof: hereby it is manifest, that the inducers of such wicked destroyers of Gods image and deification in the sheep of Christ (that is, the Church of God) are worse than those chief destroyers, to wit, Lucifer and Antichrist.

And as in these degrees of wickedness how much more excellent such be, who having a great charge committed to them of God (to edification and not to destruction) the more are they bound to keep away and exclude such wicked destroyers from the Church of God: so much is it also off, that this holy seat Apostolical, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ hath given all manner of power (to edification, as the Apostle saith, and not to destruction) can command, or will go about any such thing, urging unto so great wickedness, so odious, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and also so pernicious to mankind. For this should be a great defection, corruption and abuse of the said seat and fulness of power, and an utter separation from the glorious Throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a near neighbourhood unto the two most principal Princes of darkness, sitting in the Chair of Pestilence, prepared to the pains of Hell. Neither can any Man, which is subject and faithful to the said See (and not cut away from the body of Christ, and from the said Holy See) with sincere and unspotted Conscience obey such manner of precepts and commandments, or whatsoever other attempts proceeding, yea, though from the high order of Angels themselves, but rather ought of necessity with all their strength to withstand and rebel against the same. Wherefore my Reverend Lord, I, like an obedient Child, upon my bound duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to both the * parents of this Holy Apostolick See, and partly for love of unity in the body of Christ joyned with the said See, do not obey but withstand and utterly rebel against these things in the said Letter contained, and especially which urge and tend to the foresaid wickedness, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the Holiness of the Holy Apostolick See, and so contrary to the unity of the Catholick Faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion determine any extremity to me, because all my doing and gain-saying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the divine precept, and honor due both to * Father and Mother. Briefly therefore repeating my words I say, That this Holy Apostolick See cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction: for this is the fulness of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But these which you call provisions be not to edification, but to manifest destruction. The Holy Apostolick See therefore neither can nor ought to attempt any such thing; because that flesh and blood, which cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, hath revealed the same, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in Heaven.

Power given to Ministers to edification only, not to destruction.

Two principal Princes of darkness, Lucifer and Antichrist.

* He meaneth either Christ and the Church or else Father and Paul.

* Id est, both to Christ and his Church.

Ex Mat. Pa-
ris. ad ver-
bum.

Well sworn
master Pope.

Giles Cardi-
nal defend-
eth Robert
Grossthead to
the Pope.

The godly
talk of Ro-
bert Gros-
sthead in time
of his sick-
ness.

Here his
guid.

Definition
of Heresie.

Then followeth it in the story both of *Matth. Parisiensis*, and of *Florilegus*, in these words: That when this Epistle came to the knowledge of the Pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce look and proud mind, saying: What old dotting frantick wretch is this, so boldly and rashly to judge of my doings? By sweet *S. Peter* and *Paul*, were it not but that upon our own clemency and good nature we are restrained, we should hurl him down to such confusion, that we would make him a fable, a gazing stock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the King of *England* our Vassal? and to say more, our Mancipal or Page (to use the very words of mine Author) which may at our pleasure and beck both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to utter shame? Thus when the Pope in his great fury and rage had uttered amongst his Brethren the Cardinals, who were scarce able to appease the furious violence of the Pope, with mild moderation of words they said unto him; That it was not expedient for them to proceed against that Bishop in such rigorous manner. For, said they, to confess the truth to your Holiness, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemn him therefore. He is a Catholick Man, yea, also a Holy Man; more Holy and also Religious than we our selves; a Man of excellent wit and excellent life; so as it is thought, among all the Prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not unknown both to the *French* and *English* Clergy universally, neither can our contradiction prevail against him. The truth of this his Epistle perhaps is known now to many, and shall stir up many against us: for he hath the name to be a great Philosopher, and singularly seen in all the tongues, both Greek, Latine, and Hebrew: zealous in Justice, a reader of Divinity in the Schools, a preacher amongst the people, a lover of Chastity, and a persecutor of Simony. These words spake *L. Giles* a *Spanish* Cardinal to the Pope, and others more, moved by their Conscience to speak. And this counsel they gave to the Pope, That he should dissemble and wink at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise perhaps some tumult might rise and spring thereof: especially seeing this is manifest and known to all Men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the Church of *Rome*.

Not long after this (about the Canicular days) this Reverend and godly *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, lying at his Manor place in *Bugden*, fell grievously sick; and thereupon within few days departed. In the time of his sickness he called to him a certain Frier of the preaching Order, named *M. John Giles*, a Man expert and cunning both in Physick and Divinity; partly to receive of him some comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in spiritual matters. Thus upon a certain day, the said Bishop conferring with the foresaid *M. John*, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the Pope, did grievously rebuke and reprehend his fellow Brethren the preaching Friars, and the other Order also of the Minorites; That forso much as their Order being planted in wilful poverty of the spirit, to the intent that they should more freely carp and reprove the vices of the mighty, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharply to rebuke and reprehend the same: the said Friars contrary to their profession did not boldly enough cry out and inveigh against the abuses of their superiours and men of power; nor did uncover nor detect their faults and wickedness; and therefore, said the Bishop, I judge them to be no better than manifest Hereticks. And he addeth moreover, (demanding of *M. John*) what is Heresie? and that he should give him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the Frier did stay and pause, not remembring the solemn definition of that matter; the Bishop thereupon inferreth, giving this definition in Latine by the true interpretation of the Greek word: *Heresis* Grace, electio, Latine, est sententia humano sensu electa, Scriptura Sacra contraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defensa. That is, Heresie is a sentence taken and chosen of Mans own brain, contrary to Holy Scripture, openly maintained, and stiffly defended. And this definition given, consequently he inferred, sharply reprehending the Prelates of the Church, but especially the *Romans*, which commit the charge of souls unto their Kinsfolks, being both in Age unworthy, and in Learning insufficient. To give (saith he)

the charge of souls unto a Boy, is a sentence of a Prelate chosen and taken of Mans own head, only for carnal and earthly respect, and also is contrary to Holy Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made Ministers or Pastors, which are not sufficient to drive away the wolves. And moreover it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly born abroad and commanded, with Charts imbulled both with Wax and Lead; and finally, it is stiffly defended. For if any Man shall dare to presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and Excommunicated, and open War cried out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of an Heretick doth agree, he is a very Heretick. But every faithful Christian man ought to set himself against an Heretick as much as he may. Wherefore, he that can resist him and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of *Gregory*: *He lacketh not Conscience of secret society, which ceaseth to resist open impiety*. But the Friars both Franciscans and Dominicks are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them have the gift of preaching committed to them by their Office, and be more apt to the said Office, by reason of their poverty: and therefore they do not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the Apostle to the *Romans*, saying, *Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent are worthy of death*. Wherefore it may be concluded, That as well the Pope (unless he cease from that vice) as also the same Friars, unless they shew themselves more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetual Damnation. Item, saith the Canon Decretal, *That upon this vice of Heresie the Pope both may and ought to be accused*.

After this the vehemency of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were something longer; the third night before his departure, the Bishop, feeling his infirmity to grow upon, willed certain of his Clergy to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Unto whom the Bishop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the loss of souls, through the avarice of the Popes Court, said on this wise, as by certain Aphorisms.

1. Christ came into the world to save and win souls: Ergo, He that feareth not to destroy souls, may he not worthily be counted Antichrist?

2. The Lord created the whole world in six days, but in restoring of Man he laboured more than thirty years. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that, about which the Lord so long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and Antichrist?

3. The Pope shameth not impudently to annihilate and disannul the privileges of his Holy predecessors, of *Roman* Bishops, by this obstacle (*Non obstante*) which is not done without the prejudice and manifest injury of them. For in so doing he doth reprove and destroy that which so many and so Holy Men have builded up before, and thus seemeth he to be a contemner of the Saints. Worthily therefore he that contemneth shall be condemned, according to the saying of *Esay*: *Woe to thee that dost despise, for shalt not thou thy self be despised?* And who shall keep his privileges, which so breaketh the privileges of others?

4. The Pope answering thereunto, thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equal, hath no superiority over his equal; Therefore, no Pope hath power to bind me, being Pope as well as he. To this answer again, (quoth the Bishop) It seemeth to me, that he that now presently is sailing in the dangerous Seas of this World, and he that is safely arrived in the haven, having past all jeopardies, are not both like and equal. Grant that some Popes be saved (God forbid any should say contrary) Then saith our Saviour, *He that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than John Baptist, a greater than whom did never rise amongst the Children of Men*. Is not therefore some Pope greater, being a giver and confirmer of privileges, than this that is alive? Truly methinks, he is greater, therefore he hath dominion over his inferior.

5. Doth not the Pope thus say speaking of all his predecessors for the most part; This our predecessor, and this our predecessor of most worthy memory, &c. And again, We

KING
Hen. 3

The Pope
proved here
an Heretick.

The saying
of Gregory.

The Pope
accused of
Heresie.

Certain A-
phorisms or
Articles
laid of Ro-
bert Gros-
sthead against
the Bishop
of Rome.

The Pope
accused of
his wicked
clause, *Non
obstante*.

The Pope
accused for
arrogating
more than
his due to
him, and
proved not
to be equal
but inferior
to his pre-
decessors.

The Pope
accused for
undoing the
acts and
foundations
of his pre-
decessors.

KING? We (saith he) cleaving, or following the steps of our predecessors, &c. And why then do such Popes as come after, destroy these Foundations which their predecessors have laid?

Proved that the Pope is inferior to his predecessors before him, and therefore to have no authority to infringe the Privileges of other Popes. Proved by the example of some, that men more ancient in time ought to be preferred in higher reverence.

6. Many Apostolick men coming after, have confirmed some Privilege being granted by others; and be not many Bishops, being already saved by the Grace of God, to be counted greater and better than one Bishop which hath not yet attained, but standeth in danger to obtain that which the other have got already?

7. Also other former Fathers and Bishops of the Apostolical See, in preferment of time, go before the others which in time come after. And those whom the estimation of ancient time doth advance, such are we bound to esteem and to have in more reverence. This did the holy man *Benedict* well consider; who in his rule preferreth such as came first in time, whatsoever men they were before them, which (albeit being more ancient in years) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their Superiors, and to have the Preheminence. Which being so (as it is true and certain) how cometh then this injurious and rash presumption, which dare repeal and disannul the old Privileges of many ancient holy Bishops, in time and in reverence going before them?

The Pope accused for maintaining of Usury.

8. Moreover, and though many Popes have been grievous to the Church, yet this Pope most specially hath brought it most into servitude, and manifold ways hath damnified the same. For these *Causini*, these open Usurers, whom our holy fore-Fathers and Doctors, whom we have seen, and namely our learned Master in France Preacher; also the Abbot of *Flay a Cistercian*, Master *Jacobus de veteri*, and Master *Stephen*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the time of his banishment, and also Master *Robert Curcum*, with his Preaching banished out of France (for before that time these kind of Usurers were never known in England) the same *Causini*, these wicked Usurers, I say, were by this Pope induced, supported and maintained; so that if any do speak against them, he is miserably tossed and trowled for his labour, whereof partly *Roger Bishop of London* hath some experience.

Against Usury.

9. The world doth know, that Usury is counted a detestable thing in both the Testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the Popes Usurers or Exchangers, the very *Jews* crying out against them, being openly suffered in London to exercise their Usury, to the great damage and detriment of all Ecclesiastical persons, but especially Houses of Religion, compelling such as be in poverty to counterfeit and to put to their Seals to forged writings, which is no less than to commit Idolatry and to abrenounce the verity which is God himself. As for example: I borrow an hundred Marks for a Year, instead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled, to make my Writing and to Seal the same, confessing that I have received and borrowed one hundred pounds, to be repaid again at the years end to such a man, &c. And if it shall chance that your occupying be such, that within a month you bring again the principal to the Popes Usurer, he will receive no less notwithstanding than his full hundred pounds: which condition of Usury is much worse than that of the *Jews*. For to the *Jew* what principal you bring, he will require no more than proportionably for the commensuration of so much time, wherein his mony hath been out of his hands.

The crafty practice of Usurers.

The Popes Usurers worse than the *Jews*.

Crafty subtilty of the Pope to get money.

10. Moreover, we have seen and known the Pope to have given in charge and commandment to the Friars, Preachers, and Minorites, to inquire diligently for such as lie sick and like to die; and so coming to them diligently to persuade them to make their Wills and Testaments favourably to the profit and subsidy of the Holy Land, and to take the Cross upon them; that if they do amend, they may wring them in the Law; and if they die, they may wrest the mony from their Executors.

Mensured to the Holy Land, sold for money like Sheep by the Pope. Remission of sins sold for money.

11. We have known likewise and seen men, that have taken the Vow and Sign of the Cross upon them, to be sold unto Lay-men; as Sheep and Oxen were wont in time past to be sold in the Temple.

We have seen with our eyes the Popes Letter, in which we have found this to be written: That they, which bequeath any thing to the behoof or subsidy of the Holy Land, shall receive so much indulgence as they have disbursed money.

12. Over and besides all this, the Pope in divers and sundry his Letters hath willed and commanded Prelates to receive into Ecclesiastical Benefices, and to provide some such Living in their Churches, as shall be sufficient to such and such a stranger (being both absent and also unworthy) which have neither Learning, nor yet the Language of the Country: whereby they are neither able to Preach, nor to hear Confessions, nor to keep residence to refresh the poor and way-farers.

The Pope accused to be injurious to Churches in his provisions and reservations.

13. Item, We know and have seen our selves, that the Pope hath written to the Abbot of *St. Albans* to provide for one called *John de Camezana*, whom we never saw, some competent Benefice. Whereupon, in few days after, when provision was made for him in a certain Church, worth forty Marks by the year and more, the party being not therewith contented, complained to the Pope, who then writing to the foresaid Abbot, commanded him to provide for the foresaid *M. John* some better thing, reserving notwithstanding the gift of the former Benefice to himself.

The Pope accused to be injurious to the Abbot of *St. Albans*.

14. Again, not long after came also to the House of the foresaid Abbot, two other persons like begging Vagabonds, bringing with them the Popes Letters: in the tenor whereof the Abbot was commanded, that, incontinently upon the sight thereof, he should give and disburse to the said persons for the expedition and dispatch of his Affairs ten Marks in hand, without any delay or sticking: the which persons uttering unto the Abbot proud and threatening words, he was fain to agree with them and send them away.

The Pope accused for violent extortion.

15. Item, Of men which are both holy and well Learned, which have left the world for the following of God in such order as they ought not to turn back again, the Pope maketh his Tolners and Bankers to get in his mony: the which charge they are compelled against their wills to take upon them, lest they should seem to be disobedient, and so of Spiritual men are made more secular than the most secular. And so the baseness of their Chimmiers and Scapillers, which they wear, doth prove them to be Lyers; whilst under the habit of poverty and humiliation there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation. And because no Legate may be sent into England, but being first required of the King, the Pope sendeth Sophistical Legates, and such as be disguised and counterfeit in Apparell, and are guarded with great might and power; neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof: For so many such daily do come into the Realm, that to hear the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to hear.

The Pope accused for troubling and corrupting learned men of the Spirituality with his Temporal affairs.

16. Furthermore (as we have seen our selves) the Pope granteth for secular favour, that a man may have a Bishoprick, and yet be no Bishop Consecrated, *Sed electus sempiternus*, that is, Elect for ever. Which is as much to signify, to have the Milk and the Wool of the Sheep and not to keep the Wolves away from the Sheep; to retain the Rents of a Bishop, and not discharge the Function of a Bishop.

The Pope accused for unlawful Dispenfations.

And when this godly Bishop had thus reproved these and such other detestable enormities of the Court of Rome; as all kinds of Avarice, their Usury, their Simony, their Extortion, all kinds of filthiness, fleshly Lust, gluttony, and their sumptuous Apparell reigning in that Court; then saith he, this old Verie may be truly verified upon it:

*Ejus avaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis,
Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis.*

All the world cannot suffice their greedy covetous mind.
Nor all the drabs & naughty packs their filthy lustful kind.

Afterwards he went about more to prosecute, how the foresaid Court, like a Gulf never satisfied (ever gaping so wide, that the flood of *Jordan* might run into his mouth) aspired how to usurp the Goods of them that die untested, and of Legacies bequeathed without form of Law; and whereby more licentiously to bring this to pass, they used to joyn the King to be fellow and partaker with them in their Spoils, Extortions, and Robbing. Neither, saith he, shall the Church be delivered from the servitude of Egypt but by violence and force, and with the bloody Sword. And albeit, saith he, these be yet but light matters, yet shortly more great and grievous things than these shall be seen.

Ex Mai: Paris.

And

The death
of Robert
Groshead
Bishop of
Lincoln.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarcely could utter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his Tongue and Breath began to fail, and so, the Organ of his Voice being stopped, he made an end both of his Speech and Life. *Ex Matthæo Paris.*

And forasmuch as mention hath been made before of the insatiable Avarice of the Popes Court, by his inordinate provisions and reservations, it is testified by the said Author *Matthew Paris*, that the foresaid *Robert Groshead*, being Bishop of *Lincoln*, caused to be viewed and considered diligently of his Clerks, what the Revenues of Foreigners and Strangers within *England*, sent in by the Pope, came to by the year; and it was found and evidently tried, that this Pope now present, *Innocentius* the fourth, did impoverish the Universal Church throughout Christendom, more than all his predecessors from the time the Pope first began. So that the Revenues of Foreigners and Clerks, placed by him here in *England*, mounted unto the sum of Threescore and ten thousand Marks and above, whereas the meer Revenues of the Crown came not to Thirty thousand.

Ex Cestrensis
lib. 7.

Of this *Robert Groshead* writeth *Cestrensis* in his seventh Book of his History, that partly for that it grieved him to see the intolerable exactions of the Pope in this Realm; and partly because he refused to admit a certain young Nephew of the Pope to be Canon of his Church (as hath been before recited) he therefore writing unto the Pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his Church, which neither knew themselves nor the Tongue of the people, nor the charges committed unto them, was called up to *Rome*, and there Excommunicated; who, then appealing from the Pope, shortly after departed, which was in the year of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two years after his decease, the said Pope *Innocent* being asleep, a certain Bishop, apparelled Bishop-like, appeared unto him, and striking him with his staff on the left-side, said, *Surge miser, veni in iudicium*: that is, *Rise wretch and come to thy judgment*. The next day after, the Pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staff. This *Robert* though he was greatly commended for his Sanctimony, and as *Cestrensis* saith, for his miracles; yet was he not permitted in the Court of *Rome* to be inscribed in the Catalogue of Saints. And thus much out of *Cestrensis* concerning this matter. But *Mat. Paris*, and the Author of *Flores Historiarum*, prosecuting this story more at large, addeth this more unto it, and saith, That Pope *Innocent* the next year following, which

{ Anno }
1254.

was *An. 1254*. being passing angry, contrary to the mind of his Brethren the Cardinals, would have the Bones of the foresaid Bishop of *Lincoln* cast out of the Church, and purposed to bring him into such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be counted an Ethnick, a Rebel, and disobedient person through the whole world. And thereupon caused his Letters to be written and sent down to the King of *England*, knowing that the King would gladly serve him therein, to have the spoil of the Bishop and of his Church. But in the Night following the said Bishop of *Lincoln* appeared unto him as coming in his Pontificalibus, and with a severe countenance, stern look, and terrible voice speaking unto him being in his rest, and smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke, with the end of his Cross-staff, thus said, O thou scurvy, lazy, old, bald, lousie, wretched, doting Pope; hast thou purposed to cast my Bones out of the Church to the shame and slander of me? How cometh this rash wilfulness in thy head? It were more meet for thee being thus advanced by God, and honoured, to make much of the zealous servants of God, although departed. The Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to have any more power over me. I have written unto thee in the spirit of Humility and Love, that thou shouldst correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud eye and disdainful heart hast despised my wholesome Admonitions. Wo to thee that despisest, shalt not thou also be despised? And so the Bishop departing from the Pope, stricken, as is said, on the side, left him for half dead, and so lying in sorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his Chamberlains being amazed, hearing these things, came running to the Pope to know what him ailed. To whom the Pope much troubled and vexed in his spirit, said, That great terrors in his sleep vehemently disturbed and molested him, in such sort that he thought he should never recover it, nor be

Ex Mat. Paris.
Ex Flor. Hist.
Scandalous
papa misere-
re me.
The Popes
new and
true stile
given by
Groshead
Bishop of
Lincoln.

restored to himself again. Oh (said he) how sore is my side, and how eagerly it vexeth me, as being run through with a Spear! Neither did the Pope eat or drink all that day, but faining himself to be sick of a burning Ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the ireful hand of God (saith the story) so left him not.

For after these wholesome Admonitions given to him by the Servant of God, the Pope not regarding them, but all set upon War, suppression of his Enemies, and secular Affairs, gave his mind wholly unto them; and yet all his labours, counsels, and expences bestowed upon them, could never prosper after that day in that he went about. For the Pope, the same time having War with the *Apulians*, all his Army, fighting under the Popes Nephew their Captain, were slain and confounded to the number of many thousands: whose lamentable slaughter all the Country of the Romans did much bewail. The Pope, not yet quiet in his mind, directeth his journey towards *Naples*, although sore vexed in his side like a man sick of a *Plurisie*, or smitten rather with a Spear, neither could any Physick of his Cardinals help him. For *Robert of Lincoln* (saith the story) did not spare him; and he that would not hear him gently correcting him being alive, his stripes did he feel when he was dead; so that he never after that enjoyed any lucky or prosperous day, till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet Night until the Morning. And so continued he unto his death, which shortly after ensued, he being at *Naples*, *An. 1255*. or as *N. Trivet* Recordeth, *An. 1254*. And thus have ye the whole Discourse between *Robert Groshead* and Pope *Innocent*.

In the which story is to be noted, gentle Reader, that although in the story of *Cestrensis*, of *Matthew Paris*, and of *Flor. Hist.* it is expressly testified and reported, that the Pope was smitten with the staff of *Robert* the foresaid Bishop of *Lincoln*; yet thou must wisely understand, that howsoever Gods hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his Enemies, or howsoever the image of things not seen but fantasied, offer themselves to the secret cogitation of man, his Senses being asleep, by the operation or permission of God, working, after some Spiritual influence in our imaginations, certain it is, that no dead man materially can ever arise again or appear before the Judgment-day, to any man with his staff or without his staff, to work any feat, after he have once departed this life.

After the death of this *Robert Groshead*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, great dissention fell between the Archbishop of *Canterbury Boniface*, and the Canons of the said Church of *Lincoln*, about the right of giving Prebendships, and about the Revenues of the said Church, in the time of the Bishops See being now vacant. Which right and power the Archbishop claimed to himself, but the Canons of that Church (maintaining the contrary side) stood against him, and for the same were Excommunicated of the Archbishop. Among whom one Master *Woolf* resisting the Archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other Canons, made up his Appeal to *Rome*, where much money on both sides was spent. At length after this *Groshead* was Elected *Henry Lexington* in the See of *Lincoln*.

About which time the wicked Jews at *Lincoln* had cruelly Crucified, Whipped, and Tormented a certain Child named *Hugo*, of nine years of Age, *Anno 1255*. in the month of *August*: *Ex Gualt. Gisleburne*. At length the Child being sought and found by the Mother, being cast in a pit; two and thirty of those abominable Jews were put to execution. Whereof *Mat. Paris* reciteth a long story. The same or like Fact was also intended by the like Jews at *Norwich* twenty years before upon a certain Child, whom they had first Circumcised, and detained a whole year in custody, intending to Crucify him, for which the Jews were sent up to the Tower of *London*, of whom eighteen were hanged, and the rest remained long in Prison: *Ex Cestrensis lib. 7*. Of this wicked Jewish people I find also in the Book *Flor. Hist.* that about this year of our Lord 1255. they began first to be expelled out of *France*, by the commandment of the French King, being then in *Palestina*, Warring against the Turks: by the occasion that it was objected then by the Turk against him and other Christian Princes, for the retaining the Jews amongst them, which did Crucify our Saviour, and Warring against them which did not Crucify him. *Ex Flor. Histor.* Of these

{ KING }
Hen. 3.
The Pope
disquieted
in his mind.

The revenge
of God
upon Pope
Innocent.

The Popes
Army van-
quished and
confounded

The death
of Pope
Innocent
the fourth.
{ Anno }
1255
A Note to
the Reader
concerning
the appear-
ing of dead
men.

Dissention
between the
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury and the
Church of
Lincoln.

Excommu-
nication
abused.
Appellation
made to
Rome.
Henry Lex-
ington Bishop
of Lincoln.

A Child
Crucified
of the Jews
at Lincoln.

*Ex N. Tri-
vet.*
*Ex Co-
strensis lib. 7.*
cap. 34.
Ex Flor.
Hist.
The Jews
expelled
out of
France.

KING
HEN. 3.
A child
circumcised
of the Jews,
and kept a
whole year
to be Cru-
cified.
The Jews
ask leave to
depart the
Realm of
England.

Ex Eulogio.
Jews burn-
ed at
Northampton.

A Jew fall-
en into a
Privy would
not be tak-
en out for
keeping his
Sabbath-
day.

Superstiti-
ous fasting
noted in
Walter
Archbishop
of York.

Ex Flor.
Hist.

Superstition
in seeking
salvation
by wrong
means.

The Pope
injurious to
the Church
of England.

A Prebend-
ship of
Pauls given
both of the
Pope and of
King at one
time to two
several
persons.

The Popes
Donation
preferred
before the
Kings.

these Jews moreover King Henry the same year, 1255, exacted to be given unto him Eight thousand Marks in pain of hanging. Who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the King went about their destruction, desired leave to be given them of the King, that they might depart the Realm, never to return again. But the King committed the doing of that matter unto Earl Richard his Brother, to enforce them to pay the money whether they would or no. Moreover of the same Jews mention is made in the story intituled *Eulogium*. Of the Jews in Northampton, who had among themselves prepared wild-fire, to burn the City of London; for the which divers of them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said City of Northampton, which was two years before, about the year of our Lord 1253. *Ex Eulogio*. And so much as mention here is made of the Jews, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certain Jew, who not long after this time, about the year of our Lord 1257, fell into a Privy at *Teukisbury* upon a Sabbath-day; which, for the great reverence he had to his holy Sabbath, would not suffer himself to be plucked out. And so Lord Richard Earl of Gloucester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to be drawn out on Sunday for reverence of the Holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew, remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the Dung.

And to note the blind superstition of that time, not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians; to omit divers other stories, as of *Walter Gray* Archbishop of York, who coming up to the Parliament at London, Anno 1255, with unordinate fasting did so over-charge Nature, and pined himself, and (as the story mentioneth) did so dry up his Brain, that he losing thereby all Appetite of Stomach, going to *Fulham*, there within three days died, as in the Compiler of *Flor. Hist.* is both storied and reprehended. Let this also be adjoined, which the fore-named Author, and in the same year is Recorded of one named *Peter Chaceporce*, who dying in France, An. 1255, left in bequest of his Testament 600 Marks for Lands to be purchased to the House of *Merton* for God to be served there perpetually, *Pro anima ejus, & omnium fidelium*; that is, For his Soule health, and all faithful Soules. As, who would say, Christian-Faith were not the ordinary means sufficient to Salvation of Faithful Soules, without the Quire-service of the Monks of *Merton*.

Ye have heard it often complained of before, how the usurped power of the Pope hath violently and presumptuously incroached upon the Church of England, in giving and conferring Benefices and Prebends to his Italians and Strangers, to the great damage and ruine of Christs flock manifold ways. This violent injury and oppression of the Pope, as by no Lawful and gentle means it could be reformed; so by occasion and means inordinate, about this time it began somewhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the Collector of *Flor. Hist.* recited: In the year of the Reign of this King fourth and four, the Bishop of London, named *Fulco*, had given a certain Prebend in the Church of *St. Paul*, to one Master *Rustandus*, the Popes Messenger here in England Who entering into the Profession of the Gray-Friers, and shortly after dying on the other side of the Sea, the Pope immediately conferred the said Prebend to one of his special, a like stranger as the other was before. About the same instant it befel, that the Bishop also of London deceased, whereby the Bishoprick now vacant fell into the Kings hands; who, hearing of the death of the fore-named *Rustandus*, gave the said Prebendship, given of the Pope before, to one *John Crakehale* his under-treasurer, who with all Solemnity took his installation, not knowing as yet that it was bellowed of the Pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noised at Rome, forthwith cometh down a certain Proctor, named *John Gras*, with the Popes Embulled Letters, to receive the Collation of the Benefice, by his Commission procuratory given by the Pope, wherein *John Crakehale* had been already installed, as is aforesaid, by the Kings Donation. This matter coming in Traverse before *Boniface* Archbishop of Canterbury; he inquiring and searching which Donation was the first, and finding the Popes Grant to be the former, gave Sentence with him against the King; so that in conclusion, the Roman Clerk had the advantage of the Benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the

possession thereof before. Thus the Popes man being preferred, and the English man excluded, after the party had been invested and stalled after the use and manner; he thinking himself to be in sure possession of his place, attempted with the rest to enter the Chapter-House, but was not permitted so to do; whereupon the Popes Clerk, giving place to force and number, went toward the Archbishop to complain. This being known, certain Reclufes pursued him; and he being so compassed about, one in the thickness of the throng, being never after known, suddenly rushing upon him, a little above his Eyes, so parth off his Head, that he fell down dead; the same also was done to another of his fellows in flying away. This hainous murder being famed abroad, strait inquiry thereof was made, but the deed doer could not be known; and although great suspicion was laid upon *Crakehale* the Kings Chaplain, yet no proof could be brought. But most men thought, that bloody Fact to be done by certain Russians or other light persons about the City or the Court, disdaining be-like that the Romans were so enriched with English mens Livings, by whom neither came relief to any Englishman, nor any godly instruction to the flock of Christ. And therefore because they saw the Church and Realm of England in such subjection, and so much to be troden down by the Romans and the Popes Messengers: they thought thereby something to bridle, as with a snaffle, the Popes Messengers from their untemperate ranging into this Land. *Ex Flor. Hist.*

Here by the way is to be noted, that, unto the death of this fore-said *Fulco* Bishop of London, continueth the History of *Mat. Paris* Monk of *St. Albans*, which was to the year of Grace 1260. The residue was continued by another Monk of the same House, but not with such like commendation, worthy to make any authentick story; as I have seen it noted in a written Book.

It were too curious and tedious in order to prosecute what happened in every year, through this Kings Reign; as how it was provided by the King, that whosoever could dispend fifteen pounds Land by the year, should be bound to make to the King a Soldier, that watch should be kept every night in Cities; that whosoever was robbed, or otherwise dammified in any Country, he that had the custody should be compelled to make up the loss again, or else to pursue the malefactor, which was An. 1253, witnesseth *Flores Hist.* Item, how the King making his Voyage into *Vascon*, his expences were reckoned to amount to 270000 Marks, beside 30000 Marks bestowed upon his Brethren by the Mothers-side, and besides other great gifts given abroad. By reason whereof, great Taxes, and Tolonies, and Tenths were required of his Subjects; especially of the Church-men, who, being wont to receive Tithes of others, now were constrained to give Tithes to the Laity: *Flores Hist.* Anno 1254. Item, how in the year next following, the Londoners offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the King, with a precious Cup of Gold, at his return out of France, were shortly after compelled by the King to pay three thousand Marks for the escape of a certain Prisoner, being a Clerk condemned; which Clerk being granted of the King to the Bishop, and he having no Prison sufficient for him, borrowed of the Londoners the Prison of *Newgate*; to have him kept in, who escaping thereout, they, as is said, were demanded this recompence aforesaid, Anno 1255. Item, how the King, greatly complaining of his Debts the same year, required the whole Tenths, which should be gathered in three years, to be taken up all at once. To whose request the Nobles and Commons agreed to strain themselves, so that the Charter of their Liberties and Customs might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed: and so for that year they were: *Flores Hist.* Item, How Pope Alexander the third to destroy the City *Avichera*, with King *Menfred* the Son of *Frederick* the Emperor, sent forth the same year *Othavianus* his Cardinal with a puissant Army, who coming to the City with his siege, through the Counsel of *Marchisus* one of the chief Captains, discharged a great part of his Host, whereby the most of the Popes Army was slain and destroyed; almost all, save only the Family of *Marchisus*, An. 1255. *Flor. Mat. Paris.*

Many other things during the time of this King might be conceived, as the rising of *Lewlinus* King of Wales, and of the Welch men against the King, and waiting the Land unto the Town of *Chester*; who destroyed divers

Two Ro-
man Clerks
going to
com, slain,
were slain
by the way.

The story
of *Mat. Paris*
here ceaseth

Pope Alex-
ander the
third mak-
eth War.

The Popes
Army slain.
Lewlinus
King of
Wales War-
reth against
the King.
Lewlinus
and the
King con-
corded.

of

of the *English*-mens Horfmen taken in the Marifh; with whom at length they fell to agreement by the means of *Othobonus*, that his fucceffors fhould be only called Princes of *Wales*, and fhould do the King his Homage; and the King fhould receive of him Three thoufand Marks. And this, being Eftablifhed in writing, was confirmed by the Popes Seal, in the year of our Lord 1257. *Ex Polychron.*

Ex Poly-
chro. 17.

Ex Anthon
Eulogii.

About the fame time, fuch Famine and lack of Victuals oppreffed the Land, that a Somme of Corn was then fold for Six and twenty Shillings; in fo much that the poorer fort was forced to eat Nettle-roots, Thiftle-roots, and whatfoever they could get: *Ex Eulogio.* Although fome refer this to the year 1262.

Anno
1257

Pope Alexander
to make fhift
for money,
maketh the
King believe
his Son fhould
be King of
Apulia.
Richard the
Kings Brother
made King of
Almain.

Hereunto moreover might be adjoyned, how Pope *Alexander*, abufing and mocking the Kings fimplicity, made him believe that he would make his Son *Edmund* King of *Apulia*, fo that he would fuftain the charges and coft thereof, to maintain the War which thereto fhould appertain. Whereby the King, caft in a fudden hope, caufed his Son incontinently to be Proclaimed King of *Apulia*; and upon the fame fent up to the Pope all the Riches he could well make in his Realm. And thus was the Realm manifold ways miferably impoverished to enrich the Pope: *Ex Flor. Hift.* About which Seafon, *Richard* Earl of *Excefter* the Kings Brother, was made King of *Almain* by the Electors.

Here might be fhewed moreover and added to the ftories above, how the nex year following, which was 1259, as *Nicholas Trivet* writeth, the King entring into *France*, required the refitution of fuch Lands in *Normandy* and *Anjou*, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withholden from him. But the *French* King again alleadged, faying, That the Country of *Normandy* by old time was not given away from the Crown of *France*, but ufurped, and by force extorted by *Rollo, &c.* In conclusion, the King fearing and fufpecting the hearts of his Nobles, and looking for none other but for Rebellion at home, durft not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon fuch Peace and conditions as he could get; which was this: That he fhould have of the *French* King Thirteen hundred thoufand of *Turen* pounds, with fo much Lands elfe as came to the value of Twenty thoufand pounds in yearly Rent: fo fhould he refign fully and purely, to the hands of the *French* King, all fuch Lands and Poffeffions which he had in *France*. Whereby the King, giving over his Stile and Titles which he had in thofe parts, ceafed then to be called Duke of *Normandy*, or Earl of *Anjou*.

What civil
difcord
worketh.

Refignation
of the Earl-
dom of
Normandy
and *Anjou*.

Ex Gualt.
Gifburn.

Albeit it be true that *Gifburne* writeth, that King, afterward repenting of his deed, did never receive the money in all his life, neither did he ceafe during his life to intitule himfelf Duke of *Normandy*. But after him, his Son *Edward* and his fucceffors in their Stile left out the Title to be called Duke of *Normandy*, &c. *Ex Gifburn.*

The confli-
and skir-
mifh be-
tween the
Northern
Welch men
and the
Southern
men in Ox-
ford.

Befides many other matters omitted, here I over-pafs alfo the fore and vehement conflict, not between the Frogs and the Mice which *Homer* writeth of, but the mighty pitched field, fought in the year of our Lord 1259, between the young Students and Scholars of the University of *Oxford*, having no other occafion, as I read in *Mat. Paris*, but only the diversity of the Country where they were born. For the Northern men joyning with the Welch men, to try their manhood againft the Southern part, fell both parts together in fuch a broil, with their Ensigns and War-like Array, that in conclusion divers on both fides were flain. This heavy and bloody conflict during and increafing among them, the end was this: That the Northern Lads with the Welch had the Victory. After that fury and fiery fiercenefs had done what it could, the Victors bethinking at length with themfelves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punifhment to fall upon them, efppecially feeing the Brother of *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, and Son of *Griffin*, was newly dead in Prifon; drawing their counfel and helps together, they offered to King *Henry* 4000 Marks, to *Edward* his Son 300, and to the Queen 200, to be releafed of their Trefpafs. But the King answering them again, That he fet more price by the life of one true Subject, than by all which by them was offered, would in no wife receive their money. And fo the

Students without hope of peace went home with fmall triumph, learning what the common Proverb meaneth, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. Notwithstanding, the King being then occupied in great Affairs and Wars, partly with *Leoline* and the Welch men, partly inwrapped with difcord at home with his Nobles, had no leafore to attend to the correction of thefe University men; which was Anno 1259. *Ex Matth. Parisiens.* Likewife concerning the Dif-fention following the next year after in the University of *Paris*, between the Students there, and the *Friers*; the number of whom then did fo much increafe, that the Commons Unneth was able to fuftain them with their Alms. Alfo between the Universities both of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, for a certain Prifoner taken out of Prifon by ftrength, and brought into fanctury the fame year, as is testified in *Matthew Paris*, Anno 1259. In like manner touching the variance between the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Chapter of *Lincoln*. Again, between the faid Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Chapter and Bifhop of *London*; and how the faid Bifhop at his Consecration would not make his Profefion to the Archbishop but with this exception, *Salvis jure & libertate Ecclefie Londinenfis, quae pro poffe meo defendam in omnibus, &c.* Recorded in *Flor. Hift.* All which wranglings and diffentions, with innumerable others raiging daily in the Church at thofe days, if I had fo much leafore to profecute them as I find them in ftories remaining, might fufficiently induce us to underftand what fmall peace and agreement was then joynd with that Doctrine and Religion in thofe days, during the itate and reign of Antichrift.

KING
Hea. 33

Variance
between the
Students
and the
Friers in
Paris.
Variance
between the
University
of Oxford
and Cam-
bridge.
Variance
between the
Archbifhop
of Canter-
bury and the
Chapter of
Lincoln.
Variance
between the
Archbifhop
of Canter-
bury and the
Chapter of
London.
Ex Flor.
Hift.
Little Peace
in the Pope
Church.

Thefe with many fuch other matters more, which here might be difcourfed and ftoried at large, being more Foreign than Ecclefiaftical, for brevity I do purpofely contract and omit, cutting off all fuch fuperfluties as may feem more curious to write upon, than neceffary to be known.

This that followeth, concerning the pitiful and turbulent commotion between the King and the Nobles, which lafted a long feafon; becaufe it is lamentable and containeth much fruitful example, both for Princes and Subjects to behold and look upon, to fee what mifchief and inconvenience groweth in Common-weals, where ftudy of mutual concord lacketh, that is, where neither the Prince regardeth the offending of his Subjects, and where the Subjects forget the office of Chriftian-patience in fuffering their Princes injuries by Gods wrath inflicted for their fins: therefore, in explaining the order and ftory thereof, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the Reader with a little more tarriance in perfufing the full Difcourfe of this fo lamentable a matter, and fo pernicious to the publick weal.

Historie
profitable
for example

And firft to declare the occafions and firft beginning of this tumult, here is to be underftood, which before was fignified, how King *Henry* Married with *Elenor*, Daughter of the Earl of *Provence* a ftranger, which was about the year of our Lord 1234. whereupon a great Door was opened for ftrangers, not only to enter the Land, but alfo to replenifh the Court: to whom the King feemed more to incline his favour, advancing them to more preferment, than his own natural *English* Lords, which thing to them was no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the King by *Ifabel* his Mother, who was a ftranger, had divers Brethren, whom he nourifhed up with great Livings and Poffeffions, and large Penfions of money; which was another heart-fore to divers, and alfo an hinderance. Over and befides hath alfo been declared, what unreafonable collections of money from time to time, as Quindecims, Subfidies, Tenths, Mercements, Fines, Payments, Loans, and Taxes, have been Levied by the King, as well of the Spirituality, as of the Layfort, partly for maintaining the Kings Wars againft *Wales*, againft *Scotland* and *France*, to recover *Normandy*; partly for helping the Kings Debts, Voyages, and other expences; partly for the Kingdom of *Apulia*, which was promifed the Kings Son by the Pope; partly for monying and fupporting the Pope in his Wars againft the Emperor. By reafon of all which fundry and importable Collections, the Common-wealth of the Realm was utterly excoiated, to the great impoverifhment of poor *English* men. Neither did it a little vex the people, to fee the King call in fo many Legates from *Rome* every year, which did nothing elfe but transport the *English* money unto the Popes Coffers. Befides

The occa-
on of com-
motion be-
tween the
King and
the Nobles.

all

KING all this, what variance and alteration hath been between the King and his Subjects about the liberties of *Magna Charta*, and *De Foresta*, granted by King *John*, and after confirmed by this King, in the former Council holden at *Oxford*, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some piece of a cause, that the King considering and bearing in mind the old injuries done of the Lords and Barons to his Father King *John* before him, did bear some grudge therefore, or some privy hatred unto the Nobility, to revenge his Fathers quarrel: but of things uncertain I have nothing certainly to affirm. This is certain by truth of History, that the year next ensuing, which was 1260, thus writeth *Nic. Trivet*: That the Kings Justices, called *Itinerarii*, being sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cause being alledged, for that they were against the King in proceeding and enterprising against the form of the provisions enacted and stablished a little before at the Town of *Oxford*.

ABBO In this year it pleased the King, after sute to him made, to License an University or Academical School to be planted in the Town of *Northampton*; and of a special favour which he pretended to bear (and like enough did indeed) unto the Scholars that went there to seat themselves, and to prosecute the exercises of Studies, wrote his Letters Mandatory unto the chief Officers and others of the said Burrough in the said Students behalf; the Tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the Record:

The Kings Letter to the Maior, Bailiffs, and others the Inhabitants of *Northampton* in the behalf of certain Scholars minded to plant themselves there as in an University.

Tark Lond. **R**EX dilectis & fidelibus suis Majori, Ballivis, & ceteris probis hominibus suis de *Northampton*, salutem. Cum quidam Magistri & alii Scholares propo-

In English thus:

Touching a The King to his beloved and trusty the Maior, Bailiffs, and other honest men his Subjects of *Northampton*, Greeting: Whereas certain Masters and other Scholars do purpose to tarry in your Town Corporate, there to exercise Scholary-Discipline, as we hear: We hereupon regarding the Service of God, and the great profit of our Kingdom, taking in good part the coming thither of the said Scholars, and liking well their abode there, do Will and Grant that the said Scholars in the said Town Corporate, under our protection and defence, do safely and securely abide, and there exercise and do such things, as to such Scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you and straitly charge you, That when the said Scholars shall come unto you, to tarry in your said Corporate Town, you receive them courteously, and as becometh the state of Scholars use them, not doing or suffering to be done unto them any impediment, molestation, or grievance. In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made. Witness the King at *Windfor* the first day of February, in the Five and fortieth Year of his Reign.

Strangers It befel moreover in the same year, above other times (as *Gualter Hemingford* writeth) that a great number of Aliens, coming out of *France* and other Provinces, resorted into *England*, and had here the doing of all principal matters of the Realm under the King. Unto whom the rewards and reliefs, and other emoluments of the Land did most chiefly redound: which thing to see, did not a little trouble and vex the Nobility and Baronage of *England*. Inasmuch that *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leicester*, offering to stand to death for the Liberties and Wealth of the Realm, conferred together with other Lords and Barons upon the matter, who, then coming unto the King after an humble sort of petition, declared unto him how all the doings of his Realm, and his own Affairs, were altogether disposed by the hands, and after the wills of strangers, neither profitable unto him, nor to the Weal-publick: forasmuch as his Treasures being wasted and consumed, he was in great debt, neither was able to satisfy

the Provision of his own House, but driven to Tally for his own Cates, to no small dishonor unto his own State. And now therefore, said they, pleaseth your Highness to be informed by our Advice, and to commit your House to the Guiding and Government of your own Faithful and Natural Subjects, and we will take upon us to discharge your whole Debt within one year, of our own proper Goods and Revenues, so that we within five years may clear our selves again. Neither will we diminish your Family, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; providing so for the safety and seeing to the custody of your Royal Person, as your Highness shall find and understand our diligence most trusty and faithful unto you in the end.

To these words so lovingly declared, so humbly pretended, so heartily and freely offered, the King as willingly condescended, Assigning unto them both Day and Place where to confer and to deliberate further upon the matter, which should be at *Oxford* the fifteenth day after *Easter*. At which day and place all the States and Lords, with the Bishops of the Realm, were Summoned to appear at the said Town of *Oxford*, for the behalf of the King and the Realm convented together. Where first of the King himself, then of the Lords, an Oath was taken, That what Decrees or Laws in the said Assembly should be provided to the profit of the King and of the Realm, the same Universally should be kept and observed to the honour of God, and utility of his Church, and Wealth of the Realm. Besides these Lords and the King, were also nine Bishops, which swearing unto the same, did Excommunicate all such as should gainstand the said Provisions there made; the King holding a burning Taper in his hand, and the Lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

There were at that present in the Realm four Brethren of the Kings (most part of them by the Mothers side) which would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed privily unto *Winchester*. The Nobles hearing thereof, in all speedy wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the City of *Winchester*, and forceably keep the same. Wherefore the Lords preventing their purpose, and seeing them stiffly to persist in their stubborn Sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but, returning to *Oxford* again, prescribed to them these conditions, That they departing the Realm should repair to their own Lands and Possessions, which they had beyond the Sea: and that forthwith they should put this Injunction in execution. Notwithstanding, that the King made for them great intercession, yet it took no place. And because this should seem to proceed of no special displeasure against them, they Enacted moreover, That all strangers and Aliens, of what state or condition soever, should forthwith avoid the Realm on pain of death. Divers other provisions the same time were ordained and stablished; That if any did hold of the King in whole or in part, and should chance to depart (his Heir being under age) the Wardship of him should belong to the King, as hath partly before been specified.

Moreover, it was there Decreed, That the Wool of *England* should be wrought only within the Realm, neither should it be Transported out to strangers.

Item, That no man should wear any Cloth, but which was wrought and made only within the Realm.

Item, That Garments too sumptuous should not be brought in nor worn.

Item, That all excessive and prodigal Expences, wasted upon pleasure and superfluity, should be eschewed of all persons.

Many other Laws and Decrees (saith the Author) in this Assembly were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fifteen days; and many of them were Impoysoned, of whom was the Abbot of *Westminster*, a man in that order much commended. Also *William* Brother to the Earl of *Glocester*: also the Earl himself, being Impoysoned, hardly escaped with life, his Hair and Nails falling off his Body, whereof the Author not long after was taken, and duly executed at *Winchester*. In the mean time, the Nobles considering those dangers and jeopardies, were constrained to break off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of *October* next following to convent together at *London* with Weapon and Harnes, to prosecute and

The King granteth to his Lords.

A sitting of the King and Lords at *Oxford*.

The Provisions or Laws made at *Oxford*.

The King sweareth unto the Provisions made at *Oxford*.

The Kings Brethren against the Provisions at *Oxford*.

The Provisions of *Oxford*.

Ex Hift. Gualt. Giff. burnensis. God grant this Law might take place again. God grant the like Law again for the Wealth of the Realm.

Divers in this Council Impoysoned.

finish the residue that was in the said Council to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accomplished, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and so committed to execution.

The King repeateth of his Oath.

{ Anno 1261. }

The King sueth to the Pope to release him of his Oath. The Popes Absolution abused.

After the Promulgation whereof many things therein displeased the King, and it began to repent him of his Oath. But because he could not at that present otherwise chuse, he dissembled for a season. Thus time passing on, within a year following, which was in the year of our Lord, 1261, the King seeing himself more and more to grow in Debt, and not to be relieved according to promise made, but especially being egged (as may be thought) by his Brethren, taking it to stomach, sent up to the Pope, both for him and his Son Edward to be released of their Oath made before at Oxford. The benefit of which Absolution being easily obtained (or rather bought at the Popes hand) the King stepping back from all that was before concluded, calleth another Parliament at Oxford: where he before the Lords and Nobles declared, How in the late Council of Oxford they had agreed among themselves for the common Utility of the Realm and of the King, as they pretended, for the increasing of his Treasure, and his Debt to be diminished: And thereupon bound themselves with an Oath, causing also himself and his Son Edward to be bound unto the same. But now by experience proving and trying the matter to be otherwise than their promise was; and that they, contrary to their Covenant made, fought not so much the profit of him and of the Realm, as their own, taking him not as their Lord, but going about to bring him under their subjection as an underling; and for that moreover his Treasure greatly decreasing, his Debts increased, and his Princely liberality was cut short and trodden under foot: they should not marvel therefore, if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their counsel, but would provide himself of some other remedy, such as he might. And moreover, as touching the Oath wherewith he and his Son stood bound unto them, he had sent already to Rome, and had obtained Absolution and Dispensation of the same, both for him, and his Son Edward also, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore he required of them to be restored again to that state and condition he had enjoyed in times past.

The answer of the Nobles again to the King.

To this again gave answer the state of Nobility on the other side, being in the same place present; in the number of whom was Simon Mountfort Earl of Leicester, Richard Clare Earl of Gloucester, Humfry Romne Earl Ferrence, with a great number of Barons, as Lord John Fitz-John, Lord Hastings, Lord Geffery Lucy, Lord John Vescey, Lord William Segrave, Hugh Spencer, Lord Robert Vespoint, with divers and many more; whose answer to the King again was this: That the Provisions made at the Council at Oxford (whereunto they were sworn) they would hold, defend and maintain to their lives end: forso much as they did found, and also were agreed upon, both to the honour of God, to the profit of the Prince, and stable Wealth of the Realm, &c. And thus parts on both sides discording amongst themselves, they would so have departed, had not certain of the Bishops, coming between both, laboured between them to take up the matter. By whose means (saith Gualter Guisburn) and procurement, the determination of the cause was brought in compromise, and referred to Ludovick the French King to judge betwixt them, who hearing both the Allegations (saith he) like no equal Judge, but a partial Friend, inclined wholly and fully to the Kings Sentence, and condemned the Nobles. But the Author of Flores Historiarum saith, that by the Mediation of discreet men, two were chosen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom the third also was annexed, who hearing as well what was brought of the Kings part, as also what was answered of the other, should define between them both, and so peace was between them concluded till the coming of Edward. All this while, as yet the Popes Absolution for the King, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought down in solemn writing, neither was Prince Edward as yet returned out of France into England.

The Pope releaseth the King of his Oath.

At length, the writing of the Kings Absolution being brought from Rome, the King estoons commanded the same to be published throughout the Realm, and sendeth to the French King and other strangers for help; moreover he seizeth all his Castles into his own hand, rejecting

the Counsel of the Lords, to whose custody they were before committed; also removing the former Officers, as Justices, and the Chancellor, with others placed afore by the Lords, he appointed new in their stead.

To this foresaid Absolution procured from Rome for the King and his Son, Edward returning out of France, at that time did not give his consent, but held with the Lords. Who then putting themselves in Arms, with a great power repaired up to London, keeping there in the Suburbs and places about; while the King kept within the Tower, causing the City Gates to be watched and locked, and all within the said City being above the age of twelve years, to be sworn unto him. But at length, through the means of certain coming between, this tumultuous perturbation was somewhat appeased, at least some hope of Peace appeared; so that the matter was taken up for that time without War or Bloodshed. Notwithstanding, some false pretended dissemblers there were, which secretly disclosing all the Counsels and doings of the Lords unto the King, did all they could to hinder Concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpose of the Lords came not to so good effect, as otherwise it might. Ex. Flor. Hist.

¶ In this year the Archbishop of Canterbury with his Suffragans (after their wonted manner) standing against the King, had made their Appeal to Rome: whereupon the King was fain to Answer by Proxy, as appeareth by this brief Note drawn out of Record: *Rex constituit Johannem Hemingford Procuratorem suum in Causa Appellationis, &c.* The King hath appointed and made John Hemingford his Proctor in a Cause of Appeal which is moved in the Court of Rome, between the King on the one part, and the Archbishop of Canterbury with his Suffragans on the other part, about certain Ordinances, Constitutions, and Decrees lately in a Council Provincial at London by them published, to the prejudice of the Kings Right, his Dignity Royal, the Liberties, Laws and Customs of his Kingdom.

This matter no doubt was laboured very diligently by the said John Hemingford, who was to that end Authorized by the King to make his abode at Rome, during the time that any manner of process was held and maintained against him, to the impeaching of his Royalty. Whereof the King had a special regard, perceiving the waiwardness of his own Clergy, or rather rebelliousness in daring to Decree and Ordain Laws against him. And therefore he was the more careful to have all matters depending in the Court of Rome concerning him and his to be earnestly followed. Inso much as he joynd to the foresaid Hemingford, in the charge of procuration, one Roger Lovel: unto which two, residing at Rome, the King sent his Letters, charging them so to manage his Affairs, as that nothing might pass to the derogation of his Royal Title, the Copy of the said Letter followeth agreeing with the Prototypen or Original.

A Letter of the King sent to his Proctors at Rome, concerning a case of his in the said Court depending.

REX Magistris Johanni de Hemingford, & Rogero Lovel Procuratoribus suis, in Curia Romana agentibus, salutem, &c. Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus nostris, &c.

In English thus:

The King to Master John of Hemingford, and Roger Lovel his Proctors, Pleading in the Court of Rome, greeting: Forso much as upon you our trusty and vowed Servants, the defence of our right and honour doth lie; and (as we hear) certain of our Realm, pleading in the Court of Rome, do move divers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, - presuming and intending to prevail against us, We command you, and straitly charge you, that on our behalf you straitly forbid all and every of them, that they presume not any further to undertake such things as tend to the hurt of our Majesty, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear so to do, as they will avoid our indignation, and the peril of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and every of you (so often as you shall see needful) to be made known, and thereupon

{ KING Hen. 3 }

Wicked make-bates.

Ex. Flor. Hist. in An. 1261

Ordinance in a provincial Council at London against the Kings right.

Against the proceedings in the Court of Rome tending to the hurt and prejudice of the King.

KING upon by you or some of you to be certified of the contemners of the same. Witness the King at Westminster, the six and twentieth of March, in the six and fortieth year of his Reign.

In this present year also (as affirmeth the forenamed Author) it was rumored abroad (as *Flores historiæ* reporteth) that all the Bishops of England went about to recover again, out of the hands of religious Men, all such Churches and Benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated: and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent up to Rome both Messengers and Money, nothing misdoubting to obtain their purpose. But as little good fruit in those days used to spring out of that Seed, so I do not find that godly sute and labour of the Bishops to take any fruitful effect. The same year died Pope Alexander, after whom succeeded Pope Urban the Fourth.

Of the which Pope Urban the King also obtained (or rather revived) a new releasment from his Oath made to the Provisions and Statutes of Oxford. Which being granted, he commandeth incontinently all the foresaid Laws and Provisions through England to be dissolved and broken. This done, the King with the Queen taketh his Voyage into France, where he fell in great infirmity of sickness and the most part of his Family was taken with the Fever Quartane, of which many died. In the number of whom, beside others, died Richard the worthy Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare his Son.

The Welchmen this year, breaking into the Borders of England, did much annoiance in the Lands of Roger Lord Mortimer, but mightily again by him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the Invaders. About which time, the King, through some discreet counsel about him, inclined to peace and concord with his Nobles granting of his meer voluntary will the constitutions & provisions of Oxford to take place in the Realm, directing his commandment to every shire. Albeit the Realm yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

In the later end of this year, the Kings Palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an evil prognostication against the King. *Ex Flor. Hist.*

In some English Chronicles it is also recorded, that the same year five hundred Jews at London were slain for taking Usury more than two pence a Week for 20 shillings, being before forbidden by the King to take above that rate by the Week.

After this followeth the year 1263. in which the Barons of England, confederating themselves together, for maintaining the Statutes and Laws of Oxford, and partly moved with old grudge conceived against the strangers (maintained by the King and the Queen, and Edward their Son, in the Realm of England) joyned powers in all forceable wife, and first invaded the said strangers, namely, them which were about the King. Their Goods and Manors they wasted and spoiled, whether they were persons Ecclesiastical or Temporal. Among whom, besides others, was Peter a Burgundian (Bishop of Hereford a rich Prelate) with all his Treasure apprehended and spoiled: also his Countrymen, whom he had placed to be Canons of the same Church. With like order of handling other Aliens also, to whom was committed the custody of divers Castles, as of Gloucester, of Worcester, of Bridgenorth, were spoiled, imprisoned, and sent away. Briefly, whatsoever he was in all the Land that could not utter the English Tongue, was of every Rascal disdained, and happy if he might so escape. By reason whereof it so came to pass, that a great number, as well of other foreigners, as especially Religious Men, and rich Priests (which here had gathered much substance) were urged to that extremity, that they were glad to flee the Land. In the catalogue of whom was one most principal, named John Maunsel, a Priest notoriously grown in riches and treasures not to be told, having in his hand so many and rich Benefices, that near no Bishop of this Realm might compare with him in riches. Who, notwithstanding he kept with the King at London, yet was compelled privily to avoid the Realm, and was pursued by Henry the Son of Richard King of Almain. Certain other strangers there were, to the number of 200 and more, which

having the Castle of Windsor, there immured and intrinched themselves, to whom at length, Prince Edward also adjoyned himself.

In the mean time, while this stir was abroad, the King keeping then in the Tower, and seeing the greatest part of his Nobles and Commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the Barons, and was contented to assent again to the ordinances and provisions of Oxford; albeit the Queen, by all means possible, went about to persuade the King not to assent thereto; who, as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord between the King and the Barons. Infomuch, that when as the said Queen Elenor should pass by Barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing upon the Bridge, with their exclamations, cursing and throwing of Stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to return to the Tower again. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued with the Nobles and the King, the form whereof was this: First, That Henry the Son of Richard King of the Romans should be delivered by the King and Queen. Secondly, That the Castles again should be committed to the custody of Englishmen, not of Strangers. Thirdly, That the Provisions and Statutes decreed at Oxford, should as well by the King, as by all others inviolably be observed. Fourthly, That the Realm henceforth should be ruled and governed not by foreigners, but by personages born within the Land. Fifthly, That all aliens and strangers should void the Land, not to return again; except only such, whose abode should by the common assent of the Kings trusty Subjects be admitted and allowed.

Thus the King and the Nobles joyning together after this form of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themselves in Arms, with all their power to recover the Castle of Windsor out of the strangers hands. But Edward, in the mid-way between London and the Castle, meeting with his Father and the Barons, entred communication upon the matter. Which being finished, and he thinking to return into the Castle again; by the policy of the Earl of Leicester, and William Bishop of Worcester, he was not permitted to re-enter. Whereupon the strangers within the Hold (destitute of all hope to withstand the great force approaching) rendred the Castle unto the King and the Barons upon this convention; That with Horse and Harnest they might be suffered safe to depart the Land, not to return any more. Which being granted, certain of the Barons conducted them in their journey towards the Sea side, and there they left them.

In the same year about the beginning of October, the King and Queen made over to France, with Simon Mountfort and other Nobles, to hear and stand to the arbitrement of Lewis the French King, concerning the controverfie between the States of England, and all through the procurement of Elenor the Queen. For she, not forgetting the old contumely of the Londoners, exclaiming against her upon the Bridge, wrought always what revenge she could against them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the French King, partly hath been said before, and more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Some stories do add moreover, that the King continuing long in France, word was sent to him out of England, That unless he returned again to the Realm, they would elect a new King. Whereupon the King, returning out of France to Dover, would have entred the Castle, but he was stopped. Wherefore the King, in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power towards London; where Simon Mountfort the worthy Earl of Leicester, through a subtil train, was almost betrayed and circumvented in Southwark, by the sudden pursuing of the Kings Army; had not the Londoners with more speed, breaking Bars and Chains made way to rescue him, by the means of whom the Earl at that time escaped the danger.

Now to come to the Sentence of the French King. Forasmuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been specified; he in a great frequency both of French and English persons about him, considering and poising the cause on both sides, between the King and the Nobles, clearly and solemnly pronounced on the Kings side against the Barons, ordained that the King of England

The King as gain agreeth with the Nobles.

The Queen a great cause of this debate.

The form of peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.

The Castle of Windsor recovered out of the hands of Strangers.

Manye also made reportum judicium Paris &c. Virg.

The sentence of the French King, with the King of England, against the Barons.

Bishops going about to recover Benefices appropriated from religious Houses.

Pope Alexander died, Pope Urban.

Anno 1262.

A new releasment of the Kings Oath from Rome, with this Statute: That the said King should not be ruled by foreigners, but by personages born within the Land.

The Welchmen rebel. The provisions of Oxford again granted by the King.

The Kings Palace at Westminster burnt with fire.

Usury punished for taking above two pence a Week in a pound.

Anno 1263.

The Nobles rising against the King, having the commodity of the realm.

Peter of Burgundy a rich Bishop.

John Maunsel a rich Priest.

Ex Flor. hist. Ex Gish. & alii.
 War betwixt the King and the Barons beginneth.

England all this while had suffered wrong, and that he should be restored again to his pristine state, notwithstanding the provisions made at Oxford, (which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated) *Ex Flor. Hist. Guburn.*

The sentence of the French King thus awarded, as it gave to the King of England with his retinue no little encouragement, so it wrought in the Nobles hearts great indignation, which, notwithstanding that partial decree-ment of the French King, sped themselves home out of France to defend themselves with all their strength and power. And not long after followeth also the King, by whose train *Simon Mountfort* Earl of Leicester (as is above recited) was well near circumvented in Southwark. Then the King calling his Council together at Oxford (from whence he excluded the University of Students for a season, who were then at Northampton, as you heard before) there consulted, conferring with his Friends and Counsellors, what way best to be taken. And hearing that the Barons were assembled in a great number at the Town of Northampton, he went thither with his Host and with his Banners displayed, accompanied with *Richard* his Brother King of *Almain*, also with *Edward* his Son, *John Comin* of Scotland, with many other Scots, *John* of *Dallilo* Lord of *Galoway*, *Robert* of *Bruse*, Lord *Walter* of *Anand*, *Roger* of *Clifford*, *Philip* of *Marmien*, *John* of *Wans*, *Roger* of *Laiburne*, *Henry Percy*, *Philip Basset*, *Roger* of *Mortimer*, and *William* of *Walterce*, and many others. Therefore the King commanded the Barons that were within, to yield unto him presently the City and the Pledges, or else he would immediately destroy them. But they counselling with the younger *Simon De Monte forti*, which by his Fathers commandment had got the residue thither to take counsel together (for his Father and the Earl of *Glocester* were not yet come) boldly and with one mind answered. *That they would not obey the Kings will, but would rather defend themselves and the City, if need were, even to the death.* Which the Noblemen of the Kings part hearing, sent word again, *that at least they should come to the Wall of the City to speak to the King, if by any means peace might be made.* And they suspecting no deceit, followed their counsel, and leaving their Holds, came to the Wall towards the Meadow, for there lay the King and his strong Host hard by. But in the mean space, whilst divers matters were reasoned and in-treated of between the King and the Lords, the Lord *Philip Basset* (which before was appointed to work that feat) with Mattocks and other instruments of Iron and Men prepared for the once, near to the Monastery of *S. Andrew*, did undermine the Wall of the City; and by this means the Wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great Plain, so that in one forefront there might have gone together on a row forty Horsemen. And of this subtilty the alien Monks that were there, were thought to be the workers, because they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that passed by saw this, and the Kings Banners were erected ready to enter in, there was a great howling made, and the noise of the People came to the ears of the Barons, and they made speed to resist them; but it was all in vain, because they were already prevented of a great company of their enemies. But *Simon Mountfort* the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the midst of his enemies, with *Peter Mountfort*, and a few that were with him, when *Edward* the Kings Son came, was by his commandment taken and led away Prisoner. But the Clerks of the University of Oxford (which University by the Barons commandment was translated thither) did work against the Kings Men more hurt than the other Barons, with their Slings, long Bows and cross Bows; for they had a Banner by themselves, and that was set up on high against the King. Wherewithal the King being greatly moved, swore at his entering in, that they should all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them shaved their Crowns, and they that were able ran away as fast as they could. And when the King entered the City, many fled in their Armor into the Castle, others left their Horse and Harneis, and ran into Churches, and a few were slain, and those were of the common people; but there was not much bloodshed, because all things were done as upon the sudden. When the City was at length set in quiet, the King commanded his Oath to be executed upon the Clerks. But his Counsellors said unto him, *This be far from thee O King for*

the Sons of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy Kingdom were there gathered together into the University; whom if thou wouldst cause to be hanged or slain, even they that now take thy part would rise up against thee, not suffering, to the uttermost of their powers, the blood of their Sons and Kinsfolks to be shed. And so the King was pacified, and his wrath against the Clerks was staid.

In the same day, after little more than an hour, the Kings Host assaulted the Castle, and the new Hold-keepers were afraid, for that they had not Victuals and other things necessary for their resistance; therefore they sent immediately messengers unto the King, and yielded themselves to the Kings mercy. There were taken that day these Knights and Barons under written; Lord *William de Ferrers*, Lord *Peter Mountfort*, companion of the said *Simon de Mountfort* the younger, Lord *Baldwin de Wake*, Lord *Adam de Newmarch*, Lord *Roger Bertram*, Lord *Simon* the Son of *Simon* a valiant Warrior, which first erected his Banner against the King, Lord *Berengarius de Water-vile*, Lord *Hugo Gubium*, Lord *Thomas Maunsel*, Lord *Roger Botemiam*, *Nicholas Wake*, Lord *Robert de Newton*, Lord *Philip de Driby*, and *Grimbald de Pannecfoot*. All these aforehand did the King take Prisoners, and many more, of whom he committed some to the Lord *Nicholas* of *Haversham*, to be kept in the same Castle well defended: some he led away with him; and some he sent to divers Castles, and appointed *Simon Mountfort* to be cast into *Windfor* Castle. And all these things, as touching the taking of *Northampton*, were done on the Sabbath day in *Passion Week*, being the third of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1264; and the King went forward even to *Notingham*, burning and wasting the Manors of the Lords and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his Nobles, and greatly increased his number.

When this ill luck was told, of them that there were run away, to the Earl *Simon*, which was coming towards *Northampton* with a great Host, he was in a great rage, and yet was not discouraged: but immediately going to *London*, he caused a Chariot to be made after the manner of Litters or Coaches, wherein he might ride as though he were sick; for he feigned himself to be feeble and weak, whereas he was indeed a stout and valiant Warrior, and there gathered to him other Noblemen that were confederate with him, Earls and Barons, every one bringing with them their several Arms; and preparing their Engines of Wood, they went to besiege *Rocheester*; for the Earl of *Worcester* in the Kings behalf, kept both the Town and Castle. When they had gotten the first Gate and the Bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant Knight *Roger de la Bourn* was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilst they continue Siege there a while, it was told them that the King was coming towards *London*, with a mighty Host. And they said one to another, *If the King at his coming should take London, we shall be shut in as it were in a strait corner; let us therefore return unto London, that we may keep in safety both the place and the people.* Therefore appointing certain persons to keep the Siege, they returned to *London*. At the length when the King came, they went forth with the Citizens to meet him, not with Flowers and Palms in their hands, but with Swords and Spears. The King shunned them, and after he had the Castle of *Kingston*, which was the Earl of *Glocesters*, he went from thence to *Rocheester*; where after he had killed a few, he brake the Siege, and from thence the King went to *Tunbridge*, and the Town and Castle now being given up to him, he took there the Countess of *Glocester*, and put her into an Abby, not to be kept in hold, but to go at liberty whither she would. And he left for the custody of the Castle and City a great part of his Host, to the number of above twenty picked out Ensigns, for that it was commonly said that the Earl of *Glocester* would come out of hand to assault them. Which being done, he continued on his journey to *Wincheester*, where he received to peace the Seamen of the Haven Towns. And three days after, upon the Sunday following, he came to the Town of *Lewin*, and was received into the Abby, and his Son *Edward* into the Castle. Then the Barons sent Letters to the King the twelfth day of *May*, the tenor whereof followeth.

[KING]
[Hen. 3.]

The Letter
of the Lords
to the King.

TO their most excellent Lord Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, his Barons and others his faithful Subjects, being willing to keep their Oath and Fidelity to God and him, send greeting and due obedience with honour and reverence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifest, that some of Your Graces assistants have reported to Your Majesty many lies of us, working mischief, as much as in them lieth not only against us, but against you also, and your whole Realm: Be it known to Your Highness, that we have been always willing to defend the health and safeguard of Your Person, with all our power and Fealty due to Your Grace, purposing to vex to the uttermost of our power and estate not only our ill willers, but also your enemies, and the enemies of Your whole Realm. If it be Your good pleasure, give no credit to them, we shall be always found Your faithful Subjects. And we the Earl of Leicester, and Gilbert of Clare, at the request of others, for us and them have put to our Seals.

These Letters being read and heard, there was a Council called, and the King writ back to them, and specially to the two Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, in manner and form following:

The answer
of the King
to the Lords

HENRY by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, &c. To Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their Confederates. Forasmuch as by the War, and general disquietness by your means raised up in Our whole Realm, and also the burnings and other hurtful enormities, it appeareth manifestly, that you keep not your fidelity to Us, ward, nor care any thing for Our health or safety; and for that ye have unorderly grieved Our Nobles, and others Our faithful Subjects sticking faithfully and constantly to Us (as you have certified Us) We accounting their losses as Our own, and their enemies as Ours; and seeing these My aforesaid faithful Subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, do assist Us manfully and faithfully against your unfaithfulness: We therefore care not for your fidelity or love, but desire you as our and their enemies, Witness My Self at Lewis the day and year aforesaid.

Also Richard King of Almain, and Lord Edward the Son of King Henry writ to the Barons in this wise:

The Letter
of Richard
King of Al-
main and
Prince Ed-
ward to the
Barons.

Richard by the Grace of God, King of the Romans, always Augustus, and Edward eldest Son of the King of England, and all the other Barons and Nobles constantly and faithfully in heart and deed cleaving to the foresaid King of England, To Simon Mountfort and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singular others their adherents in their conspiracy. By your Letters which you sent to our Lord the Noble King of England, we have understanding that you desire us, although before any such word, your defiance towards us was apparent enough by your cruel persecution in burning our possessions and spoiling our goods. We therefore give you to wit, that we all and every one of us, as your enemies, do desire you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not cease, whereforever it shall lie in our power, to the uttermost of our force and might, to subvert your persons and all that you have. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we give neither faithful nor good counsel to our Lord the King, you say not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mountfort or Gilbert de Clare, will affirm the same in our Lord the Kings Court, we are ready to get safe conduct for you to come to the said Court, to try and declare the truth of our innocence, and the falsehood of you both, as forsworn Traitors, by some Man equal with you in Nobility and Stock. All we are contained with the Seals of the foresaid Lords, the Lord Richard and the Lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid.

The Battel
of Lewis,
between the
King and
the Barons
beginneth.

Both which Letters being read, they drew near to the King; for they were not far distant from the place which is called Lewis. And for that there wanted to the Kings store provision for their Horses, it was commanded them, on Tuesday to go forth to seek for Hay and Provender: which when they were gone forth, were prevented of

their enemies, and most of them killed; but the residue returning saw their enemies coming very early on the Wednesday Morning, and making out-cries, stirred up the King and his Host to arm themselves. Then the Barons, coming to the full Plain, descended there, and girding and trimming their Horses, made fit their Harnes to them. And there the Earl Simon, made the Earl of Gloucester, and Robert de Veere, and many other new Knights. Which being done, he divided and distinguished his Host into four several Battels, and he appointed Noblemen to guid and govern every Battel. And over the first Battel were ordained Captains, Henry Mountfort the Eldest Son of the Earl Simon, and Guido his Brother, Lord John de Bruch the younger, and Lord Humphrey de Bohun. Over the second Battel, Lord Gilbert Clare Earl of Gloucester, Lord John the Son of Lord S. John, and Lord William of Mountcherchie. And over the third, in which the Londoners were, at their request, the Lord Nicholas Segrave was assigned: which required also very instantly, that they might have the first stroke in the Battel, at the adventure, come what come would. But over the fourth Battel, the Earl himself was Captain, with the Lord Thomas of Pimelston. In the mean season, came forth the Kings Host, preparing themselves to the Field in three Battels, of which Edward the Kings Son led the first, with the Earl of Warwick, and Valence the Kings Brother, and the second the King of Almain guided, with his Son Henry; but the King with his Nobles guided the third; and the fourth Legion the King appointed not, by reason he had left many of his chief Soldiers behind him to keep the Castle and Town of Tunbridge against the Earl of Gloucester. And the most part of the Kings Army were but young Men, for the King thought not that his Barons had been come so nigh hand. Their Armies being on both sides set in array and order, they exhorted one another on either party to fight valiantly: and after they buckled together, the Battel was great, and many Horsemen were overthrown even in a moment. But by and by Edward the Kings Son with his Band, as a fierce young Gentleman and valiant Knight, fell upon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recoil back a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giving back, that the foremost were slain) ran many of them away, and taking Water to pass over, were almost threecore Soldiers drowned, and a few of them being slain, all the rest fled. Straitway the Londoners which had asked the first fight, knowing not how the Battel went, took their Heels: whom Edward pursued with his Band, killing the hindmost of them the space of two or three Miles; for he hated them because they had rebelled against his Father, and disgraced his Mother when she was carried by Barge upon the Thames, from the Tower to Windsor, as is before touched.

Whilst that Prince Edward was thus in the chase of the Londoners, who had the Vaward of the Barons Battel; in the mean time, the main Battel of the Barons set upon the Kings main Battel, of the which the King of Almain the Brother of King Henry had the leading, which being soon discomfited, and he with his Son Henry and Robert de Brus, John Coven, with divers other Captains taken Prisoners, the reward wherein the King himself fought, being immediately so hardly beset, and he seeing his Knights and Soldiers on every side about him beaten down and slain, and divers others of his Soldiers to forsake the field and shift for themselves, thought good to take again the Town, and so retired into the Abbey from whence he came, shutting and rampering up the Gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with Soldiers. To be brief, the Barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many Men on either side slain, entered also the Town of Lewis, pursuing in chase such Soldiers as thither fled for succour.

In the mean time, Prince Edward returning from the chase of the Londoners, as ye heard, who desired to give the first on-set, and espying the Chariot of the Earl Simon (which he caused purposely to be made for him) and the Horses in the same, without either Waggoner, or any other to govern the same, fell immediately upon the Chariot, and brake it all in pieces, and slew two Burgeses that were within the same. But when he came nearer to the place where the bloody Battel had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and overthrow, which in his absence,

Richard K.
of Almain
with his son
taken Prison-
ers.

The Kings
main Battel
at Lewis
discomfited
and the K.
sain to take
the Abby.

Prince Ed-
ward return-
ing from
the first
chase, find-
eth all toge-
ther lost.

with great mortality and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dismaied, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting and encouraging his Knights and Soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in Battel-aray he marched toward the Town; against whom came the Barons again with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a fresh Field and new Battel, and many Men slain on either side. But at length the Earl *de Warenia*, with the Kings two Brethren, forsook the Field and fled: after whom went more than seven hundred chosen Soldiers, which were of their House and Family, who the same day came to *Pevensey*, and there took shipping over the Sea. Also *Hugh Bigot* with divers others fled, and left the valiant Prince fighting in the field: which thing he also perceiving took the Town. And when he found not the King his Father at the Castle, he went from thence to the Abby where he was. In the mean season the Town was divided in parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting of booties, neither could scarcely one of them know and discern another, whether he was his friend or enemy. But when within a while the Barons had assembled some company, they gave an assault upon the Castle, thinking to have rescued *John Gifford* and others, whom the Kings Soldiers had taken Prisoners and put therein. But the Soldiers within manfully defended the same, and in throwing out Balls of Wild-fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the Town. Then the Barons retired and left the Castle, and purposed to have set upon the Abby where the King and Prince *Edward* his Son was, which also was set on fire by the assault given to the Castle; but yet it was shortly recovered and quenched. Then *Edward* the Kings Son, perceiving the bold enterprize of the Barons, prepared with courageous Knights and Soldiers, as were yet remaining and within the Abby, to have issued out, and to have given a new charge upon them. But the Barons, perceiving that, sent unto the King messengers to intreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk and conclude of a further peace between them. This Battel was fought upon the nineteenth day of *May*, being the year of our Lord 1264.

The Prince fighteth a new Battel.

Prince Edward also put to the sword, and slain to take the Town.

The Castle of Lewin besieged.

A peace intreated between the King and the Barons.

The two Princes given in Hostage.

The Kings Soldiers in Tunbridge, after they had spoiled the Londoners at Crowdown, kept themselves in Garison at Bristow.

Earl Simon after this victory, beareth himself so stout, that he imprisoneth the Hostages of the King.

The next day, which was *Thursday*, there were sent on either side two preaching Friars between the King and the Barons, with certain Articles and demands of Peace, so that with certain others, these conditions were agreed on: that on the morrow being *Friday*, the Prince should give himself in Hostage for the King his Father, and others of his part. And *Henry* the Kings Son of *Almain* also should give himself the like for his Father. That those things which should be concluded upon for the benefit and commodity of the Realm, and peaceable quietness thereof might be performed, and that all such Prisoners as were taken on either side, should be freely ransomed and sent home.

The next day which was *Saturday*, the King discharged all his Soldiers, and others that were with him in the Abby, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the advice of his Son and the Barons, he gave commandment to those which he had appointed to the keeping of *Tunbridge*, that they should make no attempt to the prejudice or hurt of the Barons; but in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart every Man to their houses and habitations. But they giving no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to *Bristow*, where they kept themselves in Garison, until the escaping of *Edward* the Kings Son out of Prison. But first before that, when they heard at *Tunbridge*, that the King was vanquished in Battel, and that the *Londoners* in the foreward were put to flight by Prince *Edward* (by a Messenger that scaped from the same) and that also the same *Londoners* were at *Crowdown*, they set upon them in the evening tide, and taking from them much spoil, slew also many of them.

But when *Roger Mortimer's* part began to decrease, and *Simon* the Earls part on the other side to increase, he bare himself more stout, for that both the King and all that was his, did depend upon the good will and favour of the Earl, and led with him the Kings Son to such Holds and Castles, as he thought to be most strong; as though all were in his hands to do as him liked; and he kept the Hostages more straitly than he was wont to do. Inasmuch that when it was blown abroad that the Kings Son was kept

as Prisoner, divers that were his friends, counselled him, that he should desire to disport himself at the Barriers, that the people might have a sight of him. But he, being narrowly guarded as he knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsel, and so did.

In this troublesome year, which was *Anno* 1264, as the *Londoners* with the Nobles were thus occupied in War and Dissention, the malignant *Jews*, thinking to take vantage of that time, with privy Treason conspired against the whole City and state of the Nobles; who being taken with the manner, were almost all slain that dwelt in the City of *London*.

In this year also *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury* the Son of *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, and a stranger, having been certain years beyond the Seas in disgrace with the King of *England*, upon occasion of some misdemeanor belike (for he was, as *Matthew Parker* writeth of him, *Ut moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione ceteris Archiepiscopis dissimilis*) the King being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with Clergy-mens infolencies (which for a while he might perhaps gainstand, but at last bare with them as supported by the Court of *Rome*) did consult with his Nobles about the return of the said *Boniface* into *England*, conditionally as followeth.

Acts passed in the Kings Council, touching the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* return into *England*, under certain conditions.

ANNO Domini 1264. Mense Martio, in presentia illustris Regis Anglie, de concilio Procerum & Magnatum ejusdem Regni actum est, quod venerabilis Pater Bonifacius Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas, in Angliam revertatur, sub conditionibus infra scriptis, in Regno pacifice moraturus. In primis igitur, &c.

In English thus:

In the year of our Lord 1264, in the Month of *March*, it was Enacted in the Presence of the renowned King of *England*, by the counsel of the Peers and States of the said Realm, that the Reverend Father *Boniface*, by the Grace of God Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* should return into *England*, and abide in the Realm peaceably, upon the Conditions under-written.

First, Therefore it is Enacted, that the Archbishop at his return, do without any difficulty release in form of Law his Sentences of Excommunication, published against all persons whatsoever, occasioning much trouble in the Realm of *England*; but yet so, that they, which shall be found excommunicate, be ready to make satisfaction for their excesses and defaults, and for the same receive, as they are bound by the Canonical Commandments of the Archbishop, in form hereunder in the next Article contained.

Secondly, It is Enacted, That in making amends for defaults done to the Churches and Churchmen, within such places as are immediately subject unto his Jurisdiction, the Archbishop may arbitrate according to the Counsel of all his Suffragans, or the greater and sounder part; and of weighty affairs belonging to the Church and Realm of *England*, may in time to come after his return, order and dispose likewise by their counsel, and the counsel of other discreet Men of the Realm.

Thirdly, It is Enacted, that he bring with him Master *Henry Mortimer* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and *Pont Sabler* his familiar Clerks or household Chaplains, and these Clerks only being strangers born, he keep and retain of his Council and Household.

Fourthly, It is Enacted, That other Clerks wheresoever, beneficed in the Church of *England*, meaning and willing to return with the Archbishop, may safely return and abide in their Benefices, and dispend the Church goods within the Realm as they are bound, carrying or sending

Henricus de mortimer.

KING sending nothing out of the Realm, unless necessary occasion, and allowed of the Kings Council do so require.

Fifthly, It is Enacted, That the Archbishop or the Clerks coming with him, shall bring nothing with them in Letters, Message or Commandment, nor shall procure any thing else, during their abode in this Realm, either by themselves, or by others, whereby any damage danger or prejudice may redound to the King, or to any of his Realm. And for memory of the premisses, the Seal of the said renowned King of England is hanged unto these Presents.

By the whole Council.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the Archbishop did not presently return, but continued in Provence and elsewhere, behaving himself imperiously as a Prelate of the right Romish stamp. In the mean time many matters incident to this place, were omitted and neglected, which personally by him should have been executed; but by reason of his absence the same were dispatched by deputation, and the same ordered likewise according to his own fancy, which he preferred before the Kings Authority and Commandment. This to be true, the Copy of a Letter describing the contumacy of the said Boniface doth sufficiently testify, the same being set down agreeable to the Prototypon.

A Letter of the King to Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, charging him to return into England, there personally to discharge his Archiepiscopal Function.

REX Bonifacio Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Anglie Primati, salutem. Licet haecenus per patientiam pluries sustinuerimus electos in Episcopos, Abbates, ac Praelatos alios in regno nostro, &c.

In English thus:

Against the Archbishop of Canterbury in foreign Countries abiding.
The King to Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, greeting. Although hitherto by patience we have suffered oftentimes Bishops elect, Abbots, and other Prelates in our Realm, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to pass over beyond Sea unto you, we thought not to receive at your hands any such reward, as that against the right and custome of our Realm, to the which we mean not by this our patience that prejudice shall any way be procured or bred, you should attempt this to be followed. We do marvel therefore, and are moved that you, at the request of us, have refused to commit the examination of the election of our wellbeloved in Christ, Master Walter Gifford late of Bath and Wells Bishop Elect, and the confirmation of the same Election, unto some discreet persons of our Realm, we having detained and as yet detaining the same Gifford against his will, that he might not repair personally unto you: whereunto common right and the very custome of the Realm ought to have lead you unrequested, whilst you abide out of the Realm. Lest therefore our too much patience might breed in you a contempt, we will you to understand, that henceforward we mean to bear less with such dealing, specially in these days, wherein there is no safe passage for Englishmen unto you through the parts of France, as it is reported. Wherefore we thought good to desire your fatherhood, and also to admonish you, giving you moreover in charge and commandment, and upon the Fealty wherein you are bound unto us firmly injoyning, that in respect of the foresaid Election, and other Ceremonies, you come personally into England, to execute your office and charge, or send some other in your room; or at least procure and cause some discreet persons of our Realm, whom you shall repute more meet for this matter, to serve the turn for you in this behalf: lest if with contumacy you refuse to bear our requests and commandments the second time, which you are by duty bound to obey, we be compelled to take indignation against you, as a contemner of the rights, liberties and the customs of our Kingdom, and so to proceed against you more sharply by way of revenge: neither will we suffer, if you should do otherwise, that the revenues of your said Archbishoprick shall henceforth be conveyed unto you out of our Realm: but

as you refuse the burthen, so will we in like sort do what we can to withdraw hereafter the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our Land. Finally, we, if need shall be, are ready to give you a sure and safe conduct. Witness the King at St. Pauls of London, the 25 of June, and the 48 year of our Reign.

Now after all this ado, we read that at last Boniface returned, and becoming more holy towards his end, he went with other Bishops to the King, requesting him, that being mindful of the decay of his Kingdom, by Ecclesiastical Livings bestowed upon strangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godly men of his own Nation. To whom the King answered that he would willingly do it. Wherefore I think it meet that you, which are a stranger and unlearned, and also my Brother Ethelmer Bishop of Winchester, whom I have preferred to such dignities only for kindreds sake, should first give examples to others, and forsake your Churches, and I will provide other learned men to serve in them. Which answer of the King so pierced this Boniface, that he always after lived a wearisome life in England. Wherefore perceiving himself to be disliked of the King and the People, he desired to return into his Country. And thereupon first selling and selling the Woods, letting out the Archbishoprick, taking great Fines of his Tenants, and making a great mass of Mony of the Clergy of his Province, he went with the curse of all Men unto Savoy, where in the Castle of S. Helens, after he had misgoverned the See six and twenty years, six months, and sixteen days from his Consecration, being nine and twenty years from his first election, he died the fifteenth Kalends of August. And so ceased the troubles between the King and the said Bishop, whose contumacy in stories, with others of the like brood, doth largely appear in this Book.

Boniface his advice disadvantageable to himself.

Boniface maketh foil of the Archbishoprick, he is hated, and detested.

¶ But to leave Boniface now dead, note ye this, that in this year, after the death of Pope Urban, succeeded in the said year of our Lord Anno 1265. Pope Clement the fourth; which Clement, as affirmeth Nic. Trivet, was first a Married Man, and had Wife and Children, and was the Solicitor and Counsellor to the French King; then after the death of his Wife, was Bishop, intituled Podiensis; after that Archbishop of Narbon; and at last made Cardinal: who being sent of Pope Urban in Legacy, for reformation of peace, in his absence was elected Pope by the Cardinals. About this time flourished Thomas of Aquine, Reader at Paris among the Dominick Friars, and Bonaventure among the Franciscan Friars. Ex Nic. Trivet.

The death of Pope Urban. Pope Clement the fourth. Pope Clement first a married man, and had a Wife and Children.

Tho. Aquinas, Bonaventure Readers at Paris. Anno 1265.

* Now after all the foresaid tumults and broils of the King and his Barons, to the vexation of the whole Land, it was thought meet and necessary that all parties at variance should be reconciled. Whereupon it was concluded amongst them as followeth.

A form of Peace between the King and his Barons.

Hec est forma pacis a Domino Rege, & Domino Edwardo filio suo, Prelatis & proceribus omnibus, & communitate tota Regni Anglie communiter & concorditer approbata, &c.

Thomas London

In English thus:

This is the form of peace allowed of the King our Lord, of the Lord Edward his Son, of all the Prelates and Peers, and the whole Commonalty of the Realm of England, with common consent and agreement; to wit, that a certain Ordinance or Decree made in a Parliament holden at London about the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist last past, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace of the Realm, shall continue all the days of the said King our Sovereign Lord, and the time of the Lord Edward, after he shall be received as King, even till the end and term that shall be thought meet and convenient. The said Ordinance or Decree is this:

For the redressing of the state of the Realm of England, let there be chosen or named three discreet and truly persons

persons of the Realm, which may have authority and power, from the Lord the King, to chuse or name in the Kings behalf nine Counsellors: of which nine, three at least by course or turns may always be present in the Court. And let the Lord the King, by the counsel of the said nine, order and dispose of the keeping of Castles, and the managing of all the affairs in his Realm. Let the Lord the King also, by the advice of the foresaid nine, appoint Justices, Chancellors, Treasurers, and other Officers, greater and lesser in those matters that pertain to government of his Court and Realm.

The choosers or namers shall swear first, that according to Conscience they will choose or name such Counsellors, as they verily believe will be profitable and trusty in respect of Gods honour, the Church, the Lord the King, and his Realm. The Counsellors likewise, and all the Officers greater and lesser in their creation shall swear, that to the uttermost of their power they will faithfully execute their Offices to the honour of God and of the Church, and to the profit of the Lord the King and his Realm, without bribe or gift; meat and drink, which are commonly wont to be set upon the Table, excepted. And if so be that the foresaid Counsellors, or some or any of them, in the charge to them committed (whether they be he or she) have behaved themselves ill, or that upon some other occasion such officers are to be changed; the Lord the King, by the counsel of the three former choosers or namers, may remove such as he shall see meet to be removed; and in their rooms by the same mens advice may appoint and place other persons trusty and serviceable.

And if so be that either the greater Officers or the lesser do disorderly demean themselves in their Offices, the Lord the King, by the counsel of the foresaid nine, may displace them, and without delay by the same advice set others in their room. And if so be that the three first or chief choosers or namers, in the choise or naming of Counsellors, or perhaps the Counsellors in the creating of Officers, or in other affairs of the Lord the King and the Realm to be ordered or done, shall be at disagreement, then whatsoever by consent of two parts shall be concluded or decreed, let the same be firmly kept and observed; so that of those two parts, one be a Prelate of the Church in the business belonging to the Church: And if it so happen, that two parts of the said nine in some matter disagree; then shall they for their variance stand to the ordinance of the three first choosers or namers or the greater part of them. And if so be it seem expedient to all the Prelates and Barons, by consent that some or one in place of some or one of the three first namers be put and appointed: then let the Lord the King, by the counsel of all the Prelates and Barons, ordain some others, or one other. And let the Lord the King do all the premises by the advice of the said nine in manner above mentioned, or let them do it in the Lord the Kings behalf, and by his authority by this present ordinance to continue and hold out till such time as this agreement, made and afterwards sealed by the parties, be perfected by consent, or some other proviso be had, which the parties by consent shall judge allowable.

This Ordinance was made at London, by the consent, will and commandment of the Lord the King, and also of the Prelates, Barons, with the Commonalty then and there present. In witness whereof R. Bishop of Lincoln, and H. Bishop of Ely, R. Earl of Norfolk and Marthal of England, Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, Humphrey de Bohune, William de monte Caniso, and the Maior of London, to this Writing have set their Seals. Acted in the Parliament at London in the Month of June in the Year of our Lord 1264.

Reformati-
on of the
Church.

No strangers
to be keep-
ers of the
Kings Cas-
tles, &c.

It is also ordained, that the state of the English Church shall be reformed into a state meet and convenient.

It is also ordained, that the three choosers abovesaid and Counsellors, of whom mention is made in the said Ordinance at London, and the keepers of Castles and others the Kings Bailiffs be homebred. And as for strangers born, let them come, tarry and depart peaceably, as well lay-men willing to dwell upon their possessions, as Clergy-men residing upon their Benefices.

Merchants also, and all others to further and see to their affairs, shall come freely, and tarry peaceably; but yet conditionally, so they come without armor and a suspected multitude. And that none of them be received in any fort

into any office or Bailiwick in the Realm, or otherwise into the Kings house and service be entertained. As for the Charters of general Liberties and Forests granted unto the homebred of late by the King, and the Statutes made upon revoking of grievances, which the Lord the King the third year past in every Shire by his Letters Patents hath caused to be published, with the commendable Customes of his Realm, and a long time allowed, let be for ever observed: and that it might be provided how they may be better and more soundly observed: It is also provided, that the Lord the King, and the Lord Edward, the Barons and those that stand with them, let go all injury and rancour, so that they neither grieve, or suffer to be grieved by any of theirs, no one of them by occasion of things done in the hurly-burly past; and also cause all their Bailiffs at the undertaking of their Bailiwicks, that they shall grieve none by the occasion aforesaid, but shall do justice and right to every body with equality. And let there be good security provided how all these things may be firmly observed.

When this agreement was dispatched, to set the Realm in some quietness, a little leisure was allowed to look into the losses and damages of the Church, whereupon it was provided as followeth.

Of the repairing of Trespases committed against the Church.

It is provided by common assent of the King, of the Prelates, Earls and Barons of the Land, that the trespasses which are committed against the Church of England, by reason of the tumults and wars that have been in this Realm of England, shall be reformed and amended in this manner.

There shall be chosen by the Earls and great Estates of the Land, with the liking and assent of the Prelates, three Bishops authorized, and having full power to establish and provide for such reasonable amends, as are to be made for the foresaid trespasses committed against holy Church, so far forth as shall be fit and convenient.

Those that shall be found excommunicated, shall be absolved in form of right by such as have power and authority so to do.

The authority of the Prelates shall be established in this manner: First, it shall be faithfully undertaken by the Earls, Justices, and the other Lay-men of the Kings Council, and other great Barons of the Realm, that all those things which the Prelates, that shall be chosen shall reasonably ordain and appoint by way of reformation, they themselves shall observe and fulfil, and shall do their endeavour faithfully to cause the same to be observed by others, and thereof they shall deliver their Letters Patents.

Moreover, unto the Prelates, after they shall be chosen, full power shall be granted by the King, and the Commonalty, the Earls, Barons, and great men of the Land, to ordain those things which are needful and profitable to the full reformation of the estate of holy Church, to the honour due to the fealty of our Lord the King, and to the profit of the Realm. And that the promise made by the King, and by the Earls and Barons aforesaid, and by the other great Men of the Land, may appear to be made in good faith, they shall thereof make their Letters Patents, to wit of things that have been done a year past before the last Easter.

If any be found that will not stand to the ordinance and appointment of the foresaid Prelates in the causes aforesaid, and according to the form aforesaid, he shall be compelled thereunto by doom of holy Church; yea, if need be, he shall be thereunto forced by the Secular power. And that it may the better be done, the Justice shall have an hundred or more of choice men at Arms, or Serjeants, Soldiers elect, to distrain the Malefactors when by the said Prelates he shall be required. Those Soldiers to be sustained of the common goods of holy Church, during the time they shall be employed in that business. And this Ordinance shall continue for a year or two, till such time as matters be quieted, and that the provisions of the Prelates, and the peace of the Land be well observed.

Provided always, that the profits of Benefices of holy Church belonging to aliens, and others that have been enemies

KING enemies to the land, shall be collected and safely kept in the hands of the Prelate, until such time as order be taken by common advice what is to be done therewithal. And for the more assurance and further testimony hereof, the King and the High Estates of the Land have unto this writing set their Seals.

¶ Besides all this it was considered, that Non-residency being a default blame-worthy, deserved reformation. Whereof the King having special regard wrote his mind to the Bishop of Hereford for the redress of the same; whose Letter becaus it is memorable, and convenient matter therein contained for Non-residents of our time, we have here intertexted according to the Record.

A Letter of King Henry the Third directed to the Bishop of Hereford concerning Non-residents.

R E X Episcopo Hereford, salutem. Pastores gregibus præponuntur ut diei noctisque vigilias exercendo, &c.

In English thus :

Against Non-residence of Prelates.

The King to the Bishop of Hereford sendeth Greeting : Pastors or Shepherds are set over Flocks, that by exercising themselves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own Cattel by their look, bring the hunger-starved sheep into the meadows of fruitfulness, and the straying ones into one fold by the Word of Salvation, and the rod of correction; and to do their endeavour, that unity indissoluble may be kept. But some there be who damnablely despising this Doctrine, and not knowing to discern their own cattel from others, do take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lords flock may be nourished; they catch up the temporal goods, and who perisheth in their Parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in manners, they regard not; which men deserve not to be called Pastors, but rather hirelings. And that even we in these days removing our selves into the Marches of Wales, to take order for the disposing of the Garrisons of our Realm, have found this default in your Church of Hereford, we report it with grief; for that we have found there a Church destitute of a Pastors comfort, as having neither Bishop nor Official, Vicar nor Dean, that may exercise any Spiritual function and duty in the same. But the Church it self, which in time past was wont to flow in delight, and had Canons that tended upon days and nights service, and that ought to exercise the works of Charity, they forsaking the Church, and leading their lives in Countries far hence, hath put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the loss of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and lovers that will comfort her. Verily whiles we beheld this, and considered it diligently, the prick of pity did move our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardly wound our heart very sore, that we could no longer dissemble so great an injury done to our Mother the Church, nor pass the same over uncorrected.

Non-residents strictly charged to be personally incumbent and abiding upon their Cures: Note.

Wherefore we command and straitly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you endeavour to remove your selves with all possible speed unto your said Church, and there personally to execute the Pastoral charge committed unto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certainty that if you have not a care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods, and whatsoever else doth belong unto the Barony of the same Church, which goods for Spiritual exercise sake therein, it is certain our Progenitors of a godly devotion have bestowed thereupon. And such goods and duties as we have commanded hitherto to be gathered and safely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the same Church, the cause now ceasing we will seize upon; and suffer no longer that he shall reap temporal things, which feareth not unreverently to withdraw and keep back Spiritual things, whereunto by office and duty he is bound; or that he shall receive any profits which refuseth to undergo and bear the burthens of the same. Witness the King at Hereford, the first of June, in the 48 year of our reign.

About this time (as appeareth by course of Record, and thereby may well be gathered) a redress of certain Sects was intended, among which one by name especially occurred, and called the assembly of Harlots; a kind of people of a lewd disposition and uncivil. Of whose manners and life the King having been informed, addressed his Letters to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted; and wherein they practised their evil conversation: Whose Letter here followeth.

An assembly of ill disposed people called Harlots, where by may be gathered the ancientness of that name.

A Letter of King Henry the Third to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, concerning the banishment of an unlawful assembly called Harlots, out of that Country.

R E X Vic. Oxon. salutem. Quia intelleximus quod quidam, qui se Harlotos appellant, vagi & orium forvantes, in diversis partibus regni nostri, Congregationes & conventicula, necnon contractus illicitos, &c.

Terra Lond

In English thus :

The King to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire sendeth Greeting : Because we understand that there be certain vagrant persons which call themselves Harlots, maintaining idleness in divers parts of our Realm, most shamelessly making their meetings, assemblies, and unlawful matches against the honesty of the Church and good manners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer; we charge thee that on our behalf thou forbid the said Harlots henceforth in the said Countries to make any more such meetings, conventicle, or contracts; or to presume according to their lewd manner and wonted fashion to Rogue about our Realm, and hereto thou shalt (if need be) bind them, as by Law may be done. Wherein so behave thy self in this behalf, as we may commend thy diligence. Witness the King at Reading the 23 of November, in the 48 year of our Reign.

Against an assembly of meeting of men which called themselves Harlots.

What manner of persons these were, or what their conversation was, it doth not further appear; nevertheless by the premisses it may seem to be some pretended order of Religion. And it is most probable that the reproachful name of Harlot had his beginning from hence.

To conclude with special matters of the Church, wherein we have made somewhat the longer delay, by occasion of such necessary Records as came to hand, and brought with them their necessary use, this one remembrance notwithstanding remaineth, no less note-worthy than the rest, and falling within the revolution of the forty eighth year of this Kings reign, a year of great trouble, as by the premisses may be gathered.

You are therefore to note that at this time the Prelates of England stood upon their Pantophles, and jolly fellows (I tell you) they would be known to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Aluredus de Lincoln, being as is supposed, a Baron of this Realm, there is found (Inter alia) as followeth: Quod prædictus Aluredus tenuit quandam particulam parcie de Dunetish & Tilei de Abbate de Cerne, per servitium tenendi stropem suum, quando Abbas debet ascendere equum suum, & dare ei locum in comitatu quando præsens fuerit. That is, That the forenamed Aluredus held a certain piece of the Park of Dunetish and Tilei of the Abbot of Cerne, by service of holding his stirrup when the Abbot should take horseback, and to give him place in the Shire at such time as he should be present. The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giveth probable cause to conjecture that the occasion of this matter came by this means: viz. That whereas the said Alured was desirous to enlarge his Park, and could not so do but by purchasing of part of some other ground next adjoining, whereof the said Abbot was owner; he was therefore constrained either to lack that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my Lord Abbot; who like a Lord (as you see) was content to let him have his land, reserving such service as is abovesaid. Wherein would be noted the pomp of Prelates in those days, and how near they drew in imitation to the Pope, in whose treading they traced.

But

But leaving these affairs of the Church, and Churchmen, wherein we have been somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the Temporal State. You heard before of a pacification concluded between the King and his Barons in the year of our Lord 1264. the same having been admitted by mutual and common consent of the Temporality and Clergy. Nevertheless, as a fore not well searched and tented, but superficially and overly skinned, doth break out into a more dangerous botch; so it came to pass among the Lords and Barons, betwixt whom no such firm reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon ensued after secret grudge and privy hatred, open Arms and Conflicts. For in this year 1265. the Sons of *Simon* the Earl, to wit, *Henry*, *Simon* and *Guido*, being all puffed up, and with the pride of their success elevated, did that which nothing contented the Earl of *Gloucester*: inasmuch that he challenged *Henry* the eldest Son of the Earl *Simon Mountfort* at the Barriers, to be tried at *Northampton*. But that challenge was taken up, left some further inconvenience might have risen thereof. But the Earl of *Gloucester*, being moved therewith in his mind, sent unto his Father the Earl, that he should deliver him such Prisoners, being Noblemen, as he took at the Battel of *Lewis*; among whom the King of *Almain* was named first. But he by countermand answered him, and said, that it might content and satisfy him, for that he had saved and preserved to him his Lands, that day the Battel was fought at *Lewis*; and that furthermore, he would not send him such Prisoners as he demanded; and that he himself kept more noble than they in the Castle of *Dover*: among them was *John Bassor*, which undermined and burst down the Walls of *Northampton* at that Conflict, as is said before and specified.

Diffention
between
Earl *Simon*
and the
Earl of *Gloucester*.

The Earl of
Gloucester &
Roger Mortimer
conspire to-
gether against
Earl *Simon*.

The Earl of *Gloucester* being herewith displeased, so soon as he heard this, sent incontinently to the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, which always took the Kings part, desiring that they two might talk together touching the benefit and commodity of the King. Who, doubting some deceit, desired Sureties and Pledges for his safe return, and he would come to talk with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the Earl of *Gloucester* shewed him all that he was purposed to do, and that further he lamented he had so much and so greatly offended the King; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the King again to his Kingly dignity, as much as he possibly might. Therefore they sent secretly to *Robert* the Brother of the Earl of *Gloucester*, which was near about the Earl *Simon*, and made him to consent with them therein. And to work this thing more circumspectly, when opportunity served thereunto, *Roger Mortimer* sent unto the Kings Son an Horse excelling all others in footmanship, unto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw convenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, Prince *Edward* desired leave of the Earl to prove his Courser against such time as he should ride at the Tilt, as they might when they listed. As soon as he had gotten leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field, he had wearied divers of their Horses: at the last, getting up upon that Horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a servant on Horseback coming toward him with two swords, he turned about unto his Keeper, whose name was *Robert de Rose*, and to others his Play-fellows that were with him,

Prince *Edward*
escapeth
from
out of the
custody of
Earl *Simon*
by a train.

saying, *My loving Lords, thus long have I kept you company, and have been in your custodies; and now not purposing to use your companies any longer, I betake you to God.* And quickly turning his Horse about, put to the Spurs, and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far enough behind, and overtake him they could not. At last, when they saw *Roger Mortimer* coming from his Castle of *Wigmore*, accompanied with many armed Men to meet him, as before it was appointed, they returned again home as wise as when they came forth. And when this the Princes escape was divulged, much people came unto him out of every Quarter, with great joy thereof. Amongst whom, the first was the Earl of *Gloucester*, and the other Soldiers of the King, which had now long lain at *Bristow*, and thereabouts, and within a short space he had a great and a mighty Host.

Which thing when the Earl *Simon* understood, he much doubted and mistrusted himself; and sending into *Wales*,

he gat from thence a great many Men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might from every part of *England*. He sent also *Simon* his Son to the Noblemen of the North parts, that with all possible speed he might bring them with him; who with a great company came with him, and at *Kenelworth* a while they staid, and there pitched their Tents. But leaving *Kenelworth* for a certain time, they went to *Winchester*, and spoiled the same, and then returned again to *Kenelworth*. And when this was declared to *Edward* the Kings Son, who then was at *Worcester*, by a certain Spial, which he had gotten after he came from *Gloucester* a little before; he prepared himself with his Soldiers, in the night season, to go to the place where the Spy should bring him, which was into a deep Valley, near unto the place where *Simon* and his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arm themselves, and prepare their Horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies coming towards them. Then thinking that they had prepared themselves against their coming, and so had been betrayed, they set forth in Battel array, marching forwards, till that they met certain of their enemies stragling in long Wings, thinking to have gone a foraging, and to have fought for Victuals; whom they took, and with their fresh Horses new horsed their Soldiers that had their Horses tired with long travel. And so marching forward, came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping; and laying lustily about them, they slew divers; some they took, the rest they put to flight; and fifteen of their chiefest Ensignes they took, with many other rich spoils. But young *Simon* himself lodged in the Castle, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of *August*, An. 1265.

RING-
[Hen. 3]
The Earl
Simon find-
eth about,
and in all
hastie gather-
eth a power.

The first
terrour of
Prince *Ed-
ward* after
his escape by
the means
of a Spy.

But when *Edward* heard that Earl *Simon* was coming toward *Kenelworth*, to joyn with his Sons Battel, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at *Eusham*, where he divided his Host into three Battels, he himself having the leading of one, the Earl of *Gloucester* the second, and *Roger Mortimer* the third, which came upon their backs. The Kings Son *Edward* came Northward, as though he came from *Kenelworth* to *Eusham*; and because he would not be defied, he caused his own Standards and Ensignes to be taken down, and young *Simons*, which he had taken before to be advanced. But the Earl *Simons* Scurier, whose name was *Nicholas*, shewed the Earl that such bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the same to have been *Simons* his Sons power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had before, gave small credit thereunto, till that the said *Nicholas*, the better to descry them, went up to the Abby Steeple of *Eusham*, where he might plainly discern them all and their Standards; for by this time they were mounted the Hill which they laboured to attain, thinking to have that vantage, when they should give their charge as they had purposed, and had also advanced again his own Standards, and pulled down *Simons*, whereby they were the more easie defied and known. Then he cried aloud to the Earl *Simon*, and said, *We are all but dead men; for it is not your Son, as you suppose, that cometh, but it is Edward the Kings Son that cometh from one part, and the Earl of Gloucester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part.* Then said the Earl, *The Lord be merciful unto our souls, for so much as our bodies and lives are now in their hands; commanding that every man should make himself ready to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wills to die for their laws, and in a just quarrel. And such as would depart, he gave leave to go their ways, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.*

The dispo-
sing of the
Princes bat-
tel against
Earl *Simon*
fought at
Eusham.

Prince *Edward*
Halt
defied, whereat the
Earl was
much sheld-
ed.

Then came unto him his eldest Son *Henry*, and comforted him, desiring him to have no despair, nor yet mistrust in the good success of this Victory, with other such cheerful words. No my Son (saith he) I despair not; but yet, it is thy presumption, and the pride of the rest of thy brethren that hath brought me to this end you see; notwithstanding, yet I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel. After words of comfort given to all his Host, and the Oration made as is the manner, they all armed themselves. The King also (whom the Earl always kept with him) he armed in an armor of his own; and then dividing their Battels, they marched towards their enemies. But before they

The words
of Earl *Si-
mon* to his
Sons.

they joyned, the *Welshmen* ran their ways, and thinking to scape over the river of *Dee*, were there some drowned, and some slain. Then when the battel joyned and came to handy strokes, within short space many of the Earls part fell and were slain; and the King himself being stricken at, cried with a loud voice to them, saying, Kill me not, I am *Henry* your King. And with these the Kings words the Lord *Adam Monbawr* knew him, and saved him. At whose voice and cry came also Prince *Edward* his Son, and delivered him to the guard and custody of certain Knights. In the mean season the Earl *Simon* was hard bestead and beaten down, and also slain before *Edward* the Prince came at him. Howbeit before he fell, when as he fought for life, and *Henry* his Son, and other Noblemen on his part were about him, he brake out into these words unto his enemies, saying, What is there no mercy and compassion with you? Who again answered, What compassion should there be shewed to Traytors? Then said he, The Lord be merciful unto our souls, our bodies are in your hands. And so soon as these words were spoken, they mangled his body, and divided his members, and cut off his head, which head *Roger Mortimer* sent unto his wife. And not far off from him also was slain *Henry* his Eldest Son, the Lord *Hugh Spenser*, the Lord *Radulph Basset*, the Lord *Thomas de Hefele*, the Lord *William Mandeville*, the Lord *John Beauchampe*, the Lord *Guido Baillofer*, the Lord *Roger Royleie*, and many other Noblemen besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battel was fought in the month of *August*, and continued from one of the Clock till it was night; in the which was not so much as one man on the Earls part, of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battel lost his life; more than the Lord *John*, who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten that the same day being Tuesday, at that instant hour, when the Battel began, which was at one of the Clock at Afternoon, there was such a darkness over all, such thunder and such tempest, that the like before that time was never seen, being very calm and fair weather both immediately before and after; which seemed (saith mine Author) to give a plain demonstration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

After this great slaughter and overthrow there was a Parliament summoned at *Winchester* by the Earl of *Gloucester*, and others of his part. Here by the way is to be considered, that the King although he was in the Camp of the Earl of *Leicester*, being then in custody, and his Son *Edward* with the Earl of *Gloucester*, yet the King was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said Parliament the King was restored to his Kingly dignity, which was before that time under the custody of the Barons. But after the Battel was ended and done, certain of them that loved the Earl, upon an old Ladder gathered up such parts of his body as remained, and covering the same with an old Gown, brought it to *Eulham*, where they putting the same in a fair linnen Cloth, buried it in the Church. But not long after, such as thought not themselves sufficiently revenged with his death (to wreak them of the dead corpse) took up the same and threw it in another place, saying, That he which was both accursed, and a Traytor, was not worthy of Christian burial.

The same year also died *Walter Cantilupe* Bishop of *Winchester*, after whom succeeded *Nicolas* of *Ely*, the Kings Chancellor.

The same year the King perceiving that unless the Castle of *Kenelworth* were recovered, and the boldness of them restrained that kept the same, many evils and inconveniences might ensue thereupon, to the prejudice of his Kingdom; for that the number increased every day more and more, wasting and spoiling the Country all about; therefore he gathered an Army and came down to *Warwick*, where he a while tarried expecting the meeting and assembling of his Marquesses and Lords, with Ensigns and other munition suitable. Who when their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things ready, the morrow after *Midsummer* day he displayed his Banner, and began his voyage, marching towards *Kenelworth*, and besieged the same. During which siege, by the advice and counsel of the King, the Popes Legate, and other Noblemen, twelve persons were chosen which should have the disposing of those things that pertained to the state of the

Realm, and of those that had lost their lands and inheritances, who amongst other things, made and established this one Proviso, that was commonly called *Kenelworth* Decree, That all those which had lost their lands by attainder (although not yet attained) should fine therefore at the Kings pleasure, and take their lands of him again; paying some three years, some four years, some two years revenues of the same, according to the quality of the crime and offence committed. All which Provisoes or provisions were established and confirmed as well by the corporal Oath, as by signment of the same with the hands and seals of all the Prelates and Clergy of *England*, there assembled for that purpose by the Popes Legate upon the Feast of *All-Saints*. When these things were thus finished, messengers were sent on the Kings behalf, as well to those that kept the Castle of *Kenelworth*, as also to those that were assembled in the Isle of *Ely*; willing them to come under the protection of the Kings peace, and yield to the foresaid Provisoes, established by the twelve Commissioners. Who all together answered and said, That they would in no wise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents, not being called unto it, and also for that the said Decree was over-strait and intolerable. Within short space after, great Famine and Pestilence chanced amongst them which kept the Castle, inasmuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same; wherefore soon after the King sending again to them to yield the Castle and take their pardons, they consulting together of their own estate, thus answered the Kings Messengers, If it please the King and his Council to permit us to send our Messenger to the Lord *Simon Montfort*; which is beyond the Sea, that he may come by a certain day to the defence of this his Garrison and Fort, and that in the mean space we be not disturbed by the Kings Army that hath invironed us, till the return of our Messengers; if by the day appointed he come not, we will yield up the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limb, and moveables.

When the Messengers were returned, and had declared to the King their answer; he consulting with his Nobles about the matter, agreed unto their Petitions, and caused the Truce to be proclaimed throughout all his Camp, after that sufficient Hostages were on either side given for the performance of the same; whereupon they set forward their Messengers, as before was said they would. But after that many of them within the Castle being very grievously vexed with the Bloody-flux, and other diseases, inasmuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of those that were diseased, they delivered up the Castle before the return of the Messengers again, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselves, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the rendering up of the Castle, the King committed the custody thereof to his Son *Edmund*, and so with his Host departing from his siege, came upon *Christmas* Evens Even to *Osney*, where he with great solemnity and triumph kept his *Christmas* during seven days, and from thence with his Host came to *Windsor*, from whence after a few days he marched towards *Ely*; in which Island he besieged those which were disherited, and sharply also assaulted them.

The same year Pope *Clement* the Fourth promoted Master *Walter Gifford* Bishop of *Bath*, to be Archbishop of *York*.

In which year also the Church of *England* began to pay the Tenth of all their Revenues, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to the King, to continue for three years space; and this was done by the Authority Apostolical.

Within a while after the Barons which were yet remaining, gathered themselves together again; amongst whom *John Daiwill* (being a subtil and stout man of war) began to have a name, and was well esteemed amongst them, who altogether did what mischief they might, and in the month of *May* they assembled at *Chesterfield*, under the said *John Daiwill* and the Earl of *Ferrars*, upon whom the Kings Souldiers coming suddenly in the night, took them sleeping, and slew many of them. Then the said *John Daiwill* quickly arming himself came forth, thinking with more defence both to save himself and to escape. Who in the way struck the Lord *Gilbert Humsard* such a blow with his Demi-lance, that he

Kenelworth Decree against the disherited.

Kenelworth Decree granted by divers.

Kenelworth Castle yielded up to the King, before the return of the Messengers out of France.

The Tenth granted to the King by Authority Apostolical.

A new assembly of the Barons at *Christmas* field, where they had the overthrow.

Henry slain in the battel, at length known by his voice, and rescued by his Son.

Earl *Simon* Son, and many more Lords slain at this battel of *Eulham*.

Anto 1366. A Parliament summoned at *Winchester*, where King *Henry* was again restored to his Regality.

Kenelworth Castle besieged by the King.

All the Confederates of *Sim. Mountfort* with their Children disinherited by the King. *Sim. Mountfort* and his Confederates Excommunicated by the Popes Legate. Tenth granted by the Pope to the King and Queen for seven years.

{ Anno }
1267.
The Castle of *Kenelworth* again besieged.

Another assembly of the Barons at *Axioline*, and discomfited of them. The Jews spoiled and slain at *Lincoln*.

The Barons fortified the Island of *Ely*.

The Isle of *Ely* assaulted and entered by Prince *Edward*.

The King kept out of London forty days by the Barons and Citizens.

A peace concluded between the Barons and the King.

The statutes of *Marleberge*.

A Convocation holden at London by *Ostobonus* the Popes Legate.

fell'd both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus while the poor Soldiers fought and were slain, the Barons fled away, and saved themselves. Also the Earl *Ferarence* fled, and hid himself in a Church; but being bewrayed by a woman, he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this the King kept a Parliament at *Northampton*, where he disinherited all those that took part with the Earl *Simon*, and all their Children. Where also the Popes Legate *Ostobonus* held a Convocation, and Excommunicated all such Bishops as had taken any part with *Simon* against the King; of whom divers he sent up to *Rome*, to be absolved of the Pope; and further the said Legate caused to be proclaimed certain Decrees, which he himself had made, and also the new grant of Pope *Clement* to the King and Queen, of all the Tenth for seven years to come. And shortly after, a Tax also was fined upon the Country of *Norfolk*; to the gathering whereof *Walter* the Bishop of *Norwich* was appointed. *Ex Scala Mundi*.

After this in the year of our Lord 1267, King *Henry* besieged again the Castle of *Kenelworth*, from the seventh day before the first day of *July*, until the beginning of *December*; whither came *Ostobonus* the Popes Legate, by whose intreaty *Henry Hastings* delivered the same unto the King, which stoutly had defended the same, and resisted the King, having pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods and cattels. In which time also the Barons again assembled with *John Daiwill* in the Isle of *Axioline*, and so proceeded till they came to *Lincoln*, which they also took, and spoiled the Jews, and slew many of them; and entering their Synagogue, tare and rent the Book of their Law, and burnt the same, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the King heard, he sent thither his Son Prince *Edward*; but as soon as they heard that, they fled into the Isle of *Ely*, and fortified the same with Bulwarks as strongly as they might, at every entrance into the same. This was in the month of *April*, when *Edward* the Kings Son came thither; who for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no means enter the Island, till at length by the counsel of the inhabitants of that Province he caused with a number of workmen great Trenches and Ditches to be made, somewhat to convey away the water; and so long they used the counsel of them in making Bridges with Planks and Hurdles, till at the last they entered the Island; who as soon as they were entered, the Barons fled to *London*, where they were of the *Londoners* well entertained. The rest which were in the Island yielded themselves (amongst whom was *Roger Wake*, *Simon* the younger, and *Peche*) saving their lives and members. After this, both the King and *Edward* his Son came to *London* with a great power, but yet were kept out of the City by the Barons and Citizens for the space of forty days. And *Ostobonus* the Legate (who for fear was fled into the Tower) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length by the intreaty of the Earl of *Gloucester*, and other Earls that were his friends, both the Barons and Citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the Kings favour. And four Bishops, and eight other Noblemen were chosen, such as were at *Coventry* first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the King and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the form of their peace and ranfome. And Proclamation was made upon the Feast of *All-Saints*, of perfect peace and accord throughout all the Realm.

In the fifty second year of this King *Henry's* reign, eight days after the Feast of *St. Martin*, he held a Parliament at *Marleberge*, in the year of our Lord above recited; where by the advice of wise and discreet men, and with all the contents of the Nobles, he ordained and Enacted divers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the state of the Realm and execution of common justice, which are called the statutes of *Marleberge*.

The same year upon *St. Gregories* day, *Ostobonus* the Legate called a Council at *London*, where were five Archbishops, and a great number of Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates; which Council also within three days brake up again.

The same year upon *St. John's* day the Baptist, *Edward* the Kings Son, and divers other Noblemen of *England* took upon them the Cross by the Legates hands at *Northampton*, to the relief of the Holy Land, and the subversion of the

enemies of the Cross of Christ. Which done, the Legate the same year went out of *England*, not purposing after that to return again. This holy Legate saith (mine Author) which might well be resembled to *Lynx* the monstrous beast, whose quick sight penetrateth every thing, inrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the Churches in the Realm of *England* so narrowly, as by any means possible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The same was he that made all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches to pay Penfions; so that those Churches which gave not the vacancy of their Benefices to their Clerks and strangers, should pay unto them a certain yearly pension, during the vacancy of the Benefices which they should have.

The same year died Pope *Clement* the Fourth, after whose death the Church of *Rome* was two years vacant; and then was chosen an Archdeacon Cardinal, whose name was *Theardus*, as he was taking his journey into the Holy Land, and they called him *Gregory* the Tenth.

Then also died *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Leicester*, and second Son of King *Henry*, take to Wife the Earl of *Albemarle* his Daughter, and the Niece of the Earl of *Gloucester*; at which Marriage was the King and the Queen, and all the Nobility of *England*.

The same year was the Body of Saint *Edward* the King and Confessor, by *Walter Gifford* Archbishop of *York*, and other Bishops, Intombed in a new and rich Shrine of Gold and Silver, beset with precious stones, in the presence of *Henry* the King of *England*. In which year also fell a great rain and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seen, which increased and continued the space of forty days, and more.

The same year died *Walter de Laiwill*, Bishop of *Sarum*, the third day before the Nones of *January*. After whom succeeded *Robert* of *Northampton*, the Dean of the same Church. And because the See of *Canterbury* was then vacant, he was confirmed by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; which Chapter had always the jurisdiction in Spiritual causes, during the vacancy of that See, in as ample manner as the Bishop himself had being alive. After this, the Bishop Elect coming thither, thinking to have had his Consecration, was notwithstanding put back for two causes; one was, for that there was present then no more but one Bishop; the other was, for that all the other Bishops had appealed, that he might not be consecrated to their prejudice; that is, by the authority of the Chapter of *Canterbury*, saying, That they would not be under the obedience of the Monks.

After this solemn Messengers were for this cause sent to the Cardinals of *Rome*, for that then the See of *Rome* was vacant; who received answer, That during the vacation of that See, the Confirmation and Consecration of the Bishop Elect, pertained to the foresaid Chapter of *Canterbury*.

The same year also was the Lord *Henry*, the Son and heir of the Lord *Richard* King of *Almain*, and Brother to King *Henry* the Third, slain at *Viterbium*, in a certain Chappel hearing Mass, by the Lord *Simon* and *Guido*, the Sons of the Lord *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leicester*.

During this Kings reign, there was made a great and general Expedition of divers and sundry Christian Princes to *Hierusalem*, taking upon them the Lords Character, that is, the Cross; among whom was also *Edward* the Kings Son, unto the which Expedition was granted him a Subsidy throughout all the Realm. And in the month of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1270, or as saith *Florilegus*, *Ann.* 1269, he set forward on his journey.

About the time when Prince *Edward* was preparing his journey toward *Asia*, *Boniface* of whom ye heard before, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* ended his life in the Country of *Sabaudia*, going belike to *Rome*, or coming thence. After whose death the Monks of *Canterbury* proceeding to a new Election granted by the King, agreed upon the Prior of their house, named *Adam Chelenden*. But the King and his Son Prince *Edward* consenting and speaking in the behalf of *Robert Burnell* their Chancellor, did sollicite the matter with the Monks, partly intreating, partly threatening them, to chuse the said *Robert* to be Archbishop. Notwithstanding, the Monks being stout, would neither relent to their courteous request, no yet bow

{ KING }
Hen. 3.
The Legate departing out of *England*.

Valuation taken of all Churches by *Ostobonus* the Popes Legate. Penfionsout of Cathedral and Conventual Churches payed to the Popes Clerks. Pope *Clement* the 4th. dieth. Pope *Gregory* the 10th.

Edward the King and Confessor slain.

The Bishop of *Sarum* consecrated.

The death and slaughter of Lord *Richard* the Kings Son of *Almain* at *Viterbium*.

{ Anno }
1270.

The death of *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Adam Chelenden elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

KING to their boisterous threats, but constantly persisting in their former Election, appealed from the King and Prince to the Pope. Prince Edward being now on his journey, and seeing himself thus frustrated of the Monks, writeth back to the King his Father, devoutly praying and beseeching him in no wise to admit the Election of the foresaid Monks. And so passing to Dover with Henry, the Son of Richard his Uncle King of Romans, with their wives, they took their passage in the month of August. After this the Prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the King to be Archbishop, went up to Rome.

Adam Chelenden goeth up to Rome.

Variance between the Official of Canterbury, and the Prior of Dover.

Appellation to Rome.

Adam Chelenden resigneth to the Pope. Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the mean time the Monks in the absence of their Elect, ordained one Geoffrey Pomenall to be their Official; who seeing himself advanced to that dignity, and bearing belike some old grudge against the Prior of Dover, caused him to be cited up to appear in the Chapter-house of Canterbury. The Prior of Dover seeing this Citation to be prejudicial to him and to the Church of Dover, and knowing that the Monks of Canterbury have no such jurisdiction (the See of Canterbury being vacant) but that all things appertaining to that Church, ought to be reserved whole to the Consecration of the new Archbishop, therefore for the state both of him, and of his Church, he appealed up also unto Rome. But to return to the Archbishop again.

The second year after Chelenden the foresaid Archbishop Elect, remaining all this while at Rome, at last resigned up his Election to the Popes hand, being Gregory the tenth, who then gave the same to Robert Kilwarby. Who then coming to Dover, restored again the Prior of that house, being before excluded upon certain causes. By these contentions judg good Reader of the Religion of these men, and of these times. And now to return to our former story.

The Concordance.

About this time came out the great Concordance by an English Friar, called John Derrington. Ex Eulogio.

It was above declared how a general Voyage being proclaimed to war against the Turks, and a Subsidy being collected in England upon the same: Prince Edward with others was appointed to take their Voyage, and now were onward in their journey. Who at Michaelmas following, with his company came to Egermorth, which is from Marjilia eight Leagues westward, and there taking Ship again, (having a merry wind and prosperous) within ten days arrived at Sunes at Tunicium, where he was with great joy welcomed and entertained of the Christian Princes that were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose Father Ludovicus died a little before, of Carlos the King of Sicilia, and the two Kings Navar and Aragon. And as the Lord Edward came thither for his Father the King of England, thither came also Henry the Son of the King of Almain for his Father; who at his return from the Voyage was slain in a Chappel at Viterbium hearing Mass, by the Lord Simon and Guido, the Sons of the Lord Simon Mountfort Earl of Leicester.

When Prince Edward demanded of these Kings and Princes what was to be done, they answered him again, and said, The Prince of this City, said they, and the Province adjoining to the same, hath been accustomed to pay tribute unto the King of Sicilia every year. And now for that the same hath been for the space of seven years unpaid and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the King knowing the same tribute to be justly demanded, hath now according to our own desires satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before hand.

The great Expedition to invade the Turk, stayed by the concluding of a peace. The great rage of the French King against the Turk, turned into a money-matter.

Then said he, My Lords what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and have taken upon us the Lords Character to fight against the Infidels and enemies of Christ? What mean you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plain and hard, so that we may approach the holy City Jerusalem. Then said they, Now have we made a league with them; neither is it lawful for us to break the same; but let us return again to Sicilia, and when the Winter is past we may well take Shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himself well pleased therewith; but after that he had made them a Princely Banket, he went into his Closet or privy Chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They not-

withstanding continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind took Shipping, and for want of Ships, left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince Edward being somewhat moved with compassion, came back to the land, and received and stowed them in his own Ships, being the last that went aboard. Within seven days after, they arrived in the Kingdom of Sicilia, over against the City Trapes, casting their Anchors a league from thence within the Sea, for that their Ships were of great burthen, and thoroughly fraught. And from the haven of the City they sent out Barges and Boats to receive and bring such of the Nobility to land as would; but their Horses for the most part, and all their Armor they kept still within board. At length towards the evening, the Sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mighty, inasmuch that their Ships were beaten one against anothers sides; and drowned there were of them, at that tempest lying at Anchor, more than an hundred and twenty, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable souls besides; and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished and was drowned. But the tempest hurt not so much as one Ship of Prince Edwards, who had in number thirteen, nor yet had one man lost thereby; for that as it may be presupposed, he consented not to the wicked counsel of the rest. When in the morning the Princes and Kings came to the Sea-side, and saw all their Ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their Ships and Mariners, which were in number fifteen hundred besides the common Souldiers, there were no more saved than the Mariners of one only Ship, and they in this wise: There was in that Ship a good and wife Matron (a Countess or an Earls wife) who perceiving the tempest to grow, and fearing her self, called to her the Master of the Ship, and asked whether in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to save themselves? Who answered that to save the Ship it was impossible, howbeit the men that were therein by Gods help he doubted not. Then said the Countess, For the Ship force no whit, save the souls therein, and have to thee double the value of the Ship. VVho immediately hoisting the sails, with all force run the Ship aground so near the shore as was possible. Thus with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withal, he brast the Ship, and saved all that was within the same, as the Master of the same Ship had shewed and said before.

The Clemency of Prince Edward to the poor Souldiers.

A great shipwrack of the Christians lying at Anchor a little from Trapes. Money evil got, as evil lost. Non habet eventum for dda preda bonor. Ex scela mundi. Ex Gualt. Gaburn. Ex Flor. Hist. Prince Edward and his men preserved from the tempest. The integrity of Prince Edward rewarded of God.

Then the Kings and Princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwrack) returned home again every one unto their own lands; only Edward the Kings Son remained behind with his Men and Ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved. Then Prince Edward (renovating his purpose) took Shipping again, and within fifteen days after Easter arrived he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best Souldiers and most expert, and tarried there a whole month, refreshing both his Men and Horses, and that in this space he might learn and know the secrets of the land. After this he took with him six or seven thousand Souldiers and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and took Nazareth; and those that he there found he slew, and afterward returned again to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some strait or other advantage; they were by the Prince premonished thereof, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this about Midsummer, when the Prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cackbow, which was forty miles from Acra; he marching thither set upon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more than a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and took rich spoils, marching forward till they came to a Castle named Castrum Peregrinorum, situate upon the Sea-coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Acra. In the mean season the King of Jerusalem sent unto the Noblemen of Cyprus, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the Christians; but they would not come, saying, they would keep their own land and go no further. Then

Prince Edward arriveth at Acra and taketh Nazareth.

The Nobles
men of Cy-
prus shew
their fidel-
ty to the
Prince and
King of
England.

Then Prince *Edward* sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and joyn in aid with him. Who immediately thereupon came unto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, saying, that at his commandment they were bound to do no less, for that his Predecessors were sometimes Governours of their land, and that they ought always to shew their fidelity to the Kings of *England*. Then the Christians being herewith animated made a third Voyage or Rode, and came as far as the Fort called *Vincula S. Petri*, and to *St. Georges*: and when they had slain certain there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired again from whence they came.

A galleful
deceit of
the Saracens
praifed a-
gainst
Prince Ed-
ward.
En Gwb.
Scala mun-
di.

When thus the fame of Prince *Edward* grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him; they devised among themselves, how by some policy they might circumvent him, and betray him. Whereupon the great Prince and Admiral of *Joppa* sent unto him, feigning himself under great deceit to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honourably entertained and used of the Christians. This talk pleased the Prince well, and persuaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun, by writing again: who also by the same messenger sent and wrote back unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, faith mine Author, was one *Ex cote nutritus*, one of the stony-hearted, that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this Messenger came, and was of the Princes servants searched, according to the manner and custom what weapon and armor he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had up into the Princes Chamber, and after his reverence done; he pulled out certain Letters, which he delivered to the Prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight days after *Whitsontide*, upon a Tuesday somewhat before night; at which time the Prince was laid upon his bed bare headed in his Jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

The mes-
senger searched
before he
came to the
Princes pre-
sence.

When the Prince had read the Letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following, his Lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these news by the Prince to the standers by liked them well, drawing somewhat back to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the mean time the Messenger kneeling and making his obeisance to the Prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to the Belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret Letters, and suddenly he pulled out an envenomed Knife, thinking to have stricken him into the belly therewith as he lay; but the Prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arm. And being about to fetch another stroke at him, the Prince again with his foot took him such a blow that he fell'd him to the ground. With that the Prince gat him by the hand, and with such violence wrested the Knife from him, that he hurt himself therewith in the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the Messenger and striker, and slew him. The Princes servants being in the next Chamber not far off, hearing the bustling, came with great hast running in. And finding the Messenger lying dead on the Floor, one of them took up a stool and beat out his brains; whereat the Prince was wroth, for that he struck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumor hereof, as it was strange, so it soon went throughout all the Court, and from thence amongst the common people; wherefore they were very heavy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captain of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious drink against poyson, lest the venom of the Knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blamingwise said unto him, Did I not shew your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, faith he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straightway the Surgeons and Physicians were sent for, and the Prince was dressed, and within a few days after the wound began to putrefie, and the flesh to look dead and black; whereupon they that were about the Prince began to mutter amongst themselves, and were very sad and heavy. Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them, Why mutter you thus amongst your selves? What see you in me, can I

The Prince
in peril of
death by
reason of
his hurt, is
comforted
of the Phy-
sicians.

not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one said to him, and like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painful for you to suffer. May suffering, said he again, restore health? Yea, faith the other, on pain of losing my head. Then, said the Prince, I commit my self unto you, do with me what you think good. Then said one of the Physicians, Is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? To whom the Prince answered, yea, naming certain of the Noblemen that stood about him. Then said the Physician unto the two whom the Prince first named, the Lord *Edmund*, and the Lord *John Voisse*: And do you also faithfully love your Lord and Prince? Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then faith he, Take you away this Gentlewoman and Lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her Lord and Husband until such a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they took her out of the Princes presence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then said they unto her, Be ye contented good Lady and Madam, it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the Realm of *England* should weep a great season. Then upon the morrow they cut out all the dead envenomed flesh out of the Princes arm, and threw it from them, and said unto him, How cheereth your Grace? We promise you within these fifteen days you shall shew your self abroad (if God permit) upon your Horse-back, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the Prince, it came to pass, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects. When the great Soldan heard of it, and that the Prince was yet alive, he would scarcely believe the same, and sending unto him three of his Nobles and Princes, he excused himself by them, calling his gods to witness, that the same was done neither by him, nor his consent. Which Princes and Messengers standing aloof off from the Kings Son worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground. You (faith the Prince) do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in *English* unto them, speaking by an Interpreter. Nevertheless he honourably intreated them, and sent them away in peace.

KING
Hen. 3.

The Prince
restored to
health, and
the Soldan
forsooketh
himself.

Thus when Prince *Edward* had been eighteen months in *Acra*, he took Shipping about the *Assumption* of our Lady (as we call it) returning homeward, and after seven weeks he arrived in *Sicilia* at *Trapes*, and from thence travelling through *Palestina* and *Metmes*, and so through the midst of *Apulia*, till he came to *Rome*, where he was of the Pope honourably entertained; from thence he came into *France*, whose fame and Noble prowess was there much bruted among the common people, and envied of the Nobility, especially of the Earl of *Chalons*, who sent unto him and required him that he might break a staff with him at the Tilt in his Country. Which thing to do, for that the Prince would not diminish his honour and fame (although he might have well alledged a sufficient cause and excuse by means of his travel) yet he would not, but willingly consented thereunto; whereupon it was proclaimed, that Prince *Edward* by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all comers at the Tilt and Barriers. Whereupon great Assemblies were made in the Country all about; and divers as well Horsemen as Footmen, had conjured amongst themselves, and conspired against the *Englishmen*, selling their Horses and Armor aforehand, and drinking one to another in boun voyage of the spoil of them whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince *Edward* in the mean time sent into *England* for divers Earls and Barons, which come unto him. When the day appointed was come, the Prince had with him more than one thousand Horsemen, which were Knights, besides his Footmen, but yet there was as many more on the other side both in Horsemen and Footmen. When the parties should meet, the *French* Footmen, which had before conspired, began both to spoil, rifle, and kill. The *Englishmen* resisted and defended themselves both with Bows and Slings; many of them they slew, and drave them to the Gates of their City, the other they chased over a river, where many of them were drowned. In the mean season the Earl with fifty of his Knights which followed him, came forth and joyned together so many for so many, and a long time together they tried it with their swords, laying one at another. At the last the Earl perceiving himself not able to match with him at the arms end, inclos'd with him, & taking him about the neck, held him with his

The Prince
returneth
out of
Turkie into
England
again.

A day of
sport in
France ap-
pointed,
which turn-
ed to good
event.

A Conspir-
acy of the
Frenchmen
against the
Englishmen.

KING his arms very strait. What mean you my Lord (saith the Prince) think you to have my Horse? Yea marry (quoth the Earl) I mean to have both thee and thy Horse. Hereat Prince Edward, being ascomred, lifted up himself, and gave him such a blow, that therewithal he, forsaking his Horse, hung still about the Princes neck, till that he shook him off to the ground. Herewith the Prince, being somewhat in a heat, left the prease to take the Air, thereby to refresh himself. But when he saw the injury of the French-men towards his men, and how they had slain many of them, he then said unto them, that they used rather the exercise of battel, than of torney. Spare ye not therefore (saith he) from henceforth any of them all, but give them again as good as they bring. Then they assailed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their Swords walk.

Exercise of battel, in head of Barriers and torney.

And when by this time the English footmen were again returned, and saw the conflicts of Horsemen, and many other Englishmen overthrown; they put themselves amidst the prease; and some Panching the Horses, some cutting a sunder the girths of the French-mens saddles, they overthrew the Riders and gave them holy Bread. Then when the foresaid Earl was Horsed again by some of his men and amongst the throng, Prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and coupled again with him: To whom he often spake and cried, that he should yield himself as vanquished; but that he would not do. Notwithstanding, when his strength began to fail him, he was fain to yield himself unto a simple Knight, according as Prince Edward him bade, and all the rest of his Horsemen and Knights fled and saved themselves. Howbeit, many of them in that place were slain, and our men returned having the victory. But when after this they thought themselves to be quiet and at rest, they were killed of the Citizens, by two and by three at once as they went in the streets. Which thing when the Prince heard, he sent for the Maior and Burgeses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediatly: For otherwise, of his Knighthood he assured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the City, and make it level with the ground. Whereupon they went their ways, and set watchmen in divers places of the same to keep peace, by which means the Prince and men were in safety and quiet. Thus in this pastime of torneying and barriers, much blood was spilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed: So that it is not called *Tornamentum de Chalons*, but *Parvum bellum de Chalons*.

The Victory of the Prince and Englishmen against the Earl of Chalons and the Frenchmen.

From thence the Prince came to Paris, and was of the French King Honourably entertained: And after certain days, he went from thence into Vasconia, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the King his Father.

Prince Edward was in Vasconia at the time of his Fathers death.

In the year of our Lord 1272. died Pope Clement the Fourth: after whom succeeded Pope Gregory the Tenth; who in the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1273. called a general Council at Lyons, about the controversie between the Greek Church and the Latin Church, and for the vacancy of the See Apostolical, &c.

Anno 1272 Pope Clement the Fourth, Pope Gregory the Tenth.

Certain notes of other occurrents chancing in foreign Countries abroad, within the compass of the years and Reign of the foresaid King Henry the Third.

HAVING thus accomplished the life and History of King Henry the Third, with such accidents as happened within this Realm, I thought good to adjoyn unto the same some other foreign matters not unworthy the note, incident in other Countries during the time of the said King: namely from the year of our Lord 1217 unto this year 1272. which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that, even from and about the beginning of this Kings Reign, sprang up the very well-springs of all mischief, the Sects of Monkish religions and other swarms of Popish Orders, which with their grofs and horrible superstitions have incumbred the Church of Christ ever since.

First, to omit the repetition of Pope Innocentius the Third, the great Grandire of that foul Monster Transub-

stantiation and auricular confession, Friars Dominick, and Franciscan Friars, Thomas Aquinas, Jacobus de Voragine, Vincentius, with Pope Honorius the Third, Coiner of the Canon Law, and the Cardinal Posiensis, as also Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, with Pope Urban the Fourth, first founder of the feast of Corpus Christi, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, besides Durandus and many more: it followeth further to be noted, that the Tartarians about the year 1240. issuing out of Muscovia into the parts of Polonia, made great waste in Christendom, so much the rather, because the Princes about Polonia, being at variance amongst themselves, used none other remedy for their defence but heaps of Masses, invocation of the dead, and Worshipping of Images, which indeed did nothing relieve them, but rather increase their trouble.

In Annals of Silesia. The Tartarians make great spoil in Christendom.

The next year following, the whole Nation of the Scythians (mustering like locusts) invaded the parts of Europe with two mighty Armies, whereof the one entering upon Polonia, made great Havock and carried away many Christians from thence Captives; the other, overrunning Hungaria, made no less spoil there. Add hereunto another fresh Army of Tartarians, to the number of 5000000. who at the very same time joyning themselves together, entered into Muscovia and Cracovia, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither Sex nor Age, noble nor un noble within the Land. From thence passing to Ura-tislavia, they made great spoil there also, and thinking there to win the Castle, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and prayers of good people, discomfited beyond all expectation of Man, by Thunder and Lightning falling upon them from Heaven in most terrible wise.

The Scythians Army like locusts.

The same year immediatly after Easter, another Army of Tartarians were gathered against Lignicum, drawing near to Germany; by the brute whereof, the Germans, being put in great fears, were altogether dismayed, but yet not able to help themselves, by reason they lacked a good guid and governor amongst them. All which came to pass, specially by the mischievous practice of the Roman Popes, raising variance and discord among them. Notwithstanding, Henry Prince of Polonia and Silesia, gathering a power as well as he could, did encounter with him; but in fine, his whole Army was vanquished, and the King himself slain. Notwithstanding, which overthrow of Christians, it pleased God to strike such a fear into the hearts of the said Tartarians, that they durst not approach any further or neerer into Germany, but retired for that time into their Country again: Who recounting their victory, by taking each man but one ear of every one of the Christians that were slain, found the slaughter so great, as that they filled nine great sacks full of ears. Nevertheless, after this in the year 1260. the same Tartarians, having the Muscovites to their guides, returned again into Polonia and Cracovia, where in the space of three months, they overran the Land with fire and sword to the Coasts of Silesia, and had not the Princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case, they had utterly wasted the whole Land of Polonia, and the Coasts thereabout.

King Henry slain, and his Army vanquished.

Nine sacks full of Christians ears being slain.

This year also in the month April, Richard King of Almain died at the Castle of Barkhamsted, and was buried at the Abbey of Hailes, which he built out of the ground. The same year also at Norwich there fell a great controversie between the Monks and the Citizens, about certain tallages and liberties. At last, after much alteration and wrangling words, the furious rage of the Citizens so much increased and prevailed, and so little was the fear of God before their eyes, that altogether they set upon the Abbey and Priory, and burned both the Church and Bishops Palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very sorry to hear of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discommended the same. At the last, King Henry calling for certain of his Lords and Barons, sent them to the City of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chiefest Malefactors; inso-much that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawn by the heels with Horses throughout the streets of the City, and after in much misery ended their wretched lives. The same year Adam the Prior of Canterbury, and Bishop Elect, in

Richard King of Almain died. A great variance between the Monks and the Citizens of Norwich.

Execution done at Norwich by the commandment of King Henry the Third.

Adam Pri-
or of Canter-
bury, refus-
eth to be
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.
Robert Kil-
warby Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

The death
of King
Henry the
Third.

the presence of Pope Gregory the Tenth refused to be Archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the Pope gave the same Archbishoprick to Frier Robert Kilwarby the provost of the Preaching Friars, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canterbury the fourth day of March, by Six Bishops of the same Province. The same year also at Michaelmas, the Lord Edmund, the Son of King Richard of Almain, married the Sister of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester. Also in this year of our Lord 1273. the sixteenth day before the Kalends of December, upon Saint Edmunds day the Archbishop and confessor, died King Henry, in the six and fiftieth year of his Reign, and was buried at Westminster, leaving after him two Sons, and two Daughters, to wit, Edward the Prince, and Edmund Earl of Lancaster and Leicefer; Beatrice and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the King of Scots. This King Henry in his life time began the building of the Church and Steeple at Westminster, but did not throughly finish the same before his death.

King Edward the First.

Edward the
First.

IN the time of the death of King Henry, Edward his eldest Son was absent in *Vasconia*, as a little before you heard; yet notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops and Nobles, he was ordained Heir and Successor after his Father; who, after he had heard of his Fathers death, returned home to his Country, and was Crowned in the year of our Lord 1274. Who then laid down his Crown, saying, *he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the Lands appertaining to the same.* This Edward as he had always before been a loving and natural Child to his Father, whom he had delivered out of prison and captivity; and hearing afterward both together of the death of his Son, and of his Father, wept and lamented much more for his Father, than for his Son, saying to the French King (which asked the cause thereof) that the loss of his Child was but light; for Children might after increase and be multiplied, but the loss of his Parent was greater, which could not be recovered: Robert Avesbury. So Almighty God, for the same his Piety to his Father shewed, rewarded him again with great success, Felicity, and long Reign: Inasmuch that he being young, as he was playing at Chess with a certain Souldier of his, suddenly having occasion given, rose up and went his way; who was not so soon voided the place, but incontinent fell down a mighty stone from the vault above, directly upon the place where he sat, able to have quashed him in pieces, if he had tarried never so little more. In the preservation of whom, as I see the present hand and mighty providence of the living God: So in the Kings Order again, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension for that he, receiving such a living benefit at the hand of the living Lord, going therefore on Pilgrimage to *Walsingham*, gave thanks not only to our Lord, but rather to a rotten block. *Ibidem.* Of the gentle nature of this courageous Prince, sufficient proof is given by this one example: that what time he being in his disport of Hawking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his Gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell, about his Hawk; the Gentleman being on the other side of the River, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the River was between them. With this answer the courageous blood of this Prince being moved, upon present heat he leaped straight into the flood, both of a swift stream and of a dangerous deepness, and no less hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the danger present, and having a good Horse, ventureth his own death, to have the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recovering the bank, with his sword drawn he pursueth his provoker. Who having not so good an Horse, and seeing himself in danger of taking, reineth his Horse, and returning back barehead unto the Prince, submitteth his neck under his hand to strike. The Prince, whose fervent stomach the water of the whole River could not quench, a little submission of his man did so cool, that the quarrel fell, his anger ceased, and his sword was put up without any stroke given. And so both returned to their Game, good friends again. *Avesb. Nico. Trivet.*

In the first beginning of his Reign, the King had much

ado in *Wales*, where he had divers conflicts with the *Welsh-men*, whom at last he subdued, and cut down their woods, suppressed rebellions, and vanquishing their Kings *Lewline* and his Brother, ordained his Eldest Son *Edward*, born in the same Country, to be Prince of *Wales*. This *Lewline* Captain of the *Welsh-men* here mentioned, rebelling against King *Edward*, asked Counsel of conjuration, what event should come upon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should go forward boldly, for doubtless he should ride through *Cheapside* at *London*, with a Crown on his Head. Which so came to pass. For being slain, his Head was carried through *Cheap*, with a Crown of Silver to *London Bridge*. Whereby men may learn not to seek nor stick to these vain Prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they trains of the Devil to deceive men.

About this time was a great Earthquake, and such a Rot, that consumed a great multitude of Sheep in the Land, through the occasion (as they say) of one scabbed Sheep that came out of *Spain*. The King returning from *Wales* to *England*, ordered certain new Laws for the wealth of the Realm. Among many others, this was one; that Authority was given to all Maiors, Bailiffs, and other Officers to see execution and punishment of all Bakers making Bread under the Size, with pillory. Of Millers stealing Corn, with the Tumbrel, &c. And within two years after the Statute of *Mortmain* was first enacted, which is as much to say, that no man should give unto the Church any Lands of Rents, without especial Licence of the King.

About which time also, being the seventh year of his Reign, 1279. Jews for Money clipping were put to execution. In which year began first the foundation of the *Black-Friers* by *Ludgate*. And the Town of *Boston* was greatly wasted the same year with fire. The half penny and farthing began first to be coined the self same time, which was the Eighth year of his Reign. The great Conduit in *Cheap* began the Fourth year after to be made, Anno. 1284. And the next year following, the new work of the Church of *Westminster* (begun as is afore premonished in the Third year of *Henry the Third*) was finished, which was sixty six years in edifying. The Jews were utterly banished this Realm of *England* the same time, for which the Commons gave to the King a fifteenth, &c.

After that the Countrey of *Wales* was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing down of the Woods, and casting down the old holds, and building of new; which all was brought to perfect end, about the 24. year of this Kings Reign. Then ensued another broil as great or greater with *Scotland*, to the great disquiet of the King and the Realm of *England* many years after. This trouble first began by the death of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, who died without Issue left alive behind him. Although *Fabian* in the 7. Book of his Chronicles affirmeth; that he left three Daughters, the Eldest married to Sir *John Baliol*, the second, to *Robert Bruce*, the third, to one *Hastings*. But this in *Fabian* is to be corrected, as which neither standeth with it self, and is clearly convicted by the witness and History of *Rob. Avesb.* and also of *Gisburn*.

For first, if King *Alexander* had left his Eldest Daughter married to Sir *John Baliol*, then what controversy might rise among the Lords about succession, needing so diligent and anxious deciding by the King of *England*? Secondly, what claim or title could the King of *Norway* have to the Crown of *Scotland*, which was one of the Challengers, claiming the said Crown in the behalf of *Margaret* the Niece of the foresaid King *Alexander* her Grandfather, if the Eldest Daughter of the Father had been left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plain, when by the affirmance of the foresaid Story it is testified, that King *Alexander* had two Wives? Of the second whereof he had no issue. Of the first he had two Children; *Alexander* which died before his Father; and *Margaret* married to the King of *Norway*, which died also before her Father, of whom came *Margaret* the Niece of *Alexander*, and Daughter to the King of *Norway* afore mentioned. And she also died in the journey between *Norway* and *Scotland*, the fourth year after the decease of her Grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter standeth most clear, so let us now, returning from whence we digressed, prosecute the rest that

KING
Edward the
First
Wales sub-
dued.

The Kings
first Son
Prince of
Wales.

Vain Pro-
phecies not
to be sought
to.

Punishment
for Bakers
and Millers.
The Statute
of Mort-
main first
Enacted.

ANNO
1279
Black-Friers
by Ludgate
built.
Boston de-
stroyed with
fire.
The great
Conduit in
Cheap.
Westminster
Church
finished.
A place in
Fabian
corrected.
Ex Tbo.
Wals.
Gisburn.

Piety to Pa-
rents re-
warded of
God.
Ex Chron.
Tbo. Wals.
A miracle of
God in pre-
serving King
Edward.

False wor-
ship repre-
hended, God
giveth the
benefit, and
a dumb
stock hath
the thanks.

Example of
Princely
clemency
to be learn-
ed of Kings
and Princes.
Ex Chron.
Nico. Trivet.
& Tbo. Wal-
singham.

Lack of suc-
cession, what
disturbance
it worketh
in a Realm.

1292 that followeth. After that *Alexander* thus, as is said, departed without issue, and also *Margaret* his Niece in *Norway* was deceased, the matter came in a great doubt among the Nobles of *Scotland* (especially twelve by name) to whom the right of the Crown should next pertain. After much variance among Parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the judgment of King *Edward* of *England*: who after sufficient proof made to the *Scots*, and firm evidence brought out of all the ancient Histories both of *England* and *Scotland*, testifying from time to time that he was chief Head and Sovereign of the Realm of *Scotland*; first, by necessity of the Law, and by all their consents took full possession of the same. And that done, adjudged the right of the Crown to *John Baliol*, who descended of the Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to *David* King of *Scots* in the days of King *Henry* the Second. This Earl *David* had three Daughters, *Isabel* married to *Robert Bruce*, *Margaret* to *Allen* Earl of *Galloway*, and *Ellen* to *Henry* Lord *Hastings*. *Allen* Earl of *Galloway* had *Ellen*, married to *Roger Quincy* Earl of *Winchester*, Constable of *Scotland*, and *Dorvage* married to *John Baliol*, Father to *Edward* King of *Scots*.

When these things were thus finished in *Scotland*, and Sir *John Baliol* as most rightful Inheritor had received the Crown of *Scotland* at the hands of King *Edward*, thankfully, and for the same, in the presence of the Barony of *England* and of *Scotland*, did unto the said King *Edward* his Homage, and swore to him Fealty: the *Scots* with their new King returned into *Scotland*, and King *Edward* removed again to *England*.

But not long after, the falleness of this Scottish King soon appeared. Who, repenting him of his Homage done untruly, forsook his former Oath and Promise, and made War against King *Edward*, through the counsel of the Abbot of *Menros*. Wherefore, the King with a great Host sped him into *Scotland*, and in process laid Siege to the Town of *Barwick*, which the *Scots* did eagerly defend,

not only to the discomfiture, but also to the derision of the King and his English Host. But in conclusion, the English men prevailed and won the Town, where were slain of the *Scots* the number of twenty and five thousand. And while the King was there busied in winning other Holds about the same, he sent part of his Host to *Dunbar*, where the Englishmen again had the Victory, and slew of the *Scots* twenty thousand: *Gisburne* faith but ten thousand; so that very few were left of the English Company. The King, with a great number of Prisoners returning into his Realm, shortly after sped him over unto *Flanders*, where he sustained great trouble by the French King, till truce for a certain space was between them concluded. But in the mean while that King *Edward* was thus occupied beyond the Seas, the French King (resorting to his practised manner) set the *Scots* secretly against the Englishmen to keep the King at home. Which *Scots*, making themselves a Captain named *William Wallace*, warred upon the borders of *Northumberland*, where they did much hurt.

At length the King, returning from *Burdeaux* into *England*, shortly upon the same took his journey into *Scotland*. Where meeting at *Tork* with his Host, he marched into the Realm of *Scotland*, winning, as he went, Towns and Castles, till at length coming to the Town of *Franklyn* on *Mary Magdalens* day, he met with the Power of *Scotland*, and had with them a fore fight, but through Gods Providence the Victory fell to the right cause of Englishmen: so that of the *Scots* were slain in the field, as it is of divers Writers affirmed, above the number of thirty and two thousand; and of Englishmen, but barely twenty eight persons. Whereupon the King, again taking possession and fealty of the whole Land, returned home.

And yet the false untruth of the *Scots* would not thus be ruled, but rose up in a new broil: so that the King was enforced to make his Power again the year following into *Scotland*, where he so suppressed the Rebellion of the Lords and of the Commons, that they, swearing to the Kings Allegiance, presented themselves by great Companies, and put them wholly in the Kings Grace and Mercy: so that the King thinking himself to be in peaceable possession, and in a great surety of the Land, caused to be sworn unto him the Rulers of the Boroughs, Cities and Towns,

with other Officers of the Land, and so returned unto *Barwick*, and so into *England*, and lastly to *Westminster*.

These Martial Affairs between *England* and *Scotland*, although they appertain not greatly to the purpose of our story Ecclesiastical, yet so much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby, that which followeth in the sequel hereof, might the better be understood by these premises. As the *Scots* were thus warring and raging against the King, and saw they could not make their party good, they sent privily to Pope *Boniface* for his aid and counsel: who immediately sendeth down his Precept to the King, to this effect, that he should hereafter surcease to disquiet or molest the *Scots*, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his Chappel. And therefore it could not otherwise be, but that the City of *Jerusalem* must needs defend his own Citizens; and as the Mount *Sion*, maintain such as trust in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the King briefly maketh answer again, swearing with an Oath, that he would to his uttermost keep and defend that which was his right, evidently known to all the world, &c. Thus the *Scots* bearing themselves bold upon the Popes Message, and also confederating themselves with the Frenchmen, passed over that year. The next year after that (which was the 29th year of the Kings Reign) the said Pope *Boniface* directeth his Letters again to the King, wherein he doth vindicate the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be proper to the Church of *Rome*, and not subject to the King of *England*. And therefore it was against God, against Justice, and also prejudicial to the Church of *Rome*, for him to have or hold Dominion over the same, which he proved by these Reasons:

First, That when King *Henry*, the Father of this King received Aid of *Alexander* King of *Scots* in his Wars against *Simon Mouniford*, he recognized and acknowledged in his Letters Patents, that he received the same of King *Alexander*, not of any duty, but of special favour.

Item, When the said King *Alexander*, coming to *England*, did Homage to the said King *Henry*; he did it not as King of *Scotland*, but only for certain Lands of *Tindal* and *Penteth*, lying in *England*.

Item, Whereas the said King *Alexander* left behind him *Margaret* his Heir, being Niece to the King of *England*, and yet underage; yet the tuition of the said *Margaret* was committed not to the King of *England*, but to certain Lords of *Scotland*, deputed to the same.

Moreover, when any Legacy was directed down from *Rome* to the Realm of *England*, for collecting of Tenths or other causes, the said Legacy took no place in the Realm of *Scotland*, and might well be resisted (as it was in King *Alexander* his days) except another special Commission touching the Realm of *Scotland*, were joynd withal. Whereby it appeareth, that these be two several Dominions, and not subject under one.

Adding Furthermore, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* first was converted by the reliques of the blessed Apostle *Saint Peter*, through the divine operation of God, to the unity of the Catholick Faith.

Wherefore upon these causes and reasons, Pope *Boniface* in his Letters to the King, required him to give over his claim, and cease his Wars against the Scottish Nation: and to release all such both of the spirituality and Laity, as he had of them Prisoners. Also to call home again his Officers and Deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the grievance of that Nation, to the slander of all faithful people, and no less prejudice to the Church of *Rome*. And if he would claim any right or title to the said Realm, or any part thereof, he should send up his Procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himself alledge, unto the See Apostolick, there to receive what reason and right would require.

The King, after he had received these Letters of the Pope, assembled a Council or Parliament at *Lincoln*: By the advice of which Council and Parliament, he addressed other Letters responal to the Pope again; wherein first in all reverend manner he desireth him not to give light ear to the sinister suggestions of false reports, and Imaginings of mischief. Then he declareth out of old Records and Histories from the first time of the Britains, that the Realm of *Scotland* hath always from time to time been all one with *England*, beginning first with *Brutus* in the

K k 2 time

The King of England proved by old Records, chief Head and Sovereign of Scotland. Anno 1291.

S. John Baliol made King of Scotland by King Edward. King of Scots doth homage to the King of England.

The fallness of the Scottish King.

The Town and Castle of Barwick won of Englishmen.

Fallness justly punished.

The Scots rebel again.

The second voyage of King Edward into Scotland. Anno 1298.

Ex Fabiana. A notable victory against the Scots. Anno 1299. The Scots sworn to the Kings Allegiance.

Ex Chron. Tho. Wolf. Arch. The Popes Message unto the King.

The Kings answer to the Pope.

The Pope challenges the Realm of Scotland to be free from the Dominion of England.

Anno 1301.

The King replieth to the Pope.

Scotland all one with England.

Brutus.
Loecrinus.
Albanactus.
Camber.

time of Helt and Samuel the Prophet: which Brutus, coming from Troy to this Isle called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had three Sons; Loecrinus, to whom he gave that part of the Land, called then of him Loegria, now Anglia; Albanactus his second Son, to whom he gave Albania, now called Scotia; and his third Son Camber, to whom he gave Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

And thus much concerning the first division of this Isle, as in ancient Histories is found recorded. In which matter, passing over the death of King Humber, the Acts of Dunwald King of this Realm, the division of Belyn and Brenne, the Victories of King Arthur, we will resort (saith the King) to more nearer times, testified and witnessed by sufficient Authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bizoto and other. All which make special declaration, and give manifest evidence of the execution of this our right (saith he) and Title of Superiority ever continued and preserved hitherto.

And first to begin with Edward the Senior, before the Conquest, Son to Alured King of England, about the year of our Lord, 900. it is plain and manifest, that he had under his Dominion and Obedience the King of Scots: And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian the Scot, writing that story in those days, granteth, confesseth and testifieth the same: and this Dominion continued in that state 23 years. At which time, Athelstane succeeded in the Crown of England, and having by battel conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine King of that Party, to Rule and Govern the Country of Scotland under him, adding this Princely word, That it was more honour to him to make a King, than to be a King.

Twenty four years after that, which was the year of our Lord, 947. Eldred the King our Progenitor, Athelstanus Brother, took Homage of Irile then King of Scots.

Thirty years after that, which was the year of our Lord, 977. King Edgar our Predecessor took Homage of Kynald King of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of S. Edward King and Martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his Mother in law, but yet within memory.

Forty years after the Homage done by Kynald to King Edgar, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 1017. Malcoline the King of Scots did Homage to Knute our Predecessor. After this Homage done, the Scots uttered some piece of their natural disposition, whereupon (by War made by our progenitor S. Edward the Confessor, Thirty and nine years after that Homage done, that is to say, the year of our Lord 1056.) Malcoline King of Scots was vanquished, and the Realm of Scotland given to Malcoline his Son by our said Progenitor S. Edward, unto whom the said Malcoline made Homage and Fealty.

Within Forty years after that, William Conqueror entered this Realm, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest until he had likewise subdued the Scots: and therefore in the said year (which was in the year of our Lord 1068.) the said Malcoline King of Scots did Homage to the said William the Conqueror, as his Superior by conquest King of England.

Twenty and five years after that, which was the year of our Lord 1093. the said Malcoline did Homage and Fealty to William Rufus, Son to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that, he was for his offences and demerits deposed, and his Son substitute in his place: who likewise failed in his duty, and therefore was ordained in that Estate, by the said William Rufus, Edgar Brother to the last Malcoline, and Son to the first, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly.

Seven years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1100. the said Edgar, King of the Scots, did Homage to Henry the first our Progenitor.

Thirty seven years after that, David King of Scots did Homage to Matild the Emperatrice, as Daughter and Heir to Henry the first. Wherefore being after required by Stephen, then obtaining possession of the Realm, to make his Homage: He refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Matild, and thereupon forbore. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the Son of the said David made Homage to the said King Stephen.

Fourteen years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1150. William King of Scots, and David his Brother, with all the Nobles of Scotland, made Homage to Henry the seconds Son, with a reservation of their duty to Henry the second his Father.

Twenty five years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1175. William King of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance, according to their natural inclination (King Henry the second then being in Normandy) acknowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great Seal, and the Seals of the Nobility of Scotland, making therewith his Homage and Fealty.

Within Fifteen years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1190. the said William King of Scots came to our City of Canterbury, and there did Homage to our Noble Progenitor King Richard the First.

Fourteen years after that, the said William did Homage to our Progenitor King John, upon a Hill besides Lincoln, making his Oath upon the Cross of Hubert, then Archbishop of Canterbury, being there present, and a marvellous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Twenty six years after that, which was in the year of our Lord 1230. Alexander King of Scots married Margaret the Daughter of our Progenitor Henry the Third, at our City of York, in the Feast of Christmas: At which time the said Alexander did his Homage to our said Progenitor, who Reigned in this Realm 56. years. And therefore between the Homage made by the said Alexander King of Scotland, and the Homage done by Alexander, Son to the said King of Scots, to us at our Coronation at Westminster, there was about Fifty years. At which time, the said Alexander King of Scots repaired to the said Feast of our Coronation, and there did he his Duty as is aforesaid.

¶ Besides these Letters of the King, the Lords Temporal also, in the name of the whole Commonalty and Parliament, wrote another Letter to the Pope answering to that, whereas the Pope Arrogated to him to be Judge for the title of the Realm of Scotland, which the King of England claimed unto himself; which Letter I thought good also here to annex, containing, as in the words of the same here followeth to be read and seen.

The Lords Temporal, and the whole Barony of England to the Pope.

THE Holy mother Church by whose ministry the Catholic See is Governed, in her deeds (as we thoroughly believe and hold) proceedeth with that ripeness in judgment, that she will be hurtful to none: But like a mother would every mans right to be kept unbroken as well in other, as in her self. Whereas therefore in a general Parliament, called at Lincoln of late by our most dread Lord Edward, by the Grace of God the Noble King of England: the same our Lord caused certain Letters received from you to be read openly, and to be declared seriously before us, about certain businesses touching the condition and state of the Realm of Scotland: we did not a little muse and marvel with our selves, bearing the meanings concerning the same, so wonderful and strange, as the like we have not heard at any time before. For we know most holy Father, and it is well known as well in this Realm of England, as also it is not unknown to other persons besides, that from the first beginning of the Realm of England, the certain and direct Government of the Realm of Scotland in all Temporal causes, from time to time, belonged to the Kings of the same Realm of England, and Realm of Scotland; as well in the times of the Britains, as also of English-men. Yea rather, the same Realm of Scotland of old time was in fee to the Ancestors of our foresaid Lords Kings of England, yea and to himself. Furthermore, the Kings of the Scots, and the Realm have not been under any other than the Kings of England; and the Kings of England have answered, or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid Realm, or for any his temporalities before any Judge Ecclesiastical or secular, by reason of free prebeminence of the State of his Royal Dignity, and Custom kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treaty had and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid Letters, this was the common agreeing and consent with one mind, and shall be without fail in time to come by Gods grace; that our foresaid

A Letter of the Lords temporal to the Pope.

KING said Lord the King ought by no means to answer in judgment in any case, or should bring his foresaid right into doubt; nor ought to send any Proctors or Messengers to your presence: especially seeing that the premisses tend manifestly to the disheriting of the right of the Crown of England, and the plain overthrow of the State of the said Realm, and also hurt of the Liberties, Customs and Laws of our Fathers: for the keeping and defence of which we are bound by the duty of our oath made, and we will maintain them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods help) with all strength. And further, we will not suffer our foresaid Lord the King to do, or by any means to attempt the premisses, being so unaccustomed, unwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, we reverently and humbly beseech your Holiness that ye would suffer the same our Lord King of England (who among other Princes of the World, sheweth himself Catholic and devout to the Romish Church) quietly to enjoy his Rights, Liberties, Customs, and Laws aforesaid; without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue untouched. In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents, as well for us, as for the whole Commonalty of the foresaid Realm of England. Dated at Lincoln in the year of our Saviour 1301. & Anno Edwardi primi 28.

ANNO 1303. the said Pope Boniface the eighth of that name, taking displeasure with Philip the French King, did excommunicate King Edward of England to War against him, promising him great aid thereunto. But he (as mine Author saith) little trusting the Popes false unstable affection toward him well proved before, put him off with delays. **Ex Rob. Avesb.** Whereupon, the French King fearing the power of King Edward, whom the Pope had set against his friendship, restored unto him again Vascone, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned between the Pope and the French King, how it began first, and to what end it fell out, the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall declare, after that first I have finished the discourse begun between England and Scotland.

In the year 1303. the foresaid William Waleis which had done so many displeasures to the King before, continuing still in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the King, till at length the year following he was taken, and sent up to London, and there Executed for the same. After which things done, the King then held his Parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the Bishop of Saint Andrews, Robert Bruce above mentioned, Earl of Dunbare, Earl of Arles, and Sir John Comming, with divers other: The which voluntarily were sworn to be true to the King of England, and to keep the Land of Scotland to his use against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Bruce, who, as is said, married the Second Daughter of Earl David, forgetting his Oath before made unto the King, within a year or two after this, by the counsel of the Abbot of Stone, and the Bishop of Saint Andrews sent up unto Pope Clement the fifth, for a dispensation of his Oath made; insinuating to him, that King Edward vexed and grieved the Realm of Scotland wrongfully. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the King to leave off such doings. Notwithstanding which inhibition of the Pope, the King prosecuting his own right, after he had the understanding of the doings of the Scots, and of the mischief of Robert Bruce, (who had slain with his own hands Sir John Comming, for not consenting with him and other Lords at his Parliament) asserted his power and strength of men, preparing himself toward Scotland, where he joyning with the said Sir Robert and all his power of Scotland in a plain, near unto Saint Johns Town, put him to flight, and so chased the Scots, that of them were slain to the number of seven Thousand. In the which Victory, such Bishops and Abbots as were taken he sent to the Pope; the Temporal Lords and other Scots he sent to London, &c. Sir Robert Bruce after this discomfiture, when he had thus lost both the Field and his chief Friends, seeing himself not able to make his party good, fled into Norway, where he kept his abode during the time while King Edward lived. When this Noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yielded thanks to God for his Victory, and so setting the Land in a

quiet, and an Order, he returned unto London, which was the 35th year, and last of his Reign, &c.

Now to return to that which I promised before touching the variance and grievous dissention between Philip the French King, and Pope Boniface the eighth of that name: After the Bishoprick of Rome had been long void through the dissention of the Cardinals, for the space of two years and three months; at length Pope Celestinus was chosen successor to Pope Nicholas the fourth. Which Celestinus in his first consistory began to reform the Clergy of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other Churches. Wherefore, he procured to himself such hatred among his Clergy men, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a Reed in his Chamber wall, nightly admonished him, as it had been a voice from Heaven, that he should give over his Papacy, as being a burthen bigger than he could weild.

This Pope Celestin after he had sate six months, by the treachery and falshood of this Boniface, was induced to give up and resign his Bishoprick, partly for the voice spoken of before, partly for fear; being told of certain craftily suborned in his Chamber, that, if he did not resign, he should lose his life. Who then after his resignation going to live in some solitary desert (being a simple man) was vilely taken and thrust into perpetual prison by Pope Boniface, craftily pretending that he did it not for any hatred unto Celestin, but that seditious persons might not have him as their head to raise up some stir in the Church. And so he was brought to his death. Wherefore, this Boniface was worthily called the eighth Nero: of whom it was rightly said, He came in like a Fox, Reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog.

This Pope Boniface succeeding, or rather invading after Celestinus, behaved himself so imperiously, that he put down Princes, Excommunicated Kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Divers of his Cardinals he drove away for fear, some of them as schismatics he deposed and spoiled of all their substance. Philip the French King he Excommunicated, for not suffering his money to go out of the Realm; and therefore cursed both him and his to the fourth Generation. Albertus the Emperor not once or twice, but thrice sought at his hands to be confirmed, and yet was rejected, neither could obtain, unless he would promise to drive the French King out of his Realm. In the factious discord in Italy between the Guelphs and Gibellines, which the part of a good Bishop had been to extinguish, so little he helped to quench the smoak, that he of all other was the chiefest firebrand to increase the flame. Inasmuch that upon Ashwednesday, when Porchetus an Archbishop came and kneeled down before him to receive his Ashes, Pope Boniface looking upon him, and perceiving that he was one of the Gibellines part, cast his handful of ashes in his eyes, saying, *Memento homo quod Gibellinus es, &c.* That is, Remember man that a Gibelline thou art, and to ashes thou shalt go. This Pope moreover ordained first the Jubile in Rome, in the solemnizing whereof, the first day he shewed himself in his Pontificalibus, and gave free remission of sins to as many as came to Rome out of all the parts of the World. The second day (being arrayed with Imperial Ensigns) he commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice; *Eccē potestatem utriusque gladii*, That is, Lo here the power and authority of both the swords, &c.

From the which very year (as most Stories do record) the Turks do begin the first Count of their Turkish Emperors, whereof the first was Ottomannus, as you shall hear discoursed hereafter by Gods grace in the Historie of the Turks.

By this said Pope Boniface divers constitutions extravagants of his Predecessors were collected together, with many of his own newly added thereto, and so made the Book called *Sextus decretalium &c.* By whom also first sprang up pardons and indulgences from Rome.

These things thus premised of Boniface the Pope, now will I come to the occasion of the strife between him, and the French King. Concerning which matter, first I find in the History of Nicholas Trivet, that in the year of our Lord, 1301. the Bishop of Oppidubam, being accused for a conspiracy against the French King, was brought up to his Court, and so committed to prison. The Pope

A grievous variance between Philip the French King and Pope Boniface.

Pope Nicholas the 4th. Popedom vacant two years.

Pope Celestin 5.

Crafty juggling among Popes and Cardinals. Ex Masses.

The 8 Nero.

Pope Boniface 8.

The mischief of Pope Boniface described.

Guelphs and Gibellines two factions in Rome.

Jubile first begun in Rome.

The Pope claimed and practised power of both swords.

Pope Boniface 8. Author of the Book of decretals.

Romish pardons first begun by Pope Boniface. Ex Hist. Nic. Trivet.

Philip the
French
King Ex-
communi-
cated.

hearing this, sendeth word to the King by his Legate to set him at liberty. The French King, not daring to the contrary, looseth the Bishop. But when he had done, he dischargeth both the Bishop and the Legate, commanding them to void his Realm. Whereupon, Pope Boniface revoketh all the Graces and Priviledges granted either by him or his Predecessors before to the Kingdom of France; also not long after he thundred out the sentence of his Curse against him. Moreover, he citeth all the Prelates, all Divines, and Lawyers both civil and canon, to appear personally before him at Rome, at a certain day, which was the first of November. Against this Citation the King again provideth, and commandeth by strait Proclamation, that no manner of person should export out of the Realm of France either Gold, or Silver, or any other manner of Ware or Merchandise upon pain of forfeiting all their goods, and their bodies at the Kings pleasure: providing withall, that the ways and passages, should diligently be kept, that none might pass unsearched. Over and besides, the said French King defeated the Pope in giving and bestowing Prebends, and Benefices, and other Ecclesiastical Livings, contrary to the Popes profit. For the which cause, the Pope writeth to the foresaid King in form and effect as followeth.

Boniface Bishop, and Servant to Gods Servants, to his beloved Son Philip, by the Grace of God, King of France, Greeting and Apostolical Blessing.

Ex lib. Ste-
phan An-
frail.

Boniface the Servant of Gods Servants, &c. Fear God, and observe his Commandments. We will thee to understand, that thou art subject to us both in Spiritual things, and Temporal: And that no gift of Benefices or Prebends belongeth to thee; and if thou have the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reserve the profits of them to the Successors. But if thou have given any, we judge the Gift to be void, and call back how far soever thou hast gone forward. And whosoever believeth otherwise, we judge them Hereticks.

Unto this Letter of the Pope, King Philip maketh answer again in manner and order as followeth, which is this:

Philip by the Grace of God King of France, to Boniface not in deeds behaving himself for Pope, little Friendship or none.

A Letter of
King Philip
of France
to Pope
Boniface.

To Boniface bearing himself for chief Bishop, little health or none. Let thy foolishness know, that in Temporal things we are subject to no man, and that the Gifts of Prebends and Benefices, made and to be made by us, were and shall be good, both in time past and to come. And that we will defend manfully the Possessor of the said Benefices, and we think them that believe or think otherwise, Fools and mad men. Given at Paris the Wednesday after Candlemas, 1301.

After these afore said and other writings passing to and fro, between the French King and the Pope; within a year and an half after, the King summoneth a Parliament, sending down his Letters to his Sheriffs and other Officers, to summon the Prelates and Barons of the Realm unto the said Court of Parliament, according to the tenor of the Kings Letters here following:

A Parlia-
ment sum-
moned by
King Philip
at Paris.

Philip by the Grace of God King of France, &c. Whereas we would take counsel with the Prelates, Barons, and other our faithful, about weighty matters and hard, and such as belong greatly to our Right, and touching our Honour, State, Liberties, and Laws of this our Realm, Churches, and Ecclesiastical Persons, and would also go forward and proceed in the foresaid matters according to their counsel: We command you, that ye diligently in our behalf require and straightly charge all the Prelates in your Bayliwick, and also all and singular Abbots and Priors of the same your foresaid Bayliwick, (to certain of the which we have directed down our special Letters for the same cause)

that as they favour our Honour, the good state both of the Realm, of themselves and of the Church, they repair to us in their own persons, all lets and delays set aside, and all other business left off. Shewing to them moreover, that we can judge none of them to be either to us faithful Subjects, or Friends to the Realm, which shall fail herein, or withdraw himself in the foresaid business, counsels, and helps in time. Wherein if peradventure any shall slack or refuse to resort and come toward us within eight days from the time of this Charge given by you, or your Commandment; then we require you to seize all his temporal goods in our hand, and so seized to hold them until you receive other Commandment from us. Given at Paris the Monday before the Nativity of S. John Baptist, in the year of our Lord, 1303.

A Declaration of Master William Nagareta, made against Pope Boniface the Eighth, with his Appellation also made at Paris, before the King and his Council in the Church of Paris.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord, 1303. Indictione secunda, the 12. day of March, and the ninth year of the Popedom of the most holy Father the Lord Boniface the Eighth, by Gods Providence Pope, and in the presence of us common Notaries, and witnesses under written, the Nobleman Master William Nagareta Knight (a worshipful Professor of the Laws) standing before the most excellent Prince the Lord Philip, by the Grace of God most noble King of France, spake with lively words, and gave in writings these things that follow:

The appeal
of Nagareta
made a-
gainst Pope
Boniface the
eighth.

Ex Regim.

There have been false Prophets among the people, as there have been also among you false Teachers, &c. Saint Peter the glorious Prince of the Apostles, speaking to us by the Spirit, told us things to come; that likewise as there were false Prophets aforesaid, so there should come among you false Teachers, bringing in Sects of destruction; by the which the way of truth shall be defaced, and covetously they shall make Merchandise of you with fained words; and further addeth, that such Masters did follow the way of Balaam, of Bofor, which loved the reward of wickedness, and had his bridled Ass to correct his madness, which speaking in a mans voice, did stop the foolishness of the Prophet. All which things as they be shewed to us by the greatest Patriarch himself; your eyes see them fulfilled this day according to the Letter. For there sitteth in Saint Peters Chair the Master of Lyes, causing himself to be called Boniface, i. a well-doer, where he is notable in all kind of evil doing, and so he hath taken to himself a false name; and where he is not a true Ruler and Master, he calleth himself the Lord, Judge, and Master of all men. And coming in contrary to the common Order appointed by the holy Fathers, and also contrary to the Rules of reason, and so not entering in at the door into the Lords Sheepfold, he is not a Shepherd nor Hireling, but rather a Thief and Robber. For he (the true Husband of the Romish Church yet living) deceived him that was delighted in simplicity, and enticed him with fained flatterings and gifts to let him have his Spouse to be his wife, against truth, which crieth, Those whom God hath coupled, let no man separate: and at length laying violent hands upon him, perswading him falsely that thing which the Deceiver said to come from the holy Spirit, was not ashamed to joyn to himself with wicked practice that holy Church, which is Mistress of all Churches, calling himself her Husband, whereas he cannot be: for Celestinus the true Romish Bishop agreed not to the said Divorce, being deceived by so great subtilty; nothing is so contrary to agreeing as error and deceit, as mans Law; bear witness, that I need not to speak of his violence. But because the Spirit inspireth where he will, and he that is led with the Spirit, is not under the Law; the holy universal Church of God, not knowing the crafts of that Deceiver, stumbling and doubting whether it came from the Holy Ghost that Celestinus should leave off his Government, and the sins of the people deserving it, for fear of a Schism suffered the foresaid Deceiver: although, according to the Doctrine of our Lord, By his fruits he might be known, whether he came to the said Regiment by the Holy Ghost or otherwise:

An inve-
ctive a-
gainst the
placing of
Boniface the
eighth in
the Papal
See.

KING his fruits (as it is plainly here written beneath) are now manifest to all men, by which it is apparent to the world, that he came not in by God, but otherways; and so came not in by the Sheepfold. His fruits are most wicked, and his end is death; and therefore it is necessary that so evil a Tree (according to the Lords saying) should be cut down and cast into the fire. This cannot avail to his excuse, which is said of some men, that is, that the Cardinals did agree upon him again, after the death of the said Celestinus the Pope, seeing he could not be her Husband, whom it is manifest that he defiled by Adultery, her first Husband yet living, and she being worthy to have the promise of marriage kept unto her: therefore, because that which is done against the Lord turneth to the wrong of all men; and especially in so great a mischief, by reason of the consequence by which she is judged of the people both a woman adulteress or defamed: I like a bridled Ass, by the power of the Lord, and not by the voice of a perfect man, being not able to bear so great a burthen, take in hand to rebuke the madness of the said false Prophet Balaam, which at the instance of King Balack; that is, of the Prince of Devils, whom he serveth, ready to curse the people blessed of the Lord. I beseech you most excellent Prince, and Lord Philip, by the Grace of God King of France, that like as the Angel of God in time past met in the way, with a Sword drawn, the Prophet Balaam going to curse Gods people; so you (which are unwilling to execute Justice, and therefore like the Angel of the Lord, and Minister of Power and Office) would meet with a naked Sword this said wicked man, which is far worse than Balaam, that he perform not that evil which he intendeth to the people.

The Pope well compared to Balaam which was wont to curse Gods people for reward of money.

Articles propounded against Pope Boniface.

First, I propound that the foresaid man, that nameth himself Boniface, is no Pope, but wrongfully keepeth the Seat which he hath, indeed to the great damage of all the Souls of Gods holy Church. I say also, that his entering many ways was faulty, and he entered not in at the door, but otherways, and therefore is to be judged a Thief and a Robber.

2. I propound also, that the said Boniface is a manifest Heretick, and utterly cut off from the body of the holy Church, because of many kinds of Heresies, which are to be declared in convenient time and place.

3. I propound also, that the said Boniface is an horrible Simoniack, and such a one as hath not been sithence the beginning of the world: and the mischief of this sin in him is notorious to all the world (which thing is manifest to all that will plainly understand) inasmuch that he, being openly slandered, said openly, That he could not commit simony.

4. I propound also, that the said Boniface, being wrapt in infinite manifest hainous sins, is so hardened in them, that he is utterly not possible to be corrected: and lieth in dungeon of mischief so deep, that he may not be suffered any longer without the overthrow of the state of the Church. His mouth is full of curling, his feet and steps are swift to shed blood. He utterly teareth in pieces the Churches, which he ought to cherish; wasting wickedly the goods of the poor, and making much of wicked men that give him Rewards: persecuting the righteous, and among the people not gathering but scattering, bringing in new Sects of Destruction that have not been heard of: Blaspheming the way of Truth, and by robbery thinking himself equal to the Lord Jesus Christ which is blessed for ever. And he being most covetous thirsteth for Gold, coveteth Gold, and by some device getteth Gold of every people: and utterly not regarding the worshipping of God, with fained words, sometimes by flattering, sometimes by threatening, sometimes by false teaching, and all to get money withall, he maketh Merchandise of us all; envying all things but his own; loving no man, nourishing War, persecuting and hating the peace of his Subjects. He is rooted in all unspeakable sins, contraying and striving against all the Ways and Doctrines of the Lord. He is truly the abomination of the people, which Daniel the Lords Prophet described.

Therefore I answer, that Laws, Weapons, and all the Elements ought to rise against him, which thus overthroweth the state of the Church; for whose sins God plagueth the whole world. And finally nothing remaineth to him, being so unsatiable to satisfy him withall, but only the

The nature of this Pope and all Popes by his lineage painted out

The Pope thinks himself equal with Christ.

Abominable desolation: Pope.

unsatiable mouth of Hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing for ever. Therefore seeing that in a General Council it so becometh, and I see this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and all men: I ask and require as instantly as I can, and beseech you my Lord and King aforesaid, that you would declare thus much to the Prelates, Doctors, People, and Princes your Brethren in Christ, and chiefly to the Cardinals and all Prelates, and call a Council. In the which (when the foresaid wicked man is condemned) by the worshipful Cardinals, the Church may be provided of a Shepherd: and for that Council I offer my self ready lawfully to pursue the foresaid things. And whereas the said man, being in the highest Dignity, in the mean time cannot be suspended of his Superior; therefore he ought to be taken, suspended indeed for the things aforesaid, seeing his state is called into Judgment, by the means aforesaid.

I beseech and require the said Cardinals by you, and I presently require them and the Church of God, that this wicked man being put in prison, the Church of Rome may be provided of a Vicar, which may minister those things that shall appertain, until the Church of God be provided of a Bishop, utterly to take away all occasion of a Schism. And lest the said wicked man should let and hinder the prosecuting thereof, I require these things of you my Lord King aforesaid, affirming you to be bound to do this for many causes. First, for the Faiths sake. Secondly, for your Kingly dignity, to whose Office it belongeth to root out such wicked men. Thirdly, for your Oath sake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realm, which the foresaid Ravener utterly teareth in pieces. Fourthly, because ye be the Patron of the Churches, and therefore ye are not bound only to the defence of them, but to the calling for again of their goods, which this foresaid man hath wasted. Fifthly, ye following the footsteps of your Ancestors, ought to deliver your Mother the Romish Church, from so wicked a Band wherein by Oppression she is tyed and bound. I require that a publick Instrument may be made of these Requests by the Notaries here present, under the witness of the worshipful men that be here present. These things were done and spoken as is aforesaid at Paris in the Kings House of Lupara.

After this Protestation of Master Nagaret, immediately ensued the Appeal of the King, pronounced and published against the said Boniface, in form as followeth:

The Appeal made by the King and the Lovers of the Realm against Boniface.

In the Name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord, 1303. Indictione prima, 13. day of June, and the ninth year of the Popedom of Boniface the eighth. By the tenor of this publick Instrument be it unto all men known, that the most noble Prince and Lord, Philip by the Grace of God, King of France, the famous and reverend Fathers in Christ, Archbishops and Bishops, religious men, Abbots and Priors here under-named, in the presence of us common Notaries here under written, especially called and required for this purpose, as it is contained in the Subscriptions here under, the famous and Noblemen, the Lord Lewis, Son of the French King; Guido of Saint Paul, and John Drocem Earls, and William of Pleliano Lord of Vitenob Knight: Moved as they said with a fervent faith, with affection of sincere love and zeal of Charity to be shewed to the holy Romish Church, and having pity from their heart, on their Mother the universal Church, which, as they said, is oppressed dangerously under the rule of the said Lord Boniface, and suffereth outrageous defacing and loss; and pitying the right Faith (as they say) in which stands the Salvation of Souls, and which (alas for pity) in their times miserably pineth away, and perisheth for the lack of wholesome government of the Church through all Christendom, and earnestly taking pains, as they said, for the repairing and enhaunting of the Catholick Faith: especially seeing it was necessary for the same Church, for the foundation of the Faith, and health of the Souls that none should rule the Fold of the Lords Flock, but the true and lawful Shepherd; and also because the same Church was the Spouse of Christ that hath

The Appellation of the French King and Nobles against Pope Boniface the Eighth.

no spot nor wrinkle, all error, offence, wickedness and wrong should be put away; and salvation, peace and quietness through Gods mercy might be procured to the whole world, which they say, lieth in wars and darkness by the wicked Deeds, cursed Works, and hurtful Examples of the said Boniface: They said and laid against the said Boniface Heresie, and other divers horrible and cursed faults, wherein they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriously reported, the King himself being present with Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates and Church-men (which were assembled to intreat of their own matters, and matters of their Churches) beside Barons, Earls, and other Noblemen, whose names are under-written.

The said William propounded and objected against him, swearing by the holy Gospel of God, which he corporally touched, that he could prove all and every the premises to be true. And the said William of Plesiano swore further this Oath, that he believed he could prove the premises, and that he would pursue to the full end against the said Boniface in the General Council, where, when, and before whomsoever of right it ought to be done: requiring earnestly the said King as a Champion of the Faith, and Defender of the Church; that for declaring of this truth to the praise of Gods Name, to the increase and promoting of the Catholick Faith, to the honour and wealth of the universal Church, and of all Christian people, and the Congregation of the said General Council, he would help and bestow his profitable labour, with Souldiers and other like, for the love of men, and zeal to Justice (because his Kingly house was ever a Ruler of the Truth) and that he would earnestly require the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, and that he would be effectually instant with them. The Earls and Knights themselves besought earnestly many of the same Prelates (as they were Pillars of the Church and the Faith) that they would help and effectually bestow their labour to the calling and assembling of the said Council, by all ways and means lawful, according to the Ordinances of the holy Fathers, and Decrees of the Canons. But when the Prelates heard and fully understood such Objections, Oppositions, and Requests, as is aforesaid; and considered that such a matter was not only most hard, but needed wise counsel, they departed out of the same place. But on the Friday next following, the fourteenth day of the same month of June, the foresaid Lord King being present, and also the Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and many witnesses here under written the same time being present, and in the presence of as common Notaries here subscribed, and being specially called and required for this purpose: the foresaid William of Plesiano Knight, said, propounded, affirmed, objected, and read; as was contained more fully in a certain Paper which he held in his hand, whose tenor was after this sort:

I William of Plesiano Knight, say, propound, and affirm, that Boniface which now ruleth the Apostolical See is a rank Heretick in Heresies, and by Heresies, outrageous Deeds; and wicked Doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to be true, I believe I am able to prove: or else, such things as these shall be sufficient to prove him a full Heretick, in a convenient place and time, and before whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I swear on the holy Gospel of God presently touched of me.

1. First, that he believeth not the immortality of men, and of Christian Souls, but thinking much like as the Sadducees did believe, that there is no everlasting life, and that men cannot get at the length Joy, but that all the lot and part of comfort and gladness is in this world: and by this means he affirmeth, that it is no sin for the body to live daintily in all dainties. And out of the abundance of this leaven, he was not ashamed to say and openly to confess, that he had rather be an *Ass*, or a *Dog*, or any other brut Beast, than a *French-man*; which thing he would not have said, if he believed a *French-man* had a Soul that could enjoy everlasting life. This thing he taught many men, which acknowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in these things.

2. Also, he believeth not faithfully, that by the words ordained of Christ, and spoken over the Host, after the fashion of the Church by a faithful Priest that is lawfully

ordered, the body of Christ to be there: and therefore it cometh to pass, that he giveth no reverence to it (no not a little) when it is lifted up of the Priest, yea, he riseth not to it, but turneth his back to it, and makes himself and his Seat to be honoured where he sitteth, rather than the Altar where the Host is consecrate: and he is commonly reported to do this.

3. Also, he is reported to say, that Whoredom is no sin, no more than rubbing of the hands together, and thus commonly runs the voice and brute.

4. Also, he said often, that to thrust down the King and Frenchmen (if it could not be otherwise done) he would overthrow himself, the whole world and the whole Church. And when he had said so, some that stood by said, God forbid; he answered, God grant. And when good men that heard the words replied against him, that he should not say so, because the Church of God and all Christian-men should suffer great slander so: he answered, I care not what slanders soever come, so that the Frenchmen and their pride be destroyed; for it is necessary that slanders and offences come.

5. Item, he called again and allowed a Book made by M. Arnold of Newton, containing and smelling of Heresie, condemned by the Bishop of Paris, and reproved by the Masters of Divinity, and burned openly by Boniface himself: and in the full Consistory of Cardinals being likewise reproved, condemned, and burned, yet he allowed it being written again, and containing the same fault.

6. Item, that he might make the most damnable remembrance of him perpetual, he caused his Images of silver to be set in the Church, by this means bringing men to Idolatry.

7. Item, he hath a private Devil, whose counsel he useth in all things, and through all things.

8. Item, he said once, that if all men were on one side, and he on another, they could not deceive him neither in law nor in deed, which thing could not be done except he used a devilish Art: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9. Item, he is a Witch, asking counsel at Soothsayers both Men and Women, and thus he is commonly judged.

10. Item, he said openly, that the Romish Pope could not commit Simony, which is heretical to say. This is a sin reproved as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and generally in the holy Councils. Also he is wont to make Merchandise of Prelates Livings, Dignities, Superiorities, and Benefices, to the which holy Orders be necessarily joyned, and of Absolutions and Dispensations, like as Usurers and Merchants use to buy and sell common things in the Market, and of this the common brute reports him.

11. Item, he letteth with all his might among Christian men the special Embassage of Christ, made to his own Sons, saying, *Peace I leave to you*, and soweth discord and wars: Wherefore once it was said before him, that certain parties would friendly agree after a good sort, but he letteth the peace: and when the other party did humbly beseech him, that he would give licence to agree (he said) he would not: yea, if the Son of God or Peter the Apostle would come down into the Earth and command him; he would say, *I will not believe thee*.

12. Item, because the French Nation (being manifestly a most Christian Nation) followeth not his errors in the Faith; he reckoneth and openly calleth all and every of them *Paternians*.

13. Item, he is infect with Sodomitical sin, keeping with him Boys for Concubines, and of this fault he is most commonly and openly reported.

14. Item, he hath caused many murders of Clerks to be done in his presence, commending it and rejoicing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the first by his Servants, as oft as he saw them smiting, he said, *Smite, Smite*; by which example many were slain.

15. Item, when he had condemned a certain Noble man, he forbade the Sacrament to be given him at the point of death, he desiring it and being penitent, saying, *That the Sacrament of Penance was not necessary to Salvation*.

16. Item,

Pope Boniface had rather be a Dog than a Frenchman.

KING
LAW

16. *Item*, he compelled certain Priests to shew unto him the confessions of men, and he published them openly afterward contrary to the will of them that were confessed, to their shame and confusion, and compelled them to redeem their sins. Infomuch that once he deposed a certain Bishop of Spain, for the faults that he confessed to a certain Cardinal, confessing unto him a certain privy horrible fault under *Benedicite*, and compelled the Cardinal against his will to declare his confession: and yet afterward he restored the same Bishop again to his place for a little money. Wherefore he is thought to play the Heretick in the Sacrament of Penance.

17. *Item*, he fasteth not on the fasting-days, nor *Lent*, but eateth flesh indifferently, and without cause suffereth his Household and friends to eat, saying, *It is no sin*: Doing in this thing against the general state of the holy Church.

18. *Item*, he oppressed the Order of the Cardinals, and hath oppressed the Order of black and white Monks, of gray Fryers and Preachers: and said oft, *That the world was destroyed by them, and that they were false Hypocrites, and that never good could chance unto any that would be confessed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would keep them in their house*. And he never said good word of any Prelate, religious man, or Clerk; but ever rebuketh and slandereth them, taking away their good name; and, to compel them to redeem their faults, he is glad of their Accusations: and this is the common voice and report of him.

19. *Item*, of old time, he going about to destroy the Faith, conceived a hate against the French King, even to the abhorring of the Faith: because of the light of Faith which is there, and because of the great witness and example of Christianity, which is and hath been there. And before he had this Seat, he is proved to have said, that if he were Pope, he would rather overthrow all *Christendom*, but he would overthrow and destroy the Nation, which he calleth the pride of the French.

20. Also, it is reported, that when the Embassadors of the King of England, in the name of the said King did require and intreat for the tenth of the Realm of England to be given him; he answered, *That he would not give them the tenth, but on this condition, that he would make War with them against the French King*. And besides this, he is reported to have given great sums of money to certain persons, to hinder that peace should not be betwixt the said Kings. He himself also with all his might hath letted it, by Messengers, Letters, and other ways that he could, yea by giving Bribes.

21. *Item*, he is reported also to have commanded Frederick which keepeth the Isle of Sicily, that if he would betray Charles the King, and break the peace which he made, and sware that he would keep with him, and would stir against the King, and kill the Frenchmen, that then he would give him aid, help, and counsel; and for so doing he would give and grant him the said Kingdoms.

Pope Boni-
face enemy
to the
Frenchmen.

22. He confirmed also the King of Almain to be Emperor, and said openly, *That he did it to destroy the Nation*, which he calleth the pride of the Frenchmen; which say, *That they are subject to none in Temporal things*. Wherein faith he, they lied on their heads, declaring moreover, that whosoever (yea if it were an Angel from Heaven) would say, that all Kings of the world were not subject to the same King of Almain, he were accursed.

Pope Boni-
face an ene-
my to peace

23. Further, he brake the Agreements of peace betwixt the King of Almain and the French King: in which, either of them should have their own saved. And what encroachings soever had been on either side should be brought to a due state, and under an Oath orderly given and taken: he is reported to have commanded the same King of Almain, that he should not keep these conditions of peace, but be an enemy, and go about to sow debate among Christian men.

24. *Item*, it is openly reported, that the holy Land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of Faith; and that he suffered this for the nonst, and denied to give Aid to the Christians which defended it; spending the treasures and money of the Church (which should have been bestowed on that use as the Patri-

mony of Christ) in persecuting of faithful Christians and Friends of the Church, and therewith would enrich his Friends.

25. *Item*, he is openly reported to use Simony, not only in bestowing of Benefices, but in giving of Orders, and making Dispensations. He hath set to sale all Benefices of the Church, and would bestow the Church commonly on him that would offer most: and he made his Servants Prelates of the Church, not for wealth of the Faith, nor to thrust down Infidels, but to oppress the Faithful, and to enrich his Kindred by the Church-goods, and of the Patrimony of him that was crucified; and presumed to make them Marquesses, Earls, and Barons, and was not afraid to build them strong Holds, rooting out and oppressing many Noblemen and others.

26. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he hath divorced many Marriages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and slander of many; and he did promote his Nephew to a Cardinalship, being married, unlearned, and altogether unworthy to live; and openly married one that was divorced, and compelled him to make a vow of chastity, and after that he is reported to have had two Bastards by her, and so goeth the common bruit of him.

27. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he handled ungently his Predecessor Celestinus of holy memory, leading an holy life (peradventure knowing in conscience that he could not forsake his Popedom, and therefore Boniface himself had no lawful entrance to the See) and prisoned him, and there quickly and privily caused him to die. And of this the common brute and report is through all the world, that he caused many and great men living a regular life (which disputed of this, whether he might renounce the Popedom or not) to be set in prison, and there to die.

Pope Boni-
face a Mur-
derer of his
Predecessor.

28. *Item*, he is reported to have railed at religious persons leading a regular life, without a reasonable cause to the world, to the slander of many.

29. *Item*, he is reported to have said, that he would within short time make all the Frenchmen either Martyrs, or forsakers of their Faith.

30. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he seeketh not the health of the Souls, but the destruction of them.

These things being propounded and read, the same William protested, said, declared, appealed, and added these words, reading them in writing.

I William of Plesiano, Knight, protest that I do not pro- The pro-
pound nor speak the foresaid things for any special hate of testation of
Boniface himself (for I hate not him, but his foresaid evil Plesiano.
deeds) nor do I seek his injury or slander, or any mans
elfe: but I speak it for the zeal of the Faith, and for the
devotion that I have to the holy Church of God, and the
holy Romish See; as well for those things that I have seen
and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likely
presumptions gathered of the foresaid things, and many and
divers other things to be declared in his due place and time.
And I sware by the holy Gospel of God (which I touch Pope Boni-
with my hand) That I believe him to be a rank Heretick; face proved
and that I also believe that the foresaid things, and such an Heretick.
other, may prove against him such things as shall be suf-
ficient to prove him an Heretick, according to the state
of the holy Fathers. I sware also that I will pursue against
him by the Laws, the foresaid things in the General Coun-
cil that shall be assembled, in a place that shall be safe and
sure for me, to the honour of God, and increase of the
Christian Faith, saving the right, honour, and state of the
holy Apostolical See in all things. Wherefore, earnestly
and with reverence I require you, my Lord the King (to
whom belongeth the defence of the holy Mother the
Church, and the Catholick Faith, for of that ye shall make
account in the last Judgment) and you my Lords the
Prelates which be the pillars of the Faith, and which ought
to be Judges of the foresaid things, together with other
reverend Fathers, the Catholick Prelates of the holy Church,
in the General Council to be assembled; that ye would
procure and take diligent pain that a General Council may
be gathered in a fit and safe place, and convenient time, be-
fore which the foresaid things may be propounded, brought
forth and proved against the said Boniface, as is premised.
And I earnestly also require you, my Lord King, that ye
would require the same Prelates present and absent, in
what Country soever they be, or to whom it belongeth,
and

and that ye would effectually induce them manfully to labour, and to require others faithfully, that the foresaid Council for the aforesaid matters might be gathered in such sort as is foresaid. And because so long as this is deferred to be proved, I suspect Boniface himself, lest he being angry and moved for the foresaid things against me and my Partakers, Procurers and Helpers, my Friends and Familiars, should go about by some means to stay and stop my good purpose and theirs for going forward: therefore, by these writings before you my Lord the King and divers Prelates, and before your common Notaries here present, I provoke and appeal to the said holy General-Council Apostolical and Catholick that shall be, and to the holy Apostolical See, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earnestly require, once, twice, and thrice, that testimonial Letters may be given me from you; supposing my self, my Followers, Favourers, Familiars, Friends, my Procurators, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be under the protection and keeping of Saint Peter and Paul, and the said holy Council to be assembled by the holy Romish See, and the Catholick Apostolical Pope that shall be: sticking nevertheless and willing to stick to the Appellation and Appellations, Process and Processess made hereupon by the Nobleman Master William of Nagareta Knight, in as much as they shall be found and made lawful, and yet not forsaking this present Appellation.

When these things were thus read and done, the foresaid King answered and required the foresaid Prelates, provoking and appealing and making request, Provocation and Appellation, as is contained in the Paper under written, both there and then with other Prelates: which things all are more fully contained in these writings following, and were read to them that heard it, whose tenour is such:

The Kings
answer.
The Appeal
of Philip
the French
King from
the Pope.

"We Philip by the Grace of God, hearing and understanding the Objections propounded by our beloved faithful Knight, W. of Nagareta, against Boniface, now having the Regiment of the Romish-Church: although we would gladly cover with our own Cloke, the filthy parts of such a Father; yet for the love of the Catholick Faith and great devotion that we bear to the holy Romish and universal Church our Mother, and all faithful men, and Spouse of Christ, following the steps of our Ancestors, which doubted not to shed their own blood for the increase and defence of the Churches Liberty and the Faith; and coveting to provide for the purity of the Faith and State of the Church; as also to avoid the hurt of the general slander, being not able to pass over any longer the premises with winking and dissembling, and my conscience driving to the same; seeing this estimate and opinion of him in these matters is not rashly of us conceived, but vehemently and plainly increased by many and continual cryings of credible men, and great authority oft and oftentimes beaten into us, fearing moreover the destruction of the Faith, both of us and of all other Subjects, and specially of Kings and Princes of the world, which ought to reprove negligence, which acknowledge that we have received power given us from the Lord, to the promoting and increase of it; we agree to your Requests in his behalf, and to the calling and assembling a Council for the Glory of God (saving the honour and reverence that is due to the holy Romish-Church in all things) whereby the truth may appear in the premises, and all error avoided: that the state of the universal Church, and all Christianity, and the matters of Faith, and the holy Land may be provided for, and the slanders and jeopardies hanging over us may be withstood; we be ready and offer our selves gladly, as much as in us is, to bestow our labour and diligent pain thereabout: Earnestly requiring and beseeching in the merciful bowels of Jesus Christ, you Archbishops and other Prelates here present, as Children of the Church and Pillars of Faith, called of the Lord to the promoting, increase and preserving thereof, to care for the same, that with all diligence ye would give heed, as becometh you, and effectually you would labour by all ways and fit means, to the calling and assembling of this Council, in which we intend to be personally present. And lest the said Boniface, which hath boldly and wrongfully many times threatened to proceed against us, stopping and hin-

dring our purposes and intent, lest any of his works of darkness (if there be any) should come to light, directly or indirectly hindring the calling and gathering of this Council; or lest any state being in the same Realm that will indeed proceed against us, or our state, Churches, Prelates, Barons, and other faithful Vassals, our Subjects, our Lands, or our Realm, and the state of the Realm, by abusing any spiritual Sword, in Excommunicating, Suspending, or other ways by any means: for us and our well-willers, and them that will follow us, we provoke and appeal in writing to the foresaid General-Council (which we instantly desire to be called) and to one lawful chief Bishop that shall be, or to any other to whom we should appeal; and yet not going from the Appellation made by M. William of Nagareta, to whom we stuck then, and also yet stick: requiring earnestly a witness of our Appellation of you Prelates and Notaries, expressly to renew such Provocation and Appellation when and before whom it shall be thought meet to you.

Then the Archbishops within written, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, answered the premises (as it is found in the acts) provoked and appealed, agreed to and protested, and made Provocation and Appellation, Agreement and Protestation, as is contained more fully in a certain Paper there openly and plainly read, whose tenour followeth with these words:

W. Archbishop of Nicosen, Remen, Senorem, Narbonem, Turonem, and Bishops of Landviren, Belnacem, Catolacen, Antifiodorem, Meldunen, Nurmen, Carnotem, Aurelianen, Ambiaven, Morinen, Silanen, Andegaven, Abricen, Constant, Ebroicen, Lexonice, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonice, Avicen, Masticoen; And we Abbots of Cluniack, Premonstraten of the greater Monastery of the Court of S. Dionise in France, camped S. Victors, S. Genoveue, S. Marten, Landmoen, Figiacem, and Bellicem in Lemocinio, and Fryer Hugh, Visitor of the Houses of the Order of Knights of S. John in Jerusalem in France, and the Father Prior of S. Martin in the field, bearing these things which were said, propounded, and objected yesterday, and to day by you the Lords, Earls, and Wil. aforesaid, against the Lord Boniface the Eighth and Pope, being moved with such sayings, purposes, assertions, and your Oaths, your request and other lawful causes, and compelled by need, considering that the matter of our Faith, which is Christ's, is handled in the premises: we that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenance of the faith of Souls of the Realm, although unworthy, yet coveting to withstand the jeopardies that hang over us by reason of the premises and other causes, thinking the calling and gathering of the said Council profitable and necessary, that the innocency of the Lord Boniface himself may clearly be discussed, as we desire (our consciences bearing witness) that it may be determined on him by the Council, touching such things, as are laid against him, and that that which they decree may be done according to the Canons: We answer you our Lord King, and you our Lords, Earls, and William, that (the honour and reverence of the holy Romish-Church saved in all points) we agree to your due request in this behalf for the calling of the Council, and are ready to give help and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the said Council, according to the Decrees of the holy Fathers, and to the lawful Orders of the Canons: not intending by any means, to make Parties of this matter, nor to stick to any that maketh Parties. Yet lest the said Boniface being moved by these things, or we fear, by likely conjectures and threatnings made against us for the foresaid things, that he will proceed against our Parish-Churches and our Subjects by some means, or cause to proceed against us by some Authority of his own or others, by Excommunication, Suspension, Interdicting, Deposing, Depriving, or by some other means and colour sought to some impeachment or trouble of the said Council; and that we may sit in the same Council to judge and do all other things, that belong to the Office of Prelates; that our friends that stick to us, and would stick to us in all things, may remain safe for our selves, our Parish Churches, our Subjects, and them that stick to us, or would stick to us in this behalf, we provoke and appeal in writing to the foresaid Council, that it to be gathered, and to him that shall be the true and lawful highest Bishop,

The pro-
testation of
Prelates.

KING Bishop, and to him or them to whom of right we should appeal, and earnestly require our Appellations; committing us, our Parish-Churches, our Subjects, Friends, and them that stick to us, our State and theirs, our right, goods, to the godly defence of the foresaid Counsel, and of him that shall be true and lawful highest Bishop: and we protest to renew his Appellation, where, when, and before whom it shall be thought meet.

This was done at Paris at Lupara in the Chamber of the said Lord our King, Indictione prima, the ninth year of his Popedom, the days of Thursday and Friday aforesaid, these Noblemen being present; The Lords of Avia and Bolone, the Lords Martins and other Earls named before, Matthew Doter, Peter the Lord Chamberlain, Philip the Lord of Wirmos, and Henry of Bologne Knight, and also M. Philip Archdeacon of Bengem, Nicholas Archdeacon of Remen, William Treasurer of Anjou, Philip Beafpeare, Rainold of Bourbon and John Montagre, and many more both Clerks and other specially required and called to be Witnesses to this.

After these things thus in the Parliament decreed and agreed, the Prelates of the Clergy consulting with themselves what was to be done in so doubtful a matter, and dreading the Popes displeasure for this which was done already; to clear themselves in the matter, contrived among themselves a Letter to the Pope, partly to certify him what there was done, and partly also to admonish him what he should do: the tenor of which their Letter contained these words following.

The form of a Letter which the Prelates of France as well secular as religious, sent to Boniface, that he should cease his Enterprize, wherein he proceeded against the King.

To the most holy Father and their dearest beloved Lord, the Lord Boniface, the chief Bishop of the holy Romish Church, and the universal Church, his humble and devout Archbishops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deans, Provosts, Chapters, Covents and Colledges of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, regular and secular, of all the Realm of France, being gathered together, do offer most devout kisses of your blessed feet.

WE are compelled, not without sorrow of heart and bitter tears, to signify unto your Holiness that the most famous Prince our most dear Lord Philip, by the Grace of God, the noble King of France, when he heard and saw the Apostolical Letters sealed, which were sent to him of late, on your behalf by the worshipful man the Cardinal of Narbo your Notary and Messenger, and were presented by the same Cardinal to him, and certain other of his Barons: Upon the sight and perusing of those so bloody Letters, being read and declared to them sitting by him; both our Lord the King and the Barons themselves were highly moved with great marveling and great trouble. Inasmuch that the said our Lord the King, by the advice of his Barons, commanded to be called before him the other Barons then absent, and us also; that is to say, All Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deans, Provosts, Chapters, Covents and Colledges, as well of Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, regular and secular, and also all the Universities and Communalities of the Towns of his Realm; that we Prelates, Barons, Deans, Provosts, and two of the learnedst of every Collegiate and Cathedral Church, should appear personally, and should procure the rest likewise to appear, by their Stewards, Officers, and sufficient Proctors, with full and sufficient Commission at the appointed place and time. Further, when we and the other Ecclesiastical Persons aforesaid, and also the Barons, Stewards, Officers, and Proctors, and other of the Communalty of the Towns were thus called, and when, according to the form of the foresaid calling by the Kings Commandment, we stood before the King this Wednesday, the tenth of this present April, in Saint Maries Church in Paris: Our Lord the King caused to be pronounced openly and plainly to all men, that it was signified to him, from you among other things by the foresaid Cardinal and Letters, that for his Kingdom (which he and his Ancestors hitherto do acknowledge they hold of God only)

now ought in Temporalities to be subject to you, and hold of you, and that ye were not content with these, so marvelous and strange words, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any Dwellers within the same Realm, but that ye went about to put them in practice; and that ye called to appear before you the Prelates of the said Realm, and Doctors of Divinity, and such Professors of both Laws, as were born within the said Realm, for the correcting and amending of such Excesses, Faults, Arrogancies, Wrongs, and Harms, as ye pretend to be done to the Ecclesiastical Prelates and Persons Ecclesiastical both regular and secular, abiding within the Realm and elsewhere, by our Lord the King himself and his Officers or Bayliffs, by his Peers, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles, with the communalty and people of the said Realm: To the intent, by this means the foresaid Realm might be made strong, with precious Jewels and durable Treasures, which are to be preferred before the Bucklers or any armor of strong men, that is to say, by the wisdom of Prelates, and wise men, and others; through whose ripe faithful counsel, and circumspect foresight, the Realm might be ruled and governed, the Faith might be stablished, the Ecclesiastical Sacraments might be ministered, Justice might be executed; which by them being robbed of their goods and riches, and utterly spoiled, is in a doubtful case and in jeopardy of miserable decay, and for ever to be destroyed.

Among these and divers other griefs, which were done by you and the Romish Church, to him, to his Realm, and the French Church, both in reserving and wilful ordering of Archbishopsricks, Bishopsricks, and bestowing of great Benefices of the Realm upon strange and unknown persons, yea, and oft upon suspected persons, never being at the Churches or Benefices aforesaid: by reason whereof the decay of Gods Worship ensued; the godly wills of the Founders and Givers are defrauded of their godly purpose; the accustomed Alms-giving is withdrawn from the poor of the said Realm, the impoverishing of the Realm followeth, and Churches run in danger to be defaced, while they remain destitute of Service: the Prophets being taken away, and the fruits of them that serve them, being appointed to the commodity of strangers. And while Prelates have not to give yea to reward men for their deserts; Noblemen (whose Ancestors founded the Churches) and other learned men, cannot have Servants; and that for these causes, devotion began to be cold, and there was none at these days that would stretch out a liberal hand towards the Churches; and furthermore by the premises an evil example was given. Also he complained of new Taxes, of Pensions, newly laid on the Churches, of immeasurable Bondages, Exactions, and divers Extortions, with other prejudicial and hurtful Novelties, by which the general state of the Church is changed, in giving Suffragans, as helpers to the higher Prelates, whereby neither the Bishops themselves nor the Suffragans can do their duties, but for them they must run with Gifts to the Apostolical See. He complaineth also of divers Causes and some Articles long since, but true in the time that they presented, that were done, and be done continually: and also not purposing to suffer so great a dishonoring of him and his Successors from the Realm, and so manifest a grief, they could not suffer any longer the evident loss of the Honour of him and the Realm, and said, That he was certain that it was known to the whole world, that he did maintain in this matter a just cause, as he had learned by the agreeable Sentence of Doctors in Divinity, and Masters of both Laws, that were born within his Realm, and others, which among the Doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned fort and more famous. Therefore he required us, all and every one; both Prelates and Barons, and other, earnestly as our Lord; he prayed and gently begged as a friend, to consult and take diligent pains, that he might Ordain wholesome things, both for the keeping of their old liberty, the Honour and State of the Realm, and of the Inhabitants thereof, for the easing of the Grievs aforesaid, for redressing of the Realm and the French Church, by our counsel and his Barons, to the praise of Gods name, the encrease of the Catholick Faith, the honour of the universal Church, and promoting of Gods Religion: specially seeing such griefs were done by his Officers and others of the Realm, to the Churches and Church-men, for the which he purposed a remedy of wholesome Correction, before the coming of the foresaid Cardinal

Cardinal, and would now have put it in execution effectually, but that he might be thought to have done that for fear, or at your commandment, which thing ye cannot ascribe to your self. Furthermore, he would spend not only his goods, but also his Realm, yea his Children if the case required: and therefore we should regard to be ready with counsel and help in season as we are bound by the duty of fidelity in these things: wherein it is manifest, that as all and every mans case is handled, generally and particularly their case is promoted, and every mans own interest is touched. And then he demanded by and by to be answered plainly and finally in these things, of all and every one.

Then the Barons sitting aside with the Officers and Proctors aforesaid, at the length after they had taken counsel, coming to our foresaid Lord the King, and praising greatly and heartily thanking him for his laudable purpose and good will, answered with one voice: that for those things they were ready not only to spend their goods, but offered the same goods, riches, and also their persons to death, and not to flee any kind of torment. And said further with one voice, That if our foresaid Lord the King would (as God forbid) suffer, or else willingly pass over those, they themselves would in no case suffer it.

Then when answer was asked of us afterward, although we desired longer respite of deliberation of the King himself our Lord, and of the greatest of the aforesaid Barons; and that for this intent, that in the mean while the Popes Letters might have come to our Lord the King; we answered, That we would not offend against the Liberty of the Realm, nor by any means innovate things contrary to the Kings Honour in this behalf.

We went about also to inform him with many godly words, and earnest persuasions, and with many kinds of help, and by sundry ways to bring him to keep the special bond of Unity, which is known to have continued to these present days, betwixt the holy Romish-Church, and his Predecessors. But when we were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrary mind, from thenceforth he should be manifestly counted for an Enemy of the King and the Realm: We considering warily, and seeing plainly, that except our Lord the King, and the Barons aforesaid were content with our Answer, besides other dangers and great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and then the devotion both of the Romish and French Church, and also the whole Obedience of the Laity, and all the people from thenceforth should be taken away without recovery, nor without great fear and doubt; we therefore thought good to answer thus:

That we would help our Lord the King with due counsel and convenient help for the preserving of his Person, and of his earthly Honour, and the Liberty and Laws of the said Realm, like as we were (certain of us) by the duty of Allegiance bound to him, which hold of him Dukedoms, Earldoms, Baronies, Fees, and other noble parts of the said Realm, by the form of the Oath, as all other do: yet we made humble suit to the same our Lord the King, that seeing we were bound to obey the Popes Holiness and your holy feet, he would suffer us to go according to the tenour of your foresaid Calling.

Then on the Kings and Barons behalf followeth Answer, That in no case they would suffer us to go out of the Realm, and that by no means they would bear to be handled so dangerously, yea rather to be altogether wasted.

Then we considering so great an anger, and trouble so jeopardous, and so great that none could be greater, both of the King, the Barons, and other Lay-people of the Realm; and now knowing plainly, that the old Enemy of Peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his Fall, with sowing of Darnel, to break the Unity of the Church; by troubling of peace, would break Charity, and infect the sweetness of good works with the poison of bitter envy, and would overthrow Mankind utterly, and would trouble with wickedness the band of lovely Unity, and singular Friendship, which hitherto have had a happy increase betwixt the Romish-Church and our Lord the King, and his Predecessors, and the Realm, to the praise of the highest God, the increase of Christian-Faith, and the setting forth of the Honour of the Church, of the King and the Realm; and that now (alas) a door was open, to the lamentable

breaking and pitiful separating, of great offences to rise on every side, dangers are attempted against Churches and Church-men, to spoil their goods and riches, with jeopardy of life, seeing that the Laity now do abhor and utterly flee the Obedience of Clerks, utterly banishing them from their counsels and doings; and have taken courage to condemn the Ecclesiastical Censure and Process: all which jeopardies, with other sundry and divers dangers (which neither Tongue is able to tell, nor Writing can declare) we seeing at hand, thought good in this point of greatest necessity, to run with weeping voice, and lamentable sighs to the circumpect wisdom of your Holiness: beseeching your fatherly mildness, and humbly praying you, that some wholesome remedy may be provided in the premises; by which, the sound profitable agreement and mutual love, which hath continued so long time betwixt the Church, the King, and the Realm, might be maintained in that old sweet Concord; the state of the French-Church might continue in godly and quiet peace; and that he would vouchsafe to foresee how to withstand the dangers and offences aforesaid, that we and our States may be provided for, by the foresaid Commandment of your Calling, by the study of your Apostolical Wisdom, and fatherly love. The Almighty preserve your Holiness to his holy Church a long time.

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the year of our Lord, 1304. In the which year, about the Nativity of our Lady, came a Garrison of harnessed Souldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French King, partly by the Cardinals of Columpna, whom the Pope before had deposed, unto the Gates of Arvagium, where the Pope did hide himself, because he was born in the Town. The Captains of which Army was one Schaira, Brother to the foresaid Cardinals; and another, William de Longareto, High Steward to the French King. Who invading the Popes Town, and finding the Gates open, gave assault to the Popes Frontire, where the Pope with his Nephew, a Marquis, and three other Cardinals were immured. The Townsmen, seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the Pope, caused the common Bell to be rung, and so, assembling themselves in a Common-Council, Ordained Adulphus, one of the chiefest Rulers of the Town, for their Captain; who (unknowing unto them) was a great Adversary to the Pope. This Adulphus bringing with him Reginaldus de Supine, a great Lord in Campania, and the two Sons of John Chitan, a Nobleman, whose Father the Pope had then in prison; at length joyned with the French Company against the Pope, and so beset his Palace on every side. And first, setting upon the Palaces of the three Cardinals, which were then chief about the Pope, they rifled and spoiled all their goods. The Cardinals by a back-door hardly avoided their hands: but the Popes Palace, through munition and strength of the Marquis, was something better defended. At length the Pope, perceiving himself not able to make his party good, desired truce with Schaira and his Company, which was to him granted from One till Nine. During which time of truce, the Pope privily sendeth to the Townsmen of Arvagium, desiring them to save his life: which if they would do, he promised so to enrich them, that they should all have cause never to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answer again, excusing themselves, that it lay not in their ability to do him any good; for that the whole power of the Town was with the Captain. Then the Pope, all destitute and desolate, sendeth unto Schaira, beseeching him to draw out in Articles, wherein he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the uttermost. Schaira to this maketh a pain answer, signifying to him again, That he should in no wise escape with his life, except upon these three Conditions. First, To restore again the two Cardinals of Columpna his Brethren, whom he had before deprived, with all other of their Stock and Kindred. Secondly, That after their Restitution, he should renounce his Papacy. Thirdly, That his body should remain in his Power and Custody. These Articles seemed to the Pope so hard, that in no case he would agree unto them: wherefore the time of truce expired, the Captains and Souldiers, in all forcible means bending themselves against the Bishop, first fired the Gates of the Palace, whereby the Army, having a full entrance, fell to rife and spoil the house. The Marquis upon

{ KING
{ LEAD

{ Anno
{ 1304

Pope Ben-
face be-
sieged.

Pope Ben-
face brought
to a strain.

Three con-
ditions put
to the
Pope.

Here may
all Kings
by the
French King
learn how
to handle
the Pope
upon

KING upon hope to have his life, and the life of his Children, yieldeth him to the hands of Schaira and the other Captain: which when the Pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, thorow windows and doors, at length with much ado they brast in to the Pope, whom they intreated with words and threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choice, whether he would presently leave his life, or give over his Papacy. But that he denied stiffly to do, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue, *Eccle col, eccle cape*; That is, *loe here my neck, loe here my head*: protesting, That he would never while he lived renounce his Popedom. Then Schaira went about, and was ready to slay him, but, by certain that were about him, he was staid; whereby it happned that the Pope received no harm, although divers of his Ministers and Servants were slain. The Souldiers, which ranged in the mean time through all the corners of the Popes House, did lade themselves with such treasure of gold, silver, plate and ornaments, that the words of my Author (whom I follow) do thus expresse it; *Quod omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit de Papali Palatio asportatum, & de palatiis trium Cardinalium, & Marchionis*: That is, *That all the Kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasure in a whole year, as then was taken and carried out of the Popes Palace, and of the Palace of the three Cardinals, and the Marquesi*. Thus Boniface, bereaved of all his goods remained in their custody three days. During which space, they had set him on a wild unbroken Colt, his face turned to the Horse tail, causing the Horse to run course, while the Pope was almost breathless. Moreover, they kept him so without meat, that he was thereby near famished to death. After the third day, the *Arvagians* and people of the Town mustering themselves together (to the number of ten thousand) secretly brast into the House where the Pope was kept, and so slaying the Keepers, delivered the Pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the Town, gave thanks with weeping tears to the people for his life saved: promising moreover, That forso much as he was out of all his goods, having neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth, Gods blessing and his, to all them that now would relieve him with any thing, either to eat or drink. And here now see what poverty and affliction can work in a Man: the Pope before in all his pomp and most ruffling wealth was never so proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, that every poor simple Man (as mine Author testifieth) might have a bold and free access to his person. To make the story short, the Pope, in that great distress of famine, was not so greedy of their victuals, as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon, the Women and people of the Town came so thick, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the Popes Chamber was too little to receive the offering; inso much, that when there lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the Chamber floor, not regarding the loss of wine to win the Popes Holy Blessing. Thus Pope Boniface, being refreshed by the Town of *Arvagium*, took his journey from thence, accompanied with a great multitude of harpesed Souldiers to *Rome*, where he shortly upon the same, partly for fear which he was in, partly for Famine, partly for sorrow of so inestimable a treasure lost, died. After whom succeeded *Benedictus* the 11th. of whom these Verses are written: *A re nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem perverte, maledic, malefac, maledicte, &c.* And thus have ye the whole story of Pope Boniface the 8th. Author of the Decretals. Which story I thought the more diligently to set forth, that all the Latine Church might see what an Author he was, whose Laws and Decretals so devoutly they follow.

Now, after the long debating of this matter between the French King and Pope Boniface, let us proceed in our English story. About this time, in the days of King Edward, the Church of *Rome* began daily more and more to rise up, and swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that no King almost in his own Country could do any thing, but as pleased the Pope, who both had, and ruled all in all Countries, but chiefly here in *England*, as partly by his intolerable tallage and pillage before signified may appear, partly by his injunctions and commandments sent

down, also by his Donations and reservations of Benefices and Church Livings; also in depoting and disposing such as him listed, in place and Office to bear rule: inso much, that when the King and the Church of *Canterbury* in their Election, had chosen one *Robert Burnhil* Bishop of *Bath*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Pope Boniface of his own singular presumptuous authority, ruling the matter after his pleasure, frustrated their Election, and trust in another, named *John Peckham*: for among all other, this had always been one practice of the Court of *Rome*, ever to have the Archbishop of their own setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the King and other, whatsoever need should happen. To this *John Peckham* Pope Boniface directed down a solemn Bull from *Rome*, as also unto all other quarters of the universal Church. In the which Bull was contained and decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and Christian Obedience; That no Church nor Ecclesiastical person, should henceforth yield to his King or Temporal Magistrate, either any giving or lending, or promising of Tribute or Subsidy, or portion whatsoever, of the goods and possessions to him belonging; but should be clearly exempted and discharged from all such subjection of Tallage or subvention to be exacted of them in the behoof of the Prince and his affairs. Which decree manifestly rebelled against the commanded Ordinance of God, and the Apostolical Canon of *S. Peter*, and all other examples of Holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth Spiritual Meti more than Temporal from obedience and subjection of Princes: so if it chance the Prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruel in oppression, that is no cause for the Clergy to be exempted, but to bear the common burthen of obedience, and to pray to God to turn and move the Princes mind, and so (with prayer and patience, not with pride and disobedience) to help and amend that which is amiss. Concerning the Bull of Boniface, if any there be that either do not credit the same, so to contain, or would for his mind see and read the same, the words hereof follow.

The Copy of the Popes Bull, wherein the Clergy is exempted from giving Tribute to Kings and Princes.

Bonifacius, &c. *Ad sempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradidit antiquitas. Quod & presentium experimenta temporum manifeste declarant, dum suis finibus non contenti nituntur in veritum & ad illicita sua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo sit eis in Clericis Ecclesiasticisve personas, & bona interdicta potestas. Quinimo Ecclesiarum Prælati, Ecclesiis, Ecclesiasticisq; personis regularib; & secularibus imponunt onera gravia, ipsos talliant, & eis collectas imponunt, & ab ipsis suorumque proventuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, seu vicefimam, vel quamvis aliam portionem, quotam exigunt & extorquent, eosq; moluntur multifarie subicere servituti, suæque subdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter referimus, nonnulli Ecclesiarum Prælati, Ecclesiasticæque personæ trepidantes, ubi trepidandum non est, transitoriam pacem querentes, plus timentes majestatem temporalem offendere, quam æternam, talium abusibus non tam temerarie, quam improvide acquiescunt, sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obviare volentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio* Apostolica auctoritate statuimus; quod quicumq; Prælati, Ecclesiasticæve personæ, vel seculares, quorumcunq; ordinum, conditionis, seu status, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam, decimam, vicefimam, seu centesimam suorum & Ecclesiarum suarum, proventuum vel bonorum laicis solverint, vel promiserint, vel se soluturos excesserint, aut quamvis aliam quantitatem, portionem, aut quicquam ipsorum proventuum, vel bonorum æstimationem, vel valorem ipsorum, subventionis, subsidii, vel doni nomine, seu quovis alio timore, vel modo, vel quaesito colore absque auctoritate sedis ejusdem: Necnon Imperatores, Reges, seu Principes, Duces, seu Comites, vel Barones, Potestates, Capitaneus, officiales vel Rectores quocunq; nomine censeantur, civitatum, castrorum, seu quorumq; locorum constitutorum ubilibet & quis alius cujuscunq; præeminentiæ, conditionis & status, qui talia imposuerint & egerint, vel receperint, aut apud aedes sacras deposita Ecclesiarum vel Ecclesiasticarum personarum ubilibet* arrestaverint, saystierint seu occupare præsumperint, vel arrestari, saystiri, aut occupari mandaverint,*

The Kings Election in his own Realm frustrated. *J. Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. A point of practice in the Court of *Rome*.

Ecclesiastical persons exempted by the Pope, for not paying tribute to the King.

The Pope proceeded against the manifest word, in setting the Clergy free from the Kings tributes.

Ex Chron. Rob. Guibour nensis.

* Apostolica auctoritate statutum, ubi tenditur, ubi Apostolica scriptura continetur.

* Quilibet, pro quocunq; barbarismis Apostolicis.

* Flores At-
tici ex ipso
Helicone de-
sumptis.
Rhetorice.
* Tourner-
me, Ware
the Bulls
horn.

aut * occupata, sayita, seu arefata receperint: necnon omnes qui scienter in predictis dederint consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, publice vel occulte, eo ipso sententiam Excommunicationis * incurrunt. Universitates quoque que in his culpabiles fuerint Ecclesiastico supponimus interdicto: Prelatis, & personis Ecclesiasticis supradictis, in virtute obedientie, & sub pena depositionis directe mandantes, ut talibus absque licencia expressa dictae sedis nullatenus acquiescant. A supradictis autem Excommunicationis & interdicti sententiis nullis absolvi valeat, praeterquam in mortis articulo absque sedis Apostolicae autoritate & licencia speciali, &c.

The Clergy
denied to
give tribute
to the King.

This Bull being directed (as is said) from Rome to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise throw the whole Universal Church, under the Popes authority; it chanced not long after, the King held his Parliament at S. Edmundsbury; where was granted to him of all Cities and Boroughs an eighth, and of the Commons a twelfth of their goods. Only the Clergy, by virtue of his Bull, stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the King. This answer not well pleasing the King, he willet them to deliberate better with themselves upon the matter; and after long advisement, so to give him answer against the next Parliament, which should be holden the next Hillary Term at London.

The Clergy
secluded
from the
Kings pro-
tection.
The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
for his stub-
bornness,
had his
goods con-
fiscate to
the King.

In conclusion, the Parliament came, the Clergy persisteth still in the denial of their Subsidy, alledging the Popes Bull for their warrant and discharge. Whereupon the King likewise secludeth them from under his protection and safeguard of his Laws. And as concerning the Archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, because he was found more stubborn than the rest, and was the inciter to the other; he seized upon all his goods, and caused an Inventory of the same to be inrolled in the Exchequer. Notwithstanding, divers of the other Bishops relented soon after to the King, and contributed the fifth of their goods unto him, and were received again to favour.

The vari-
ance be-
tween King
Edward and
his Barons
and Com-
mons.

In the life of this Kings Father, it was declared before how the said King Henry the Third, Father to this King, after divers Wars and commotions had with his Barons, had granted certain liberties and freedoms written and contained in Magna Charta, and in Charta de Foresta. Concerning which matter, much business happened in this Kings days also in the Realm, between the King and his Barons and Commons. The occasion was this: A pack of Wool which before payed but a Mark to the King, was now by this King raised up to forty shillings. After this the King having a journey to make into Flanders, sent to his Barons and divers others to give their attendance, and service in the same, which they refused and denied to do. Notwithstanding, the King persisting in his purpose, with such a power as he had, prepareth toward his journey. To whom being in his way at Winchelsey, the foresaid Earls and Barons, and Commons, sent certain petitions contained in writing under the name of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Priors, Earls and Barons, with the Commality of the Realm. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their Lord the King to redress and amend certain grievances among them. And first they declared in the name of the whole Commons, that the promotion or Writs directed to them for their attendance upon his Grace into Flanders, was not sufficient: for that there was no certain place in the said Writs specified unto them, whether to come for making their provision, and preparing money and other things according to the same. And if the place had been to them signified, yet, because none of their Ancestors ever served the King over into Flanders before, the Commons therefore thought themselves not bound to any service in that Country. And albeit they had been so bound thereunto, yet they were not able to do it, being so heavily oppressed with so many Tallages, Taxes, Tolls, Customs, and prices of Corn, Oates, Tinn, Wool, Leather, Oxen, Kine, Flesh, Fish, &c. And besides all this, having no penny of wages given them to relieve their charges: Oyer and besides, the lack of the Kings wages not paid them, their own poverty like an heavy burthen did so miserably lie upon them, that some of them had no sustentation, some of them were not able to till their own ground. They alledged moreover, that they were not now handled after the old Laws and customs of the Land, as their ancestors

Petitions of
the Barons
and Com-
mons to the
King.

were wont. Many also found themselves grieved in that they were not used according to the Articles contained in Magna Charta; and again that the Charta de Foresta was not observed nor kept, as it was wont to be. Wherefore most humbly they beseeched the King, both for his own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of these things they might find redress. For the Custom moreover of Wool, the whole Commons bewailed to the King their grief, in that for every Pack of Wool was fined to the King, forty shillings, and for every sack of tressed Wool, seven marks. The which Wool of England, as it doth rise up to the value of half the Realm; so the Tollage of the same surmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole Land. And because therefore the Commons wished the honor and preservation of their King (as they were bound to do) they thought it not good for his Grace to sail over to Flanders, unless he had better assurance of their fidelity, especially at this time the Scots being so busie: who if they began to rebel, he being at home in his Land, much more were they like to stir, he being abroad out of the Land. And that not only for the Scots, but also for that the like peril was to be doubted of other Foreign Nations and Kingdoms, which as yet were in no firm peace with England, &c.

KING
Edward I.

Magna
Charta
Charta de
Foresta

Custom for
Wool.

To these petitions, the King said that he could as yet make no resolute answer, for that some of his Council was gone over already to Flanders, some were at London. Notwithstanding, at his return again from Flanders (which he trusted should be speedily) they should then hear his answer, and know more of his mind concerning the same. In the mean time this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What answer the King had minded to make them at his return, it is uncertain, which peradventure had turned to a bloody answer: but occasion served otherwise, and turned all to agreement. For the Scots with their Captain William Wallace above specified, in the mean time, the King being absent, invaded the Realm with such violence, that Prince Edward the Kings Son, who was left to rule in his Fathers stead, was forced to Assemble a Parliament, and to call for the Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Northfolk, High Marshal of England, Earl of Essex, High Constable, with other Earls, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, to intreat peace and concord between his Father and them. Who coming up to London with 1500 well armed Souldiers, and obtaining the Gates of the City with their own Men, fell at length to agreement with the Prince, upon composition to have the Articles of Magna Charta, and of Charta de Foresta confirmed; and that by his means and mediation they might be assured of the Kings displeasure to be removed from them. The which foresaid Articles of Magna Charta, with the other Articles adjoynd withal, here follow under written.

The Kings
answer to
the peti-
tions of the
Barons and
Commons.

Humphrey
Bonneville
Roger Bigot

First, No Tallage or Subsidy by the King or his heirs to be imposed or levied hereafter within the Realm of England, without the common assent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and other Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and Commons of the Realm.

The Arti-
cles con-
tained in
Magna
Charta.

Item, No Taker or Servitor of the King, or of his heirs, henceforth within this Realm, to take Grain, Wool, Leather, or any goods of any Man, without the will and consent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any Pack of Wool.

Item, To be granted by the King and his Heirs after him, both to the Clergy and Laity of this foresaid Realm, to have to and enjoy their Laws, Liberties and Customs, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, If any Decrees or Statutes shall hereafter be made and set forth contrary to these foresaid Articles, the same to stand void and of no effect for ever.

Besides these Articles also, in the same composition was contained, that all grudge and displeasure between the King and Barons for not going to Flanders ceasing; the Earls and Barons might be assured to be received again into the Kings favor.

Agreement
concluded
and sealed
between the
King and
his Barons.

These things thus agreed upon, and by mediation of the Prince also confirmed and sealed with the Kings Fathers Seal: so was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no less strength of the Realm against their enemies: and most chiefly to the commendation of the gentile, and wise nature of the King, who as he was gentle in promising his reconciliation with his subjects,

The mode-
rate and
good nature
of King
Edward
noted.

KING } subjects, so no less constant was he in keeping that which he had promised.

Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, who in the Parliament had resisted the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages and such Church matters, succeeded **Robert Winchelsey**; with whom also the King had like variance, who accused him to the Pope for breaking the peace, and took part with them that rebelled against the King about usages and liberties of the Realm.

K. Edward was troubled with two Archbishops of Canterbury. Wherefore, the King being cited up to the Court of Rome, and there suspended by the means of the said Archbishop, directed his Letters again to the Pope, taken out of the Parliament Rolls, where I find divers Letters of the King to Pope Clement, against the said Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, the contents whereof here follow, *Videlicet*, *Qualiter idem*. And as this King was troubled in his time with both the Archbishops, **John Pecham**, and also **Robert Winchelsey**; so it happened to all other Kings for the most part, from the time of **Lancfrancus** (that is, from Pope **Hildebrand**) that every King in his time had some bulwicks or other with that See. As **William Rufus**, and **Henry the First** were troubled with **Anselmus**; **Henry the Second** with **Thomas Becket**; King **Richard** and all **England** with **William Bishop of Ely**, the Popes Legate; King **John** with **Stephen Langton**; King **Henry the Third** with **Edmund Archbishop**, called **Saint Edmund**, *Polyc. lib. 7.* likewise this King **Edward the First**, with **John Pecham** and **Robert Winchelsey** afore said. And so other Kings after him, with some Prelate or other: whereby ye have to understand, how and about what time the Church of Rome, which before time was subject to Kings and Princes, began first to take head above, and against Kings and Rulers, and so hath kept it ever since.

The Church of Rome and Romish Prelates set against Kings and Rulers. Kings of England commonly troubled with Archbishops of Canterbury. By this **John Pecham** aforementioned, it was ordained, That no Spiritual Minister should have any more Benefices than one, which also was decreed by the constitutions of **Otho** and **Othobonus**, the Popes Legates the same time in **England**.

Prists to have but one Benefice. About the beginning of this Kings Reign, after the decease of **Walter Archbishop of York**, **William Wiscwanger** succeeding in that See, minding to go on Visitation, came to **Duresme** to visit the Church and Chapter there. But the Clergy and the people of the City shut the Gates against him, and kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance. The Archbishop let fly his Curse of Excommunication and Interdiction against them. The Bishop of **Duresme** again with his Clergy, despised all his Curplings, grounding themselves upon the constitution of **Innocentius the Fourth**, *De censibus & exactionibus*. And so they appealed to Rome, saying, That he ought not to be received there, before he had first begun to visit his own Chapter and Diocese, which he had not done. For to say the words of the Constitution; *We Ordain and decree, That every Archbishop, that will visit his Province, first must procure to visit his own Church, City, and Diocese, &c.*

Variance between the Archbishop of York and the Clergy of Duresme. Among other things in this King to be noted, that is not to be passed over; That where complaint was made to him of his Officers, as Justices, Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Eschetors, and such other, who, in their Offices abusing themselves, extorted and oppressed the Kings Liege people, otherwise than was according to right and Conscience: the said King, not suffering such misorder to be unpunished, did appoint certain Officers or Inquisitors, to the number of twelve, which Inquisition was called **Trailbaston**, or **Trailbastoun**; by means of which Inquisition, divers false Officers, were accused, and such as were offenders were either removed from their place, or forced to buy again their Office at the Kings hand; to their no small loss, and great gain to the King, and much profit to the Common-wealth.

Inquisition made against ill rulers and false Officers. In the Chronicle of **Robert Amesbury**, it is Recorded of the said King, That he being at **Amesbury** to see his Mother (who was then in that Monastery professed) there was a certain Man, that fained himself blind a long time, brought to the presence of the said **Elinor** the Kings Mother, saying, how that he had his sight again restored at the Tomb of King **Henry** her late Husband, inasmuch that she was easily perswaded the Miracle to be very true. But King **Edward** her Son, knowing the Man a long time to be a vile dissembler, and a wicked person, used to lying

Ex Chron. Tho. Walsingham. and crafty deceiving, perswading his Mother not to give credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he knew so well of the justice of his Father, that, if he were alive, he would twice rather pluck out both his eyes, than once restore him one. Notwithstanding, the Queen his Mother, remaining still in the former fond perswasion, would hear or believe nothing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her Son, that she bid him depart her Chamber; and so he did. By the example whereof may easily be conceived, how and after what sort these blind Miracles in those days, and since, have come up among the blind and superstitious people. For had not the King here been wiser than the Mother, no doubt but this would have been rung a Miracle, and percase King **Henry** been made a Saint.

But as this was a fained Miracle, and false no doubt, so in the same author we read of another manner of Miracle, founding more near the truth, and so much the more likely, for that it served to the Conversion unto Christian Faith: to which use properly all true miracles do appertain. The Miracle was this: In the Reign of this King, and the later year of his Reign, **Cassianus** King of the **Tartarians** (of whom come these whom now we call **Turks**) fighting against the **Soldan** King of the **Saracens**, in the plain of **Damascus**, slew of them a hundred thousand of **Saracens**; and again at **Babylon**, fighting with the said **Soldan**, slew him in the field, and 200000 of the **Saracens**, calling upon the help of Christ, and thereupon became Christian. This **Cassianus**; I say, had a Brother a Pagan, who being in love with the Daughter of the King of **Armenia**, a Christian Woman, desired of her Father that he might marry with her. Whertunto the King her Father would not agree, unless he promised to be a Christian. Notwithstanding, the other being stronger in power, and threatening to get her by War; the King at length was forced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the Child being born betwixt them was overgrown; and all rough with hair like the skin of a Bear: which Child being brought to the Father he commanded it to be thrown into the fire and burned. But the Mother, desiring first to have the Child baptized, caused all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the Sacrament of Holy Baptism received, incontinently was altered and turned from all his hairy roughness, and seen as fair and smooth-skinned as any other. The which thing after the Father saw and beheld, he was christened himself and all his House, &c.

Ex eodem Chron. **A true Miracle.** **Victory against the Saracens.** In the Reign of this King, **Walter Merton** Bishop of **Rochester** builded **Merton Colledge** in **Oxford**. In whose Reign also lived **Henricus de Gaudano**, **Arnoldus de Villa Nova**, **Dantes**, and other more, and **Scotus** called **Duns**. Who in his fourth Book of *Sent. Dist. 18.* complaineth of the abuse of Excommunication and of the Popes Keys. Whereas before, Excommunication was not used, but upon great and just causes, and therefore was feared: now, faith he it is brought forth for every trifling matter, as for not paying the Priests wages, &c. and therefore, faith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the same King, about the beginning of his Reign, was the year so hot and so dry, that from the month of **May**, until the month near of **September**, fell no raigin: inasmuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the said dry year long after.

After Pope **Benedictus** above mentioned, succeeded Pope **Clement the Fifth**, who translated the Popes Court to **Avinion** in **France**, where it remained the term of 74. years after. At the Coronation of this **Clement** was present **Philip** King of **France**, **Charles** his Son, and Duke **John** Duke of **Brittany**, with a great number of other Men of State and Nobility. At which Coronation, they being in the middle of the pomp, or procession, a great Wall brake down and fell upon them: by the fall whereof Duke **John** with twelve other were slain, King **Philip** hurt and wounded, the Pope stricken from his Horse, and lost out from his Mitre upon his head, a Carbuncle, esteemed to the value of 6000 florence, *Plat. de vit. Pont.* By this **Clement** was ordained, that the Emperor, though he might be called King of the **Romans** before, yet he might not enjoy the title and right of the Emperor, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperors seat being vacant, the Pope should Reigh as Emperor, till a new Emperor was chosen. By him the Order of the **Templars** (who at that time were too abominable) was put down at the Council of **Vienne**, as

Pope Clement 5. **The Popes Court translated to France.** **A slaughter of Nobles at the pomp of the 15. Popes Coronation.** **A Carbuncle in the Popes Mitre valued at 6000 florence.** **Emperor not Emperor, except he were confirmed by the Pope.** **The Templars put down.** L 1 2 hereafter

The Feast
of Corpus
Christi.

Septimus de-
cretalium
called the
Clementines.
Henricus 6.
Emperor
poisoned in
the Host.

Paleologus
Emperor of
Constantino-
ple Excom-
municated
with all his
adherents
by Pope
Clement, for
not suffer-
ing the Gre-
cians to ap-
peal to
Rome.

Anno
1306

Note the
practice of
the Romish
Prelates.

Platina in
vita. Inno-
centii.

When and
how long
the Greek
Church was
subject to
Rome.

Ex Epist.
Egnat.
Rom. princ.
l. 7.

The Greek
Church de-
nieth sub-
jection to
the Church
of Rome.

Ex Chron.
Nic. Trivet.
The Popes
exactions
complained
of in the
Parliament.

hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, assigning Indulgences to such as heard the Service thereof. And as Pope *Bonifacius* before heaped up the Book of Decretals, called *Sextus Decretalium*, so this *Clement* compiled the Seventh Book of the Decretals, called of the same *Clement*, *The Clementines*. In the time of this Pope, *Henricus* the sixth of that name, Emperor, was poisoned in receiving the Sacrament, by a false dissembling Monk called *Bernard*, that fained himself to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the Popes Legate. The Emperor, perceiving himself poisoned, warned him to flee and escape away; for else the *German*s would sure have slain him; who although he escaped himself, yet divers of his order after that with fire and sword were slain.

As this Pope *Clement* the 5. had well provided now (as ye have heard) against the Empire of *Rome* to bring it under his girdle, inasmuch that, without the Popes benediction, no Emperor might take the state upon him, &c. now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the Empire of *Constantinople*. Where he first exerciseth his tyranny and power of Excommunication against *Andronicus Paleologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, An. 1306, declaring him to be a Schismatick and Heretick, because he neither would nor durst suffer the *Grecians* to make their appeal from the Greek Church to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his Superior, &c. Whereby it may appear, that the Greek Church did not admit the Popes superiority as yet, nor at any time before: Save only about the time of Pope *Innocent* the third, An. 1202. at what time the *French*-men with their Captain *Baldwinus*, Earl of *Flanders*, joyned together with the *Venetians*, were set against the *Grecians*, to place *Alexius* in the right of the Empire of *Constantinople*, upon condition (as writeth *Platina*) to subdue the Greek Church under the Church of *Rome*. Which *Alexius* being restored, and shortly after slain, the Empire came to the *French*-men, with whom it remained the space of 58. years, till the coming of *Michael Paleologus* in the days of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, who restored the Empire from the *French*-men unto his pristine state again. During all which time of the *French* Emperors, the Greek Church was subject to *Rome*, as by the Decretals of Pope *Gregory* the ninth may appear. Then followed after this, that the foresaid *Michael* Emperor of *Constantinople*, being called up to a Council at *Lions* by Pope *Gregory* the tenth, about the controversie of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost (as is above specified) and obedience to the Church of *Rome*: there because the said *Michael* the Emperor did submit himself and the *Grecians* to the subjection of *Rome* (as testifieth *Baptist Egnat.*) he thereby procured to himself such grudge and hatred among the Greek Monks and Priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial. The Son of this *Andronicus* was *Michael Paleologus* above mentioned: who, as ye have heard before, because he was constrained by the *Grecians*, not to admit any appellation to the Bishop of *Rome*, was accursed by the Popes censures for an Heretick. Whereby appeareth, that the *Grecians*, recovering their state again, refused all subjection at this time unto the Church of *Rome*, which was the year of our Lord 1327, &c. After this *Clement* the fifth followed Pope *John* the 22. with whom *Ludowick* the Emperor had much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded Pope *Benedict* the 12. Which *Benedict* upon a time, being desired to make certain new Cardinals, to this answered again; that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world. For this world (said he) is for these Cardinals that be made already. *Ex scripo Egethusensis*. And thus much of the Popes: now to return a little back to the Kings story again.

In the year of our Lord 1337. which was 34th. of the Reign of this King, in the beginning of *Hillary* Term, the King kept a Parliament at *Carlisle*, where great complaints were brought in by the Nobles and antients of the Realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of Churches and Monasteries, and exactions of money by the Popes Legate *William Testa* (otherwise termed *Ma-la Testa*) lately brought into the Realm of *England*. The coming of which *William Testa* was upon this occasion, as followeth: Pope *Clement*, who, as ye heard before, had translated his Court from *Rome* into *France*, where he had

been Archbishop before, because he contemned to come and remain at his own See; the Princes of *Rome* thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy *Peters* Patrimony. And so by that means, falling into bareness and poverty, he lived only of such money of Bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other shifts and gifts. So that by this means, partly of Bishops and other Religious Men and persons, partly under the name of courtesie and benevolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing; he had within the first year 9500. Marks of silver, all his other charges and expences, which he largely that year bestowed, clearly born. Besides this, he sent moreover the foresaid Legate *William Testa* into *England* with his Bulls: in the which he reserved the first fruits of the first year of all Churches being vacant at any time, or by any Man within the Realm of *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, and also the fruits of Abbies and Priories within the said Realms, &c. Whereupon the King with his Nobles, seeing the inconvenience and harm thereof ensuing to the whole Realm: in the foresaid Parliament, holden at *Carlisle*, withstood the said Legate, charging and commanding him by the assent of the Earls and Barons, that henceforth he should abstain from all such exactions. And as concerning his Lord the Pope, he would direct certain his Messengers unto him purposely for the same matter appointed: by the which Ambassadors, the King wrote unto the foresaid Pope, declaring and monishing the Pope, as right and reason was, That he should not exact the first fruits of the Churches and Abbies, by his predecessors and Noble men of the Land, founded for the honour and maintenance of Gods Service, for Alms and Hospitality: which otherwise, in so doing, should all be overthrown. And so by this means, the Pope at that time changed his purpose as concerning Abbies. But after that the fruit of *English* Churches was granted to the King for two years, in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid Churches, &c.

During the which Parliament afore specified, as Men were talking many things of the Popes oppressions, which he began in the *English* Church; in the full of the Parliament, suddenly fell down, as sent from Heaven, among them a certain paper, with this superscription.

An Epistle of *Cassiodorus* to the Church of *England*, concerning the abuses of the *Romish* Church.

To the noble Church of *England*, serving in Clay and Brick, as the Jews did in time past under the tyranny of the Egyptians; Peter the Son of *Cassiodorus* a Catholic Soldier, and devout Champion of Christ, sendeth Greeting, and wishing it to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receive the reward of liberty.

To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee, O Daughter of *Jerusalem*? To whom shall I match thee, O Daughter of *Sion*? Great is thy perturbation, like unto the Sea. Thou sittest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heaviness. Thou art given up into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without help of one to lift thee up: for the Scribes and Pharisees sitting upon the Chair of Moles, the enemies of the Romans are as thy heads and Rulers: enlarging their guarded Phylacteries, and seeking to be enriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heavy burthens, and not able to be born upon thy shoulders, and of thy Ministers, and they set thee under tribute, (which of old time hast been free) beyond all honesty or measure. But marvel not thereat, for thy Mother, which is the Lady of people, like a Widow having married and coupled her self to her subject, hath appointed him to be thy Father: that is to say, the Bishop of *Rome*, who sheweth no point of any Fatherly love towards thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the uttermost his authority over thee, and by experience he declareth himself to be the Husband of thy Mother. He remembreth oft with himself the Prophetical saying of the Prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great Book, and write therein quickly with the pen of a Man: Take the spoil, rob quickly. But is this it which the Apostle saith, that he was appointed for, where he writeth thus? Every Bishop, taken from among Men, is appointed for Men in those things that belong to the Lord: not to spoil, nor

KING
Edw. 1
Ex his que
inscript ad
Honorat
Carin.

The Popes
sent in
one year
12. Bulls to
the Pope
Legate sent
into Eng-
land.

First fruits
first brought
in by the
Pope.
King Ed-
ward with-
standeth the
Pope and
his Legate.

First fruits
of Abbies
denied to
the Pope.

First fruits
for two
years gran-
ted to the
Pope.

Ex versu
Chronici
Albanus.

KING nor to lay on them yearly Taxes, nor to kill Men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins, and to sorrow with them that be ignorant and do err. And so we read of Peter the Fisher (whose successor he boasteth himself to be) that after the Resurrection of Christ, he returned with other Apostles, to the office of Fishing: who when he could take nothing on the left side of the Ship, at the bidding of Christ, turned to the right side, and drew to land a net full of Fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministry of the Church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the Devil is overcome, and plenty of souls be lucrified and won to Christ. But certainly the labor on the left side of the Ship is far otherwise: for in it the faith stumbleth, heaviness beareth rule, when that thing that is desired by seeking, is not found. For who is so foolish to think, that he can both at one time serve God and Man, and to satisfy his own will, or to stick to the revelations of flesh and blood, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtless that shepherd that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour. And now behold, I say, O Daughter, the deeds of him that is called thy Father, such as have not been heard of before: he driveth away the good shepherd from the sheepfold, and placeth in their stead Bishops, to rule, but not to profit (his Nephews, Cousins, and Parents) some that know no Letters, and other some dumb and deaf, which understand not the plain voice of the sheep, not curing their wounds, that be hurt of the Wolves: but like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other Men have sown, whose hands moreover be always ready in their Baskets and Pouches, but their backs are turned from their burthens. By which thing it is manifest, that the Priesthood is clean changed at these days, the service of God decayed, Alms diminished and brought to naught, the whole devotion of Kings, Princes, and Christians, is banished. May not this be thought wonderful in the eyes of all Men; that whereas Christ commandeth tribute to be paid to Kings for him and for Peter, he now goeth about by dominion of his stile, to subdue to him both Realms, and Princes of Realms (against his will, whose Vicar he saith he is, and who refused the Realms and judgments of the world) which this Bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which he in his stile writeth to be his? Alack, O Daughter, what doth he yet more against thee? mark, he draweth from thee whatsoever pleaseth him, and yet he thinketh not himself content, to have the tenth part only of thy goods from thee; except he have also the first fruits of the Benefices of the Ministers, whereby he may get a new patrimony, as well for himself as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wills of the first founders. Over and besides all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and stipends for his Legates and Messengers, whom he sendeth into England; which not only take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but also tear in pieces like Dogs your flesh and skins. May not this Prince be compared to King Nebuchadnezer, which destroyed the Temple of the Lord, and robbed away the silver and golden Vessels thereof? The very same doth this Man also; he robbed the Ministers of God his House, and left them destitute of due help. In like manner doth he: Truly they be better that are killed with the sword, than they which be pined with hunger; for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrenness of the Earth. O Daughter, all they that pass by, let them have pity and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker than coals, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more known in the streets: thy foresaid ruler hath placed thee in darkness, and hath given thee wormwood and gall to drink. O Lord, hear the sorrow and sighings of thy people, behold Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid Man is more indurate than the heart of Pharaoh. For he will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he scourgeth them not only miserably upon the Earth, but also after their death, he intendeth to inroach the goods of all Christians under the name and title of dying intestate, or making no Will. Therefore, let the Chivalry of England well remember, how the French-men in times past, directing their greedy eyes on the Realm of England, laboured with all their power how to bring the same under their subjection. But it is to

be feared, lest the new devices and practice of this new enemy supply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the Realm, and spoiling of the Church goods, the Realm shall be brought into such inability, that it shall not be able to help it self against the enemy. Therefore, O Daughter, and you the Ministers thereof suffer not your selves to be led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Christian King and the powers of the Realm, which have indued thee with great benefits, and you also which are indued with their benefits, do labour with all your power how to resist the devices, conspiracies, arrogancy, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person: who not for any zeal of God, but for the enriching of his Parents, and for his own Kindred (exalting himself like an Eagle) by these and such other exacti- ons goeth about, after another kind of extortion, to scrape up and devour all the money and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled simplicity of the Realm in this behalf do bring utter subversion, and afterward be compelled to seek remedy when it is too late: I beseech the Lord God of Hosts to turn away the veil from the heart of that Man, and to give him a contrite and an humble mind, in such sort as he may acknowledge the ways of the true God, whereby he may be brought out of darkness, and be enforced to relinquish his old sinister attempts, and that the Vineyard, which the Lords hand hath planted, may be replenished continually with the Preachers of the Word. Let the words of the Lord, prophesied by the mouth of Jeremy, stir up your minds to withstand and resist the subtil practices of this Man, by the which words the Lord speaketh: O thou Pastor which hast scattered my people, and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold I will come and visit upon thee, and upon the malice of thy studies: neither shall there be any of thy seed which shall sit upon the seat of David, neither which shall have power any more in Judah. So that thy nest shall become barren, and utterly subverted, like Sodom and Gomorah.

And if he being terrified by these words, do not leave off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make restitution of those which he hath received, then let all and singular persons sing for him being indurate, to him that seeth all things, the Psal. 108. Deus laudem, &c. For truly as favor, grace, benevolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so again the gentle benignity of Man, being too much oppressed and grieved, seeking to be delivered and freed from the same, striveth and searcheth to have the truth known, and casteth off that yoke by all means possible that grieveth him, &c. Hæc Cassiodorus.

What effect this Letter wrought in them to whom it was directed, is not in story expressed. This by the sequel may be conjectured; That no reason or persuasion could prevail, but that the Pope retained here still his exactions, whatsoever was said or written to the contrary notwithstanding.

And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in England; now to slip a little into the matters happening the same time in France, under the Reign of the foresaid King Philip above mentioned: forasmuch as about this time, An. 1307. was commenced a Parliament by the said King of France against the Pope, touching the jurisdiction both Temporal pertaining to Princes, and Ecclesiastical belonging to the Church; I thought it not unprofitable for the Reader to hear and learn the full discourse and tradition hereof, according as we have caused it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true Copy and Records of Peter Bertrand Bishop of Edvenen, and chief doer and Prolocutor in the said Parliament upon the Popes side, against the King and State Temporal.

Forasmuch as the High Prelate of Rome, otherwise called Antichrist, being then in his chief ruff, extolling himself above all Princes and Potentates of the world, as in other Countries, so also in France extended his usurped jurisdiction, above the Princely authority of the King, claiming to himself full government of both the States, as well Secular as also Ecclesiastical: the King therefore, not suffering the excessive proceedings of Pope Clement the 5. above specified, directeth his Letters Mandatory to the Prelates and Barons of the Realm of France, to Convent and Assemble themselves together at Paris, about the beginning of

A Parliament in France assembled, wherein is discussed the jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, how far it extendeth. Anno 1307

December, the year above prefixed: The tenor of which Letters of the King directed to the Prelates, followeth in this form and manner.

The summons of a Parliament by Philip the French King.

The Letter of Philip King of France, to the Bishops and Prelates

Philip by the Grace of God King of France, to our well-beloved Bishop of Edvens, Greeting and Salutation. Reverend Father in God, right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. The more sight and knowledge you have in Divinity and the Holy Scriptures of God, with the practice and experience of other good qualities and virtues; you know the better a great deal, how that the Clergy and Laity of this our Realm (as members of one body) ought to cleave and stick together; and how by their helping hand, unity and peace should be maintained of all, and the contrary eschewed and avoided, every state contenting it self, and not incroaching one upon another. And because we are advertised, how that our Barons and Officers (as well in time past as of late) have diversly in divers points injured you, as semblably you and yours in many causes have wrongfully damaged them; by occasion whereof, the knot of unity and concord, which ought to have flourished among you, is quite loosed and undone: To the end therefore by Gods Grace some good reformation and redress may be had herein; We most studiously of unity and concord, require you, and by these our Letters command you, to appear personally before us at Paris the 15th. day of December next ensuing the date hereof, and there before us to make relation of such wrong as ye have received at the Laities hands. And we likewise straitly charge and command you, our Barons, Bailiffs, and Officers, not to fail, but to make your personal appearances, before us, the day and place above written, and there to exhibit before us a Bill of such complaints, wherewith you burden our Prelates and Clergy, with their Officials: that we with our Council, consulting thereupon, with due regard may see redress therein; whereby perpetual love and charity may ever hereafter reign and remain among them for ever. Given at Paris the first day of September, An. 1309.

The Parliament convened.

At the day in the Letters above specified, the Prelates and Clergy Asssembled themselves before the King at his Palace in Paris, that is to say, the Lord Bituricen, the Lord Auxitan, the Lord Turonen, the Lord Rothom, and the Lord Senon, all Archbishops: the Lord Belvacen, the Lord Caibalen, the Lord Landum, the Lord of Paris, the Lord Novionon, the Lord Carnoten, the Lord Constan, the Lord Andegaven, the Lord Pictaven, the Lord Malden, the Lord of Cameracen, the Lord of S. Feri, the Lord Briocce, the Lord of Cabulion, and the Lord of Edven, all Bishops. Where after due reverence done unto the Kings Grace there sitting in his own person, with his Barons and Council about him; a certain Noble and wise person, Lord Peter de Cugneris, (being one of the Kings Council) rose up, and openly in the Parliament House spake in the Kings behalf on this wise, taking for his Theam, *Reddite quæ sunt Cesaris, Cesaris, & quæ sunt Dei, Deo*: which is to say, Give and render unto Cesar, that which is his; and unto God, that which is Gods: which he very artificially professed and applied, dividing it into two parts. First, That obedience and reverence is due unto the King. Secondly, That there ought to be a difference between the jurisdiction of the Clergy and Laity, so that spiritual matters should be defined and ordered by the Prelates and Spiritual Men, and Temporal Causes ruled and determined by the King, his Barons and Temporal Men. Which all he proved by many reasons both of Fact and Law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the answer of the Bishop of Edven: Finally, he concluded, That the Clergy ought only to deal and have to do with Spiritual matters; in defence whereof, the Kings Highness would stand their good Lord and maintainer. His Oration being ended, he repeated certain words in the French Tongue, which imported, That the Kings will and pleasure was in some points to renew the temporal state and jurisdiction; and therewith he exhibited a certain Bill in French, whereof also he gave a Copy to the Prelates, containing certain points and Articles under written, the contents whereof he affirmed not

Lord Peter speaks in the Parliament. The Theam of his Oration divided into two parts. Obedience to the King. Difference between the jurisdiction of the State Temporal and Ecclesiastical.

to appertain to the order and jurisdiction of the spirituality, but only to the temporality, complaining that the Clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding the premises, and for all this his complaint, he said that the Prelates should have time to consult and deliberate thereupon with the King. The Copy of which Articles, with answer ensuing upon same, and the grievances of the Kingdom of France, wrought by the Clergy, and exhibited to the King, hereafter followeth.

1. *First*, The cognition of causes real, whether they touch possession, or their propriety, or not, by Common-Law appertaineth to the jurisdiction temporal. But the Prelates with their Officials, to the end to infringe the temporal jurisdiction, take upon them the determination of such causes real, especially concerning possession and all other interdicts.

Articles in the Parliament pronounced, concerning the just complaints of the Laity against the Clergy. Causes real.

2. *Item*, When a temporal man is sued by any Clerk or spiritual Man for the possession of his Land, obtaining an adjournment of the secular power, in the cause of Novity or otherwise: the Prelates Officials, stopping hereby the temporal jurisdiction, at the instance of the Clerk, calleth by Process before them both the secular Judge and the party, inhibiting them to proceed any further in the cause, under pain of Excommunication and forfeiture of a certain sum.

3. *Item*, Although the secular Judge have the cognition of all Lay-mens matters (except in spiritual causes) yet will the Bishops Officials, at the instance of any party, call such before them. And if the temporal men do except against their jurisdiction, alledging the incompetency of the judge; or else if they require the cause to be remitted to them (under whom they are) as the right Judges, yet do the Officials refuse this to do, yea and by Excommunication compel the parties to proceed before them.

Prelates intermeddle in temporal mens matters.

4. *Item*, The Bishops Officials at the instance of the Clerks, alledging that they are injured in matters of inheritance by a Lay-man, call by Process the Laity. And if it be alledged that those causes stand upon reality, being so indeed, and that for that consideration the cause ought to be remitted to the Temporal Law; this notwithstanding, the Officials prohibite them under pain of Excommunication, or some great forfeit, not to proceed but before them.

5. *Item*, The Bishops Officials take upon them to hear the plea of such contracts, as either be conceived in writings, or made by word of mouth in the Temporal Law; sending out their monition of Excommunication against them that stand bound concerning the same contracts.

6. *Item*, The Bishops and Prelates decree Provincial Councils and Synodal Statutes, enacting and ordering therein many things to the high and great prejudice of the temporal jurisdiction, wherein they ought to have no cognition at all, neither to intermeddle themselves therewith.

7. *Item*, The foresaid Officials take upon them, before Notaries to swear persons for performance of contracts and bargains (made by them in places under the jurisdiction temporal) concerning the sale of inheritance or otherwise; incroaching thereby upon their jurisdiction, when verily they have nothing to do with any contracts and obligations, but with such as are made and agreed upon within the compass of their own seat and jurisdiction.

8. *Item*, The said Officials, of their meer Office, call before them the Laity, to answer to such matters of correction as shall be laid to their charge, the cognition whereof, as they say, doth appertain unto them. And when the said persons do appear before them, and deny the crime objected against them, the Officials detain them and put them in prison, although in such cases they are to be released; and although imprisonment appertaineth only to the temporal power, and not to them.

Ex Officio

9. *Item*, In the cases aforesaid, although by making of their purgations and other the process therein, they be found clear of that which is laid to their charge, and are acquitted; these yet the said Officials will in no wise discharge and dismiss, before they have to the uttermost paid for the writings and process in that behalf, a good piece of money, when by Law it ought to be done gratis, and for nothing.

Imprisonment pertaineth not to the Clergy.

10. *Item*, It must not be forgotten to talk of the sentence of Excommunication, which is decreed by virtue of one only citation, so often as a Man faileth in his appearance.

11. *Item*,

KING
Item 1

11 *Item*, Mention is to be made of those kind of Obligations *De nisi*. Whereby a man is Excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able so to do.

12 *Item*, Whosoever by Virtue of Excommunication in the Bishops Court is Excommunicate, and he so Excommunicate do not satisfy the sum due about the Excommunication, by and by the sum is doubled. And the Secular power is charged by the Bishops or their Officials, that they under pain of Excommunication compel the Excommunicate, by Attaching their Goods, to pay the said sum, and not to miss a jot: which Monition if the Laity refuse to put in execution, they themselves are then Excommunicate, and in no wise to be Absolved, before they disburse that money, the which the principal Excommunicate person should have paid.

13 *Item*, If the Bailiffs, Headborows, or other the Kings Officers and Judges of the Temporality, receiving the fore-said monitions, do put the same in execution, and find those that be Excommunicate, to be beggerly and nothing worth; the said Officers are bound at their own proper costs and charges, to resort to the Bishops See or Consistory, whereforever it is, and there to take a Corporal Oath, That the Parties Excommunicate are nothing worth. This if they fail, those Officers are sure to be Excommunicate, and thereby enforced to disburse the due of the first Excommunicate persons.

Action real,
personal.

14 *Item*, If two Lay-men be in Sute together before a Temporal Judge, about an Action either real or personal, and one of them after contestation of Law, and great process therein, do Appeal unto an Ecclesiastical Judge, he will presume then to detain before him the Plea of such Cases and Actions, both real and personal, causing, by virtue of his Monitions and Authority, the Temporal Judge to cease and leave off from meddling therein: which if the Secular Judge obeyeth not, he is pronounced Excommunicate and compelled to make satisfaction; by occasion whereof, the Temporal Jurisdiction is much annoyed and clean loseth the Prerogative thereof; because by Law no man may Appeal from a Spiritual Judge to the Temporal Law.

No man
may Appeal
from a Spi-
ritual Judge
to the Tem-
poral Law
by the
Popes
Divinity.

15 *Item*, If a Lay-man, inhabiter of any of the Kings Towns, procureth his Debter, being also a Lay-man, to be Arrested by virtue of Secular Justice in that place; and he which is so Arrested appealeth, and causeth also his Creditor to be Arrested, the Officials will take upon them to hear this matter; and if any thing be attempted concerning the Appeal, they miss not to demand cost and satisfaction both of the Justice, and also of him to whom the Arrest was made. And if any of the Princes Retinue compelleth them to resist this injury, they are straightways pronounced Excommunicate.

Deans of
the Clergy.

16 *Item*, If the said Bishops have a number of Officials under them, whom they term Deans of the Clergy, which usually causeth all sorts of people through the Kings Dominions, only by word of mouth, to come afore them, and that sometime without Commission: when that in every Diocesis there ought only to be but one Seat or Consistory, wherein matters should be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth divers times, that many are wrongfully and without cause cited; to the end that they may pay money enough, to rid themselves thereof: which is to the no small prejudice of the Kings Majesties Subjects, and the Temporal Jurisdiction.

17 *Item*, The said Rulers of the Clerks, Seal up the Houses of their Clergy, which are situate in the Kings Towns, and other of his Noble Mens Villages, to the prejudice of the Kings Majesties Jurisdiction, and other of his Nobility: for that in such kind of places the Bishops have no such kind of Jurisdiction.

Married
Clerks.

18 *Item*, The said Prelates or their Officials, do presume to Seal up the moveable Goods of married Clerks, and of Merchants; whereas in such Cases the order thereof appertaineth to the Temporal Law.

19 *Item*, They compel the Laity to put in surety to answer Clerks before them in the Spiritual Court, yea, and chiefly the Kings own Servitors.

20 *Item*, They presume to hear and have the cognition of Actions, which are real, or at least-wise mixt, that is, both real and personal.

21 *Item*, The said Prelates go about to have cognition of such Temporal mens matters as dwell in Hospitals, Alms-

Houses, and the Kings peculiars, and in Villages of his Subjects, although the Plea thereof appertaineth to the King himself, and his subjects: forbidding under pain of Excommunication, and great forfeits, any man to be so hardy as to commence any Sute against any of them, but before themselves, in pain of a great sum of money.

22 *Item*, To the end the Clergy and Ecclesiastical Rule should be multiplied, they confer a number of Tonfores to Children under age, some of them being Sons of bondmen, other some Bastards born; yea and to many more married folks insufficient, unable, and unlearned.

23 *Item*, They do cause by the Governors of their Clerks, Widow-women to be enforced and defiled, and will have the discussing thereof: as in like manner, they will determine the matters of Pupils, applying their Goods when they died, as they do the Goods of them which die intestate, to their own use; the cognition whereof belongeth to the King himself, because those kind of persons with their Goods are in ward to the King and under his tuition.

24 *Item*, They procure through the said Deans of the Clergy, of malice, Temporal men of the Kings Dominions or other where (without all order of Law) to be apprehended; objecting against them that they have strayed from some Article of Christian Faith; and therewith shut them up; when as their Imprisonment appertaineth to the King till they be convicted thereof.

Gins to
get money.

25 *Item*, They exercise their Jurisdiction in all places, having no regard, neither to the Kings peculiar Towns, nor yet to his Subjects; but run in every hole, when by Law they ought to have no Jurisdiction, without their own limits and precinct.

26 *Item*, When these Prelates or their Officials by virtue of their Monitions do charge the Kings Officers and his Justices to execute any thing; if they do not perform that, which is prescribed unto them, the forfeit (which the Monition containeth) is taken: yea and Excommunication denounced. And this is a new invention sprung up of late amongst them, much to the prejudice of the King and his Subjects.

27 *Item*, When the Bishops or their Officials do prosecute a matter of Office before themselves against any Temporal man, and have no proof thereof; they compel many of the Laity to be deposed therein what they know, having no respect whether they be the Kings Burgeses, or no, or what they be, and yet will they not allow any charges and expences for their pains taken in that behalf. But if they appear not at their day, they are sure to be Excommunicate.

28 *Item*, If malefactors be apprehended by any of the Kings Justices, and Indicted of Theft, and he (whose Goods they were which were stolen) cometh before the Kings Sheriffs, and proveth them to be his, and that therefore the matter ought to be ordered by them: if afterwards the Bishops or their Officials affirm the said Felon or Malefactor to be a Clerk, they will by virtue of their Decrees or Monitions compel the Kings Sheriffs to restore and bring in the stolen Goods: and if they do it not, they are pronounced Excommunicate.

29 *Item*, If it happen the Kings Sheriff or Bailiff to take an offender for his offence, and he affirmeth himself to be a Clerk: although he never took any kind of Tonfores, or Orders, wearing no Habit appertaining thereunto; yet the Bishops or their Officials will cause the detainers of them by their censures to deliver unto them the said malefactor as their Clerk.

30 *Item*, If it happen the Kings Sheriff or other his Justices to take a Thief or Murderer, which beareth a Clerks Mark and Tonfure, and therefore delivereth him to the Clergy to be ordered; it shall not be long before he be acquainted by them, although he afterward Recognize his Fact; yea, and notwithstanding that his fellows and partners of that Office, being meer Temporal, received Justice for the same, and appeached him thereof; and so the like Malefactors are encouraged thereby to commit after the like.

31 *Item*, If any complaineth and saith that he is spoiled, by and by the Officials will Decree a Monition against the spoiler: by virtue whereof, some one of the Deans of the Clergy shall monish him to restore the things comprized in the Monition, and also minister to him an Oath whether he hath not spoiled the Plaintiff of such things, as he saith he was spoiled of. But if he refuse to take an Oath before him, then the Dean will straightways Seal up the Monition and

and Excommunicate him, and by no means shall he be Absolved before he restore and satisfy the Contents in the Monition, whereof the Plaintiff said first he was spoiled.

32 *Item*, If any for his offence be cast into Prison by the Secular power, although at the time of his taking he wear Temporal Habit, and was in no Orders, but all the days of his life lived like a Temporal man: yet if he shall Avouch and Vow himself to be a Clerk, to the intent to have more expedition at the Clergies hands, and to escape unpunished; the Clergy will incontinently give to the Laity in commandment to restore unto them the malefactor, or else suspension shall be denounced throughout the whole Township, where the said malefactor shall be so Imprisoned. And for avoiding the jeopardy which might arise of the said seilement; the Secular Judge of necessity is compelled to deliver them the offender, to the great prejudice of the Kings Temporal Jurisdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertain, in case of resort and prerogative.

33 *Item*, When any offender is delivered by the Temporal Magistrates to the Clergy, as their Clerks; his friends will make sure to the Bishops Officials for him, and compound with them, by reason whereof they dismiss them unpunished, and so do worse and worse, although their Fact was never so notorious.

34 *Item*, So soon as any married Clerk, being a Merchant or of whatsoever other Science he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the Secular Judge: the said Clerk obtaineth of the Officials a Monition, bringing with them some Priest, who doth inhibit the Secular Judge under pain of 100 or 200 Marks, yea and of Excommunication too, not to proceed further, nor to meddle in such Causes, and not to molest such Parties, neither in Body nor Goods: But if the Judges obey not, they shall be suspended from hearing of Mafs in that place, although the matter concerneth the Fact of Merchandise.

35 *Item*, The said Officials grant Citations without number against the Laity in Cases of Warranties personally to ascite before them persons unknown. But if they be known, it is contained in the Citation, that in no wise, and that under a great pain, he cause his adversary to be called before a Secular Judge, during the return of the Citation.

36 *Item*, When one is Excommunicated in any place, the Officials grant out personal Citations against them, which do participate, and are conversant with the excommunicate: causing a whole Country by the space of eight miles about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the Party so excommunicate (sometimes by 40, sometimes 60, yea and sometimes by a 100 at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they do not participate nor keep company with their friends the excommunicates. Whereby ensueth that many honest, old and ancient men, for avoiding of troubles and expences, do pay some twelve pence, some two shillings. By occasion whereof many Vines are unlooked to, much Ground untilld, yea, and many good men constrained to lay the Key under the door, and run away.

37 *Item*, The said Officials do burden many persons of good name and fame, to be Usurers: whereby they are constrained to agree with them, for avoiding the infamy that thereby might insue.

38 *Item*, The foresaid Officials call by Citation afore them, the honest wedded (as well Man as Woman) charging them, that they have committed Adultery to the perpetual infamy of their Husbands and Wives. And for nothing else but by extortion to wring money from them.

39 *Item*, Mention must be made of the multitude and number of Proctors, which eat and devour up all the world with their Citations, catching up Clients, and keeping abroad in the Country Courts and Assizes; who for money return not the Citations, which by extortion they receive of them which are cited.

40 *Item*, There be many other griefs and enormities, which the Chapters, Abbots, Priors, Provosts, and other Ecclesiastical persons in the Realm of France, practice against the people. As when they cause to be cited before them, many of the Kings Burgeffes, and others in divers places being privileged: that is to say, *Baiocenses, Mammetans* in Britain, *Lugdons, Masticons*, with other more. But speci-

ally the Provosts of Hospitals use more commonly this trick, than any other do, whereby the people is much indamaged, and will be every day more and more, if remedy be not had therein.

41 *Item*, Ecclesiastical Magistrates labour to have cognition of Causes of injury, in whatsoever Cause it be: whether the injury be committed by word or fact. Likewise they take upon them to hear the Causes of married Clerks, and of their Wives, although they both use Merchandize. And if at any time such couples be taken by the Secular Magistrates, the Official causeth a suspension to be denounced in that Parish, by force of the Council *Silvanestren*.

42 *Item*, They challenge to have cognition concerning Widows Goods, both moveable and unmovable. And if it happeneth at any time that a Merchant Widow, in any of the Kings peculiars by way of Arrest, procureth any Temporal man to be convented before the Secular Judge; and the matter be so far traversed, that he should have been condemned by the Sentence of the Secular Judge, and then it come to the ear of the Ecclesiastical Magistrates, how and before whom the Widow did convent him: the said Temporal Judge shall be constrained to withdraw the same. And by their monitions and censures they will correct the same; and this oftentimes happeneth.

43 *Item*, Many of the Tenants and Inhabiters of the Bishops Lands call one another to the Court of the Officials, by a kind of appellation: by virtue whereof the Officials take upon them to proceed in the same, and to have cognition thereof, to the prejudice of the Temporal Jurisdiction of our Sovereign Lord the King.

44 *Item*, if any man be apprehended by Secular Justice in shedding of blood; he is to be ordered by them, if he be Lay: if he be a Clerk he is to be restored to the Ecclesiastical Judge. But whether he be a Temporal man or Clerk that is so taken, and appealeth to the Officials Court; they will be so bold to have cognition thereof, requiring herewith amends of the Secular Court, which enterprized the foresaid apprehension. If this be suffered, the malefactor shall never be punished. For by and by they will Appeal, and immediately after the appellation fly and avoid away.

45 *Item*, When they cause many of office to be cited before them, they will admit them to have no Proctors: to whom when they come at the day of appearance, they object the crime of Usury. And except they answer as the promoters will themselves, they are trodden under feet (although they be meer Lay) and shall not be dismissed, before they Fine even as the Officials list themselves, although they be no Usurers. But if any be Usurers, they take of them satisfaction and bribes: and so they be permitted to use their Usury, no less than before; So that they may have their old fees and bribes.

46 *Item*, They procure their Officers to apprehend Clerks in whatsoever soil they be found: albeit by Justice they may appeal therefrom. But if by any they be let of their will herein, they do forthwith, by sentence of Excommunication, cause them to desist therefore.

47 *Item*, As oftentimes as any Temporal Magistrate doth apprehend any person, which afterward, being required of the Clergy, is quietly delivered unto them: yet for all that, the Officials cause those Magistrats to be denounced Excommunicate by Law.

48 *Item*, The Prelates give order of Tonsures as well to men of thirty years as upward, as also to married men, when they come unto them, for fear of Imprisonment and punishment due unto them for their criminal offences, before committed; and this is oftentimes put in practice.

49 *Item*, If it happen any of the Kings servants or any other to be Excommunicate, who would fain be Absolved, being glad to pay reasonably for the same: the Clergy will not receive satisfaction but such as shall please them, whereby many of them remain still Excommunicate.

50 *Item*, When two persons have been at Strife and Law together for the Possession of Land, and the matter contentious be put into the hands of the King by some servant or officer of the King, for the taking up of the matter: then do the Prelates admonish the one part not to trouble the other which is in possession. Otherwise if he do, they do Excommunicate him.

{ KING
Edw. 1

The Clergy
prejudicial
to common
Justice.

Usury cras-
tily objected
by the Cler-
gy against
Lay-men.
The Pre-
lates make
the Church
a den of
Thieves.

KING
Edw. 1

51 *Item*, The foresaid Prelates, Deans, Chaplains, and other the rout of the Clergy, put the Kings Officers to so much travel and expences in trying out the Kings usurped Jurisdiction, as they term it; that oftentimes many of them spend and consume, in the travel of the Right and Title thereof, all that they have and more too.

52 *Item*, If any Secular Justice in a true and just Cause, at the request of the party, putteth in his helping hand concerning the Inheritance of Clerks: the Ecclesiastical Judges, and their Ministers, send out Monitions in writing against the said Justice; yea, under pain of Excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leave off: enjoining him further to suffer the other party quietly to enjoy the said things. Otherwise they denounce him Excommunicate, and he shall not be Absolved before he have well paid for it, even as pleaseth Master Official, to the high prejudice of the Authority of our Sovereign Lord the King.

53 *Item*, The Ecclesiastical Magistrates, so soon as they hear any rich or fat cop to die, or think that he will not live long, send out forthwith Letters under Seal to their Chaplain, commanding him in any wise not to presume to bury him, although he made his Testament, and received the Rites of the Church. And when afterward the Friends and Kinsfolks of the dead resort unto them to know the cause of their inhibition; they declare unto them that he was an Usurer, and that he kept not the commandments of holy Church: and so long keep they the Corps of the dead unburied, till the Friends of him buy it out with good store of money, heaping and hording by these means abundance of riches.

54 *Item*, If there be any violent shedding of blood in any Church-yard, whereby the interdict taketh place, the Clergy causeth a certain imposition to be Levied of the Parishes there, for the Salary towards the restoring thereof: Although some of the Parishes be of an exempt Jurisdiction; yea, and although he which shed blood be able to pay the whole Tax which they Levied, and more too.

55 *Item*, Certain Chaplains affirm themselves to have certain Apostolical privileges, by virtue whereof they may appoint what Judges they will (yea and oftentimes of their own House) and so they be Judges in their own Cause; which is plain against the Law. Whereby oftentimes it happeneth, that after great process and expences had and made in any great Cause of Inquest (more often about realty than otherwise) when they have notice by the Proctors and Advocates that they shall have the foil therein; they revoke forthwith those named Judges, and so the Kings subjects are damaged, and can have no justice nor redress at their hands.

56 *Item*, If any Temporal man call a Clerk before a Secular Judge in case of Inheritance; the Ecclesiastical Judge procureth a stop to be made therein, attributing to themselves the cognition thereof: and so by adjourning and removing, the Lay-man is constrained to make satisfaction.

57 *Item*, The Clergy challengeth the cognition of such Causes as married Clerks being Merchants and Artificers do commence: when by Law it doth appertain to the Temporality, especially about the Trade of Merchandize.

58 *Item*, They oftentimes make Interdictions in many of the Kings Towns and Holds, and cause the Divine Service to cease; against the Priviledges granted by many of the high Bishops of Rome to our Sovereign Lord and Master the King.

59 *Item*, To and for the maintainance and keeping of their Temporalities, they appoint Bailiffs and other Officers: who, if they do offend, may not condignly be punished according to Law and Justice.

60 *Item*, The Ecclesiastical Judges have promoters belonging to them; whom, when any man is Excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cause to be made, that no man shall work or do any thing for him that is Excommunicate: whereby the Lands and Vines are oftentimes unlooked to and untill'd, to the no small prejudice of the King and his common people.

61 *Item*, The foresaid promoters cause Citations to be made out, by virtue whereof they call in one Citation twenty, thirty, forty persons to appear, for participating with such interdicted persons; taking of some ten, of other some twenty shillings, as much as they be able to make: whereby the common people are much oppressed.

62 *Item*, The Ecclesiastical Judges cause all the Advocates of their Courts to be Sworn, That none shall retain them of

their Counsel against any of them, without their License: whereby oftentimes the poor man quite loseth his right, and the Kings Cause is delayed; because his Solicitors cannot freely retain Counsel, without special License.

63 *Item*, They will make Inventories of their Goods which die Intestate, or without making of Will; and will have the possession of their Goods, as well movable as unmovable, in their own hands to distribute to the Heirs, or to whom they list.

64 *Item*, The execution also of Testaments they take into their own hands, taking Inventories of dead mens Goods, and keeping and disposing them to the Heirs after their pleasure. And they have Officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

65 *Item*, They will not give credit (sometimes) to Testaments made before witnesses, unless they be first by their own Officials approved.

After he had thus spoken, the Prelates required to have time to answer thereunto. Whereupon the Friday next ensuing, was appointed for the same: On the which day the Bishop Edwen, and Archbishop of Senon Elect, in the name of the whole Clergy answered for them all before the King, holding his Parliament as that day at Vincennes, and thus he there propounded: Forasmuch as the Lord Peter Cugner of late propounding against the Church of France took to his Theme that which is written in the 22 of Matthew; *Render unto Cesar that which is Cesar's, and unto God that which is Gods*; by which words, he said, two points were to be noted: First, The reverence and subjection of the Prelates, that they ought to have to the King their Sovereign: Secondly, The division of the Temporal Jurisdiction from the Spiritual. The which first part he proved out of the first Epistle of Peter in the second Chap. where it is written: *Submit your selves unto every creature, for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the king, as unto the superior, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent of him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* The second point he proved by the words of our Saviour Christ in the 22 of Luke, where the Apostle saith, *Lord, behold, here are two swords.* And he said unto them, *It is enough*; signifying by the two swords the two Jurisdications. And likewise out of the 17 of Mat. where Christ would pay Tribute for him and Peter; Giving hereby an example, how that Ecclesiastical persons were bound to pay and yield to the Temporal power the Temporalities; which also is proved in the 11. *quest. prim. cap. Si tributum & cap. magnum.*

And further, because this is proved by mans-law, where it is said, two great gifts are bestowed, Priesthood and Empire; the Priesthood to rule over matters Divine; the Empire to bear domination over human matters. Whereby he concluded, that seeing these Jurisdications are distinguished of God; the one being given and limited to the Church, and the other to the Temporality: the Church in no wise ought to intermeddle, or to have any thing to do with the Temporal Jurisdiction. For it is written in the 22 of the *Prov.* *You ought not to pass the old limits and bounds, which the fore-fathers have set.* And well by the way he bringeth in this word, *old and ancient*: because customs brought in to the contrary, be of no force, but rather are counted abuses and corruptions. Neither can prescription take place, for that *Jus fisci* is inprescriptible, neither can the King abrogate from himself such Law, nor renounce his right, proving the same by many Chapters contained in the 10. *Dist.*

Wherefore seeing the King, at what time he was Crowned, swear not only not to alienate or infringe the Laws of his Realm, but also to call in such Laws as were alienated and usurped either by the Church, or by any other; the King was bound by his Oath to revoke the same abuses. In especial he did exhibit many Articles in writing, wherein (as he said) the Church did usurp upon the Jurisdiction Temporal. To answer these Premises with reconciling of the places, under protestation that whatsoever I say or shall say, it is not to ground or make any final judgment or determination herein; but only to inform the Conscience of our Sovereign Lord the King and his assistants here assembled, alledging the first Epistle of Peter, the second Chapter, where he saith, *Fear God and honour the King.* By which words, the holy Apostle St. Peter teacheth us two things: First, that love, fear, and obedience, is due unto God for the mightiness and puissance of his Majesty, saying,

Bishop Edwen and Archbishop of Senon Elect prolocutor for the Prelates

Repetition of the Lord Peter's Oration above touched, pag. 402.

Luk. 22.

Mat. 17.

Two gifts given, Priesthood, Empire.

Prov. 22.

Dist. 10.

1 Pet. 2.

Note the practice of Officials to get money.

Act 5. saying, *Fear God*. Secondly, That special honour and reverence is due to the King, for the excellency of his dignity; saying, *Honour the King*. But note you by the way, how the Apostle placeth his words: First he saith, That fear is due unto God, because principally and in chief we ought to fear God. For if the King or any other should command things contrary to God, we ought to have no regard thereof, but to contemn the King and fear God. For it is written in the fifth of the *Acts* of the Apostles; *We ought rather to obey God than man*: and also in the 7th Chapter of *Machabees* the second Book, where it is said, *I will not obey the commandments of the king, but the law*.

11. 2. 1. The reason whereof St. *Augustine* giveth both in the Gloss upon the *Romans*, and also in the 11. *Quest.* 1. He that resisteth the Superior power, resisteth the will and ordinance of God. But put case thou art commanded to do that which thou maist not do, or not to do that which thou oughtest to do. Doubtless, thou must neglect the lesser power, and fear the higher, learning the degrees of worldly things.

As for example, be it so that a Proctor commandeth thee any thing, and the same be against the Proconsul, thou oughtest not to follow it. Yea, and further, put case the Proconsul commandeth one thing, the Emperor another, and God willeth the third: Thou must not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power. For they may threaten thee with Prison, but God threatneth thee with Hell fire: they may slay and kill thy Body, but God may send thee Body and Soul to perpetual Hell fire. And therefore worthily it is put first, *Fear God*. And here the place in the last of *Ecclesiastes* is to be adjoynd, where it is written, *Fear God and keep his commandments*.

Fear of God standeth in three points And me thinketh that man is bound to fear God chiefly in three sorts. That is to say: First, in the bountiful bestowing of his Gifts and Benefits. Secondly, In the evident promoting of his Servants. And lastly, In the full rendring and restoring unto man that is his.

First, I say, in the bountiful, &c. and for this cause the Emperor *Justinian* writeth: Although there is nothing to be accounted good, which doth exceed and is too great, yet for a Prince to bestow accordingly upon the Church, it is very good. For why, the King and Emperor is bound to bestow so much the more substance, how much the more God hath given to him, and to bestow the same both frankly, and especially to famous Churches, wherein the best and greatest measure is of the Lords gifts; that is, a great gift. And to this end *Gregory* enacteth a Law, cap. 1. *de extra. de donationibus*, that Nobility ought in manner to prescribe this Law to himself, to think himself bound to give, when he giveth freely; and unless he increase in giving still, to think that he hath given nothing.

Wherefore *Abel*, as appeareth in the 4th Chapter of *Genesis*, who offered of the best to the Lord, was blessed of God. And therefore other Kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both Spiritually and Temporally blessed of him: as we read of *Joshua*, *David*, *Solomon*, and others in the Book of the *Kings*, and therefore it is so written in the 18th of *Numbers*: *and ye shall separate unto the Lords treasury, things that be chiefest and most principal*. As likewise *David* saith in the first of *Paralipomenon* the last Chapter: *I have given all this with a glad heart, even with a good will, and now have I had joy to see thy people which here are present, offer with a free will unto thee*. And no marvel, for *David* saith in that place: *For of thy hand we have received all, and to thee we give*. And therefore it seemeth to me, because that the Kings of *France*, and Barons of the same, have given to God and his Church more than any other; therefore they were happy and blessed above all other Kings, and the more they did give to God, the more they received at his hands.

Examples whereof we have of *Clotvedo*, *Charles*, and *St. Lewis*: the more one giveth to God, the more he receiveth of him: For he in the 6th of *Luke* hath promised, *Give and it shall be given unto you*: Wherefore a gift that a Prince bestoweth upon the Church is rendred again with triple encrease, and that no less in time of War, than in time of Peace. I say in War time, because Victory proceedeth of no other, but only of God; for it is written in the first of *Machabees*, the third Chapter: *the victory of the battel standeth not in the multitude of the host, but the strength cometh from heaven*. And likewise, in the

seventeenth Chapter of *Exodus*, it is declared, *that when Moses held up his hands, Israel had the victory: but when he let down his hands, Amaleck had the victory*. To this end also serveth the last Chapter of 2 *Machabees* 2. Where *Judas* being at the point to have the victory, thought he saw *Onion* and *Jeremy* (which had been high Priests and very vertuous men) holding up their hands towards heaven, and praying for their people and all the whole city, &c. Likewise in Peace time now, the long days of the King and of his Sons, their Peace, Prosperity, and Obedience (by the prayer of the Church) is maintained and supported in the Realm. For as long as *Solomon* was bent and given in building the House of God, so long he had Peace; who thus in the 16th Chapter of the *Proverbs* teacheth us: *When a mans ways please the Lord, he maketh his very enemies to be his friends*: And also in 1 *Esd.* the 6th Chapter, where it is read, *how the priests were commanded to offer sweet savours to the God of heaven, and pray for the kings life and his children*. And well therefore may it be called a gift both favourable and irrevocable, whereby victory is given, life granted, and peace with security conserved. To serve God therefore, and liberally to give toward the worshipping of him, is the chiefest sign and token of Divine fear and love. *Ecclef.* Chap. 2. *O ye that fear the Lord, believe him, and your reward shall not be empty*.

Secondly, Concerning the fear of God, I do you to understand, That among the Precepts of the Lord, the first and chiefest Commandment of the second Table is, to honour thy Father: Which Precept is very well expounded in the 12th Chap. to *Heb.* Where it is not only meant of the Fathers of our Bodies, but also of the Father of Spirits. For as spiritual things do far exceed temporal matters; so much more a great deal the spiritual Son is bound to reverence the spiritual Father, and to be in subjection unto him, that he may live. And that the Priests and Prelates be the spiritual Fathers, it is proved in the fourth Book of the *Kings*, the 6th Chapter: Where the King of *Israel* called *Elizeus* Father, saying: *My father, shall I smite thee?* Unto this effect serveth the tenth of *Luke*, where our Saviour said to the Apostles (whose successors the Bishops are) *He that beareth you, beareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me*. Also in the first to the *Thessalonians* the fourth Chap. *He that despiseth you, despiseth not men, but God*. Wherefore *Justinian* the Emperor in another place saith, We have great care to the Church of God, that therein may be true Doctrine and Integrity of Priests life. Which having, we trust that for our great gifts we shall receive such rewards at Gods hands, both as be durable, and shall remain: yea, and also that hitherto have not happened. Blessed *St. Hierome* in his Register writing to a certain Emperor, which is also to be seen in the *Decrees*, *Decret.* 11. *quest.* 1. saith, Let not the Emperor disdain Priests, but have special regard on them for his sake whose servants they be: and so let him rule over them that due and condign reverence be given unto them. For they in Divine Scriptures are sometime termed God, sometimes named Angels, *Exod.* 22. *Then shall both their causes come before the Gods*. Also *Malac.* the second, *the priests lips should be sure of knowledge, that men may seek the law at his mouth: for he is a messenger of the Lord of hosts*. And therefore it is no marvel, if we should vouchsafe to honour them, when God himself in his speech attributing to them honour, teacheth them Gods and Angels. And here is to be noted, how *Constantine* the Emperor, when certain of his subjects presented unto him Libels accusatory against the Bishops, received them at their hands. But calling before him those Bishops which were accused therein, in their fight he cast those Libels into the fire, saying, Depart you hence and discuss these matters within your selves. For it is not convenient and meet that we judge Gods, because it is written; *God stood in the Synagogue of Gods, and in the midst of them he did judge Gods*. In which Chapter it is declared, how that the Pagans, who worshipped golden and wooden gods, attributed great honour to the priests. What marvel is it then, if the godly and great and Christian Emperors do honour and reverence the Priests of the true God? And doubtless, it is their duty so to do. And it is reason, which the Lord *Peter* the last day said in this point; That there are two powers, Priesthood and Dominion, the one spiritual, the other Temporal which

KING
Edw. 1
Ex. 17.

2 Mac. 2.

Time of
Peace.

Prov. 16.

1 Egd. 6.

Ecclef. 2.

The second
part of fear-
ing God.

Heb. 12.

Honouring
Spiritual
Fathers.

4 Kin. 6.

Luke 10.

1 Thel. 4.

11. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Ex. 22.

Malac. 2.

Honour to
be given to
Priests.Two pow-
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what dif-
ference be-
tween them
both.

KING which no less differ one from the other, than the Sun from the Moon, the Heaven from the Earth, and Gold from Lead. And therefore if honour is due to be given to the lesser power, by them that be underneath him: he that is chief of the higher power, of right good duty, is to be honoured and revered of all under him, as expressly is declared, *Cap. Solit. De ma. & ob.* In which Chapter answer is fully made to the allegation of the Lord Peter (alleged by him to make for his purpose) that is to say, Be ye subject to all Creatures for Gods sake, &c. There he speaketh of the subjection which standeth upon the merit of vertue, and not upon the duty of necessity. For else if he should speak of the subjection which is by duty of necessity; then must it needs follow, that every Bishop ought to be subject to every beggerly Rascal in the City of Paris. For the Text is, *Be ye subject to all human creatures*: but a Rascal is a human Creature: Ergo, Bishops must be subject to a Rascal. Of the Dignity of a Bishop, *Ambrose* talketh in his Pastoral. The honour, saith he; and the majesty of a Bishop is without all comparison. If you compare it to the Royalty of a King, it is even as you would compare Metal or Lead to the beauty of Gold: For that is to be seen, that Kings and Princes stooping under the knees of Priests and kissing their right hand, think themselves to be defended by their prayer. And because the Kings of France have more than other honoured and revered the Prelates, they have above all other flourished and prospered. It is said in *Eccles. 4.* *He that honoureth his father, shall rejoyce in his sons.* And it followeth there, *He that honoureth his father, shall live a long life.* This is therefore the sign of the fear of God. *Eccles. 4.* And as it is written in *Eccles. 4.* *He that feareth God honoureth his parents.*

Thirdly, I say, That a man ought to fear God, in the full reverencing and restoring unto man that is his: For he that doth not give to another that is his, but goeth about to usurp, doubtless he feareth not God. Contrary, he that restoreth all again, he is said to love and fear God. *Ecclesiast. 18.* *He that feareth God will do good things.* And in the *Psalms*, *I have been afraid of thy judgments, and have done judgment and justice.* For as the Lawyers say, which is true, A thing may be made mine divers ways, as by succession, commutation, prescription, or any other acquisition, either by Law or Custom; And so of the rest. And whereas the Lord Peter the last day, by distinction of Jurisdiction Temporal and Spiritual, endeavoured to prove that he which had Spiritual Jurisdiction, ought not to have Temporal; otherwise there were no distinction thereof, but rather a confusion of Jurisdictions: I will therefore prove the contrary, that these Jurisdictions are compatible both in one person, especially in an Ecclesiastical man. And this will I prove by the Law of God, by the Law of Nature, Canon Law, Civil Law, by Custom and Privilege. But first I alledge, that accidental forms some of them are distinct, that they are not clean contrary, but dislike, as whiteness and sweetness. Other forms there be which are so distinct, that they are clean contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one subject. For one contrary expels another, and importeth the Negative of the other. Wherefore those things be contrary, which one from another are most of all distant and disagreeing, and in one susceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the Philosopher teacheth in the *Predicaments*. But those forms which are so distinct that they be not contrary, but dislike, are compatible in one subject, as quantity and quality, which, being distinct in respect of their *Genus generalissimum*, yet may be in one person. And fortitude and temperance, being under one kind of moral vertue, are found to be in one man, as *Logic* and *Grammer*, which are also *species* and kinds in one *genus*, viz. of *intellectus*. Therefore it is no good argument: These forms be distinct, Ergo, they be not compatible in one subject. And therefore that the Jurisdictions Temporal and Spiritual are so distinct, that they are not contrary but compatible, it is evident hereby, because things contrary be so, that the one cannot be ordained to concur with the other, but rather the one confoundeth and destroyeth the other: but in this case Jurisdiction Temporal is ordained for the Spiritual; and contrary, the Spiritual for the Temporal. Or rather, the one so dependeth on the other, as the cleanness of the Moon doth on the brightness of the Sun. Also the one Jurisdiction so

helpeth and comforts the other, that there is no contrariety in them. And therefore it is no good consequence, because they are distinct: Ergo, they are not compatible in one person. This also is to be proved *de facto*. For the Earth is the Lords, and the plenty of the whole universal World; and all that dwell therein. It is proved likewise by this reason: For if the Jurisdictions be not compatible, it should follow, that no Ecclesiastical person should have any jot of Temporal Jurisdiction, neither Land, Tower, Castle, Lordship, nor any thing else; which is most absurd: and so by this means it should follow, that no Ecclesiastical person should be in subjection unto the King, which were to the great derogation of the Kings Majesties Crown and Dignity. It must needs be therefore that these Jurisdictions be compatible, notwithstanding the distinction of them one from another. And thus much for answer to all these reasons, by the which Lord Peter proved the distinction of these Jurisdictions.

These things premised, thus I proceed further to prove that a person Ecclesiastical, which hath Jurisdiction Spiritual, may also have Temporal Jurisdiction: and that the Jurisdiction Temporal may be in an Ecclesiastical person, I will prove it by the Scriptures; and first out of the *Old Testament*, to the evident probation whereof, it is to be understood: That God, after the Creation of the World and Man, even unto *Noah's* time, would govern the World himself as King by the Ministry of Angels. By reason whereof he gave and pronounced Sentence himself against *Cain*, *Genesis* the fourth. *Noah* also which offered burnt Offerings unto the Lord, and built an Altar, as teacheth the eighth of *Genesis* (which thing appertained only unto the Priests) had the government and rule of all things, as well Spiritual as Temporal, which were in the Ark of *Noah*. *Melchisedech* likewise, the which was the Priest of the most high God, and also King of *Salem*, as appeareth in the fourteenth of *Genesis*, had both the Jurisdictions in his own hands. For *Magister Historiarum*, in the said fourteenth of *Genesis*, declareth, That all the first begot of *Noah*, even unto *Aaron's* time, were Priests: which at Meals and Offerings blessed the people, and which only had the *Jus primogeniturae*, whereby the Regiment of others was due unto them. *Moses* in like manner (of whom it is said in the *Psalms*, *Moses and Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus*) consecrated *Aaron* and his children to be priests; which *Aaron* did judge the whole people in Temporal matters, yea and that in Causes of Inheritance and meer real, as appeareth in the seven and twentieth Chapter of *Numbers*, and many other places. To which purpose serveth the seventeenth Chapter of *Deuteronomie*; where it is said, *Deut. 17.* *If a matter be too hard for thee in judgment betwixt blood and blood, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague and plague, then shalt thou rise and go up to that place, that the Lord thy God hath chosen, and shalt come to the Priests, the Levites, and to the Judge then being, and shalt ask, who shall shew unto us the truth of the judgment, and shalt follow their sentence.* And if any man presumptuously shall refuse to obey the Priests Commandments and Decree of the Judge, the same shall die. Behold how manifestly it doth appear, how not only the Judgment appertaineth to a Priest, between Plague and Plague, concerning the circumstances and regularity of the Law; but also betwixt Blood and Blood, in matters criminal; yea, and betwixt Plea and Plea in civil matters; which thing doth appear to be in many Judges out of the Book of *Judges*. For *Samuel*, which was both a Prophet and Priest, was appointed Judge of long time over the People in matters Temporal. And when the people desired a King, the Lord was highly offended with them, and said unto *Samuel*; *They have not refused thee but me, that I should not be king over them.* Furthermore as long as Kings among the people of God, used the Advice and Counsel of Priests and Bishops, it was well with them and their Kingdom: But when they forsook and left the Counsel of Bishops and Priests, then was their Kingdom divided, and finally they brought into Captivity. In which Captivity, the people were altogether governed and ruled by the Priests and Prophets, as by *Esdras* and *Nebemias*. And last of all, by the means of the *Maccabees*, the Kingdom and Government was devolved and brought into the Priests hands, who were the Kings and Captains over the people, and had the Government as well of Spiritual matters

Proofs out of the Old Testament.

Melchisedech was both King and Priest, Ergo, the Pope may have both Jurisdictions. Gen. 14.

Samuel was Judge in Temporal matters, Ergo, the Pope may have both Jurisdictions.

De Mai, & cap. Solit.

Double subjection upon merit of vertue, and upon duty of necessity. The Authority of a Bishop and a King compared. The pride of the Prelacy. Stoop Kings.

Eccles. 4.

Eccles. 4.

The third part of fear- ing God.

Eccles. 18.

A thing made mine divers ways.

His proofs. 1. By Divine Law. 2. By the Law of Nature. 3. By Canon Law. 4. By Civil Law. 5. By Custom. 6. By Privilege.

Forms being dislike and not contrary, may be compatible in one subject.

1 Mac. 2. ters as of Temporal, as is read in the first Book of *Machabees*, the second Chapter; Of *Mattathias* and his Sons, *videlicet*, of *Juda*, *Machaby*, *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and *John* the Son of *Simon*, which, in all Spiritual and Temporal matters, were Governors over the people of God. More-
 Jerem. 1. over, the first Chapter of *Jeremy*, which was one of the Priests, declareth after this manner: *I have set thee over the people and kingdoms, that thou maist root out, break, destroy, and make waste, and that thou maist build up and plant.* Jerem. capite primo. Besides this, in the time of Judge *Eliab*, a Priest in like manner had the Judgment of Temporal matters. And so much concerning the proof hereof, out of the *Old Testament*.

Secondly, I prove my former proposition by Authorities taken out of the *New Testament*. For Christ had not only by Divine Nature both the Powers, whereby he Created all things of nothing, and by consequence was God of all, but also by his humanity and both powers. For he was the Priest, *secundum ordinem Melchisedec* (as it is said in the *Psalms*, had also, is alledged to the *Hebrews*) which had both in his Vesture and Thigh written, *King of kings, and Lord of lords*. By this Vestiment or Thigh was meant his Humanity, which was joyned to his Divinity, as the Garment is to him that weareth it. He said of himself in the last of *Matthew*: *Unto me is given all power both in Heaven and in Earth*. As also to the *Hebrews* in the first Chapter: *Whom he made and constituted heir of all universal things*. And likewise in the second Chapter to the *Hebrews*, *He hath made him not much inferior to the Angels. He hath crowned him with glory and honour, and hath set him above the works of his hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all the whole cattle of the field*. When therefore it is said, *He made all things subject unto him*; He excludeth nothing as the Apostle there saith. Whereby it is apparent, that as concerning his Human Nature, in the which he was made less than the Angels, all things were subject to him.

A. Also this appeareth in the second Chap. to the *Philippians*: *He humbled himself, wherefore God exalted him, &c.* And it followeth, *That in the Name of Jesus, should every knee bow, both of things in Heaven, and of things in Earth, and of things under the Earth*. Behold here, that in Nature, in which he did humble himself, he was exalted, because every knee should bow down to him. This in like manner hath St. Peter in the tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, where he saith, *he was constituted of God, the judge over the quick and the dead*: And he speaketh of the Nature which God raised up the third day, as the whole Scripture proveth. And likewise St. Peter had this Power given him, whom Christ Constituted and made his Vicar; who also condemned by Sentence judicially *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, for lying and stealing; *Acts* Chapter 5. Paul also condemned a fornicator convicted, *1 Cor.* 5. And that Christ would have the correction and judgment of such matters to appertain to his Church: A Text in the 18th of *Matthew* expressly declareth, where it is said: *If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: But if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established: if he hear not then, tell it unto the congregation: if he hear not the congregation, take him as an heathen man and a Publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever you bind on earth, the same shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever you loose on earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven*. Behold, how expressly it is commanded, that whensoever in any matter one-offendeth the other, he being first charitably admonished, the matter must be published and referred to the order of the Church and Congregation. But if the offender do not obey and hear the admonition, he is to be taken as an Heathen and a Publican: which is as much to say, like one that is Excommunicate by the Church and Congregation, so that he may have no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Christ, this seemeth much to prove it, where in giving the reason hereof, he immediately addeth: *Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever, &c.* (where note this team distributive, whatsoever) so as the Apostle argueth to the *Hebrews* the second Chapter, that if he ordained all things to be subject unto him, he excludeth nothing unsubjected. Wherefore thus I may argue: If all things

that the Church and Congregation doth lose, be loosed, and every thing that the Church bindeth, is bound: There is nothing that the Church may not lose and bind. Or by Logick thus I may reason; There is nothing bound by the Church, that is not bound in Heaven: which argument is good by a certain rule of Logick, which saith, That contraries, if the the Negation be put after, are equivalent. For every thing and nothing, whatsoever thing, and no manner of thing, be contrary one to the other. And so nothing not, is as much to say, as all things. Secondly, I do prove it out of another Text of St. Luke, Chap. 22. Which place he alledged to make for his purpose; but I will strike him with his own weapon. For where he said, *That by the two swords the two powers temporal and spiritual were to be understood*; it was so indeed: but to whose hands would he (I pray you) have these two Swords committed? Truly to the hands of Peter and other the Apostles, &c. But the holy Father the Pope succeeded Peter and the other Apostles, the Bishops, Disciples, Curates, Parsons, as in the Glos appeareth, *Luke* 10. whereby thus I argue: That by the two Swords, the two powers are meant: But Christ willed those two Swords to be put into the Churches hands: Ergo, likewise the two powers. But you may reply and say, That Christ did reprehend Peter because he strook with a Temporal Sword, and cut off an Ear, saying unto him, *Put up thy sword, &c.* Which reason is of no force: for Christ did not will Peter to cast away quite from him the Sword, but to put it into the Scabbard and to keep it, giving to understand thereby, that such power, although it be in the Churches hands; yet the execution thereof (as much as appertaineth to bloodshedding in the new Law) he would have to appertain to the Secular Judge; notwithstanding yet perhaps, according to the discretion and will of the Clergy.

Thirdly, I prove this by the intent of St. Paul, in the *1 Cor.* 6. where he saith, *That they which have secular business, and contend one against another, ought to be judged by the Saints*. And that they should Judge therein therefore he made this Argument: *Know you not that the Saints shall judge the world?* And if the World be Judged by you, are ye not good enough to Judge small trifles? As though he would say, Do ye not know how that ye shall Judge the Angels? How much more then may you Judge things secular? And it followeth; *If you have judgment of secular and worldly matters, take them which are despised in the Church and Congregations, and make them Judges*. Neither doth it make any thing against it, because the Apostle in the same place inferreth; *Ad verecundiam vestram dico; I say it to your shame*: for that is to be referred to those, where he saith, *Appoint those which are despised*. Wherefore the Apostle speaketh ironically in this matter, as meaning thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the judgment of the despised which be in the Church, than to the judgment of those which be out of the Church.

Ergo, the rather to resort to the judgment of the wise, who remain in the Church and Congregation. Wherefore the Apostle by and by added, when he said, *I speak to your shame: What not one wise man amongst you that can judge between brother and brother?* Meaning thereby that there were some. By these therefore and many other like reasons (which for brevity I omit) it appeareth that both the powers may be in an Ecclesiastical mans hand: and that an Ecclesiastical man, is Capax both of the Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction. Nor is it any matter if it be objected, that Peter, and other Apostles, and Christ himself used little this Temporal power: for in them was not the like reason as now is in us, as is proved in the 22. Q. 1. cap. and in many other places of the Law. The Apostles at the first beginning took no receipt of Lands and Possessions, but the price only thereof; which now the Church with very good reason doth receive, and that to the great merit both of the giver and offerer, as it appeareth in *Constantine* and others: in the which foresaid 1. cap. the reason of diversity is well proved: for that the Apostles did foresee, that the Church should be among Gentiles, and not be only in Judea, &c. And further, at the beginning Christ and his Apostles were wholly bent and given to our health, salvation and erudition; little sticking or standing upon the exercise of every Churches Jurisdiction, having regard to that which is written in the sixth Chapter

to

Proofs taken out of the New Testament.

Apoc. 19 Christ by his Human Nature had both Powers.

A.

Psalms 8. Heb. 2.

Philip. 2.

Acts. 2.

B.

Acts. 5.

C.

Mat. 18.

D.

E.

Omnis terram distribuit.

F.

KING. Edw. 1.

Luk. 22.

G.

H.

1 Cor. 6. I.

K.

22. Q. 1. cap. 1. cor. 1. cor.

L.

RING to the Corinthians, *All things are lawful unto men, but all things are not expedient.* And likewise in the 8th. Chap. of Eccles. it is read, that *every thing hath his time.* But now (through the grace of God) the whole People of the Realm of France have submitted themselves to the Christian Faith; worthily therefore the Church is occupied about ministering of Justice, and punishing of vice; for peace shall be the work of Justice, *Esay Chap. 33.* And in these Judgments this only is to be considered, that the life of man be reformed, &c. Thus you see how this our conclusion somewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Now will I prove it by natural law and reason, and first after this manner: He seemeth most fit to play a good Judges part, which followeth nearest God; for properly God is the ruler and director of all Judgments, who saith *Proverb. capite ostendo, By me the law-maker shall decree justice and just things:* But Ecclesiastical Persons follow next to God, and be nearest him; for that they be elected of God

1 Pet. 2. into a peculiar people, whereof it is said, *1 Pet. 2. You are a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood, a holy Nation, and a peculiar People, that you should shew the virtues of him that called you, &c.* Ergo, It is most fit that persons Ecclesiastical, and Church-men should judge of such matters. Moreover, none doubteth, but that the correction and punishment of sin belongeth to Ecclesiastical persons; wherefore when such things be not committed without sin & offence of the one party, it is evident that the Church may have cognition thereof. Also, who so hath power to judge of the end, hath also power to judge of things ordained to the end; for the consideration of the things ordained to the end, riseth of the end. When therefore the body is ordained for the life and soul, and temporal things for spiritual, as for the end; the Church which doth judge of spiritual things, may in like manner lawfully judge of temporal things. All which is sufficiently confirmed in *extr. c. Judicium.* where it is said, that the accessory followeth the nature of the principal, which appeareth sufficiently by example. Forasmuch therefore, as these two Jurisdictions be compared to two lights, that is to say, to the Sun and to the Moon, and all the whole clearness and brightness of the Moon, both in form and vertue, dependeth of the Sun, and in the Sun; and that the brightness of the Sun is not of the Moon, or in the Moon; it is plain that spiritual Jurisdiction, which is compared to the Sun, hath in it, both in form and vertue the Jurisdiction temporal, and not contrary. Many other like reasons might be brought in. But for that the time waxeth short, I will omit them.

Thirdly, I prove it by the Civil Law, *Auth. Diff. Jud. C. Si tamen ix. col.* where it is said, If a Secular Judge be suspected, let the Bishop of the City be joyned unto him. But if he be negligent, then let the whole judgment be referred to the Bishop. In like sort *Theodosius* the Emperor enacted such a Law, that whatsoever suter being Plaintiff in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after contestation of Law, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to sentence; if the Plaintiff had once chosen the Court and Jurisdiction of the holy See, there without all doubt, though the Defendant resisted and dissented, the matter before the Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Judges should be determined and ended. Which Law afterward *Carolus* the Great, who was King of France, confirmed in these words, *We will and command, that all our Subjects, as well Romans and Frenchmen, as others under our Dominion whatsoever, be by law and custom henceforth bound and charged to keep this for a perpetual and prescript law; That whosoever began, or commenced a Sute, &c. as is above mentioned, &c. 11. quest. 1. Quicumque, &c. 2.* But you may object and say, that this Law is abrogated, as the Gloss seemeth there to touch. But all will not serve; for although this Law is not redacted into the body of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But surely it is a privilege honourably granted to the whole Universal Church, which the Emperor cannot take away, no more than any other liberty of the Church. By the Canon Law also this privilege is confirmed, *extra. de jud. c. timor. Novil.* and moreover, it seemeth to be confirmed by the Civil Law, *C. de sacros. Si. Eccle. privilegium:* although it be not expressly, but generally named. And so it is clear by the Civil Law, that such Jurisdiction doth pertain to Ecclesiastical persons. By Canon Law in like manner in places infinite: *Disposit. 22. cap. Omnes Patriarche. 2. quest. 5. ca. Si quis*

Presbyter. 11. quest. 1. cap. Relatum. 25. distinct. cap. ecce. Extra. de judicis. Novil. De competenti foro. cap. Licet; with many other places infinite. Yea and further, the Canon Law so far proceedeth, that whosoever goeth about by custom to interrupt or hinder any, having such Jurisdiction, incurth sentence (*ipso facto*) of Excommunication, as is proved *ca. Quoniam intelleximus de immunitate Eccle. lib. sext.* Which is most plain by the notorious custom, time out of mind, in the days of the good and Christian Princes, where to violate such custom, it is plain Sacrilege, *11. quest. 1. Tit. 1. &c. 2.* For by the Law, Custom winneth and gaineth Jurisdiction, especially to him that is *Capax* thereof: yea and further, Custom (time out of mind) is amongst all persons in place of written and confirmed law. Now seeing the Church of France hath in common used with the Temporality, to judge and decree both of actions personal and real touching the Church, it is plain, that such Custom winneth Jurisdiction to it. Ergo, &c. But the Lord Peter avouched, that the Custom could not prevail in this case, because here lacked true dealing. Besides, the said law is called inprescriptible, for that it is *Jus fisci.* But this maketh nothing against us; for the Church of France rather challengeth this law by custom than by prescription. Which custom seemeth rather to be brought in of the free will and election of the people, frequenting more the Ecclesiastical Consistories than the Secular Courts. Besides this, custom in that it hath been oftentimes decided in judgment contradictory, (many of the Barons dissenting, and not consenting thereunto) is much thereby confirmed. This custom I say, of the Church, hath been fast established by the consent and assent of the Prelates, and then confirmed by the Kings of France your Predecessors, and so peaceably observed of the Church.

And yet may the Church challenge this by prescription; for that there are but three things which are required in prescription: that is to say, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. And it is without doubt, that the Churches both purely have, and in times past had a good Title, as appeareth by the privilege granted of *Theodosius* the Emperor, and confirmed by *Charles*, who gave in commandment, to keep the same inviolably, which title it hath both by divine, natural and humane Law, as before is mentioned. Wherefore it must needs have true dealing, when so many great and clear Titles are known to condescend thereunto. Also there concurrerth such continuance of time, that even against *Jus fisci* it is prescriptible: for it hath not only continued by the space of an hundred years, but also more than 600 years past. Neither is this always true, this Law is inprescriptible, especially of the Church; the which, inasmuch as it appertaineth to the Spirituality, is not subject to the King, but is much more noble, and far excellet; even no less than the Sun doth the Moon, Gold Lead, and Heaven the Earth. And this is certain, and no less reason, that the higher and equal may duly prescribe law against him, that is either equal or lower in degree; as one King may do to another. Wherefore it appeareth, that the Church may prescribe this although it were *Jus fisci*, as indeed it is not.

Finally, This is proved by privilege granted by *Carolus* the Great King of France, as before, and by *Ludovick* the second, and by *Philip* your Uncle, and *Ludovick* and *Philip* your Kinsmen, which privileges we have here ready to shew. But perhaps you will say, that these things cannot agree: That the Church hath this Jurisdiction both by law, custom and privilege, which all cannot well hang together; for if the Church have it by one of these, it should follow, that the Church lacketh it by another. But this may I answer two manner of ways; First, That the privilege may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: The other, as a confirmative and declarative of the old law; and this way it may well be agreed, which distinction may also take place in custom. Wherefore it may thus be answered, that although this Jurisdiction is due unto the Church by law, it appertaineth also unto the same by privilege and custom, but yet not by such kind of custom and privilege which indureth a new law; but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any will reply, demanding wherefore the Church of France should more challenge this, than any other Churches in other Realms, which have no such Prerogative; I can soon answer them. If the Kings of France (whom God with singular

Customs

O.

Judicium
contradictio
rium.3 things per
taining to
prescription
1. Titulu.
2. Bona fides.
3. Tempus
continuatio.

Jus fisci.

The Church
not subject
to the King

Objection.

Answer.

M m

grace,

Probation
by the Ca
non Law.
N.

The French King more blessed than other in 3 things.
1. Faith to God.
2. Honour to the Church.
3. Justice to the People.

grace, honour and privilege, far above all other Princes: hath blessed and indued for three special causes, to wit, for their great faith and devotion unto God, for their honour & reverence to the Church, & for their good justice (shewed unto the people) have granted to the Church special liberties, or have permitted those which before were granted, peaceably to be kept and observed; why then they should have them, it is no marvel. Yea and further, their devotion unto the Church hath been such, that the nearer the Churches were unto them, the more liberties they enjoyed; and yet had these Princes never the less therefore, but rather the more; which is evident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobility both of the King and his Realm.

Five things do nobilitate the Realm of France.

I have oftentimes heard of other, how that four or five things do especially nobilitate and adorn this Realm.

First, *Their sincere and inviolable faith*; for it was at no time read, that the Kings of France (since the receiving of the faith) did ever swerve from the same.

The blood of France came out of Priamus K. of Troy.

Secondly, *The nobility of blood*, which descended from Priamus the King of the Trojans, and successively from Carolus and other Royal Kings.

Thirdly, *The unity and peace of concord*, which especially above all other reigned and flourished in the Realm of France.

Fourthly, *The solemnity and pomp of the Prelates and Clergy*.

Fifthly, *The good disposed readines of the Barons and Subjects to obey*.

If therefore the Prelates of this Realm should not have this law and Privilege, but should be deprived thereof; then should the King and his Realm lose one of his Noble Estates, whereby they are highly magnified, I mean the bravery, solemnity and royalty of the Prelates: for then, they should not only be neither pompous nor royal, but more beggerly and miserable than any other, the most part of their living consisting herein. I do conclude therefore, that it is proved both by divine law, natural law, canon law, civil law, custom and privilege, that the right of determining such Temporal matters of the Church may of right appertain to the Church of France; and so I return the Lord Peter's Theam against himself. Besides this, I will propound that which is most plain and manifest; that whatsoever things be offered up to the Church, and are converted to the dominion and property of the same, be Gods, and appertain to him; forasmuch as they are said to be dedicated and sanctified by him, as sufficiently throughout the Levites may appear, as declared in the 21 cap. 1 Regum,

1 Re. 21.

concerning the Bread offered to God, where it is said, *I have no common bread under my hands to eat, but holy bread*. Wherefore it was not lawful for the Laity to eat of the same bread, but in time of great necessity; which is also proved in Daniel the fifth Chapter, where it is read, *Because King Balthazar, and his Lords, with his Queen, drunk in the golden and silver Vessels, which his Father Nabuchadnezer had taken out of the Temple of Jerusalem; in the same very hour there appeared Fingers, as it had bin of a Mans hand, writing right over the Candlestick upon the plain Wall in the Kings Palace. And the King saw the palm of the hand that wrote; and that which was written was Mene, Thekel, Phares; the interpretation whereof is this, as there it appeareth: Mene, God hath numbered this Kingdom and brought it to an end: Thekel, Thou art weighed in a balance, and art found too light: Phares, Thy Kingdom is dealt in parts, and given to the Medes and Persians. The very self same night was Belthazar the King of the Chaldees slain, and Darius succeeded in the Kingdom of the Medes; the Monarchy of the Assyrians being then translated unto the Medes. Whereby it appeareth, that those things which are offered up to the Church, belong to God, and are so dedicated to him, that no Layman may use them; which if they do, they must look to receive vengeance at Gods hand, as Balthazar did.*

Daniel 5.

These things now ended, I will argue out the Lord Peter's Theam (which was) *Give unto the Emperor that is the Emperors, and unto God that is Gods*. But this Jurisdiction, which (as I proved before) is diversly converted to the dominion and property of the French Church, is now Gods; and therefore to be reserved to and for him. Wherefore, whensoever any goeth about to take away the same, the good and godly ought to answer, as Ambrose did to the Gothen Soldiers sent to him by the Emperor, which was to this effect; *If the Emperor (quoth he) had requested*

Ambrose in case denieth to obey the Emperor.

that which had been mine, I would not have denied him, albeit that whatsoever I have, all is the poor's; but because he demandeth those things which belong to God (wherein he hath no right or interest) I had rather he should imprison me, yea and cut off my head, than to condescend to his request therein: alluding to the History of Naboth, which is to be seen, 3 Reg. 21. how Naboth the holy man, possessor of his Vineyard, was requested by the King to give up his Vineyard; who made answer, *I will not give unto thee the inheritance of my Fathers*: at which answer the King was marvellously offended: *Wherefore (quoth Ambrose) if Naboth would not deliver his Vineyard, shall we deliver to you the Church of Christ? No, God forbid, that I should deliver you Christs Heritage. Naboth did not deliver the Vineyard, nor surely will I deliver Christs Church. And further he addeth a good saying, I can neither diminish nor add any thing to the Church of God, for that I took not upon me the charge of keeping it: besides this, it is my duty and office to consult with the high Emperor of salvation in this matter what is to be done: and doubtless I may not deliver any thing to him, nor yet he receive any thing of me, as is proved 24 quest. ultimo capite convenior. qui.* Wherefore, by these and the like reasons it appeareth, that not only Jurisdiction Spiritual (as the Lord Peter falsely hath suggested) doth belong to God; but also, all other kind of Jurisdiction whatsoever touching the Church, whether it be by law, custom or privilege: inasmuch that neither may we surrender the same to any, nor yet may the King at our hands take the same. Further, the Lord Peter affirmed, that Christ for example sake did pay tribute; which is untrue, as appeareth in Genesis the 48th. chap. For the Lands of Priests were free from paying of all kind of Toll and Tribute. And if the Lord Peter well considered the 17th. of Matthew, he should have found there, how that Christ did not only not pay Tribute for example sake, but rather proved, how he was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude therefore, the children be free; but ye pay, to avoid slander and offence: wherefore the Text saith: *Let us should offend them, go to the Sea, &c.* But peradventure it may be answered, that by the example of Christ (to avoid offence) ye ought to pay. But this is untrue, because there is double offence of the weaklings and of the Pharises: for as concerning the offence of the weaklings, which cometh of ignorance and not of malice, some things are to be omitted for a time, while they be better instructed; as the Apostle saith to the Romans in the 14th. chap. But for the offence of the Pharises, which commit and offend of a pretended malice, there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ saith in Mat. 16. Whereto his Disciples saying, *Do you not know how that the Pharises hearing this word are offended? he answered, Behold, suffer them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind*; For that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of little ones: but now is the offence of the Pharises. Wherefore, then it was to be paid for avoiding of offence; but now not so. Now therefore it is apparent that the third token of the fear of God consisteth in the whole true restoring of goods: And of him which hath such fear whereby he restored to God his own, it is spoken in Eccles. 15. chap. *The seed of the man that feareth God shall be brought to honour; but the seed which transgresseth the commandment of the Lord shall be shamed.* And thus it fully appeareth, how loving fear and obedience is due unto God, for the excellency of his Majesty; because the words be, *Fear God*.

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KING
Edwa.

3 Re. 21.

Naboth denieth to the King his Vineyard.

Gen. 48.

Mat. 17.

Offence how it ought to be avoided.

Rom. 14.

Matt. 16.

The 3d note of the fear of God.

Eccles. 15.

Honour of the King.

Eccles. 10.

Two kinds of honour.

Mat. 17.

Double honour with lips and with heart.

KING not burdened; and he that perswadeth him contrary to these, I think doth not honour the King. To proceed therefore further; I say first, that he doth *de facto* honour the King, who perswadeth him those things whereby he may be beloved of his Subjects; for a Prince ought to study rather to be beloved than feared. And what greater treasure can a Prince wish, than to have the hearts of his Subjects? According to the saying of *Seneca*, *The love of the Citizens is a fortress invincible, and a bulwark not faultable*. What thing is more to be wished for? What better, than to live and reign, every Man willing and rejoicing thereof? And in my opinion, there is nothing which causeth a Prince more to be beloved, than if he keep and maintain his ancient liberties, and bring in no alteration.

Prov. 22. Wherefore it is said in the 22d. of *Prov.* *Thou shalt not remove the Land-marks, which thy fore-elders have set*. This place the Lord Peter alledged to make for himself, which I will prove to make against him, and that by this reason, Ye ought not to transgress the old limits and bounds which the fathers have set; for novelty and alteration doth ingender discord. And for this cause, in making of new alterations there ought to be both evident utility, and urgent necessity. If therefore the Prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predecessors, he shall not be of his Realm beloved, as it appeareth by *Rehoboam* in the 11th. Chap. of 3 *Reg.* All which likewise is to be seen in the *Chronicles*, how that by these means many Kingdoms and Dominions were translated from Nation to Nation, and from their own native Regiment to the rule of strange people. And now for this time, certain it is, that your grand predecessors *Charles* the great, *Saint Ludowick*, *Philip* the fair, *Ludowick* and *Philip* his Sons, with many others, have sealed and confirmed this liberty of the Church. Wherefore for a Man to counsel and perswade your Highness to spoil the Church of any thing; it is even the next way to spoil and undo yourself, and bereave you of that by which your dominion is beloved.

3 Reg. 11 And for this cause I thought good to put your Grace in remembrance of the 20th. of *Matthew*, where it is written, *Remember the works of your forefathers, which they have done in their generations, and you shall receive great glory and renown for ever*. Note here, your Highness by the way, how that King *Philip*, Grandfather to *S. Lewis*, fostered and kept in his Realm *S. Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who, for that he stoutly defended the liberties of his Church, was banished out of *England*. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and maintain your own Prelates in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your Graces Predecessors, according to the saying of *Gregory* in 25. *quest. cap. Si*. If I should destroy and pull down those things which my predecessors have built and ordained, I should not be called a builder and maker, but justly accounted a stroy-good and puller down, as the voice of the Lord saith, *Every kingdom divided within it self shall be confounded*. All knowledge and learning divided one against the other, shall be destroyed. In another place he saith, It is oversharp, and against all good manner and civility (upon what reason and excuse soever) to break and subvert those things which are well ordained: or by his example, to teach others at their pleasures to dissolve old constitutions. Mark here a story about a Castle which was given to *S. Remige*, to the Churches use, by *Cleodivy* the King, which afterward King *Pipin* desired to have by exchange and recovery. To whom the said *S. Remige* appeared in his Dream, and highly blamed him therefore, saying, *A better man than thou gave it me, and yet wilt thou take it away from me?* And with that he smote him, who the next day was found all black; since which time, no King of *France* durst even lie in that Castle. Verily therefore, he doth not honour the King, which giveth him counsel to pass the old limits that his old fathers did set. Yea rather, the Kings Majesty ought to say unto them, that which is written in *S. John*, Chap. 8. I do honour and glorify my Father; that is, in keeping the liberties of the Church, as they did which granted them: but you have dishonoured me, in counselling me that which seemeth best to please your selves, as it is written in *Eccles. 4.* *The worship of a mans father is his own worship, and where the father is without honour, it is the dishonour of the son*.

Mat. 20. Secondly, I say, That he truly doth honour the King, who counsellet him, whereby his power and dignity is

not diminished. For as it is great honour to the Kings Highness, to increase and augment his power; so is it as much dishonour for him to diminish any jot thereof. And therefore the Emperors were wont to call themselves victorious, of augmenting and increasing their Commonwealth. And to say that you and your predecessors could not grant these things to the Church, it were too too absurd, and to the too much derogation of your Majesties most honourable estate. And therefore for you (most sovereign Lord) who hold and possess so ample right and title in the Realm of *France*, both by Election and Inheritance, not to grant and leave this to your posterity, it were to the great debasing of your Majesties honour Crown and dignity. Yea, if it were (as God forbid) it would follow, that your predecessors lived continually in sin; yea and further it were as much to say (which were too vile) that blessed *S. Lewis*, by whom all *France* is beautified, could not be justly canonized.

For as the Lord Speaker declared, if he took his Oath at his Coronation both to alienate nothing, and also to call in that which was before alienated, which is inseparable from the Crown, it should follow that he was forsworn, and consequently committed deadly sin, and so could never be Canonized, which is too too absurd to be talked of. And if reply be made, that he might have repented; it is soon to be answered, That his Sin is read of, but of his Repentance it is not found, as it is said of *Solomon*. But put case it be true that the Lord Peter said, then it must needs follow, that your Grace could bestow nothing, neither Country, Town nor Tower. And yet there be few, which willingly would not receive them, notwithstanding their Allegiance and Homage, which they pretend to your Highness. Keep therefore and confirm (most renowned Prince) that which was granted by your noble Progenitors, otherwise your Royal Honour shall decrease; that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the 11th. to the *Romans*, *I will honour my Ministry*.

Thirdly, I do affirm, that he rightly honoureth the King, which perswadeth him that whereby his honour and renown is preserved. For in matters of weight and of great importance, next after conscience we must have regard to name and fame, as it is written in the 22. of *Prov.* *It is better to have a good name than riches*. A good name far passeth all things, and is above Silver and Gold. And *S. Augustine* saith, Two things are necessary for thee, Conscience and Name; Conscience for God, and Name for thy Neighbour. And therefore it is written in the 4th. chap. of *Eccles.* *Labour to get a good name, for that will continue surer by thee than many great treasures of Gold*. A good life hath a number of days. Which renown and name the Lord (who anointed your Grace with the oyl of gladness) hath in so little time more abundantly blessed you withal, than any other Prince; wherefore you ought to be more vigilant and careful how to keep and enjoy the fame still: for it is no less vertue to keep that which is gotten, than to seek and get; whereby not only while you live, but also when you are dead, your glorious renown may live for ever; yea and further, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or foil should creep into that your so great renown; applying that to your Grace which is said in the 10th. of *Prov.* *The memorial of the just shall have good report, &c.* Beware therefore, most Noble Prince, and take heed, that in your days and time, the liberties of the Church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminished in any jot; for if your glorious name should be blotted therewith, there be thousands which would Chronicle the same to perpetual Memory. Wherefore most Christian Prince, if such (as trusted after their death for no other life, but only for fame and renown) lived a life most godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Christians, which look after another life, by our well-doings here, to win us a perpetual name and memory after our death? And you besides, if you should dishonour your name and fame, what a matter were it? considering how the Kings of *France* were ever counted the most Christian Princes, and most bountiful towards the Church, giving examples to other Princes how to enrich their Churches and liberties thereof. And now especially, if your Grace, the Church in some places being in great persecution (which God forbid) should shew light to other to pull and take away that which was given by your forefathers to the Church; what might the World say? For then

by

by the like reason might the Emperor deprive the Church of all, which was given to it by *Constantine* the Emperor. Also other Kings would do the like in their Realms. God forbid, that your Highness should give such example. And for my part, I would rather with my self to be dead, than give you such counsel, that in so pernicious and naughty a matter you should be example to other; especially, when the Kings of *France*, your predecessors, were defenders always against such as went about to take away the liberties from the Church, which is the office of a King. *Hieronymus* saith upon

24. q. 1. cap.
Regnum.

Jeremy, which is found also in the 24. *quest. 5. ca. Regnum & C. princeps*, after this manner, Let the Princes of the World know and understand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the Church which they take upon them to keep. Note you also, and read some examples out of Stories and Commentaries, what regard the Kings of *France* had in observing those things; and see you by their example, to follow and do the like; and then shall it be verified in your Grace which is written in the 37 *Chap. of Eccle. 3. Eccl. A wise man shall obtain honour amongst his people: As also in the third of the same, He that honoureth his Mother, is like one that gathereth treasure together.*

Eccle. 37.
Eccle. 3.

The 4th. hon-
nouring of
the King.

Fourthly, I say, That he indeed doth honour the King, which persuadeth him to do that whereby his Conscience is not hurt. For above all things, a Christian Man ought to beware how he do that thing, which should be a grudge unto his Conscience, because the life is more than is meat, *Matth. 6. Mar. the 6 Chap.* And assuredly I believe, that your Grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherewith your Conscience should be burnd, for all the Worlds good, and that justly. For the more miraculously God hath called your Highness to the state of a King, and hath endued you with his grace; so much the more care ought you to have, and take heed that you offend him not. Nor is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, he will not be the more grievously displeased with you, as he was with *Saul*, 1 *King*

Matth. 6.

1 Re. 15.

The Oath of
the French
Kings.

Chap. 15. Consider therefore most sovereign Lord, that at what time you were crowned, you sware only these things following, and no other. First, That you would defend and maintain the Canonical Law, privilege and justice, granted to the Bishops and the Church, and, as much as in you did lie, to enlarge and amplify the same. Also, That by your arbitrement all Christian People, at all times, should keep the true peace of God and his Church. Also, That you should forbid to all Nations all kind of sacrileges, spoilings and iniquities. Also, That in all kind of Judgments, you should will and command equity and mercy. Also, That throughout your whole Territory and Jurisdiction, you should sincerely, with all your endeavour, study to exterminate, and cut off from the Church the noted Hereticks: Which all, and no other, your Majesty sware to fulfil, at the time of your Coronation; under the leave and correction of the Lord *Peter*, which affirmed you were sworn to some other thing besides. Now therefore, seeing it is a Canonical privilege of the Church, and in the heart of the whole, *Can. 6. q. 1. Quicunque litem habens*, incorporate; when also by Custom, which is Canonical, it came in, that the Church and Spirituality, may have cognition in a number of cases, against which divers Articles have been here laid in: If this amongst the Laity should not be observed in the Church, your Graces Conscience thereby might somewhat be burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole *Christendom* should keep the true peace of God and his Church: much more, have you to procure the same amongst your own Barons and people, who evermore were all one with the Church. And always, where any Church was in honour and estimation, there were belonging to it 20 stout Barons and Knights, whose office, as it was to defend the Church; so was it the part of the Church to pray for them, and to offer sacrifice for them unto God. And to this end, that blessed *S. Lewis* so much laboured in his time: who, when the greatest Barons of his Realm, had confederate to suppress these liberties of the Church, and had consulted to give him (to that end) the hundredth part of their goods, would never condescend thereunto, but always dissuaded them therefrom: and finally, by his authority sealed and confirmed these liberties of the Church. Consider here your Majesty, how that Pope *Innocent* at that time proceeded against those Barons, &c. I dare be bold to say, that if there should be now dissention between the Prelates and Barons, it would not be long before the

Commonalty would usurp to rule and bear domination. As by experience it hath been seen in many places, and likewise by practice we of late time might have seen; at what time the people stomaking the Spirituality in the parts of *Campania* and *Burgundy*, at last rose, and made in every Town a King; and therewithal caused the Officers, which brought Citations and Absolutions from the Pope and other, to be well banged; and not long after, made insurrection against the Lords Temporal, and served them with the like sauce; until that by the Kings power they were suppressed, and many of them hanged. And this doubtless was in the days of *Lewis* last King of that name. Truly the Noblemen ought not to be grieved with that that the Church is possessed withal, for that there be few of them, who have not their Brothers and Kinsfolks which live, and are maintained by the goods and revenues of the Church. Amongst whom if they should divide their inheritance, perhaps they would bring a little to nothing at all. Let the Barons also consider, how that there are but few which believe not in the Church; for the Church is one, as in the 6 of *Cant. My Dove and Dearling is one*. Wherefore without great peril of transgression can they not persuade and counsel such liberties of the Church to be abrogated and taken away.

Arg. By the
possession
of the
Church ma-
ny Brethren
and kinsmen
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bles be
maintained.
Ergo, Such
possession
are not to
be grudged
at.
To believe
in the
Church, is
not in our
faith.

That therefore your Majesties Conscience may remain pure and immaculate, pleaseth it your Highness by your authority to seal and confirm this good ancient and Canonical privilege; and contrary attempts (if any be made by way of Proclamation or otherwise) to revoke and call them in. And further, to keep your Mother the Church of *France* in her ancient frank choice, liberty and customs. And then by you in all things God shall be glorified and honoured; to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever, *Amen*. Who then will honour you, as is said, 1 *Reg. 2. 1. Whosoever shall honour me, I* 1 *King. 21.* will crown him with that glory, in which consisteth the true honour, and is granted to none unworthy. Whereunto also none is admitted but worthy, as blessed *S. Austin* saith, which honour grant he unto you and us, who is blessed world without end, *Amen*. And because a Bill of many Articles was exhibited, whereof part did infringe the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to the defence thereof we will according to the 4th. *Chap. of Ecclesiastic*, stand even to the death, where it is said, *For the truth strive thou unto the death, and God shall fight for thee against thine enemies*. Some other of them contain only abuse, and we believe none such to be. But if there be, we will see redress therein. Therefore for the honour of God, for the unburdening of our consciences, for the Kings Majesties reverence, and for the peoples profit and peace, all we here assembled have concluded to see remedy, that the aforesaid abuses, if any such be, shall be left, to the quietness of the people, and praise of Almighty God. To whom be honour and glory world without end, *Amen*.

To the Bill
of Articles
exhibited.

Another Sitting in the Parliament.

The next Friday following being the 29th. of December, the Prelates assembled themselves again together at the Kings Palace in *Paris*, where the Reverend Father the Lord *Peter Bertrand*, by Gods permission Bishop of *Edven*, spake openly there before the King, sitting with his Counsellors and Barons about him; taking to his Theam that which is written in the 18th of *Genesis*, O Lord be not angry that I speak yet more, &c. the which he applied to this end; that for the Majesty of the King, the prudence of his Council, and insufficiency of himself (considering the weightiness of the cause) he trembled and was afraid to speak; yet nevertheless, trusting upon his accustomed clemency, he took to him audacity, and presumed that which was appointed to him by the Prelates. Beginning with the 89th. *Psal. Lord thou art our refuge*, &c. Which he prosecuted in extolling the Kings Person, and his miraculous attaining to the Crown of *France*; preaching further, how he ought to be the Champion and Defender of the Faith; all which he proved in few words, by many reasons and authorities. Afterward, he touched those propositions which were propounded by the foresaid Lord *Peter* of *Cugner*, and for no other cause, as he protested, but only to inform the conscience of his Sovereign Lord and King, and to advise his Grace concerning the same; not going about to make any final judgment, determination or answer, whereby either sentence, order, statute, right to any man, or other process, might thereof ensue or be grounded. And namely, the first beginning with the Theam of the Lord *Peter*, first affirmed (*Render unto the Emperor which is the Em-*

Another
days sitting
in the Parli-
ament.

Bishop of
Edven again
spaketh.

perors,

KING perors, and unto God which is his; Mark 12.) By which words was signified the obedience and subjection to the King, with the difference of the Spirituality from the Temporality; whereof the first member is proved by the 1 Pet. 2. where it is said, *Be ye subject to every humane creature, &c.* Also by the *Cap. solite, extra. de maio. & ob.* and by the *c. novis extra, de judicis cap. de sacerdotibus* 10. q. 1. with the notes about the same. Moreover, as touching the distinction of both Jurisdications, whereof the Lord Peter proved the Temporal Jurisdiction to pertain to Secular Men, the Spiritual to the Clergy, by the words of our Saviour Christ, *Luke 22.* where he said; Behold two Swords. Also for that Christ did pay tribute; teaching thereby, how that the Temporalities were to be reserved to the Temporal Men, *Mat. 17. 11. q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.*

In like manner, by the Law of *Justinian*, where it is written, that two great gifts were ordained and granted of God; a Bishoprick and a Kingdom: the first to bear rule over Gods matters, the other over worldly things, &c. And said moreover, that these two be the cases which in no wise could be altered or changed. *Prov. 20. de Tion mo. lib. 1. & ult.* And affirmed also, that of such princely right the King could not abrogate and deprive himself; for that it was imprescriptible, appertaining to the Crown and his Regal Seat (considering how he took his Oath at the time of his Coronation) not only not to break or alienate the Laws of his Realm, but also to restore and revoke such as were broken and alienated. To which his reasons it was answered, that the jurisdiction and determination of civil causes (whereabout the controversie now standeth) belongeth to the Church, both by Gods Law and Mans Law. By Gods Law it was proved, even from *Adams* time to Christs coming; *per Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro, compe.* And from Christs coming, to *Peters* time and his successors, *22 di. c. omnes patriarche, Matth. cap. 16.* But how the Church, in the Realms of Catholick Princes, attained unto this right and interest which at this present it doth enjoy, the Law proveth, *2. q. ca. 5. Si quis Presbyter 11. q. 1. Relatum 25 dist. Ecce.* Which also is confirmed by the Emperors in the body of the Law, *ff. 3. C. Si causam. col. 9. 23. q. ult. c. his, & a quibus.* The Canon furthermore teacheth, how that *S. Peter* commanded all the Princes of the Earth, and others, to obey and give place to the Bishops: *c. omnes, extra de major. & ob. 16. dist. duo sunt* Wherefore it was concluded, that in no wise this right is to be separated and taken away from the Church. And albeit, in the Realms of tyrannous Princes, this state of the Church is violated and not kept; yet in this blessed Realm of *France* it hath been always, even to these days duly observed: *c. novis extra. de judicis.* This Jurisdiction the Laws of *Theodosius* the Emperor, and *Carolus* the great, hath also confirmed: *extra. de judicis. c. nome. all. 11. q. 1. quacunq. &c. se jurisdictione. c. expresse.* Where it is mentioned, that the same *Carolus* King of *France* (and Emperor) especially constituted the said Law. And likewise to speak of Customs, it hath been known from time out of mind, the same to have belonged to the Church of *France*: He therefore which shall go about to violate this Law, committeth Sacrilege, *11. q. 1. ca. 1. & 2.* And let not the Kings Majesty marvel, if that in this most noble Realm of *France* this prerogative be due unto the Church; As when hereby his power and nobility is beautified. *Antib. ut. ind. sine quoquo suffra. si. in principio col. 2.* Besides this, our Sovereign Lord and King, at what time he was crowned, was sworn by the Evangelists to keep and observe this canonical privilege of the Church. Further, the Barons, who in a manner are all sworn to the Church, swore fidelity to the same: by which Oath of fidelity they are bound to keep these Liberties and Rites of the Church. When therefore every Oath, which tendeth not to the perdition of the soul, is to be kept, a fortiori that Oath, which is taken in the favour of the Church, is much more to be observed: *c. Si vero extra de jure jurando, 22. quest. 4. c. ult.* Besides this blessed *Ludovick, Philip* of *Arragon, Philip* the fair, *Ludovick, Carolus* the Great, and *Philip*, confirmed these privileges, customs and liberties of the Church, which all were sworn at their Coronations, as before, &c. These thing considered, who can advise the Kings Majesty, without damning of his own soul, contrary to these liberties granted, and so confirmed to the Church? To him belongeth great reward, whosoever bestoweth any thing upon the Church: *Antib.*

de non alie. ac permitt. re. ecce: ff. si minis col. 3. Neither maketh it against us, where it is said, that there are two Swords, &c. Neither yet the distinction between the Bishoprick and Kingdom; because it is true that there are two Swords, the power whereof is left to the Churches hand, although the execution of the material Sword is committed to the temporal and secular Men, *Matth. 26.* where Christ saith to *Peter*, *Convert and put up the Sword into the place.* But as touching the distinction betwixt the Bishoprick and Kingdom, indeed it is true as much as appertaineth to the end; and to the execution of blood, but not concerning the beginning and subject: for that in one subject, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before proved. To that point, where it is said, that Christ paid Tribute; it is answered, that not therefore he paid it, because he ought, or was bound thereunto, because it is certainly true, that the Sons of the King (as he was) ought not to pay; but this he did to avoid offence; yea also the Clergy is not bound hereunto, *Esdrae 1. & ult.* Wherefore, such things do not infer a consequence. Neither yet maketh that against us, where it is said, that the King our Sovereign Lord and Master cannot abdicate from himself this right, especially for that he was sworn thereunto at the time of his Coronation, &c. For it is answered, that he may well abdicate the same. And how doth he abdicate it from himself, which he giveth and bestoweth to God and the Church? The land is the Lords. And doubtless, to give, is nothing else, but to render to God and the Church their own; for then by that reason, the gift given to the Church by *Constantine*, is naught and nothing worth, which is false; and this is proved *16 dist. ca. Const.* Whereby it appeareth, that an Emperor and King may alienate things of the Empire; *ff. de legatis 1. l. apud Julianum ff. ult.* and yet hereby the Empire or Kingdom not be damaged; for that the thing returneth to the pristine state, *ff. de pactis l. unus ff. pactus 35 dist. ab exordio.* Furthermore, by this reason propounded, all the Kings of *France* which ever were (and especially blessed *Ludovick*) should be spotted; for if that were true (as God forbid) then all they were perjured and died in mortal sin; which is too absurd. Last of all it hurteth not where it is said, that such things are imprescriptible. It is true indeed, they cannot of Subjects, or otherwise than of the Church be prescribed: but in this cause we talk not of Subjects. Also seeing they may be alienated, they may be prescribed, especially (the Kings thus consenting, who confirmed the same so long a time) which excludeth all right both Fiscal and Ecclesiastical. The Prelates therefore, all with one consent agree and affirm to the same as a verity to be maintained and defended; beseeching the Kings Majesty their Lord, both for his souls health, and peace of the Church, to maintain the same, and to keep the liberties of the Church; desiring him to consider what commodity daily he receiveth by the Church; and that his Church never failed him yet, when he had need of the Laity, shewing the dangers and examples of them who did to the contrary. Further he beseeched his Highness to weigh how entirely his Lord the Pope doth and hath loved his Person and Realm; affirming, that never any placed in the seat of *Peter*, loved better his Realm, than he doth. Alledging the Text of *Eccles. 6.* where it is said, *Stand in the multitude of the Priests, and believe them with thy heart.*

After this, in the said Session, the foresaid Bishop of *Eden* Prolocutor inferred many things beside, and answered particularly to the Articles above specified, and exhibited by the Lord *Peter* in writing to the King and Parliament; which, because they touch more the subtilty of the Law, and styles of the Courts, than are necessary to this our History, and because we would not burden the Volume with them, they containing no great profit in them, we have here of purpose for brevities sake, omitted them, passing to the next sitting, which was the *Friday* next following the same, as ensueth.

The next *Friday* after this, the Prelates assembled at *Vi-* *cenae* before the King, to hear their answer: where the foresaid Lord *Peter* of *Cugner* (being Prolocutor for the King) spake on this wise, taking for his Theam; *I am peace unto you, do not fear, &c.* which he prosecuted, monishing that they should not be troubled in any thing that there had been spoken; for that the intent and mind of the Sovereign Lord their King was, to keep the Rites of the Church and Prelates,

Mat. 26.

Why Christ paid tribute

16. Dist. capi Constantine.

35 Dist. c. ff. ab exordio.

Eccles. 6.

Special answer to the Articles presented by Bishop Eden.

Another days sitting in the Parliament.

85 Dist. cap.
cum ad ve-
rum. Shaving
of Priests
Crowns
wherefore,
22. quest. 2.

lates, which they had by law and by good and reasonable custom: Where between the first and second conclusion, he went about to prove, that the cognition of civil causes ought not to appertain to the Church; for that such things were temporal, and ought to pertain to the Temporality, as spiritual things to the Spirituality. And besides his other reasons, he alledged the 86 *dist.* declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the Clerks Crowns were shaven, in sign that they should be free from all worldliness, and forsake all temporal things. Alledging to that end, the 12, q. 2. Furthermore, he declared, that the Bishops had cognition in certain cases expressed by Law, wherefore, these said cases ministred a certain rule against him, alledging for the proof thereof, *De Reg. juris. ff. de lega. l. l. tie teytoris*. Also he affirmed, that by reason of sin, the Decretal *Novit*, could not make for them. For the same did speak of the King of France his state, which hath no superiour; but in other persons it was (he said) otherwise. And these things thus being proved, then said he, and concluded; That nevertheless, their Lord and King was ready to hear the information of them, which would instruct him of any custome, and those customes which were good and reasonable he would observe. Which answer because it did not seem to please and suffice the Prelates, incontinently the Bishop of Edven answered for them all in manner following; First, commending the good and general answer, he spake in this wise; The Prince of the people, (said he) shall be praised for the prudence of his talk, commending therewith, as touching the former good general answer of the King, his purpose and talk propounded. But as concerning the words of the Lord Peter, which ingendred and brought darkness and obscurity, and might give occasion to the Temporal Lords to break and infringe the Rites and Customs of the Church, his answer seemed not full and plain to the Prelates. Speaking moreover, to the said Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her Son, *why did you so to us?* And so he prosecuted the same, both marvelling with himself, and yet covertly complaining of his answer. Afterward answering to those things which the Lord Peter affirmed, and first to the Chapter. *Ad verum*, he said, that it was before answered, touching the division of the two Jurisdictions, that they may be in one subject, as before is proved. Neither doth it let which the Lord Peter said, that these two Jurisdictions could not be in one subject, because that things which be in themselves diverse, and be under one Genus, as a Man and an Ass cannot be in one subject. But if they were under divers kinds, as whiteness and sweetness in Milk, they might be well in one subject. It was answered, that this rule was not true, because justice and temperance are two divers virtues and under one kind, and yet be in one subject. Besides these differing Species, a Man and an Ass be not compatible in one subject. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shaving of the Crown, it was answered, that the Crown did betoken rule and excellency; and the shaving did signifie, that they ought not to heap up store of temporal things, so to apply their hearts thereunto; but that the temporal things ought to be subject to them, and not they to the temporality, as is proved in the said Chapter, *duo sunt genera*. Also as concerning the thing which was talked of *de regula*: he answereth, that this maketh for the Church, as before was proved; yea also the Custom doth make the rule for the Church. Also Laws in all kind of sense do always except the Custom. And therefore his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the Lord Peter spake about the Decretal *Novit*. That the case was only in the Kings Person; yet for all that it is expressly said in the same Text of every Christian Man. And although their Law doth speak only of the Pope, yet the same is applied to all Bishops in their Dioceses. Wherefore the said Bishop concluded and beseeched the King, that it would please his Grace to give unto them a more plain and comfortable answer, and that they might not depart from his presence all penfive and sad, whereby occasion might be given to the Laity to impugn the Rites and Liberties of the Church, and that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conscience of their Sovereign Lord and King. In the end, it was answered to them in the behalf of the King, that his mind and intent was not to impugn the Customs of the Church.

The Sunday following, the Bishops assembled themselves

again before the King at Vicenas, where the Lord Bishop of Edven repealed their last supposition, with the last answer made unto them in the behalf of the King, when the Bishop of Byturien had given them to understand how the King willed them not to fear; for that they should suffer no hindrance or damage in his time; yea, and he would defend them in their Rites and Customs, because it should not be said, that he would give ensample to other to impugn the Church, assuring them, that even the Kings Grace willed him so to declare unto them. The said Lord Bishop of Senon in the name of the whole Prelates gave humble thanks to the King therefore, and the said Bishop of Senon beseeched that such Proclamations, which were made to the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction might be repealed and called in. Hereunto the King himself answereth with his own mouth, that they were not published at his commandment, neither did he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the Bishop proposed, that those abuses which the Temporality complained of, should be so ordered and reformed, that every Man should be well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the Kings Highness, that he would of his gracious goodness give them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the Lord Peter in the name of the King; That if the Prelates and Bishops would see reformation of those things which were to be amended (whereabouts he would take respite between this and Christmas next following) his Grace would innovate nothing in the mean season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reform that which was amiss, His Majesty would appoint such order and remedy, that should be acceptable both to God and his Subjects. After this the Prelates had leave of the King to depart, and went home.

A brief recapitulation of the Bishops answer, with certain Notes answering to his Popish reasons unto the Reader.

THE Answer of Bishop Edven, in the name of the other Prelates, to the Oration and Articles before objected by the Lord Peter, consisteth of two parts. First, in declaring the fear due to God. Secondly, the honour due to the King. Whereof the first is, the fear of God, which (he saith) consisteth in three things. 1. In giving to God. 2. In honouring his Ministers. 3. In restoring that which hath been taken away, &c. The second, which is, the honouring of the King, he saith, consisteth in a double sort, that is; in words only, wherein is flattery; and in deed; which again he divideth into four members. First, when a man counselleth a King to that whereby his dominion is loved. 2. When the King is counselled to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminished. 3. When the King is counselled to that, whereby his fame and renown is maintained. 4. When a King is counselled to that, whereby his conscience is not wounded, &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like brevity, to recite the reasons and arguments in order, whereby he proveth the premisses, with the subdivision of every member and part thereof. Wherein the studious Reader may note both the subtil proceedings of these Popish Prelates, and also the feeble and impotent ground whereupon they build. Whose building (as by this discourse and many other may appear) wholly and finally tendeth to this, to maintain their Liberties, Pomp and Estimation above all other secular Princes and persons.

First, As concerning fear to be given to God, which he divideth into three parts, In giving, in honouring, and restoring; for the first, he proveth that Princes ought to give largely and without measure to the Church, by these arguments.

By the testimony of Justinian: Although nothing is good which is too much, yet, Pag. 406. col. 1. I answer, that in the time of Justinian, goods then given to the Church, were the goods of the poor: wherein was used faithful distribution, voluntary giving, and necessary charity. But now in our Popish Churches, Revenues and Lands given are not distributed to the poor: and yet are men compelled against their will to give still. And again, so little necessity is now to give to such, that the most wealth of Realms almost is in their hands and houses; insomuch that they, flowing in such wealth, are now waxen so proud, that Kings can scarce bear any rule for them, as was proved before, pag. 407. col. 1. that the Popes revenues here in England, mounted to more

KING
Edw. 1
The gentle
answer of
the King to
the Bishop.

The final
answer of
the King to
the Prelates

Notes upon
the Bishops
answer pag.
402. col. 1.
Fear of God
consisteth in
3 things.
1. In giving.
2. In honour-
ing.
3. In restor-
ing.
Honour to
the King,
double. In
word flatter-
ing: in
deed effect-
ual.
Honour ef-
fectual,
standeth in
4 points.
1. In main-
taining the
Kings love.
2. In main-
taining his
dignity.
3. In main-
taining his
good name.
4. In main-
taining his
conscience.

The Bishop
findeth
fault with
the Kings
answer.

Pag. 406. col. 1

KING more than three times double the stint of the Kings Crown, Wherefore by the counsel of Justinian, it was so then, and then might stand, quod Religio peperit divitias: But now as the time is altered, so that counsel holdeth not, postquam nunc filia devoravit matrem; that is, after that the Daughter hath devoured the Mother. Finally, concerning Mens giving to the Church in these our Popish days, four faults I note:

First, That they give superfluously more than sufficient is to necessity of life.

Secondly, That they give to such as abuse it wickedly.

Thirdly, That in giving to them that need not, Noblemen in mean time defraud their poor Neighbors, which need indeed, and yet do not complain.

Fourthly, Because of this Title of giving, men have used and yet do use to put great hope of salvation therein, contrary to the testament of God in Christs death, whereof examples are before.

Page 406. Col. 1. Abel offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God. Ergo, Every great man that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best he hath unto the Church. Answer: This Argument as it is far fet, so it is soon answered, wherein three notes are to be observed.

First, That he which offereth unto the Church of God, doth not therein offer unto God immediately as Abel did.

Secondly, Neither is this to be granted, that he which offereth to all Churchmen, offereth by and by to the Church of God; for many times the Church-men are one, and the Church of God is another. Lawrence the Martyr shewing forth the Church of God, brought out the poor of the Parish, and not of the Priests of the Church.

The third note is; That if noble persons should offer unto God (by the example of Abel) that which is the best and fattest of the flock; then should they offer unto the Lord of their flocks only, and not of their Lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither Cattel nor Lands, but that which is the very best, that is, their own bodies for a lively Sacrifice to God. He that offereth up to God a proud heart, and killeth it with the Ax of humility, giveth unto him the best and fattest Bullock he hath in all his flock. With like reason also I answer the place of Num. 18, and of Paral. cap. ult. that to offer up, or to separate unto the Lords Treasury, is not now to give to Priests and Chaplains of the Church, which peradventure have more than they do well occupy; but to give liberally to the communion of Saints, which are needy, and are the true Treasury of the Church indeed, as Lawrence the true Treasurer said

Page 406. Col. 2. By Gods commandment we are bound of duty to honour our temporal Fathers. Ergo, By the same duty we are bound much rather to honour our spiritual Fathers, that is, Priests and Prelates. Answer. A Father in common speech is diversly taken, as by Age, by Nature, by Office. And to all these we of duty are bound to yield, honour, reverence, obedience, submission; albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our Fathers and Mothers; so aged Men and Elders have also their honour and name of fathers; So Magistrates and spiritual teachers, in their kind have their honour and reverence. And S. Paul saith, that such are worthy of double honour, qui bene praesunt, & qui laborant in sermone. But in this two things are to be noted, wherein this honour consisteth, and how far it extendeth. These spiritual Fathers of the Church think they be not honoured enough, unless Kings and Emperors give and surrender unto them all the temporal rule and government, to do what they list, and none to controul them: and unless Noblemen and Subjects endow them with temporal Lands and Possessions so much as they would have. And this they call honour, which they define only by giving temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giving spiritually, as to have a reverent opinion of their ministration, to yield a prompt obedience to their Doctrine, reverence to them as the Ministers of God, and not to despise, defame or molest their persons; whereof S. Paul also about the same place speaketh, writing to Timothy, Let no man despise thy youth, &c. Also to Titus, Let no man despise thee, &c. And this is to honour our spiritual Fathers.

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Secondly, To consider how far this honour extendeth: As no man doth deny, but these Pastors are worthy their

double honour which rule well; so if they administer not their office well, they are under the oversight of the King bearing the Temporal Sword, worthy of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honour in them that rule well, how far it doth extend; if it be compared to the honour due to our Parents, case of necessity will soon decide it. For be it that our parents on the one side, and Pastor of the other stand in extream need of the Sons supportation, wherein he can help but the one: Nature, I suppose, will and ought sooner run, and the Word of Christ will sooner drive us to our Father, than to the Priests Corban, Mark 7. So that this distinction here may have place; that as the one standeth upon merit of vertue, so the other standeth upon meer duty of necessity.

Page 407. Col. 1. These Jurisdictions Temporal and Spiritual, are compatible in one person. Answer: I grant pro ratione subjecti: That is, in the subject it self there is no cause to the contrary, but these vocations may be exercised both of one person, as they have been of the Pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary forms also) and yet the Popes person hath been able to sustain them both. But now here is to be considered, not what the nature of the Subject is able to bear by Logick, but what order is taken herein by the will of God, whose order is this: That they, which with Peter are called to the feeding of the Flock, should leave their Fishing-nets, and fish for men, and that they, which labour in the warfare of the Lord, should not intangle themselves with the business of this life, whereby they may be more free to please him, whose Soldiers they are, Tit. 2. &c.

Page 407. Col. 1. The Jurisdictions Temporal and Spiritual, are so distinct that they are not contrary, &c. Answer: And what let is there then, but our Queen now, and other Kings hereafter may have the government of both states, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal? Seeing both the forms being compatible, may concur both in one subject; why not as well in the person of the King within the Realm, as in the person of the Pope without the Realm?

Page 407. Col. 2. God after the Creation of the World, &c. unto Noahs time, &c. Answer: If God unto Noahs time governing the World as King, gave sentence himself against Cain (as we say) how then did he that by the ministry of Angels? If he did it by the Angels his Ministers, whether is more like then that it make for the Pope, or rather for Kings and Princes, whom the Scripture thrice in one Chapter calleth the Ministers of God to execute punishment to him that doth evil, Rom. 13.

Page 407. Col. 2. Noah also which offered, &c. Answer: If offering of burnt Sacrifices to God do make a Priest, then was Cain also, Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and all Patriarchs Priests. If he had both Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction over them which were in his Ark, I marvel why he did not curse then the disobedient Crow that returned not to him again.

Page 407. Col. 2. Melchisedech likewise, &c. Answer: Melchisedech properly did bear a figure of Christ, both King and Priest, and of none other.

Page 408. Col. 1. A. I have given to me, &c. Answer: That Christ hath all power given him, no man doubteth; but yet the same Christ saith, that his Kingdom is not of this world; neither would he be made a King in this World, &c. Non eripit mortalia, qui regno dat caelestia, hymn, &c.

Page 408. Col. 1. B. Whom Christ made his Vicar, &c. Ibid. Answer: Here in one line be two lies. For neither had Peter the very same power in Heaven and Earth as Christ had, neither was he the Vicar of Christ.

Page 408. Col. 1. C. As the offence of Ananias and Sapphira was not temporal but spiritual; so did Peter kill them not judicially, that is, as a temporal judge; but spiritually, that is, by the power of the spirit, which spirit wrought by him, not as by a Judge, but as a Minister. And although this act of Peter was extraordinary for a singular example; yet notwithstanding let any Prelate with the like power of Spirit so do, and none will blame him.

Page 408. Col. 1. D. And so likewise the condemnation of Paul against the Corinthian, was only spiritual and not temporal.

Page 408. Col. 1. E. Must be referred to the order, &c. Ibid. Answer: Christ would have these causes to be referred to the hearing of the Church, for spiritual admonition, but not for Temporal Jurisdiction of the Prelates.

How far honour given to Priests extendeth.

Mark 7.

Page 407. c. 2

Titus 2.

Page 407. c. 2 Two forms not contrary may be compatible in one subject.

Page 407. c. 2

Rom. 13.

Page 407. c. 2 Nab was a Priest, and had both jurisdictions in the Ark.

Page 407. c. 2

Page 408. c. 1

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Page.

Pag. 408. Col. 2. F. All things that the true Church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but first let the Pope prove his Church to be the true Church, and himself to be the universal head thereof, and then let him claim the Keys.

Ibid. The two Swords do as much signifie the two Regiments, as do the two Fishes wherewith Christ did feed four thousand persons.

Ibid. Christ bade Peter put up his sword, and not to cast it away: Ergo, the Church may have the Temporal sword. Answ. God give you good morrow, I have brought you a Capon.

Pag. 408. Col. 2. Know ye not the Saints, &c. Answ. St. Paul here willing the Corinthians to plead their matters, not before the Heathen, but before the Saints, meaneth the faithful of the Congregation, not only Prelates.

Pag. 408. Col. 2. K. In them was not the like reason, &c. Answ. I grant: for Christ and true Christians is one thing; Antichrist and his Church is another thing.

Pag. 408. Col. 2. Ibid. As ye say, the Apostles had no leisure to take lands and possessions for preaching; but now for Lordly loitering you have leisure enough.

Pag. 409. Col. 1. M. They are most fit to bear Temporal rule, which follow nearest to God. Prelates of the Clergy follow nearest to God. Ergo, Prelates of the Clergy are most meet to bear Temporal rule.

Resp. If God here be taken for that God, which is called the belly, I grant they seem to follow nearer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their own fruits, life and doctrine; and Elay also would deny their minor, and say, that this people draweth near to me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

Pag. 409. Col. 1. You are a chosen generation, a Royal Priesthood, &c. Answ. This place of Peter was written not only to persons Ecclesiastical, but to the whole congregation of the Saints dispersed, as the words following may declare: Qui eratis quondam non populus, &c.

And thus much concerning French matters, which because they be Ecclesiastical, and bear with them some utility to the diligent Reader (such as list to search, note and observe the acts of men, and course of Religion) I thought therefore here to place and adjoyn them next after the other contention before proceeding between Philip the French King, and Pope Boniface. Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of years and time, I am not ignorant that this foresaid Parliament, thus summoned and commenced against the French Prelates, falling in the year of our Lord 1329, was to be referred rather to the reign of King Edward the Second, of whom now remaineth (by the Grace of Christ) in order of History to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his Father given to him in the time of his departing. The year of our Lord

1307, and the last year of the King, the foresaid King Edward, in his journey marching toward Scotland, in the North fell sick of the Flux, which increased so fervently upon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his Earls and Barons, he caused them to be sworn that they should Crown his Son Edward in such convenient time after his death as they might, and keep the land to his use, till he were Crowned. That done, he called before him his Son Edward, informing and lessening him with wholesome precepts; and he charged him also with divers points upon his blessing: First, That he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair spoken to all men, constant in deed and word, familiar with the good; and especially to the miserable to be merciful. After this, he gave him also charge not to be too hasty in taking his Crown before he had revenged his Fathers injuries stoutly against the Scots: but that he should remain in those parts to take with him his Fathers bones, being well boiled from the flesh; and so being inclosed in some fit vessel, should carry them with him till he conquered all the Scots; saying, That so long as he had his Fathers bones with him, none should overcome him. Moreover, he willed and required him to love his Brother Thomas and Edmund; also to cherish and tender his Mother Margret the Queen. Over and besides, he straightly charged him upon his blessing (as he would avoid his curse) that he should in no case call to him again, or send for Peter Gaveston; which Peter Gaveston the King before had banished the Realm, for his naught-

ty and wicked familiarity with his Son Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsel. For the which cause he banished both Peter Gaveston utterly out of the Realm, and also put the said Edward his Son in prison. And therefore so straitly he charged his Son in no wise to send for this Gaveston, or to have him in any case about him. And finally, because he had conceived in himself a vow to have returned in his own person to the Holy Land (which for his manifold wars with the Scots he could not perform) therefore he had prepared 32 000 pounds of silver; for the sending of certain Souldiers with his heart unto the Holy Land. Which thing he required of his Son to see accomplished: So that the foresaid money, under his curse and malediction be not employed to other uses. But these injunctions and precepts the disobedient Son did nothing observe or keep after the decease of his Father. Who forsaking and leaving off the war with the Scots, with all speed hastened him to his Coronation. Also contrary to the mind of his Nobles, and against the precept of his Father, he sent for the foresaid Peter Gaveston, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his Father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was moreover a proud despiser of his Peers and Nobles; and therefore reigned unfortunately, as by the sequel of the Story here following, by the Grace of Christ shall be declared. Thus King Edward first of that name, leaving behind him three Sons, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortal life, Ann. 1307, after he had reigned near 35 years. Of whom this Epitaph was written,

Dum vixit Rex, & valuit tua magna potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestas.

The Epitaph of K. Edward.

In the time and reign of this King many other things happened, which here I omit to speak of, as the long discord and strife between the Prior of Canterbury, and the Prior of Dover, which continued above four years together, with much wrangling and unquietness between them. Likewise another like contention growing between John Romain, Archbishop of York, and the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this occasion, that when John Archbishop of York after his Consecration returned from the Pope, coming to Dover, contrary to the inhibition of Canterbury, he passed through the middle of Kent, with his Cross borne up; although the story reporteth that he had the Kings consent thereunto, Ann. 1286.

Item, Between Thomas Bishop of Hereford, and John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this King. Which Bishop of Hereford, appealing from the Archbishop to the Pope, went up to Rome, and in his journey died. Who with less cost might have tarried at home, 1282.

King Edward the Second.

EDWARD the Second of that name, and Son of Edward the First, born, as is aforesaid, at Carnarvan in Wales, after the departure of his Father, entred the Government of the Land, Anno 1307, but was not Crowned before the year next following, Anno 1308, by reason of the absence of Robert Winchelsey, who was banished by King Edward the First. Whereupon the King this present year writeth to the Pope for the restitution of the said Archbishop, for that by an ancient Law of the Realm, the Coronation of the King could not otherwise proceed without the Archbishop of Canterbury. Which Edward as he was personable in body and outward shap, so in conditions and evil dispositions much deformed; as unstedfast of his word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsel; also refusing the company of his Lords and men of honour; he much haunted among Villains and vile personages; given moreover to over much drinking, and such vices as thereupon be wont to ensue. And as of his own nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsel and familiarity of certain evil disposed persons, as first of Peter, or Pierce Gaveston before touched. Then after him, of the two Spensers and others, whose wanton counsel he following, gave himself to the appetite and pleasure of his body;

Godly lessons and precepts given to the young Prince.

The King commandeth his bones to be carried in the field against the Scots.

The Fatherly care of K. Edward in excluding wicked company from his Son.

KING Edward.

A rash vow of King Edward. The Kings heart to be carried to the Holy Land.

K. Edward the Second.

Anno 1308.

K. Edward led by wicked counsel.

KING body; nothing ordering his Commonweal by gravity, discretion and justice; which thing caused first great variance between him and his Nobles; so that shortly he became to them odious, and in the end was deprived of his Kingdom. In the first year he took to wife *Isabel*, Daughter of *Philip* King of France; with whom (the year after) he was Crowned at *Westminster* by the Bishop of *Winchester*, for that *Robert Winchelsey* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithstanding the Barons and Lords made first their request to the King to put *Peter Gaveston* from him, or else they would not consent to his Coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to grant them at the next Parliament to have their requests accomplished, and so he was Crowned. In the mean season the foresaid *Peter* or *Pierce*, bearing himself of the Kings favour bold, continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and Nobles of the Realm, so that he ruled both the King and the Realm, and all things went as he would; neither had the King any delight else, or kept company with any, but with him; with him only he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This as it seemed strange unto the Lords and Earls, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this *Peter*, that through the exciting of the Nobles, the Bishops of the land did proceed in Excommunication against the said *Gaveston*, unless he departed the land. Upon the occasion whereof the King the same first year of his reign, being grieved with the Bishops, writeth to the Pope, complaining that they had proceeded to Excommunication of the said *Peter* unless he departed the Realm within a time certain. The which Letter of the King what answer again it had from the Pope, I find not set down in Story. Over and besides, it befell in the said first year of the King, that the Bishoprick of *York* being vacant, the King gave the office of the Treasure to one of his own Clerks; whereof the Pope having intelligence, writeth to the King, commanding him to call back the same gift, and withal citeth up to Rome the said Clerk, there to answer the matter to a Nephew of one of his Cardinals, upon whom he had bestowed the said dignity; whereunto the King maketh answer, *Quod citationes huiusmodi, & illarum executio, &c. i.e.* That if such citations, and the execution of the same should proceed to the impeachment of our Kingly Jurisdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawful inheritance, and the honour of our Crown (especially if the deciding of such matters which principally concern our estate, should be prosecuted in any other place than within this our Realm by any manner of ways, &c.) Certes, although we our selves would wink thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to pass our hands; yet the States and Nobles of our Kingdom, who upon allegiance are obliged and sworn to the protection and defence of the dignity of the Crown of *England*, will in no wise suffer our right, and the Laws of the Land so to be violated.

Besides this, the foresaid Pope wrote to the King, complaining that by certain Counsellors of King *Edward* his Father lying sick, utterly ignorant thereof, a certain restraint was given out, charging his Nuncios and Legates (whom he had sent for the gathering of the first-fruits of the Benefices vacant within the Realm) not hereafter to intermeddle therewith, &c. Whereunto the King maketh answer, *viz. Pater Sanctis. Datum fuit vobis intelligi, &c.*

In English thus:

Most holy Father, it hath been given you to understand otherwise than the truth of the matter is. For most true it is indeed that the foresaid inhibition was ratified by good Act of Parliament holden at *Karlin*, upon certain causes concerning the execution of such Collections (the said our Father not only being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his own meer knowledge agreeing to the same) in the presence not only of his own Earls, Barons and States, and Commons of the Realm, but also your Legates and Liegers being called thereunto.

Item, Upon other Letters brought from the Pope to the King, for the Enstalling of one *Peter* de *Subaudia* his Kinsman into the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, being then vacant,

and withal requiring that if the said *Peter* would not accept thereof, the Election should be referred to the Prior and Convent of the same place. The King therewith grieved, maketh answer by his Letters to the Pope, and sundry his Cardinals: *Quod cum Electiones de futuris Prelatis in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, &c. That forsomuch as Elections of Prelates, to be placed in Cathedral Churches within his Kingdom are not to be attempted without his license first had and obtained, &c.* Therefore he could not abide that any such strange and unaccustomed reservations should, or could take place in his Realm without manifest prejudice of his Kingly estate, requiring further that he would not cause any such novelties to be brought in into his Kingdom, contrary to that which his ancestors before him have accustomed to do.

Thus the time proceeded, and at length the Parliament appointed came, Anno 1310, which was the fourth of this Kings reign. The articles were drawn by the Nobles to be exhibited to the King, which articles were the same contained in *Magna Charta*, and *de Foresta* above specified; with such other articles as his Father had charged him with before; to wit, that he should remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and that all the matters of the Commonwealth should be debated by common Council of the Lords both Temporal and Spiritual; and that he should stir no war out of *England* in any other foreign Realm, without the common assent of the same, &c. The King perceiving their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder *Peter Gaveston* from his company; and seeing no other remedy, but needs he must yield and grant his consent, agreed that the said *Gaveston* should be banished into *Ireland*. And so the Parliament breaking up, the Lords returned to their own, well appeased; although of the other Articles they could not speed, yet that they had driven *Peter Gaveston* out of the Realm, at this time it did suffice them.

This *Peter Gaveston* was a certain Gentlemans Son of *Gascon*; whom being by young *K. Edward* the First (for the good service his Father had done him in his wars) received to his Court, and placed him with his Son *Edward* now reigning. Who in process of time growing up with him, incited and provoked him to much outrage and wantonness. By whose occasion first he began in his Fathers days to break the Park of *Walter* Bishop of *Chester*, then Chancellor of *England*, and after Executor to the King; for the which so doing, the King (as is partly touched before) imprisoned his Son, and condemned this *Peter* to perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding the young King after the death of his Father (as ye have heard) sent for this *Gaveston* again. And withal he so persecuted this foresaid Bishop, that he clapt him in the Tower, and seized upon all his goods. Moreover he caused most strait inquisition to be made upon him for guiding his Office, wherein if the least crime might have been found, it would have cost him his life. And thus much of *Peter Gaveston*, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The King thus separated from his old compeer (that is, from the company of *Peter Gaveston* now exiled into *Ireland*) continued in great mourning and pensiveness, seeking by all means possible how to call him home again, and conferring with such as were about him upon the same; who did insinuate to the King, that forsomuch as the Earl of *Glocester* was a man well loved and favoured in all the Realm; if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his Sister and *Peter Gaveston*, it might be a mean both for him to obtain more friendship, and for the King to have his desire. To make short, *Peter Gaveston* in all hast was sent for, and the marriage through the Kings procuring, proceeded between the Earls Sister, and the foresaid *Peter*, albeit sore against the Earls mind. *Gaveston* thus restored and dignified, was so surprized in pride and exaltation more than ever before, that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more increased. Insomuch that he having the guiding of all the Kings Jewels and treasure, conveyed out of the Kings Jewel-house at *Westminster* a Table and a pair of Treffels of Gold unto Merchants beyond Sea, with other Jewels more; to the great impoverishing both of the King and Queen, and of the land. And over all that he brought the King (by means of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as adultery, and such other like. Wherefore the Lords seeing the mischief that daily increased

Peter Gaveston, a wicked doer about the King

Anno 1310.

Peter Gaveston

The unordained affection of the King to Peter Gaveston.

The pride of Peter Gaveston.

Peter Gaveston spoileth the Kings Treasure.

The Queen complaineth to the French King her Father of Peter Gaveston.

Gaveston again excluded out of the land.

The Crowned-Friers, The Knights of St. John, called the Knights of the Rhodes.

Templars burned at Paris, to the number of 54. The Order of the Templars put down.

The horrible Sect of the Templars.

Cistercian Monks for money redeem their exemptions of the Pope.

The Friars Minorites deceived of Pope Clement. Ex Chron. Tho. Wals. One thief beguileth another.

Pope Clement excommunicateth the Venetians for making a Duke.

fed by occasion of this unhappy man, took their counsel together at *Lincoln*, and there concluded to avoid him again out of *England*; so that shortly after he was exiled again, and went into *Flanders*; for in *France* or his own Country he durst not appear, for fear *Philip the French King*, to whom the Queen of *England* his Daughter had sent over great complaints of the said *Gaveston*, who had so impoverished her and the whole Court, that she had not wherewith to maintain her estate. Upon which complaint, the French King through all his Dominions laid strait watch to apprehend the said *Gaveston*; but he not unwarned thereof, secretly coasted into *Flanders*, from whence it was not long but he was fet again by the King, as in further process followeth; so much was the Kings heart infuriated by this wicked person.

About this year, or the next before, came in first the *Crowned-Friers*; and also first began the Knights of the Order of *St. John Baptist*, otherwise called the Knights of *Rhodes*, for that they by manly Knighthood put out the *Turks* from the Isle of *Rhodes*.

In the History of King *Edward*, this Kings Father before precedent, mention was made of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, who succeeded after *Benedict*; also of putting down of the *Templars*, which in this year hapned by means of the French King; who as he caused to be burned in the City of *Paris* this year fifty four *Templars*, with the great Master of the same Order, so by his procurement the foresaid Pope *Clement* called a Council at *Vienna*, where the whole Order and Sect of *Templars* being condemned, was shortly after by the consent of all Christian Kings deposed all in one day. After whom the French King thought to make his Son King of *Jerusalem*, and to convert to him all the Lands of the said *Templars*. But *Clement* the Pope would not thereto agree, transferring all their Lands to the Order of *Hospitalers*, for the great sum of money given for the same. The cause why these impious *Templars* were put down was so abominable and filthy, that for reverence of chaste ears it were better not told, if it be true that some write.

Another matter worthy to be noted of like abomination I thought here to insert, touching a certain Nunnery in *France* called *Provines*, within the which at the cleansing and casting of a Fish-pond, were found many bones of young Children, and the bodies also of some Infants as yet whole unconsumed; upon occasion whereof divers of the Nuns of the said Nunnery, to the number of twenty seven, were had to *Paris*, and there imprisoned; what became of them afterward I find not in mine Author, *Arpontacus Burdegalensis*.

In the same Council also was decreed by the said *Clement* That all Religious Orders exempted should be subject under the common Laws as other were. But the *Cistercian* Monks with money and great gifts redeemed their Privileges and exemption of the Pope, and so had them granted. *Tho. Wals.* These *Cistercians* sped better herein, than did the *Minorites* of the *Franciscans* in their suit. Of which *Franciscans* when certain of them had offered unto the said Pope *Clement* forty thousand *Florences* of Gold, besides other Silver, that the Pope would dispense with them to have lands and possessions against their rule; the Pope asked them where was that money. They answered, In the Merchant-mens hands. So the space of three days being given them to bring forth these Merchants; the Pope absolved the Merchants of their Bond made to the Friars, and commanded all that money to be employed and reverted to his use; declaring to the Friars that he would not infringe or violate the rule of *St. Francis* lately Canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggarly rich Friars lost both their money and their indulgence. *Ex eodem autore.*

Concerning this Pope *Clement* the Fifth, *Sabellicus* writeth, that he Excommunicated the *Venetians* for aiding and preferring of *Azoda* unto the State of *Ferrarie*; and wrote his Letters throughout all *Europe*, condemning them as enemies of the Church, and giving their Goods as a lawful prey unto all men; which caused them to sustain great harm. But *Francis Dandulus* a Nobleman of *Venice*, being Ambassador from the *Venetians* to the said *Clement*, for the obtaining of their absolution and safeguard of their City and Country, and for the pacifying of the Popes fury toward them, was fain so to humble himself before this

proud tyrannical Prelate, that he suffered a Chain of Iron to be tyed about his neck, and he to lye down flat before his Table, and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his Table, as it had been a dog, till the Popes fury was towards them asswaged; so that after that he in reproach (because he so humbled himself for the behalf and helping of his Country) was of some called a Dog. But the City of *Venice* shewed themselves not unkind again to *Dandulus* for his gentle good will declared to his Country; for as he had abased himself before in the vile and ignominious condition of a Dog for his Countries sake, so they extolled him with as much glory again being returned home, decking and adorning him after the best array, with the chief Princely ornaments of the City, to make him amends for his former reproach received. *Sabel. Enn. 9. l. 7.*

Concerning the Constitutions of this Pope *Clement*, and of his Decretals and *Clementines*, and how *Henricus* the Emperor in his days was poisoned in receiving of the Sacrament, ye have heard before. About this time *Robert Winchelsey* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom this Kings Father had banished before) was released and returned home from *Rome*.

These things thus declared, let us proceed (by the Lords Grace) to the next year, which is of the Lord 1311, and the fifth year of this Kings reign. In the which year, counting the year from *Michaelmas* to the same Feast again, as then the usage of the Realm was, *Peter Gaveston* who had wandered the Countries about, and could find no safe resting place (notwithstanding he was utterly banished, upon forfeiting life and goods out of the Realm, yet trusting upon the Kings favour, and the good will of the Earl of *Glocester*, whose Sister he had married) secretly returning into *England* with a certain company of strangers, presented himself to the Kings sight. At the beholding of whom the King for joy ran to him, and embracing him, did not only retain him, but also for his sake undid all such Acts as had been in the Parliament before Enacted. The Queen and the whole Court seeing this doting of the King, made an heavy *Christmas*. After this return of *Gaveston* was noised among the Commons, the Peers and Nobles of the Realm were not a little stirred, casting with themselves what way were best to take. If he were suffered still, they saw not only themselves rejected, but also that the Queen could not enjoy the love of the King, neither could there be any quietness in the Realm. Again to stir up war in the land, it were not the best; to vex or disquiet the King, also they were afraid. But forasmuch as they could not abide all the Nobility, so to be thrust out and vilipended for the love of one stranger, and also the Realm so to be spoiled and impoverished by the same; this way they took, that *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster* should be elected among them the Chieftain, and chief doer in that business; to whom all other Earls and Barons, and Prelates also did concordly condescend and consent, except only *Walter* Bishop of *Coventry*, whom *Robert* the Archbishop therefore afterward did Excommunicate. Which *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, by the publick assent of the rest, sent to the King (lying then at *York*) humble Petitions in the name as well of the whole Nobility as of the Commons, desiring his Grace to give the foresaid *Gaveston* unto them, or else according to the Ordinance of the Realm, that the land might be avoided of him. But the tyrannous King, who set more by the love of one stranger than by his whole Realm besides, neither would hearken to their counsel, nor give place to their supplications; but in all hasty fury removed from *York* to *Newcastle*, where he remained almost till *Midsummer*.

In the mean season the Barons had gathered an Host of sufficient and able Souldiers, coming toward *Newcastle*, not intending any molestation against the King, but only the execution of the Laws upon the wicked *Gaveston*. The King not having wherewith to resist their power, removeth in all speedy manner to *Tinmouth* where the Queen lay. And hearing there that *Newcastle* was taken, he taketh shipping and faileth from thence (notwithstanding the Queen there, being great with child, with weeping tears, and all instance desireth him to tarry with her, as safely he might) but he, nothing relenting to her, took *Peter* his Compeer with him, and coasted over to the Castle of *Scarborough*; where he leaving *Peter Gaveston* to the safe keeping of his men, himself journeyeth toward the coast beside *Warwick*. The Lords hearing where *Peter* was, bend thither all their power;

SKING

Edm. 1.

The pride and tyranny of Pope Clement 5.

Francis Dandulus humbled himself for his Country.

Out of Sabellicus, and is alleged in the Book named the Image of Tyranny.

The pity of Dandulus to his Country. Pity thankfully rewarded.

Robert Winchelsey returned home from Rome.

Anno 1311.

The counting of the year was in the old time from Michaelmas to the same day again.

Ex Chron. Tho. Wals.

The Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated the Bishop of Coventry for holding with Peter Gaveston.

KING power; so that at length Gaveston seeing no remedy but he must needs come into their hands, yieldeth and submit-
Peter Gaveston taken of the Nobles.
 teth himself; requiring none other condition, but only that he might talk but a few words with the King in his presence. Thus Gaveston being apprehended, the King hearing thereof sendeth unto the Lords, requiring his life to be spared; and that he might be brought to his speech, and promised that in so doing he would satisfy their minds and requests whatsoever. About this advisement was taken: but then the Earl of Pembroke, hearing the Kings promise, perswaded the Barons to grant unto his Petition; promising himself upon losing all his lands, to take the charge upon him to be brought unto the Kings speech, and so to be recommitted to them again. Which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaveston with him, to bring him where the King lay. And so coming to Dedington, not far from Warwick, he leaveth him in the keeping of his Souldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not far off from thence.

Earl of Warwick.
 The same night it chanced Guido the Earl of Warwick to come to the same place where Gaveston was left; who taking him out of the hands of his Keepers, carrieth him to the Castle of Warwick, where incontinently they would have put him to death; but doubting and fearing the Kings displeasure, a little they stayed. At what time one of the company (a man of sage and wise counsel, as mine Author writeth) standing up among them, with his grave Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickedness of his own condition, the Realm by him so greatly endamaged, the Nobles despised and rejected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruin of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expences they had been at in so long pursuing and getting of him; and now being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them so to use and take the occasion now presents; that hereafter being out of their hands, they afterward might seek, and should not find it.

Peter Gaveston again apprehended by Earl of Warwick.
 Briefly in such sort he perswaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelaw; which place in Stories I find to be called Gavesthead; but that name (as I think) was derived upon this occasion afterward. And thus he that before had called the Earl of Warwick the Black dog of Ardeine, was thus by the said Dog worried, as ye have heard, &c. His carcass the Dominick Friars of Oxford had in their Monastery Interred the space of two years; but after that the King caused the said carcass to be taken up and buried within his own Mannor of Langley.

The corpse of Peter Gaveston buried in the Kings Mannor of Langley.
 After this great disturbance began to rise between the King and the Lords; who having their power lying about Dimstable, sent stout message unto the King at London, to have their former Acts confirmed. Gilbert Earl of Gloucester the Kings Nephew (who neither did hold against the King, nor yet against the Nobles) with the Bishops and Prelates of the Realm, went between both parties with great diligence to make unity. At which time also came two Cardinals from Rome, with Letters sent unto them from the Pope. The Nobles answered to the Message of the Cardinals, lying then at St. Albans; that as touching themselves, they should be at all times welcome to them; but as touching their Letters (forasmuch as they were men unlettered, and only brought up in war and feats of arms) therefore they cared not for seeing the same. Then message was sent again, that they would grant at least but to speak with the Popes Legates, which purposely came for the intent to set quiet and unity in the Realm. They answered again, that they had Bishops both godly and learned, by whose counsel they would be led only, and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they said precisely, that they would have no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their business and affairs pertaining to the Realm. Yet notwithstanding through the mediation of the Archbishop, and of the Earl of Gloucester, the matter at length was so taken up, that the Barons should restore to the King or his Attorney of St. Albans all the Treasure, Horses, and Jewels of the foresaid Gaveston taken at Newcastle, and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

The Nobles of England card not for the Popes Letters. The Popes Legates not admitted of the Nobles of England.
 Shortly upon the same, Isabel the Queen was delivered of a fair Child at Windsor, whom Lewis the French Kings Son (the Queens Brother, with other Frenchmen there present) would have to be called by the name of the French

King; but the English Lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of Edward his Father. At the birth of which Edward great rejoycing was through all the land, and especially the King his Father so much joyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gavestons death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his Nobles.

Thus peace and concord between them began to be in a good towardness; which more and more might have been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan the Author and fower of discord, stirred up his instruments (certain Frenchmen, Tisserillers and Make-bates about the King) which ceased not in carping and depraving the Nobles, to inflame the Kings hatred and grudge against them. By the exciting of whom the old quarrels being renewed afresh, the King in his Parliament called upon the same, began to charge the foresaid Barons and Nobles with sedition and rebellion, and for slaying Peter Gaveston. Neither were the Nobles less stout again in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserved rather thanks and favour with the King than any displeasure, in vanquishing such a publick enemy of the Realm, who not only had spoiled and wasted the Kings substance, but also raised much disturbance in the Realm. And forasmuch as they had begun with the matter to their so great labours and expences; they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof. To be short, great threats there were on both parts, and a foul matter like to have followed. But again, through the diligent mediation of the Queen, the Prelates, and the foresaid Earl of Gloucester, the matter was taken up and brought to reconciliation upon these conditions, that the Lords and Barons openly in Westminster-Hall should humble themselves before the King, and ask pardon there of their doings, and every man there to receive a Letter of the Kings pardon for their indemnity, and assurance. And so passed over that year, within the which year died Robert Winchelsey Archbishop of Canterbury. In whose room Thomas Cobham was Elected by the King and Church of Canterbury to succeed; but the Pope frustrating the Election, placed Walter Reinold Bishop of Worcester.

In the mean time the Scots hearing this civil discord in the Realm, began to be bulie, and to rebell of new through the means of Robert Bruis; who being chased out of Scotland by King Edward the First, as is above premised, into Norway, was now returned again into Scotland; where he demeaned himself in such sort to the Lords there, that in short process he was again made King of the Realm, and warred so strongly upon them that took the Kings part, that he wan from them many Castles and strong holds, and invaded the borders of England. The King hearing this, assembleth a great power, and by water entrench the Realm of Scotland. Against whom incountred Robert de Bruis with his Scots at Eshtrivelin, where was fought a strong battel; in the end whereof the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the Noblemen were slain, as the Earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmund Maule, with other Lords to the number of forty two, and Knights and Barons 227, besides men of name, which were taken prisoners; of common Souldiers ten thousand, or after the Scottish Story, fifty thousand slain. After which time Sir Robert Bruis reigned as King of Scotland.

About which time, and in which year died Pope Clement, who keeping in the Realm of France, never came to the See of Rome; after whose death the Papacy stood void two years.

Pope Clement never sat in the See of Rome.
 The Scots after this exalted with pride and fierceness, invaded the Realm of England so sore, killing and destroying man, woman, and child; that they came winning and wasting the North parts as far as to York. Besides this, such dearth of victuals, and penury of all things so oppressed the whole land, such murrain of Sheep and Oxen; as men were fain to eat Horse-flesh, Dogs, Cats, Mice, and what else they could get. Moreover such a price of Corn followed withal, that the King hardly had bread for the sustentation of his own household. Moreover, some there were that did steal children and eat them, and many for lack of victual died. And yet all this amended not the King of his evil living.

A description
of an
horrible fa-
mine in the
Realm of
England.

Ex Chron.
Tho. Wals.
in vita Ed-
wardi 2.

The cause and origen of this great dearth, was partly the wars and dissention between them and the Scots, whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chiefest cause was the untemperate season of the year, which contrary to the common course, was so moist with abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could have no ripening by heat of the Sun, nor grow to any nourishment. Whereby they that had to eat could not be satisfied with saturity, but estoons were as hungry again. They that had nothing were driven to steal and rob; the rich were constrained to avoid and diminish their households; the poor for famine died. And not so much the want of victual, which could not be gotten, as the unwholesomeness of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reason of the unseasonableness of the ground, was so infectious that many died of the Flux, many of hot Fevers, divers of the Pestilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts by the putrefaction of the herbs and grafs fell into as great a murrain, so far forth as that the eating of flesh was suspect and thought contagious. A Quarter of Corn and Salt, from the month of June to September grew from thirty shillings unto forty shillings. The flesh of Horses was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to steal fat Dogs, and to eat them. Some were said in secret corners to eat their own Children. Some would steal other mens Children to kill them and eat them privily. The prisoners and thieves that were in bands, for hunger fell upon such as were newly brought in unto them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them half alive. Briefly, this extreme penury had extinguished and consumed (as it was thought) the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the King by the advice of the Londoners given forth Commandment through all his land, that no Corn should at that time be turned to the making of drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures in our wealth and abundance will not surcease daily to provoke his terrible Majesty.

The Scots
driven out
of Ireland.

Anno
1317.

The White
battel of
the Spiritu-
al men in
Yorkshire.

The two
Spensers.

Two Le-
gates sent
from Rome.
The Popes
pillage.
The Popes
Legates
spoiled of
all their ill
gotten trea-
sure.
The Popes
Curse con-
demned of
the Scots.

But let us return to the order again of our Story. After the Scots had thus plagued miserably (as ye have heard) the Realm of England; they invaded also Ireland, where they kept and continued war the space of four years. But in fine, the Irishmen (by aid sent to them from England) quit themselves so well that they vanquished the Scots, and slew Edward Bruis, and many of the Nobles of Scotland, with many other, and drove the residue out of the Country. The King about the twelfth year of his reign, assembled a new Host, and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Barwick. But in the mean time the Scots by another way, invaded the Merchants of Yorkshire, robbing and harrying the Country, and they slew much people. Wherefore the Archbishop of York, and other Abbots, Priors, Clerks, with Husbandmen, assembled a great company, and gave them battel at a place called Mitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited, and many of them slain; but the Archbishop and the Abbot of Selbie, and divers others there escaped. But because there were so many Spiritual men there slain, it was called therefore the White Battel. By reason whereof the King hearing of this, and partly because Winter did approach, was constrained to break up his siege, and so returned not without great danger.

At this time the two Spensers (Sir Hugh Spenser the Father, and Hugh Spenser the Son) were of great power in England, and by the favour of the King practised such cruelty, and bear themselves so haughtily and proud, that no Lord of this land might gain-say them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the Nobles, and the Commons, no less than Peter Gaveston was before.

Soon upon this came two Legates from Rome, sent by Pope John the 22th, under pretence to set agreement between England and Scotland; who for their charges and expences, required of every Spiritual person four pence in every Mark. But all their labour nothing availed; for the Legates as they were in the North parts (about Derlington) with their whole family and train, were robbed and spoiled of their Horses, Treasure, Apparel, and what else they had, and with an evil favoured handling, retired back again to Duresm, where they staid a while waiting for an

answer from the Scots. But when neither the Popes Legacy nor his curse would take any place with the Scots, they returned again to London, where they first Excommunicated and cursed as black as foot all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses received, they exacted of the Clergy to be given and paid unto them eight pence in every Mark. But the Clergy thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their own covetousness (as they said) that made them venture farther than they needed. Only they were contented to relieve them after four pence in a Mark, as they promised before, further they would not grant. Whereof the King being advertised, and taking part with his Clergy, directed his Letters to the said Legates in form as followeth:

REX Magistro Rigando de Asserio, Canonico Aivrelia. an. Salutem, &c.

In English thus:

The King to Master Rigand of Asserio, Canon of Aivrelia, Greeting: We have taken notice of the clamors and lamentable petitions of the subjects of our Realm, perceiving by the same that you practise many and sundry inconveniences very strange, never heretofore accustomed, nor heard of in this our Realm, as well against the Clergy and Ecclesiastical persons, as against the Laity, even to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many our liege people, which if it should be winked at (as God forbid) may in process of time be occasion of greater perils to issue; whereat we are (not without cause) moved, and not a little grieved: We forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, ne presume in any case to attempt any thing within this our Realm, either against our Clergy or Laity, that may any manner of way tend to the prejudice of our Royal person, or of our Crown and dignity Regal. Witness the King at Windsor the sixth day of February, in the 11th year of his Reign.

Per Concilium.

Likewise in the same year the said King writeth to the same effect to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as followeth: Rex venerabili in Christo Patri, W. eadem gra. Archiepiscopo Cant. &c.

In English thus:

The King to the Reverend Father in God, W. by the same Grace Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, Greeting: We are credibly informed by many our subjects, that certain strange Impositions, never heard of before within any our Dominions, upon Lands and Tenements, Goods and Cattels, concerning the testaments and cases of Matrimony, are brought into our Realm to be executed upon our subjects by you or some others; which if it should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend to the disherison, and impeachment of our Crown and dignity Regal, and the intolerable damage of the subjects of our Realm, to the due preservation of the which you are bound by solemn Oath of Allegiance. We therefore command and straitly charge you, that you proceed not in any case to the execution of any such Letters, either in your own person, or by any other, nor yet presume by colour of the same to attempt any thing that may be prejudicial or hurtful to our Crown or dignity Regal. And if you or any other in your name have done or attempted any thing by colour of the same, that ye call back and revoke the same forthwith without delay. Witness the King at Shene the 17th of February, the 11th year of his Reign.

Per ipsum Regem.

The like Letters in effect were directed to the Archbishop of York, and to every other Bishop through England. By force of which Letters the greedy Legates being restrained of their ravening purpose, taking what they could get, and settling a peace (such as it was) between the King and the Earl of Lancaster, were fain to pack.

Besides the restraint above mentioned for strange Impositions, there followed moreover the same year the Kings prohibition for the gathering of Peter-pence, directed to the foresaid Legate, the tenour whereof followeth.

KING
Edw. 2.

The Clergy
of England
denied to
contribute
to the Popes
Legates.

A prohibit-
ion against
strange
Taxes and
Impositions.

[KING]
[Edm. 2]

A Prohibition of Peter-pence.

Rex Magistro Rigando, &c. In English thus:

A Prohibition
for
paying the
Pope's Peter-
pence.

The King to Master Rigand of Asser Canon of Aurelia, Greeting. We are given to understand that you do demand and purpose to levy the Peter-peny within our Realm, otherwise than the said Peter-peny hath been heretofore accustomed to be levied in the time of any our Progenitors, exercising herein grievous censures Ecclesiastical to the great annoyance and damnyfying of the Subjects of our Realm: for present remedy whereof our loving subjects have made their humble supplication unto us. And for as much as the said Peter-peny hath been hitherto accustomed to be gathered and levied upon Lands and Tenements within our Realm after a due manner and form: we not willing that any such unaccustomed impositions shall in any wise be made upon the Lands and Tenements of any our subjects within our Dominions, prohibite you, upon grievous pain, straitly charging that in no wise you presume to exact, gather, or levy the said Peter-peny in any other form or manner than hath been heretofore accustomed to be gathered and levied in the time of our Progenitors, or since the beginning of our Reign until further order be taken in our high Court of Parliament by the advice of the Nobles and Peers of our Realm, such as may well be taken without prejudice of our Crown and damage of subjects. Witness the King at Westminster the first day of March.

Per ipsum Regem & Concilium.

To the same effect Letters were directed to the Archbishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and the rest of the Clergy.

Touching the first original of which Peter-pence though mention be made before in the life of King Offa and others: yet to make a brief recapitulation of the same, according to the rolls as they come to our hands, thus it followeth, *De Denariis beati Petri sic scriptum, &c.* That is to say, It is thus found recorded in Ancient Chronicles touching the Peter-pence of Saint Peter, Anno. 187. Offa King of Mercia travelled up to Rome in the time of Pope Adrian the first, to obtain the Canonizing of Saint Albane. And having performed his Vow, visiting the Colledge of English Students which then flourished in Rome, he did give to the maintenance of the Scholars of England, Students in Rome, one penny out of every Teneement within this Realm that had land belonging to the same, amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of the Pope Adrian, that no person within his Dominion publick, repenting him for not performing enjoyed penance, should therefore be banished.

Read before
in the lives
of King Offa
and King
Alfred.

Anno Dom. 857. Adewulfus Rex Westsaxonum. tempore Leonis Papae quarti Romae singulis annis 300. Mancusos portari praecepit, taliter dividendas ibidem, viz. 100. Mancusos in honorem scilicet Petri specialiter ad emendandum oleum, quo impleverunt omnia Luminaria Ecclesiae Apostolicae in vespere pasche & in galli cantu, & 100. Mancusos in honorem scilicet Pauli eiusdem de causis, 100. Praeterea Mancusos praecepit exhiberi Universali Papae ad suas elemosynas ampliandas. Et sciendum, quod secundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretacionem differant mancusa, & manca, quia mancusa idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea: Manca vero erat moneta aerea quadrata, & valebat communiter 30. denarios argenteos.

Of which Peter-pence is found a Transcript of the original Rescript Apostolical, the Tenor whereof is thus: Gregorius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. & Ebor. Archiepiscopis & eorum suffraganeis & dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Prioribus, Archidiaconis, eorumque officialibus per regnum Angliae constitutis, ad quos litterae istae pervenerint: salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Qualiter denarii beati Petri, qui debentur Camerae nostrae, colligantur in Anglia, & in quibus Episcopatus & dioecesi debeantur, ne super hoc

dubitari contingat. & praesentibus fecimus annotari, sicut in Registro sedis Apostolicae continetur. De Cantuar. dioecesi. 7. l. 18. s. sterlingorum, De London. dioecesi. 16. l. 10. s. De Rosens. dioecesi. 5. l. 12. s. De Norwicens. dioecesi. 21. l. 10. s. De Elienum. 5. l. De Lincoln. 42. l. De Cistrensi. 8. l. De Winton. 17. l. 6. s. 8. d. De Exon. 9. l. 5. s. De Wigorn. 10. l. 5. s. De Hereford. 6. l. De Bathon. dioecesi. 12. l. 5. s. De Sarisbur. 17. l. De Coventre. 10. l. 5. s. De Eborac. 11. l. 10. s. Datum apud urbem Veterem. 10. Kal. Maii. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Summa, 30. marcæ & dimidi.

Concerning which Peter-pence, it is touched in the Laws of King Edward the Saint, Chap. 10. when, where, of whom, under what pain this Peter-pence must be gathered, being but the Kings meer Alms, as is aforesaid. And thus much touching Peter-pence. Now for other Letters written by the King to the Pope, the same year, for other matters, as craving the Popes help in compounding the variance betwixt the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for bearing the Cross from the one Province to the other, thus it followeth: that the King grievously complaineth, *quod tanta dissensionem. i. e.* that such hurly burly and uproar arose thereof, that they could not meet together in one place through the great multitude of Armed men assistants on both parts in the very bearing of the Cross, to the great disturbance of the People.

Now after this long digression to turn to our English matters again, mention was made before of the variance between the King and the Earl of Lancaster, and of a peace concluded between them. But this peace did not long endure: which the King by his own default did break; sending to the Scots a privy Messenger (which was taken in the way) to have the foresaid Earl of Lancaster, by their means made away.

In the mean time the Lords and Nobles of England, detesting the outrageous pride of the Spensers whereby they wrought daily both great dishonour to the King, and hindrance to the Commonweal; in such wise conspired against them, that gathering their power together, they made a request to the King, that he should remove the Spensers from his person. For the which there was a Parliament called at London, and the Barons came together with a great company. At the which Parliament both the Spensers were banished the Land for term of their lives: and they took Shipping at Dover, and so voided the Land. But it was not long after, but the King (contrary to the Ordinance made in the Parliament) sent for the Spensers again, and set them in High Authority; and they ruled all things after their sensual appetites, nothing regarding Justice nor the Commonwealth. Wherefore, the Barons intending again to reform this mischief, assembled their powers: But the King (making so hasty speed, and gathering his people so soon) was stronger than they, and pursued them so in divers places, that the Barons not fully joyned together (some flying, and some departing to the King, some slain by the way) in the end were chased so eagerly, that in short space, the foresaid Thomas Earl of Lancaster was taken and put to death with the rest of the Nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greatest Men, and chiefest Captains of this Realm. Of whom only Thomas Earl of Lancaster, for the Nobility of his Blood, was beheaded: All the other Lords and Barons, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. Which bloody unmercifulness of the King toward his natural subjects, not only procured to him great dishonor within the Realm, but also turned afterward to his much more greater harm and hindrance, in his foreign Wars against the Scots: and finally wrought his utter confusion, and overthrow of his Seat Royal, as in the sequel of his end, appeared, and worthily.

After the ruine of these Noble Personages, the King as though he had gotten a great conquest (who then indeed began first to be overcome and conquered himself, when he so oppressed and cut off the strength and sinews of his Chivalry) began to triumph not a little with the Spensers; and to count himself sure as though he were in Heaven, to exercise more sharp severity upon his subjects, trusting and committing all to the counsel only of the foresaid Spensers: Inasmuch, that both the Queen and the residue of the other Nobles could little be regarded. Who, as they

N n grew

The pride
of the Spen-
sers.Anno
1321

That Thomas Earl of Lancaster came of Edmund younger son of King Henry the Third. Twenty two of the greatest Nobility of the Realm put to death by the King.

Anno
1322.
The cruel
rejoicing of
the King.

grew ever in more contempt with the King; so they increased in more hatred against the *Spensers*: but strength and ability lacked to work their will.

{ Anno }
1323.

The King distressed again in Scotland.

The next year the King being at *York*, after he had made Sir *Hugh Spenser* Earl, and Sir *John Baldock* a Man of evil Fame, to be Chancellor of *England*; he then appeared a mighty Host against the *Scots*. But for lack of skilful guiding, expert Captains, and for want specially of due provision of Victuals necessary for such an Army, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundred thousand (wandering through *Scotland*, from whence the *Scots* had conveyed all their goods and cattel into mountains, and marshes) were so pinched and starved with famine, that a great part of the Army, there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soon as they tasted of Meats, escaped not. The King not having resistance of his Enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring, Sir *James Douglas* and the *Scots* having knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise, that they slew many *English*-men, and had well neer taken the King himself. After which distress, the King, thus beaten and wearied with the *Scots*, would fain have joyned in Truce with the *Scots*: But because they stood Excommunicate by the Pope, he standing in fear thereof, desired licence to intreat with them of peace, the said Excommunication notwithstanding: which licence being obtained, a treaty was appointed by Commissioners on both parts at *Newcastle* at the Feast of Saint *Nicholas* next ensuing; and so Truce was taken for 12. years. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way (gentle Reader) not unworthy of observation, That whereas in former times, and especially of the late King *Edward* the first, so long as the *Scots* were under the Popes Blessing, and we in displeasure with his Holiness for dealing with them, so long we prevailed mightily against them, even to the utter subversion in manner of their whole Estate. But now so soon as the Pope took our part, and the *Scots* were under his Curse and Excommunication, then gat they greater victories against us, than at any time either before or since, inasmuch as being before not able to defend themselves against us, they now pursued us into the bowels of our Country.

The King purposing to erect a House of Friars *Augustines*, within the Town of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, first payed the Popes licence in that behalf.

Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian writeth of our English Stories.

Polydorus Virgilius among other Histories of our *English* Nation which he intermedleth withal, prosecuting also the Acts and life of this present King, and coming to write of the Queens going over into *France*, inferreth much variety and diversity of Authors and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giveth himself no true certainty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he being an *Italian* and a Foreigner, could not understand our *English* Tongue: And partly again, being but one Man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latin Authors. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latin History fair written in Parchment (but without name) belonging to the Library of *William Cary* Citizen of *London*. In which Story, the truth of this matter, without all ambiguity, is there fully and with all Circumstances expressed, as here briefly is inferred.

{ Anno }
1324.

The King of *England* had been divers and sundry times cited up to the Court of *France*, to do Homage to the *French* King, for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and other Lands which the King then held of *France*. Which Homage, because the King of *England* refused to tender, the *French* King began to enter all such possessions as the King then did hold in *France*: whereupon great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length in this year now present, a Parliament was called at *London*; Where (after much alteration) at last it was determined; that certain should be sent over, to wit, the Bishops of *Winchester*, and *Norwich*, and the Earl of *Richmond*, to make agreement betwixt the two Kings. For the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward, that Queen *Isabel*, Sister to *Charles* then the *French* King, should be sent over. Where is to be noted first, that the Queens Lands, and possessions and Ca-

The Queen put to her Pension.

files a little before, upon the breach between the *French* King and the King of *England*, were seized into the Kings hands, and the Queen put unto her Pension, &c. Thus the Queen being sent over with a few to attend upon her, only Sir *John Cromwel* Baron, and four Knights, took their passage into *France*: By whose mediation, it was there concluded, that the King of *England* (if he would not himself come to do his Homage) he should give to his Son *Edward* the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and the Earldom of *Pontine*, and so he to come to make his Homage to the King, and to possess the same. This being in *France* concluded, was sent over by message to the King of *England*, with the Kings Letters Patents adjoynd for the safe Conduct of him or of his Son. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the Council of *England*. But the two *Spensers* fearing either to take the Seas with the King, or else without the King to remain behind, for fear of the Nobles, so appointed, that Prince *Edward* the Kings Son was sent, which happened after their utter defolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in *France*, King *Edward* of *England*, soon after *Michaelmas*, sendeth for his Wife and his Son again out of *France*. But the sending home most part of her family, refuseth her self to return. For what cause it is not fully certain, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the King, as is before premised; or whether for fear and hatred of the *Spensers*, as is likely; or else for love and familiarity of Sir *Roger Mortimer*. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir *Roger Mortimer*, with divers other of the Barons part, which had broken prison in *England*, were fled before into *France* and now resorted unto the Queen. The King seeing this, giveth forth in Proclamation, and limiteth a certain day to the Queen and his Son to return; or else to be proclaimed Traytors to the King and to the Realm. Notwithstanding, the Queen persisting in her purpose, denieth to return, unless the other Nobles which were fled might be permitted safely also to return with her. Whereupon, the King immediately caused them both to be proclaimed Traytors, and all them that took their parts.

Here then began great hatred between King and King, between the King and the Queen, much preparation of War, great spoiling on the Sea, much sending between the Pope and them; but that would not serve. Then the King (by the Counsel of the *Spensers*) sendeth privily to procure the death of the Queen and of his Son; which should be wrought by the execution of the Earl of *Richmond*, the Queens familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrate. Albeit, the Queen yet notwithstanding, (whether misdoubting what corruption of Money might do in the Court of *France*: or whether the *French* King, being threatened by the King of *England*, and by the Pope durst not detain her) removed from thence, and was received, with *Edward* her Son, Joyously and Honorably in the Court or Country of the Earl of *Henawde*. Where by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded between the said *Edward* her Son being of the age of fourteen years, and *Philip* the foresaid Earls Daughter. When this was noised in *England*, divers Men of Honor and name came over to the Queen. And soon after the Earl of *Haynawde* prepared a Crew of five hundred men of Arms to set over the young Prince with his Mother into *England*. Of this the Fame sprang shortly through the Realm. Wherefore the King in all defensible ways made provision to have the Havens and Ports of his Land surely kept, to resist the landing of his Enemies. On the contrary side the Queen with no less preparation provideth all things to her expedition necessary. Who when she saw her time, speeding her self to the Sea Coast with Prince *Edward* her Son, Lord *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the Kings Brother, Sir *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Wygmore* and other Exiles of *England*, accompanied also with the foresaid *Henawders*, of whom Sir *John Henawde* the Earls Brother was Captain, having with her of *English*-men and Strangers, the number of 2757. Souldiers: she took shipping in those parts and had the Wind so favourable, that they landed in *England* at a Port called *Orwel* beside *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, in the Dominion of the Earl *Marshal*, the month of *September*. To whom after her landing resorted Earl *Marshal*, the Earl of *Leicester*, with other Barons, Knights, and Bishops

KING
Edw. 3

The Queen sent to France.

Prince Edward made Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Pontine.

The Queen and the Prince refuse to return into England.

The Queen and the Prince proclaimed Traytors in England.

The King conspired privily the death of the Queen and of his Son.

{ Anno }
1325

Prince Edward betrothed to the Earl of Henawdes Daughter.

The Queen returneth to England.

The landing of the Queen.

KING Bishops also; namely of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Duresme*, and *Ely*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though he came not himself, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the Queen, well furnished with plenty both of men and victual, setteth forward toward *London*: So that the further she came, the more her number daily increased, and the Kings power contrarily decreased; inasmuch that, as mine Author affirmeth, not one almost in all the Realm could be hired with any wages to fight on the Kings behalf against the Queen, neither did the Queens Army hurt any Man or Child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

At the arriving of the Queen, the King was in *London*, which first would not believe it to be true. Afterward (seeing and perceiving how it was) he asketh help of the *Londoners*. Who after mature advisement, rendred this answer to the King again: That as touching the King, the Queen, and their Son (the lawful Heir of the Kingdom) they were ready with all duty and service, to Honor and Obey. As for Strangers and Traytors to the Realm, they would receive none such within their City gates.

Furthermore, to go out of the City to fight, that they said they would not, unless it were so, that according to the Liberties of their City, they might return home again before Sun set. The King hearing this answer (which liked him not well) fortieth the Tower of *London* with men and victual, committing the Custody thereof to *John Ealibam* his younger Son, and to the Wife of *Hugh Spenser* his Niece. And leaving *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter* behind him to have the Rule of the City of *London*, he himself hearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the Queen, for more safeguard to himself, fled with a small Company Westward toward *Wales*.

But before his departing from *London*, he caused a Proclamation to be made, wherein all and singular persons were charged, upon forfeit of life and goods, every Man with all his power to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all, only the life of the Queen, his Son, and his Brother reserved. Also that no Man upon pain Pretaxate, should help, rescue, or relieve the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclaimed, that whosoever would bring to the King the Head and Body of *Sir Roger Mortimer*, either dead or alive, should have out of the Kings Coffers a Thousand pounds.

In contrariwise, the Queen setteth forth another Proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or spoil violently the value of any Mans goods against the will of the Owner, under pain of losing his Finger, if it were three pence: Of his Hand, if it were six pence: Of his Head, if it were twelve pence. Moreover, whosoever would bring to the Queen the Head of *Hugh Spenser* the younger, Chopt off from his Body, should receive for so doing of the Queen, two Thousand pounds. This done the Queen sendeth her Letters to the City of *London* for aid and succor to subdue the oppressor of the Realm, to the which Letters first no answer was made. Again, she wrote the second Letter, which was then Tacked upon the Cross in *Cheape*, which was then called the new Cross. The Copy and Tenor of which Letter was this.

The Copy of a Letter that the Queen sent unto the Maier and Citizens of *London*.

I Sabel by the Grace of God, Queen of England, Lady of Ireland, and Countess of Pountif. And We Edward the first Son of the King of England, Duke of Guayn, Earl of Chester, of Pountif, and of Mounstrel, to the Maier and all the Communalty of *London*, send Greeting. For as much as we have before this time sent to you by our Letters, and how we come into this Land in good Array, and good manner, for the profit of Holy Church, and of our right dear Lord and King, and all the Realm, with all our might and strength to keep and maintain the Realm, as all good people ought to do: and upon that we prayed you and desired you that ye would be helping to us for the health and profit of the Realm; and we have had none answer of you, nor know not your will in that part. Wherefore we send to you again, and pray you, and charge you, that ye bear you so toward us, that ye have nor make us no

cause to grieve, but that ye be helping to us in all the ways that you may. And sweet you well in certain, that we and also those that come with us into this Realm, intend nothing to be done, but what shall be pleasing to God, and the common profit to all the Realm: nor any thing else, but to destroy the *Spensers*, Enemies to the Realm, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the Faith that you owe to our Lord the King, to the Crown and to us, and upon all that we may forfeit, that if *Hugh Spenser*, both the Father and the Son our Enemies, come within your power, that ye cause them hastily to be taken, and safely kept, till we have ordained for them our will, as ye desire Profit and Honour of us, and of the Realm. Understanding well, if it be so that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you. And also we shall do you profit and worship if that you send us hastily word again of your will. Given at *Baldock* the sixth day of October.

These aforesaid Letters being published and perused, the Bishop of *Exeter*, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the Rule of the City, sent to the Maier for the Keyes of the Gates, using so sharp words in the Kings name, that variance began to kindle between him and the Citizens; so far forth that the Commons in their rage took the foresaid Bishop and beheaded him and two of his Household at the Standard in *Cheape*. Then the King went to *Bristow*, and ordained *Sir Hugh Spenser* the Father there to keep the Castle and the Town; and the King with *Hugh Spenser* the Son, and *Sir Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and the Earl of *Arundel* went into *Wales*. And the Queen so pursued them, that first they took the Town yielded up to her; Then they took *Sir Hugh Spenser* the Father, whom being drawn and torn, they at last hanged up at *Bristow* in Chains of Iron. As the King was thus flying, the Queen caused to be proclaimed through her Army, that the King should come and appear, and so receive his Kingdom again, if he would be comfortable to his Liege Subjects. Who when he did not appear, *Prince Edward* his Son was proclaimed high Keeper of the Realm.

In the mean time *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, and Brother to the good Earl *Thomas* which before was beheaded, also Lord *William Souch*, and Master *Upbowel* were sent by the Queen into *Wales* to pursue the King; and there they took him and sent him to the Castle of *Kenelworth*: and took *Hugh Spenser* the Son, and *Sir Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and *Sir John* Earl of *Arundel*, and brought them all to the Town of *Hereford*. And anon after *Hugh Spenser* the Son was drawn and hanged on a Gallows Fifty Foot high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into four quarters of the Realm. *Sir John of Arundel* was beheaded, *Sir Robert Baldock* was put in *Newgate* at *London*, where shortly after he Pined away and died among the Thieves. This done, a Parliament was Assembled at *London*, from whence message was sent to the King, that if he would resign up his Crown, his Son should have it after him: If not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. Whereupon the King, being constrained to yield up his Crown to his Son, was kept in prison, and after had to *Barkley*; where he is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the King half condescending thereunto (the Parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward) there was a Bill exhibited and put up, containing certain Articles against the said King, then in prison in the Castle of *Barkley*, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the Realm: which Bill openly before the Lords and Commons, by the Speaker of the Parliament House was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselves touching those Articles, and also for the better and more circumspect Government of the Realm from that time forth: it was consulted and agreed upon by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons there Assembled, that the said *Edward* was a Man not meet to be their King, nor from that time forth any more to bear the Crown Royal or Title of a King: But that *Edward* his Eldest Son, who there in the same Court of high Parliament was present, as he was rightful Heir and Inheitor thereunto, should be Crowned King thereof in his Fathers stead, with these conditions thereunto annexed, That he should take wife, Sage, and true Counsellors unto him, that the Realm might be better and more cricum-

The Bishop of Exeter beheaded of the Commons at the Standard in Cheape. This Bishop of Exeter was builded in Oxford two Colledges, Exeter Colledge, and Hart-Hall, whose name was Gasler Stapleton.

Hugh Spenser the Father, taken and hanged in Chains.

The King taken in Wales. Hugh Spenser the Son taken and executed.

A Bill exhibited in the Parliament House against King Edward the second.

King Edward deposed by consent of the Parliament House, and his Son Edward chosen King.

spectly governed, than before in the time of *Edward* his Father it was: That the old King his Father should be honourably provided for and kept, so long as he lived, according as unto his estate it appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the Parliament breaketh up, and all things necessary to the Coronation of a Prince appertaining were in speedy wise prepared whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

In the mean time as touching the King which was yet in prison, it is thought by some Writers, that the next year following by the means of Sir *Roger Mortimer* he was miserably slain, with a Spit (as is said) being thrust up into his body, and was buried at *Glocester*, after he had Reigned nineteen years.

Michael
House in
Cambridge
founded.
Henry Stan-
ton founder
of Michael
House in
Cambridge.

In the time and Reign of this King, the Colledge of *Cambridge*, called *Michael House*, was founded and builded by Sir *Henry Stanton* Knight, to the use and increase of learning, a thing in a Commonwealth very profitable and necessary to be had; the want and need whereof, many sundry times, is sooner felt in this Realm of ours and other Realms abroad, than is the discommodity thereof of most Men commonly understood.

Nicholas de
Lyra.
Guilielmus
Ocham.

About the same time also was *Nicholas de Lyra*, which wrote the ordinary Gloss of the Bible. Also *Guilielmus Ocham* a Worthy Divine, and of a right sincere Judgment, as the times then would either give or suffer.

Tyranny
odious to
the people.

In the tractation of this Kings History, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the Hearts of the Barons against the King, for revoking such Acts and Customs, as had been before in the Parliament established, both for *Peter Gaveston*, and for the two *Spencers*. Also what severe punishment the King did execute upon them for the same, in such cruel and rigorous sort, that as he spared none of them, whom he could there find; so he never ceased all his life after to enquire out, and to be revenged of all such, as had been in any part, or consenting to that matter. For the which his extream and implacable Tyranny, he was in such hatred of all the people; that as he said, he could not find one of all the Commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one *Adam Bishop of Hereford*: who being impeached of Treason with other more, was at length arrested in the Parliament to appear and answer to that which should be to him Objected. Many things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the King, with matters more, and Hainous rebukes, &c. Whereunto the Bishop a great while answered nothing.

A spiritual
Bishop cal-
led and ar-
rested be-
fore a Secu-
lar Judge.

Ex Thom.
Walsing.

At length the Bishop claiming the Liberties and Privileges of the Church, answered to the King in this Form. The due Reverence of your Princely Majesty ever saved, *Ego Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dei Minister humilis, membrum ejus, & Episcopus consecratus, licet indignus, ad tam ardua nequeo respondere, nec debeo, absque D. Cant. Archiepiscopi, post summum pontificem mei directi judicis, cujus etiam sum suffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Episcoporum consensu.* That is, I an humble Minister and member of the holy Church of God, and Bishop consecrate (albeit unworthy) cannot, neither ought to answer to these so high matters without Authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* my direct Judge, next under the High Bishop of *Rome*, whose Suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my Fellow Bishops. After which words by him pronounced, the Archbishop and other Bishops with him were ready to make humble Intercession for him to the King, and did. But when the King would not be won nor turned with any supplication; the said Bishop, together with the Archbishop and the Clergy, coming with their Crosses, took him away, Challenging him for the Church, without any more answer making: Charging moreover, under the Censures of the Church and Excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands upon him. The King, moved with this boldness and stoutness of the Clergy commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in Judgment, and the Jury of twelve Men to go upon the inquiry of his Cause: who finding and pronouncing the Bishop to be Guilty, the King caused immediately all his goods and possessions to be confiscated unto himself: Moreover, he made his Plate and all his Household Provision to be thrown out of his House into the Street; but yet he remained so still under the protection and defence of the Archbishop &c.

The Bishop
rescued by
the Clergy.

The King
proceedeth
in judgment
against the
Bishop, the
privileges
of the
Church with-
standing to
the con-
trary.

This Archbishop was *Walter Winchelsey*, after whom succeeded *Simon Mepham* in the same See of *Canterbury*, Anno 1327. Ex Thom. Walsingham.

KING
Edw. 2
Simon Me-
pham Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

After Pope *Clement* the Fifth, by whose decease the *Romish* See stood vacant (as ye have heard) two years and three months, next was Elected Pope *John* the two and twentieth, a *Cistercian* Monk, who fate in that Papacy eighteen years. He was stout and inflexible, given so much to the heaping of riches, that he proclaimed them Here-ticks, which taught that Christ and his Apostles had no possessions of their own in this world. At this time was Emperor *Ludovicus Bavarus*, a worthy Man; who with this Pope, and other that followed him, had no less contention, than had *Fredericus* before mentioned in the time of King *Henry* the Third. Inasmuch that this contention and variance continued the space of four and twenty years. The cause and first origine of this Tragical conflict, rose upon the constitution of *Clement* the fifth Predecessor to this Pope; by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that Emperors, by the German Princes elected, might be called Kings of the *Romans*, but might not enjoy the Title or right of the Empire, to be Nominated Emperors, without their confirmation given by the Pope. Wherefore, this aforesaid Emperor, because he used the Imperial Dignity in *Italy*, before he was Authorised by the Pope; the said Pope therefore Excommunicated the Emperor. And notwithstanding the Emperor oftentimes did proffer himself to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the Pope inflexible would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the said Bishop doth make his vaunt, that he had full power to create and depose Kings and Emperors at his pleasure. In the same time were divers learned Men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallowed the Bishops of *Rome* doings; among whom was *Guilielmus Ocham*, whose Tractations were afterward condemned by the Pope, for writing against the Temporal Jurisdiction of their See. And another named *Marsilius Patavinus*, which Wrote the Book intituled *Defensor Pacis*, which was given into the Hands of the said Emperor; wherein the controversie of the Popes unlawful Jurisdiction in things Temporal is largely disputed, and the usurped Authority of that See set forth to the uttermost. It is found in some Writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the Emperors Secretaries, unknown to the Emperor, in certain of his Letters had likened the Papal See to the beast riling out of the See in the Apocalyphe. At length when the Emperor after much sute made to the Pope at *Avinion*, could not obtain his Coronation; coming to *Rome* he was there received with great Honour, where he with his Wife were both Crowned by the full consent of all the Lords and Cardinals there; and moreover, another Pope was there set up, called *Nicolas* the fifth. After which things done, the Pope not long after departed at *Avinion* in *France*; after whom succeeded then *Benedictus* the twelfth a Monk of *Benedictus* order, and Reigned seven years. Who by the Counsel of *Philip* the French King, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and curtings that *John* his Predecessor had published against *Lewes* the Emperor: Moreover, he deprived him of his Imperial Crown, and also of his Dukedom of *Bavaria*. The Emperor upon this cometh to *Germany*, and Assembling the Princes Electors, Dukes, Bishops, Nobles, and the learned in a Council at *Frankford*, there declared before them out of the Ancient Laws and Customs of the Empire, how it standeth only in the Princes Electors, and in none other to Elect the Kings or the Emperors of the *Romans*, for in both these names was no difference) so that the same Electors, in choosing the King of the *Romans*, did also Elect and chuse the Emperor. Which Emperor so by them constitute had lawful right, without any information of the Apostolical See, to exercise the Administration of the Empire. And if he were lawfully Elect, he ought to be annointed of the *Roman* Bishop: which if he do refuse, then might he be annointed and declared Emperor and *Augustus* by any other Catholick Bishop thereunto appointed; (as by the old manner and custom hath been) especially seeing these Injunctions are but certain solemnities added and invented by the Bishops, only for a token of unity between the Church and Empire, to govern and defend the Faith together. Wherefore in that the Emperor

Pope John
the 21st a
Monk ci-
stercian.

A new
found
Herein
Herein
with the
Pope to
that Christ
and the
Apostles
had no pro-
per posses-
sions here.

Strife be-
tween the
Pope and
the Empe-
ror.

The Empe-
ror Crown-
ed against
the will of
the Pope.
Pope Bene-
dictus the
12th a
Monk of
Benedictus
order.
Ludovicus
the Emperor
deprived
and deposed
by Pope
Benedictus the
12th.
A Council
at Frank-
ford.
The Empe-
ror's Prota-
station to
the Council
of Germany.

swear-

KING swearth to the Bishop of Rome; in that is to be understood no Homage or fealty made to the Bishop, but only it is a Sacrament and a promise given to defend the faith. The which Oath or Sacrament so given, giveth no Majority to the Pope in any temporal Rule, but only bindeth the Emperor to be prest and ready to defend the Faith and Church of Christ, when need shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the Pope leaneth only to the Electors Authority to make the King of Romans, and taketh upon himself alone power to make the Emperor; that, as it is newly brought in and devised of late by Pope Clement the fifth, so is it contrary both to all Ancient Order, and also derogatory to the liberty and Majesty of the sacred Empire. Again, neither is that also less absurd and contrary to all right and reason, that the Pope, in time of the Imperial Seat being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the Empire, as lawful Emperor for the time. Which prerogative and function, by Ancient Orders of our fore-elders, should properly and only appertain to the Palatine of Rhene; the Constitution Clementine of the foresaid Pope Clement to the contrary notwithstanding. Then in the end, for his own excuse, he in the presence of them all reciteth the publick confession of his faith, to answer and purge himself of those objections laid to him by the Pope. This did the meek Emperor Ludovick in that Council. Yet all this notwithstanding, the said Emperor remained still excommunicate, till time that variance fell between this Pope Benedict and Philip the French King. Wherefore to make his party good, at least to have some friends to flee to, he began to pretend favour and absolution, rather for necessity, than for any good will to the Emperor. But not long after, this Pope died; of whom this Epitaph was made.

*Hic situs est Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Devisus a vero, cupa repleta mero.*

En Chron. After whom followed Pope Clement the sixth, a man most furious and cruel. Who renewing again the former Excommunications of his former Predecessors, caused his Letters to be set upon Church doors, wherein he threatened and denounced most terrible Thunderbolts against the said Lewis the Emperor, unless within three days he should satisfy to God and the Church, and renounce the Imperial possession of the Crown. The Emperor upon this cometh to Frankford, and there ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the Pope, sendeth his Orators to the Court of Rome, to intreat the Pope of his favour and good will towards him. To the which Messengers the Pope answered again, that he would never pardon the Emperor, before he gave over and confessed his errors and Heresies, and resigning up his Empire to his hands, would submit himself, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the Bishop; promising that he should not receive again any part of the same, but upon his good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

Heretic of the Pope The Heretic here mentioned, which was to this Emperor objected by the Pope, was this; because (as is above touched) he used and executed the Imperial Dignity after his election, before he was of the Pope confirmed. Over and besides, the Pope sendeth to the Emperor by the said Orators a certain form of a bill contained in writing with certain conditions, which he commanded to be given to the hands of the Emperor. Here if the Emperor Lewis had as much mind to set upon the Pope with dint of sword, as he lacked neither occasion nor power so to do; what blood might here have been spilt? But the good Emperor, sparing the effusion of blood, receiveth gently the bill: and not only with his Seal doth confirm it, but also swearth to observe all the conditions thereof. Which the Pope hearing of, doth greatly marvel. But yet all this would nothing help to mollifie the modest heart of this Pharo.

The proud heart of the Pope. The Princes and Electors, seeing the Bill of the Articles and conditions, whereof some founded to the malicious defacing and destruction of the Empire, abhorring the wickedness thereof, desired the Emperor to stand to the defence of the Imperial Dominion, as he had begun, promising that their assistance and aid to the uttermost thereunto should not lack. Upon that other Orators were sent to

Pope Clement from the Princes, desiring him to abstain from such manner of Articles conceived against the state and majesty of the Empire. The Pope surmising all this to spring from Lewis the Emperor, to the utter subversion of him and all his posterity, on Maundy-Thursd. blustreth out most black Curies against him, also reneweth all the former Processes of his Predecessor against him, as against both an Heretick and a schismatick: commanding moreover the Princes Electors to proceed in chusing a new Emperor. The Archbishop of Mentz, seeing the innocency of the Emperor, would not consent to the violating of his Majesty; wherefore he was deprived by the Pope of all his Dignities. The other Bishops Electors, as the Archbishop of Colen, which took eight thousand Marks, with the Duke of Saxony, which took two thousand Marks, being corrupted with money by John King of Boheme, elected Charles the Son of the said John; whom Pope Clement effusions in his consistory did approve. Who seeth not here what matter of war and bloodshed was ministred by the Pope between these two Emperors, if the patience of Ludovick had not been more prudent to quench the fire, than the Pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new Emperor elect, sped him to Aquisgrane, according to the custom, there to be Crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the Empress (Ludovicks Wife keeping thereabout) he was repelled. All this happened in the time and Reign of Edward the third, King of England; with whom the said Charles, with the French King, and King of Boheme, set on by the Pope, encountered in war; where the King of England had against them a noble Victory, and slew a great number of the French-men and Almaines, and put Charles the new Emperor to flight. In the mean time, among the Princes and Citizens of Germany what sorrow and what complaints were against Pope Clement and those Electors, it cannot be expressed. For as they were all together at Spire Congregated in a general Assembly, so there was none among them all, that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the Popes process, promising all to adhere and continue faithful subjects to Ludovick, their lawful Emperor. But Ludovick remembering his Oath made before to the Popes bill, voluntarily and willingly gave over his Imperial Dignity, and went to Burgavia; where shortly after, through the procured practice of Pope Clement (as Hieronymus Martinus doth write) poison was given him to drink. After the which being drunk, when he would have vomited out and could not, he took his Horse and went to hunt the Boar, thereby through the chafing and heat of his body to expel the venom. And there the good and gentle Emperor, wickedly persecuted and murdered of the Pope, fell down dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and blessed Martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous doth make a Martyr, what Papist can justly disprove his cause or faith? If persecution joyntly therunto causeth Martyrdom, what Martyr could be more persecuted than he who having three Popes like three Baddogs upon him, at length was devoured by the same? The Princes then hearing of his death, assembled themselves to a new Election, who refusing Charles aforesaid, elected another for Emperor, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who, shortly after falling sick at Frankford, was likewise poisoned through his Physicians servant, whom the foresaid Charles had hired with money to work that feat. Gunterus tasting of the poison, although he did partly cast it up again, yet so much remained within him, as made him unable afterward to serve that place. Wherefore for concord sake, being Counsell'd thereto by the Germans, he gave over his Empire to Charles. For else, great bloodshed was like to ensue. This Charles thus ambitiously aspiring to the Imperial Seat contrary to the minds of the States, and Peers of the Empire, as he did wickedly and unlawfully come by it, so was he by his ambitious guiding, the first and principal mean of the utter ruine of that Monarchy. For that he, to have his Son set up Emperor after him, convented and granted to the Princes Electors of Germany all the publick Taxes and Tributes of the Empire. Which covenant, being once made between the Emperor and them, they afterward held so fast, that they caused the Emperor to swear never to revoke or call back again the same. By reason whereof, the Tribute of the Countries of Germany, which then belonged

Lewis the Emperor accused by the Pope for an Heretick

A good and faithful Archbishop of Mentz.

Bishops corrupted with money.

The Pope forced of discord and bloodshed.

The Pope again stirreth up Wars.

Charles the new Emperor put to flight by the Englishmen.

Ludovick, the right Emperor resigneth up his Empire.

Ludovick the Emperor poisoned.

Ludovicks Emperor and Martyr.

Gunterus de Monte Nigro, made Emperor.

Gunterus right Emperor poisoned.

The ruine of the German Empire, and the first cause thereof.

only to the Emperor for the sustentation of his Wars, ever since to this day is dispersed diversly into the hands of the Princes, and free Cities within the said Monarchy. So that both the Empire being disurnished and left desolate, and the Emperors weakened thereby; they have neither been able sufficiently since to defend themselves, nor yet to resist the *Turk*, or other foreign Enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye have heard, may be imputed unto the Popes, &c. *Hieronymus Marinus.*

This Pope Clement first reduced the year of Jubilee to every fiftieth year, which before was kept but on the hundredth year. And so he, being absent to *Avinion* (which he then purchased with his money to the See of *Rome*) caused it to be celebrated at *Rome*, Anno 1350. In the which year were numbred, of *Peregrines* going in and coming out every day at *Rome*, to the estimation of five thousand. *Premonstrat.* The Bull of Pope Clement, given out of this present year of Jubilee, proceedeth in these words as followeth, *What person or persons soever, for devotion sake, shall take their Peregrination unto the holy City, the same day when he setteth forth out of his house, he may chuse unto him what Confessor or Confessors either in the way or where else he listeth: unto the which Confessors we grant, by our Authority, plenary Power to absolve all Cases Papal, as fully as if it were in our proper Person there present. Item, we grant that whosoever being truly confessed shall chance by the way to die, he shall be quit and absolved of all his sins. Moreover, we command the Angels of Paradise to take his Soul out of his Body, being absolved, and to carry it into the Glory of Paradise, &c.* And in another Bull, *We will (saith he) that no pain of Hell shall touch him; granting moreover to all and singular person and persons, signed with the holy Cross, Power and Authority to deliver and release three or four Souls, whom they list themselves, out of the pains of Purgatory, &c.*

This Clement (as mine Author affirmeth) took upon him so prodigally in his Popedom, that he gave to his Cardinals of *Rome* Bishopricks and Benefices, which then were vacant in *England*, and began to give them new Titles for the same Livings he gave them in *England*. Wherewith the King (as good cause he had) was offended, and undid all the provisions of the Pope within his Realm: Commanding, under pain of Imprisonment and Life, no man to be so hardy, as to induce and bring in any such provisions of the Pope, any more within his Land. And under the same punishment he charged the two Cardinals to avoid the Realm, Anno 1343. In the same year of the tenths, as well of the Templars as of other spiritual men, were given and paid to the King through the whole Realm, Anno 1343. And thus much concerning good *Ludwick* Emperor and Martyr, and Pope Clement the Sixth his enemy. Wherein, because we have a little exceeded the course of years whereat we left, let us return somewhat back again, and take such things in order as belong to the Church of *England* and *Scotland*, setting forth the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, and the doings of the Church which in his time have happened, as the Grace of Christ our Lord will assist and enable us thereunto.

This foresaid King *Edward* the Second in his time builded two Houses in *Oxford* for good Letters, to wit, *Oriel-Colledge*, and *S. Mary-Hall*.

Here I omit also by the way the furious Outrage and Conflict which happened in the time of this King, a little before his death, Anno 1236, between the Townsmen and the Abbey of *Bury*; wherein the Townsmen gathering themselves together in a great multitude (for what cause or old grudge between them, the Register doth not declare) invaded and sackt the Monastery. And after they had imprisoned the Monks, they rifled the goods and treasure of the whole house, spoiling and carrying away their Plate, Money, Copes, Vestiments, Censers, Crosses, Chalice, Basons, Jewels, Cups, Masses, Books, with other Ornaments and Implements of the house, to the value unestimable. In the which Conflict, certain also on both sides were slain. Such was the madness then of that people, that when they had gathered unto them a great concourse of Servants and light persons of that Country to the number of twenty thousand, to whom they promised liberty and freedom; by virtue of such writs which they had out of that house, first they got into their hands all their Evidences, Copies and Instruments, that they could find; then they took off the lead;

that done, setting fire to the Abbey-Gates, they burnt up near the whole house. After that they proceeded further to the Farms and Granges belonging to the same Abbey, whereof they wasted, spoiled and burnt to the number of two and twenty Manor places in one week, transporting away the Corn, Horses, Cattel, or other moveables belonging to the same, the price whereof is registered to come to 922 l. 4 s. 11 d. besides the valuation of other riches and treasure within the Abbey, which cannot be esteemed.

The Abbot was all this space at *London* in the Parliament, by whose procurement at length such rescue was sent down, that 24 of the chief of the Town (submitting themselves) were committed to ward; Carts full of the Townsmen were carried to *Norwich*, of whom 19 were there hanged, divers convict were put to prison. The whole Township was condemned in seven score thousand pound to be paid for damages of the house. *John Berton* Alderman, *W. Herling*, with 32 Priests, 13 women, and 138 other of the said Town were outlawed. Of whom divers, after grudging at the Abbot for breaking promise with them at *London*, did confederate themselves together; and privily in the night coming to the Manor of *Chenington*, where the Abbot did lie, brast open the Gates, who then entring in, first bound all his Family; and after they had robbed him of all his Plate, Jewels and Money, they took the Abbot and shaved him, and secretly with them conveyed him away to *London*; where they removing him from street to street unknown, from thence had him over *Thames* into *Kent*; at length over the Sea they ferried to *Dift* in *Brabant*: where they a sufficient time kept him in much penury, misery and thralldom; till at length the matter being searched out, they were all Excommunicated, first by the Archbishop, then by the Pope. And at last it being known where he was, by his Friends he was delivered and rescued out of the Thieves hands, and finally brought home with procession, and restored to his house again. And thus was that Abbey with the Abbot of the same (for what demerits I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this time, as more largely I have seen in their *Latine* Register. But thus much briefly; the rest I omit here (about the later end of this *Edward* the Second ceaseth the History of *Nic. Trivet*, and of *Flor. Hist.*) passing over to the Reign of the next King.

King Edward the Third.

Concerning the Acts and story of King *Edward* the Second, his depoling, and cruel death, wrought by the false and counterfeit Letter of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, sent in the Kings Name to the Keepers (for the which he was charged, drawn, and quartered,) I have written sufficiently before, and more peradventure than the profession of this Ecclesiastical History will well admit. Notwithstanding, for certain respects and causes I thought somewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both Kings, and such as climb to be about them may take the better example by the same; the one to have the love of his Subjects, the other to learn to flee Ambition, and not bear themselves too brag of their fortune and state, how high soever it be: Considering with themselves nothing to be in this world so firm and sure, that may promise it self any certain continuance, and is not in perpetual danger of mutation, unless it be fastened by God his protection.

After the suppression of this King, as is above expressed, *Edward* his Son was Crowned King of *England*, being about the years of fifteen, and reigned the space of fifty years, who was a Prince of much and great Temperance; in feats of Arms very expert, and no less fortunate and lucky in all his Wars, than his Father was unfortunate before him. For liberality also and clemency he was worthily commended; briefly, in all Princely virtues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable Acts of which Prince, done both in Wars and Peace, as how he subdued the *Scots*, had great Victories by the Sea, how he Conquered *France*, Anno 1332. won *Calice*, 1348. and translated the staple thither, took the *French* King Prisoner, and how the *French* Arms first by him were brought in, and conjoynd with the *English* Arms; also how the Order of the Garter first by the said King was invented and

The year of Jubilee reduced to the fiftieth year.

Pilgrimes in the year of Jubilee at Rome.

The abominable and blasphemous Bull of Pope Clement.

The Pope commandeth the Angels.

Obasphemy of the Pope.

Ex Bulla Clementis.

Ex Chron. Walf. in vii. Edw. 3.

The King resisteth the Pope.

The tenths of Church goods given to the King.

Anno 1326 Oriel-Colledge and S. Mary-Hall in Oxford builded by King Ed. 2. A story of the commotion between the Town and Abbey of Bury.

Ex Latino quodam Registro.

KING Edward 3.

The Abbot robbed.

The Abbot stolen away to Brabant.

The Abbot restored again.

King Edward the Third. Anno 1327.

KING and ordained, Anno 1356. also Anno 1357. How the King in his Parliament at Nottingham decreed, That all such in Flanders, or other where, that had skill in making Cloth, should peaceably inhabit the Land, and be welcome. For three years before that, it was Enacted, That no Wool should be transported over the Sea. Which was to bridle the pride of the Flemmings, who then loved better the Sacks of Wool, than the Nation of Englishmen. All these, with other noble Acts of this worthy Prince, although in other Chronicles they be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I have begun (saying somewhat of each Kings Reign, although not pertinent to our Ecclesiastical History) I have here inserted the same, making haste to other matters, shortly and compendiously abridging them out of divers and sundry Authors together compacted, mentioned in this wise.

The Coronation and Solemnity of King Edward the Third, and all the Pomp thereof was no sooner ended: but Robert of Bruce King of Scotland, understanding the State and Government of the Realm to be (as it was indeed) in the Queen, the young King, the Earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer: And that the Lords and Barons, as he was informed, did scarcely well agree amongst themselves (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling disease) yet thought he this a meet time for his purpose, to make invasion: hoping for as good success and like Victory now, as but lately before he had at the Castle of Eufrivelin. Whereupon, about the Feast of Easter he sent his Embassadors with Heralds and Letters of Defiance to the young King Edward the Third, the Queen and the Council: declaring, that his purpose was with fire and sword to enter and invade the Realm of England &c. The King, Queen, and Council hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedy preparation Mustres to be made throughout all the Realm: appointing to every Band Captains convenient, and at the City of York by a day assigned them, commanding every man to be with all their necessary furniture ready and thoroughly provided. They directed their Letters also with all speed to Sir John of Heinnault, requiring him with such Souldiers and men at Arms as he might conveniently provide in Flanders, Heinnault, and Brabant, to meet the King and Queen upon the Ascension-day next ensuing at their City of York.

The King and Queen made speedy preparation for this Expedition: the Noblemen provided themselves of all things necessary thereunto: the English Captains and Souldiers (their Bands thoroughly furnished) were ready at their appointed time and place: Sir John of Heinnault, Lord Bedmount mustering his men as fast, was ready to take shipping: where at Wyfant (in English Bottoms, there lying for him ready) he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at Dover, travelling from thence by small Journeys daily, till he came within three days after the Feast of Pentecost to the City of York: where the King and Queen with a great Power of 60000 men (within and about the City of York) expected his coming: Before whom, in courteous wise he presented himself, and mustered his Troop, wherein he had to the number of 500 good men at Arms well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture was well liked both of the King and Queen: and he was by the Harbinger appointed to be lodged, with his Household retinue, in the Abbey of white Monks. To be brief, such grudge and variance fell between some of the Kings Souldiers and his, within the Suburbs of the Town being together lodged, that from the little to the more, whilst the King and Queen with divers other of the Nobles, (strangers and others) were at dinner, the said Fray so greatly increased, that the whole Army, so many as were in the Town then lodged, stood to their defence: so that there were slain of the English Archers in short space by the strangers to the number of 300 men. Whereupon grew (after the Fray was with much difficulty both of the King and Queen ended) such heart-burning between the parties; as that the number of 6000 conspired together against them, thinking to have burnt them in their Lodgings; had they not been, by the great Grace of God and discreet handling, otherwise prevented and let. Whereupon the Heinnaults were fain to take and keep the field, using as diligent watch and ward, as though they had been among their Hostile Enemies. After this, the King set forward his Army towards Durham, and encamped himself near

about the same; who also sent the Lord Vifford and the Lord Mounbrey to Carlisle with a sufficient Company to keep that Entrance; and also the Lord Marshall of England to keep the Town of New-Castle with a sufficient Company to defend the same, and the Country adjoining. For well knew the King, that by one of these two Entries the Scots must pass into England, standing both of them upon the River of Tyne, 24 miles distant.

But the Scots privily with their Army passed the River betwixt the two Towns into England, few understanding thereof, till that the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England, bewrayed them: who came burning and destroying the Country all about as far as Stanop Park. This thing being declared to the King, he commandeth his Host with all speed to march towards them; which he so long travelled that they came in fight each of other. The King also commanded the passages of the River to be so straitly and narrowly guarded, that by no means the Scots could retire and have escaped back again into Scotland, without battel given them of the King. But the Scots, understanding the great Power the King was of, kept always the advantage of the Hills, retiring in the nights from one to another: that without great odds and advantage on the one side, and hazard to the other, the King could not set upon them.

Thus in the day time the Scots keeping the advantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring to the advantage of such other like, came near against that River where they first passed over, where they made a shew to offer battel to the King upon the morrow. Whereupon the King being busied in putting his men and battels in a readiness to fight the next morning, being almost foreworn in pursuing the Scots from place to place: the Scots in the mean season gate over the River, and escaped the danger of the King. Which thing as it could not be done without great Treason of some near about the King; so Sir Roger Mortimer was grievously suspected thereof, and after it was laid unto his Charge. But to be short, by this means the Scots escaped the River; after whom it should have availed the King very little to have made pursuit, as the wily Scots knew full well. For the joy whereof, the Lord William Douglas, one of the Scots Generals, with 200 horses, gave alarum in the Kings Camp; and came so near, that he cut certain of the lines of the Kings Tent in sunder with his Sword, and retired to his Company without great loss of any of his men. Then on the morrow the King, perceiving the Scots to be gone, came to the place where over-night they lodged, where were found 500 great Oxen and Kine ready killed; five hundred Cauldrons made of Beasts skins full of flesh, over the fire seethings; a thousand Spits full of flesh ready to be roasted, and more than 10000 shoes of raw Leather (the hair still upon the same) which the Scots had left behind them; and five poor English Prisoners tied to Trees, and their legs broken. All which the King seeing, returned with his Army (and left any further pursuing the Scots) to Durham: where he dismissed his Army, and came again to London, sending with Sir John of Heinnault two hundred men at Arms for their better safeguard against the English Archers (with whom at York, as you have heard, they frayed) till they had taken shipping, and so returned home.

The King then being at London, confirmed the Liberties of the Citizens, and Ordained, That the Mayor should sit in all places as chief Justice within the Liberties of the same. And that what Alderman soever had been Mayor before, should be a Justice of Peace within his own Ward.

Then the King, the Queen, and the Council sent over to the Earl of Heinnault certain Embassadors, touching the Solemnization of the Marriage between the King and the Lady Philip his Daughter: who in such sort sped their Message, that she was soon after conveyed over to England very honourably, and at Dover arrived. And from thence she came to London (some Chronicles affirm to York) where upon the day of the Conversion of S. Paul, the year above specified, the Marriage and Coronation of the Queen was with much Triumph during the space of three weeks solemnized.

After which Coronation and Marriage, the King summoned his Parliament to be kept at Northampton: where, at, by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer and the old Queen,

Carlisle and New-Castle then the Keys of England. Northward kept with Garrison.

The Scots privily pass over the River of Tyne, burning and spoiling the Country all about.

The Kings Army and the Scots are so near, that each seeth other.

The Scots through Treason escape out of England unfought withall.

The provision left in the Scots Camp.

The King returneth to London.

The marriage of King Edward solemnized.

A Parliament at Northampton.

Queen, a Peace was purchased for the Scots (who had for that purpose sent their Embassadors) for four years to endure. Also the King (then being within age) granted to release the Scots of all their Homage and Fealty unto the Realm of England, which by their Charter enfealed they were bound to; as also their Indenture, which was called the *Ragman Role*, wherein was specified the foresaid Homage and Fealty to the King and Crown of England, by the said King of Scots, Nobles, and Prelates to be made; having all their Seals annexed to the same. Also there was then delivered unto them the black Cross of Scotland, which King Edward before for a rich Jewel and Relique had conquered and brought from *Scone Abbey*; with all such Rights and Titles as any the Barons else had enjoyed in the said Realm of Scotland, with many other things more, to the great prejudice both of the Realm, and discontent of all the Nobles and Barons for the most part, more than the old Queen, Sir Roger Mortimer and the Bishop of Ely. Who in such sort ruled the Rost, that all the rest of the Nobles and Barons cast with themselves how best they might redress and remedy the great inconveniences, that unto the Realm by means of them grew and happened. Whereupon the King and Queen, and Sir Roger Mortimer, caused another Parliament to be called at *Salisbury*; where the said Sir Roger Mortimer was made Earl of *March*, against all the Barons wills, to prevent and disappoint the foresaid purpose of them; but the Earl Henry of *Lancaster*, with others, would not be at the same: wherefore it was laid unto their Charges, that they went about to conspire the Kings death.

And further, for that the King was as well under the Government of the Earl of Kent his Uncle, as the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *March*; and for that they could not do in all things as they listed for the said Earl the Kings Uncle, who loved the King and the Realm: envy began to rise between the Earl Mortimer and him; and, by Isabel the Queens practice, he found the means to persuade the King, that the Earl of Kent (to enjoy the Crown, as next Heir unto the King) went about to poison him. Whereunto the King giving light credit caused his said Uncle to be apprehended; and, without answer making to his Accusation and Accusers, to be beheaded at *Winchester*, the third of October, and third year of his Reign. But the just Judgment of God not permitting such odious Crimes in him to be unpunished nor undetected, so in time it fell forth, that Isabel the old Queen, the Kings Mother, was found and understood to be with child by the said Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the King, as also of the killing of King Edward his Father, and of the Conspiracy of him against the Earl of Kent the Kings Uncle before put to death. Whereupon, divers other Articles laid against him, and manifestly read in the Court, he was arraigned and indicted, and by Verdict found guilty; having his Judgment as in cases of High Treason, and suffered death accordingly at *London*: where, upon *London Bridge*, next unto *Spencers*, his head obtained a place. The Queen his Mother also (by good advice of Council) was restrained of her liberty, and within a certain Castle not permitted once to come abroad: Unto whom the King her Son once or twice a year would resort, and visit her.

This year Prince Edward was born at *Woodstock*; who in process of time and years grew to be a most valiant Prince, and was, before he died, accounted throughout the world the Follower of Chivalry.

After this the King prepared another Army into Scotland in the year prefixed. But first he summoned King David of Scotland, who had (in the last truce, four years to continue as you heard, his Father then living) married the Lady *Jane*, Sister to the King; (termed *Jane Makepeace*) to do his Homage to the King; but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithall the scoffing Rimes, which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouths; he did so much, that with an Army well furnished he entered Scotland by the River *Twede*; for the Scots had then the possession of the Town of *Barwick*. The Scottish Gigs and Rimes were these, *Long Beards heartless, Painted Hoods witless; Gay Coats graceless, Makes England thrifless*. To be short, the King wasted the Land, burnt, destroyed, and took Towns and Castles with small resistance or none: and the space of six months together did in that Land what him listed, without any

battel offered to him. For the King of Scots was but a Child, and not above the age of 15 years, and wanted good Captains that should have defended the Realm: inasmuch that they were all slain, saving those that kept in Holds for their defence, to take the Forest of *Godworth*, and there kept themselves so long as the King remained in Scotland. Who at length, when he had sufficiently waited, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned toward *Barwick*, about the which he bent his Siege, vowing not to remove the same, till he had gotten the Town.

The Scots that kept the same, after a certain time and many Assaults made, were contented upon certain conditions to have delivered up the Town. But that the King refused, unless that, all conditions set apart, they would with bag and baggage depart. Whereupon they condescended to the King, that if by a certain time they were not by the King of Scots rescued, they would render up the Town, and with bag and baggage depart: and so the time expired, frustrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The King then entered the Town, and tarried there the space of twelve days: who after he had appointed Sir *Edward Bailew* Captain over the Town, and leaving also behind him other Knights, Squires, and Souldiers, as well to keep the same as other Holds the King had conquered in Scotland and Frontiers thereof; he returned with his people towards *London*, permitting every man to depart and go what way them liked.

Then Sir Robert de Artois, a Nobleman of France, and which descended of the blood Royal, being in England with the King, ceased not oftentimes to advertise the King, and put him in memory of his good and right Title to the Inheritance of the Crown of France. This Sir Robert for a certain displeasure that Philip the French King took against him for a certain Plea which by him was moved before the King; was fain for the safeguard of his life to flee the Realm of France, and so come to the Kings Court. King Edward was not unwilling at all to hear thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his Right, Title, and Inheritance to the Crown of France. But yet notwithstanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without advised and circumspect counsel; for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult importance: neither yet he took it to deserve the same either of wisdom or prowess to let so good a Title die, or so fit opportunity to pass. Wherefore he, calling together certain of his Council, used their deliberate advices touching the seriousness of this matter. In time, it was by them thought good, that the King should send certain Embassadors over to the Earl of *Heinault*, whose Daughter he had married, as well to hear his advice and counsel herein; as also what Friends and Aid, by him and his means, in this so great an Expedition to be begun in the Empire, to him might be procured. The King hereunto condescended, and appointeth for this Embassage the Bishop of *Lincoln* with two other Baronets, and two Doctors: who in such speedy wise made their Voyage, that in short space they returned again to the King with this answer, That not only the Earl his council and advice should be herein prest to the King of England their Master, but also the whole Country of *Heinault*. And further, for that to such an Expedition as appertained, he said, The Province of *Heinault* was but a small matter to make account of; he would procure for the King greater Aid and Friendship in the Empire, as the Duke of *Brabant* his Colin-German, and a puissant Prince, the Duke of *Guerles*, the Archbishop of *Coloyn*, the Marquess of *Juliers*, &c. which are all good men of War, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, faith he. Which answer well liked the King, and made him joyous thereof. But this counsel of the King, as secret as it was, came to Philip the French Kings ears: whereupon he stayed the Voyage of the Cross which then he had in hand, sending forth Countermands to stay the same, till he knew further the purpose of the King of England.

The King hereupon himself taketh shipping accompanied as to a King appertained, and when he had consulted with all the foresaid Lords of the Empire in this matter, and understood their fidelity; he made his repair to the Emperor, at whose hands he was well entertained, and honourably received, whom the Emperor appointed

The Ragman Role delivered up to the Scots.

The black Cross of Scotland.

The Barons give up their Titles in Scotland.

A Parliament at Salisbury.

Earl Henry of Lancaster refuseth to come to the Parliament.

The Earl of Kent put to death guiltless.

The Queen with child by Sir Roger Mortimer.

Sir Roger Mortimer Earl of March arraigned, condemned, and put to execution. The Queen put in prison, and so kept a long time.

The birth of Prince Edward.

The Expedition of King Edward into Scotland.

The Scottish Rimes.

King Edward wasteth and destroyeth the Realm of Scotland.

KING Edward.

Barwick besieged and yielded up to the King.

The King entereth the Town of Barwick, and appointeth the Captain thereof.

Sir Robert de Artois a Nobleman of France inciteth the King to prosecute his Title in France.

The King deliberateth with his council concerning the Title of France. Embassadors are sent to the Earl of Heinault concerning the Title.

The Embassadors return with answer from the Earl that pleaseth the King.

King Philip of France heareth of the Kings purpose, and stayeth his Voyage of the Cross.

KING pointed to be his Lieutenant-General, having thereby more Authority both to will and command such as for this his Expedition he fited unto, and had made convention with. *Philip* hearing this, prepared his Army, and rigged his Navy, that so soon as the King should enter into the Dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

The King of England, after the Feast of S. John Baptist, according to his purpose prepared all things ready to such an Expedition, conducting his Army, and gathering a greater strength in the Empire, as before to him was promised, using the Emperors Authority therein, as his Lieutenant-General, howbeit at the charge altogether of the King of England. The French King, as soon as King Edward had landed his Army at *Macheline* in *Flanders*, hearing of the defiance, which the King and other Noblemen of the Empire had sent unto him, sent certain Ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for such opportunity upon the Coast of England; which upon a Sunday, whilst the Townsmen were at the Church little looking for any such matter, entred the Haven of *Southampton*, took the Town and spoiled the same, deflowered Maidens, enforced Wives, burnt, kill'd, took Captives, and carried away rich Spoils and great Booties to their Ships, and so again departed into France. Further as the King of England had allied himself with the Noblemen of the Empire, and had the friendly favour of the Emperor also thereunto: so the French King made the like League and Alliance with *David* the King of Scots, whom the King had so hardly dealt withall in Scotland (as partly before you heard) and kept the most part of Scotland under his Subjection: Binding the said *David* as well by writing as oath and pledge, that without his consent he should make no peace, nor conclude any truce with the King of England. Who again assured him of Aid, and Rescue, and Help, and to recover his Kingdom and Dominion to his use: and forthwith sent certain Garrisons and Bands into Scotland, to keep play with the Englishmen, and there to fortifie divers places till further opportunity served. He also fortified with men, money, victual, and munition, the Town of *Cambrey*: which he suspected would be besieged, lying so near upon the Empire, as indeed it came to pass. For King Edward, departing from *Macheline*, set forward his Host toward *Heimault*, and by the way assembled such Power as in the Empire he looked for, marching forward still till that they came to *Cambrey*, and besieged it with 40000 men, while that with another Company the *Flemings*, *Brabanters*, and *Hollanders*, went to *S. Quintin*. But in effect, neither there, nor at *Cambrey*, nor else-where, any thing notorious was atchieved. But the Summer being well spent, and little prevailing in the Siege of *Cambrey*, being of situation strong and well defended therewithall with men and munition, he brake up the Siege, and marched further into the heart of France towards *Mutterel*. Which thing the French King having understanding of, prepared himself to give battel to the King of England, who with another great Army came to *Vromfosse*, where days were appointed to meet in battel: but in the end, nothing was done nor attempted between the Princes. And the King of England (without any battel either giving or taking) returned with his Army from thence to *Gaunt*. Concerning the cause of the sudden removing of the King out of France, it seemeth most specially to rise of the Pope: which at the same time sent down his Legates, for the Order of a peace to be taken between the Kings. At *Gaunt* were gathered by the Kings appointment all the Nobles as well of England, as of the Empire in Council together what was best to be done. What plain answer was made to the King of England, that unless he would take upon him the Claim and Title of France, as his lawful Inheritance, and as King thereof prosecute his Wars; it might not be lawful for them any further to Aid the King of England, or to fight with him against the French King: for that the Pope had bound them in two Millions of *Florens* of Gold, and under pain of Excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawful King of France. Whereupon, the King thought good therefore presently to make open Challenge to the Realm and Crown of France: and further, to quarter and intermingle the Arms of France with the Arms of England in one Scutcheon. Where-

King Edward assigned Lieutenant-General of the Empire.

The first Voyage of King Edward into France.

Southampton, burnt of the Frenchmen.

The Scots stirred up against England by the French King.

The Pope cause of the Kings removing out of France.

Anno 1340.

The King of England taketh the Title of France.

upon effsoons King Edward made answer unto the Pope again, directing unto him his Letters, wherein he declareth at large his Right and Title unto the Crown of France, purging thereby himself and his cause unto the Bishop. The Copy and tenour of which Letter, because it is too long to express, it is to be found in story of *Tho. Walsingham*, remaining in the Library of *J. Stephenson* Citizen of London, who so hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this Letter to the Pope, he directed another to the Peers and Prelates of France (he remaining yet at *Gaunt*) in tenour as followeth.

The Letter of King Edward to the Nobles and Commons of France.

Edward by the Grace of God King of France and of England, Lord of Ireland. Unto all Prelates and Ecclesiastical Persons, to the Peers, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and to the Commons of France, greeting. The high Lord and King above, to whom although his Will be in his own Power, yet would that Power should be subject unto Law; commanding every thing to be given unto him which is his, declaring thereby that Justice and Judgment ought to be the preparation of the Kings Seat. Wherefore seeing the Kingdom of France, through the Providence of God, by the death of Charles last King of France of famous memory, Brother-German to our Lady Mother, is fallen unto us by plain and manifest Law; And forasmuch as Lord Philip de Valois, being the Son of the Uncle of the foresaid King, and so being far from the Crown by a farther degree of Consanguinity, through force and usurpation hath intruded himself in the foresaid Kingdom (whilst we were yet in our Minority) and so contrary both to God and to Justice doth detain and occupy the same; And lest we should seem to neglect our own Right and the Gift given us of God, or not to submit our Will to Gods Ordinance: We have thought good to acknowledge the Title of France, and by supportation of the Almighty King have taken upon us the Defence and Regiment of the said Kingdom; Firmly purposing with our selves (as every good man ought to do) graciously to minister Justice to every one, according to the Rites and laudable Custom of the foresaid Kingdom. Also to renew the good Laws and Customs which have been in the time of Ludovike our Progenitor; adding moreover, that which shall seem expedient according to the condition and quality of the time. As any change of Coin, or any other inordinate Exactions, we intend not to seek our Profits by your Detriments: when as (the Almighty be praised therefore) we abound and have enough. And as concerning the Affairs of the Realm, our purpose is not to proceed rashly or by our own will, but by the discreet advice and counsel of the Peers, Prelates, Nobles, and other our faithful Subjects of the Kingdom, so far forth as shall make for the Honour of God, the Defence and Advancement of the Church (which in all fulness of devotion we do reverence) and to the profit both publick and private of all the Subjects thereof, with full execution of Justice by the Grace of God to be executed upon all and singular persons, being earnestly careful for the Honour, profit, and tranquility of you all. For, as the Lord knoweth, nothing shall be more grateful to us, than that by our careful solicitude, peace may be engendered, specially betwix us, and universally among all Christian men: so that by our concord the force and strength of all Christian Princes may be joyned together for the recovery of the holy Land: which our Saviour and Redeemer hath dedicated with his own proper blood; whereunto we will endeavour our selves through the Grace of the Holy Ghost. And forasmuch as we have offered to the foresaid Lord Philip divers friendly and reasonable conditions of Peace, whereunto he would neither condescend, neither agree to any Conformation; yea, rather moveth against us unjust War, so the utter subversion of our State: we are enforced of necessity to the uttermost of our Power (for the defence both of us, and recovery of our Right) to defend our selves by force of battel; not seeking any slaughter of good and humble Subjects, but desiring their safeguard and profit.

For the which cause, all and singular such Subjects of the Kingdom of France, which shall submit themselves

King Edward to the Nobles and Commons of France.

The Title of France how it came to King Edward.

Note the greatness of this time when the blood of Christ was thought but only dedicated to the holy Land.

to us as the true King of France, at or before the Feast of Easter next ensuing; professing unto us their Fealty, and doing to us as to the King of France by duty appertaineth, so as our beloved Subjects of Flanders have done already, or be ready to offer themselves so to do; all such we willingly admit and receive to our Peace and Grace under our Protection to be defended, them to maintain as is convenient from all molestation and inquietness whatsoever, in person or goods hereafter to be enforced either by us or by our Officers; upon whatsoever occasion of Rebellion afore passed. And forasmuch as the premises cannot easily be intimated to all and singular persons; we have provided the same to be fixed upon Church doors, and other publick places, whereby the manifest notice thereof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to us devout, and to the true information of them, which through sinister surmises of our Enemies are otherwise informed of us. Dated at Gaunt the 8th of February, the year of our Kingdom of France the first, of England the 14th.

Southampton burnt and spoiled By the Frenchmen.

This done, for that the Winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the time served, of farther doing good; the King thought best for a season to return again to England with his Company, giving over the Wars until the next Spring; and so did, taking shipping, and so arrived at Dover. When he came to London, it was declared unto him, of the great spoil the Frenchmen had made at Southampton: who answered again, That within one year he doubted not but the same should be well paid for and recompensed. And according to the same purpose of his he lingered no time, but calling a Parliament at Westminster, with much grudge and evil will of his Subjects there was for the maintenance of his Wars granted to him a great Subsidy, which was the fifth of every mans goods, and also the Customs of his Wools two years before hand, and the ninth Sheaf of every mans Corn. At the Spring the King again prepared his Army, and rigged his Navy, purposing to land in Flanders. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Lord Chancellor, having understanding of the French Power upon the Sea, lying for the King, gave him advertisement there, willing him to go more strongly, or else not to venture. But the King not crediting the Archbishop, and being angry with him therefore, said, That he would go forward: whereupon the Bishop resigned the Chancellorship, and removed himself from his Council: then the King consulting hereupon farther with the Lord Morley his Admiral, and others (hearing also the fame of them) furnished himself with stronger Power, and committed him to his Ship: and did so much, that a few days before Midsummer, he was upon the Sea with a great Fleet. Before the Town of Sluse, the French King to stop his passage, had laid ready a great Navy, well near to the number of twenty score Sail; and had made the Christopher of England (which before the Frenchmen took at Southampton) their Admiral: betwixt which two Navies was a long and terrible fight. But in the end, the Victory by Gods Grace fell to the King of England, in which fight he himself was personally. So that of the number of thirty thousand Frenchmen, few or none were left and escaped alive, and two hundred Sail of Ships taken: in one of the which were found 400 dead bodies.

Counsel of the Archbishop given to the King.

Battel upon the Sea between King Edward and the Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen beaten upon the Sea.

The words of the Fool to the French King

After this great slaughter of the Frenchmen (of whom many for fear of the Sword leapt into the Sea) when no man durst bring tydings thereof to the French King; they which were next about the King did suborn his Fool, to insinuate the understanding thereof by subtilty of covert words; which was thus. As the forsaide Fool being in the Kings presence, and was talking of many things; among other talk he suddenly braut out (being prompt by others) into a vehement railing against the Englishmen, calling them Cowards and Dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The King not knowing whereunto the words of the Fool did appertain, asked the Fool, Why he called the Englishmen such Weaklings and Cowards, &c. Why, saith the Fool? Because the fearful and cowardly Englishmen had not the hearts to leap into the Sea so lustily, as our Normans, and Gentlemen of France had. Whereby the French King began to understand the Victory of his part to be lost, and the Englishmen to be Victors.

This Victory atchieved, the fame thereof spreading abroad in England, first was not believed, till Letters thereof came from the King to Prince Edward his Son being then at Waltham, directed to the Bishops and Prelates of the Realm: the effect of which Letters here followeth under written.

KING Edward 3

The bountiful benignity of Gods great Clemency poured upon us of late, for your true certification and rejoicing, we thought good to intimate unto you. It is not unknown (we suppose) to you, and to other our faithful Subjects, which also have been partakers with us of the same, with what storms of boisterous Wars of late we have been tossed and shaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the rising surges of the Sea be marvelous, yet more marvelous is the Lord above: who turning the Tempest into a Calm, in so great dangers, so mercifully hath respected us. For whereas we of late did ordain our passage upon urgent causes into Flanders: the Lord Philip de Valois our bitter Enemy understanding thereof, laid against us a mighty Navy of Ships, intending thereby either to take us, or at least to stop our Voyage. Which Voyage if it had been staid, it had been the cutting off of all the great Enterprizes by us intended and taken in hand, and moreover we our selves had been brought to a great confusion. But the God of Mercies, seeing us so distressed in such perils and dangers, hath graciously and beyond mans expectation sent to us great succour and strength of fighting Souldiers, and a prosperous Wind after our own desires. By the means and help whereof, we set out of the Haven into the Seas, where we espiesons perceived our Enemies well appointed and prepared with a main multitude to set upon us, upon Midsummer-day last past. Against whom notwithstanding Christ our Lord and Saviour hath rendred to us the Victory, through a strong and vehement Conflict. In the which Conflict, a mighty number of our Enemies were destroyed, and well near all their whole Navy was taken; with some loss also of our part, but nothing like in comparison to theirs. By reason whereof we doubt not but our passage by the Seas hereafter shall be more quiet and safe for our Subjects, and also many other Commodities shall ensue thereof, as we have good cause to hope well of the same. For which cause we, devoutly considering the heavenly Grace so mercifully wrought upon us, do render most humble Thanks and Praise to Christ our Lord and Saviour: Beseeching him, that as he hath been and always is ready to prevent our necessities in time of opportunity, so he will continue his helping hand ever towards us, and so to direct us here temporally, that we may reign and joy with him in heaven eternally. And in like sort we require your Charity, that you also with us rising up to the praise of God alone, who hath begun so favourably to work with us to our goodness, in your Prayers and Divine Service do instantly recommend us unto the Lord, travelling here in these foreign Countries, and studying to recover not only our Right here in France; but also to advance the whole Catholick Church of Christ, and to Rule our people in Justice. And that also ye call upon the Clergy and people, every one through his Diocess to do the same, invoking the Name of our Saviour, that of his mercy he will give to us his humble Servant a docible heart, so to Judge and Rule hereupon rightly, doing that which he hath commanded, that at length we may attain to that which he hath promised, &c. Which Letter was written to the Bishops and Prelates, Anno 1340.

The Letter of King Edward to the Bishops of England.

After this foresaid Victory upon the Sea, and News thereof, with due Thanks to our Saviour, sent into England: the King striking into Flanders, came to Gaunt in Brabant, where he had left the Queen; who joyfully received him, being a little before purified or churched, as we term it, of her fourth Son, whose name was John, and commonly called John of Gaunt, and was Earl of Richmond, and Duke of Lancaster. At Villenorth the King assembled his Council, whereto the Noblemen of Flanders, Brabant, and Heynalt conjoyning together in most firm League, the one to help and defend the other, with the King of England, against the French King, purposing and determining from thence to march toward Tourney, and it to besiege. But the French King, understanding their counsel, fortified and victualled the same before their coming thither. Further-

A Council at Villenorth. Flanders, Brabant and Heynalt take part with King Edward.

KING Furthermore the said French King the same time, to stop the Siege of King Edward, sent with King David of Scotland a great Power, to that intent to make invasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the King to remove his Siege. In the mean time King Edward wrote his Letters to Philip de Valois, making unto him certain Requests; as in the same his Letters here following is to be seen: who, for that he wrote not unto him as King of France, but by the name of Philip de Valois, refused to answer him touching the same, as by their Letters here placed may be seen.

The Letter of the King of England, to Philip de Valois, the French King, going to the Siege of Tournay.

The Letter of King Edward to the French King.
Philip de Valois, of long time we have gently requested you by our Embassadors (by all the reasonable means we might) to that intent you should have rendered unto us our lawful Right and Inheritance to the Crown of France, which from us a long time you have by great wrong and force detained. And for that we well perceive you mean to persevere in the same your purpose and injurious detinue, without making any reasonable answer to our demand: We let you understand, that we are entred into the Country of Flanders, as the Sovereign Lord of the same, and so pass through the Country. And further signifie unto you, how that by the help of our Saviour Jesus Christ and our righteous Cause therein, and with the Power of the said Country, our People and Allies, we purpose to recover the Right which we have to that Inheritance you detain from us by your injurious force, and therefore approach we towards you to make a short end of this our rightful Challenge, if you also will do the like. And for that so great an Host assembled as we bring with us on our part (supposing you also on the other part to do the like) cannot long remain together without great destruction both to our People and Country, which thing every good Christian ought to eschew; especially Princes and others which have the Government of the same, avoiding, by as short an end as may be, the mortality of Christian men, according as the quarrel is apparent between you and me: For the which causes here touched, let the Challenge (if you think meet) between our own persons and bodies be discussed, that the great Nobility and Prowess of each other, may of every one be seen. And if you refuse this way, then let there (to finish this Challenge) be an hundred of the best Souldiers you can choose out of your part matched with so many of our Liege-Subjects to try the same. And if of these two ways you refuse both the one and the other, then that you will assign unto us a certain day before the Town of Tournay, to fight with us Power against Power, which may be within ten days next ensuing after the date of these our Letters: offering the said conditions unto you above specified (as we would all the world to know and understand) not upon any orgoil, presumption or pride we take therein, but for the Causes before alledged, and to the end that (the will of our Saviour Jesus Christ betwixt us two herein declared and shewed) rest and peace might grow amongst Christian men; the power and force of Gods Enemies may be abated: and in fine, the limits of Christianity enlarged and enfranchised. And therefore hereupon consider with your self, what way you will take concerning our foresaid Offers, and by the bearers of these our Letters send unto us herein quick and speedy Answer. Given under our Great Seal at Chin in the plain of Leece the 27th day of this present month of July.

The Answer of the Lord Philip de Valois unto the Letter aforesaid.

The answer of the French King to King Edward.
Philip by the Grace of God, King of France, to Edward King of England. We have seen the Letters which you have sent unto our Court to Philip de Valois, wherein are contained certain Requests which you make to the said Philip de Valois. But for that the said Letters come not as directed unto us, neither yet the said Requests seem to be made unto us (which thing clearly by the tenour of the

said Letters appeareth) we therefore write unto you no Answer touching the same. Notwithstanding this sufficeth, that we understand by the said Letters of yours, as also other ways, that you are entred into our Realm of France, to the great damage both unto us, our Realm and People (more proceeding of will, than reason) and not regarding that which a Liege-man ought to do unto his Lord. For you are entred into our Homage by you lieged unto us, acknowledging your self as reason is, a Liege-man unto the King of France; and have promised unto us such Obeisance as men are wont to do unto their Liege-Lords (as more plainly by your Letters Patents appeareth, ensealed with your Great Seal, the which we have with us:) for the which thing we will you to understand, that our purpose is (when it shall seem good unto us) to drive you out of our Realm, to the honour both of us and our Kingdom, and to the profit and commodity of our people. And this thing to do we have firm and assured hope in Jesus Christ, from whom we have all our power and strength. For by your unreasonable demand more willful than reasonable, hath been hindred and stayed the holy Voyage to those parts beyond the Seas, where a great number of Christian-men have been slain; the Divine-Service diminished, and the Service of the Church less revered. And as touching that where you say, Ye intend to have the Obeisance of the Flemmings, we think and believe that the good people and Commons of that Country will behave themselves in such sort toward our Cousin the Countess of Flanders their Lady, as it be not to their reproach; and to us their Sovereign Lord, they will respect their Honour and Loyalty. And that thing wherein they have done otherwise than well hitherto, hath been by the evil counsel of such people, as neither regard the Weal-publick nor Honor of their Country, but their own only gain and commodity. Given in the field near adjoining to the Priory of S. Andrew, under our Privy-Seal in absence of our Great-Seal, the 30th day of July, Anno 1340.

Mention was made a little before of David King of Scots, whom the French King had supported and stirred up against the King and Realm of England: which David (with the Aid of the Scots and Frenchmen) did so much prevail, that they recovered again almost all Scotland, which before he had lost, and was constrained to live in the Forest of Gedworth many years before. Then invaded they England, and came with their Army, wasting and burning the Country before them, till they came as far as Durham, and then returned again into Scotland, where they recovered all their Holds again, saving the Town of Barwick. Edenborough they took by a stratagem or subtil device practised by Douglas, and certain other: who apparelling themselves in poor mens habits, as Victuallers with Corn and Provender, and other things, demanded the Porter early in the morning what need they had thereof? Who nothing mistrusting, opened the outward Gate, where they should tarry till the Captain rose: and perceiving the Porter to have the Keys of the inward Gate, they threw down their Sacks in the outward Gate, that it might not be shut again, and slew the Porter, taking from him the Keys of the Town. Then they blew their Horn as a warning to their Bands, which privily they had laid not far off: who in hastiwise coming, and finding the Gates ready opened, entred upon the sudden, and killed as many as resisted them, and so obtained again the City of Edenborough.

The Scots being thus busie in England, the French King in the mean season gathered together a puissant Power, purposing to remove the Siege from Tournay: and among other, sent for the King of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides divers other Noblemen of France: inasmuch that the French King had a great Army, and thought himself able enough to raise the Siege, and theither bent his Host. But the French King, for all this his foresaid huge Power and Force, durst not yet approach the King so near, as either to give him battel, or else remove his Siege, but kept himself with his Army aloof, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the King of England wasted, burnt, spoiled and destroyed the Country, twenty miles in manner compass about Tournay, and took divers and sundry strong Towns and Holds, as Tournay besieged. Ortois, Urtes, Grenay, Archies, Odint, S. Amand, and the Town

The Scots invade England.

Edenborough recovered from the Englishmen by the Scots

Tournay besieged.

Town of *Lille*, where he slew above three hundred men of Arms, and about *S. Omers*, he slew and kill'd of Noble men, the Lord of *Dunkirk*, of *Mauristoun*, of *Rely*, of *Chastillon*, of *Melly*, of *Fenis*, of *Hamelar*, *Mountfauton*, and other Barons, to the number of fourteen; and also slew and killed above 130 Knights, being all men of great Possessions and Prowels, and took other small Cities and Towns to the number of three hundred: yet for all this *Philip de Valois*, the French King, durst neither rescue his Towns, nor relieve his own men: but of his great Army he lost (which is to be marvel'd at, being in the midst of his own Country) by Famine and other inconveniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thousand men without any battel by him given. Whereupon at the intreaty of the said *Philip* by his Embassadors to the King sent, and by the mediation of the Lady *Jane*, Sister to the said *Philip*, and Mother to the Earl of *Henault*, whose Daughter King *Edward*, as you heard, had married; a truce containing the number of fifteen Articles for one year was concluded, the King of *England* being very unwilling and loth thereto. Yet notwithstanding, partly by the instance of the foresaid Lady, but specially for that the King was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his Officers in *England*, which sent him not over such money as he needed for the continuance of his Wars, and payment of his Souldiers wages (the Articles being somewhat reasonable) he agreeth to the truce thereof: the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow under written.

Articles of
Truce.

1. First, that during the said truce no tales or mistrust of either part shall be a detriment or cause of breach of the same.

2. Item, that during the said respite or truce either of the Princes, their Helpers, Coadjutors and Allies whatsoever, shall remain and be in quiet possession of all such Possessions, Holds, Territories and Lands, as at this present day they keep and enjoy within the Realm and Dominion of *France*, in what manner soever they have achieved the same, during the said truce.

3. Item, that the said Princes, their Aiders, Coadjutors, and Allies whatsoever, shall pass safely from one Country to another, and all Merchants with their Merchandise, as well by Sea as by Land, as accustomedly they have been wont: except such banished men as have been banished out of the said Realms, or any of them for other causes, than the Wars, between the said Princes.

4. Item, that the said two Princes shall not procure, either by themselves or any other, any practice or other molestation to be made the one to the other, by the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other belonging to the holy Church whatsoever; either for the Wars begun, or any other cause, nor for the Service of any of their Allies, Coadjutors, and Aiders, or any of them. And that neither our holy Father the Pope, nor any other shall disturb or molest either of the said two Kings during the said time.

5. Item, that immediately after the truce be proclaimed in both the Holds, that may stand bound of either side, to keep and observe all and every such Article as shall be therein contained.

6. Item, that within 20 days next and immediately ensuing, each of the Princes shall cause to be proclaimed in *Gasconie* and *Guyen*, and other their Lands these Articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better observed, kept and known.

7. Item, if by any the said Princes, their Allies, People or Coadjutors, any siege be laid in *Gasconie*, or the Duchy of *Guyen*, or any other Isles of the Sea *Guernsey* or *Jersey*, or any other; that the same Sieges be raised so soon as they shall hear of this truce.

8. Item, that such as are Thieves and Fugitives out of the Country of *Flanders* shall not return during the truce: and if they do, that then such as apprehended them shall see justice done upon them, and they shall forfeit all the goods they have in *Flanders*.

9. Item, it is recorded, that the debts due to *Arras*, *Tremon*, or other Titles of *France*, shall neither be demanded nor executed during the said truce.

10. Item, that all such Prisoners, as have been taken during these Wars, shall be released out of prison, and sent home upon their Faith and Oath to return, if they be not ransomed during the said truce. And if any shall refuse to

to do, that then the Lord under whom he is, shall constrain him to return again to prison. KING
Edward

11. Item, that all the Bands whatsoever they be, which he made before this said truce in the time of War (whether they be of goods Spiritual or Temporal) be released without restitution, during the said truce.

12. Also, that these conditions of truce immediately may take effect between the English and Scots, their Lords, Aiders, and Allies; and the same to endure until the Nativity of Saint *John Baptist*. And that certain persons be appointed by a certain day to be at the Marches of *England* and *Scotland* to confirm the said truce, under such conditions as have been accustomed in those parts. And if the said Scots refuse so to do, that then they have no Aid out of *France* during the said truce.

13. Item, that this said truce be proclaimed in *England*, and in *Scotland*, within 26 days after the date hereof.

14. Item, it is accorded that within this truce be contained *Espanels*, *Chastellon*, *Genorrons*, the Bishop and the Town of *Cambrey* and Castles of the same.

In witness whereof, we *John* by the Grace of God King of *Bohemia*, and Earl of *Luxemburge*, *Adolph* Bishop of *Liege*, *Radulph* Duke of *Lorein*, *Ayemes* Earl of *Savoy*, and *John* Earl of *Darmack* on the one party: and *B.* Duke of *Brabant*, *C.* Duke of *Gelre*, *D.* Marquess of *Fuliers*, Sir *John* of *Henault*, and Sir *Beaumont* on the other party, betwixt the high and puissant Princes of *France* and *England*, have sealed this Instrument of truce and peace, and delivered the same accordingly in the Church of *Espleveline* on Monday the 25th day of September, the year of Grace, 1340.

This truce thus finished, King *Edward* brake up his Camp, removing his Siege from *Tournay*, and came again to *Gant*. From whence (very early in the morning) he with a small Company took shipping, and by long Seas came to the *Tower* of *London*, very few or none having understanding thereof. King Ed.
ward re-
turneth
from Tournay.

And being greatly displeased with divers of his Council and high Officers (for that through their default he was constrained against his will, not having money to maintain his wars, to condescend unto the foresaid truce) he commanded to be apprehended and brought unto him to the *Tower*, the Lord *John* *Stonmore* Chief Justice of *England*, and Sir *John* *Poulrney*, with divers others. And the next morning, he sent for *L. R.* Bishop of *Chichester*, and the Lord *Wake*, the Lord Treasurer, and divers other such that were in Authority and Office, and commanded them all to be kept as Prisoners in the said *Tower*, only the said Bishop excepted: whom for fear of the Constitution of Pope *Clement*, which commanded that no Bishop should be by the King imprisoned, he set at liberty, and suffered him to go his way, and in his place substituted Sir *Roger Boucher* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *England*. The King
deceived
by his Offi-
cers.

The History intreating of this matter reporteth thus, that the King had at this time under him evil Substitutes, and covetous Officers: who, attending more to their own gain than to the publick Honour and Commodity of the Realm, left the King destitute and naked of money. With which Crime also *John* *Stratford* then Archbishop of *Canterbury* was vehemently noted and suspected; whether of his true deserving, or by the setting on of other, hereafter shall more appear. Inasmuch that the King ardently incensed against him, charged him with great falshood used against his Person, as by these his Letters written and directed to the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls* against the said Archbishop, manifestly appeareth: the tenor of which Letter here followeth under written. Covetous
Officers.

Edward by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France* and Lord of *Ireland*, To his well-beloved in Christ the Dean and Chapter of the Church of *S. Paul* in *London*, greeting in the Lord.

It is manifest by ancient Histories, but more plainly by those things which daily are published among us: that many men abusing (through pride) The King
Letter to
the Dean
and Chapter
of Paul.

KING the favour of Princes, and honour bestowed upon them, have maliciously gone about to deprave the laudable endeavour of Kings. And now that the words which we speak may be more manifest unto our Subjects; we suppose that neither you nor they have forgotten, that we being established in our Kingly Throne in younger years, and coveting even then to guide this our Regal charge taken upon us with wholesome counsels, have called upon us John the Bishop of Winchester, now Archbishop of Canterbury, whom we supposed for his fidelity and discretion to exceed others; whose counsel in matters appertaining unto the health of our soul, as in matters also respecting the augmenting and conservation of our Kingdom, both spiritually and temporally we used, and he was received of us into all familiarity. We found in him also such humanity, that he was saluted by the name of Father, and of all next unto the King had in honour. Now afterwards when by right of Succession the Kingdom of France should have descended unto us, and was by violent injury by the Lord Philip of Valois holden from us; the said Archbishop by his importune instance persuaded us to enter league of amity with the Princes of Almain against the said Philip, and to commit our self and ours unto the hazard of wars; promising and affirming that he would bring to pass, that the revenues of our lands, and other helps by him devised, should suffice abundantly for the maintenance of our said wars; Adding moreover that our only care should be for the furniture of strong and able Souldiers, such as were fit for the purpose, and expert in warfare; for the rest he himself would effectually procure, for money convenient to suffice our necessity, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (intending great exploits) we conveyed our Army beyond the Seas, and with marvellous great charges (as beforesaid) we set forward; we became also bound in great sums of money, making sure account of the aid aforesaid promised unto us. But alas, unhappy is that man that repositeth confidence in mans deceitful staff of brittle reed; whereunto (as saith the Prophet) if a man lean, it breaketh and pierceth the band. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for Subsidy, for very necessity sake we were constrained to take upon us importable charges of debts by grievous usury. And so our expedition being stayed, we were compelled to retire into England, desisting from our enterprizes so valiantly begun. Now when we were returned into England, we laid before our Archbishop our manifold calamities and misfortunes before rehearsed, and thereupon called a Parliament; wherein the Prelates, Noblemen, and other the faithful Subjects of our Dominions, granted unto us a new Subsidy of Corn, Lamb, Wool, &c. besides the tenth granted by the Clergy; which Subsidy (if it had been faithfully collected and obtained in due time) had greatly availed for the expedition of our said wars, the payment of our debts, and confusion of our enemies. Our said Archbishop promised diligently to do his endeavour, as well in collecting the same, as also in procuring other necessities to serve to our purpose. Whereupon trusting unto these fair promises, having all things in a readiness, both men and furnished Ships, we made Sail towards Flanders, and by the way upon the dangerous Seas buckled with our enemies (sworn to the destruction of our English Nation) of whom we triumphed and were Victors, not by our merits (their multitude far exceeding ours) but by the merciful clemency of him that ruleth both Wind and Sea. Which being done, we passed from thence with a mighty power for the recovery of our right, and pitched our Tents near unto the puissant City of Tournay; where being detained for a time in the siege thereof, and wearied with continual toil, our charges still increasing, awaiting with silence our promised aid; day by day we hoped from our Archbishop to receive succour in these our so great necessities. At length being frustrate of all conceived hope, we signified unto our said Archbishop, and other his adherents, by divers Messengers, and sundry Letters, our great necessity and perils which we were in for lack of the said Subsidy granted unto us. We added also the utility and honour, which we saw might be achieved if we had received money in time. All this notwithstanding we received from them no succour at all; for that preferring their private business and proper commodities, they cloaked their sloth, or rather (as I may call it) their fraud and malice with vain excuses, and painted glossing words, like unto the deceitful, which (as saith Esay) use to deride with these words, Manda remanda, &c.

By means whereof (alas for sorrow) it came to pass, that whiles good hope of subduing our enemies graciously smiled upon us, we were constrained (penury prevailing against us) to take truce to our shame, the hinderance of our expedition, and no small rejoicing of our evil willers; and so we returned into Flanders all void of money, oppressed with infinite debts, neither had we in our Treasuries wherewith to discharge our necessities, nor yet to pay our Souldiers wages: insomuch that we were compelled to enter into the devouring gulf of usury, and to sustain on our shoulders great burthens of debts, heap upon heap. This being done, our faithful friends, companions in wars, and partakers of our tribulations came unto us, with whom we consulted diligently by what means we might best deliver our selves from this dangerous storm of evil fortune. They all agreed, affirming certainly, that the protracting of our wars, and cause of our manifold necessity happened unto us through the fault and negligence (or rather the malice) of the said Archbishop (upon whose discretion the disposition of the whole Kingdom seemed to depend) and other Officers whom we had adjoined in counsel with him touching the affairs of our Kingdom; vehemently swearing and murmuring amongst themselves (for that we had left so long uncorrected the insolency of the Bishops and other Officers) that if remedy in these cases were not had with speed, they would withdraw themselves from our Allegiance, and the Covenant which they had sworn unto; to the utter subversion of our Kingdom, and perpetual ignominy, and the everlasting shame of our English Nation, which God our most merciful Father forbid should come to pass in our days, in whom is fixed immoveably the anchor of our hope. Whereupon intending the due correction of our Officers, we removed from Offices (as seemed good to our Wisdom) divers persons whom we suspected in causes evident, of evil administration of justice, of subversion, and oppression of our Subjects, of corruption, of bribes, and other heinous offences. Others also of inferior degree offending in the premises, we caused to be detained in safe custody; lest by their liberty, justice might be troden under foot, and the inquisition of the truth concerning the premises not to come to light. Forasmuch therefore as the knowledge of the truth in these cases might of none more certainly be known, than from the secret brest of our foresaid Archbishop, for that nothing pertaining to our information ought to be hid from him, unto whom of so long a time had been committed the administration of our whole Commonweal, and sum of our business: We sent unto him our faithful Subject Nicolas de Cantilupe with special Commandments from us, that all delays set apart he should forthwith make his personal appearance before us at our City of London. But he (as one always timorous as well in prosperity as in adversity, and fearing where no fear was) untruly alledged that some of our assistants had threatened him, and laid wait for his life; if at any time he departed from the Church of Canterbury, which (God we take to witness, and a pure conscience) we never meant nor any of our assistants.

Archbishop
of Canterbury
false to the King.

Evil Officers
displaced by
the King.

We suppose he touched thereby our Cousin, although to all other, as well of the Clergy as Commonalty through his malicious misdemeanors he was become odious.

Wherefore intending the safeguard of our Subjects by Letters, or otherwise called before us, we appointed our trusty and welbeloved Ralf Stafford our Harbinger, to offer unto him safe conduct, and moreover to present unto him our Letters Patents under our seal; willing and commanding him thereby again Personally to come before us, that we might be informed what of so long a time he had done touching the affairs of the Kingdom. Whereunto contemning our commandment and gentle request, he answered, that neither he would in person appear, neither yet in any matter confer with us, except it were in a full Parliament, which for divers reasonable causes could not then be called. Thus may you see this Archbishop, whom our Royal benignity had amplified with large honours, admitted into all familiarity, received into the bond of unanimity and friendship, upon whom as on a Father our whole hope did consist (who so long as we accomplished his will in all things, pretended towards us a face of counterfeit love, cloaked with dissembling benevolence, even as though he had been a loving Father) how cruelly against reason he

The Archb.
of Cant. de-
nieth to
come to the
King.

The Archb.
charged
with dissem-
bling, and
ingratitude.

hath now forsaken us, requiting benefits with ingratitude, oppressing his benefactor with the arrogancy of fear; and finally (according to the vulgar Proverb) rewarded us as a Horse in a Satchell, a Snake in a mans bosom, and fire cherishest next the skin, rewardeth their receivers. When we were first exalted unto the Throne of our Kingdom, descended unto us by right of inheritance (Gods Divine Providence so working) we thought, and always think it a detestable thing to abuse so high authority, but rather desire to govern with clemency, lenity, and moderation of justice, that peace, of all men desired, might firmly take place.

The Archb.
defamer of
the King.

Nevertheless, our said Archbishop hath gone about to defame our innocency, and the fidelity and diligence of our faithful Counsellors, prosecutors of true justice; openly declaring in his Letters Patents, and publishing abroad in divers places, that he was oppressed by the Kings power contrary to justice; the Clergy and Commonalty confounded, and the Church over-charged with divers grievous Taxes and Exactions. He subtilly usurped the name of a good Pastor, when indeed he was nothing less, but rather (as it should seem by his own confession, and the common opinion had of him) a very hireling. He cloaked his crafty subtilties with the zeal of defending the Church, although he himself in very deed was the only cause, by his evil counsel and crafty devices, of the tribulation of the same. He also fained that not long ago, certain writings were brought unto him to be sealed, containing in effect the defence and excusation of all such in general that were violaters of the Liberties of the Church: hoping thereby to defame the opinion had of us and our faithful Counsellors, to stir up sedition amongst the people, and finally to withdraw from us the hearts of our Nobility. He gave commandment by his Letters, that these things should be proclaimed in all places of great resort by divers special articles contrary to his former order in his Provincial Council. Wherefore respecting the integrity of our fame, intending to prevent the malice of the said Archbishop, and also to decline from us the snares prepared for us and ours; we have thought good at this present (over and besides those which before are rehearsed) amongst so many which we omit, to declare unto you some of his perverse and wicked acts. When in our minority we were constituted over our Dominions, he caused us through his unadvised counsel and rash perswasion (thereby to win excessive favour) to give away so many wasteful gifts, and so many unlawful alienations, that now by means thereof our Treasury is clean consumed, the revenues of our Exchequer without all order diminished, and be corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes also without cause why, when neither necessity nor utility so required, only through his perswasion, we forgave divers men great sums of money due unto us, yea and the rents and revenues which ought to have been conserved for our necessity and profit, we applied to the use of his friends, largely bestowing upon such as evil deserved it. Moreover (accepting as well persons as money) contrary to our mind, and his Oath of fidelity made unto us; he admitted unto publick offices throughout our Dominions, persons unworthily, neglecting those that had well deserved. Many other things he rashly took in hand, to the detriment of our state, the hurt of our dignity Royal, and no small damage of our subjects, by abusing his authority and office committed unto him. But if he persist in his proud obstinacy and stout rebellion, we shall hereafter in convenient time and place, cause it to be more openly known; willing and commanding you to publish and cause to be published, all and singular the premisses openly and distinctly in places where you shall think it expedient, and to set forth (as shall seem best to your godly wisdoms) our good intent for the suppressing of incommunities, and furthering of the commodities of our subjects, that we may worthily commend your circumspect care herein.

The Archb.
abuseth his
Office.

Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10, die Februar. Anno Regni nostri Anglie 15, Regni vero Francie secundo.

By these foresaid objections and accusations of the King premised, and laid against the Archbishop of Canterbury; what is to be thought of the doings of the said Archbishop, I leave it to thy judgment, gentle Reader, (as I said before) to be conjectured: For so much as our Histories somewhat bearing with the said Archbishop, seem either to be

uncertain of the truth of the matter, or else covertly to dissemble some part of that they knew. And especially of *Polidore Virgil* I marvel, who having so good occasion to touch the matter, doth so slightly pass it over without any word of mention. In which matter, if probable conjecture (besides History) might here be heard, it is not unlike but that some old practice of Prelates hath herein been put in ure, through some crafty conspiracy between the Pope and the Archbishop. And the rather it is to be gathered, for that as the Pope was enemy unto the King in this his challenge to the Crown of *France*; so the Archbishop against his Prince (as for the most part always they have been) was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, unto the Pope. Which thing also more probably may be supposed, because of the coming down of the two Cardinals the same time, from the Pope to the King of *England*, about the matter of further Truce; whereof (Christ willing) more hereafter shall follow. Albeit the Archbishop (this yet notwithstanding) subtilly and featly excuseth himself to the King of the foresaid objections, and cunningly handleth the matter in words by his Letter directed to the King as followeth.

The Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King.

R Edoubted Sir, may it please your Majesty to understand, that the most chief and special thing that keeps Kings and Princes in the favour of God, and preserveth them in their estate is sage, wise, and deliberate counsel. And therefore saith the wise man concerning counsel in this wise, *Good men have thereby their safety.* And it is written in the Book of Kings, how *Solomon*, which was the wisest Prince that ever was, took unto him the most ancient and sage men of his Realm to be his Counsellors; by whose advisement and discretion, he always kept the land of *Israel* in quiet, and in peace, and besides that, had all other Kings and Princes that bordered upon him at his will and commandment. After whose death reigned *Rehoboam* his Son, who neglecting the good counsel of his Father, and good advice of his sage and discreet Counsellors, hearkened to such counsel as lighter and younger men perswaded him unto, that sought rather how to please and flatter him, than the quiet state of his Realm; whereby he lost all the whole land of *Israel*, the twelfth part only excepted. In like manner have many Kings of *Israel*, and other Kingdoms beside, by rash and evil counsel come to great ruin and mischief. And Sir, (having your Princely patience) you may call to remembrance your own time; for by the wicked and sinister counsel to our late Sovereign Lord your Father given (whom God forgive) which he took and followed, both against the Law of his land, and grand Charter of the Peers, and other his people of the land; some he put to shameful death; from other some he took their goods; and such as fled he put unto their ranfome, and what enemies he purchased thereby, your Grace well understandeth. And after this, Sir, you know, even in your own time, how by following and believing over-light counsel, you your self lost the hearts of many of your subjects, from the which God deliver you, if it be his will. And after that time again until now, by the good advisement of your Prelates, Peers, and sage Counsellors of your land, your Graces business and affairs have been so demeaned and ordered; that you have had the hearts again of all your subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal; as much or rather more, than any of your Graces Predecessors, Kings of *England* have had. So that by means of the said good counsel, the good will and aid of your people, and special grace of God, you have had the victory of all your enemies, as well in *Scotland* as in *France*, and all other places besides; that unto this day (Gods name be blessed therefore) your Grace hath been esteemed as one of the most noble Princes in all Christendom. And now your Grace (by the evil and perverse counsel of some such within the Realm which are not so wise as they might be, and such also as consider and respect rather their own private commodity, than your Graces honour and safety of your Realm) beginneth to apprehend divers Clerks, Peers, and other people of the land, and to direct process against them, not becoming, but contrary to the Law

KING
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The Letter
of the Arch-
bishop to
the King.

Good Coun-
sellors ne-
cessary a-
bout a King

Law

KING Law of the land, which to keep and maintain you are bound by the Oath you took at your Coronation; and contrary to the Grand Charter, whereof all the Realm are witnesses, and all the Prelates of the same, and contrary to the sentence confirmed by the Bull of our holy Father the Pope, which we have to shew. All which things as they are to the great peril and danger of your soul; so are they also to the utter debasing of your Regal state and honour. And Sir, although such as be your Graces Governours and Counsellors (being a calling above their degree) do give your Grace to understand that their enterprises and yours do please and content your subjects and commons; yet your Grace shall know for certain, and prove it your own self to be far otherwise, than they bear you in hand. And that unless God do remedy the same, if you prosecute your purpose begun in this order, you will lose the hearts of all your subjects, as also your good and rightful enterprise; and shall see such discord about the same, that you shall not be able to perform that you have begun, but rather inforce your enemies to seek your destruction, to lose your noble and renowned fame, and in the end your Kingdom it self, which God forbid. Wherefore Sovereign Lord and King, I beseech you that for the safeguard of your Honour and Realm, and enterprise begun, you will take unto you the most discreet and wisest men within your Realm, and work by their advice and counsel, as before this time you have been accustomed; without the aid and counsel of whom you can neither maintain your enterprise, nor govern your Realm. And for that some such as are about your Grace falsely devise against us treason and such like troubles (and therefore are of us Excommunicate, and as persons Excommunicate we do esteem of them) as your Spiritual Pastor, we also desire you so to esteem and think of them; which also make like report of other that have been with your Grace beyond the Seas, that they have naughtily and falsely served you, whereby you have lost the Town of *Tourney*, and much honour else, which you might have won and gotten there. May it please your Grace to call before you the Prelates and Peers of your Realm in some convenient place, where we and other moe may safely come and resort, and there also to make search and inquiry, in whose hands, after the beginning of your wars, the money, and what things else soever, which was granted unto you in aid of the same your wars, until this present day, doth remain and is not laid out again, as also by whose default you were so inforced to leave the said siege of *Tourney*; and that those which shall be found in any point faulty and guilty therein against you, as a good justicer, your Grace will cause to be punished according to the Law; and inasmuch as appertaineth unto us therein, we ask judgment of our Peers (the state always of holy Church, of us, and of our Order reserved inviolate) according as we have written unto you herein. And for Gods sake, Sir, believe not either of us, or any other your true subjects else, more than that you shall understand the verity of; for if men should be punished without making answer to that which is objected against them, there should be then no difference in judgment betwixt the good doer and the bad.

And Sir, may it please you well to consider of the great enterprise you have in hand, the great good will which you have need of for this cause, and of our great enemies the *Scots*, and the great jeopardy of your Realm besides. For if your Prelates, your Nobles, and all the wise men of your Realm were of one mind and will (without any discord or division amongst them) to dispose and set in order those things which are needful in so great affairs and business; they should have all enough to beat their heads about, for the maintenance of your great enterprise begun, the honour of you, and safeguard of your Realm.

And Sir, may it please your Grace, not to be displeased that so rudely and grossly we declare unto you the verity; for why, the great love and affection which we bear unto you, and always have done the same, the preservation of your Honour, and safeguard of your Realm, as also for that we are (although unworthy) the Primate of the whole Realm of *England*, which thing appertaining unto us by our office (and we being your Spiritual Father) doth incite us the rather both to say and command that which may turn to the benefit of your soul, and profit of your Realm and Kingly estate. Thus the Holy Spirit save

Excommunication in his own private cause absolved.

you both body and soul, and give your Grace both to hear and believe good counsel, and further, give you victory over all your enemies. Written at *Cant.* the first of *Janu.* By your Graces Chaplain the Archbishop of the same.

And thus stood the case between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who coming thus (as is said) in secretwise into *England* from the Siege of *Tourney*, his Army in the mean while by Ships was conveyed to *Little-Britain*. Of whom a great number through unseasonable and inconvenient meats and drinks, was there consumed. To whom also no less danger happened by the Seas, coming out of *Britain* into *England* by Tempest, Thunder and Lightning stirred up as is thought, by the Necromances of the *French King*.

The return of the Kings Army from *Tourney*.

About which season approaching to the year of our Lord 1341, were sent from the Pope two other Cardinals to Entreat with King *Edward* for three years Truce more to be concluded with the *French King*, besides the former Truce taken before for one year, and all by the Popes means. For here is to be understood, that as it was not for the Popes purpose to have the King of *England* to reign over so many Countries, so his privy supportation lacked not by all means possible, both by the Archbishops and Cardinals, and also by the Emperor, to maintain the state of the *French King*, and to stablish him in his possessions. *Ex Thom. Walsing. Ex Chron. Albanens.*

Anno 1341.

Truce taken for three years between King *Edward* and the *French King*.

In the said Histories where these things be mentioned, it is also noted, that the same year such plenty there was here in the Realm of victuals, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 2 s. a fat Ox for a Noble, and as some say, a Sheep for 4 d. And thus far endureth the History of *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, called *Polychronicon*.

The next year following, which was 1342, *Ludovicus* *Bavarus* the Emperor, who before had shewed great courtesie to King *Edward*, in his first Voyage over, inasmuch that he made him his Vicar or Vicegerent General, and offered him also aid against the *French King*; now (either turned by inconstancy, or seduced by the Pope) writeth to him contrary Letters, wherein he revoketh again the Vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh all means in the favour of the *French King*, against King *Edward*, as by his Letters here under-written may better appear.

Anno 1342.

The Letter of the Emperor unto the KING of ENGLAND.

Ludovicus by the Grace of God Emperor of the Romans always *Augustus*, &c. To *Edward* King of *England*, his beloved Brother, Greeting and unfained love. Although great and urgent business of our own do oppress us, and about the same our weighty affairs we are daily incumbered, yet with the discord and variance between your Kingly dignity and the renowned *Philip* the King of *France* our Cousin, for your sake, we are not a little troubled. And the rather, the great charges which may hereafter grow both to you and to your Kingdom thereby considered, both of men and money, unless the same be taken up, doth more easily provoke us to give our self to the careful study of your affairs. Wherefore we give you to understand that the foresaid *Philip* (at our request) hath given unto us by his Letters authority and power to intreat and conclude a peace between you, touching the variance begun: which peace (all the state diligently considered both of your self, your Kingdom and subjects) we take and believe to be right expedient for you; moving therewithal your charity, and earnestly desiring you, that to this also you will give your consent; whereby we may bring you both to concord and unity, and establish between you a firm peace to endure, whereunto with willing mind we would apply our self, and bestow our painful labour in prosecuting of the same. And herein if you will condescend and agree unto our counsel, as we trust you will; it may please you by your Letters to give unto us the like authority as is above said, to intreat peace or ordering of a Truce for one year or two at least to continue. Neither let it move you, that between us and the said *Philip* of *France* a Truce is taken. For seeing that you without our consent took Truce with him: we by the advise of our Princes which know the bonds, deeds, and Covenants betwixt us, who also though no less,

less, but that saving your honour we might do the same; have also made a league with the said Philip King of France; and for certain causes do revoke and call back the Lieutenantship which we assigned unto you by our Letters. Nevertheless, giving you for a certain to understand that in our said Treaties and peace concluded, we have so brotherly considered you, that if you will agree and condescend unto our counsel; your cause (by our mean and help) shall be brought to good pass and effect. About which things further to confer with your Brotherhood herein, we have sent a devout and religious man, *Eliahardus*, Reader and Brother of the *Heremites* of Saint *Augustine*, and Chaplain of our Court; whom about the premisses we desire with speedy expedition to be sent unto us again.

Dated at *Francford* the 14th day of *June*, in the 24th year of our *Raign*, and 14th of our *Empire*.

The answer of the King of England, to the Emperor.

TO the High and Mighty Prince Lord *Ludovick*, by the Grace of God, Emperor of the *Romans*, always *Augustus*, *Edward* by the same Grace King of *France*, and *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, Salutation and prosperous success.

We have reverently received your Highness Letters, amongst other things containing, that the Noble *Philip de Valois* (to the intent a peace and concord between us and him might be concluded) hath given unto you by his Letters full power and authority thereunto at your Highness request; and that if the same might content us to do in like sort, your Highness would travel to bring the concord to pass; and that it would not move us any whit at all, that your Highness and the said *Philip* are in League together: For inasmuch as we without your assent and consent (you say) took Truce with the said *Philip*, you have also done the like with him (which thing you might well do saving your honour, by the counsel of all your Nobles and Princes) and for certain causes you revoke again the Lieutenantship which you committed unto us. Doubtless the zeal and good will you have to make this concord and agreement, we much commend; letting you to understand that we always have been desirous, and still are, to have a reasonable peace with the said *Philip*; which peace as much as to us (our honour saved) appertained, we have in justice and by law prosecuted; and in very deed, it should be to us acceptable, and as we would wish, if by such a Mediator as your celsitude is, it might be brought to pass. But forasmuch as we understand the same our right and title to the Kingdom of *France* to be manifest and clear enough; we purpose not to commit the same by any of our Letters to doubtful arbitrement. But while we well consider and revolve with our selves, how upon circumspect consideration (you manifestly beholding our just and rightful doing, and the strait dealing and obstinate purpose and injury of the said *Philip*) your gracious Highness made a special League with us, and in our behalf against the said *Philip*, adopting us of your great and bountiful love towards our Person to be one of your Sons; wherefore you should thus again alter and break the same, we cannot sufficiently marvel: Seeing your invincible Highness being instituted of God to the laud and commendation of good men, and revenge of evil and wicked doers, hath made a League against us with the said *Philip de Valois*, our notorious and injurious enemy. And as touching that which you say, without your assignment and consent we took a Truce, or days of respite with the said *Philip*, which we ought not to have done; if your Grace well consider the circumstance of the matter, we have done but as we might therein. For when we laid our siege to *Tourney*, it was requisite that we should follow their advice, whose aid and society therein we had. Besides the sudden and eminent necessity which we there stood in, and the distance of the place betwixt your Highness and us furthermore was such, as that by no means we might attain the same, nor use your assent therein. Yea and further, if your Grace well remember your self, your grant unto us was such, that whensoever opportunity thereunto should serve, we might intreat of any peace, and grant what time we thought meet thereunto, without your consent therein:

So that to conclude any final peace with the said *Philip de Valois*, without either your consent, or otherwise making your Highness privy thereunto, it might not be lawful for us; which thing without your said counsel, consent and advice, we never minded or purposed to do, but have in all our doings done that which us befel, so far as by any means our power would stretch; hoping likewise that your brotherly benevolence for a time would have more lovingly supported us. It is thought also by some, that the revoking back again, or restraint of your foresaid Lieutenantship, was premature or done all out of time; when as according to your promise made to us herein by your Letters Imperial, you ought not so to have done before the Realm and Kingdom of *France* (or at the least the greatest part thereof) were of us obtained and quietly in peaceable wise enjoyed. These things premised therefore we desire you according to your Nobility, duly to consider, and hereafter to do that which shall be thought both meet and convenient, because that (God willing) we mean to recompence and gratify both you and yours, according to the measure of your benevolence bestowed upon us. The Almighty grant unto your celsitude so much felicity as your heart desireth.

Dated at *London* the 18th day of *July*, in the second year of the *Raign* of our Kingdom of *France*, and of *England* the 15th.

In this mean time died Pope *Benedict* the Twelfth, mentioned a little before; after whom succeeded in that room Pope *Clement* the Sixth. Of whom it is reported in Stories, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his Cardinals of *Rome*, enriching and heaping them with goods and possessions, not of his own, but with the Ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments of the Churches of *England*. For so recordeth the Author, that he bestowed upon his Cardinals the Livings and Promotions, such as were or should be vacant in the Churches of *England*, and went about to set up new Titles for his Cardinals, here within this Realm. But the King being offended therewith, made void and frustrate all those foresaid provisions of the Pope; charging moreover and commanding that no person whatsoever should busie himself with any such provisions, under pain of imprisonment and losing his life. Which Law was made the next year following, which was *Ann.* 1344.

It followeth then that the said Pope *Clement* again began to make new provisions for two of his Cardinals, of Benefices and Churches that should be next vacant, besides Bishopricks and Abbotships, to the extent of two thousand Marks. Whereupon the Procurators of the said Cardinals were sent down for the same. But the King and Nobility of the Realm not suffering that under pain of imprisonment caused the said Procurators forthwith to depart the Realm, whereupon the Nobles and Commons shortly after writ a fruitful Epistle to the Pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the *English* Church. Whereunto, as saith the Author, the Pope and the Cardinals were not able to answer. The argument and tenor of which Letter, out of *French*, we have caused to be translated into *English*, as ensueth.

The Letter of the King of England, and Nobles of the same, to the Pope, against the reservations and provisions which he had in England.

TO the most Holy Father in God, Lord *Clement*, by the Grace of God, of the holy Church of *Rome*, and of the Universal Church, chief and high Bishop; his humble and devout Children, the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgeses, and all the Commonalty of the Realm of *England*, assembled at the Parliament holden at *Westminster* the fifteenth day of *May* last past: Devout kissings of his holy feet, with all humble reverence and humility. Most holy Father, the holy discretion, government and equity which appeareth to be in you, and ought of duty so to be (being so high and holy a Prelate, and head of the holy Church) by whom the holy Universal Church and people of God ought to be as by the Sun-beams enlightened, giveth us good hope and likelihood, that the just petitions (to the honour of

{ KING
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Pope Clement the 6

Ex Chron. Albanes.

The King dissuailth the Papes provisions.

The Papes Procurators driven out of England.

A Letter of the Nobles and Commons of England to the Pope.

Jes

KING 'Jesus Christ and holy Church, and your Holiness also) by us declared, shall be of you graciously heard and considered; And that all errors and other iniquities should be quite taken away and removed; in stead whereof, fruitful exploits and necessary remedies (by the grace of the holy Spirit which you in so high an estate have received) may be by you likewise graciously ordained and disposed. Wherefore most holy Father, all we (upon great deliberation and common assent) come unto your Holiness, shewing and declaring that the noble Kings of England our Progenitors, our Ancestors, and we (according to the grace of the holy Spirit to them and us given, every one according to his devotion) have established, founded and endowed, within the Realm of England, Churches, Cathedrals, Colledges, Abbeys, Priories, and other divers houses of Religion in the same ordained; and to the Prelates and Governors of the same places, have given Lands, Possessions, Patrimonies, Franchises, Advowsons, and Patronages of Dignities, Revenues, Offices, Churches, with many and divers other Benefices unto them given; whereby the service of God and faith of Christ might have been honoured and had in reverence, that the Hospitals and Alms-houses that are made, with all the Churches and Edifices, might be honestly kept and maintained, and that devout prayers might in those places be made for the Founders, and the poor Parishioners aided and comforted. And such only ought to have the Cure thereof, as are able to hear Confessions; and in their own natural Tongue are otherwise meet to inform and teach their Parishioners. And forasmuch as (most holy Father) you cannot well come to the notice of divers such errors and defaults, neither yet understand the condition of the places, being so far off, unless your Holiness be informed and advertised; We having the perfect intelligence and understanding of the said errors and defaults of the places aforesaid, within the said Realm, have thought meet to signify the same unto your Holiness: That divers reservations, provisions and collations by your Predecessors Apostolick of Rome, and by you, most holy Father, in your time have been granted (and that more largely than they have been accustomed to be) unto divers persons, as well strangers, and of sundry Nations, as unto some such as are our enemies having no understanding at all of the Tongue and conditions of them, of whom they have the government and cure. Whereby a great number of souls are in peril, a great many of their Parishioners in danger, the service of God destroyed, the Alms and devotion of all men diminished, the Hospitals perished, the Churches with their appurtenances decayed, Charity withdrawn, the good and honest persons of our Realm unadvanced, the charge and government of souls not regarded, the devotion of the people restrained, many poor Scholars unpreferred, and the treasure of the Realm carried out against the minds and intents of the Founders. All which errors, defaults and slanders, most holy Father, we neither can nor ought to suffer or endure. We therefore most humbly require your Holiness, that the slanders, errors and defaults, which we have declared unto you, may be through your great discretion considered; and that it may please you that such reservations, provisions and collations may be utterly repelled, that from henceforth the same be no more amongst us used; and to take such order and remedy therein, that the said Benefices, Edifices, Rights, with their appurtenances, may be to the honour of God by our own Countrymen cured, defended and governed. And that it may further please your Holiness by your Letters to signify unto us, without delay and other protract of time, what your pleasure is touching this our lawful request and demand; that we may do our endeavour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction and amendment of those enormities above specified. In witness whereof, unto these Letters Patents we have set our Seals. Given in the full Parliament at Westminster, the 18th. day of May, Anno 1343.

Duties of the Church of England by the Pope

The Pope's Message to the King.

After these things thus passed over, the King shortly after sent over his Procurators, the Earl of Lancaster and Darby, Hugh Spenser, Lord Ralph Stafford, with the Bishop of Exeter, and divers other, to the Popes Court to discuss and plead about the right of his Title before the Pope. Unto whom the said Pope Clement the 6th. not long after sent down this Message; how that Ludovick Duke of

Bavaria the Emperor, whom the Pope had before deposed, had submitted himself to him in all things; and therefore deserved at his hands the benefit of Absolution; and how the Pope therefore had conferred and restored unto him justly and graciously the Empire, which he before unjustly did hold, &c. Which Message when the King did hear, being therewith moved to anger, he answered again, saying, That if he also did agree and compound with the French King, he was ready to fight with them both, &c. Ex Chron. Albanen.

The Kings answer to the Popes message.

Within the time of this year, Pence, Half-pence and Farthings began to be coined in the Tower. And the next year following, which was An. 1344. the Castle of Windsor (where the King was born) began to be repaired; and in the same house called the Round-Table was situate, the diameter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained 200 feet; to the expences of which House Weekly was allowed an hundred Pound for the maintaining of the Kings Chivalry, till at length by the occasion of the French Wars, it came down to nine Pounds a Week. By the example whereof the French King being provoked, he began also the like Round-Table in France, for the maintaining of the Knight-hood. At which time the said French King moreover gave free liberty through his Realm to fell down Trees for making of Ships and maintaining of his Navy, whereby the Realm of England was not a little damnified.

Anno 1344. The Castle in Windsor enlarged. The round table builded in Windsor.

During the same year the Clergy of England granted to the King Tenth for three years; for the which the King in recompence again granted to them his Charter, containing these privileges, That no Archbishop nor Bishop should be arraigned before his Justices, *sive ad sectam suam, sive patriam*, if the said Clerk do submit and claim his Clergy, professing himself to be a Member of holy Church; who so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answer before the Justices. And if it shall be laid unto them to have married two Wives, or to have married a Widow, the Justices shall have no power to proceed against them, to enquire of the matter: So that the cause shall be referred to the Spiritual Court, &c.

Tenth granted to the King by the Clergy for three years. Privileges granted by the K. to the Clergy.

By this it is like that Priests had Wives.

About this present time at the setting up of the Round-Table, the King made Prince Edward, his eldest Son, the first Prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the Truce between the two Kings. Albeit it is likely to be thought that the French King gave many attempts to infringe the same. Whereupon Henry Earl of Lancaster, with 600 Men at Arms, and as many Archers, was sent over to Gascoigne, the year after 1345, who there so valiantly is said to have behaved himself, that he subdued 55 Townships unto the King, 23 Noblemen he took Prisoners, encountering with the Frenchmen at Allebrooke. So courteously and liberally he dealt with the Soldiers, that it was a joy to them, and a preferment to fight underneath him. His manner was in winning any Town, to reserve little or nothing to himself, but to spare the whole spoil to his Soldiers. One example in the Authour (whom I follow) is touched; how the foresaid Earl at the winning of the Town of Briers, where he had granted to every Soldier for his Booty, the House with all the implements therein, which he by Victory should obtain; among other his Soldiers, to one named Reb, fell a certain House with the implements thereof, wherein was contained the Mint and Mony coined for that Country, to the value of a great substance; which when the Soldier had found, in breaking up a House where first the gross Metal was not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the Earl declaring to him the Treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the Earl answered, That the house was his, and whatsoever he found therein. Afterward the Soldier, finding a whole Mint of pure Silver ready coined, signified the same to the Earl, forasmuch as he thought such Treasure to be too great for his portion; to whom the said Earl, again answering, Declared that he had once given him the whole House, and that he had once given, he would not call back again, as children use to play. And therefore bad him enjoy that which was granted to him; and if the Mony were thrice as much, it should be his own, Ex Chron. Alban. Which Story whether it was true or otherwise in those days, I have not to affirm. But certes, if in these our covetous, wretched days now present, any Author should report the like act to be practised, I would hardly believe it to be true.

Prince Edward, first Prince of Wales.

Anno 1345.

Henry Earl, after made Duke of Lancaster, sent over to Gascoigne.

A rare example of a liberal Captain to his Soldiers.

The liberal heart and constant voice of a worthy Captain.

The Scots
partly a
mean of
breaking
Truce.

Anno
1346.
The second
voyage of
K. Edward
into France.

The Battel
at Cardone.

As the Earl of Lancaster was thus occupied in Gascoin, the Scots were as buſie here in England, waſting and ſpoiling without mercy; which were thought (and not unlike) to be ſet on by the French King. And therefore he was judged both by that, and by other divers ways to have broken the Covenants of Truce between him and the King of England.

Wherefore the next year enſuing, An. 1346. King Edward firſt ſending his Letters to the Court of Rome, and therein complaining to the Pope of Philip de Valois, how he tranſgreſſed and broke the Truce between them made, which by evident probations he there made manifeſt; about the Month of July he made his Voyage into Normandy, in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that no Man well knew whether he intended. Where firſt he entred the Town of Hogs, from thence proceeded unto Cardone. Where, about the 27th. of July, by the River of Cardone, he had a ſtrong Battel with the Normans and other Frenchmen, which to ſtop his paſſage, defended the Bridge. At the which Battel were taken of the Lords of France, the Earl of Ewe, the Earl of Tankerville; and of Knights with other Men of Arms, to the number of one hundred; of footmen ſix hundred; and the Town and Suburbs beaten down to the hard Walls. And all that could be born away was transported to the Ships.

A little before, mention was made how the French King began firſt to infringe the Truce taken, and how the Earl of Lancaster, upon the ſame, was ſent unto Gascoin. Now for the more evidence of the matter concerning the falling of the French King from the League, and other his wrongs and untrue dealing, it ſhall better in the Kings Letter appear; who hearing word, that the Lord Philip de Valois (contrary to the form of Truce taken at Vanes) had apprehended certain of his Nobles of England, and had brought them to Paris to be imprifoned and put to death; beſides other ſlaughters and ſpoilings made in Britany, Gascoin, and other places more: He therefore ſeeing the Truce to be broken of the French Kings part, and being thereto of neceſſity compelled, in the year above prefixed, the 14th. of the Month of June, did publiſh and ſend abroad his Letters of defiance, containing this effect.

The Kings Letters of defiance againſt the French King.

The Kings
Letters of
defiance
againſt the
French K.

To all and ſingular, to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, publick greeting. We think it is not unknown unto you all, that after the deceaſe of Charles late King of France of famous memory, Brother to our redoubted Lady Mother Queen Iſabel Queen of England; the Crown of France, by juſt inheritance, hath fallen unto us, as to the next Heir Male now living after the ſaid King. Now Philip de Valois, being Son but only to the Uncle of the ſoreſaid King Charles, and therefore by degree of Conſanguinity being further off removed from the ſame (we being in the time of our minority) hath violently by force and power contrary to God and Juſtice uſurped, occupied, and yet doth occupy the ſame, invading further, and ſpoiling our Lands in the Dukedom of Aquitania, and joyning himſelf with our rebellious enemies the Scots, ſeeking our ſubverſion both by Land and by Sea, to the utter moſt of his endeavour. And although we, to prevent the damages which might riſe by War, have offered to the ſaid Philip divers friendly ways of Peace; to the intent we might better intend our purpoſe Voyage againſt Chriſts enemies the Turks: yet could nothing prevail with him in obtaining any peaceable way of reformation, driving us off by crafty diſſimulation, through falſe pretended words, but performing nothing with heart and deed. Whereupon, we not neglecting the grace and gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulſe the injuries of our enemy, have not reſuſed by force of Arms, coming down to Britany, to encounter with him in open field. And ſo we being occupied in our Wars, there repaired unto us the Reverend Father Biſhop of Preveſt, and of Tuſculane Cardinals, and Legates from Pope Clement the 6th. to intreat ſome reformation of peace between us. At whoſe requeſt we conſented, agreeing to ſuch forms and conditions of peace as then were taken between us, ſending moreover our Embaſſadors to the Court of Rome, ſpecially

to intreat of the ſame matter. And thus while ſome hope of Truce ſeemed between us to appear; News ſuddenly came unto us, which not a little aſtoniſhed our mind, of the death of certain of our Nobles and Adherents, whom the ſaid Philip unjuſtly and cruelly at Paris commanded to be executed. Beſide the waſting and ſpoiling our Lands and Subjects in Britany, Gascony, and other places; with innumerable wrongs and injuries, deceitfully intended againſt us both by Sea and Land. By reaſon whereof, the Truce on his part being notoriously broken, it is moſt manifeſt that it had been lawful for us, forthwith to have ſet upon him with open War. Yet notwithstanding, to avoid thoſe inconveniences that come by War, we thought firſt to prove, if by any gentle means ſome reformation might be had touching the premiſſes. And therefore ſundry times, we have ſent Embaſſadors to the Popes preſence for the Treaty of a Peace and Reformation to be had in thoſe aforeſaid exceſſes; requiring alſo, for the tractation thereof, certain terms of times to be appointed, always reſerving to our ſelves notwithstanding, free liberty to reſume War at our pleaſure, according as the doings of the ſaid Philip ſhall conſtrain us thereunto. And now forſomuch as the ſoreſaid terms be already expired, and yet no reaſonable offer of peace appeareth, neither will the ſaid Philip come to any conformity, being required and moniſhed notwithstanding by the Popes Letter thereunto (as the Pope by his Letter hath written unto us) but always hath multiplied his Conſpiracy and Obligations, uſing extremities againſt us; and to omit here to ſpeak of the exceſſive enormity of the Popes Legate, who being ſent by the Biſhop of Rome for the keeping of Truce, and whoſe part had been rather to have quenched and ſtaid the diſcord, hath ſtirred up our enemies more eagerly againſt us. In the which doing, neither hath the Biſhop of Rome (ſaving his reverence) as yet provided any remedy, albeit he hath been divers times required of us ſo to do. Which thing being ſo, we ought to be excuſed both before God and Man, if for the defect of other remedy to be had, we ſhall be conſtrained our ſelves to find remedy againſt ſuch wrongs and injuries; the caſe of juſtice and neceſſity conſtraining us to give out theſe our Letters of defiance againſt the violator of the Truce, and the unjuſt invader of our Kingdom. Proteſting, that this we do, not upon any diſpleaſure to the Biſhop of Rome, or to the Apoſtolick See, but only for the moderation of equity, ſtanding upon the defence of our own right and lawful inheritance, intending always rather to have peace, if by any reaſonable way it might be had. And thus much, for the ſtopping of ſlanderous fame and the mouths of backbiters, We thought good to ſignifie, firſt to the high Biſhop of Rome, and the ſoreſaid Cardinals; that by them as perſons indifferent, and Mediators, the ſame may be inſinuated to the contrary part; and alſo unto your whole Univerſity in general; recommending unto you all the innocency of my cauſe, and the community of juſtice. Dated at Weſtminſter the 14th. of June, the 19th. year of our Reign in England, and of France the ſixth.

KING
Edw. 3.

The Popes
Legate ſit-
teth up
War.
Like Legate
like Pope.

And thus much for the Kings Letters. Now let us again return to his paſſage, from whence a little we have digreſſed. Concerning the which paſſage of the King, with the order of his acts atchieved in the ſame, from the winning of Codane or Cardone, unto the Town of Puſſake, it is ſufficiently deſcribed by one of the Kings Chaplains and his Confeſſor; who being a Dominick Frier, and accompanying the King through all his journey, writeth thereof as followeth:

Benedicere debemus Deum Cœli, &c. Great cauſe we have to praiſe and laud the God of Heaven, and moſt worthily to confeſs his holy name, who hath wrought ſo his mercy to us. For after the conflict had at Codane, in the which many were ſlain, and the City taken and ſackt even to the bare Walls, the City of Baia immediately yielded it ſelf of his own accord, fearing leſt their counſels had been bewrayed. After this the Lord our King directed his progreſs toward Roan: Who being at the Town of Lexon, there came certain Cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which Cardinals being courteouſly entertained of the King for the reverence of the Popes See, it was thus answered to them again; That the King being much deſirous

A Letter of
the Kings
Confeſſor
touching his
acts doing
at Cardane.

The Cardi-
nals again
intreat for
peace.

KING desirous of peace, had assayed by all ways and means reasonable how to maintain the same; and therefore hath offered conditions, and manifold ways of peace to be had to the no small prejudice of his own cause. And yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any means it may be sought, &c. With this answer the Cardinals going to the French King the Kings adversary, to persuade with him in like manner, returned to King Edward again, offering to him in the French Kings name, the Dukedom of Aquitania, in as full assurance as his father before him ever had it: besides further hope also of obtaining more if intreaty of peace might be obtained. But forsomuch as that contented not enough the Kings mind, neither did the Cardinals find the French King so tractable and propense to the study of peace as they looked for, the Cardinals returned, leaving the matter as they found it. And so the King speeding forward, by the way as his journey did lie, he subdued the Country and the great Towns, without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and run away. Such fear God struck into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same Voyage, as the King had gotten many Towns and Villages, so also he subdued Castles and Munitions, very strong, and that with little streß. His enemy being at the same time at Roan had reared a great Army, who notwithstanding being well manned, yet ever kept on the other side of the River Seane, breaking down all the Bridges that we should not come over to him. And although the Country round about continually was spoiled, sacked, and with fire consumed by the circuit of 20 miles round about; yet the French King, being distant scarce the space of one mile from us, either would not, or else durst not (when he might easily have passed over the River) make any resistance for defence of his Country and People. And so our King journeying forward, came to Pusiake or Poissy, where the French King had likewise broken down the Bridge, and keeping on the other side of the River would rest in no place.

After whose coming to Poissy, the foresaid Chaplain and Confessor to the King, named Michael Northburgh, describing the Kings Voyage, and the acts of the Englishmen from the Town of Poissy, to his coming to Calis, in his Letters writeth in this wise.

A Letter of William Northburgh the Kings Confessor, describing the Kings Voyage into France.

Salutations premised, we give you to understand, that our Sovereign Lord the King came to the Town of Poissy, the day before the Assumption of our Lady, where was a certain Bridge over the water of Seane, broken down of the enemy, but the King tarried there so long till that the Bridge was made again. And whiles the Bridge was in repairing, there came a great number of Men at Arms, and other Soldiers armed, to hinder the same. But the Earl of Northampton issued out against them and slew of them more than one thousand; the rest fled away, thanks be to God. And at another time our Men passed the Water, although with much travel, and slew a great number of the common Soldiers of France, about the City of Paris, and Country adjoining, being part of the French Kings Army; and thoroughly well appointed; so that our people have now made other good Bridges upon our enemies, God be thanked, without any great loss and damage to us. And on the Morrow after the Assumption of our Lady, the King passed the water of Seane, and marched toward Poissy, which is a Town of great defence, and strongly immured, and a marvellous strong Castle within the same, which our enemies kept. And when our Vanguard was passed the Town, our Rereguard gave an assault thereunto, and took the same: where were slain more than three hundred Men at Arms of our enemies part. And the next day following, the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Hugh Spenser marched forth upon the Commons of the Country assembled and well armed, and in fine defeated them, and slew of them more than 200, and took 600 Gentlemen Prisoners, beside others. And after that, the King marched toward Grand Villers, and while he was there encamped, the Kings Vanguard was descried by the Men of Arms by the King Benname; whereupon our

Men issued out in great haste, and joyned Battel with them, but were enforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be unto God, the Earl of Northampton issued out, and rescued the Horsemen with other Soldiers; so that few or none of them were either taken or slain, saving only Thomas Talbot, but had again the enemy in chase within two Leagues of Amiens, of whom we took 8, and slew twelve of their best Men at Arms; the rest being well horsed, took the Town of Amiens. After this, the King of England marched toward Pountise upon Bartholomew day, and came unto the water of Som, where the French King had laid 500 Men at Arms, and three thousand footmen, purposing to have kept and stopped our passage; but thanks be to God, the King of England and his Host entered the same water of Som, where never Man passed before, without the loss of any of our Men; and after that encountered with the enemy, and slew of them more than two thousand; the rest fled to Aberyle, in which chase were taken many Knights, Squires, and Men at Arms. The same day Sir Hugh Spenser took the Town of Croylay, where he and his Soldiers slew 400 Men at Arms, and kept the Town, where they found great store of Victuals. The same night encamped the King of England in the Forest of Cressly upon the same water, for that the French Kings Host came on the other side of the Town near unto our passage; but he would not take the water of us, and so marched toward Aberyle. And upon the Friday next following, the King being still encamped in the said Forest, our Scuriers descried the French King, which marched toward us in four great Battels. And having then understanding of our enemies (as Gods will was) a little before the evening tide we drew unto the plain field, and set our Battels in aray; and immediately the fight began, which was fore and cruel, and indured long, for our enemies behaved themselves right nobly. But thanks be given to God, the Victory fell on our side, and the King our adversary was discomfited with all his Host, and put to flight, where also was slain the King of Benname, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earl of Dabeson, the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Blois, the Earl of Arcor, with his two Sons, the Earl of Damerler, the Earl of Navers, and his Brother, the Lord of Tronard, the Archbishop of Meymes, the Archbishop of Saundes, the high Prior of France, the Earl of Savoy, the Lord of Morles, the Lord de Guis, Seignior de S. Novant, Seignior de Rosinburgh, with six Earls of Almain, and divers other Earls, Barons, Knights and Squires, whose names are unknown. And Philip de Valois himself, with another Marqueß, which was called Lord Elector among the Romans, escaped from the Battel. The number of the Men at Arms which were found dead in the field, besides the common Soldiers and footmen, were 1542. And all that night the King of England with his Host, abode armed in the field where the Battel was fought. On the next morrow before the Sun rose, there marched toward us another great Host, mighty and strong of the Frenchmen. But the Earl of Northampton, and the Earl of Norfolk issued out against them in three Battels; and after long and terrible fight, them in like wise they discomfited, by Gods great help and grace (for otherwise it could never have been) where they took of Knights and Squires a great number, and slew above 2000, pursuing the chase three Leagues from the place where the Battel was fought. The same night also the King encamped himself again in the Forest of Cressley, and on the morrow marched toward Boleime, and by the way he took the Town of Staples; and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his Siege, and lay his Battery to the same. And therefore our Sovereign Lord the King willet and commandeth you, in all that ever you may, to send to the said Siege Victuals convenient. For after the time of our departing from Chaam, we have travelled through the Country, with great peril and danger of our people, but yet always had of Victual plenty, thanks be to God therefore. But now as the case standeth, we partly need your help to be refreshed with Victuals. Thus fare you well. Written at the Siege before the Town of Calis the 14th. day of September.

After the Siege and winning of Poissy, the third day of September An. 1346, the King through the midst of France directed his passage unto Calis, as by the tenor of this Letter of Calis.

Ann. 1346
The Siege of Calis.
you

you hear, and besieged the same. Which Siege he continued from the 3d. of September aforesaid, till the 3d. day of August next ensuing; upon the which day it was rendred up unto the said Edward the 3d. and subdued unto the Crown of England, as after, the Lord willing, shall more appear.

David K. of
Scots invaded
eth England

In the mean time, during the Siege of Calis, David the Scottish King, at the request of the French King, with a great Army braft into the North parts of England; and first besieging the Town of Lidel, within six days obtained the greatest part of the Town; and there taking all that he could find, with Sir Walter Salby a valiant Knight, which was the keeper of the Hold, he caused him uncourteously to be put to the Sword; and so from thence proceeded further into England; till at length being met withal by William Surch Archbishop of York, and the Lord Percy, and the Lord Nevil, with other Nobles of those parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the Plain near to Durham, the seventeenth day of October in the year aforesaid, through the gracious hand of Christ, there they were subdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the Earls of Murrise and Strathern, with the flower of all the Chivalry, and principal Warriors of Scotland were slain. Also the foresaid King David, with the Earls of Meniffie and Fiffes, and other Lords, and William Douglass Masklime, Fleming, and William Douglass, and other many more Men of Arms were taken Prisoners; and so the mischief which they intended to other, fell upon their own heads.

The Scots
overthrew.

David the
Scottish K. ta-
ken prisoner

During moreover, the said Siege of Calis, the foresaid Pope Clement the 6th. writing to the King of England, went about under the pretence of peace to stop his proceedings: whose Letters follow here under written.

*The Letter of the Pope to the King of England,
in the behalf of the Frenchmen.*

Clement the Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, To his well-beloved Son in Christ, Edward the puissant King of England, Salutation and Apostolical Blessing. If you diligently consider, dear Son, (as ought a Catholick Prince to do) the slaughter of such an innumerable fort, bought with the precious blood of Christ our Redeemer; the loss of their substance and souls, and the lamentable perils which the dissensions and Wars stirred up between you and our well-beloved Son Philip, the noble King of France, have brought upon us, and yet daily do without intermission; and also the bewailing of so many poor people, crying out of Orphans and Pupils, lamentation of Widows, and other miserable People which be robbed and spoiled, and almost famished; what exclamation they make with tears running down their Cheeks, yelling and crying unto God for help; as also the destruction of Churches, Monasteries and holy places, holy Vessels, and other ornaments unto Gods service dedicated; the sacrilegious Robberies, Sackings, and Imprisonings, the spoiling of holy Churches, and religious persons, with many other such innumerable, detestable, execrable mischiefs, offending the eyes of the Divine Majesty; all which, if your Princely heart would consider and well remember; with this also, that Catholick Faith (especially in the East parts) and the Christians there abiding by means of the same dissensions and Wars, destitute of the helps of such Catholick Men as are in the West parts, are so afflicted of the Infidels, seeing the other parts of Christendom so troubled with cruel Persecutions, yea, and more cruel than ever it hath been (although in these times to amplify this our Faith in the said East parts is cruel Persecution shewed, more than hath been of many years past) doubtless we believe it would pity your heart. And to the end that such and so great evils should no further proceed; nor yet that so great good might be done by dilating of our foresaid faith in these times should be let and hindred, we desire you that you would apply your mind to make some agreement and peace with the foresaid King. For if (my well-beloved Son) God hath given unto you prosperous success and fortune, ye ought rather to humble than to extol your self; and be so much the more readier to incline to his peace, and to endeavour your self to please God, which loveth peace, and delighteth in peaceable Men; and to eschew the foresaid evils, which without doubt do grievously

offend him. Furthermore, we marvel greatly, that unto our reverend Brother Anibaldus Bishop of Tusculane, and our beloved Son Stephen, of the Title of S. John and Paul, Priest and Cardinal of the Apostolical See, being sent as Legates by us and the same See Apostolical, to intreat a Peace, who diligently and faithfully labouring for the same, as lovers of verity, justice and equity, and therewithal, regarders of your honour, could not be suffered touching the intreaty of the same Peace, to come unto your Graces presence.

Wherefore we desire your Kingly Highness more earnestly, and for the mercy of God, with more vehemency require the same; that you taking up the foresaid horrible evils, and preventing the sweetness of piety and compassion; may escape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which were to be feared, if you should persevere in your former evils, as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for Peace, for which our foresaid Cardinals were sent unto you (howbeit secretly, lest it should be any derogation to your honour) we desire you to condescend thereunto, and that with all your affection you will incline your mind to the same, so pleasant unto God, so desired of the world, as also to you, the foresaid King, and unto the Catholick faith profitable. And that the same peace by Gods help grace established and made perfect, you might assay your puissant strength about Gods business in the foresaid East parts (so good occasion serving, as before is said, in these our times) being so apt advancements of your honour, and happy increasing of your Princely Name; for we have heard it of you reported, that you behave your self fervently in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that you will write unto us again touching the premises, and the purpose of your intention touching the same. Dated at Avinion the 18th. of February, and 5th. year of our Papacy.

KING
Ed. 3.

*The Answer of the King of England, to the
foresaid Letter of the Pope.*

Most holy Father, we understand by the Letters of the reverend Fathers in God, the Bishop of Tusculane, and Stephen of the Title of S. John Priest, Cardinals and Legates of the Court of Rome, as also by the Letters of your Holiness sent unto us, that ye marvel greatly for that your said Legates were of purpose sent unto us, and commanded to intreat of a Peace between our adversary of France and us, that we would not suffer them secretly to talk with us, for the safeguard of our honour; the intention of your heart being to make the foresaid peace; complaining and bewailing therein the death of Christian Men, the loss of their goods, the peril of their souls, the lamentable wailings of the poor, of Orphans, of Widows, and destruction of other pitiful persons, the pillage and robberies of Churches, and other mischiefs innumerable, and namely, the diminishing of Christian faith in the East parts, which by the War between our adversary of France and us is sore decayed, as the said Letters plainly do import. And that forasmuch as God hath given us triumphant fortune, so much the more we ought to abase and humble our heart, and to be the readier to make and incline to a peace. As touching these things, holy Father, we give your holiness to understand, that as well unto your foresaid Legates, as other messengers sent from you unto us, we have offered unto every of them reasonable ways of peace, and every day declare the same, and that not secretly, but openly. For we doubt not to let our purpose be understood; for he that is the high Judge both of him and us, in whose disposition all things lie, hath given unto us the Crown of France to our right and proper heritage. The which right our foresaid adversary hath by force of long time detained from us, we seeking to obtain the same in peaceable wise; and yet do, if we might obtain the same in any good manner, rather for the benefit of Christian Men, and that the foresaid evils might cease, which by his wrongful means only have increased and grown. Yet notwithstanding, as before this time you know, we assented to a Truce, with certain Articles contained in the same writing; all this he hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong suffice him which he offereth us in our foresaid Heritage, but he endeavoureth himself, during the said Truce, to invade our Realm of England, and other our Lands; and furthermore, maintaineth the Scots, and aideth them to the utter

K. Edward
answereth
to the Pope

KING } utter destruction of us, our People and Lands aforesaid; wherein we were inforced for the safeguard of our People and Lands, by such lawful means as we may, to defend our selves, and put him from his wicked purpose. And furthermore for the same, our quarrel being in the hands of God, have we come against him to conquer our Inheritance of France; over whom God hath given us divers Victories, as we have trusted he would by his right-wise judgment and power; which thing he hath shewed upon us, (all chance of fortune set apart) in respect of our rightful Title therein, and without our deserts: wherefore with all humility of heart we give him thanks always therefore, most devoutly night and day praising his holy name; for we acknowledge the same cometh not by our strength and force. Wherefore, most holy Father, we desire your Holiness, and, so much as in us lieth, require the same, that you that supply the place of the Son of God in earth, and have the government of the souls of all Christian men, and ought to be upright and equal towards all men, without exception of persons, that ye, I say, will receive good information and true, of the objections aforesaid, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our said adversary of France may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to us herein, and may be by your aid redressed, and that he in this his wrong have no maintenance and aid at your hand. For if it be so, we then appeal unto the Judge of Judges, which suffereth for a time wrongs to be done for the sinful default of Man, but in the end redresseth the same, leaving no good deed unrewarded, nor evil unpunished; most humbly requiring him to be to us a true and upright Judge of all our controversies: for his mercies sake, as in the mean time we repose our full trust and confidence in him. The holy Spirit of God, &c.

The K. appealeth from the Pope to God.

Offers made to the men of Flanders to forsake K. Edward.

Moreover, during yet the Siege of Calis, the French King had sent certain offers to the Men of Flanders, that if they would relinquish the King of England, and adhere to him:

First, He would remit all their former transgressions.

Secondly, He would unburden them of their indict.

Thirdly, He would send unto them such plenty of Corn, that what was sold for 12 shillings with them, should be sold for 4 shillings, and that for six years.

Fourthly, He would store them with plenty of French Wooll to make Cloth for a small price; and that they might sell the said Cloths, both in Flanders and in France, and that the Frenchmen should use the same Cloth, forso much as all other manner of Cloth should be forbidden in France, so long as any of that (made of French Wooll) might be found.

Fifthly, He would restore to them these three Cities, Insulam, Rowocum and Betony.

Sixthly, He would defend them from all their adversaries; and in pledge of the same would send them money beforehand.

Seventhly, Such as were able and forward men among them, he would retain and promote them, &c.

But these offers, seeming to proceed more of fair words to serve the present turn, than of any hearty truth, were not received. Then the Lord John, Prince and Heir to the French King, during the foresaid Siege of Calis above mentioned, coming with a mighty Army of Frenchmen, set upon the Men of Flanders and Englishmen in the Town of Cassels. In the which conflict, during from morning to noon, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young Dolphin driven back from whence he came. Of whose number divers were slain and taken prisoners. Where on the other side (through the Lords defence) not one is reported to be grievously wounded.

The Dolphin with the French discomfited at Cassels.

Ann. 1347

As this passed on, not long after, about the seventh day of June, An. 1347. King Edward continuing still his Siege against Calis, Philip the French King came down with a mighty Army, purposing to remove the Siege; where, not far off from the English Host, he encamped himself. Which done, two Cardinals, Ambaldus and Stephanus (procured for the same purpose) going between the two Kings, gave to the King of England thus to understand; That if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French King was ready to offer such

honest proffers unto him, as to reason and to his contentation should seem agreeable. But in conclusion, when it came to talk, the Nobles could not agree upon the conditions. Wherefore the French King, seeing no other remedy, caused it to be signified to King Edward; that between that present Tuesday and the next Friday, if he would come forth into the field he should have Battel given him. Thus the place being viewed of four Captains of either Host for the Battel to be fought; it so fell, that the French King on Wednesday at night, before the Battel should joyn, secretly by night setting his pavilions on fire, returned back with his Army out of the sight of the Englishmen.

The French K. lieth before the Battel.

Upon the Friday following, they which were besieged in the Town of Calis, seeing the King to be retired (upon whose help they trusted, being also in great penury and famine for lack of victuals, and otherwise in much misery vehemently distressed) surrendered the Town to the Kings hands: who like a merciful Prince, only detaining certain of the chief, the rest with the whole Commons he let go with Bag and Baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, shewing therein more Princely favour to them, than they did of late in Queen Marys days unto our Men, in recovering the said Town of Calis again.

The town of Calis won.

After the winning thus of Calis, as hath been premised, King Edward, remaining in the said Town a certain space, was in consultation concerning his Voyage and proceeding further into France. But by means of the foresaid Cardinals, Truce for a certain time was taken, and instruments made (so provided) that certain Noblemen as well for the French King, as for the King of England, should come to the Pope, there to debate upon the Articles. Unto the which King Edward, for peace sake, was not greatly disagreeing. Which was Anno 1347. Ex Tbo. Walsing.

Truce concluded between England and France.

The next year following, which was An. 1348. fell a fore Plague, which they call the first general Pettilence in the Realm of England. This Plague (as they say) first springing from the East, and so proceeding Westward, did so mightily prevail here in this Land, beginning first at Dorchester, and the Countrys thereabout, that every day lightly twenty, some days forty, some sixty, and more dead CorpSES were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of November it came to London. Where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that from the first day of February, till about the beginning of May, in a Church-yard then newly made by Smithfield, about 200 dead CorpSES every day were buried, besides them which in other Church-yards of the City were laid also. At length by the grace of Christ, ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the North parts. Where also the next year after, An. 1349. it swaged.

Anno 1348 A vehement pettilence in England.

Now called the Charterhouse Church yard

After this, in the next year ensuing, An. 1350. the Town of Calis was, by Treason of the keeper of the Castle, almost betrayed and won from the Englishmen. Within the compass of which year died Philip the French King. After whom King John his Son succeeded in the Crown. Who the next year after, under false pretence of friendship, caused the Constable of France Earl of Ewe, to be beheaded; who being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long detained in prison in England, was licensed by K. Edward to visit his Country of France. In the same year the Town of Gwines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and asleep.

Ann. 1350

Calis almost lost by treason. The death of the French K. Ann. 1351 The Town of Gwines taken.

The year next following, the Marshal of France with a great Army was put to flight by Sir Roger Bentele Knight, and Captain in Britain, having but only 600 Soldiers with him. In this Battel were taken 9 Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen 140. The Frenchmen and Britains by this Victory were exceedingly discouraged, and their pride cut down.

Ann. 1352 Victory of Sir Roger Bentele.

In the year after, was Henry first made Duke of Lancaster, which before was Earl of Darby and Lancaster. Also divers good Ordinances were appointed in the Parliament at Westminster. Which after, by avarice and partial favour of the head men, were again undone.

First Duke of Lancaster

Concord and agreement about the year 1354. began to come well forward, and Instruments were drawn upon the same between the two Kings. But that the matter being brought up to Pope Innocent the sixth, partly by the quarrelling of the Frenchmen, partly by the winking of the Pope, which ever held with the French side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the King

Anno 1354. Pope Innocent 6.

King of England all the Dukedom of Aquitain, with other Lands there, should be restored without Homage to the French King. And that King Edward again should surrender to him all his right and title, which he had in France; whereupon rose the occasion of great War and Tumult which followed after between the two Realms.

Chron. Adam Mirimouth canonici D. Pauli de gestis Edw. 3.
Ann.
 1355 It followed after this, the year of our Lord 1355. that King Edward hearing of the death of Philip the French King, and that K. John his Son had granted the Dukedom of Aquitain to Charles his eldest Son and Dauphin of Vienna, sent over Prince Edward with the Earls of Warwick, of Salisbury, of Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able Soldiers into Aquitania. Where he being willingly received of divers, the rest partly by force of sword he subdued, partly received, submitting themselves to his protection.

The third Voyage of K. Edward into France.
 Not long after this, in the same year, word being brought to King Edward, that John the French King was ready to meet him at St. Omers, there to give him Battel, he gathered his power, and set over to Calis with his two Sons, Lionel Earl of Wilton, and John of Gaunt Earl of Richmond, and with Henry Duke of Lancaster, &c. Who being come to Saint Omers, the French King with a mighty Army of his Franchlings, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired back; waiting and destroying behind them, to the intent that the English Army in pursuing them, should find no Victuals. By reason whereof, King Edward following him by the space of nine or ten days unto Hadem (when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor Victuals for forage for his Army) he returned unto Calis; where war again being offered in the name of the King, upon unstable conditions, and yet the same not performed, King Edward seeing the shrinking of his enemy, from Calis crossed the Seas into England, where he recovered again the Town of Barwick, which the Scots before by subtil train had gotten. At which time was granted unto the King in Parliament, 50 s. for every Sack or Pack of Wooll that should be carried over, for the space of six years together. By the which grant, the King might dispense every day by estimation above 100 Marks sterling. And forasmuch as every year 100000 Sacks of Wooll were thought to be transported out of the Realm, the sum thereof for six years space was esteemed to mount to 1500000 pound sterling.

Fifty shillings for every Sack of Wooll carried out of England.
The custom of Wooll for six years 1500000 l. sterling to K. Edward.
Ann.
 1356 The same year, when King Edward had recovered Barwick, and subdued Scotland, Prince Edward being in Gascoine, made toward the French King. Who, notwithstanding by the way all Bridges were cast down, and great resistance made; yet the victorious Prince made way with his Sword, after much slaughter of the Frenchmen, and many Prisoners taken, at length joyning with the French King at Poytiers, scarce with 2000, gave the overthrow to the French King with 7000 Men of Arms and more. In which conflict, the French King himself, and Philip his Son, with Lord James of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Senon, 11 Earls, 22 Lords were taken. Of other Warriors and Men of Arms 2000. Some affirm, in this conflict were slain 2 Dukes, of Lords and Noblemen 24. of men of Arms 2002; of other Soldiers about 8000. The common report is, that more Frenchmen were there taken Prisoners, than were the number of them which took them. This noble Victory gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all Men.

The French King taken Prisoner by Prince Edw.
 It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this History, to comprehend in order all the doings of this King, with the circumstances of his Victories, of the bringing in of the French King into England, of his abode there, of the ransom levied on him, and of David the Scottish King; of which, the one was rated at three millions of Scutes, the other at an hundred thousand Marks, to be paid in ten years, how the Staple was after translated to Calis, with such like. I refer them that would see more, to the Chronicle of Tho. Walsing. of St. Albans, of John Froysard, Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

Every Scute valuing six shilling eight pence.
 Thus having discoursed at large all such Martial Affairs and Warlike Exploits, incident in the Reign of this King betwixt him and the Realms of France and Scotland: now, to return again to our matters Ecclesiastical,

it followeth in order to recapitulate and notice the troubles and contentions growing between the same King and the Pope, and other Ecclesiastical persons in matters touching the Church in order of years remaining in the Tower, taken out of the Records, as followeth. As where first in the fourth year of his Reign, the King wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to this effect: That whereas King Edward the first his Grandfather did give to a Clerk of his own, being his Chaplain, the Dignity of Treasurer of York, the Archbishoprick of York being then vacant and in the Kings hands, in the quiet possession whereof the said Clerk continued, until the Pope misliking therewith, would have displaced him, and promoted to the same Dignity a Cardinal of Rome, to the manifest prejudice of the Crown of England; the King therefore straitly chargeth the Archbishop of York not to suffer any matter to pass, that may be prejudicial to the donation of his Grandfather, but that his own Clerk should enjoy the said dignity accordingly, upon pain of his Highness displeasure.

The like precepts were also directed to these Bishops following, *videlicet*, to the Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of Sarum, Monsieur Marmion, Archdeacon of Richmond, Archdeacon of Lincoln, the Prior of Lewen, the Prior of Lenton, to Master Rich of Bentworth, to Master Iberico de Concore, to the Popes Nuncio, to Master Guido of Calma. And withal, he wrote his Letters unto the Pope, as touching the same matter, consisting in three parts. First, in the declaration and defence of his Right and Title to the donation and gift of all manner of Temporalities, of Offices, Prebends, Benefices and Dignities Ecclesiastical, holden of him *in capite*, as in the right of his Crown of England. Secondly, In expostulating with the Pope for intruding himself into the ancient right of the Crown of England, intermeddling with such Collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessors which were Popes before. Thirdly, Intreating him that he would henceforth abstain and desist from molesting the Realm with such Novelties and strange Usurpations; and so much the more, for that, in the publick Parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agreed upon, by the universal assent of all the Estates of the Realm, that the King should stand to the defence of all such Rights and Jurisdictions as to his Regal Dignity and Crown any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth year of the Reign of this King, Pope Benedict the twelfth sendeth down Letters touching his new Creation, with certain other matters and requests to the King; whereunto the King answering again, declareth how glad he is, of that his preferment; adding moreover, that his purpose was to have sent unto him certain Embassadors for congratulation of the same. But being otherwise occupied by reason of Wars, could not attend his Holiness requests, notwithstanding he minded to call a Parliament about the Feast of Ascension next, where, upon the assembly of his Clergy and other Estates, he would take order for the same, and so direct his Embassadors to his Holiness accordingly.

The next year after, which was the tenth year of his Reign, the King writeth another Letter to the Pope; that forasmuch as his Clergy had granted him one years tenth for the supportation of his Wars, and for that the Pope also had the same time to take up the payment of six years Tenths granted him by the Clergy a little before, therefore the Pope would vouchsafe at his request to forbear the exaction of that money for one year, till that his Tenth for the necessities of his Wars were dispatched.

The same year he wrote also to the Pope to this effect: That whereas the Prior and Chapter of Norwich did nominate a Clerk to be Bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his investiture, without the Kings knowledge; therefore the Pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the Kings peculiar Jurisdiction and Prerogative.

After this, in the sixteenth year of this King, it happened that the Pope sent over certain Legates to hear and determine matters appertaining to the right of patronages of Benefices; which the King perceiving to tend to the no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his Subjects, writeth unto the said Legates, admonishing and requiring them not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing unad-

unadvisedly, otherwise than might stand with the lawful ordinances and customs of the Laws of his Realm, and the freedom and liberties of his Subjects.

Writing moreover the same year to other Legates being sent over by the Pope to treat of Peace between the King and the French King, with request that they would first make their repair to the French King, who had so oftentimes broken with him, and prove what conformity the French K. would offer; which if he found reasonable, they should soon accord with him: otherwise he exhorted them not to enter into the Land, nor to proceed any further in that behalf.

The year following, which was the seventeenth of his Reign, ensueth another Letter to the Pope, against his provisions and reservations of Benefices, worthy here to be placed and specified, but that the summe thereof is before set down, to be found in the Page 440.

The year following; another Letter likewise was sent by the King to the Pope, upon occasion taken of the Church of Norwich, requiring him to surcease his reservations and provisions of the Bishopricks within the Realm, and to leave the Elections thereof free to the Chapters of such Cathedral Churches, according to the ancient Grants and Ordinances of his noble Progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth year of this Kings Reign, there came to the presence of the King certain Legates from Rome, complaining of certain Statutes past in his Parliament, tending to the prejudice of the Church of Rome, and the Popes Primacy, viz. That if Abbots, Priors, or any other Ecclesiastical Patrons of Benefices should not present to the said Benefices within a certain time, the lapse of the same should come to the Ordinary or Chapter thereof; or if they did not present, then to the Archbishop, if the Archbishop likewise did fail to present, then the gift to pertain not unto the Lord Pope, but unto the King and his Heirs. Another complaint also was this, That if Archbishops should be slack in giving such Benefices as properly pertained to their own Patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertain to the foresaid King and his Heirs. Another complaint was, That if the Pope should make void any Elections in the Church of England for any defect found therein, and so had placed some honest and discreet persons in the same, that then the King and his Heirs was not bound to render the Temporalties unto the parties placed by the Popes provision. Whereupon the Pope being not a little aggrieved, the King writeth unto him, certifying that he was misinformed, deying that there was any such Statute made in that Parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would confer with his Prelates and Nobles, and thereof would return answer by his Legates.

In the 20th. year of his Reign, another Letter was written to the Pope by the King, the effect whereof in few words to expresse it, was this; to certifie him that, in respect of his great charges sustained in his Wars, he hath by the counsel of his Nobles, taken into his own hands the fruits and profits of all his Benefices here in England.

To proceed in the order of years, in the twenty sixth year of this King, one Nicholas Heath Clerk, a bulle-headed body, and a troubler of the Realm, had procured divers Bishops, and others of the Kings Council to be cited up to the Court of Rome, there to answer such complaints as he had made against them. Whereupon commandment was given by the King to all the Ports of the Realm for the restraint of all Passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any Bulls or other Procces from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignity of the Crown, or molestation of the Subjects: concerning which Nicholas Heath, the King also writeth to the Pope his Letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to give no ear to his lewd complaints.

The same year the King writeth also to the Popes Legate resident in England, requiring him to surcease from exacting divers summs of Money of the Clergy, in the name of first fruits of Benefices.

The 31st. year of this Kings Reign, the King by his Letters complaineth to the Pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicholas Stanway, remaining in Rome, which by his slanderous complaints procured divers Citations to be sent into the Realm, to the great distur-

bance of divers and sundry honest Men. Whereupon he prayeth and adviseth the Pope to stay himself, and not to send over such hasty Citations upon every light occasion.

To pass further to the 38th. year of the same King, thus we find in the Rolls; That the King the same year took order by two of his Clergy, to wit, John a Stock, and John of Norton to take into their hands all the Temporalties of all Deanries, Prebends, Dignities and Benefices being then vacant in England, and to answer the profits of the same to the Kings use.

The same year an Ordinance was made by the King and his Council, and the same was proclaimed in all Port-Towns within the Realm, That good and diligent search should be made, that no person whatsoever coming from the Court of Rome, &c. do bring into the Realm with him any Bull, Instrument, Letters Patents, or other Procces, that may be prejudicial to the King, or any of his Subjects: Nor that any person, passing out of this Realm toward the Court of Rome, do carry with him any Instrument or Procces that may redound to the prejudice of the King or his Subjects; and that all persons passing to the said Court of Rome, &c. with the Kings special Licence, do notwithstanding promise and find Surety to the Lord Chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt or pursue any matter to the prejudice of the King or his Subjects, under pain to be put out of the Kings protection, and to forfeit his Body, Goods and Chattels, according to the Statute thereof made Anno 27.

And thus much concerning the Letters and Writings of the King, with such other domestical matters, perturbations and troubles passing between him and the Pope, taken out of the publick Records of the Realm, whereby I thought to give the Reader to understand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the unfatiable avarice of that Bishop, more like a proud Lucifer than a Pastor of the Church of Christ, in abusing the King, and oppressing his Subjects with Exactions unmeasurable; and not only exercising his Tyranny in this Realm, but raging also against other Princes, both far and near, amongst whom neither spared he the Emperor himself. In the story and acts of which Emperor Ludovicus, mentioned a little before, page 425, whom the Pope did most arrogantly excommunicate upon Maundy Thursday, and the self-same day placed another Emperor in his room; relation was made of certain learned Men which took the Emperors part against the Pope. In number of whom was Marfilus Patavinus, Guillelmus Ockam, Johannes Gandavensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Ulricus Hangenor Treasurer of the Emperor, Dantes, Aligerius, &c. Of whom Marfilus Patavinus compiled and exhibited unto the Emperor Ludovicus a worthy work intituled *Defensor pacis*, written in the Emperors behalf against the Pope. Wherein (both godly and learnedly disputing against the Pope) he proveth all Bishops and Priests to be equal, and that the Pope hath no superiority above other Bishops, much less above the Emperor: That the Word of God ought to be only the chief Judge in deciding and determining causes Ecclesiastical; that not only spiritual persons, but Laymen also being godly and learned, ought to be admitted unto General Councils; That the Clergy and the Pope ought to be subject unto Magistrates; that the Church is the University of the faithful, and that the Foundation and Head of the Church is Christ, and that he never appointed any Vicar or Pope over his Universal Church; That Bishops ought to be chosen every one by their own Church and Clergy; That the Marriage of Priests may lawfully be permitted; That S. Peter was never at Rome; That the Clergy and Synagogue of the Pope is a Den of Thieves; That the Doctrine of the Pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to destruction; And that the corrupt manners of the Christians do spring and flow out of the wickedness of the Spirituality, &c. He disputeth moreover, in another work, of free Justification by Grace; and extenuated merits, saying, that they are no causes efficient of our Salvation, but only *sine qua non*, that is to say, that works be no cause of our Justification, but yet our Justification goeth not without them. For the which his Doctrine most found and Catholick, he was condemned by the Pope, Anno 1324, by the Popes Decree *Extravagant, cap. Licet inter doctrinam*. Cor-

Marfilus Patavinus Author of the Book called, *Defensor pacis*.

Articles of Marfilus against the Pope.

Merits cause of salvation, *sine qua non*.

Marfilus condemned of the Pope, Anno 1324, by the Popes Decree *Extravagant, cap. Licet inter doctrinam*.

Concerning the which Man and his Doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to History, to the intent Men may see that they which charge this Doctrine now taught in the Church with the note of novelty or newness, how ignorant and unskilful they be in the Histories and order of times forepast.

Johannes Gundersen condemned by the Pope

In the same part of condemnation at the same time also was *Johannes de Gunduno*, Anno 1330. and contained also in the foresaid Extravagant with *Marsilius Patavinus*. Which *Johannes* wrote much upon *Aristotle* and *Averrois*, and his Books are yet remaining. And no doubt but he wrote also of Divinity, but it is not unlike that these works have been abolished.

Guillelmus Ockam wrote against the Pope.

In the same number and catalogue cometh also *Guillelmus Ockam*, who was in the year of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned, pag. 424. and wrote likewise in defence of *Ludovicus* the Emperor against the Pope; and also in defence of *Michael*, General of *Grayfriars*, whom the Pope had excommunicated and cursed for an Heretick. Divers Treatises were by the said *Ockam* set forth, whereof some are extant and in Print, as his Questions and Distinctions; some are extinct and suppressed (as *Ascentius* reporteth) *quod essent aliquando asperiora*. Some againe be published under no name of the Author, being of his doing; as the Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk; wherein it is to be conjectured, what Books and Works this *Ockam* had collected against the Pope. Of this *Ockam*, *John Sleidane* in his History inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whose words be these: *William Ockam* in time of *Ludovicus* the fourth, Emperor, did flourish about the year of our Lord 1326. who among other things wrote of the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Michael general of the *Grayfriars*, excommunicated for an Heretick. *Ascentius* in prefatione ejus auctoritatis. The Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk, of *Ockam's* making.

Eight questions disputed by *Ockam*.

In the which Book he handleth these eight Questions very copiously; Whether both the administrations of the Bishops office, and of the Emperors, may be in one Man? Secondly, Whether the Emperor taketh his power and authority only of God, or else of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope and Church of Rome have power by Christ to set and place Kings and Emperors, and to commit to them their Jurisdiction to be exercised? Fourthly, Whether the Emperor being elected, hath full authority upon the said his Election, to administer his Empire? Fifthly, Whether other Kings besides the Emperor and King of Romans, in that they are consecrated of Priests, receive of them any part of their power? Sixthly, Whether the said Kings in any case be subject to their Consecrators? Seventhly, Whether if the said Kings should admit any new Sacrifice, or should take to themselves the Diadem without any further Consecration, they should thereby lose their Kingly right, and title? Eighthly, Whether the seven Princes Electors give as much to the Election of the Emperor, as succession rightfully giveth to other Kings? Upon these Questions he disputeth and argueth with sundry Arguments and sundry reasons on both sides, at length he decideth the matter on the part of the Civil Magistrate; and by occasion thereof entrencheth into the mention of the Popes Decrees extravagant; declaring how little force or regard is to be given thereunto.

Gregorius Ariminensis maintained the same Doctrine now received. Ex *Tribem*.

Tribemius maketh mention of one *Gregorius Ariminensis*, a learned and a famous and right godly Man; who not much differing from the age of this *Ockam*, about the year of our Lord 1350. disputed in the same Doctrine of Grace and Free-will as we do now, and dissented therein from the *Papists* and *Sophists*, counting them worse than *Pelagians*.

Andreas de Castro and *Burdianus*, both Gopellers 200 years agoe.

Of the like judgment, and in the same time was also *Andreas de Castro*, as appeareth *super lit. 1. Sent. dist. 45.* and *Burdianus* upon the Ethicks of *Aristotle*; which both maintained the grace of the Gospel, as is now in the Church received above 200 years since.

Eudo Duke of Burgundy against the Popes Decrees about 200 years since. Ex *Carolo Molino*.

And what should I speak of the Duke of Burgundy, named *Eudo*, who at the same time Anno 1350. perswaded the French King not to receive in his Land the new found Constitutions, Decretal and Extravagant, nor to suffer them within his Realm: whose sage counsel then given, yet remaineth among the French Kings records, as witnesseth *Carol. Molinus*.

Dantes an Italian Writer against the Pope.

Dantes an Italian Writer, a Florentine, lived in the time of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, about the year of our Lord 1300. and took part with *Marsilius Patavinus* against three sorts of Men, which he said were enemies to the

truth: that is, the Pope; secondly, the order of religious Men, which count themselves the children of the Church, when they are the children of the Devil their Father: thirdly, the Doctors of Decrees and Decretals. Certain of his Writings be extant abroad, wherein he proveth the Pope not to be above the Emperor, nor to have any right or Jurisdiction in the Empire. He proveth the donation of *Constantine* to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right; for the which he was taken of many for an Heretick. He complaineth moreover very much, the preaching of Gods Word to be omitted; and instead thereof, the vain fables of Monks and Friars to be preached and believed of the people, and so the flock of Christ to be fed not with the food of the Gospel, but with wind. The Pope, saith he, of a Pastor is made a Wolf, to waste the Church of Christ, and to procure with his Clergy, not the Word of God to be preached, but his own Decrees. In his Canticle of Purgatory, he declareth the Pope to be the Whore of Babylon. And to her Ministers, to some he applieth two Horns, to some four. As to the Patriarchs, whom he noteth to be the Tower of the said Whore Babylonical. *Ex libris Dantis Italice*.

KING, LEA 3.3

Donation of Constantine, a thing forged.

The Pope the Whore of Babylon.

Ex lib. Johann. Anti-christ.

An admission to the Romans.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the Book of *Jornandus*, imprinted with the foresaid *Dantes*; that forasmuch as Antichrist cometh not before the destruction of the Empire, therefore such as go about to have the Empire extinct, are in so doing fore-runners and messengers of Antichrist. Therefore let the Romans (saith he) and their Bishops beware, lest their sins and wickedness so deserving, by the just judgment of God, the Priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the Prelates and Princes of Germany take heed, &c.

And because our adversaries which object unto us the newness of our Doctrine shall see and perceive the course and form of this Religion now received, not to have been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past: I will add to these above recited, Master *Tauler* a Preacher of *Argentine* in Germany, Anno 1350. Who, contrary to the Popes proceedings, taught openly against all mens merits, and against Invocations of Saints, and preached sincerely of our free Justification by Grace; referring all Mans trust only to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

Tauler of Germany, a Preacher against the Popes proceedings.

With whom also may be adjoined *Franciscus Petrarca*, a Writer of the same Age, who in his Works and his Italian Meeter, speaking of Rome, calleth it the Whore of Babylon, the School and Mother of Error, the Temple of Heresie, the Nest of Treachery, growing and increasing by the oppressing of others: and saith further, that she, (meaning the Popes Court) extollet her self against her Founders; that is, the Emperors who first set her up, and did so enrich her; and seemeth plainly to affirm, that the Pope was Antichrist, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any Man, than to be made Pope. This *Franciscus* was about the year of our Lord 1350.

Franciscus Petrarca. Vide supra. *Idem* Petrarca, Rome the Mother and School of Error.

And if time would serve us to seek out old Histories, we should find plenty of faithful witnesses, of old and ancient time, to give witness with us against the Pope, beside the other above rehearsed: as *Johannes de rupe scissa*, Anno 1340. Who for rebuking the Spirituality for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into Prison.

Johannes de rupe scissa. Vide supra. *Idem* cast into Prison.

Illyricus a Writer in our days, testifieth that he found and read in an old Pamphlet, that the said *Johannes* should call the Church of Rome the Whore of Babylon; and the Pope to be the Minister of Antichrist; and the Cardinals to be the false Prophets. Being in Prison, he wrote a Book of Prophecies, bearing the Title; *Vade mecum in tribulationem*: in which Book (which also I have seen) he prophesied and admonished, affliction and tribulation to hang over the Spirituality. And he pronounceth plainly, that God will purge his Clergy, and will have Priests that shall be poor, godly, and that shall faithfully feed the Lords Flock: Moreover, that the goods of the Church shall return again to the Laymen. He prophesied also the same time, that the French King and his Army should have an overthrow; which came likewise to pass during the time of his Imprisonment. Of this *Johannes de rupe*, writeth *Froissard* in his time, and also *Wickliff*; of whose Prophecies much more may be said at more leisure (Christ willing) hereafter.

The Church of Rome the Whore of Babylon.

The deformation of the Church before prophesied.

KING About the same year of our Lord 1340. in the City of *Herbipoli*, was one named *Maſter Conradus Hager*. Who (as appeareth by the old Bulls and Registers of *Oſbo* Biſhop of the ſaid City) is there recorded to have maintained and taught the ſpace of twenty four years together, the Maſs to be no manner of Sacrifice: neither that it profiteth any Man either quick or dead, and that the money given of the dead for Maſſes, be very Robberies and Sacriledges of Priests, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poor. And he ſaid moreover, that if he had a Stove full of gold and ſilver, he would not give one farthing for any Maſs. For the ſame his Doctrine, this good Preacher was Condemned and incloſed in priſon: what afterward became of him, we do not find.

There is, among other old and ancient Records of antiquity belonging to this preſent time, a certain Monument in Verſes Poetically compiled, but not without a certain Moral, Intituled, *Pœnitentiarius Afini*. The Affes Confeſſor; bearing the date and year of our Lord in this number, *Completus, Anno. 1343*. In this Treatiſe are brought forth the Wolf, the Fox, and the Aſs, coming to ſhrift and doing penance. Firſt, The Wolf confeſſeth him to the Fox, who eaſily doth abſolve him from all his faults, and alſo excuſeth him in the ſame. In like manner the Wolf, hearing the Foxes ſhrift, ſhewed to him the like favour again. After this cometh the Aſs to Confeſſion, whoſe fault was this; That he being hungry took a ſtraw out from the ſheaf of one that went in peregrination unto *Rome*. The Aſs both repenting of this fact, and becauſe he thought it not ſo hainous as the faults of the other, he hoped the more for his abſolution. But what followed? After the ſilly Aſs had uttered his crime in Auricular Confeſſion, immediately the diſcipline of the Law was executed upon him with ſeverity: neither was he judged worthy of any Abſolution, but was apprehended upon the ſame, ſlain, and devoured. Whoſoever was the Author of this fabulous tale, he had a myſtical underſtanding of the ſame; for by the Wolf no doubt was meant the Pope: But the Fox was reſembled to the Prelates, Curteſans, Priests, and the reſt of the Spirituality. Of the Spirituality the Lord Pope is ſoon abſolved, as contrarily, the Pope doth ſoon Abſolve them in like manner. By the Aſs is meant the poor Laity, upon whoſe back the ſtrait cenſure of the Law is ſharply executed; eſpecially when the German Emperors come under the Popes Inquiſition, to be examined by his diſcipline, there is no Abſolution nor Pardon to be found, but in all haſte he muſt be deposed, as in theſe ſtories may partly appear before. And though the matter be not the weight of a ſtraw, yet what ſaith the Holy Father the Wolf, if it pleaſe him to make any matter of it?

*Immenſum ſcelus eſt, injuria quam peregrino
Feciſti, ſtramen ſubripiendo ſibi.
Non advertiſti quod plura pericula paſſus,
Plurima paſſurus quod peregrinus erat.
Non advertiſti quod ei per maxima terræ
Et pelagi ſpacia, ſit peragrandia via.
Non advertiſti ſanctos, nec limina ſancta;
Sanctorum ſanctam ſed nec Hieruſalem.
Ille retranſiit eadem loca, tam violentum
Ex inopinato ſenſit addeſſe malum.
De Papa taceo, cujus proteſtatio talem
Conduxit cujus tu vilipendis opem.
Totius Eccleſiæ fuerit quam nuncius iſte,
Pertulo abſtractit gramine damna via, &c.*

And thus they, aggregating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermoſt, ſie upon the poor Aſs and devour him. By the which apology, the tyrannical and fraudulent practices of theſe Spiritual Romaniſts are lively deſcribed.

Not long after theſe above rehearſed, about the year of our Lord 1350. *Gerhardus Ridder* wrote alſo againſt the Monks and Friars a Book, Intituled, *Lacryma Eccleſiæ*: wherein he diſputeth againſt the foreſaid Religious Orders, namely againſt the begging Friars; proving that kind of life to be far from Chriſtian Perfection, for that it is againſt Charity to live upon others, when a Man may live by his own labors: And affirmeth them to be Hypocrites, filthy livers, and ſuch as for mans favor, and for lucre fake,

do mix with true Divinity, Fables, Apocryphaes, and Dreams of Vanity. Alſo that they, under pretence of long prayer, devour Widows Houſes, and with their Confeſſions, Sermons and Burials, do trouble the Church of Chriſt manifold ways. And therefore perſwaded the Prelates to bridle and keep ſhort the inordinate licence and abuſes of theſe monaſtical perſons, &c.

Yet I have made no mention of *Michael Seſenus*, Provincial of the Gray Friars, nor *Petrus de Corbaria*, of whom writeth *Antoninus, in quarta parte ſumma*, and ſaith they were condemned in the extravagant of Pope *John*, with one *Johannes de Poliacco*. Their Opinions, ſaith *Antoninus*, were theſe, That *Peter* the Apoſtle was no more the head of the Church, than the other Apoſtles: And that Chriſt left no Vicar behind him or head in his Church: And that the Pope hath no ſuch authority to correct and puniſh, to inſtitute or depoſe the Emperor: *Item*, That all Priests, of what degree ſoever, are of equal authority, power and juriſdiction by the inſtitution of Chriſt: but by the inſtitution of the Emperor, the Pope to be ſuperior, which by the ſame Emperor alſo may be revoked again. *Item*, That neither the Pope nor yet the Church may puniſh any Man, *puniſione coactiva*: That is, by extern coaction; unleſs they receive licence of the Emperor. This foreſaid *Michael*, general of the Gray Fryers, wrote againſt the Tyranny, Pride, and Primacy of the Pope, accuſing him to be Antichriſt, and the Church of *Rome* to be the Whore of *Babylon*, drunk with the blood of Saints. He ſaid there were two Churches, one of the wicked flouriſhing, wherein reigned the Pope; the other of the godly afflicted. *Item*, That the verity was almoſt utterly extinct; And for this cauſe he was deprived of his dignity, and condemned of the Pope. Notwithſtanding, he ſtood conſtant in his aſſertions. This *Michael* was about the year of our Lord 1322. And he left behind him many fautors and followers of his Doctrine, of whom a great part were ſlain by the Pope: ſome were condemned, as *William Ockam*; ſome were burned, as *Johannes de Caſtilione*, and *Franciſcus de Arcatara*. In *extravag. Joan. 23*.

With him alſo was condemned, in the ſaid extravagant, *Johannes de Poliacco* above touched, whoſe aſſertions were theſe: That the Pope could not give licence to hear Confeſſions to whom he would, but that every Paſtor in his own Church ought to ſuffice. *Item*, That Paſtors and Biſhops had their authority immediately from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and not from the Pope. *Item*, That the conſtitution of Pope *Benedict* the 11th. wherein he granteth larger privileges to the Friars above other Paſtors, was no declaration of the Law, but a ſubverſion. And for this he was by the ſaid Friars oppreſſed, about the year of our Lord, 1322.

After *Simon Mepham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* before mentioned, who lived not long, ſucceeded *John Stratford*. After whom came *John Offord*, who lived but ten months. In whoſe room ſucceeded *Thomas*, and remained but one year, *Anno. 1350*. And after him *Simon Iſlip* was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by Pope *Clement* the 6th. who ſate 17 years, and builded *Canterbury* College in *Oxford*. Which *Simon Iſlip* ſucceeded the Biſhop of *Ely*, named *Simon Langham*, who within two years was made Cardinal. In whoſe ſtead Pope *Urban* the 5th. ordained *William Wittleſey* Biſhop of *Worceſter* to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *An. 1366*. In which year, *William* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* elected and founded the new College in *Oxford*.

Again, in the order of the Popes, next unto Pope *Clement* the 6th. before mentioned, about the ſame time, *An. 1353*. ſucceeded Pope *Innocent* the 6th. In the firſt year of which Pope, two Friars Minors or Franciſcans were burned at *Avinion*, *Pro opinionibus* (as mine Author ſaith) *erroneis, prout D. Papa & ejus Cardinalibus videbatur*. 1. For certain Opinions, as ſeemed to the Pope and his Cardinals, Erronious. *Ex Chron. Walf.* Of the which two Friars I find, in the *Chronicles De actis Rom. pontificum*, and in the *Hiſtory of Premonſtratenſis*, that the one was *Johannes Rochtaylada*; or rather, as I find in *Catal. reſtium*, cited out of the Chronicle of *Henricus de Herfordia*, his name to be *Hayabalus*. Who being (as he recordeth) a Friar Minorite, began firſt in the time of Pope *Clement* the 6th. *An. 1345*. to preach and affirm openly, that he

P p was

The Church of Rome declared to be the Whore of Babylon by Gods revelation. Rochtaylada with another Frier Martyrs.

was by Gods revelation charged and commanded to preach; that the Church of *Rome* was the Whore of *Babylon*, and the Pope with his Cardinals to be very Antichrist. And that Pope *Benedict*, and the other before him his predecessors were damned; with other such like words tending much against the Popes tyrannical majesty. And that the foresaid *Hayabalus* being brought before the Popes face, constantly did stand in the same, saying, That he was commanded by Gods revelation so to say, and also that he would preach the same if he might. To whom it was then objected, That he had some Heretical Books, and so was committed to prison in *Avinion*. In the time of his accusation it happened that a certain Priest, coming before the Pope, cast the Popes Bull down before his feet, saying; Lo here, take your Bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have labored now these three years withal, and yet notwithstanding, for all this your Bull, I cannot be restored to my right. The Pope hearing this, commanded the poor Priest to be scourged, and after to be laid in prison with the foresaid Frier. What became of them afterward, the foresaid Writer *Hemricus de Herfordia* maketh no mention. But I may probably conjecture this Priest and this Frier, *Rochtayladus*, or rather *Hayabalus*, were the two, whom mine Author *Thom. Wals.* writeth to be burned at this time in *Avinion*, about the first beginning of this Pope *Innocentius* the sixth. Of this *Rochtaylada* I thought good here to infer the testimony and mention of *John Froyard*, written of him in his first Volume, Chapter 211. in these words:

A Priest for casting the Popes Bull before the Popes feet, scourged, cast in prison, and after burned at *Avinion*.

Anno 1354

Ex Joanne Froyardo volu. 1. cap. 211.

There were (saith *Froyard*) a Frier Minor, full of great Clergy in the City of *Avinion*, called Frier *John* of *Rochtaylada*, the which Frier Pope *Innocent* the sixth held in prison in the Castle of *Baignour*, for shewing of many marvels after to come; principally he shewed many things to fall unto the Prelates of the Church for the great superfluity and pride, that was then used among them. And also he spake many things to fall of the Realm of *France*, and of the great Lords of Christendom, for the oppressions that they did to the poor common people. This Frier, said he, would prove all his saying by the authority of the *Apocalypse*, and by other Books of Holy Saints and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the Holy Ghost: he shewed many things hard to believe, and many things fell after as he said. He said them not as a Prophet, but he shewed them by authority of antient Scriptures, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who gave him understanding to declare the antient Prophets, and to shew to all Christian people the years and times when such things should fall. He made divers Books founded on great Sciences and Clergy, whereof one was made the year of our Lord 1346. wherein were written such marvels, that it were hard to believe them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when he was demanded of the wars of *France*, he said that all that had been seen was not like that should be seen after. For he said that the wars in *France* should not be ended, till the Realm were utterly wasted and spoiled in every part. The which saying was well seen after, for the noble Realm of *France* was sore wasted and spoiled, and specially in the term that the said Frier had set. The which was in the years of our Lord 1356, 57, 58, and 59. He said in those years, the Princes and Gentlemen of the Realm should not for fear shew themselves against the people of low estate, assembled of all Countries without head or captain; and they should do as they list in the Realm of *France*; the which fell after, as ye have heard, how the companions assembled them together, and by reason of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great Captains.

Ex scripto Godfridi de Fontanis.

A contention in France between the Prelates and the Friers there.

About the same time happened in *France* a certain contention between the French Prelates, and the Friers of *Paris*, testified and recorded by *Godfridus de Fontanis*; the brief effect of which story is this: The Prelates of *France* Conventing and Assembling together in the City of *Paris*, after a long deliberation among themselves, caused by the Beadles to be called together all the Students, Masters, and Batchelors of every faculty, with the chief heads also of all the Religious Houses and Friers in the University of *Paris*. Who being all there Congregated together in the Bishop of *Paris* his House, where there

were present four Archbishops, and twenty Bishops: first stood up the Bishop of *Bituricensis*, who, there making his Sermon, took for his Theam the place of Saint Paul to the *Ephesians*; *Fratres, ut sciatis quæ sit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo & profunditas charitatis, &c.* and concluded thereupon, first, that true charity would compel them to see and provide for their flocks. Secondly, That the vigor of Charity would arm them to withstand errors. Thirdly, he concluded, That by duty of Charity they were bound to give their lives for the souls of their flock committed to their charge. Fourthly, That by the same Charity every Man ought to hold himself content with that which was his own, and not to intermeddle or busie himself further than to him appertained or belonged to his Office. For there (saith he) all Order Ecclesiastical is dissolved, whereas Men, not containing themselves in their own Precincts, presume in other Mens Charges where they have nothing to do. But this Charity (saith he) now adays waxeth cold, and all Ecclesiastical Order is confounded and utterly out of order. For many there be, which now adays presume to thrust in themselves where they have nothing to do; so that now the Church may seem a monster. For as in a natural body appeareth a monster, where one member doth the office of another; so in the spiritual body which is the Church, it may be thought likewise. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers majors and minors, do take upon them to usurp and occupy the office to us especially appertaining; namely, whereas the Scripture warneth us all, none to take upon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as *Aaron* was. Wherefore we have heretofore oftentimes caused the said Friers both by the King himself in his own person, and also by other Nobles to be spoken to and desired to surcease from doing and intermeddling in our Office, and yet they would not, but have preached against our wills through all our Dioceses, and have heard Confessions, saying, That they have the Popes privilege to bear them out therein. For the which cause we come to you, and not we here present only, but also we have the hand-writing, and the full consent of all other our fellow Bishops throughout the Kingdom of *France*, to complain to you of this so great insolence and presumption of the Friers. For that as we are, you shall be. Neither do I think that there be any of us Prelates here now, which have not sometime been taken out of this University of yours. We have desired moreover, and caused to be desired of the foresaid Friers, that they would send their privileges to the See Apostolical, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the Lord Pope: which they refused also to do. Wherefore to the intent you may the better understand and see what their privileges be, and how far they do extend, we have appointed the said privileges here openly to be read unto you.

Then stood up another in the publick place, and there read the privileges of both the Orders: and afterward read also the constitution of Pope *Innocent* the third, written in the fifth of the Decretals. and beginneth, *Omnis utriusque sexus, &c.* Which constitution was repugnant and contrary to the foresaid privileges, as he there manifestly proved, declaring how both the privileges were derogatory to that constitution.

This done, then rose up the Bishop *Ambianensis*, a great Lawyer, who, discoursing from Article to Article, there proved by good Law, that the said constitution stood in his full force and vigor, and ought not to be infringed by the Friers privileges in any part. And therefore by the vertue of that constitution, that the Friers ought not so disorderly to intrude themselves in hearing Confessions, in injoyning of penance, and preaching in Churches and Dioceses, without special licence of the Bishop of the Diocese, and curate of the Parish: unto whose words never a Frier at that time replied again. And so the Bishop proceeding to his conclusion, desired the University to assist them in that case, wherein they were all determined (saith he) to stand firmly to the shedding of their blood, in resisting that disorder and injuries of the Friers. This happened the sixth day of December which they dedicated to Saint *Nicolas*.

KING 3 Edw. 3

A Sermon of the Bishop of Bituricensis to the Students of Paris against the Friers.

That is, the Dominick Friers, and the Franciscan Friers.

The constitution of Pope Innocent 3.

Omnis utriusque sexus.

The Friers privileged proved contrary to the Popes constitution. The Bishop Ambianensis. Friers ought not to preach in Churches without special licence of them to whom the Church belonged.

The

KING } The next day being *Sunday*, one of the Order of the
 { *Edw. 3* } Minorites or Franciscans, went to the Church of the Minorites or preaching Friars: where he made a Sermon (which was never seen before, the one Order to come and resort to the other) beginning in the foresaid matter to reply, and to expound in order through every Article as well as he could; adding moreover and saying, That they went not so far in their privileges, as they lawfully might. And he said moreover, That what time the said privileges were in obtaining in *Rome*, the Bishop *Ambianensis* was there present himself, resisting the same with all his power; yea all the Prelates also of *France* sent and wrote up to the Court against the same, and yet did not prevail. For when the Friars there presently declared and opened to the Pope in what manner and how far they had used their privileges; the Pope the same time said, *Placet*, that is, agreed unto the same. And now (saith he) the Prelates require and demand of us to send up our privileges to the Court; which were great folly in us. For in so doing, what should we else but give place and occasion, to revoke again the authority which is given into our hands already? Furthermore, our Warden and Master is now lately dead, and the Master here of the Dominick Friars, is not now present. Wherefore we dare not determine in such a weighty cause (touching the privileges of our Order) without the presence of them. And therefore we desire you of the University to hold us therein excused, and not to be so lightly stirred against us, for we are not the worst and vilest part of the University, &c.

The Friars
 reply a-
 gainst the
 Prelates.

Here and
 there were
 made
 friends in
 crucifying
 of Christ.

Another
 Sermon a-
 gainst the
 Friars.

Bishop *Ambianensis*
 in veritate,
 &c.

Verity in
 three parts
 consisteth.

The Friars
 proved with
 a lie.

The next day, being the *8th* day of the same month, is also dedicate to the Conception of our *Lady*: upon which day it was determined likewise, that one of the Dominick Friars should Preach in the Church of the Franciscan or Gray Friars, and so he did: tending to the same end, as the other Friar in the other Church had done before. Whereto it may seem the Proverb well answered, wherof we read in the Gospel: *Facti sunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipsa die*.

It was not long after, that the Feast of *S. Thomas* the Apostle followed, in whose Vigil all the heads of the University again were warned the third day after to congregate together in the Church of Saint *Bernard* at the Sermon time. Which being done, and the Assembly meeting together, another Sermon was made by a Divine of the University, whose Theam was, *Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*, &c. Wherein he with many words and great authorities argued against them that would not be obedient unto their Prelates, &c. The Sermon being ended, then rose again the Bishop *Ambianensis*, who prosecuted the rest of the Theam, and coming to the word *in veritate* divided it into three parts, according to the common Gloss of the Decretals:

*Est verum vita, dicta, doctrina, justitiaque,
 Primum semper habet; duo propter scandala lingue.*

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of Canonical Scriptures and out of the Law, and by evident demonstration of experience; that the Friars first had no verity of life, because they were full of Hypocrisy; neither had they verity of Doctrine, because in their heart they bare gall, and in their tongue honey: neither verity of Justice, because they usurped other Mens Offices. And thus concluding with the same, he caused again to be read the said privileges, with the Constitution above specified. And so expounding place by place, he did argue and prove that the said constitution in no part was evacuate or infringed by the privileges aforesaid. Which thing being declared, he added moreover, That whereas the Friars say (saith he) that I should be present in the obtaining of the privileges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thrice thereof, I went to the Pope reclaiming and requiring the said privileges to be revoked: but the next day after, it so pleased the Pope to send me out abroad upon weighty affairs, so that then the matter had no end. After that, we sent also other Messengers with our Letters, for the same cause unto the Court of *Rome*, whom the Friars say not to have prevailed, but they lie therein. For the said Messengers again

brought us Letters, from the chief of the Court of *Rome*, sealed with their Seals: which Letters we have divers times presented to our King, and will shortly shew them unto you all. In the which the Lord Pope hath promised the said privileges either to be utterly abrogate, or else to be mitigated with some more plain interpretation; of the which we trust shortly to have the publick Bull or Writ from the Pope.

At last, the said Bishop required and desired of all there, of what Diocels or Country soever they were, that they would Copy out the foresaid privileges, and send them abroad into their Countries, that all Men might see what they were, and how far they did extend. In fine the matter coming into open disputation, it was concluded by Master *Giles* one of the *Austine* Friars (who was thought to be most reasonable of all the other Friars) in this wise, that after his Sentence the Prelates were in the truer part, &c. *Hac ex Godfrido de Fontanis*.

The Friars
 privileges
 confuted in
 disputation
 at Paris.

Concerning this wrangling contention between the University and Friars of *France* here before mentioned, wherof partly the original cause may be understood, by that which hath been said, to rise upon certain privileges granted by Popes to the Friars, to intermeddle in matters of Parish Churches; As to hear Confessions, to Preach and Teach, with power thereunto annexed to gather for their labour, to Bury within their Houses, and to receive Improvements, &c. because it were too long here to describe the full circumstances thereof, also because the said contention did indure a long time, not only in *France*, but also came over into *England*: the whole discourse thereof more amply (Christ willing) shall be declared in the beginning of the next Book following, when we come to the story of *Armachanus*.

A seditious
 commotion
 between the
 Townsmen
 and the
 Scholars in
 the University
 of Oxford.

About what time and year this brawl was in the University of *Paris* between the Friars and Prelates there, as hath been declared; the like contention happened also in the University of *Oxford* in the year above prefixed, 1354. save only that the strife among the Masters of *Paris*, as it rose upon Friarly Ceremonies, so it went no further than brawling words and matter of Excommunication: but this tumult, rising of a drunken cause, proceeded further unto bloody stripes. The first original wherof began in a Tavern, between a Scholar and the good Man of the House; Who falling together in altercation, grew to such height of words, that the student (*contra jus hospitii*) poured the wine upon the head of the Host, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occasion given, effusions parts began to be taken between the Townsmen and the Scholars. Inasmuch that a grievous sedition and conflict followed upon the same; wherein many of the Townsmen were wounded, and to the number of twenty slain. Divers also of the Scholars were grievously hurt. The space of two days this hurly-burly continued. Upon the second day certain Religious and devout persons ordained a solemn Procession General, to pray for peace. Yet notwithstanding all that Procession, as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which procession (the skirmish still waxing hot)

Procession
 for Peace.
 The Holy
 Procession
 would bring
 no Peace.

one of the students, being hardly pursued by the Townsmen, for succour in his flight came running to the Priest or Friar, which carried about (as the manner was) the Pixe; thinking to find refuge at the presence of the Transubstantiated God of the Altar there carried inboxed. Notwithstanding, the God being not there present, or else not seeing him, or else peradventure being asleep, the Scholar found there small help. For the Townsmen in heat of the chafe, forgetting belike the virtue of the Popes Transubstantiation, followed him so hard, that in the presence of the Pixe they brake his head, and wounded him grievously. This done, at length some peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morrow following, other Townsmen in the Villages about, joyning with the Townsmen of *Oxford*, confederated together in great force and power to set upon the students there, and so did, having a black flag born before them, and so invaded the University Men. Whereupon the Scholars being over-matched, and compelled to flee into their Halls and Houses, were so pursued by their enemies, that twenty of the doors of their Halls and Chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded (and as it is said) slain and thrown into Privies; their Books with Knives and Bills

Transub-
 stantiation
 will not
 help in
 time of
 need.

A conquest
 of the Scho-
 lars of Ox-
 ford.

The University of Oxford dissolved for a time.

cut all in pieces, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the students of that University being conquered by the Townsmen of Oxford, and of the Country about, departed and left the University. So that for a time the Schools there, and all School acts, did utterly cease from all exercise of study, except only Merton College-Hall, with a few other remaining behind.

The Town of Oxford interdicted.

This being done the 12th. day of February, the Queen at the same time being at Woodstock was brought to bed, and purified on the first Sunday in Lent with great solemnity of Justing. About which time the Bishop of Lincoln their Diocesan, hearing of this excessive outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all Parsons and Priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, to celebrate Mass or any Divine Service in the presence of any Lay person within the said Town of Oxford, interdicting withal the whole Town. Which Interdiction indured the space of a whole year and more.

Granted to the Commissary of Oxford to have the assize of bread and Ale and other privileges about the Major of the Town.

The King also sent thither his Justices to examine and inquire of the matter. Before whom divers Lay-men and of the Clergy were indicted, and four of the chief Burgeffes of the said Town were indicted, and by the Kings commandment sent to the Tower of London, and were there imprisoned. At length through much labor of the Nobles, the King so took by the matter, that sending his writings unto all Sheriffs in England he offered pardon to all and singular Students of that University, (wheresoever dispersed) for that transgression: Whereby the University in short time was replenished again as before. Moreover it was granted to the Vice-Chancellor or Commissary (as they term him) of the Town and University of Oxford, to have the Assize of Bread, Ale, Wine, and all other Victual, the Major of the said Town being excluded. Also it was granted and decreed, that the Commons of Oxford should give to the University of Oxford, 200. pound sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses: relieved notwithstanding to every one of the Students his several action against any several person of the Townsmen, &c.

About the year of our Lord 1354. the King, with the consent of his Council, revoked home again out of Flanders the Staple of Wool, with all things thereunto appertaining, and stablished the same in sundry places within the Realm, namely in Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristow, Lincoln, and in Hull. Which Staple after An. 1362. was translated over into Calis.

A whole some decree of a good Archbishop not to abstain from bodily labor upon certain Holy days.

Of Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned a little before, pag. 445. I read in the said Author above specified, That he by his Letters Patent directed to all Parsons and Vicars within his Province; straightly charged them and their Parishoners, under pain of Excommunication, not to abstain from bodily labor, upon certain Saints days, which before were wont to be Hallowed and Consecrated to unthrifty idleness. Item, That to

Priests should be given no more for their yearly stipend, but three pound six shillings and eight pence, which made divers of them to rob and steal, &c. Anno. 1362. The next year following, which was 1363. the foresaid King Edward kept his Parliament at London in the month of October: wherein was prohibited, that gold nor silver should be worn in Knives, Girdles, Brooches, Rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might dispend 10 pound by year. Item, That none should wear either Silks or costly Furrs, except such as might dispend 100 pounds by year. Also that Merchant Venturers should not export over any Merchandise out of the Realm, or seek for Wines in other Countries; whereby other Nations should be constrained rather to seek to us, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Islip, as is above recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wittlesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudbury.

Much about the same time the Nuns of Saint Bridgets Order began first. About which time also was builded the Queens College in Oxford, by Queen Philippa of England, Wife to King Edward the third; Circa annum Domini 1360.

Moreover in the time of this Pope Innocent, Frier John Lyle Bishop of Ely, moved with certain injuries (as he thought) done to him by the Lady Blanch, made his complaint to the Pope. Who sending down his Curse to the Bishop of Lincoln, and other Prelates to be executed upon the adversaries of the Bishop of Ely, commanded them, That if they did know any of the said adversaries dead and buried (that notwithstanding) they should cause the same to be taken up: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had been of the Kings Council. Wherefore the King being displeased, and not unworthily, did trouble and molest again the said Prelates. This coming to the Popes hearing, certain were directed down from the Court of Rome, in the behalf of the foresaid Bishop of Ely: who meeting with the Bishop of Rochester the Kings Treasurer, delivered unto him, being armed, Letters from the Bishop of Rome, the tenor whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinently avoided away. But certain of the Kings Servants pursuing, did overtake them: of whom some they imprisoned, some they brought to the Justices, and so they were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appear what reverence the Popes Letters, in this Kings days, had in this Realm of England. Ex Chro. Walsing. This Pope Innocent ordained the Feast of the Holy Spear, and of the Holy Nails.

And here to make an end of this Fourth Book, now remaineth after our order and custom before begun, to prosecute the race of the Archbishops of Canterbury, in this foresaid Fourth Book contained, beginning, where before we left, pag. 193. at Lanfrancus.

KING Edward 3.

A Parliament.

Simon Sudbury Arch-bishop of Canterbury.

The Nuns of S. Bridgets Order.

This Lady Blanch was Dutchess of Lancaster.

Dead men Excommunicated by the Pope.

The Popes Messengers hanged. The Feast of the Spear and of the Holy Nails.

A Table of the Archbishops of Canterbury in the Fourth Book contained.

Polydor. Virg. lib. numbereth this Lanfrancus to be the thirty third Archbishop. But by the count of other Authors (namely by the Chronicle of the Monk of Dover) he seemeth to be deceived, as he was in the 28. years of Dunstan, which indeed did sit but nineteen or twenty at the most. This error of Polydore seemeth to come by leaving out either Elfric, which was the 23th. or by leaving out Elfricus, which was the 26th. as in some Authors I find.

Moreover, here is to be noted, that although the said Elfricus were left out, yet Lanfrancus cannot be 33.

34. Lanfrancus. 19. Note also, That in the Table of the third Book before, after Siricius, you must put in *Sanctus Aluredus*. Which in order of Archbishops I left out in the end of the third Book, page 191.

This Lanfrancus was an Italian, and a stout Champion of the Pope. After his stubborn dissention with Thomas Archbishop of York he wrote against Berengarius, intituling his Book, *Opus Scintillarum*, page 196.

Also the same Lanfrancus builded the new Church at Canterbury, and plucked down the old. By him was builded the Church of S. Gregory. At length he was expelled by King William Rufus.

35. Anselmus. 20. Of this Anselmus, and the strife between him and the King, look in the page 209.

36. Radulphus. 8. Under Rad the Order of Cistercians began.

37. Gulielmus Curboil. 13. By this William the new work of the Church of Saint Martins at Dover was builded.

38. Theobaldus. 24. By This Theobald, Monks were first brought into the Church of Dover. He was expelled by King Stephen. In his time the Church of Saint Gregory was burned at Canterbury.

39. Thomas Becket. 9. Of the life and death of this Becket, see the page 232.

Ex Hist. Crickeladensi

Ex Crickeladensi: Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis Martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis ejus miracula predicaret, interminantes minas mortis seu maximarum penarum omnibus consentientibus eum fuisse Martyrem, & miracula ejus predicantibus, &c.

40. Richard. 10. This Richard was a Monk: in his time Christs Church in Canterbury was burned.

41. Baldwinus. 7. Between this Baldwin and the Monks was great discord. He suspended the Prior from his Priorship, and two and twenty Monks from all Service. He caused the Sub-Prior with all his adherents to be Excommunicated through all Kent.

42. Hubertus. 14. In the time of this Hubert the Chapel of Lambeth was plucked down. Also the Church of Dover was burned.

This Stephen, with the Monks of Canterbury, were expelled by King John.

This Stephen, intending to give Orders in the Chappel of Lambeth, was stopped by the Monks of Canterbury, through their appeal and prohibition. Wherefore he required Eustace Bishop of Lon-

43. Stephanus Langton. 22.

don to Minister the same Orders in the Church of S. Paul.

In his time fell great variance between the Monks of Rochester and the Monks of Canterbury, for the Election of their Bishop, which Election the Monks of Canterbury would not admit before the Rochester Monks had presented the Bishops staff in the Church of Canterbury; so that both the Churches sent their Messengers to the Court of Rome.

At the Consecration of this Richard, contention rose between the Bishop of Rochester and the Bishop of Bath, who should Consecrate him.

44. Richardus Magnus. 4.

Item, Between the said Richard and the Monks of Canterbury fell a grievous discord, about certain Liberties belonging to the Archbishop.

The said Archbishop, for certain quarrels against the King, went up to Rome, who died in Tuscia.

After this Richard the Election of three Archbishops was disannulled at Rome, of Radulphus de Nova Villa, of John Prior of Canterbury, of John Blund.

This Edmund was called Saint Edmund, at whose Election the Prior of Dover thinking to be present, as at the marriage of his Mother, was not permitted by the Monks of Canterbury. For the which injury he appealed and went to Rome to complain, not against the Elect, but against the Election: where he obtained of the Pope, for all the Priors and Successors of Dover to have full interest in the Election of the Archbishops, besides other privileges which he obtained, percase not without some good store of money. Afterward the Monks of Canterbury accused him to the Archbishop,

45. Edmundus of Abenden. 7.

as though he stood against the person of the Elect, and so obtained of the Archbishop being angry with him, to have brought him under the Chapter of Canterbury, there to be punished. Whereupon the Prior, seeing himself so destitute of all help of Lawyers, was constrained in the foresaid Chapter to cry peccavi. Then being suspended from his Priorship, he was at length sent home from Dover, being compelled first to set his hand to a certain composition between him and the foresaid Monks.

The said Edmund Archbishop, having also some quarrel against the King, went up to Rome, and died before his coming home.

In the time of this Boniface, Pope Gregory wickedly granted to King Henry the Third (for the getting of the Kingdom of Sicily, which belonged not to him to give, nor to the other to take) tenths of goods temporal and spiritual, for five years. Item, All the first years fruits of Churches that should be vacant for five years. Item, Half of all the goods of Beneficed Men, not resident at their Benefices. Item, All Legacies not distinctly given. And yet the Kingdom of Sicily never came to his hands, which belonged to Manfredus, Son of Frederick the Emperor. Strife there was between this Boniface and the Prior of Canterbury.

Item, Between him and the Bishop of Roff. Item, Between him and the Chapter of Lincoln: all which was after agreed; *Chro. Doverens. fol. 20. pag. 2.*

Strife also in Winchester; about chusing the Bishop after the death of *Ayona-rus* the Kings Brother.

46. Bonifa-
jus. 25.

Strife also in the Convocation which Boniface did hold at Lambeth. In the which Council were recited the Statutes of *Othobonus*, and other new Statutes made; against which *John Hemelingford* the Kings Chaplain with other more, and Prince *Edward* on the Kings behalf, did appeal. *Chron. Dover. fol. 21.*

Under this Boniface Archbishop, *Tunbridge* and *Hadlo* first came under the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Master *John* of Exeter bought the Bishoprick of Winchester for 6000. Marks; which being known, he was fain to pay the same sum again to the Pope, and so was sent home.

Boniface the Archbishop being in the parts of *Subaudia*, *An. 1262.* there fell another altercation between the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of Dover on the other part. Which two Houses almost were never in quiet, and all about certain liberties and privileges; as for making the Sub-Prior, for receiving in of Monks, and for Visitations of the Church of Dover.

An. 1268. Boniface Archbishop Interdicted the City of London, because in the same City the Archbishop of York did hold up his Cross, the Archbishop of Canterbury being there present, the King holding then his Parliament at Westminster.

This Archbishop died in the parts of *Subaudia*.

John Prior of Canterbury was Elected by the Monks against the Kings mind, but by the Pope refused.

Adam Chilinden was Elected, but he resigned his Election to the Pope.

In the time of this Robert Kilwarby, appeal was taken against the Chapter of Canterbury by the Bishop of Winchester, of Worcester, and Exeter; for the which cause the said Bishops went up to Rome to prosecute the Appeal. The matter was, because they did not their obedience to the Monks of Canterbury, the See being empty.

Walter Giffard Archbishop of York, going toward the General Council, bare up his Cross through the middle of Kent, in the time of this Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, *Anno. 1272.*

47. Robert
Kilwarby.
Frier. 6.

By Pope Gregory the 10th. in the General Council at Lions, all the Orders of Friars were put down, Four Orders only excepted, that is, Dominicks, Franciscans, Carmalites, and Augustines.

This Robert Kilwarby by the commandment of Pope Nicholas was made Cardinal of Rome, Bishop of Porwensis.

Where is to be noted an untruth in *Polydore Virgil*, which saith, That he was made Cardinal by Pope Gregory, which could not be.

Robert Burnel Bishop of Bath was Elected, but by the Pope refused; For whom *John Peckham* a Grey-Frier, was placed by Pope Nicholas.

In the first year of this Frier Peckham, *W. Wikewane* Archbishop of York com-

ing from his Consecration at Rome to Dover, bare up his Cross through the midst of Kent, whereat was no little ado.

{ KING
Edw. 3 }

Robert Gernemins Archdeacon of Canterbury went to Law at Rome for the liberties and possessions of his Archdeaconship two years, and there died.

In this time also another wrangling fell between the Monks of Canterbury and the Monks of Dover, in the time of this *John Peckham*, for admitting certain Novices of Dover into Orders. *Ex chr. Monach. Dover. fol. 42.*

This Peckham, holding a Council at Lambeth, Ordained divers Statutes, and caused the Ordinances of the Council of Lions, and of Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, and his predecessor to be observed.

Great grief and hatred was between this Peckham and *Thomas* Bishop of Hereford: who being Excommunicated by Peckham, appealed to Rome, and went to the Pope.

48. John
Peckham.

The Prior and Covent of Canterbury made their appeal against this Archbishop Peckham, that he should not consecrate *Walter le Schamel* new Elect Bishop of Salisbury, in any other place, except only in the Church of Canterbury, but by their leave and licence first obtained. Notwithstanding the Archbishop, nothing regarding their appeal, proceeded in the Consecration of the said Bishop near to the Town of Reding, whereupon the Prior and Covent ceased not to prosecute their appeal against the Archbishop.

Between *Richard Ferrings* Archdeacon of Canterbury of the one party, and the Barons of Dover of the other party, the same year fell out another like wrangling, for that the Archdeacon claimed to visit the Church of Dover: contrarily the Barons affirmed, That none had nor should have to do there to or order or dispose in Spiritual matters, but only the Archbishop, and the Prior and Covent of Saint Martin. *Ex eod. Chron. fol. 46.*

After the death of *William Whicwane* Archbishop of York, *John de Roma* succeeded after him; and coming from his Consecration at Rome to Dover, bare his Cross through the middle of Kent, contrary to the inhibition of *John Peckham*.

This Robert, which was Archbishop in the later time of King *Edward* the First, for certain displeasure of the King conceived against him, departed the Realm, and in his banishment remained two or three years. And about the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the Second was restored again: *Anno. 1309. Ex Chron. Rich. 2.* Thus few Archbishops of Canterbury we find, with whom Kings have not had some quarrel or other. The cause between the King and him (saith mine Author) was this: That the King accused him to Pope *Clement* to disturb his Realm, and to take part with Rebels, &c. *Ex Chron. S. Albani.*

49. Robert
Winchelsey.
19.

This Robert also Excommunicated *Walter*, Bishop of Coventry, for holding with the King and *Peter Gaveston* against the Ordinances of the Barons; wherefore the said Bishop appealed to the Pope, against whom the Archbishop sent *Adam Merimouth*.

This Adam
Merimouth
was compler
of the
story of K.
Edward.

In the time of this Robert Archbishop, the Order of Templars were abolished by Pope *Clement* the 5th. in the Council of Vienna with this Sentence definitive:

Quam-

An untruth
in Polydore
Virgil.

KING
Edw. 3

Quantum de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprohamus.

After the decease of Robert Winchelsey, who departed Anno 1312, Thomas Cobham a learned man was Elected by full consent of the Monks: who came to Avinion to have his Election Confirmed. But the Pope reserving the vacant Seat in his own hands, put in Walter Reynald Bishop of Worcester, Chancellor of England, who Governed the Seat 15 years.

The Chronicler of St. Albans, Recordeth also, how in the days of this Archbishop, Anno 1319, certain Lepers conspiring with the Turks and Jews went about to impoisonate, and infect all Christendom, by invenoming their Fountains, Lakes, Pits, Barrels, and such other places. Of the which crime divers of them being Convict were worthily burned in France.

50. Gualter
Reynald. 15

About the which year, the said Author maketh also Relation, how in the Realm of England much murrain fell among the Beasts: insomuch, that the Dogs eating upon their flesh (infected belike by the Waters and Fountains) fell down dead incontinently. Neither durst men for that cause almost taste of any Beef: An. 1318, 1319. Ex Ch. Alban.

This Walter Archbishop taking part with the Queen Isabel against King Edward her Husband, died the same year in which he was deposed: An. 1237. Ex Chro. Sanct. Albani.

After Walter the Archbishop, as affirmeth the Chronicle of St. Alban, succeeded Simon Mepham. Of whom I marvel that Polydore maketh no word nor mention: belike he fate not long: after followed John Stratford.

In the Story of Adam Merimouth, it is Recorded that this John Stratford, intending to visit the Diocess of Norfolk,

51. John
Stratford. 29.

was not received by the Bishop, the Chapter and Clergy there alledging that he observed not the ordinary Canon therein. To whom the Archbishop said again, He had the Popes Letters, and shewed the same. But the other answered, That those Letters were falsly obtained and tended to the suppression of the Clergy; and therefore they would not obey: wherefore the Archbishop Excommunicated the Bishop, and Suspended the Prior, and Interdicted the Covent: An. 1347.

52. John
Offord 10
Months.

Master John Offord, Chancellor of England, was Elected and Confirmed Archbishop of Canterbury, but not Consecrated, and fate but ten months, about the year of our Lord, 1350, Pestilentia in Anglia.

53. Thomas
Braidwarden. 1.

This Thomas Braidwarden following after John Stratford, fate not long, but died within 10 months of the Plague, as they say. Which was called then the first great Plague in England, raging so fore in all quarters, that it was thought scarce the tenth part of men to be left alive.

The first
great
Plague in
England.

In the time of Simon Islippe, which followed after Braidwarden, King Edward, Anno 1362, is reported, after the blind Superstition of those days, to offer in the Church of Westminster the Vestments wherein St. Peter did Celebrate Mass. Which belike were well kept from Moths, to last so long. Ex Ch. Alban.

The Vestments
wherein
St. Peter
said Mass,
or else the
Papists do
lye.54. Simon
Islippe. 17.

The same Simon Islippe among other Constitutions, Ordained through all Churches and Chappels under pain of Excommunication; that no man should abstain from Bodily labours upon certain Saints days, as is before touched: which Fact of his is not a little noted in our Monkish Histories.

This Simon builded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford.

Canterbury
Colledge
builded
in Oxford.

The conclusion of this Fourth Book.

The conclusion
of this Book.
Antichrist
in his pride.

Forasmuch as Satan being Chained up all this while for the space of a Thousand Years, beginneth about this time to be loosed and to come abroad, according to the fore-warning of St. John's Revelation: Therefore to conclude the Fourth Book, wherein sufficiently hath been described the excessive pride and pomp of Antichrist, flourishing in his ruff and security, from the time of William Conqueror hitherto: Now (Christ willing and assisting us thereunto) we mind in these later Books hereafter following, in order of History to express the later Persecutions and horrible Troubles of the Church, raised up by Satanas in his minister Antichrist; with the resistance against Christ's Church against him. And so to prosecute (by the merciful Grace of Christ) the proceeding and course of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruin of the said Antichrist. To the intent that if any be in such error to think that Antichrist is yet to come, he may consider and ponder well the Tragical Rages, the miserable and most sorrowful Persecutions, Murthers, and Vexations of these later Three Hundred Years now following, and then I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt, and know that not only Antichrist is already come, but also will know where he sitteth, and how he is now falling apace (the Lord Christ be thanked for ever) to his decay and confusion.

The loosing
out of Sa-
tan.

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK, CONTAINING

The last Three Hundred Years from the loosing out of Satan.

The fifth
Book.

THUS having discoursed in these former Books the order and course of Years, from the first tying up of Satan unto the Year of our Lord 1360. I have a little overpassed the stint of time in the Scripture, appointed for the loosing out of him again. For so it is written by St. John, *Apoc. 20.* that *after a thousand years, Satan the old Dragon shall be let loose again for a season, &c.*

The years
and time of
loosing out
Satan ex-
amined.

For the better explanation of the which Mystery, let us first consider the context of the Scripture: afterward let us examine, by History and course of Times, the meaning of the same: And first, to recite the words of the *Apocalypse*, the Text of the Prophecy is this, *Chap. 20.*

Apoc. 20.

And I saw an Angel descending from heaven, having a key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he took the Dragon the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satanas, and bound him for a thousand years, and put him in the bottomless dungeon and shut him up, and signed him with his seal, that he should not more seduce the Gentiles, till a thousand years were expired. And after that he must be loosed again for a little space of time. And I saw seats, and they sate upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and the souls I saw of them which were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, &c.

By these words of the *Revelation*, here recited, three special times are to be noted.

First, The being abroad of Satan to deceive the World.

Secondly, The binding up of him.

Thirdly, The loosing out of him again, after a thousand years consummate, for a time.

The place
of the *Apoc.*
20. ex-
pounded,
for the loo-
sing out of
Satan.

Concerning the interpretation of which times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceived by ignorance of Histories, and state of things done in the Church; they supposing that the chaining up of Satan for a thousand years, spoken of in the *Revelation*, was meant from the Birth of Christ our Lord. Wherein I grant that Spiritually the strength and dominion of Satan, in accusing and condemning us for sin, was cast down at the Passion and by the Passion of Christ our Saviour, and locked up not only for a thousand years, but for ever. Albeit, as touching the malicious hatred and fury of that Serpent, against the outward bodies of Christ's poor Saints (which is the heel of Christ) to afflict and torment the Church outwardly; That I Judge to be meant in the *Revelation* of St. John, not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible Persecutions of the Primitive Church. At what time it pleased God to pity the sorrowful affliction of his poor flock, being so long under Persecution, the space of three hundred years, and so to assuage their griefs and torments. Which is meant by binding up of Satan, worker of all those mischiefs: understanding thereby, that for so much as the Devil, the Prince of this World, had now by the Death of Christ the Son of God lost all his power and interest against the Soul of man, he should turn his furious rage and malice, which he had to Christ, against the People of Christ (which is meant by the heel of the seed, *Gen. 3.*) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet should not be for ever, but for a determinate time, when as it should please the Lord to bridle the malice, and snaffle the power of the old Serpent, and give rest unto his Church for the term of a thousand years. Which time being expired, the said Serpent should be suffered loose again for a certain or a small time, *Apoc. 20.*

What the
loosing of
Satan doth
mean in
Scripture.

And thus to Expound this Prophetical place of Scripture I am led by three reasons:

Three rea-
sons.

The first is, For that the binding up of Satan, and closing him in the bottomless pit by the Angel, importeth as much that he was at liberty, raging and doing mischief before. And certes those so terrible and so horrible Persecutions of the Primitive Time universally through the whole World, during the space of three hundred years of the Church, do declare no less. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed, that Satan all that time, was not fastened and closed up.

The first
reason.

The second reason, moving me to think that the closing up of Satan was after the ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church, is taken out of the twelfth Chapter of the *Apocalypse*: Where we read, That after the Woman (meaning the Church) had travelled forth her man-child; the old Dragon the Devil, the same time being cast down from Heaven, drawing the third part of the Stars with him, stood before the Woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is, the Church of God) with a whole flood of water, (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments) and from thence went moreover to fight against the residue of her seed, and stood upon the Sands of the Sea; whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked up.

The second
reason.

The third reason I Collect out of the *Apocalypse* thirteenth Chapter; where it is written of the Beast, signifying the Imperial Monarchy of Rome, that he had power to make War forty and two months. By the which months is meant, no doubt, the time that the Dragon, and the persecuting Emperors should have in afflicting the Saints of the Primitive Church. The computation of which forty two months (counting every month for a Sabbath of years; that is, for seven years, after the order of Scripture) riseth to the sum (counting from the Passion of the Lord Christ) of three hundred years, lacking six; at what time *Maximian* the last Persecutor in Rome, fighting against *Constantinus*, was drowned with his Soldiers, like as *Pharaoh* persecuting the Children of Israel was drowned in the red Sea. Unto the which xlii months, or Sabbaths of years, if ye add the other six years wherein *Licinius* persecuted in the East; ye shall find just three hundred years, as is specified before in the first Book of this Volume, *pag. 96.*

The third
reason.
Apoc. 13.

After the which forty and two months, being expired, manifest it is that the fury of Satan; that is, his violent malice and power over the Saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained universally through the whole World.

What time
Satan was
tied up.

Thus then the matter standing evident, that Satan after 300 years, counting from the Passion of Christ, began to be chained up, at what time the persecution of the Primitive Church began to cease: now let us see how long this binding up of Satan should continue, which was promised in the Book of the *Revelation* to be a thousand years. Which thousand years, if ye add to the xlii months of years, that is, to 294 years; they make 1294 years after the Passion of the Lord. To these moreover add the 30 years of the age of Christ, and it cometh to the year of our Lord 1324, which was the year of the letting out of Satan, according to the Prophecy of the *Apocalypse*.

About what
time and
year Satan
was let out
by the count
of the *Apoc.*
Apoc. 13.

{KING
Edw. 3}

A Table containing the time of the Persecution both of the Primitive, and of the later Church, with the count of years from the first binding up of Satan, to his loosing again, after the mind of the Apocalypse.

The first Persecution of the Primitive Church, beginning at the 30 year of Christ, was Prophesied to continue 42 months, that is, Anno 294

The ceasing of the last Persecution in the Primitive Church.

The ceasing of the last Persecution of the Primitive Church by the death of Licinius the last persecutor, began Anno 324, from the Nativity of Christ, which was from the 30 year of his age. 294

The binding up of Satan after peace given to the Church, counting from the 30 years of Christ, began Anno 294

The binding up of Satan.

And lasted a thousand years, that is, counting from the thirtieth year of Christ, to the year 1294

The time of loosing of Satan.

About which year Pope Boniface the eighth was Pope, and made the sixth Book of the Decretals, confirmed the orders of Friars, and privileged them with great freedoms, as appeareth by his constitution, Super cathedram. Anno 1294

The time of Antichrist, examined.

Unto the which count of years doth not much disagree that which I found in a certain old Chronicle prophesied and written in the later end of a Book; which Book was written, as it seemeth, by a Monk of Dover, and remaineth yet in the custody of William Carie, a Citizen of London; alledging the Prophesie of one Hayncardus a Gray Frier, grounded upon the Authority of Joachim the Abbot, Prophesying that Antichrist should be born the year from the Nativity of Christ 1260. Which is, counting after the Lords Passion, the very same year and time when the orders of Friars both Dominicks and Franciscans began first to be set up by Pope Honorius the third, and by Pope Gregorius the ninth, which was the year of our Lord, counting after his Passion. 1226

And counting after the Nativity of the Lord, was the year 1260

Whereof these Verses in the Author were written:

Verses Prophesying of the coming of Antichrist.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies seni post partum virginis almae:
Tunc Antichristus nascetur daemone plenus.

And these Verses were written, as appeareth by the said Author, Anno 1285.

These things thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the Prophesie of the Apocalypse, now let us enter (Christ willing) to the declaration of these later times which followed after the letting out of Satan into the World. Describing the wondrous perturbations and cruel tyranny stirred up by him against Christs Church; also the valiant resistance of the Church of Christ against him and Antichrist, as in these our Books here under-following may appear.

The Argument of the Books after following.

The argument of which Books consisteth in two parts; First, To entreat of the raging fury of Satan now loosed, and of Antichrist; against the Saints of Christs fighting and travelling for the maintainance of Truth, and Reformation of the Church. Secondly, To declare the decay and ruin of the said Antichrist, through the Power of the Word of God, being at length, either in a great part of the World overthrowen: or at least universally in the whole World detected.

Anno 1360

Thus then to begin with the year of our Lord 1360, wherein I have a little, as is aforesaid, transgressed the stint of the first loosing out of Satan: we are come now to the

time wherein the Lord, after long darkness, beginneth some Reformation of his Church, by the diligent industry of sundry his faithful and learned servants: of whom divers already we have fore-touched in the former Book before; as namely, Guliel, de Sancto Amore, Marsilius Patavinus, Ockham, Robertus Gallus, Robertus Grossthead, Petrus de Cugneris, Johannes Rupefissanus, Conradus Hager, Johannes de Poliacco, Cesenas, with other more; which withstood the corrupt errors, and intolerable enormities of the Bishop of Rome, beside them which about these times were put to death by the said Bishop of Rome, as Chastilio and Franciscus de Arcatara in the Book before Recorded; also the two Franciscans, Martyrs, which were burned at Avignon, mentioned pag. 357.

Now to these (the Lord willing) we will add such other Holy Martyrs and Confessors, who following after in the course of years with like zeal and strength of Gods Word, and also with like danger of their lives, gave the like resistance against the enemy of Christs Religion, and suffered at his hands the like persecutions. First, beginning with that godly man, whosoever he was, the Author of the Book (his name I have not) intituled, The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman; written as it appeareth, about this present time.

The Author of the Ploughmans Prayer not known.

Which Book as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindal, so I have as truly distributed the same abroad to the Readers hands: neither changing any thing of the matter; neither altering many words of the Phrase thereof. Although the oldness and age of his speech and tearms be almost grown now out of use; yet I thought it so best, both for the utility of the Book to reserve it from oblivion, as also in his own Language to let it go abroad, for the more credit and testimony of the true antiquity of the same. Adding withal in the Margent for the better understanding of the Reader, some interpretation of certain difficult tearms and speeches, which otherwise might perhaps hinder or stay the Reader. The matter of this complaining Prayer of the Ploughman thus proceedeth:

An old ancient writing, intituled, The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman.

Jesus Christ that was ybore of the maid Mary, have on thy poor servants mercy and pity, and help them in their great need to fight against sin, and against the Diuel that is Author of sin; and more neednes there never was to cry to Christ for help, than it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God said by Iſaiah the Prophet, Ye rise up earlich to follow drunkenness, and to drink till it be even, the harp and other minstrellies beeth in your feasts and wine. But the work of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keep to the works of his hands: And therefore my people is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren dry for thirst, and therefore hell hath drawn abroad their soul, and hath yopened his mouth without any end. And eſiſoms saith Iſaiah the Prophet, The word is floten away, and the highnes of the people is ymade sick, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they have broken my laws, and ychanged my right, and han destroyed mine everlasting bond and forward between them and me. And therefore cursing shall devour the earth, and they that wonneth on the earthly shallen done sin. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen waxe wood, and few men shullen ben yleft upon the earth. And yet saith Iſaiah the Prophet, This saith God, Forasmuch as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is far from me; And they han ydrad more mens commandment, than mine, and more draw to their doctrines, than mine; Therefore will I make a great wondring unto this people, wisdom shall perish away from wise men, and understanding of ready men shall be yhid. And so it seemeth that another saying of Iſaiah is fulfilled here, as God bad him go teach the people, and said, Go forth and say to this people: Ears have ye, and understand ye not; and eyes ye have, and sight ne know ye not. Make blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and close their eyen, lest he see with his eyne, and yheare with his ears, and understand with his heart, and be yturned, and ych heal him of his sickness. And Iſaiah said to God, How long Lord shall this be? And God said, For

† Forward, that is, Covenant.

to that the Cities ben defolate withouten a wonnier, and an houe without a man.

Here is mychel nede for to make sorrow, and to cry to our Lord Jesus Christ heartilech for help and succour, that he wole forgive us our sins, and give us grace and conning to serven him better hereafter. And God of his endles mercy give us grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Christs Law in helping of mens souls; for we beth lewd men and sinful men, and uncunning, and if he woll be our help and our succour, we shullen well perform our purpose. And blessed be our Lord God that hideth his wisdom from wise men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to small Children, as Christ teacheth in the Gospel.

The Law of
Christ
standeth on
two parts.

Christen men have a Law to keep, the which Law hath two parties. Believe in Christ that is God, and is the foundment of their Law, and upon this foundment, as he said to Peter, and the Gospel beareth witness, he woll byelden his Church, and this is the first party of Christs Law. The second party of this Law beth Christs Commandments that beth written in the Gospel, and more verilich in Christen mens hearts.

And as touching the Beleve, we beleven that Christ is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleven nevertheless that in the Godhead there bene Three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and all these Three Persons ben one God, and not many gods, and all they beth ylich Mighty, ylich Good, and ylich Wise, and ever have ben, and ever shullen ben. We beleven this God made the World of nought, and man he made after his own likenes in Paradise, that was a Land of blis, and gave him that Land for his Heritage, and bad him that he should not eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, that was *amid Paradise. Then the Divel, that was fallen out of Heaven for his pride, had envy to Man, and by a false suggestion he made Man eat of this Tree, and break the Commandment of God, and tho was Man overcome of the Divel, and so he lost his Heritage, and was put out thereof into the World that was a Land of travel, and of sorrow under the fiends thraldome, to be punished for his trespass. There Man followed wickedness and sin, and God for the sin of Man sent a flood into this World, and drowned all mankind save eight souls. And after this flood he let men multiply in the World, and so he assayed whether man dread him or loved him, and among other he found a man, that bight Abraham: this man he proved whether he loved him and dread him, and bad him that he should offeren Isaac his Son upon an Hill; and Abraham as a true servant fulfilled the Lords Commandment: and for his buxumness and truth, God sware unto Abraham that he would multiply his seed as the gravel in the Sea, and as the Stars of Heaven, and he beghit to him and to his Heirs the Land of bebest for Heritage for ever, gif they wolden ben his true servants and keep his bests. And God † held him forward, for Isaac, Abraham's Son, begat Jacob and Esau: and of Jacob, that is ycleped Israel, comen Gods People that he chose to be his servants, and to whom he beghit the Land of bebest. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt under Pharaoh that was King of Egypt: and they crieden to God that he should deliveren them out of that thraldome, and so he did: for he sent to Pharaoh, Moles and his Brother Aaron, and bad him deliver his People to done him Sacrifice: and tofore Pharaoh he made Moles done many wonders, or that Pharaoh would deliver his People, and at the last day by night he delivered his People out of thraldome, and led them through a desert toward the Land of bebest, and there he gave them a Law, that they shoulde live after, when they comen into their Country, and in their way thitherward, the Ten Commandments God wrote himself in two Tables of Stone: the remnant of the Law he taught them by Moles his servant, how they should do everichone to other, and gif they trespassed against the Law, he ordained how they shoulde be punished. Also he taught them what manner Sacrifices they should do to him, and he chose him a People to ben his Priests, that was Aaron and his Children, to done Sacrifices in the Tabernacle, and afterward in the Temple also. He chose him the remnant of the Children of Levi to ben servants in the Tabernacle to the Priest, and he said; When ye come into the Land of bebest, the Children of Levi they shullen have none Heritage amongst their Brethren, for I

* Amid Paradise, that is, in the midst of Paradise.

Abraham.

† Held him forward, that is, promise vwith him.

would be their part, and their heritage, and they shullen serve me in the Tabernacles by days and by nights, and be ordained that Priests should have a part of the Sacrifices that were offered in the Tabernacle, and the first begotten Beasts, both of Men and Beasts, and other things, as the Law telleth. And the other Children of Levi, that served in the Tabernacle, should have Tithings of the people in their livelode, of the which Tithings they should given the Priests the tenth party in form of offering. The Children of Levi, both Priests and other, should have Houses and Crofts, and Lessorres for their Beasts in the Land of bebest, and none other Heritage: and so God gave them their Land of bebest, and bad them that they ne should worship no other than him: so he bad them that they should keep his Commandments; and gif they did so, all their Enemies about them should dread them, and be their servants. And gif they worshipped false gods, and so forsaken his Laws, he beghit them that he would bring them out of that Land, and make them serve their Enemies: but yet he said he would not benemen his mercy away from them, if they would cry mercy and amend their defaults; and all this was done on Gods side.

KING
Edw. 3

And here is much love showed of God to man. And who so looketh the Bible, he shall find that man showed him little love againward: for when they were come into their Heritage, they forgatten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the Prophets and his Servants *feile times to bid them withdrawen them from their sins, and other they have slown them, or they beaten them, or they led them in Prison: and oft-times God took upon them great vengeance for their sins; and when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them help and succour. This is the general proces of the Old Testament, that God gave to his People by Moles his servant. And all this Testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and figure of a New Testament that was given by Christ. And it was byboten by Jeremiah the Prophet, as St. Paul beareth witness in the Epistle that he writeth to the Jews. And Jeremiah saith in this wise; Lo days shall come, God saith, and I will make a new band to the house of Israel, and to the house of Judah, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I took their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden veine, and I had Lordship over them. But this shall be the forward that I wold make with them after those days: I will give my laws with them in their inwardness, and I will written them in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they should be my people: and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (God saith) from the least to the most, should know me, for I will forgiven them their sins, and will no more think on their sins.

Gods love
to man.

* Feile
times, that
is, oft-
times.

This is the New Testament, that Christ both God and Man, born of the Maid Mary, he taught here in this World to bring man out of sin, and out of the Divels thraldome and service to Heaven, that is a Land of Blis and Heritage, to all tho that beleven on him, and keepen his Commandments, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the Third Day he arose again from death to life, and set Adam and Eve, and many other folk out of Hell, and afterward he came to his Disciples, and comforted them. After, he stied up to Heaven to his Father, and tho he sent the Holy Ghost amongst his Disciples; and in time coming, he will come and demen all mankind after their works, and after the words he spake upon earth; some to blis, within body and in foul ever withouten end; and some to pain withouten end, both in body and in foul.

This is our beleve and all Christen mens, and this beleve is the first point of the New Testament, that ych Christen man is bold stedfastly to believe, and rather to suffer the death, than forsaken this beleve; and so this beleve is the Bread of Spiritual life, in forsaking sin, that Christ brought us to life.

But forasmuch as mans living ne stondeth not all onlych by Bread, he hath ygiven us a draught of Water of Life to drink. And who that drinketh of that Water he ne shall never afterward ben athurst. For this Water is the clear teaching of the Gospel, that encloseth seven Commandments.

The first is this: Thou shalt love thy God over all other things, and thy Brother as thy self, both euerny and friend.

Special Pre-
cepts or
Lessons of
the Gospel.

KING The second Commandment is of meekness, in the which Christ chargeth us, to forsake lordship upon our Brethren, and other worldly worships; and so he did himself.

The Third Commandment is, In standing stedfastlich in truth, and forsaking all falseness.

The fourth Commandment is, To suffer in this World diseases and wrongs, withouten againststandings.

The fifth Commandment is, Mercy to forgiven our Brethren their trespasss, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeance.

The sixth Commandment is, poorness in spirit, but not to be a begger.

The seventh Commandment, is chastity; that is, a forsaking of fleshlich likings displeasing to God. These Commandments enclosen the Ten Commandments of the old, and somewhat more.

This Water is a blessed drink for Christen mens Soules. But more harm is, much folk would drink of this Water, but they move not come thereto: for God saith by Ezekiel the Prophet; When ich geve to you the most clean water to drink, ye troubled that water with your feet, and that water is so defouled, ye geve my sheep to drink. But the clean water is yhid fro the sheep, and but gif God clear this, it is dread lest the sheep dyen for thirst. And Christ that is the Wisdom of the Father of Heaven, and Well of this Wisdom, that come from Heaven to Earth to teach man this Wisdom, through the which man should overcome the sleights of the Divel, that is the principal enemy of mankind; have mercy and pity of his people, and shew, if it be his will, how this water is troubled, and by whom: and *fish clear this water that his sheep morne drinke hereof, and kepe the thirst of their Soules. Blessed mote our Lord be, for he hath ytaught us in the Gospel, that ere then he would come to the universal dome, then should come many in his Name, and sayen, that they weren Christ; and they sholden done many wonders, and begilen many men; and many false Prophets sholden arisen and beguilen much folk.

A Lord, yblessed mote thou ben of everich Creature: which ben they that have ysaid that they weren in Christ, and have thus begiled thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy steed, and t bemen thy worship, and maken the people worshippen them as God, and have hid thy Laws from thy people: Lord, who durst sit in thy steed, and benemen thee thy Worship and thy Sacrifice, and durst maken the people worshippen them as Gods? The Sauter tells, That God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodilich Sacrifices and Holocaustes; but God saith; Yeld to me Sacrifice of herying, and yeld to God thine avowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ich will defend thee, and thou shalt worship me.

The * herying of God standeth in three things. In loving God over all other things; in dreading God over all other things; in trusting in God over all other things.

These three points Christ teacheth in the Gospel. But I trow men loven him but a little. For who so loveth Christ, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for Heresie and Folly, and keepeth mens words. Also men dreden more men and mens Laws and their cursings, than Christ and his Laws and his Cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helps, than they do in Christ and in his help. And thus hath he, that setteth in Gods stede, bynomen God these three heryings, and makes men loven him and his Laws more than Christ and Christs Law, and dreden him also. And there as the people shullen yeld to God their avowes, he saith, he hath power to assylen them of their avowes, and so this Sacrifice he t nemeth away from God. And there as the people should cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their crying to God, and bynemet God that Worship. This day of tribulation is when man is fallen through sin into the Divels service, and then we shullen cry to God after help, and axen forgiveness of our sin, and make great sorrow for our sin, and ben in full will to do so no more, ne none other sin, and that our Lord God wole forgiven us our sin, and maken our soul clean. For his mercy is endles.

But Lord, here men have benomen thee most worship: for men seyn that thou ne might not clean assylen us of our sin: But if we knowledgen our sins to Priests, and taken of them a Penance for our sin, gif we mowen speak with them.

A Lord, thou forgave sometime Peter his sins, and also Mary Magdalen, and many other sinful men without shriving to Priests, and taking Penance of Priests for their sins. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man have bynomen thee thy might. And we lewd men beleven, that there is no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh himself of so great power, he heightheth himself above God. And St. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the Temple of God, and heighthen him above God; and gif any such be, he is a false Christ.

But hereto seyn Priests, that when Christ made clea Leprous men, he bade them go and shew them to Priests. And therefore they seyn that it is a Commandment of Christ, that a man should shewen his sin to Priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the old Law betokeneth sin in this new Law. A Lord God, whether thine Apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou hadde commanded men to shrive them to Priests, and they ne taught not that Commandment to the People, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy Commandments, ne needful to heal of mans Soul. And as me thinketh, the Law of Lepre is nothing to the purpose of shriving: for Priests in the old Law hadden certain points and tokens to know whether a man were Leprous or not: and gif they were Leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other clean men, for to that they weren clean; and then they hadden power to receiven him among his Brethren, and offeren for him a Sacrifice to God.

This is nothing to the purpose of shriving. For there is but one Priest, that is Christ, that may know in certain the Lepre of the Soul. Ne no Priest may make the Soul clean of her sin, but Christ that is Priest after Melchisedec's order: ne no Priest here beneath may ywit for certain whether a man be clean of his sin, or clean assailed, but gif God tell it him by Revelation. Ne God ordained not that his Priests should set men a Penance for their sin, after the quantity of the sin, but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wot well that God is much unworshipped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his years of grace, than in Christs absolutions and thereby is the people much appaired. For now the sorrow a man should make for his sin, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to do sin for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich Penance.

Another mischief is, That the people is ybrought into this belief, that one Priest hath a great power to assylen a man of his sin and clenere, than another Priest hath.

Another mischief is this, That some Priest may assylen them both of sin and pain: and in this they taken them a power that Christ granted no man in Earth, ne he ne used it dought on Earth himself.

Aother mischief is, that these Priests sellen forgiveness of mens sins and absolutions for money; and this is an Heresie accursed that is ycleped simony: and all thilke Priests that axeth price for granting of Spiritual Grace, *beth by holy Laws deprived of their Priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this Heresie. And be they ware; for Helyse the Prophet took no money of Naaman, when he was made clean of his Lepre; but Giesli his servant; and therefore the Lepre of Naaman abode with him and with his Heirs evermore after.

Here is much matter of sorrow, to see the people thus far glad away from God and worshupen a false God in Earth, that by might and by strength hath ydone away the great Sacrifice of God out of his Temple: of which mischief and discomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witness in the Gospel. Who that readeth it, understand it. Thus we have ytold apertly, how he that saith he sitteth in Christs stede t bynemet Christ his Worship, and his Sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worshupen him as a God on Earth.

"Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sins everich one to other, as St. James teacheth, and pray we heartilich to God everichone one for other, and then we shullen hopen forgiveness of our sins. For God that is endles in mercy saith, That he ne will not a sinful mans death, but that he be turned from his sin and liven. And therefore, when he came down to save mankind, he gave us a Law of love and of mercy; and bade

Sins forgiven without shrift.

*Heightheth, that is, exalteth.

Objection of the Priests to maintain shrift. Answer to the Objection.

Penance for sin, is mans Ordinance, and not Gods.

Mischief that come by auricular confession.

Popish Priests charged with Simony.

*Beth, that is be.

† Bynemet, that is taketh away.

Christe shewed from clean water, and compelled to drink, puddle.

*fish, that is, afterward.

† Benomen, that is, take away.

The honoring of God standeth in three things

† Nemeth, that is, taketh.

Against auricular confession.

" bade, gif a man do a trespass, amend him privily, and
 " gif he leve not his sin, amend him before witnes, and
 " gif he amendeth not, men should tell to the Church;
 " and gif he ne amendeth not then, men should shone his
 " company as a Publican, or a man that is misbeleved:
 " and this Law was yfigured in the Law of Lepre; who
 " that reads it, he may see the sooth.

The Pope
breaketh
the Law of
love and
mercy.

" But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede hath undo
 " thy Law of mercy and love; Lord, thou biddest loven
 " Enemies as our self; and shewest in the Gospel there as
 " the Samaritan had mercy on the Jew. And thou
 " biddest us also prayen for them that curse us, and that
 " defamen us, and pursuen us to death. And so Lord thou
 " diddest, and thine Apostles also. But he that clepeth
 " himself thy Vicar on Earth, and head of thy Church, he
 " he hath undone thy Law of love and mercy. For gif we
 " speaken of loving our Enemies, he teacheth us to fight
 " with our Enemies, that Christ hath forboden. He curseth
 " and desireth vengeance to them that so doth to him. Gif
 " any man pursueth him, he curseth him, that it is a sorrow
 " a Christen man to hearken the cursings that they maken,
 " and Blasphemies in such cursing. Of what thing that
 " I know, I may bear true witnes.

The Pope
would be
a Father,
but he
beareth no
Son.

" But gif we speak of loving of our Brethren, this is
 " undone by him that faith he is Gods Vicar in Earth.
 " For Christ in the Gospel biddeth us, that we shoulde
 " clepen us no Father upon Earth: but clepen God our
 " Father, to maken us love perfidich together. And he
 " clepeth himself Father of fathers, and maketh many Re-
 " ligions, and to everich a Father. But whether is Love
 " and Charity encreased by these Fathers and by their Re-
 " ligions, or else ymade less? For a Frier ne loveth not a
 " Monk, ne a Secular man neither, nor yet one Frier
 " another that is not of the Order, and it is againward,

" A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in
 " these Religions: For Lord, what Charity haven such
 " men of Religion, that known how they mown again-
 " stand sin, and fleen away from their Brethren that ben
 " more uncunning than they ben, and sufferen them to tra-
 " vellen in the World withouten their counsel as Beasts?
 " Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but little
 " Charity, and then is there little Perfection. Lord God,
 " when thou were on Earth, thou were among sinful men to
 " drawen them from sin, and thy Disciples also. And Lord,
 " I trow thou ne grantest not one man more cunning than
 " another all for himself: and I wote well that lewd men
 " that ben labourers, ne travel not alonich for himself.
 " Lord our belief is, that thou ne were not of the World,
 " ne thy teaching, neither thy servants that livden after thy
 " teaching. But all they forsaken the World, and so every
 " Christen man must. But Lord, whether thou taughtest
 " men to forsake their Brethrens company and travel of the
 " World, to liven in ease and in rest, and out of trouble
 " and anger of the World, by their Brethrens travel, and
 " so forsaken the World?

To forsake
the World,
is not to
live in ease
from com-
pany.

" A Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken a
 " poor estate and travel, to ben afterward a Lord of his
 " Brethren, or been a Lords fellow, and dwelling with
 " Lords, as doth men of these new Religions. Lord thou
 " ne taughtest not men of thy Religion thus to forsake the
 " World, to liven in perfection by themselves in ease, and
 " by other mens travel. But Lord they sayen they ben
 " ybound to thy service, and serven thee both night and
 " day in singing their Prayers, both for themselves and for
 " the other men, that done them good both quick and
 " dead, and some of them gone about to teach thy peo-
 " ple when they haven leifure.

" A Lord, gif they be thy servants; whose servants ben
 " we that cannot preien as they done? And when thou
 " were here on Earth for our nede, thou taughtest thy ser-
 " vants to preien thy Father privily and shortlich: and gif
 " there had been a better manner of preying, I trow thou
 " wouldest have taught it in help of thy people. And Lord
 " thou reprovest Hypocrites that preien in long prayer, and
 " in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou
 " seyst in the Gospel; *Wo to you Pharises hypocrites.* And
 " Lord thou ne chargedst not thy servants with such man-
 " ner service: but thou seyst in the Gospel, *that the Pha-
 " rises worshipen thee with their lips, and their heart is
 " far from thee.* For they *chargen more mens traditions
 " than thy Commandment.

* Chargen,
that is,
they care
for.

" And Lord, we lewd men han a belief, that thy good-
 " nefs is endless: and gif we keepen thine heftes, then ben
 " we thy true servants: and though we preien thee but a
 " little and shortlich, thou wilt thinken on us, and granten
 " us that us nedeth, for so thou † behited us sometime.
 " And Lord I trow, that pray a man never so many quaint
 " prayers, gif he ne keep not thine heftes, he is not thy
 " good servant. But gif he keep thine heftes, then he is
 " thy good servant. And so me thinketh, Lord, that
 " praying of long prayers ne is not the service that thou
 " desirest, but keeping of thine heftes: and then a lewd
 " man may serve God as well as a man of Religion;
 " though that the Ploughman ne may not have so much
 " Silver for his prayer as men of Religion. For they
 " * kunnen not so well preisen their praiers as these other
 " chapmen: but Lord, our hope is, that our prayers be
 " never the worse, though it be not so well fold as other
 " mens prayers.

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† Behited,
that is,
promised.

True ser-
vice of God
standeth
not in long
Prayers, but
in keeping
Gods Com-
mandments

* Kunnan,
that is,
they can.

" Lord, Ezekiel the Prophet faith, *That when he spake
 " to the people thy words, they turned thy words into songs
 " and into tales.* And so Lord men done now: they sing
 " in merilich thy words, and that singing they clepen thy
 " service. But Lord I trow that the best fingers he heri-
 " eth thee not most: but he that fulfilleth thy words, he
 " † herieth thee full well, though he weep more than
 " sing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy
 " Commandments be more pleasing service to thee than
 " the finging of thy words. And would God that men
 " would serve him in sorrow for their sins, and that they
 " shoulde afterward serven thee in mirth. For Christ
 " faith; yblessed ben they that maken sorrow, for they
 " shoulde ben ycomforted. And wo to them that ben
 " merry, and have their comfort in this world. And
 " Christ said, that the world should joyen, and his ser-
 " vants shoulde be sorry, but their sorrow should be turn-
 " ed into joy.

Singing in
Churches,
fally
called Gods
service.

† Herieth,
that is, wor-
shipeth.
Weeping
for sin, bet-
ter service
than finging
in Church.

" A Lord, he that clepeth himself thy Vicar upon Earth
 " hath yordained an order of Priests to do thy service in
 " Church to force thy lewd people in singing Mattens,
 " Evensong, and Mass. And therefore he chargeth lewd
 " men in pain of cursing, to bring to his Priests Tithings
 " and Offerings to finden his Priests, and he clepeth
 " that Gods part, and due to Priests that serven him in
 " Church.

" But Lord, in the old Law the Tithings of the lewd
 " people ne were not due to Priests, but to that other Childer
 " of Levi that serveden thee in the Temple, and the Priest
 " hadden their part of Sacrifices, and the first bygeten Beasts
 " and other things as the Law telleth. And Lord St. Paul
 " thy servant faith, That the order of the Priesthood of
 " Aaron ceased in Christs coming and the Law of that
 " priesthood. For Christ was end of Sacrifices yoffered
 " upon the Crofs to the Father of Heaven, to bring man
 " out of sin, and become himself a Priest of Melchisedeks
 " order. For he was both King and Priest, without be-
 " ginning and end; and both the Priesthood of Aaron, and
 " also the Law of that Priesthood ben ychanged in the
 " coming of Christ. And S. Paul faith it is reprovod, for
 " it brought no man to perfection. For blood of Goats,
 " ne of other Beasts ne might done away sin, for to that
 " Christ shed his blood.

" A Lord Jesus; whether thou ordenest an order of Priests
 " to offren in the auter thy flesh and thy blood to bringen
 " men out of sin, and also out of pain? And whether thou
 " geve them alonich a power to eat thy flesh and thy
 " blood, and whether none other man may eat thy flesh
 " and thy blood withouten leve of Priests? Lord, we be-
 " leven, that thy flesh is very meat, and thy blood very
 " drink; and who eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy blood,
 " dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth
 " this Bread shall live without end. But Lord thine Di-
 " sciples said; this is a word; but thou answerest them and
 " saidest; when ye seeth man soon stiven up there he was
 " rather, the Spirit is that maketh you live, the words that
 " ych have spoken to you ben spirit and life. Lord, yblef-
 " sed mote thou be, for in this word thou teachest us that
 " he that keepeth thy words, and doth after them, eateth
 " thy flesh, and drinketh thy blood, and hath an ever-
 " lasting life in thee. And for we shoulde have mind of
 " this living, thou gavest us the Sacrament of thy flesh and
 " blood, in form of Bread and Wine at thy Supper, before
 " that

The Order
of Priests,
not made
to offer
Christis body

LEVE "that thou shouldst suffer thy death, and took Bread in
"thine hand, and saidst; *Take ye this, and eat it, for*
"it is my body: and thou tookest Wine, and blessedst it,
"and said; *This is the blood of a new and an everlasting*
"Testament, that shall be shed for many men in forgive-
"ness of sins: as oft as ye done this, do ye this in mind
"of me.

The Sacra-
ment of the
body of the
Lord. *Abu-
sed.*
"Fullen,
that is,
Baptism.

Priests prin-
cipally sene
to Preach,
not to say
Mass, or to
wipe the
Lord's body.

He that
speacheth
Gods teach-
ing, is hold-
en as
Heretick.

"A Lord, thou ne bede not thine Disciples maken this
"a sacrifice, to bring men out of peines, gif a Priest offred
"thy body in the Altar; but thou bed them go and *
"Fullen all the folk in the name of the Father, and the
"Son and the Holy Ghost, in forgiveness of their sins; and
"Teach ye them to keep those things that ych have com-
"manded you. And Lord, thine Disciples ne ordained
"not Priests principally to make thy body in Sacrament,
"but for to teach the people, and good Husbandmen that
"well govern their Houholds, both Wives and Children,
"and their meiny, they ordeined to be Priests to teachen
"other Men the Law of Christ, both in word, in dede,
"and they lived ein as true Christian men, every day they
"eaten Christs body, and drunke his blood, to the suste-
"nance of living of their Souls, and other whiles they
"token of the Sacrament of his body in form of Bread and
"Wine, in mind of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"But all this is turned upsidown: for now who so will
"liven as thou taughtest, he shall ben holden a fool. And
"gif he speak thy teaching, he shall ben holden an Here-
"tick, and accursed. Lord, have no longer wonder
"hereof, for so they seiden to thee when thou were here
"sometime. And therefore we moten take in patience
"their words of Blasphemy as thou diddest thy self, or
"else we were to blame. And trulich Lord I trow, that if
"thou were now in the World, and taughtest as thou did-
"dest sometime, thou shouldst ben done to death. For thy
"teaching is damned for Heresie of wise Men of the World,
"and then moten thy needs ben Hereticks that teachen thy
"lore, and all they also that travalien to live thereafter.

"And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, help thine un-
"kunning and lewd servants, that wolen by their power
"and their kunning help to destroy sin. Leve Lord, sith
"thou madeest Woman in help of Man, and in a more
"frail degree than Man is, to be governed by Mans reason:
"What perfection of charity is in these Priests and in Men
"of Religion, that have forsaken spouhody that thou or-
"deinedst in Paradise betwixt man and woman, for per-
"fection to forsaken travail, and liven in ease by other
"Mens travail? For they mow not do bodilich works for
"defouling of their hands, with whom they touchen thy
"precious body in the Altar.

"Leve Lord, gif good men forsaken the company of
"woman, and needs they moten have the governail of
"man, then moten they ben ycoupled with shrews, and
"therefore thy spouhody that thou madeest in cleanness
"from sin, it is now ychanged into liking of the flesh.
"And Lord, this is a great mischief unto thy people. And
"young Priests and men of Religion, for default of Wives,
"maken many women horen, and drawn through their
"ensample many other men to sin, and the ease that they
"liven in, and their welfare, is a great cause of this mis-
"chief. And Lord me thinketh, that these ben quaint
"Orders of Religion, and none of thy Sect that wolen
"taken horen, whilke God forbids, and forsaken Wives
"that God ne forfendeth not; and forsaken travail that
"God commands, and geven their self to idleness, that is
"the Mother of all naughtiness.

What in-
convenience
by the un-
married
lives of
Priests.

He com-
plaineth of
the idleness
of Priests.

"And Lord, *Mary* thy Blessed Mother and *Joseph* tou-
"ched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their hands,
"and liven in as much cleanness of Soul, as our Priests
"done now, and touched thy Body, and thou touchedest
"them in their Souls. And Lord our hope is, that thou
"goen not out of a poor Mans soul that travaileth for his
"livelode with his hands. For Lord, our belief is, that
"thine House is Mans soul, that thou madeest after thine
"own Likeness.

What is the
true Church
of Christ.
† Tofore,
that is be-
fore.

"But Lord God, Men maketh now great stonen Houses
"full of glazen windows, and clepeth thilke thine Houses
"and Churches. And they fetten in these Houses Maw-
"mets of stocks and stones, † tofore them they knelen
"privily and apert, and maken their prayers; and all
"this they sayen is thy worship, and a great † herying
"to thee. A Lord, thou forbiddest sometime to make such

"Mawmets, and who that had yworshipped such, had
"ben worthy to be dead.

"Lord in the Gospel thou sayst, that true * heriers
"of God ne herieth him not in that Hill belide *Samarita*,
"ne in *Hierusalem* neither, but true heriers of God heri-
"eth him in spirit and in truth. And Lord God, what
"herying is it to bidden thee a Church of dead Stones,
"and robben thy quick Churches of their bodilich live-
"lood? Lord God, what herying is it, to cloth Maw-
"mets of stocks and of stones in silver and in gold, and
"in other good Colours? And Lord I see thine Image,
"gone in cold and in hete, in clothes all to broken, with-
"out shone and hosen, an hungred and athrust. Lord
"what herying is it to teende tapers and torches before
"blind Mawmets that mowen not seyen? And hide thee
"that art our light and our lantern towards Heaven, and
"put thee under a bushel, that for darkness we ne may
"not seen our way toward blis? Lord what herying is it
"to kneel tofore Mawmets that mow not yheren, and
"worshopen them with prayers, and maken thine quick
"Images kneel before them, and asken of them absoluti-
"ons and blessings, and worshopen them as Gods, and
"putten thy quick Images in Thralldom and in travail
"evermore as beasts, in cold and in heate, and in feeble
"fare to finden them in liken of the world? Lord what
"herying is it to fetch deed Mens bones out of the ground,
"there as they shoulde kindelich rotten, and shrinen
"them in gold and silver; and sufferen the quick bones
"of thine Images to rot in prison for default of clothings?
"And sufferen also thy quick Images to perish for default
"of sustenance, and rooten in the hoorehouse in abomi-
"nable lechery? Some become thieves and robbers, and
"manquellers, that mighten ben yholpen with the gold
"and silver that hongeth about deed Mens bones, and
"other blind Mawmets of stocks and stones.

* Herying
that is,
worship-
ping.
† Heriers,
worship-
pers.

He com-
plaineth of
Images in
Churches.

"Lord, here ben great abominations that thou shewdest
"to *Ezechiel* thy Prophet, that Priests done in thy Temple,
"and yet they clepen that thine herying. But leve Lord,
"me thinketh that they loven thee little that thus defoulen
"thy quick Images, and worshopen blind Mawmets.

"And Lord, another great mischief there is now in the
"world, an hunger that *Amos* thy Prophet speaketh of;
"that there shall comen an hunger in the Earth, not of
"Bread, ne thrust of drink, but of hearing of Gods
"Words. And thy sheep woulde be refreshed, but their
"shepheards taken of thy sheep their livelode; as thy things,
"etc. And liven themselves thereby where them liketh.

He com-
plaineth of
false Pa-
stors that
live by their
flock, but
feed not
them.

"Of such shepheards thou speaketh by *Ezechiel* thy
"Prophet, and seyst; Woe to the shepheards of *Israel*
"that feden himself, for the flocks of sheep shoulde ben
"yfed of their shepheards: but ye eaten the Milk, and
"clothen you with their Wool, and the fat sheep ye slow,
"and my flock ye ne fede not, the sick sheep ye ne healed
"not thilke that weren to broken ye ne knit together,
"thilke that perished ye ne brought not again; but ye
"ratled them with sternship and with power. And so the
"sheep be sprad abroad in devouring of all the Beasts
"of the field. And *Jeremy* the Prophet saith; Woe to
"shepherd that despearfeth abroad and teareth the flock
"of my * Lefew.

* Lefew, that
is, Pasture.

"A Lord, thou were a good shepherd, for thou put-
"test thy soul for thy sheep. But Lord, thou teldest that
"thilke that comen not in by the dore ben night thieves
"and day-theenes, and a theefe, as thou seyst, cometh
"not but for to steal, to slein, and to destroy. And *Ze-
"chery* the Prophet saith; that thou wouldest reren up a
"shepherd unknunning, that ne wol not hele thy sheep that
"† beth sick, ne seek thilke that beth lost. Upon his
"Arm is a sward, and upon his right eye; his Arm shall wax
"dry, and his right eye shall lese his light. O Lord, help for
"thy sheep beth at great mischief in the shepheards default.

† Beth, that
is, be.

"But Lord, there cometh hired men, and they ne
"feden not thy sheep in thy plenteous Lefew, but feden
"thy sheep with * Swevens, and false miracles and tales.
"But at thy truth they ne comen not: for Lord, I trow
"thou sendest them never. For have they hire of thy
"sheep, they ne careth but little of the feeding and the keep-
"ing of thy sheep. Lord, of these hired men speaketh
"*Jeremy* the Prophet, and thou seyst that word by him;
"I ne send them not, and they ronnie † Blive; I ne speak
"unto them, and they propheciden. For if they had-

† Blive,
quickly.

"den stonden in my Counsel, and they had made my words known to the puple, ech would have turned them away from their yvill way, and from their wicked thoughts. For Lord, thou seyst that thy words ben as fire, and as an hammer breaking stoues. And Lord, thou sayst; Loe I to these Prophets meeting swevens of lesing, that have ytold her swevens, and have begiled my puple in their lesing, and in their false miracles, when I neither sent, ne bed them. And these have profitet nothing to my puple. And as *Jeremy* faith; From the least to the * mest all they studien covetice, and from the Prophet to the Priest all they done gile.

* Mest, most.

"A Lord, here is much mischief and matere of sorrow; and yet there is more. For gif a lewd man would teach thy people truth of thy words, as he is yhold by thy commandment of Charity, he shall be forbidden and put in prison gif he do it. And so Lord, thilke that have the key of conning, have ylockt the truth of thy teaching under many wardes, and yhid it from thy children. But Lord, sith thy teaching is ycome from Heaven above, our hope is, that with thy grace it shall break these wardes, and shew him to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and thrust of the Soul. And then shall no shepheard, ner no false Hirid-man begile thy puple no more. For by thy Law I write, as thou † iightest sometime, that from the least to the mest, all they shullen kuowen thy will, and * weten how they shullen please thee evermore in certain.

† Iightest, promised.
* Weten, know.

"And leve Lord, gif it be thy will help at this need, for there is none help but in thee. Thus Lord, by him that maketh himself thy Viker in Earth, is thy commandment of love to thee and our Brethren ybroken; both to him and to thy puple. But Lord God mercy and patience; that beth † twein of thy commandments, beth destroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For Lord, *David* in the *Sauter* faith; Blessed beth they that done dome and rightfulness in everich time.

† Twain, that is, two.

"O Lord, thou hast ytaught us as rightfulness of Heaven, and hast ybened us forgiven our Brethren as oft as they trespassen against us. And Lord, thine old Law of Justice was, that such harm as a Man did his Brother, such he should suffer by the Law, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth. But Christ made an end of this Law, that one Brother should not desire wracke of another: But not that he would that sin should ben unpunished, for thereto hath he ordained Kings and Dukes, and other lewd Officers under them; whilke as *S. Paul* faith, ne carien not the swerd in vain, for they ben the Ministers of God, and wrakers to wrath, to them that evil done. And thus hath Christ ymade an end of this old Law, that one Brother may not suen another himself, * for that to wrenken without sin, for breaking of Charity. But this Charity Lord hath thy Vicar ybroke, and says that we sinnen, but gif we suen for our right. And we see, I wot, that thou taughtest us sometime to give our mantel also, ever that we shoulde suen for our Coat. And so Lord beleven we, that we ben ybonden to done by thy Law, that is all Charity, and Officers duty is to defenden us from thilke thecuery, though we complainen not. But Lord, thy Law is turned upledown.

* For, that is, but.

"A Lord, what dome is to sleen a theefe that take a mans Cattel away from him, and sufferen a Spouse-breaker to live, and a lecherour that killeth a womans soul? And yet thy Law stoned the Spouse-breakers and lecherous, and let the Theeves liven and have other punishment.

He complaineth for punishing little faults, and to let great faults escape.

"A Lord, what dome is it to sleen a theefe for stealing of an Horse, and to let him live unpunished, and to maintaine him that robbeth thy poor people of their livelode, and the soul of his food?

"Lord, it was never thy dome to sayen, that a Man is an Heretick, and Curfed for breaking of Mans law, and demen him for a good Man for breaking thy Hests.

"Lord, what dome is it to Curfe a lewd Man if he smite a Priest, and not Curfe a Priest that smiteth a lewd Man and leese his Charity?

"Lord, what dome is it to Curfe the lewd people for tithings, and not Curfe the parson that robbeth the people of tithings, and teacheth them not Gods Law, but feedeth them with painting of stone walls, and Songs of Latin, that the people knowen not?

If he be an Heretick that breaketh Mans Law, what is the Pope that breaketh Gods Law?

A lewd Man, that is, a Lay man.

"Lord, what dome is it to punish the poor Man for his trespass, and suffer the Rich to continue in his sin for a quantity of Money?

KING, Edw. 3.

"Lord, what dome is it to sleen an uncunning lewd Man for his sin, and suffer a Priest, other a Clerk that doth the same sin, scape a live? Lord the sin of the Priest or of the Clerk is greater trespass than it is of a lewd uncunning Man; and greater ensample of wickedness to the common people?

"Lord, what manner people be we, that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulness of the old Testament, that was a law of dread, nor thy domes and thy rightfulness of thy new Testament, that is a Law of love and of mercy: But have another Law, and taken out of both thy Laws, that is liking to us, and remnant of heathen Mens laws? And Lord this is a great mischief.

Against the Canon law.

"O Lord, thou sayest in thy Law, deme ye not and ye should not be demed; for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to you again-ward: and Lord thou sayest that by their work we should know them; and by what we know that thou commanded us not to demen mens thoughts, nor their works, that were not against thy Law exprefly. And yet Lord he, that faith he is thy Vicar, will demen our thoughts, and ask us what we think: not of the Lord, of thy Hests, for they caren little for them, but of him and of his, whilke they fate above thine, and maken us accusen our self, or else they willen accusen us, for our accusers mowen we not known. And Lord, thou sayest in thine old Law, that under two witnes at the least, or three, should stand every matter; and that the witnes shoulde ever be the first that shoulde help to kill them.

The Popes law against Gods law, in causing Men to accuse themselves.

"And when the Scribes and the Pharises sometimes brought before thee a woman that was ytake Spouse-breaking, and exeden of thee a dome, thou didst write on the Earth, and then thou gave this dome; He that is without sin, throw first at her a stone: and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou forgave the woman her trespass, and bade her go forth, and sin no more.

Mowen, that is, may.

"Sweet Lord, if the Priest tooke keepe to thy dome, they would be agast to demen men as they done. O Lord, if one of them break a commandment of thy Law, he will ask mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the sin, for peine of death were too little. O Lord, how daren they demen any Man to the death for breaking of their Laws, other assent to such Law? For breaking of thy Law they will set penance, or pardon them, and maintaine them as often as they trespassen. But Lord, if a Man once break their Laws, or speak against them, he may done penance but once, and after be burnt. Trulich Lord thou sayest, but if every one of us forgive not other his trespass, thy Father will not forgive us our sins. And Lord when thou hong on the Crofs, thou prayedst to thy Father to have mercy on thy Enemies.

Tooke keepe, that is, took heed.

"And yet they sein Lord, that they demen no Man to the death, for they sain, they ne mowne by their Law demen any Man to the death. A levee Lord, even so saiden their Forefathers the Pharises, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any Man: and yet they bidden *Pilate* to done thee to the death against his own conscience, for he would gladly have yquit thee, but for that they threatned him with the Emperour, and broughten against thee false witnes also: and he was an Heathen Man.

The breaking of the Popes law more punished than the breaking of Gods law.

"O Lord, how much truer dome was there in *Pilate*, that was an heathen Justice, than in our Kings and Justices that woulde demen to the death, and burn in the fire him that the Priests deliveren unto them withouten witnes, or prefe? For *Pilate* ne would not demen thee; for that the Pharises sayden that gif thou ne haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne would not deliver him unto thee; for to broughten in their false witnes against thee. But Lord, as thou saidst sometime that it should ben lighter at Domes-day to *Tyro*, and to *Sydon*, and *Gomorrah*, than to the Cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles:

For to, that is, therefore.

"So I dred, it shall be more light to *Pilate* in the dome than to our Kings and Domes-men, that so demen without witnes and prefe. For Lord, to demen thy folk for Hereticks is to holden thee an Heretick; and to brennen them, is to brennen thee: for thou saidst to *Paul* when he persecuted thy people; *Saul, Saul, wherefore persecutest thou*

Pilate more commended than the Pope.

show

KING {*Edw. 3*} "thou me? And in the dome thou shalt say; that ye have
"done to the least of mine, ye have don to me.

"Thus Lord is thy mercy and justice foredone by him
"that faith he is thy Vicar in Earth: For he neither keep-
"eth it himself, nor will not suffer other to do it.

"The third commandment, that is, patience and suf-
"ferance, is also ybroken by this Vicar. Lord thou bid-
"dest sufferen both wrongs and strokes withouten again-
"standing; and so thou diddest thy self to geven us en-
"sample to sufferen of our Brethren. For suffering nourish-
"eth love, and again-standeth debate. All thy laws is
"love, or else the thing that draweth to love.

"But Lord, men teachen, that men shoulde pleten for
"their right, and fighten also therefore; and else they
"seyn, men ben in peril, and thou bid in the old Law
"men fight for their Countrey. And thy self hadde two
"swords in thy company, when thou shouldest go to thy
"passion; that as these Clerks seyn, betokeneth a spiritu-
"al Sword, and a temporal Sword, that thou gave to thy
"Vicar to rule thy Church with.

The Pope
breaketh
patience.

"Lord, this is a sleight speech; but Lord we beleeven
"that thou art King of blis, and that is thine Heretage and
"mankinds countrey; and in this World we ne ben but
"strangers and Pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this
"World, ne thy Law neither, ne thy true Servants that
"keepe thy Law. And Lord, thou were King of *Juda* by
"Heretage, if thou wouldest have yhad it; but thou forfook
"it, and pletedest not therefore, ne fought not therefore.

"But Lord, for thy kind Heretage, and mandkindes
"country, that is a Land of blis, thou foughtest migh-
"tilich. In battel thou overcame thy Enemy, and so thou
"won thine Heretage. For thou that were a Lord migh-
"tiest in battel, and also Lord of vertues, are rightfullich
"King of blis; as *David* faith in the Psalter. But Lord
"thine Enemy smote thee dispitfullich, and had power of
"thee, and hang thee upon the Crofs as thou hadst ben a
"theefe and benomin thee all thy clothes, and stiked thee
"to the Heart with a Spear.

"O Lord, this was an hard Assault of a battel, and
"here thou overcome by patience mightilich thin Ene-
"mies; for thou ne wouldest not done against the will of
"thy Father. And thus Lord thou taughtest thy Servants
"to fight for their Countrey. And Lord this fighting
"was in figure ytaught in the old Law. But Lord, men
"holden now the shadow of the old fighting and leaven
"the light of thy fighting, that thou taughtest openlich
"both in word and in deed.

"Lord, thou gave us a sword to fighten against our Ene-
"mies for our Countrey, that was thine holy Teaching,
"and Christien mens law. But Lord thy sword is put in
"a sheath, and in Priests ward, that have forsake the fight-
"ing that thou taughtest. For as they seyn, it is against
"their order to ben Men of Arms in thy battel, for it is un-
"seemlich, as they seyn, that thy Vicar in Earth, other,
"his Priests shulden suffer of other men. And therefore
"gif any man smite him, other any of his Clerks, he ne
"taketh it not in patience, but anon he smiteth with his
"sword of cursing, and afterward with his bodelich sword,
"he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is
"a fighting against kind, and much against thy teaching.

Christ's Vicar
and his
Priests will
suffer no-
thing.

"O Lord, whether axedest thou after swerds in the
"time of thy passion to againstond thine Enemies? nay
"forsooth thou Lord. For *Peter*, that smote for great
"love of thee, had no great thank of thee for his smit-
"ing. And Lord, thou were mighty enough to have
"againstond thine Enemies, for through thy looking
"they fellen down to the ground, Lord yblessed mote
"thou be. Here thou teachest us that we shoulde suffer:
"for thou were mighty ynow to have againstond thine
"Enemies, and thou hadde wopen, and thy men weren
"hearty to have smitten.

"O Sweet Lord, how may he for shame clepen him-
"self thy Vicar and Head of the Church, that may not
"for shame suffer? Sith thou art a Lord, and sufferedst of
"thy subjects, to given us ensample, and so did thy true
"servants.

Two tempo-
ral swords
given to
Peter.

"O Lord whether geve thou to *Peter* a spiritual sword
"to Curse, and a temporal sword to sle mens bodies?
"Lord, I trow not, for then *Peter* that loved thee so
"much, would have smit with thy swerds. But Lord,
"he taughen us to blessen them that cursen us, and

"suffren and not smiten. And Lord, he fed thy people
"as thou bed him, and therefore he suffred the death as
"thou didst.

"O Lord, why clepeth any Man him *Peters* successor,
"that hath forsaken patience, and feedeth thy people
"with cursing, and with smiting? Lord thou saidest in
"thy Gospel, when thy Disciples knewen well that thou
"were Christ, and that thou mustest go to *Jerusalem*,
"and sufferen of the Scribes and Pharises, spittings, re-
"proofes, and also the death. And *Peter* took thee
"afide, and said; God forbid that. And Lord, thou
"saydest to *Peter*, Goe behind me *Sathanas*, thou
"sclaunderest me in *Israel*. For thou ne favourest not
"thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of
"men. Lord to mens wit it is unreasonable, that thou or
"thy Vicar, gif thou madest any on Earth, shoulde
"suffren of your suggets.

Thilke
things,
thosethings!

"A Lord, whether thou ordeinest an order of fighters
"to turn men to the beliefe? Other ordeinest that Knights
"shoulde swear to fight for thy words?

Faith
cometh not
by outward
force.

"A Lord, whether bed thou, that gif any Man turn to
"the faith, that he should geve his goods and cattel to the
"Vicar that hath great Lordships, and more than him
"needeth? Lord I wot well, that in the beginning the
"Churchmen that were converted threwn adown their
"goods afore the Apostles feete. For all they weren in
"charity, and none of them said this is mine, ne *Peter*
"made himself no Lord of these goods.

"But Lord, now he that clepeth himself thy Vicar
"upon Earth, and successor to *Peter*, hath ybroke thy
"commandment of Charity, for he is become a Lord.
"And he hath also broken thy commandment of mercy,
"and also of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into mis-
"chief and thraldom, for our Chieftaine hath forsaken
"War and Arms, and hath treated to have peace with our
"Enemies.

Pope brea-
keth the
rule of cha-
rity, of
mercy, and
of patience.

"A Lord, gif it be thy will, draw thy sward out of his
"sheath, that thy Servants may fight therewith against
"their Enemies, and put cowardise out of our hearts: and
"comfort us in battaile, or than thou come with thy sward
"in thy mouth, or take vengeance on thine Enemies.
"For gif we ben accorded with our Enemies till that time
"come, it is dread lest thou take vengeance both of them
"and of us together. A Lord, there is no help now in
"this great mischief but only in thee.

Or than,
before that.

"Lord, thou gevest us a commandment of truth, in
"bidding us say yea, yea, nay, nay, and swear for no-
"thing. Thou geve us also a maundment of meekness,
"and another of pooreness: but Lord, he that clepeth
"himself thy Vicar on Earth, hath both ybroken these
"commandments; for he maketh a Law to compel men
"to swear, and by his Laws he teacheth that a man, to
"save his life, may forswear and lie. And so Lord,
"through comfort of him and his laws, the people ne
"dreadeth not to swear and to lie, ne oft times to for-
"swearen them. Lord here is little truth.

The Pope
breaketh the
Law of
swearing.

"O Lord, thou hast ybrought us to a living of Souls
"that stands in beleiving in thee, and keeping thy
"Hests, and when we breken thy Hests; then we slen
"our souls: and less harm it were to suffer bodilich
"death.

"Lord, King *Saul* brake thine Hests, and thou took
"his Kingdom from his Heires evermore after him, and
"give it to *David* thy Servant, that kept thine Hests.
"And thou saidst by *Samuel* thy Prophet to *Saul* the King,
"that it is a manner of worshipping of false Gods to break
"thy Hests. For who that loveth thee over all things,
"and dreadeth thee also, he nole for nothing breake thine
"Hests.

Note, that is
would not.

"O Lord, gif breaking of thine Hests be herrying of
"false Gods, I trow that he that maketh the people break
"thine Hests, and commandeth that his Hests ben kept
"of the people, maketh himself a false God on Earth;
"as *Nebuchodonosor* did sometime that was King of
"*Babylon*.

"But Lord, we forsaken such false Gods, and beleven
"that there ne ben no mo Gods than thou: and though
"thou suffer us a while to ben in diseafe for knowledging
"of thee; we thanken thee with our heart, for it is a
"token that thou lovest us, to given us in this world some
"penance for our trespass.

"Lord, in the old Law, thy true servants took the death, for they would not eaten Swines flesh that thou haddest forbidde them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in us to eaten unclean mete of the soule, that thou hast forbid? Lord thou saidst, he that doth sin is servant of sin, and then he that lieth in forswearing himself, is servant of lefing, and then he is servant to the Divil, that is a lier and Father of lefings. And Lord, thou sayest, no man may serve two Lords at once. O Lord then, every lier for the time that he lieth, other forsweareth himself, and forsaketh thy service for dread of his bodily death, becometh the Divels servant.

Servant of
servants, the
Popes stile
abused.

"O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himself servant of thy servants, and in his doing he maketh him a Lord of thy servants. Lord thou were both Lord and Master, and so thou said thy self; but yet in thy works thou were as a servant. Lord this was a great truth, and a great meekness: but Lord, bid thou thy servants that they should not have Lordship over their brethren. Lord thou saydest Kings of the Heathen men han Lordship over their subjects, and they that use their power be cleped well doers.

Thralles,
that is to
say, bond
men.

"But Lord, thou saidst it should not be so amongst thy servant. But he that were most, should be as a servant. Thou Lord, thou taughtest thy Disciples to be meek. Lord in the old Law thy servants durst have no Lordship of their brethren, but if that thou bid them: and yet they should not do to their brethren as they did to thralles that served them. But they should do to their brethren that were their servants, as to their own brethren: for all they were *Abrahams* Children: and at a certain time, they should let their brethren pass from them in all freedom, but if they would wilfullich abide still in service.

Pride of
Priests.

"O Lord, thou gave us in thy coming a Law of perfect love, and in token of love thou clepedst thy self our brother. And to make us perfect in love, thou bid that we should clepe to us no Father upon Earth, but thy Father of Heaven we should clepe our Father. Alas, Lord, how violently our brethren, and thy children ben now put in bodily Thralldom, and in despite as beasts evermore in grievous travel to find proud men in ease. But Lord, if we take this defoule and this disease in patience, and in meekness, and keep thine Hests, we hope to be free. And Lord give our brethren grace to come out of Thralldom of sin, that they fall in through the desiring and usage of Lordship upon their brethren. And Lord, thy Priests in the old Law had no Lordships among their brethren, but Houses and Pastures for their beasts: but Lord our Priests now have great Lordships, and put their brethren in greater Thralldom than lewd men that be Lords. Thus is meekness forsaken.

Meekness
commended
in Ministers.

"Lord, thou biddest in the Gospel, that when a man is bid to the Feast, he should sit in the lowest place, and then he may be set higher with worship, when the Lord of the Feast beholdeth how his guests sitteth. Lord it is dread that they, that sit now in the highest place, should be bid in time coming sit beneath: and that will be shame and villany for them. And it is thy saying, those that hyeth himself should be lowed, and those that lowen himself should be an heyghed. O Lord, thou biddest in thy Gospel to beware of the Pharises, for it is a point of pride contrary to meekness. And Lord, thou sayest that they love the first sittings at suppers, and also the principal Chaires in Churches, and greetings in cheeping, and to be cleped Masters of men. And Lord, thou sayest be ye not cleped Masters, for one is your Master, and that is Christ, and all ye be brethren: and clepe ye to you no Father upon Earth, for one is your Father that is in Heaven. O Lord, this is a blessed Lesson to teach men to be meek.

Vicar in
Earth not
colerable in
the Pope.

"But Lord, he that clepeth himself thy Vicar on Earth, he clepeth himself Father of Fathers against thy forbid- ding. And all those worships thou hast forbad. He approveth them, and maketh them Masters to many, that teach thy people their own teaching, and leave thy teaching that is needful, and hidden it by quaint Glosses from thy lewd people and feed thy people with swevens that they meet, and tales that doth little profit but much harm to the people. But Lord, these glosses object, that they desire not the state of mastery to be worshipped there-

Swevens,
that is,
dreames.

by, but to profit the more to thy people, when they preach thy word. For as they suggest the people will believe more the preaching of a Master that hath taken a state of school, than the preaching of another man that hath not taken the state of mastery.

KING
Edw. 3.

"Lord, whether it be any need that masters bearen witness to thy teaching, that it is true and good? O Lord, whether may any master now by his estate of mastery, that thou hast forbidden, draw any man from his sin, rather than another man that is not a master, ne wole be none; for it is forbidden him in thy Gospel. Lord thou sendest to masters to preach thy people; and thou knowledgist in the Gospel to thy Father, that he hath hid his wisdom from wise men and redy men; and shewed it to little children. And Lord, masters of the law hylden thy teaching folly, and saiden that thou wouldest destroy thy people with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, so these masters seggeth now; for they have written many Books against thy teaching, that is truth; and so the Prophecy of *Jeremy* is fulfilled when he saith; Trulich the false points of the masters of the law hath wrought lealing. And now is the time come that *S. Paul* speaketh of, where he saith; Time shall come when men shall not sustain whole some teaching; But they shullen gather to hepe masters with hutching ears, and from truth they shullen turnen away their hearing, and turn them to tales, that masters have made to shewn their mastery and their wisdom.

Mastership
and Lord-
ship in
preachers.

"And Lord, a man shall believe more a mans works than his words, and the deed sheweth well of these masters, that they desire more mastery for their own worship, than for profit of the people. For when they be masters, they ne preachen not so oft as they did before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is before rich men, there as they mown beare worship and also profit of their preaching. But before poor men they preachen but seldem, when they ben masters: and so by their works we may seen that they ben false glossers.

"And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen thine Hests, him needeth no glosses: but thilke that clepen themselves Christen men, and liven against thy teaching and thine Hests, needelich they more glose thine Hests, after their living, other ellesmen shulden openlich yknown their Hypocritie and their fallhod.

False
glossers.

"But Lord, thou sayst that there is nothing yhid that shall not be shewed sometime. And Lord yblessed mote thou be: For somewhat thou shewest us now of our mischiefes that we been fallen in through the wisdoms of masters, that have by sleights ylad us away from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were the master of Heaven, taught us for love, when thou were here sometime to heal of our souls, withouten error or Heresie. But masters of worlds wisdom and their founder have ydamned it for Heresie and for error.

"O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reprove thy wisdom and thy teaching. And Lord, me thinketh that this *Nabugodonor* King of *Babylon*, that thus hath reprooved thy teaching and thine Hests, and commandeth on all wise to keepen his Hests, maken thy people hearen him as a God on Earth, and maketh them his thralls and his servants.

"But Lord, we lewd men known no God but thee, and we with thine help and thy grace forsaken *Nabugodonor* and his Laws. For he in his proud estate wole have all men under him, and he nele be under no man. He ondoth thy Laws that thou ordainest to ben kept, and maketh his own Laws as him liketh: and so he maketh him King above all other Kings of the Earth, and maketh men to worshippen him as a God, and thy great sacrifice he hate ydone away.

Nels, that is,
will not.

"O Lord, here is thy commandment of meekness mischilich to broke: and thy blessed commandment of poornes is also to broken, and yhid from thy people. Lord, *Zechary* thy Prophet saith, that thou that shouldst be our King, shouldst ben a poor man, and so thou were: for thou saidest thy self; Foxes have dens, and Birds of Heaven nests, and Mans son hath not where to

Poverty of
Christ not
followed.

KING } "to ligge his head on. And thou faideft, yblessed ben poor
 { Edw. 3 } "men in spirit, for thy Kingdom of Heaven is therein:
 "and woe to rich men, for they han their comfort in
 Courte. "this world. And thou bad thy Disciples to ben war of
 "all covetise, for thou saydest, in the abundance of mans
 "having, ne is not his lifelode. And so thou teachest,
 "that thilke that han more then them needeth to their
 "living liven in covetise. Also thou sayst, but gif a man
 "forfake all things that he oweth, he ne may not ben
 "thy Disciple. Lord, thou sayst also, that thy word,
 "that is sown in rich mens hearts, bringeth forth no fruit;
 "for riches and the bufines of this world maken it with-
 "outen fruit.

Poverty
counted
folly.
 "O Lord, here ben many blessed teachings to teach
 "men to ben poor, and love poornes. But Lord harm
 "is, poor men and poornes ben ybated, and rich men
 "ben yloved and honored: and gif a man be a poor man,
 "men holden him a man withouten grace; and gif a
 "man desireth poornes, men holden him but a fool:
 "and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious
 "man, and thilke that ben busie in getting of riches, ben
 "yholden wise men and ready: But Lord, these rich men
 "fayen, that it both lesful to them to gather riches togie-
 "ther. For they ne gathereth it for themselves, but for
 "other men that ben needy, and Lord their works
 "shewen the truth. For if a poor needy man would
 "borrowen of their riches, he nele lean him none of his
 "good; but gif he mow be seker to have it again by a
 "certain day.

Nele, that
is, will not.

"But Lord, thou bed that a man should lend, and not
 "hoping yielding again of him that he lendeth to: and
 "thy Father of Heaven wole quite him his mede. And
 "gif a poor man ask a rich man any good, the rich man
 "will give him but a little, and yet it shall be little worth.
 "And Lord me thinketh that here is little love and charity,
 "both to God and to our Brethren.

God is ser-
ved of the
world.

"For Lord, thou teachest in thy Gospel, that what
 "mendo to thy servants, they done to thee. A Lord, gif a
 "poor man axe good for thy love, men giveth him a lit-
 "tle of the wurst. For these rich men ordeinen both
 "Bread and Ale for Gods men of the wurst that they have.
 "O Lord, sith all good that men hath, cometh of thee;
 "how dare any man geve thee of the wurst, and keep to
 "himself of the best? How may such men say that they
 "gatheren riches for others need, as well as himself, sith
 "their works ben contrary to their words? And that is
 "no greater truth. And be ye seker these goods, that
 "rich man han, they ben Gods goods, ytake to your
 "keeping, to look how he wolen be setten them to the
 "worshipping of God. And Lord, thou sayest in the
 "Gospel, that who so is true in little, he is true in that
 "thing that is more: and who that is false in a little thing,
 "who wole taken him toward things of a greater value?

A lesson for
them that
have goods,
well to
spend them.

"And therefore be ye ware that han Gods goods to keep.
 "Spend ye thilke trulich to the worship of God, lest ye
 "lesen the blis of Heaven, for the untrue dispending of
 "Gods goods in this world.

Seggen, that
is, do say.

"O Lord, these rich men seggen that they don much
 "for thy love. For many poor labourers ben yfound by
 "them, that shoulde fare febelich, ne we not they and
 "their readines. Forsooth me thinketh that poor laborers
 "giveth to these rich men, moren then they given them
 "againward. For the poor men more gone to his labour
 "in cold and in heat, in wete and dry, and spend his
 "flesh and his blood in rich mens works, upon Gods
 "ground, to find the rich man in ease, and in liking,
 "and in good fare of meat, of drink, and of clothing.
 "Here is a great gift of the poor man, for he giveth his
 "own body. But what giveth the rich man againward?
 "Certes feeble meat, and feeble drink, and feeble cloth-
 "ing. What ever they seggen, such be their works,
 "and here is little love. And whofoever looketh well
 "about, all the world fareth as we seggen: and all
 "men studieth on every side, how they may wex rich
 "men: and everich man almost is ashamed to ben holden
 "a poor man.

"And Lord, I trow for thou were a poor man, men
 "token little regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord
 "thou came to give us a *New Testament* of love; and
 "therefore it was semelich that thou came in poornes, to
 "prove who would love thee, and kepen thy hefts. For

"gif thou haddeft ycome in forme of a rich man and of a
 "Lord, men wold rather for thy dread than for thy love,
 "have yclept thine hefts. And so Lord, now thou might
 "well ysee which loven thee as they shoulde in keeping
 "thine hefts. For who that loveth thee in thy poornes
 "and in thy lownes, needs he mote love thee in thy Lord-
 "ship and Highnes.

The poverty
of Christ
rightly con-
sidered.

"But Lord, the World is turned upse downe, and
 "men love poor men but a little, ne poornes neither.
 "But men be ashamed of poornes; and therefore Lord,
 "I trow that thou art a poor King. And therefore I
 "trow that he that clepeth himself thy Vicar on Earth,
 "hath forsaken poornes, as he hath do the remnant of
 "thy Law, and is become a rich man and a Lord, and
 "maketh his Treasure upon the Earth, that thou for-
 "biddest in the Gospel; and for his Right and Riches,
 "he will plete, and fight and curse. And yet Lord he will
 "segge, that he forsaketh all things that he oweth, as
 "thy true Disciple mete done after thy Teaching in the
 "Gospel.

A poor King
and a proud
Vicar, how
joyn these
two together?

"But Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken
 "his Goods, and plete for them, and fight, and curse.

"And Lord, he taketh on him power to affoile a man
 "of all manner of things, but if it be of debt. Truly

Christ a
servant up-
on Earth,
the Pope a
Lord.

"Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of Charity. For
 "who that beth in Charity, possesseth thy Goods in com-
 "mon, and not in proper at his Neighbours need. And
 "then shall there none of them segge this is mine, but it
 "is Gods that God granteth to us to spenden it to his
 "Worship. And so if any of them borroweth a portion
 "of those Goods, and dispendeth them to Gods Worship,
 "God is apayed of this spending, and alloweth him
 "this true doing. And if God is payed of that dis-
 "pending, this is the principal Lord of those Goods, how
 "dare any of his Servants axen thereof accounts, other
 "challenge it for it? Serten, of one thing I am incer-
 "teine, that these that charge so much det of worldly cat-
 "tel, they know little of Christs Law of Charity: for if

The Pope
for his right
and riches
will plead,
fight and
curse.

"Ich am a Bailly of Gods Goods in the World; If I see
 "my Brother in need, I am hold by Charity to part
 "with him of these Goods to his nede: and if he spend-
 "eth them well to the Worship of God. I mote be well
 "apaid, as though I my self had had spenden them to the
 "Worship of God. And if the principal Lord is well
 "payed of my Brothers doing, and the dispending of his
 "Goods, how may I segge for shame that my Brother is
 "dettour to me of the Goods that I took him to spend
 "in Gods Worship at his nede? And if my Brother spend-
 "eth amiss the Goods that I take him, I am discharged of
 "my deliverance of the Goods, if I take him in Charity
 "thilke Goods at his nede. And I am hold to be fory of
 "his evil dispending, ne I may not axen the Goods, that
 "I took him at his nede in forme of det, for at his
 "need they were his as well as mine. And thus is my
 "Brother yhold to done to me gif he see me in nede,
 "and gif we bed in Charity, little shoulde we chargen of
 "det. And ne we shoulde not axen so dets, as men that
 "know not God: and then we be poor in forsaking all
 "things that we own. For gif we ben in Charity, we
 "wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goods
 "with our Brethren.

Propriety
of goods
here, is not
taken away
but charity
is required
to help the
need of our
neighbor.

"O Lord, thus thou taughtest thy Servants to liven;
 "and so they liven while they hadden good Shepherds,
 "that fedden thy Sheep, and robbed them not of their
 "lifelod, as *Peter* thy good Shepherd and thy other
 "Apostles. But Lord, he that clepeth himself thy Vicar
 "upon Earth, and Successor to *Peter*, he robbeth thy
 "Puple of their bodilich lifelode, for he ordeineth
 "proud Shepherds to liven in ease by the tenth party of
 "poor mens travel: and he giveth them leave to liven
 "where them liketh. And gif men no wolen wil-
 "fullich given them the Tythings, they wolen had them
 "against their will by mastery and by cursing, to maken
 "them rich.

"Lord, how may any man segge that such Shep-
 "herds that loven more the wolle than the Sheep, and
 "feeden not thy Sheep in body, ne in soul, ne ben such
 "ravenors and Thieves? And who may segge, that the
 "Mainteinor of such Shepherds ne is not a Mainteinor
 "of Thieves and Robbers? How wole he affoile
 "Shepherds of their robbing, without restitution of
 "their

The Pope
maintainer
of thieves
and robbers.

“their goods, that they robben thy sheep of againſt their
 “will? Lord of all ſhepheards, bleſſed mote thou be.
 “For thou lovedſt more the ſheep then their wolles. For
 “thou feedeſt thy ſheep both in body and ſoul. And for
 “love of thy ſheep, thou took thy death to bring thy ſheep
 “out of Wolves mouths. And the moſt charge that thou
 “gove to *Peter* was to feed thy ſheep. And ſo he did
 “truelich, and took the death for thee and for thy ſheep.
 “For he came into the fold of ſheep by thee that were
 “the door. And ſo I trow a few other did as he did,
 “though they clepen themſelf ſucceſſors to *Peter*; for
 “their works ſhown what they ben. For they rob-
 “ben and ſleen and deſtroyen; they robben thy ſheep
 “of the tenth part of their travel, and feeden them-
 “ſelfs in eaſe. They ſleen thy ſheep, for they pyenen
 “them for hunger of their ſoul to the death. They
 “deſtroyen the ſheep, for with might and with ſtern-
 “ſhip they rulen thy ſheep; that for dred they ben
 “diſperſed abroad in Mountains, and there the wild
 “beaſts of the field deſtroyeth them for default of a good
 “ſhepherd.

Chriſt a
 good Shep-
 herd indeed

Comparison
 between
 the Popes
 Shepherds
 and Chriſt.

“O Lord, gif it be thy will deliver thy ſheep out of
 “ſuch ſhepheards ward that retcheth not of thy ſheep, ſo
 “they han their wolles to make themſelf rich. For thy
 “ſheep ben in great miſchief, and foule accombred with
 “their ſhepheards.

* But for,
 that is, but
 becauſe.

† Within
 forth, that
 is, inwardly

* Leſew,
 paſture.

† A Wolf
 Leper.

Wolves in
 Lambkins
 deſcribed.

He com-
 plaineth
 againſt the
 vallant beg-
 gers the
 Fryers.

“* But for thy ſhepheards wolden be excuſed they
 “have ygetten them hired men to feed thy people, and
 “theſe comen in ſheepes clothing. But dredleſs their
 “works ſhewen that † within forth they ben but Wolves.
 “For han they their hire, they ne retcheth but a little
 “how ſorilich thy ſheep ben kept. For as they ſeggen
 “themſelf, they ben but hired men that han no charge
 “of thy ſheep. And when they ſhulden feden thy ſheep
 “in the plenteous * leſew of thy teaching, they ſtonden
 “between them and their leſew, ſo that the ſheep ne han
 “but a fight of thy leſew, but eaten they ſhall not there-
 “of. But they feden them in a ſorry ſowre leſew of leiſings
 “and of tales. And ſo thy ſheep fallen into grievous
 “ſickneſs through this evil leſew. And gif any ſheep
 “break over into thy leſew to taſten the ſweetneſs thereof,
 “anone theſe hired men drive him out with hounds.
 “And thus thy ſheep by theſe hired men ben ykept out
 “of their kindlich leſew, and ben yfed with ſowre graſs
 “and ſorry barren leſew. And yet they feden but ſeldom,
 “and when they han ſorilich fed them, they taken great
 “hire, and gone away from thy ſheep and letten them a
 “worth.

“And for dread left thy ſheep wolden in their ab-
 “ſence go to thy ſweet leſew, they han enclosed it all
 “about ſo ſtronglich and ſo high, that there may no
 “ſheep comen there within, but gif it be a * wallich
 “leper of the Mountains, that may with his long Legs
 “lepen over the vallys. For the hired men ben full cer-
 “tain, that gif thy ſheep had once ytaſted the ſweetneſs
 “of thy leſew: They ne would no more bene yfed of
 “theſe hired men in their ſowre leſewes, and therefore
 “theſe hired men kepen them out of that leſew. For
 “haden the ſheep once ytaſten well of that leſew, they
 “wolden without a leader go thider to their mete, and
 “then mote theſe hired men ſechen them another labor to
 “live by than keeping of ſheep. And they ben fell and
 “ware ynow thereof, and therefore they feeden thy ſheep
 “with ſowre meat that naught is, and hidden from thy
 “ſheep the ſweetneſs of thy leſew. And ſo though theſe
 “hired men gon in ſheepes clothing, in their works they
 “ben Wolves, that much harm done to thy ſheep as we
 “have ytold.

“O Lord, they comen as ſheep, for they ſeggen
 “that they ben poor and have forſaken the world to li-
 “ven perſitlich as thou taughteſt in the Goſpel. Lord
 “this is ſheepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughteſt
 “not a man to forſaken the travelling living in poor-
 “neſs in the world, to liven in eaſe with riches by
 “other mens travel, and have Lordſhip on their brethren.
 “For Lord, this is more to forſaken thee and go to the
 “world.

“O Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſake
 “the world to liven in poornes of begging by other mens
 “travel that ben as feeble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne
 “taughteſt not a man to live in poornes of begging, that

“were ſtrong enough to travel for his livelode. Ne KING
 “Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to ben a beg- Edw. 3
 “ger to begge of men more than him needeth, to
 “build great Caſiles and make great Feaſts to thilke that
 “han no need.

“O Lord, thou ne taughteſt not men this poornes,
 “for it is out of Charity. But thy poornes, that thou
 “taughteſt, nourifeth Charity. Lord, ſith *Paul* ſaith,
 “That he that forſaketh the charge of thilke that bene
 “* homelich with him, hath forſaken his Faith, and is * Home-
 “worſe than a miſbelieven man: How then now theſe lich, that is,
 “men ſeggen that they believen in Chriſt, that han for- of his Hou-
 “ſaken their poor feeble friends, and let them live in travel- ſhold.
 “and in diſeaſe, that travelled full ſore for them, when
 “they weren young and unmighty to helpen themſelf?
 “And they wolen live in eaſe by other mens travel, ever-
 “more begging withouten ſhame.

“O Lord thou ne taughteſt not this manner poornes,
 “for it is out of Charity. And all thy Law is Charity
 “and thing that nourifeth Charity, and theſe Shepherds
 “ſend about to keep thy Sheep, and to feden them other
 “whiles in bareine leſewes. Lord thou ne madeſt none
 “ſuch Shepherds, ne Keepers of the Sheep that feed for-
 “rilich thy Sheep, and for ſo little travel taken a great
 “hire, and ſithen all the year afterward, do what them
 “liketh, and let thy Sheep periſh for default of keeping.
 “But thy Shepherds abiden ſtill with their Sheep, and
 “feeden them in thy plenteous leſew of thy teaching, and
 “gone before thy Sheep, and teachen them the way into
 “plenteous and ſweet leſew, and kepen thy Flock from
 “ravening of the wild Beaſts of the field.

“O Lord deliver the Sheep out of the ward of theſe
 “Shepherds, and theſe hired men, that ſtonden more to
 “keep their riches that they robben of thy Sheep, than
 “they ſtonden in keeping of thy Sheep.

“O Lord when thou come to *Jeruſalem*, ſometime
 “thou drove out of the Temple Sellers of Beaſts and of
 “other Chaffare, and ſaidſt, Mine Houſe ſhould ben
 “cleped an Houſe of Prayers, but they maden a Den of
 “Thieves of it. O Lord thou art the Temple in whom
 “we ſhould praien thy Father of Heaven. And *Salomon*
 “Temple, that was ybelded at *Jeruſalem*, was
 “Figure of this Temple. But Lord, he that clepeth
 “himſelf thy Vicar upon Earth, and ſaith that he occupi-
 “eth thy place here on Earth, is become a Chapman in
 “thy Temple, and hath his Chapmen walking in divers
 “Countries to ſellen his Chaffare, and to maken him rich.

“And he ſaith, Thou gave him ſo great a Power aboven
 “all other men, That whatever he bindeth other un-
 “bindeth in Earth, thou bindeth other unbindeſt the
 “ſame in Heaven. And ſo of great Power he ſelleth
 “other men forgivenes of their ſin. And for much
 “money he will aſſoilen a man ſo clean of his ſin, that
 “he * behoteth men of the bliſs of Heaven withouten
 “any pain after that they be dead, that given him much
 “money.

Bilhopricks and Chirches, and ſuch other Chaffares he
 “ſelleth alſo for money, and maketh himſelf rich. And
 “thus he beguiled the puple.

O Lord Jeſus here is much untruth, and miſchief, and
 “matter of ſorrow. Lord thou ſaideſt ſometime, that
 “thou wouldeſt be with thy Servants unto the end of the
 “world. And thou ſaideſt alſo, there as tweine or three
 “ben ygraded togedder in thy name, that thou art in the
 “middle of them. A Lord, then it was no need to thee
 “to maken Liefetenant, ſith thou wolte be evermore
 “amongſt thy Servants.

“Lord, thou axedit of thy Diſciples, who they trow-
 “ed that thou were. And *Peter* answered and ſaid,
 “That thou art Chriſt Gods Son. And thou ſaidſt to
 “*Peter*, Thou art ybleſſed *Simon Barjona*, for fleſh and
 “blood ne ſhowed not this to thee, but my Father
 “that is in Heaven. And I ſay to thee, That thou art
 “*Peter*, and upon this Stone ych wold bilde my
 “Church, and the Gates of Hell he ſhullen not availen
 “agens it.

“And to thee ych wole geve the Keys of Heaven, and
 “what ever thou bindeſt upon Earth ſhall be bound in
 “Heaven, and what ever thou unbindeſt on Earth, ſhall
 “be unbounden in Heaven. This Power alſo was granten
 “unto the other Diſciples, as well as to *Peter*, as the
 “Goſpel

KING
 Edw. 3

* Home-
 lich, that is,
 of his Hou-
 ſhold.

Willful Po-
 verty abhor-
 red.

The pov-
 erty of good
 Shepherds.

The Pope
 is a Chap-
 man in
 Gods Tem-
 ple.

* Behoteth,
 that is, pro-
 miſeth.

Note good
 Reader, if
 Chriſt be
 where two
 or three be
 gathered in
 his Name,
 what need
 is there of a
 Lieutenant?

The place
 of giving to
 Peter the
 Keys, ex-
 pounded.

KING {Edm. 3} "Gospel openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that
"thou granted to *Peters* Successors the selve Power that
"thou gave to *Peter*. And therefore the Bishop of *Rome*,
"that faith he is *Peters* Successors, taketh this Power to
"him to binden and unbinden in Earth what him
"liketh. But Lord, ych have much wonder how he
"may for shame clepen himself *Peters* Successor: for *Peter*
"knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kept
"the Hells of thy Law: but these han forsaken the Hells
"of thy Law, and hath ymaken a Law contrary to thine
"Hells of thy Law. And so he maketh himself a false
"Christ, and a false god in Earth. And I trow thou gave
"him no Power to undo thy Law. And so in taking
"this Power upon him, maketh him a false Christ and
"*Antichrist*."

The Pope
proved a
false Anti-
christ in
earth.

"For who may be more agens Christ, than he that
"in his words maketh himself Christs Vicar in Earth;
"and in his werkes undoth the Ordinance of Christ, and
"maketh men believe that it is needful to the heal of
"mens Souls, to believe that he is Christs Vicar in Earth?
"And what ever he bindeth in Earth, is ybounden
"in Heaven, and under this colour he undoth Christs
"Law, and maketh men always to kepen his Law and
"Hells."

The Pope
abominati-
on descri-
bed.

"And thus man may yseen that he is against Christ,
"and therefore he is *Antichrist* that maketh men wor-
"shippen him as a god on Earth, as the proud King
"*Nabugodonosor* did sometime, that was King of *Ba-
"bylon*. And therefore we lewde men that knowen
"not God but thee Jesus Christ, believe in thee that
"art our God, and our King, and our Christ, and thy
"Laws; and forsaken *Antichrist*; and *Nabugodonosor* that
"is a false god, and a false Christ, and his Laws ben con-
"trary to thy preaching."

"And Lord strength thou us against our enemies. For
"they ben about to maken us forsaken thee and thy Law,
"other else to putten us to death."

"O Lord, onlich in thee is our trust to help us in this
"mischief, for thy great goodnes that is withouten
"end."

"Lord thou ne taughtest not thy Disciples to affoilen
"men of their sin, and setten them a Penance for their
"sin, in Fasting, ne in Praying, ne other Almous Deed;
"ne thy self, ne thy Disciples, useden no such Power
"here on Earth. For Lord, thou forgave men her sins,
"and bede him sin no more. And thy Disciples *ful-
"leden men in thy Name, in forgiveness of her
"sins. Nor they took no such Power upon them as
"our Priests dare now. And Lord, thou ne affoiledst no
"man both of his sin and of his pain, that was due for
"his sin, ne thou grantedst no man such power here on
"Earth."

* Filleden,
that is, bap-
tized.

Purgatory.

"And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a Purga-
"tory, and any Earthlich man had power to deliver sin-
"ful men from the peines of Purgatory, he should,
"and he were in Charity, faven everich man that
"were in way of Salvation from thilke peines, sith they
"make them greater than any bodilich peines of this
"World. Also gif the Bishop of *Rome* had such a
"Power, he himself shuld never comen in Purgatory,
"ne in Hell. And sith we see well that he ne hath no
"Power to kepen himself, ne other men nother out of
"these bodilich peines of the World, and he may go to
"Hell for his sin as another man may: I ne believe not,
"that he hath so great Power to affoilen men of
"their sin as he taketh upon him aboven all other
"men. And I trow that in this he higheth himself above
"God."

Selling of
Bishopricks
and benefi-
ces.

"As touching the selling of Bishopricks, and Parso-
"nages, I trow it be a point of Falsched. For agens
"Gods Ordinance he robbeth poor men of a portion
"of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giveth it, to find
"proud men in idleness that don the lewd puple little
"profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben
"thy commandments of truth, of meeknes, and of poor-
"nes undone by him, that clepeth himself thy Vicar here
"upon Earth."

"A Lord, thou gave us a Commandment of chastice,
"that is, a forsaking of fleshlich lust. For thou broughtest
"us to a living of Soul, that is, ygoverned by the word.
"For Lord, thou ordeinedst women more frele than

"man to ben ygoverned by mans rule, and his help, to
"please thee and keep thine Hells. Ne thou ne ordeinedst
"that a man should desire the company of a woman, and
"maken her his wife, to liven with her in his lustis, as
"a Swine doth or a Horse. And his wife ne like him
"not to his lustes, Lord ne gave not a man leave to
"departen him from his wife, and taken him ano-
"ther."

Marriage.

"But Lord, thy Marriage is a common accord be-
"tween man and woman, to liven together to their
"lives end, and in thy Service either the better for others
"help, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben
"joyned by thee, and thilke that God joyneth, may
"no man depart. But Lord, thou saiest, That gif a
"man see a woman to coveten her, then he doth with
"the woman lechery in his heart. And so Lord, gif a
"man desire his wife in covetise of such lustis, and not to
"fly from Whoredome, his Weddins is lechery, ne thou
"ne joynest them not together. Thus was *Ragnels*
"Daughter ywedded to seven Husbands that the Devil
"infrangled. But *Toby* took her to live with her in
"cleanness, and bringing up of her Children in thy
"Worship, and on him the Devil ne had no power. For
"the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through
"God."

A Lesson
how to
marry.

"A Lord, the people is far ygo from this manner
"of Wedding. For now men wedden their wives for
"Fairnes, other for Riches, or some such other flesh-
"lich lustis. And Lord, so it preveth by them for the
"most part. For a man shall not find two wedded in
"a Land, where the Husband loves the Wife, and the
"Wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulde after the
"law of Marriage. But other the man loves not his
"wife, or the wife if not buxum to her man. And thus
"Lord is the rule of prefe, that never faileth no preve
"whether it be done by thee or no. And Lord, all this
"mischief is common among thy people, for that they
"know not thy Word, but their Shepherds and hired
"men fedden them with their *swevens and leafings."

* Swevens,
that is,
dreams.

"And Lord, where they shoulde gon before us in
"the field, they seggen their Order is too holy for thy
"Marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himself thy Vi-
"car upon Earth will not suffren Priests to taken them
"wives, for that is against his Law: But Lord, he will
"dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certain sum
"of money. And Lord, all Whoredome is forfended in
"thy Law. And Lord, thou never forfendedst Priests
"their wives, ner thy Apostles neither. And well I
"wote in our Land, Priests hadden wives until *An-
"selmus* days in the year of our Lord God, 1129. as
"*Huntingdone* writes. And Lord, this makes people for
"the most part believe, that Lechery is no sin. There-
"fore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send
"us Shepherds of thine own, that wolen feeden thy
"Flock in thy lefew, and gon before themselves, and so
"written thy Law in our hearts, that from the least to
"the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord,
"geve our King and his Lords heart to defenden thy
"true Shepherds and thy Sheep from out of the Wolves
"mouths, and Grace to know thee that art the true
"Christ, the Son of thy heavenly Father, from the
"*Antichrist*; that is, the Son of Pride. And Lord,
"geve us thy poor Sheep patience and strength to
"suffer for thy Law, the cruelnes of the mischievous
"Wolves. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these
"days. Lord we axen this now, for more need was there
"never."

Priests had
wives till
the time of
Anselmus.

I doubt not, gentle Reader, but in reading this godly
Treatise above prefixed, the matter is manifest and plain
of it self without any further Explication, what is to be
thought and judged of this Vicar of Christ, and Successor
of *Peter*, whom we call the Bishop of *Rome*: whose life
here thou seest not only to be disordered in all Points,
swarving from the steps and example of Christ the
Prince and Bishop of our Souls, but also whose Laws
and Doctrines are so repugnant and contrary to the Pre-
cepts and Rule of the Gospel, that almost there is no
convenience between them: as in the perusing of this
complaining Prayer, thou maist notoriously understand.
Wherefore having no need to stand in any further
expressing

expressing of this matter, but leaving it to thine own consideration and discretion, I will speed my self (Christ willing) to proceed toward the time of *John Wickliffe* and his Fellows, taking by order of years as I go, such things by the way, as both happened before the said time of *Wickliffe*, and also may the better prepare the mind of the Reader, to the entering of that story. Where first I think it not inconvenient to infer a Prophetical Parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the Author morally applieth unto the Bishop of *Rome*. To what Author this Prophecy or Moral is to be ascribed, I have not certainly to affirm. Some say, that *Rupescissanus* (of whom mention is made before) was the Author thereof, and alledge it out of *Froyfard*; but in *Froyfard* as yet I have not found it. In the mean season, as I have found it in *Latin* expressed, because it painteth out the Pope so rightly in his feathers and colours; as I thought the thing was not to be omitted, so I took this present place, as most fit (although peradventure missing the order of years a little) to insert the same. The effect of which Parable followeth here underwritten.

In the time of Pope *Innocent* the Sixth above specified, this *Joannes de Rupescissa*, a Fryer, among other his Prophecies marvelously forespake (as alledged *Froyfard*, who both heard and saw him) of the taking of *John* the French King Prisoner, and brought forth many other notable Collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in the Church to come. And at what time the Pope kept him at *Avinion* in prison (where *Froyfard* is said to see him, and to speak with him) the said *Froyfard* heard in the Popes Court this example and parable recited by the foresaid Fryer *Rupescissanus*, to the two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinal *Hofiensis*, and Cardinal *Auxercensis*, which followeth these words:

A parable prophesying the destruction of the Pope.

When on a certain time a Bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other Birds bearing thereof, came to visit her: and for that they saw her to be a marvelous fair and beautiful Bird, they counselled together how they might best do her good, sith by no means without feathers she might either fly, or live commodiously. They all wished her to live for her excellent form and beauties sake, insomuch that among them all there was not one, that would not grant some part of her own feathers to deck this Bird withall: yea, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers still they gave unto her, so that by this means she was passing well penned and feathered, and began to fly. The other Birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to fly abroad, were marvelously delighted therewith. In the end this Bird seeing her self so gorgeously feathered, and of all the rest to be had in honour, began to wax proud and haughty. Insomuch that she had no regard at all unto them, by whom she was advanced: yea, she pugged them with her beak, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the Birds sitting in Council again, called the matter in question, demanding one of another what was best to be done touching this unkind Bird, whom they lovingly with their own feathers had decked and adorned: affirming that they gave not their feathers, to the intend that she, thereby puffed up with pride, should contemptuously despise them all. The Peacock therefore answereth first, Truly, saith he, for that she is bravely set forth with my painted feathers, I will again take them from her. Then saith the Falcon, And I also will have mine again. This sentence at length took place among them all, so that every one plucked from her those feathers which before they had given, challenging to them their own again. Now this proud Bird, seeing her self thus to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her haughty stomach, and humbly to submit her self openly, confessing and acknowledging that of her self she had nothing; but that her feathers, her honour and other Ornaments was their gift: she came into the world all naked and bare, they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they receive them again. Wherefore in most humble wise she desired pardon, promising to amend all that is past, neither would she at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride she might leese her feathers again. The gentle Birds, that before had given their feathers,

The Pope compared to a Bird feathered with other Birds feathers.

The first rising of the Pope. The proud Prosperity of the Pope.

The decay of the Pope described.

seeing her so humble and lowly, being moved with pity, restored again the feathers which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition, We will gladly, say they, behold thy flying among us, so long as thou wilt use thine Office with humbleness of mind, which is the chiefest comeliness of all the rest: But this have thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extol thy self in pride, we will straight-ways deprive thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee into thy former state wherein we found thee. Even so, Ob you Cardinals (saith *Joannes Rupescissanus*) shall it happen unto you: for the Emperors of the Romans and Almains, and other Christian Kings, Potentates, and Princes of the Earth, have bestowed upon you Goods, Lands and Riches, that should serve God, but you have poured it out, and consumed it upon Pride, all kind of Wickedness, Riot and Wantonness.

KING
Edward

Armachanus.

IN the Catalogue of these learned and zealous Defenders of Christ against *Antichrist* above rehearsed, whom the Lord about this time began to raise up for the Reanimation of his Church, being then far out of frame; I cannot forget nor omit something to write of the reverend Prelate, and famous Clerk, *Richard Armachanus*, Primate and Archbishop of *Ireland*: a man for his Life and Learning so memorable, as the condition of those days then served; that the same days then as they had but few good, so had they none almost his better. His name was *Richard Fitzraf*, made Primate and Archbishop, as is said of *Ireland*. First brought up in the University of *Oxford* in the study of all liberal Knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit under *John Bakenthorpe* his Tutor and Instructor. In this time the begging-Fryers began greatly to multiply and spread, unto whom this *Bakenthorpe* was ever a great enemy: whose steps the Scholars also following, began to do the like. Such was the capacity and dexterity of this *Fitzraf*, that he, being commended to King *Edward* the Third, was promoted by him, first, to be Archdeacon of *Lichfield*, then to be the Commissary of the University of *Oxford*; at length to be Archbishop of *Armach* in *Ireland*. He being Archbishop, upon a time had a Cause to come up to *London*: at what time here in the said City of *London* was contention between the Fryers and the Clergy about preaching and hearing Confessions, &c. Whereupon, this *Armachanus*, being requested to preach, made seven or eight Sermons; Wherein he propounded nine Conclusions against the Fryers, for the which he was cited up by the Fryers before this Pope *Innocent* the Sixth to appear; and so he did: who before the face of the Pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing, the same Conclusions, and therein stood constantly unto the death, as the words of *John Wickliffe* in this *Triologo* do well testify in this wise, *Ab Anglorum Episcopis conductus Armachanus novem in Avione Conclusiones coram Innocentio 6. & suorum Cardinalium cætu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audecter publicavit, verboque ac scriptis ad mortem usque defendit.* The like also testifieth of him *Waldenus* in fasciculo zizaniorum. Also *Volateranus* reporteth the same. *Gulielmus Botonerus* testifying of him in like manner, saith, That *Armachanus* first reproved begging-Fryers for hearing the confessions of professed Nuns, without licence of their Superiors, and also of married women without knowledge of their Husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his Persecutors, and how miraculously the Lord delivered him from their hands; insomuch, that they meeting him in the open streets, and in clear day-light, yet had no power to see him, nor to apprehend him. In what peril of Thieves and Searchers he was, and yet the Lord delivered him; yea, and caused his money, being taken from him, to be restored again to him by portions in time of his necessity and famine: And in what dangers he was of the Kings Officers, which coming with the Kings Letters, laid all the Havens for him; and how the Lord Jesus delivered him, shewing him by what ways, and how to escape them, to the number of sixteen, and yet how the Lord gave him to triumph over all his enemies: how the Lord also taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of *Aristotles* subtilty, to the study of the Scriptures of God. All this, with much more, he himself expresseth in a certain prayer or confession made to Christ

The life and story of Armachanus, Archbishop and Primate of Ireland.

The commendation of Armachanus.

Armachanus cited by the Fryers to appear before the Pope.

The troubles and persecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus persecuted manifold ways by the Lord.

KING Christ Jesus our Lord, in which he describeth almost the whole history of his own life, Which prayer I have to shew in old written-hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as time serveth, to publish the same. The beginning of the prayer in *Latin* is this:

The prayer
of Armachanus.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Jesu piissime, Jesu potentissime, Jesu dulcissime; qui dixisti, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. Via sine devio; veritas sine nullo; & vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti; Tute veritatem me docuisti; Et tute vitam mihi promissisti. Via eras mihi in exilio; Veritas eras in consilio; Et vita eris mihi in premio. With the rest that followeth in the foresaid prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited up by the Fryers to the Pope, you have partly heard. Now what were his Reasons and Arguments wherewith he defended his Cause in the Popes presence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof, first, I must put the Reader in remembrance of the Controversie mentioned before in the story of *Gulielmus de sancto Amore*, pag. 357. Also in the story of the Univeristy of *Paris* contending against the Fryers, pag. 446. For so long did this Controversie continue in the Church, from the year, 1240. when the Oxford-men began first to stand against the Fryers, to the time of this *Armachanus*; that is, to the year, 1360. and after this time yet more increased. So it pleased the secret Providence of God (for what cause he best knoweth) to suffer his Church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controversies of no great importance; either to keep the vanity of mens wits thus occupied from idleness; or else to prepare their minds, by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more grave and weighty. Like as now in these our Queens days we see what Tragedies be raised up in *England* about forms and fashions of Ministers wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same. Even so at this time happened the like stir about the Liberties and Priviledges of the Fryers, which not a little troubled and occupied all the Churches and Divines almost thorow *Christendom*. The which controverlie, to the intent it may better be understood (all the circumstances thereof being explained) we will first begin from the original and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of years, upon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied in gathering more matter, and brast out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter; first, it is to be understood, that in the year of our Lord, 1215. under Pope *Innocent* the Third, was called a General-Council at *Laterane*, mentioned before, pag. 288. in the days of King *John*. In the which Council among many other things, was constituted a certain Law or Canon, beginning *Omnis utriusque sexus, &c.* the tenor of which Canon in English is thus:

Can. omnis
utriusque
sexus, &c.
ut, de Deo
&c.

Be it decreed, That every faithful Christian, both man and woman coming to the years of discretion, shall confess himself alone of all his sins to the Priest of his own proper Parish, once in the year at least: and that he shall endeavour by his own self to fulfil the penance, whensoever he receiveth the Sacrament of Eucharist, at least at the time of Easter. Unless by the assent of his Minister, upon some reasonable cause, he abstain for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lack the communion of the Church being alive, and Christian-burial when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, That this wholesome Constitution shall be published accustomedly in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or blindness make to himself a Cloke of Excuse. And if any shall confess himself to any other Priest than of his own Parish upon any just cause, let him ask and obtain first licence of his own Priest: otherwise, the Priest shall have no power to bind him or to loose him, &c.

Note here,
he calleth it
not the Sa-
crament of
the Altar.

In the time of this *Innocentius*, and of this *Lateran* Council, was *Dominick*, the first Author and Founder of the preaching-Fryers; who laboured to the said Pope *Innocent* for the confirmation of his Order, but did not obtain in his life time.

The next year after this *Lateran* Council died Pope *Innocent*, An. 1216. after whom came *Honorius* the Third. Who in the first year of his Popedom confirmed the Order of the Fryer *Dominick*, and gave to him and his Fryers Authority to preach, and to hear confessions, with divers other priviledges more. And under this Pope, which governed ten years, lived *Dominick* five years after the confirmation of his Order, and died, Anno 1221. About which year the Order of the *Franciscan-Fryers* began also to breed, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

After this *Honorius*, next followed Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, about the year of our Lord, 1228. who for the promoting of the foresaid Order of *Dominicks*, gave out this Bull, in tenour as followeth:

*Gregorius Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his reverend Brethren, Archbishops, Bishops, and to his welbeloved Children, Abbots Priors, and to all Prelates of Churches, to whomsoever these Presents shall come, greeting, and Apostolical blessing. Because * Iniquity hath abounded, and the Charity of many hath waxt cold; Behold, the Lord hath raised up the Order of our welbeloved Children the preaching-Fryers, who not seeing things of their own, but pertaining to Jesus Christ, to the extirping aswell of Heresies, as to the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences, have dedicated themselves to the preaching of the Word of God. We therefore minding to advance their sacred purpose, &c. And followeth, commanding you to see the said persons, gently to be received among you; and that your Flocks committed to your Charge do receive devoutly the seed of Gods Word out of their mouth, and do confess their sins unto them, all such as list, whom we have authorized to the same, to hear Confessions, and to enjoin Penance, &c. Dat. Perulii. An. Pont. nostri 8.*

Fryer-Dominick in the time of Pope Innocent the Third, obtained not the confirmation of his Order. The Order of Fryer-Dominick first confirmed by Pope Honorius the Third. The Order of Franciscans confirmed shortly after the Dominicks. The Bull of Pope Gregory in the behalf of the Dominick-Fryers. * Iniquity hath abounded at Rome.

† Nay, to the preaching rather of mens traditions against the Word of God. The Fryers authorized to hear confessions, and to enjoin penance.

This Pope *Gregory* died about the year of our Lord, 1241. after whom came *Celestinus* the Fourth, and fate but 18 days: then came *Innocentius* the Fourth, and fate 11 years and six months. Who, although he began first to favour the Fryers; yet afterward being altered by certain Divines of Universities, Prelates of Churches, and Curates, he debarred them of their Liberties and Priviledges, and gave out again Precepts and Excommunications, as well against Fryers, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was dispatched and made away.

Innocentius being thus removed out of the way, about the year of our Lord, 1353. then succeeded Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, a great Maintainer of the Fryers, and late seven years. He revoked and repealed the Acts and Writings of Pope *Innocent* his Predecessor, given forth against the Fryers; wherewith the Divines and Students of *Paris* being not well contented, stirred up four principal Doctors: The first and chief Captain was *Galiel. de Sancto Amore*, mentioned before, pag. 357. against whom wrote *Albertus Magnus*, and *Tho. Aquine*. And at last he was condemned by this foresaid Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, in the *Extrav. Non sine multa*: The second was *Simon Fornalensis*: The third *Godfridus de fontibus*: The fourth *Henricus de Gandavo*. These four with other their Complices, compiled a certain Book against the begging Order of Fryers, both *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, intituled, *De periculis Ecclesie*, containing fourteen Chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the last, with thirty nine Articles against the Fryers, we have already translated and expressed, pag. 362. Besides these thirty nine Articles, be other seven Articles moreover to the said Book annexed, under the name of the Students of *Paris* against the Fryers, proving why the said Fryers ought not to be admitted into their Society. Which seven Articles, because they are but short, I thought here better to place, than to omit them.

Pope Innocent the Fourth against the Fryers.

Pope Alexander the Fourth undoes the acts of Pope Innocent the Fourth, his Predecessor.

Extra. non sine multa. Gul. de sancto Amore. Simon Fornalensis. Godfridus de fontibus. Hen. de Gandavo, four Champions against the Fryers.

Certain Articles given out by the Students of *Paris*, against the Fryers, why they should not be admitted to their Society.

First we say, they are not to be admitted to the Society of our School, but upon will and licence. For our Company or Fellowship ought not to be coactive, but voluntary, and free.

Articles of the Students of Paris against the Fryers.

Secondly,

Secondly, We say they are not be admitted, forso much as we oft proved their Community manifold ways to be hurtful and incommodious.

Concilium
Nippon.

Thirdly, Seeing they be of a diverse Profession from us (for they are called Regular, and not Scholastical) we therefore ought not to be joyned and associate together in one Scholastical Office; forasmuch as the Council of Spain doth say, *Thou shalt not plough with an Ox, and with an Ass together.* Which is to say, Men of divers professions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or standing, for their studies and conditions be disagreeing and dislevered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one Communion.

The Fryers
make dif-
fentions.

Fourthly, We affirm by the Apostle that they are not to be admitted, because they work diffentions and offences; for so saith the Apostle, *Rom. ult. We desire you Brethren, that ye observe and take heed of such as make diffentions and offendiciles about the Doctrine which you have learned by the Apostles, and avoid them: for such serve not the Lord, but their own belly.* Gloss. *Some they flatter, some they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies.* That through their sweet and pleasant words, and by their Benedictions, they may deceive the hearts of the simple, Gloss. *That is, with their fine sugered and trim couched words they set forth their own Traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the simple Imbeciles.*

Fryers de-
vour mens
houses Pen-
itentes do-
mest.

Fifthly, We say they are not to be admitted, for that we fear lest they be in the number of them, which go about and devour mens houses: for they thrust in themselves into every mans house, searching and sacking the conscience and states of all persons: and whom they find easie to be seduced, and women, such they do circumvent, and lead them away from the counsels of their Prelates, binding them either in act or oath: from such we are warned by the Apostle to avoid.

Fryers
preach un-
called.

Sixthly, We say they are to be avoided, because we fear they are false Prophets. Which being neither Bishops, nor Parish-Priests, nor yet their Vicars, nor sent by them, yet they preach (not sent) against the mind of the Apostle, *Rom. 10. saying, How shall they preach except they be sent?* for else there appeareth in them no such great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach uncalled. Seeing therefore that such are so dangerous to the Church, they ought to be avoided.

Fryers have
no order of
any calling
in the
Church.

Seventhly, We say they are not to be admitted, because they be a people so curious in searching and inquiring of other mens doings and spiritual demeanor. And they yet be neither Apostles, nor yet Successors of the Apostles, as Bishops, nor of the number of the seventy two Disciples of the Lord; nor their Successors, that is, Parish-Priests, nor their Helpers, nor yet Vicars. Wherefore, seeing they live so in no Order, by the Sentence of the Apostle we are commanded to avoid them, *2 Thess. ult. where he saith, We admonish and denounce unto you (O Brethren) in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ; that is, as the Gloss saith, (We Command you by the Authority of Christ) that you withdraw your selves from every Brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition which you have received of us, &c.* Look upon the common gloss of this place, and you shall find, that such are to be avoided till time they amend from so doing, &c.

Certain
conclusions
in the Uni-
versity of
Paris to be
disputed of
against the
Fryers.

Besides these Articles above rehearsed, certain Propositions or Conclusions were also propounded in the Schools of Paris the same time, solemnly to be disputed and defended against the Fryers: which, in a brief sum of words to collect them, were these:

First, That the begging-Fryers were not in the state of Salvation.

Secondly, That they were bound to labour with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdly, That they ought not to exercise the Office of Preaching, or to hear the Confessions of them that will come unto them, although being licensed thereunto by the Bishop of Rome, or by the Diocefan: forso much as the same is prejudicial to the Ministers and Priests of the Parishes.

All these aforesaid Articles and Conclusions, with the Book set forth by these Paris-men, this Pope Alexander

the Fourth condemned to be abolished and burned, writing his Precepts to the French King, and also the University of Paris, in the favour of the Fryers; willing and commanding the said Fryers to be restored to all their Privileges and Liberties in as ample manner, as in Pope Gregory's time before.

Not long after Pope Alexander the Fourth, followed Clement the Fourth, Anno 1263. and late three years: who also gave the privilege to the Fryers, beginning, *Quidam temere, &c.* In which privilege he condemneth them that say, that no man without licence of his Curate or Minister, ought to confess him to the Fryers, or that a Subject ought to ask licence of their Ministers so to do, which was against the Canon *Omnis utriusque sexus, &c.* made by Pope Innocent the Third, before recited.

After this Clement again came Pope Martin the Fourth, Anno 1281. who renewed again the Canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, in the behalf of the Curates against the Fryers.

This Pope Boniface the Eighth began to sit, Anno 1294. and late eight years and nine months. Who taking side with the Fryers, gave to them another Privilege, beginning, *Supra Cathedralam, &c.* In the which privilege he licensed the Fryers, that without licence of Vicars of Churches they shall first present themselves to the Prelates to be admitted; by whom if they be refused the second time, then they, upon special authority of this Pope, shall be privileged, without either Bishop or Curate, to preach, to bury, and to hear confessions, whosoever will come to them revoking all that was decreed by his Predecessors before to the contrary.

By this Pope Boniface, a certain Dominick-Fryer was made Cardinal, named *Nicolaus de Tervisio*, and after the death of Boniface he was also made Pope, Anno 1303. surnamed Pope Benedictus 11. who, seeing the constitution of Boniface his Predecessor to gender dissention between the Priests and Fryers, made another constitution, beginning, *Inter cunctas, &c.* revoking the constitution of Boniface his Predecessor. Upon which constitution of Pope Benedict, *Joannes Monachus* making a gloss, revoked also his other made upon the constitution of Pope Boniface before.

Again, after this Benedictus the Eleventh, followed Pope Clement the Fifth, Anno 1305. and late nine years. Who, in his General-Council holden at Vienna, revoked the constitution of Benedictus his Predecessor, and renewed again the former Decree of Boniface, by a new constitution of his, beginning *Dudum a Bonifacio 8. &c.* Which constitution moreover was confirmed afterward by Pope John the 21st, Anno 1316. Which Pope also caused *Joannes de Poliano* to recant.

Upon this variable diversity of the Popes (one dissenting and repugning from another) rose among the Divines and School-men in Universities great matter of contention, as well in the University of Paris, as the University of Oxford about the begging-Fryers, some holding one way, some another way. But especially five principal Opinions be noted of learned men, who, then disputing against the Fryers, were condemned for Hereticks, and their Assertions reproved.

The first was the Opinion of them which defended, that the Fryers might not by the Licence of the Bishop of Rome and of the Prelates preach in Parishes, and hear confessions. And of this opinion was *Guliel. de sancto Amore*, with his Fellows, who, as it is said, were condemned.

The second Opinion was this, that Fryers, although not by their own authority, yet by the privilege of the Pope, and of the Bishop, might preach and hear confessions in Parishes, but yet not without licence of the Parish-Priests. Of this opinion was *Bernardus*, glossing upon the Canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, afore mentioned.

The third Opinion was, that Fryers might preach and hear confessions without licence of the Parish-Priests; but yet the said Parishioners notwithstanding were bound, by the Canon *Omnis utriusque sexus* to repeat the same sins again, if they had no other, to their own proper Curate: and of this opinion were many, as *Godf.*

(KING)

Pope Alex-
ander the
Fourth a
great fa-
vourer of
the Fryers.

Another
Privilege
given to
the Fryers
by Pope
Clement the
Fourth.
Ex Clement.
Quidam te-
mere.

Pope Mar-
tin the
Fourth
holdeth
with Cu-
rates against
the Fryers.
Pope Boni-
face holdeth
with the
Fryers again.
Ex Clement.
conf. Boni-
f. Supra
Cathedralam.

Ex Clement.
inter cunctas
Joan. Mo-
nach re-
voketh his
Gloss.

Pope Cle-
ment the
Fifth hold-
eth with the
Fryers, and
repealeth
the Consti-
tution of
Benedictus.
Ex Clement.
cap. Dudum.

Five diverse
opinions of
learned
men in this
age holding
against the
Fryers.

The second
opinion.

Bernardus
gloss cap.
Omnis utri-
usque.

The third
opinion.

de

REING de fontibus, Henr. de Gandavo, Joannes Monachus
cardi; Joannes de Poliacco, which Joannes de Poliacco
Pope John the 22th caused openly in Paris to recant and
retract.

Ex libro
fractis Ege-
lioni.
This Joannes de Poliacco Doctor of Divinity in Paris,
being complained of by the Fryers for certain Articles or
Assertions, was sent for to the Pope: where time and
place being to him assigned, he, in the audience of the
Pope and of frierly Cardinals and other Doctors, was
straitly examined of his Articles. To make the story short,
he, at length submitting himself to the authority of the
terrible See of Rome, was caused to recant his Assertions
openly at Paris: his Assertions which he did hold were
these.

**The three Assertions of Joannes de Poliacco, which
he was caused by the Pope to recant at Paris.**

John de Po-
liaco caused
to recant
by Pope
John 22.

Whereof the first was, they which were
confessed to Fryers, although having a ge-
neral Licence to hear Confessions, were
bound to confess again their sins to their
own Parish-Priest, by the Constitution Om-
nis utriusque sexus, &c.

The second was, that the said Constitution
Omnis utriusque sexus standing in his
force, the Pope could not make, but Pa-
rishioners were bound once a year to con-
fess their sins to their Priest. For the doing
otherwise importeth a contradiction in it
self.

The third was, that the Pope could not
give general Licence to hear Confessions so,
but that the Parishioner so confessed was
bound to reiterate the same confession
made, unto his own Curate. Which he
proved by these places of the Canon Law,
25. quest. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Those
things which be generally ordained for
publick utility, ought not to be altered by
any change, &c. Item, the Decrees of the
sacred Canons, none ought to keep more
than the Bishop Apostolical, &c. Ibidem.
Item, to alter or to ordain any thing against
the Decrees of the Fathers, is not in the au-
thority or power, no not of the Apostolical
See, Ibidem.

**His three As-
sertions.**

The three
assertions
of John de
Poliacco a-
gainst the
Fryers.

The fourth
Opinion.

The fourth Opinion was, that the Fryers by the Licence
of the Pope and of the Bishops might lawfully hear Con-
fessions, and the people might be of them confessed and
absolved. But yet notwithstanding, it was reason, convenient,
honest, and profitable, that once in the year they should be
confessed to their Curates (although being confessed before
to the Fryers) because of the Administration of the Sacra-
ments, especially at Easter. Of which opinion was Guli-
elmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gaudano also held
it not only to be convenient, but also that they were bound
so to do.

Gulielmus
de monte
Landuno,
Henricus de
Gaudano.

The fifth
Opinion.

The fifth Opinion was, that albeit the Fryers might
at all times, and at Easter also, hear Confessions as the
Curates did; yet it was better and more safe, at the time
of Easter, to confess to the Curates, than to the Fryers.
And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom
we presently now intreat.

And thus have ye, as in a brief sum, opened unto you,
what was the matter of contention between the Fryers and
the Church-men. What Popes made with the Fryers, and
what Popes made against them. Moreover, what learned
men disputed against them in Paris, and other places, and
what were their Opinions.

The matter of contention about the Fryers stood in four
Points: First, preaching without Licence of Curates. Se-
condly, in hearing Confession. Thirdly, in burying.
Fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

**Popes that maintained
the Fryers.**

Were { Honorius, 3
Gregorius, 9
Alexander, 4
Clemens, 4
Boniface, 8
Clemens, 5

**Popes that maintained
Curates.**

Were { Innocentius, 3
Innocentius, 4
Martinus, 4
Benedictus, 11

**The learned men that disputed against the
Fryers.**

Were { Gulielmus de S. Amore.
Bernardus super capitulum,
Omnis utriusque sexus.
Godfridus de Fontibus.
Henricus de Gandavo.
Gulielmus de Landuno.
Joannes Monachus Cardin.
Joannes de Poliacco.
Armachanus.

All these were
condemned
by the Popes,
or else caused
to recant.

These considerations and circumstances hitherto præmi-
sed, for the more opening of this present cause of Arma-
chanus sustained against the idle beggerly Sects of Fryers,
in whom the Reader may well perceive Antichrist plainly
reigning and fighting against the Church: it now remain-
eth, that as I have before declared the travels and troubles
of divers godly learned men in the Church striving against
the said Fryers, continually from the time of Gulielmus de
Amore, hitherto; so now forasmuch as this our Arma-
chanus laboured, and in the same Cause sustained the like
Conflict with the same Antichrist, we likewise collect
and open his Reasons and Arguments uttered in the Con-
fistory, and in the Audience of the Pope himself, where-
with he maintaineth the true Doctrine and Cause of the
Church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these
Fryers after subtil ways of hypocrisie, to corrupt the sincere
simplicity of Christs holy Faith and perfect Testament.
The which Reasons and Arguments of his, with the whole
process of his doings, I thought good and expedient for
the utility of the Church more amply and largely to dis-
course and prosecute, for that I note in the Sects, Institu-
tions, and Doctrine of these Fryers, subtil poyson to lurk,
more pernicious and hurtful to the Religion of Christ
and Souls of Christians, than all men peradventure do con-
sider.

Ex libro con-
titutus, De-
fensorium
curatum.

Thus Armachanus, joyning with the Clergy of England,
disputed and contended with the Fryers here of England,
Anno 1358. about a double matter. Whereof the one
was concerning confession and other excheats which the
Fryers incroached in Parish-Churches against the Curates,
and publick Pastors of Churches. The other was concern-
ing wilful beggary and poverty, which the Fryers then
took upon them, not upon any necessity, being otherwise
strong enough to work for their living, but only upon a
wilful and affected profession. For the which cause the
Fryers appealed him up to the Court of Rome. The occa-
sion whereof thus did rise.

It befel that Armachanus, upon certain business coming
up to London, found there certain Doctors disputing and
contending about the begging of Christ our Saviour.
Whereupon he, being greatly urged and requested oft times
thereunto, at request made seven or eight Sermons unto
the people at London, wherein he uttered nine conclusions:
whereof the first and principal conclusion was, touching
the matter of the Fryers Priviledges in hearing confessions.
His conclusion was this:

First, That if a doubt or question be moved for hearing
confessions, which of two places is rather to be chosen;
The Parish-Church is to be preferred before the Church of
the Fryers.

Secondly, being demanded, Whether is to be taken (to
hear the confession of the Parishioners, the Parson or Curate,
or the Fryer) it is to be said, rather the Parson or the Curate.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That our Lord Jesus Christ in his humane conversation was always poor, but that he loved not poverty, or did covet to be poor.

Fourthly, That our Lord Jesus Christ did never beg, wilfully professing to be poor.

Fifthly, That our Lord Jesus Christ did never teach wilfully to beg, or to profess wilful beggary.

The sixth conclusion was, That Christ our Lord held the contrary, that men ought not wilfully or purposely, without meer necessity, to beg.

Seventhly, That it is neither wisdom nor holiness, for any man to take upon him wilful beggary perpetually to be observed.

The eighth, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Observants, or Fryers minorities, to observe wilful poverty.

The last conclusion was, touching the Bull of Pope Alexander the Fourth, which condemned the Label of the Masters of Paris: that the same Bull touched none of these seven last Conclusions.

Armachanus cited up to the Pope by the Fryers. The protestation of Armachanus.

Upon these nine Conclusions premised, Armachanus being appealed, cited, and brought up to the presence of the Pope, began to prove the same his foresaid conclusions or assertions under protestation made, that his intention was not to affirm any thing contrary to the Christian Faith, or to the Catholick Doctrine, or that should be prejudicial or destructive to the Orders of the begging-Fryers, such as were approved by holy Church, or confirmed by the high Bishops; but only his intention was, to have the said Orders reduced to the purity of their first Institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his Reasons to be heard; which if they should be found weaker than the Reasons of the Fryers, the punishment should be his. If otherwise, that then the Fryers might justly be rewarded for their slanderous Obstruction and publick Contumelies, and injurious dealings both privately and publickly wrought and sought against him: and so taking for his theme, *Nolite*

His Theme.

John 7. The first conclusion proposed.

Probation.

Certainty. Utility. Commodity

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed. Deut. 12.

Lev. 4.5.

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed by another reason.

judicare secundum faciem. sed justum judicium judicate, &c. That is, Judge not after the outward face, but judge true Judgment, &c. John the seventh; he entreats to the probation of his conclusion; first, beginning with the former conclusion; that the Parish-Church was a place more fit and convenient for the confessions or burials of the Parishioners to be used, than any other exempt Church or place of the Fryers. Which he proved by three Causes; First, for the more sureness or certainty to the conscience of the Parishioners confessed. Secondly, for the more utility and profit of him. Thirdly, for the less incommodity ensuing by confessions taken in Parish-Churches, than in Fryers Churches.

As touching the first, for the more assuredness and certainty, thus he argued upon the place of Deut. 12. *Unto that place which the Lord your God shall assign of all your Tribes, to place his Name and dwell therein; thither shall you resort, to offer up your Oblations, Tythes, &c.* And in the same place God saith, *See thou offer not thy Sacrifice in every place that liketh thee, but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the Tribes; and thou shalt do in all things as I command thee.* Also upon the words of Levit. 4. & 5. which be these, *Whoever sinneth of ignorance shall offer to the Priest, and he shall pray for him, and he shall be forgiven, &c.* Upon these places thus he argued; that forasmuch as the Sacraments of the Church are to be frequented and used in no other place, but only in that, which by God himself peculiarly is assigned and commanded for the same; and seeing that elect place in the Law representeth the Parish-Churches; neither can it be proved that the Fryers Church is the place prescribed of God, but only permitted by Bishops of Rome; he concluded therefore, that Parish-Churches for confessions and burials were more sure and certain to the conscience of Parishioners, than the exempt places of the Fryers.

By another reason also he confirmed the same, for that the Parish-Church standeth free from the Popes Interdict, so do not the Churches of the Fryers as which stand not so clear, but that they are under suspicion and doubt of the Popes Interdict; by the Decretal, *De sepulchris in sexto cap. Animarum periculum.* In which Decretal, all such conventual Churches and Church-yards of Fryers be interdicted, which do induce any person or persons, ei-

ther by Oath or Promise made, to choose their burying places in their Churches, as commonly the Fryers are reported to do: for else what Parishioner would forsake his own Church and Parish where his Ancestors do lie, to be buried among the Fryers, if the Fryers did not induce them so to do?

Moreover, for the second part, concerning the utility of the place, that he confirmed doublewise; first, for that confession, made within the Parish-Church, hath a double merit of Obedience, both for obeying the Commandment of God in opening his confession (thus he speaketh according to the blindness of that time, for that auricular confession hath any Commandment of God cannot be proved) and also in obeying the Commandment of God in observing the place by him appointed, the which second merit of Obedience lacketh in the Fryers part. Secondly, he proved it to be greater utility for a Parishioner to confess him in his Parish-Church, than with the Fryers; because commonly the number of Christian-people praying is ten times more in Parish-Churches. Whereby it is to be thought, that each singular person may better be helped through more prayers, than in the Oratories of Fryers, &c.

Further, as touching the third part of the first conclusion or Article he proved, that it had fewer inconveniences every man to resort to his Parish-Church than to the Fryers; for that both great utility, and more certainty (as hath been proved) did issue thereof: which two being taken away, (as must needs, in resorting to the Fryers Church) then two special commodities should be hindred, and so great inconveniences thereof should follow. And thus much for the place of the Fryers.

Now to the second conclusion or Article, touching the person of the Fryer, and of the ordinary Curate. If the question be, which of these two is to be preferred in the Office of Ecclesiastical Administration; the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinary Curate was better than the extraordinary Fryer, and that for the three foresaid respects, to wit, for certainty or assurance, for utility, and for incommodity to be avoided.

First, that it is more safe and sure for the Parishioners, to resort to their Ordinary or Parish-Priest: he argued by three Reasons, First, because the person of the lawful Ordinary or Priest, is expressly of God commanded, where the person of the Fryer is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, because the Parishioner may more trust to his ordinary Curate; as who is more bound and obliged to provide, and to be careful for him, than any other extraordinary person. Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinary Curate, commonly there is no doubt of any Interdict to bind him; whereas contrary in the Fryers behalf there is good matter to doubt, whether he stand bound under the Popes Censure of Excommunication or not, and that for divers Causes, as by the cap. *Religiosi, in Clementinis de decimis.* Where it is decreed, That all such religious men which having no Benefices or Cure of Souls, presume to impropriate unto them Glebe-land, or other Tythes due unto Churches, and not appertaining to them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumvention) do incur the Sentence of Excommunication, *ipso facto.* Also by another Cap. *Religiosi, De privilegiis, in Clement.* Where it is said, That all such religious men are excommunicated *De facto*, whosoever do absolve any, against whom the Sentence of Excommunication hath been denounced by the Statute Provincial, or Synodal; as it is commonly said, that the Fryers hearing mens confessions are accustomed to do, in looting them whom the Censure of Prelates or their Officials have bound. Whereof the said Armachanus bringeth forth example of his own Diocesis: For I (said he) in mine own Diocesis of Armach have as good as two thousand under me, who by the Censure of Excommunication every year denounced against wilful Murderers, common Thieves, burners of mens Houses, and such like Malefactors, stand accursed: of all which number notwithstanding, scarcely fourteen there be which come to me, or to any about me for their Absolution. And yet all they receive the Sacraments as others do, and all because they be absolved, or because they fain themselves to be absolved by none other than by Fryers; who in so doing are proved to be under the danger of Excommunication, both the Fryers, and also the Parishioners, if they knowing thereof do consent to their error.

King James.

The second part of the first conclusion confirmed.

Another confirmation of the second part of the first Article.

The third part of the first conclusion proved.

The second Conclusion or Article.

Three respects or causes to be proved.

Ca. Religiosi Clement. de decimis.

Is Christus sine de privilegiis, cap. Religiosi. The Fryers proved to be excommunicated by the Popes Law.

Also

KING
2 Edm. 3Cap. Cyprianus
de pœnis
Clement.
The Friers
proceed to
be Excom-
municated
by the
Popes Law.

Also out of the said *Clementines* by three other places in one Chapter, he proved the Friers to be Excommunicate, to wit, in the Chapter *Cyprianus, De pœnis in Clement.* In the which Chapter, First, all such Religious men are Excommunicate, which in their Sermons presume to withdraw their hearers from their Tythes-paying, due unto Churches. Secondly, In the said Chapter all such Friers are suspended from Preaching, and so are Excommunicate, which within a certain time did not make a Concion to such as come to their Confessions, they paying their Tythes truly and duly to the Church. Thirdly, In the foresaid Chapter also, all such Religious persons be bound in Excommunication, which induce men by any manner of means, either by vow, oath, or promise, to chuse their burials within their Churches, or not to change the same, if they have made any such promise before. In all which three points he proved the Friers to be culpable and Excommunicate.

Another
proof that
the Parishi-
oner may
more safely
go to his
Curate, than
to the Fri-
er.

Moreover, that it is the more sure way for the Parishioners to resort to their appointed Curates, than to the Friers, he argueth thus: For that the Parish-Priest or Curate, being better acquainted with his own Parishioner than is a stranger, can better judge of the nature and disposition of his disease, and minister to him due Physick of penance for the same, and also will be more careful in curing him.

The second
part of the
second con-
clusion pro-
ved.

Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proved and argued, *Armachanus* proceedeth further to prove the second part; that it is better for the Parishioners to leave the Friers, and to resort to their own Pastors. Which he proved by eight or nine Reasons.

First, For that the ordinary Pastor is properly appointed of God unto that Ministry; whereas the Friar is but only permitted of man thereunto.

Secondly, For that in resorting to the Ordinary of the Parish is a double reward of merit, whereas in coming to the Friers there is but one.

Thirdly, Because the Ordinary is more bound to his own flock, and is to be thought to be more tender and careful over them than a stranger.

Fourthly, Because in resorting to the person of his own Ordinary there is more assurance and certainty (as is above declared) than to another.

Innocent. cap.
Si anima-
rum.

Fifthly, Because (as *Innocentius, Cap. Si Animarum*, saith) the coming to the Curate or Pastor Ordinary is more easie and light, both in the night, and in necessity.

Sixthly, Forasmuch as the Parishioner must needs come to his Curate at some time, and especially being in necessity, it is expedient and profitable that his former life before were known to him, rather than to the other.

Seventhly, For that (as the said *Innocentius* affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sin to the Parishioner to be confessed to his Curate whom he seeth every day, than to a Friar unknown.

Eighthly, Because it is more profitable, especially for them that live in Matrimony, that he which heareth the confession of the one, should hear also the confession of the other. So that hearing the confession of them both, as a spiritual Physician taking two Cures in one body, may better know what spiritual counsel is to be ministered to the one after he hath cured the other, &c.

The third
part of the
second con-
clusion ar-
gued.

These things thus proved before, then *Armachanus* consequently proceedeth to the third part; arguing how that greater detriments and inconveniences do ensue by Confessions, Burials, and other Ecclesiastical functions exercised by the Friers, than by Pastors and Secular Curates, serving in Parishes. About the which matter the said *Armachanus* learnedly and worthily inferreth a long discourse, proving and inferring how pernicious these Orders of Friers are to the whole state of the Church, and what mischief cometh by the privileges of certain Popes, which have privileged them to intermeddle in the office and function of Ecclesiastical Ministers, to preach and to take alms and tythes of the people, and Impropriations from the Church. All which his reasons and arguments to prosecute in order as he hath left them in writing, would make a matter of a large Book. Notwithstanding because it shall not be unfruitful both for the time present, and the posterity, to know the manifold detriments and discommodities received by these Fri-

ers, and to know what great benefit God hath done for us in unburdening the Church of this monstrous generation; and especially because the Book of *Armachanus* is rare otherwise to be found, intituled, *Defensorium Curatorum*; I have briefly therefore contracted out of the same certain of his reasons, such as seemed most appertaining and most worthy of noting.

Defensorium
Curatorum.
Armacha-
nus.

And first, alledging the authority of *Innocent* the 4th; he importeth four inconveniences rising by the Friers, which be these; Contempt of the people against their Ordinaries; decreasing of Devotion; taking away of shame from the people by confessing to the Friers; detaining of Oblations, such as the people are wont to give at their Confessions and Burials, and which by right belong to the Parish Churches.

Item, By the said privileges of the Popes, granted to the Friers, many other great enormities do rise. As first, because thereby the true shepherds do not know the faces of their flock.

Cap. Didam

Item, By the occasion of these privileges given to the Friers, great contention, and sometimes blows rise between the Friers and secular Curates, about Titles, Impropriations, and other avails.

The harms
that come
to the world
by the Fri-
ers, declar'd.

Item, By the occasion of the foresaid privileges, divers young men as well in Universities as in their Fathers houses, are allured craftily by the Friers their Confessors to enter their Orders; from whence afterward they cannot get out though they would, to the great grief of their Parents, and no less repentance to the young men themselves. The example whereof *Armachanus* in the said his Treatise inferreth of a certain substantial *Englishman* being with him at his Inn in *Rome*; who having a Son at the University of *Oxford*, which was enticed by the Friers to enter into their Order, could by no means after release him out. But when his Father and his Mother would come unto him, they could not be suffered to speak with him, but under the Friers custody. Whereas the Scripture commandeth plainly, that who so stealeth any man and selleth him (being thereof convicted) shall be put to death, *Exod. 21.* And for the same cause the Father was compelled to come up to *Rome* to seek remedy for his Son. And thus, saith *Armachanus*, it may appear what damage and detriments come by these Friers unto the common people.

Example of
the Friers
cheat in
Oxford.

And no less inconvenience and danger also by the said Friers riseth to the Clergy; forasmuch as Lay-men, seeing their Children thus to be stolen from them in the Universities by the Friers, do refuse therefore to send them to their studies; rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to follow the Plow, than so to be circumvented and defeated of their Sons at the University, as by daily experience (saith he) doth manifestly appear. For whereas in my time (saith *Armachanus*) there were in the University of *Oxford* thirty thousand Students; now are there not to be found six thousand. The occasion of which so great decay is to be ascribed to no other cause but to this circumvention only of the Friers above mentioned.

Friers Mis-
derers of
Universities30000 Stu-
dents in
Oxford, in
the time of
Armacha-
nus.

Over and besides this, another inconvenience as great or greater the said *Armachanus* inferred to proceed by the Friers through the decay of Doctrine, and knowledge in all manner of Faculties, and Liberal Sciences, which thus he declared: For that these begging Friers through their privileges obtained of the Popes to preach, to hear Confessions, and to Bury; and through their Charters of Impropriations, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions by their begging, craving, catching, and intermeddling with Church-matters, that no Book could stir of any Science, either of Divinity, Law, or Physick, but they were both able and ready to buy it up. So that every Covent having a great Library full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of Books, and being so many Covents within the Realm, and in every Covent so many Friers increasing daily more and more; by reason thereof it came to pass that very few Books or none at all remain for other Students. Which by his own experience he thus testifieth, saying, That he himself sent forth to the University four of his own Priests or Chaplains, who sending him word again, that they could neither find the Bible, nor any other good profitable Book of Divinity meet for their study, therefore were minded to return home to their Country; and one of them, he was sure, was returned by this time again.

The Friers
a great
cause of
decay of
learning.Books not
to be got-
ten for the
Friers.Example
what lack
of Books
cometh by
the Friers.

R r

Further-

The Friers
guilty in
three faults:
1. Disobedi-
ence.
2. Avarice.
3. Pride.
Armacha-
nus char-
geth the
Friers with
disobedi-
ence.

Friers diso-
bedient to
the rule of
Scripture.

Friers diso-
bedient to
their own
profession.

Furthermore, as he hath proved hitherto the Friers to be hurtful both to the Laity, and to the Clergy; so proceeding farther, he proveth them to be hurtful also to themselves: And that in three points, as incurring the vice of disobedience against God, and against their own rule; the vice of avarice, and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he prosecuted in a long discourse.

First (saith he) they are disobedient to the Law of God, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours house, ox, nor ass, nor any thing that is his*: In that they procure the Popes Letters to preach in Churches, and to take Burials from Churches, with licence annexed withal to receive the avails which rise of the same, which properly belongeth to the right of Parish-Priests.

Item, They are disobedient to this rule of the Gospel: So do to other, as thou wouldst have done to thee.

Item, They be disobedient against their own rule, which being founded upon strait poverty and beggary, this licence obtained for them to require necessities of the people for their labours, is repugning against the same foundation.

Item, They be disobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which saith, *Let no man take honour unto him, except he be called, as Aaron*. Also St. Paul saith, *How shall they preach, unless they be sent?* And how observe they this rule of obedience, who professing to keep the perfection of the Gospel, yet contrary to the Gospel procure to themselves privileges to run before they be sent?

Item, To their own rule they are disobedient; for where their Chapter saith, that if any will take upon them this Order, and will come to our Brethren; let our Brethren first send them to the Provincials to be examined of the Catholick Faith and Sacraments of the Church, &c. Contrary whereunto the Friers have procured a privilege, that not only the Provincials, but other inferiors also may take unto them indifferently, whom they can catch; so far without all examination, that almost at this day there is no notable house of Friers, wherein is not either a whole, or half a Covent of Lads and Boys under ten years old, being circumvented, which neither can skill of the Creed nor Sacraments.

Again, the rule of Francis saith, that his Brethren Observants must observe not to preach in the Dioceses of any Bishop, without the consent of the Bishop. And moreover, the said Francis in his Testament saith, That if he had as much wisdom as Solomon, and found poor Secular Priests in the Parishes where they dwell, yet he would not presume to preach without their will, and also would fear, love and honour them, and all other as his Masters, and so they be. *Hec ille*. Against which rule how the Friers do disobey, how little they reverence Bishops or Secular Priests, what privileges, exemptions, and immunities they procure against them, the world may see and judge.

Item, When none may be admitted to preach, or to hear Confessions, unless they be entred into Orders; and seeing by the common Law of the Church, none must be admitted into holy Orders, except he have sufficient title of living and clothing; the Friers therefore having no such title (being wilful beggars) do disobey in both respects, that is, both in entering into such Orders without convenient title, and in exercising the office of Preaching without such lawful Orders.

Moreover, the foresaid Francis to his Testament commandeth thus: I command (saith he) firmly by vertue of obedience, to all and singular my Brethren wheresoever they be, that none of them presume to obtain in the Court of Rome any Letter or writing, either by himself, or by any other means, neither for the Church, nor for any other place; nor under any colour of preaching, nor yet for the persecuting of their own bodies, &c. Against which Testament of Francis, the Franciscans, in procuring their privileges from the Bishop of Rome, have incurred manifest disobedience as all the world may see. Neither will this objection serve them, because the Pope hath dispensed with Francis rule. For if the Testament of Francis, as he saith, came from God (and so should God have three Testaments) how then can the Pope repeal his precept, or dispense with his rule, when by the rule of the Law, *Par in parem non habet imperium*?

Secondly, Concerning the vice of avarice, manifestly it may be proved upon them (saith Armachanus) for else

seeing so many charges belong to the office of a Secular Parish Priest, as to minister the Sacrament at Easter, to visit the sick with extream unction, to baptize Children, to wed, with such other, wherein standeth as great devotion; how then happeneth it that these Friers, making no labour for these, only procure to themselves privileges to preach in Churches, to hear Confessions, and to receive licence to bury from Parish-Churches, but because there is lucre and gain in these to be looked for, in the other is none?

Which also may appear by this, for otherwise if it were for meer devotion only, that they procure licence to bury from Parish-Churches, and to preach; why then have they procured with all licence to take offerings, oblations and legacies for their Funerals? And for their preaching, why have they annexed also licence to require and take of the people necessities for their labour, but only avarice is the cause thereof?

Likewise for hearing of Confessions, when all good men have enough to know their own faults, and nothing left to hear the faults of other; it is probably to be supposed by this their privilege of hearing all mens confessions, that they would never have been so desirous of procuring that privilege, were it not that these Friers did feel some sweetness and gain to hang upon the same.

Item, where the rule of Frier Francis forbiddeth them to company with any woman, to enter into Monasteries, to be God-fathers and Godmothers to men and women; how cometh it that they contrary to their rule enter into the secret Chambers of Queens, and other women, and are made to know the most secret counsels of their doings, but that avarice and commodity have so blinded their eyes, and stirred their hearts.

Thirdly, That the Friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the said Armachanus proved thus:

To seek or to procure any high place in the Church, is a point of pride and ambition. *Chrysost. in opere perfecto: Nunquam sine ambitione desideratur primatus in Ecclesia.*

The Friers seek and procure a high place in the Church. Ergo, The Friers are proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proveth, To have the state of preaching and hearing confessions is in the Church a state of honour.

The Friers seek and have procured the state of preaching and hearing Confessions.

Ergo, The Friers seek and procure an high place in the Church, &c.

His third Conclusion was, that the Lord Christ in his humane conversation was always poor, not for that he loved or desired poverty for it self, &c. Wherein this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not from the Friers in this, that Christ was poor, and that he loved poverty; but herein stood the difference, in manner of loving, that is, whether he loved poverty for it self, or not. Wherein the foresaid Armachanus used four probations.

First, forasmuch as to be poor is nothing else but to be miserable, and seeing no man coveteth to be in misery for it self; therefore he concluded that Christ desired not poverty for it self.

His second reason was derived out of Aristotle: Nothing (saith he) is to be loved for it self, but that which (all commodities being secluded which follow thereupon) is voluntarily sought and desired. But take from poverty all respect of commodities following the same, it would be sought neither of God nor man. Ergo, he concluded, Christ loved no poverty for it self.

Thirdly again, No effect of sin, said he, is to be loved for it self. But poverty is the effect of sin. Ergo, poverty was not loved of Christ for it self.

Fourthly, No privation of the thing that is good, is to be loved for it self. Poverty is the privation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches (for God himself is principally rich): Ergo, Poverty for it self was not loved of Christ.

The fourth Conclusion was, that Christ our Lord and Saviour did never beg wilfully. Which he proveth by sundry reasons.

First, For that Christ in so doing should break the Law, which saith, *Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours house, his wife, his servant, his maid, his ox, his ass, or* any

KING
Edw. 3.

Armacha-
nus char-
geth the
Friers with
avarice.

Another
proof.

Another
proof.

Another
proof.

Armacha-
nus char-
geth the
Friers with
pride.

The third
Conclusion
or Article.

Art. 1. Eccl.
Lib. 1.

The fourth
Conclusion
of Arma-
chanus a-
gainst the
Friers.

KING any thing that is his, *Exod. 20.* Into the danger of which
11. 3. Commandment he that beggeth voluntarily must needs incur.

2. *Item*, If Christ had begged voluntarily, he should have committed sin against another Commandment, which saith, *There shall be no beggar, nor needy person among you, &c. Deut. 6.*

3. *Item*, Christ in so doing should have transgressed the Emperors Law, under which he would himself be subject (as appeareth by giving, and bidding tribute to be given to *Cesar*) forasmuch as the same Emperors Law saith, *There shall no valiant beggar be suffered in the City.*

4. *Item*, If Christ had been a wilful beggar, he had broke the Law of loving his neighbour; whom he had vexed, having no need. For who so without need asketh or craveth of his neighbour, doth but vex him, in such sort as he would not be vexed himself. Which Christ would never do.

5. *Item*, If Christ had begged wilfully, he had moved slander thereby to his own Gospel, which he with Miracles did confirm; for then they that saw his Miracle in feeding 5000 in the wilderness, would have thought much with themselves how that miracle had been wrought, if he which fed other, either could not, or would not feed himself.

6. *Item*, If Christ had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himself condemneth by *Paul*, for so we read, *1 Tim. 6.* that *Paul* condemneth them, which esteem piety to be gain and lucre. Which all they do, that under the colour of piety, hunt or seek for gain, when otherwise they need not.

7. *Item*, If Christ had begged wilfully, he had offended in declaring an untruth in so doing; for he that knoweth in his mind that he needeth not indeed that thing which in word he asketh of other, declareth in himself an untruth, as who in word pretendeth to be otherwise than he is in very deed; which Christ without doubt never did, nor would ever do.

8. *Item*, If Christ had begged wilfully, that is, having no true need thereunto, than had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, seeming to be that he was not, and to lack when he did not; or else to be a true beggar in very deed, not able to suffice his necessity. For he is a true beggar indeed, which being constrained by meer necessity is forced to ask of other, that which he is not able to give to himself. But neither of these two agreeth to Christ.

9. *Item*, If Christ had begged wilfully, then why did *Peter* rebuke the Mother of *St. Clement* his Disciple, finding her to stand among the beggars, whom he thought to be strong enough to labour with her hands for her living, if she in so doing had followed the example of Christ?

10. *Item*, If Christ had begged wilfully: And if the Friers do rightly define perfection of the Gospel by wilful poverty, then was *Clement St. Peters* Successor to blame, which laboured so much to remove away beggary and poverty from among all them that were converted to the faith of Christ, and is specially for the same commended of the Church.

11. Again, why did the said *Clement*, writing to *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, command so much to obey the Doctrine and Examples of the Apostles; who as he sheweth in that Epistle, had no begger nor needy person amongst them, if Christian perfection (by the Friers Philosophy) standeth in wilful beggary?

12. *Item*, If Christ the High Priest had begged wilfully, then did the holy Church err wittingly, which ordained that none without sufficient title of living and clothing, should be admitted to holy Orders. And moreover, when it is said in the Canonical Decrees, that the Bishop or Clerk that beggeth bringeth shame upon the whole Order of the Clergy.

13. *Item*, If Christ had wilfully begged, then the examples of wilful poverty had pertained to the perfection of Christian life, which is contrary to the old Law, which commandeth the Priests (which lived then after the perfection of the Law) to have possessions and tythes to keep them from beggary.

14. *Item*, If Christ did wilfully beg, then beggary were a point of Christian perfection. And so the Church of God should err, in admitting such Patrimonies and Donations given to the Church, and so in taking from the Prelates their perfection.

15. Again, what will these Friers which put their perfection in begging, say to *Melchisedech*, who without begging or wilful poverty, was the High Priest of God, and King of *Salem*, and prefigured the Order and Priesthood of Christ?

16. And if beggary be such a perfection of the Gospel (as the Friers say) how cometh it, that the Holy Ghost given to the Apostles, which should lead them into all truth, told them no word of this beggarly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned thereof throughout the whole Testament of God?

17. Moreover, where the Prophet saith, *I never did see the just man forsaken, nor his seed go begging their bread:* how standeth this with the justice of Christ, which was most perfectly just, if he should be forsaken, or his seed go beg their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abominable Doctrines of Friers *Franciscan*, which put their perfection in wilful begging?

18. Finally, do we not read that Christ sent his Disciples to preach without scrip or wallet, and bid them salute no man by the way? Meaning that they should beg nothing of any man: Did not the same Christ also labour with his hands under *Joseph*? *St. Paul* likewise did he not labour with his hands, rather than he would burden the Church of the *Corinthians*? And where now is the Doctrine of the Friers, which putteth the state of perfection in wilful begging?

The fifth Conclusion of *Armachanus* against the Friers, was this, That Christ never taught any man wilfully to beg, which he proved thus: It is written, *Mat. 1.* Christ began to do and to teach. If Christ therefore, which did never wilfully beg himself, as hath been proved, had taught men otherwise to do; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, If Christ which never begged himself wilfully, had taught men this Doctrine of wilful begging contrary to his own doing; he had given suspicion of his Doctrine, and ministered slander of the same, as hath been proved in the fourth Conclusion before.

Moreover, in so teaching, he had taught contrary to the Emperors just Law, which expressly forbiddeth the same.

The sixth Conclusion of *Armachanus* against the Friers was, that our Lord Jesus Christ teacheth us, that we should not beg wilfully, which he proveth by seven or eight Reasons.

First, Where it is written, *Luk. 14.* When thou makest a Feast call the poor, weak, lame, and blind; and thou shalt be blessed: for they have not wherewith to reward thee again.

To this also pertaineth the Decree of the Apostle, *2 Thes. 3.* He that will not work, let him not eat. Furthermore, the same Apostle addeth in the same place: For you have us for example, how we were burdensome to no man, neither did we eat our bread freely, but with labour and weariness, toiling both day and night, and all because we would not burthen you, &c.

4. *Item*, where we read in the Scripture the slothful man reprehended, *Prov. 6.* Why sleepest thou, O sluggard? thy poverty and beggary is coming upon thee like an armed man, &c. And again in the same Book of Proverbs, The slothful man (saith the Scripture) for cold would not go to the Plow, therefore he shall beg in summer, and no man shall give him, &c. Also in the said Book of Proverbs, the last Chapter, The diligent labouring woman is commended, whose fingers are exercised about the rock and spindle. And all these places make against the wilful begging of sturdy Friers.

5. *Item*, Friar *Francis* their own founder in his own Testament saith, And I have laboured with mine own hands, and will labour, and will that all my Frierlings shall labour and live of their labour, whereby they may support themselves in an honest mean. And they that cannot work, let them learn to work, not for any covetousness to receive for their labour, but for example of good works, and to avoid idleness. And when the price of their labour is not given them, let them resort to the Lords Table, and ask their alms from door to door, &c. Thus much in his

R r 2

Testa-

The fifth Conclusion of Armachanus against the Friers.

The sixth Conclusion of Armachanus against the Friers.

The Rule of Friar Francis.

Ex. vlt. B. Clement.

Clement Example contrary to the Friers.

13. Quasi. Cap. 1.

Testament. And in his rule he saith, Such brethren to whom the Lord hath given the gift to labour, let them labour faithfully and devoutly, &c. Wherefore it is to be marvelled how those Friars with their wilful begging, dare transgress the rule and obedience of Friar Francis their great Grandfathers Testament.

6. Item, If Christ at any time did beg, or did lack, it was more because he would use a miracle in his own person, than because he would beg wilfully; as when he sent Peter to the Sea to find a Groat in the fishes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to do, than to beg the Groat of the people, which he might soon have obtained.

7. Item, By divers other his examples he seemeth to teach the same, as where he saith, *The workman is worthy of his hire.* Also, *The workman is worthy of his meat,* Mat. 10. Luk. 10. And when he spake to Zache, that he would turn into his house. And so likewise in Bethany and all other places he ever used rather to burden his friends than to beg of other unacquainted.

8. Item, With plain precept thus he sendeth forth his Disciples, willing them not to go from house to house, Luk. 10. so as Friars use now to go. Many other Scriptures there be which reprove begging, as where it is said, *The foot of a fool is swift to the house of his neighbour,* Eccles. 29. And in another place, *My child (saith he) see thou want not in the time of thy life, for better it is to die than to lack,* Eccles. 21.

9. Item, Where Christ counselling the young man, bad him go and sell that he had, and give to the poor, and follow him if he would be perfect; he doth not there call him to wilful begging, but calleth him to follow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The seventh Conclusion of Armachanus against the Friars.

The seventh Conclusion of Armachanus is, That no wife nor true holy man can take upon him wilful poverty to be observed always, which he proveth by four reasons.

First, That wilful beggary was reproved both by the Doctrine of Christ and of the Apostles, as in the Conclusion before hath been declared.

2. Item, A man in taking upon him wilful beggary, in so doing should lead himself into temptation, which were against the Lords prayer. Forasmuch as Solomon, Prov. 30. saith, *O Lord, beggary and great riches give me not, but only sufficiency to live upon, lest if I have too much, I be driven to deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? Again, if I have too little, I be forced thereby to steal, and perjure the name of my God.* Wherefore saith Eccles. 27. *For need many have offended.* And therefore they that chuse wilful poverty, take to them great occasion of temptation.

Wilful beggary not to be permitted.

3. Item, They that take wilful poverty upon them, when they need not, induce themselves voluntarily to break the Commandment of God, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours house, &c.* Again, where it is commanded, *There shall be no beggar among you, &c.*

4. Item, He that taketh upon him needlessly and wilfully to beg, maketh himself unapt to receive holy Orders, having (as is said) no sufficient title thereunto, according to the Laws of the Church.

The eighth Conclusion of Armachanus against the Friars.

The eighth Conclusion of this matter, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Friars observant, to observe wilful beggary. Which (saith he) may be proved, for that Friar Francis, both in his Rule and in his Testament being left to his *Franciscans*, doth plainly prefer labour before begging.

The ninth Conclusion of Armachanus, Touching this Book of the Masters of Paris condemned, look p. 405. Ex Clement. Quia quorundam. Pope Nicholas the third revoked the Bull of Pope Alexander the fourth.

The ninth and last Conclusion of this matter is, That the Bull of Pope Alexander the Fourth, which condemneth the Book of the Masters of Paris, impugneth none of these Conclusions premised. For the proof thereof he thus inferred.

1. First, That Pope John the 24th, in his Constitution, beginning thus, *Quia quorundam*, affirmeth expressly, how Pope Nicholas the Third revoked and called back the said Bull of Pope Alexander the Fourth, and all other writings of his, touching all such Articles, which in the same foresaid Constitution of this Pope John be contained and declared. Wherein also is declared how strait the poverty of the Friars ought to be, which they call wilful poverty.

2. Item, It is manifest and notorious to all men, how the said Pope Nicholas the Third, in his Declaration sheweth how the Friars both ought to labour with their hands,

and how moreover the said Friars ought not to preach within the Diocese of any Bishop, wherefore they be resisted. Which being so, the conclusion appeareth that the Bull of Pope Alexander the Fourth, as touching these Articles, is void and of none effect. Besides the which Articles, there is nothing else in the said Bull of Alexander (that I remember) which impugneth any of these Conclusions premised.

Many things mo (saith he) I had besides these, both to object and to answer again to the same, and to confirm more surely and firmly these my reasons and assertions premised. But I have already too much wearied your Holiness, and your reverend Lordships here present. Wherefore I conclude and humbly and devoutly beseech you according to my former petition premised in the beginning of this matter, that you judge not after the outward face, but judge ye true judgment, Job. 7. *Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus, Defensorium Curatorum.*

The end and conclusion of this Oration of Armachanus before the Pope. Ex Defensorio Curatorum.

Notes to be observed in this former Oration of Armachanus.

By this Oration of Armachanus the Learned Prelate, thus made before Pope Innocent and his Cardinals, divers and sundry things there be for the utility of the Church worthy to be observed. First, what troubles and vexations came to the Church of Christ by these Friars. Also what persecution followeth after by the means of them against so many Learned men and true servants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariety was among the Popes, and how they could not agree among themselves about the Friars. Fourthly, what pestiferous Doctrine subverting well near the Testament of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, what decay of Ministers in Christs Church, as appeareth, pag. 469. Sixthly, what robbing and circumventing of mens children, as appeareth, pag. 469. Seventhly, what decay of Universities, as appeareth by Oxford, p. 469. Eighthly, that damage to Learning and lack of Books to Students came by these Friars, as appeareth, p. 469. Ninthly, to what pride, under colour of fained humility, to what riches, under dissimuled poverty they grew, here is to be seen. Inasmuch that at length through their subtil and most dangerous hypocrisie they crept up to be Lords, Archbishops, Cardinals, and at last also Chancellors of Realms, yea and of most secret Counsel with Kings and Queens, as appeareth, pag. 470.

Contrariety among the Popes.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the Church to be marked; that forasmuch as these Friars (with their new found Testament of Friar Francis) not being contented with the Testament of God in his Son Christ, began to spring the same time when as Satan was prophesied to be let loose by order of the Scripture, whether therefore it is to be doubted that these Friars make up the body of Antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the Church or not; which is much less to be doubted, because who so list to try shall find, that of all other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be privy, all be together cruel, yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleightly deceiveth the simple Christian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, than doth this Doctrine of the Friars.

Whether the Friars make up the body of Antichrist or no.

But of this Oration of Armachanus enough. Which Oration what success it had with the Pope, by Story it is not certain. By his own life declared it appeareth that the Lord so wrought that his enemies did not triumph over him. Notwithstanding, this by Story appeareth, that he was seven or eight years in banishment for the same matter, and there died in the same at Avinion, of whom a certain Cardinal hearing of his death, openly protested that the same day a mighty pillar of Christs Church was fallen.

The death of godly Armachanus. The testimony of a Cardinal upon Armachanus.

After the death of Armachanus, the Friars had contention likewise with the Monks of Benedicts Order about the same year 1360, and so removed their cause, both against the Monks, and against the University of Oxford, unto the Court of Rome; wherein, saith the Author, they lacked another Richard. Ex Botonero. By this that appeareth to be true, which is testified in the first Tome of Wald. that long debate continued between the Friars and the University of Oxford: Against whom first stood Robert Grosted Bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned, then Sevallus of York, Johan. Baconsburp, and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently

Ex Chron. Reg. Ric. 2.

Friars against the University of Oxford.

English writers against the Friars.

KING Edw. 3. fiently we intreat. And after him again *John Wickliffe*, of whom (Christ willing) we will speak hereafter. *Ex Waldeno*. Against this foresaid *Armachanus* wrote divers Friers, *Roger Conaway* a Franciscan, *John Heyldeshame* a Carmelite, *Galfridus Harby* a Frier *Augustine*. Also Frier *Engelbert* a Dominican, in a Book intituled, *Defensorium Privilegiarum*, and divers others. I credibly hear of certain old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish Tongue; which if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this *Armachanus*. And thus much of this Learned Prelate and Archbishop of Ireland, a man worthy for his Christian zeal of immortal commendation.

Pope Urban the Fifth. Anno 1364. Urban complained that no promotion would fall upon him. An answer again to Urban being made Pope. After the death of this *Innocent*, next was Poped in the See of Rome *Pope Urban* the fifth, who by the Fathers side was an *Englishman*. This *Urban* had been a long waiter in the Court of Rome; and when he saw no promotion would light upon him, complaining to a certain friend of his, he made to him his mone, saying, That he thought verily, if all the Churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after seeing him to be Pope, and Inthronized in his threefold Crown, cometh to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, faith, That where his Holiness had moned his fortune to him, That if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall upon his head: Now (faith he) God hath otherwise so disposed that all the Churches in the world are fallen upon your head, &c.

Ex Sabel. This Pope maintained and kindled great wars in Italy, sending *Egidius* his Cardinal and Legate, and after him *Arduinus* a Burgundian his Legate and Abbot with great puissance and much money against sundry Cities in Italy: By whose means the Towns and Cities which before had broken from the Bishop of Rome were oppressed; also *Barnabes* and *Galeacius* Princes of *Millain* vanquished. By whose example other being fore feared, submitted themselves to the Church of Rome. And thus came up that wicked Church to her great Possessions, which her Patrons would needs father upon *Constantine* the godly Emperour.

Nicholas Orem. In the time of this Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and in the second year of his reign, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1364, I find a certain Sermon of one *Nicholas Orem*, made before the Pope and his Cardinals on Christmas-Even. In the which Sermon the learned man doth worthily rebuke the Prelates and Priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off, by certain signs taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the Prophets, spoken against the wicked Priests of the Jews, he doth apply against the Clergy of his time, comparing the Church then present to the Spiritual strumpet spoken of in the sixteenth Chapter of the Prophet *Ezekiel*. And proveth in conclusion the Clergy of the Church then to be so much worse than the old Synagogue of the Jews, by how much it is worse to sell the Church and Sacraments, than to suffer Doves to be sold in the Church. With no less judgment also and learning he answereth to the old and false objections of the Papists, who albeit they be never so wicked, yet think themselves to be the Church which the Lord cannot forsake. All which things to the intent they may the better appear in his own words, I have thought good here to translate and exhibit the Sermon as it was spoken before the Pope.

A Copy of a Sermon made before Pope Urban the Fifth, the fourth Sunday in Advent 1364, by Nicholas Orem.

A Sermon made before the Pope, Isa. 56. The world divided into two sorts of men before the Incarnation of Christ. *Juxta est salus mea, ut veniat, & justitia, &c.* That is, My saving health is near at hand to come, and my righteousness to be revealed, &c. *Isa. 56.* After the sentence of *St. Paul*, *Rom. 2.* and in divers other places before the Nativity of Christ, the whole world was divided into two sorts of men, the Jews and Gentiles. The Jews who waited for the opening of the door of Paradise by the blood of the Saviour to come. The Gentiles, who yet sitting in darkness were to be called to light, and to be justified by faith, as it is written, *Rom. 5.*

This Salvation pertaining both to the Jew and Gentile, God promised before time to the Fathers by the Prophets, to stir up the desire thereof in their hearts the more, and to increase their firm hope and faith in the same. As first in *Micb. 6.* the voice of the Lord crieth, *Health and salvation shall be to all men which fear my name.* And *Isa. 46.* I will give in *Sion* salvation, and in *Jerusalem* my glory, &c. with divers such other places like. And forso much as hope which is deferred many times, doth afflict the soul, and conceiveth weariness of long deferring; he therefore prophesying of the nearness of the coming thereof, faith moreover, *Isa. 14.* His time is near at hand to come. Also *Abacuc. 2.* He will come and will not tarry. With many such other places more. So then the holy Fathers being in *Limbo*, looked and hoped that he should bring out them that sat bound, and which in the house of prison sat in darkness, as is read, *Isa. 41.* Then the time drew on in which came the fulness of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this mystery being hidden from the world, and from generations, *Col. 1.* Wherefore the Lord in this Text doth both certify our Fathers of the coming of our Saviour, and doth comfort them touching the nearness thereof, and also teacheth the justification of the Gentiles by faith approaching now near at hand, according to the words of my Text, *Juxta est salus mea, &c.* Which words were fulfilled then, what time the Lord did manifest his salvation, and did reveal his righteousness in the sight of all the Gentiles. And it is divided into three parts: Of which the first speaketh of the nearness of his coming, where it is said, *Juxta est salus, &c.* The second concerneth the mystery of the Advent of Christ and his Incarnation, where he faith, *Ut veniat, &c.* Thirdly, is considered the severity of God, his terrible revenging judgment to be revealed, where he faith, *Ut reveletur, &c.* which is to be expounded of his primitive justice, whereof speaketh *Amos 9:* the fifth Chapter, saying, *And judgment shall be revealed like a flood, and righteousness like a strong stream.* Wherefore for our contemplation let us receive with joy the solemnity of his holy Vigil, the Word I say of God the Father, that is, Christ. To whom it is said, *Isa. 49.* I have given thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be my salvation through the ends of the world. Again, *Isa. 46.* My salvation shall not slack, &c.

As touching the nearness thereof, it is in these days opened to us by the Gospel, where we read in *St. Matthew*, *When the Virgin Mary was espoused unto Joseph, before they did come together, she was found with child by the Holy Ghost.* By this it was evident to understand, that our Saviour ought shortly to proceed out of the chaste womb of the Virgin, according as the Prophet did foretell, saying, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, &c.* For like as the Grape when it waxeth great and full, is near to the making of Wine; and the flower when it shooteth abroad, it hasteth to the fruit; so the salvation of the world, in the swelling and growing of the Virgins womb, began to draw nigh to mankind. For then appeared the grace and benignity of our Saviour, when his Mother was found to have in her womb by the Holy Ghost, as is declared, in that which followeth by the Angel, saying, *For that which is born of her is of the Holy Ghost.*

Touching the second part of that which is said, *Ut veniat*: this may be applied to the contemplation of the mystery of Christ coming in the flesh. Whereof speaketh *Aggeus* the Prophet, *Chap. 2.* He shall come who is desired and looked for of all Nations, &c. Albeit the same also may be applied to the second Advent, spoken of the third of *Esay*, *The Lord shall come to judgment, &c.* In memorial whereof the fourth Sunday was dedicate in the old time of the Fathers. And of this day of judgment it is written in the Prophet *Sophon. Cap. 2.* The day of the Lord is near, great and mighty, it is approaching at hand, and wondrous short, &c. And albeit not in it self, yet it may be expounded in tribulations that go before, as preambles unto the same; as *Gregory* faith, The last tribulation is prevented with many and sundry tribulations going before, although the end of all be not yet.

The third
part of his
Sermon.

Wherefore now coming to the third part of my Sermon or Theme, let us see of those tribulations that go before the last coming of Christ, if there be any such tribulation approaching nigh at hand, whereof this last part of my Theme may be verified, where is said, *Ut reveletur*, that my righteousness shall be revealed; to wit, the righteousness primitive, that righteousness may be brought, and the Prophecy of Daniel fulfilled, *Dan. 9.* Concerning which matter four things here come in order to be declared.

1. *Ut reveletur.*

First, Concerning the revealing of tribulation, according to that part of my Theme, *Ut reveletur*, &c.

2. *Ut iuxta est.*

Secondly, Concerning the nearness of the tribulation coming, according to that part of my Theme, *Quia iuxta est*, &c.

3. *Ut veniat.*

Thirdly, Of the false opinions of some upon this part of my Theme, *Ut veniat*, &c.

4. *Salus.*

Fourthly, What means and consultation we ought to take, *Ut iuxta est salus*.

The first
part of the
subdivision.

As for the first, it is so notorious and so common in the Scriptures that the Church should suffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to stand in alledging any thing touching either the causes to be weighed, or the term to be conjectured thereof. As concerning the which causes I will give two rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that which is to follow: The first rule is, that by the two Kingdoms of the Nation of the Hebrews, which were in the old time, to wit, by the Kingdom of Israel, whose head was Samaria, is signified in the Prophets the erroneous Synagogue: And by the Kingdom of Judah, of whose stock came Christ, whose head metropolitan was Jerusalem, is signified the true Church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authentick gloss of St. Jerome, and also is the rule of Origen in the last Homily upon the Old Testament, and is approved by the Church.

Two rules
to be noted.

The Kingdom of Israel signifying the false Church.

The Kingdom of Judah signifying the right Church.

Ez. 1.

Osee 9.

The second rule is, that by the Brodel-house and fornication mentioned in the Prophets, is signified Simony, and abused Dispensations, and Promotions of persons unworthy, for lucre sake, or else for any other partial favour, which be unlawful ways, by all laws of the world, to come to office and honour. *Merx dicitur namque a merendo*; that is, for gain or price is derived of gaining; for the which gain or price that is sold, which by nature ought not to be sold. Therefore to give any thing for respect of gain or hire, which ought to be given freely for virtues sake, is a kind of spiritual corruption, and as a man would say, an whorish thing; whereof the Prophet *Ez. 16.* complaineth, speaking of Jerusalem, and saying, *The city which once was faithful and full of judgment, how is it now become an whorish city?* And in like manner *Osee 9.* also the Prophet, *Cap. 9.* Jerusalem thou hast fornicated and gone an whoring from thy God. Thou hast loved like an harlot to get gain in every barn of corn. And in many other places of Scripture, where fornication cannot be otherwise expounded.

These two rules thus premised, now let us mark the Scriptures, and according to the same judg of the whole state of the Church, both that is past, and that is to come: First, intreating of the causes of tribulation to come: Secondly, of the vicinity of time of the said tribulation to come.

Five states
of the Church
described.

And first, concerning the state of the Church, and of causes of tribulation, thus saith the Lord in the Prophet, *Ez. 16.* speaks to the Church under the name of Jerusalem, *In the day of thy birth I came by thee, and saw thee trodden down in thine own blood, &c.* Here he speaketh of the time of the Martyrdom of the Church. Then it followeth, *After this thou wast cleansed from thy blood, thou wast grown up, and waxen great; then washed I thee with water, I purged thy blood from thee* (speaking of ceasing of persecution) *I anointed thee with oyl, I gave thee change of raiments, I girded thee with white silk, I decked thee with costly apparel, I put rings upon thy fingers, a chain about thy neck, spangles upon thy forehead, and ear-rings upon thine ears. Thus wast thou deckt with silver and gold, and a beautiful crown set upon thine head. Marvellous goodly wast thou and beautiful, even a very Queen wast thou: For thou wast excellent in my beauty, which I put upon thee, saith the Lord God, &c.* This Prophecy, or rather History speaketh of and declareth the prosperity of the Church.

1. The Martyrdom of the Church.
2. The prosperity of the Church.

And now hear the corruption and transgression of the Church, for so it followeth, *But thou hast put confidence in thine own beauty, and played the harlot, when thou hadst gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredom with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires; yea, thou hast taken thy garments of divers colours and decked thine altars therewith, whereupon thou mightest fulfill thy whoredom of such a fashion as never was done, nor shall be. Which whoredom can in no wise be expounded for carnal, but spiritual whoredom. And therefore, see how lively he hath painted out the corruption and falling of the Church.*

KING 3. The corruption of the Church.

And therefore followeth now the correction and punishment of the Church. It followeth, *Behold I stretch out my hand over thee, and will diminish thy store of food, and deliver thee over into the wills of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: And they shall break down thy stues, and destroy thy Brodel-houses, (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickedness) they shall strip thee out of thy clothes: All thy fair beautiful jewels shall they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare, &c.*

4. The correction of the Church.

Here is plainly to be seen what shall happen to the Church, and more followeth in the said Chapter: *Thine elder sister is Samaria, she and her daughters upon thy left hand: But the youngest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodom with her daughters, whose sins were these, Pride, fulness of meat, abundance and idleness, neither reached they their hand to the poor. And yet neither Sodom thy sister, with her daughters, hath done so evil as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is, the Synagogue) done half of thy sins; yea thou hast exceeded them in wickedness. Take therefore and bear thine own confusion, &c.* Again in *Ezek. 23.* after the Prophet had described at large the wickedness, corruption, and punishment of the Synagogue, turning to the Church, he saith, *And when her sister saw this, she raged and was mad with lust, love of riches, and following voluptuousness. Her fornication and whoredom she committed with Princes and great Lords, clothed with all manner of gorgeous apparel; so that her paps were bruised, and her breasts were marred. And then speaking of her punishment, he saith, Then my heart forsook her, like as my heart was gone from her sister also. And moreover, repeating again the cause thereof, he addeth, Thy wickedness and thy fornication hath wrought thee all this, &c.*

Ez. 16.

Ezek. 23.

The like we find also in *Ez. 16.*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and in all the other Prophets, who prophesying all together in one meaning, and almost in one manner of words; do conclude with a full agreement and prophesie to come, that the Church shall fall, and then be punished for her great excesses, and be utterly spoiled, except she repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh *Osee 2.* *Let her put away her whoredom out of her sight, and her adultery from her breasts, lest I strip her naked, and set her even as she came naked into the world, (that is, in her primitive poverty.)* So if she do it not, it shall follow of her as in the Prophet *Nabum*, *Ch. 3.* *For the multitude of the fornication of the fair and beautiful harlot, which is a mistress of witchcraft, yea and selleth the people through her whoredom, and the Nations through her witchcraft. And it followeth upon the same, Behold I come upon thee, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will pull thy clothes over thy head, that thy nakedness shall appear among the heathen, and thy shame amongst the Kingdoms, &c.*

Osee 2.

Nabum 3.

Wherefore by these it is to be understood that upon this Church the primitive justice of God is to be revealed hereafter. And thus much of the first of the four members above touched.

The reformation of the Church.

Now to the second member of my Theme, *Juxta est*; concerning the nearness of time. Although it is not for us to know the moments and articles of time; yet by certain notes and signs peradventure it may be collected and gathered, that which I have here to say. For the tractation whereof, first I ground my self upon the saying of the Apostle Paul, *2 Thes. 2.* where he writeth, *That unless there come a defection first, &c.* By the which defection, *Jerome* ultima quæst. ad inquisitiones Januarius, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the desolation of the Monarchy of Rome: Between the which desolation, and the persecution of the Church by Antichrist, he putteth no mean space. And now what is the state of that Commonwealth, if it be

Certain notes and signs, that the tribulation of the Church draweth near.

1. Sign. 2. Thes. 2. Except there come a defection first: how it is to be understood.

KING {
Ed. 3. { compared to the majesty of that it hath been, judge your
selves. Another gloss there is that faith, how by that de-
fection is meant; that from the Church of Rome shall
come a departing of some other Churches.

2d. Note or
token.

The Syna-
gogue and
Church
compared
together in
matters.

The second note and mark is this, when the Church
shall be worse in manners than was the Synagogue; as ap-
peareth by the ordinary gloss upon the third of *Jeremy*,
where it is written, *The backslider Israel may seem just*
and righteous in comparison of sinful Judah. That is, the
Synagogue in comparison of the Church of God. Where-
fore writeth *Origen* saying, Think that to be spoken of us
what the Lord saith in *Ezek. 16*. *Thou hast exceeded thy*
sister in thine iniquities. Wherefore now (to compare the
one with the other) First, ye know how Christ rebuked
the *Pharises*, who, as *Jerome* witnesseth, were then the Cler-
gy of the *Jews*, of covetousness, for that they suffered Doves
to be sold in the Temple of God. Secondly, for that they
did honour God with their lips, and not with their heart;
and because they said, but did not. Thirdly, he rebuked them,
for that they were hypocrites. To the first then, let us see
whether it be worse to sell both Church and Sacraments
than to suffer Doves to be sold in the Temple or not. The
2d. whereas the *Pharises* were rebuked for honouring God
with their lips, and not with their heart; there be some
which neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips;
and which neither do well, nor yet say well, neither do
they preach any word at all, but be dumb dogs, not able to
bark, impudent and shameless dogs, that neither have e-
nough, such Pastors as have no understanding, declining and
straying all in their own way, every one given to covetous-
ness from the highest to the lowest. And 3dly, As for hy-
pocrisy there be also some, whose intolerable pride and
malice is so manifest and notorious, kindled up like a fire,
that no cloak or shadow of hypocrisy can cover it, but are
so past all shame, that it may be well verified of them,
which the Prophet speaks, *Thou hast gotten thee the face*
of an Harlot, thou wouldst not blush, &c.

3d. Note or
token.

The third sign and token of tribulation approaching
near to the Church, may well be taken of the too much
unequal proportion seen this day in the Church. Where
one is hungry and starveth, another is drunk. By reason
of which so great inequality, it cannot be that the state of
the Church, as it is now, can long endure. For like as in
good harmony, to make the Mulick perfect, is required a
moderate and proportionate equality of voices, which if it
do much exceed, it taketh away all the sweet melody; so
according to the sentence of the Philosopher, *by too much*
immoderate inequality or disparity of Citizens, the Com-
monwealth falleth to ruine. Contrary, where mediocrity,
that is, where a mean inequality with some proportion is
kept, that policy standeth firm and more sure to continue.
Now, among all the politick regiments of the Gentiles, I
think none is to be found in Histories, wherein is to be
seen so great and exceeding odds, as in the policy of
Priests; of whom some be so high, that they exceed all
Princes of the earth; some again be so base, that they are
under all Rascals, so that such a Policy or Commonwealth
may well be called *Oligarchia*.

Oligarchie, is
where a few
bear all the
sway, and all
the rest be
nothing
worth.

This may we plainly see and learn in the body of Man,
to the which *Plutarchus* (writing to *Thracinius*) doth
seemably compare the Commonwealth. In the which bo-
dy, if the sustenance received should all run to one mem-
ber, so that that member should be too much exceedingly
pampered, and all the other parts too much pined, that
body could not long continue; so in the body of the wealth
Ecclesiastical, if some who be the heads be so enormously over-
grown in riches and dignity, that the weaker members of
the body be scant able to bear them up, there is a great to-
ken of dissolution and ruine shortly. Whereupon cometh
well in place the saying of the Prophet *Esay*; *Every head*
is sick, every heart is full of sorrow; of the which head
it is also spoken in the Prophet *Amos*, *Chap. 6*. *Wo be to*
the secure, proud and wealthy in Sion, and to such as think
themselves so secure upon the Mount of Samaria, taking
themselves as heads and rulers over other, &c. And more-
over in the said Prophet *Esay* it followeth, *From the top of*
the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole part in all
the body, to wit, in the inferiours, because they are not able
to live for poverty; in the superior, because for their ex-
cessive riches, they are left from doing good. And it fol-
loweth in the same place, *but all are wounds, and botches,*

Esay 1.

Amos 6.

and stripes. Behold here the danger coming, the wounds of
discord and division, the botch or sore of rancour and en-
vy, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischief.

The fourth sign is the pride of Prelates. Some there
have been which fondly have disputed of the poverty of
Christ, and have inveighed against the Prelates, because they
live not in poverty of the Saints. But this fancy cometh
of the ignorance of moral Philosophy and Divinity, and of
the defect of natural prudence; for that in all Nations,
and by common Laws, Priests have had, and ought to
have wherewith to sustain themselves more honestly than
the vulgar sort, and Prelates more honestly than the Sub-
jects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great
Horses, their Troops of Horsemen, their superfluous pomp
of their waiting-men and great Families, which scarcely
can be maintained without pride, neither can be sustained
with safe justice, and many not without fighting and in-
juries inconvenient; not much unlike to that as *Justin*
the Historian writeth of the *Carthaginenses*, *The family*
(saith he) of so great Emperors, was intolerable to such a
free City. In semblable wise, this great pride in the Church
of God (especially in these days) doth move not so few to
due reverence, as many to indignation; and yet more to
those things afore said, which think no less but to do Sacri-
fice to God, if they may rob and spoil certain fat Priests
and persons, namely, such as neither have Nobility of
blood, and less learning to bear themselves upon, but are li-
bers, servile and fraudulent, to whom the Lord speaketh by
his Prophet *Amos 4*. *Hear you fatted kine of Samaria, ye*
that do poor men wrong, and oppress the needy, the day shall
come upon you, &c.

Pride of
Prelates
noted.

Amos 4.

The fifth sign is, the tyranny of the Prelates and Pre-
sidents, which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot be long
lasting. For as *Solomon* saith, *Cap. 16*. *For it was requi-*
sited that (without any excuse) destruction should come upon
those which exercised tyranny. The property of a Tyrant
is not to seek the commodity of his Subjects, but only his
will and profit. Such were the Pastors that fed not the
Lords flock, but fed themselves; of whom and to whom
speaketh the Prophet *Ezek. 34*. *Wo be unto those pastors*
of Israel that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed
the flocks? With many other threatnings against them in
the said Chapter. Wo be unto them which rejoice at the
transgressions of such whom it lieth in their power to
condemn, neither do they seek what he is able to pay, to
whom crieth *Michas* the Prophet, *Cap. 3*. *Ye hate the good*
and love the evil, ye pluck off mens skins, and the flesh
from the bones, ye eat the flesh of my people, and flay off
their skin, ye break their bones, ye chop them in pieces as it
were into a caldron, and as flesh into the pot, &c. And
therefore the foresaid *Ezekiel* pronounceth, *Behold, I will*
myself come upon the Shepherds and require my Sheep
from their hands, and make them cease from feeding my
Sheep, yea the Shepherds shall feed themselves no more, for
I will deliver my Sheep out of their mouths, so that they
shall not devour them any more.

5th. Sign.

Cap. 16.

The tyranny
of Prelates
noted.

Ezek. 34.

Mich. 3.

Ezek. 34.

The 6th. sign is in promoting of the unworthy, and of
neglecting them that be worthy. This, as *Aristotle* saith,
is a great cause many times of the dissolution of common-
wealths. And oftentimes it so happeneth in the Wars of
Princes, that the contempt and small regarding of the va-
liant, and the exalting of others that be less worthy, in-
gendreth divers kinds and kindlings of sedition. For by
the reason partly of the same, partly of the other cause a-
bove recited, we have read not only in Books; but have
seen with our eyes, divers flourishing Cities well near sub-
verted; whereas good men be not made of, but are vexed
with sorrow and grief by the evil; the contention at length
brasteth out upon the Prince, as *Haymo* reciteth out of *Ori-*
gen. This always hath been the perverse incredulity of
mans hard heart, and that not only in hearing, but also in
seeing; yet will they not believe that other have perished,
unless they also perish themselves.

6th. Sign.

Promoting
of unworthy
Ministers.

Haymo.

The seventh sign is, the tribulation of outward policy
and commotions of the people, which in a great part is
now happened already. And therefore forasmuch as *Se-*
neca saith, *Men do complain commonly that evils only*
come so fast; It is to be feared lest also the Ecclesiastical
policy be afflicted not only outwardly, but also in it self;
and so that be fulfilled in us, that in *Jeremy* is prophesied,
Chap. 4. *Murther is cried upon of murther, and the whole*
land

7th. Sign.

Jerem. 4.

- land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly. And Ezek. 7. Wherefore I will bring cruel tyrants from among the Heathen, to take their Houses in possession; I will make the pomp of the proud to cease, and their Sanctuaries shall be taken. One mischief and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumour shall come after another; then shall they seek Visions in vain at their Prophets, the Law shall be gone from their Priests, and wisdom from their Elders, &c.
8. Sign. The eighth sign is, the refusing of correction, neither will they hear their faults told them, so that it happened to the Princes and Rulers of the Church, as it is written in the Prophet Zech. ca. 7. They stopped their ears that they would not hear, yea they made their hearts as an Adamant stone, lest they should hear the law and words which the Lord of Hosts sent in his holy Spirit by the Prophets aforetime. Also Esay witnessing after the same effect, chap. 30. 30. faith, For it is an obstinate people, lying children, and unfaithful children that will not hear the law of the Lord, which say to the Prophets, meddle with nothing, and tell us nothing, that is true and right, but speak friendly words to us, &c. All this shall be verified when the Prelates begin to hate them that tell them truth, and have knowledge; like unto such of whom Amos speaketh, Chap. 5. They bear him evil will that reproveth them openly, and who so telleth them the plain truth, they abhor him. And therefore faith the Lord to the Church of Jerusalem, Ose 4. Seeing thou hast refused understanding, I have refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my Priest. And forsomuch as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so shall it be like Priest, like people, &c. And many other sayings there be in the Prophets, speaking of the dejecting and casting down of the Priestly honour.
- Lack of learned Priests. Besides these foresaid signs and tokens hitherto recited, there be also divers others; as the backsliding from righteousness, the lack of discreet and learned Priests, promoting of children into the Church, with such other like. But these being already well noted and marked, you may easily judge and understand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and clear from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the Word of the Lord be true according to my Theme, *Juxta est justitia mea ut reveletur, My righteousness is near at hand to be revealed, &c.* And thus much of the second part.
- The third part or member of my subdivision, which is concerning the false and perilous opinions of some, upon this word of my Theme, *ut veniat, &c.* Which opinions principally be four, repugning all against the truth of the Canonical Scripture.
- The first opinion. The first opinion is of such men, who having too much confidence in themselves, do think and persuade with themselves, that the Prelates be the Church which the Lord will always keep and never forsake, as he hath promised in the persons of the Apostles, Matth. 28. saying, *And I will be with you to the end of the World, &c.* But this is to be understood of faith, whereof Christ speaketh, Luke 21. I have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail. Whereof we read Eccles. 40. Faith shall stand for ever, &c. And albeit charity wax never so cold, yet faith notwithstanding, shall remain in few, and in all distresses of the world; of the which distresses, our Saviour doth prophesie in many places to come. And lest peradventure some should think themselves to be safe from tribulation, because they be of the Church; this opinion the Lord himself doth contrary in Jerem. 7. Trust not (saith he) in false lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord. And a little after, but you trust in words and lying counsels which deceive you, and do you no good.
- The second opinion. The second opinion is of them, which defer time; for this they will grant, that the Church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly; thinking thus with themselves, that these causes and tokens afore recited, have been before at other times as well in the Church. For both by Gregory and Bernard, holy Doctors, in time past, the Prelates have been in like sort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pomp and pride, for the promoting of persons and children unfit unto Ecclesiastical functions, and other vices more, which have reigned before this in the Church of God more than now, and yet by God his grace the Church hath prospered and stood. Do ye not see, that if an house have stood and continued ruinous a long season, it is never the more near the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreover, many times it cometh so to pass, in Realms and Kingdoms, that the posterity is punished for the sins of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the book of Lamentations, Chap. 5. Our fathers have sinned, and are now gone, and we must bear their wickedness, &c. Against this cogitation or opinion, well doth the Lord answer by the Prophet Ezekiel, Chap. 12. saying, Behold thou son of Man, the house of Israel saith in this manner; Tush, as for the Vision that he hath seen, it will be many a day ere it come to pass; it is far off yet, the thing that he prophesieth. Therefore say unto them, thus saith the Lord God, The words that I have spoken shall be deferred no longer, look what I have said shall come to pass, saith the Lord, &c. We have seen in our days things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath been seen in other times also, as we read written in the book of Lament. ch. 4. The Kings of the earth, nor all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the enemy and adversary should have come in at the gates of the City, for the sins of her Priests, and for the wickedness of her elders, that have shed innocents blood within her, &c. By Jerusalem, as is said is meant the Church.
- The third opinion or error is very perilous and perverse, of all such as say *veniat*, let come that will come; let us conform our selves to this world, and take our time with those temporizers which say in the Book of Wisdom, Sap. 2. Come let us enjoy our goods and pleasures that be present, and let us use the creature as in youth quickly, &c. Such as these be are in dangerous case, and be greatly prejudicial to good men in the Church. And if the Heads and Rulers of the Church were so vile to have any such detestable cogitation in them, there were no place in Hell too deep for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the blood of so many Martyrs, enlarged and increased with the virtues and merits of so many Saints, and indured so richly with the devotion of so many secular Princes, and so long prospered hitherto; if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickedness well deserved of God to be cursed; yea here also in this present world to incur temporal tribulation and destruction, which they fear more; by the sentence of the Lord, saying to them in the Book of the Proverbs, Chap. 1. All my counsels ye have despised, and set my correction at nought; therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall upon you.
- The fourth opinion or error. Fourthly, another opinion or error is of such as being unfaithful believe not that any such thing will come. And this error seemeth to have no remedy, but that as other things and other Kingdoms have their ends and limits set unto them, which they cannot overpass; so it must needs be, that such a domination and government of the Church have an end, by reason of the demerits and obstinacies of the Governours provoking and requiring the same; like as we read in the Prophet Jerem. Chap. 8. There is no man that taketh repentance for his sin, that will so much as say, wherefore have I done this? But every man runneth forth still like a wild horse in battel. And the Prophet Jerem. in the 13th. Chap. of his Prophecie, Like as the man of Inde may change his skin, and the Cat of mountain her spots, so may ye, that be exercised in evil, do good. Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the same Prophet, Chap. 17. speaking of Judah, signifying the Church, The sin of Judah (saith he) is written in the table of your hearts, and graven so upon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw; which is as much to say, as indeleble, or which cannot be rased out; as also Ezekiel speaking of the punishment, chap. 21. saith, I the Lord have drawn my sword out of the sheath, and it cannot be revoked. Notwithstanding, all these signify no impossibility, but difficulty, because that wicked men are hardly converted; for otherwise the Scripture importeth no such inflexibility with God, but if conversion come, he will forgive. So we read in the Prophet Jonas, Chap. 3. Who can tell? God may turn and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath that we perish not. And to the like effect saith the same Lord in Jerem. Chap. 26. Look thou keep not one word back, if peradventure they will hearken and turn every man from his wicked way, that

KING 3. *that I also may repent of the plague which I have determined to bring upon them, because of their wicked inventions, &c.* For the further proof whereof, *Ninive* we see converted, and remained undestroyed, &c. Likewise the Lord also had revealed destruction unto *Constantinople* by sundry signs and tokens, as *Augustine* in a certain Sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my division.

The fourth part or member of the subdivision. Fourthly and lastly, It remaineth that I declare some wholesome concluding now upon the causes preceeding;

That is, if by these causes and signs (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall upon the Church, then let us humble our minds mildly and wisely. And if we so return with heart and in deed unto God, verily he shall rescue and help after an inestimable wise, and will surcease from scourging us, as he promiseth by his Prophet *Jer. 18.*

Jer. 18. *If that people against whom I have thus devised, convert from their wickedness, immediately I will repent of the plague that I devised to bring upon them, speaking here after the manner of Men, &c.* Now therefore, forsomuch as tribulation and affliction is so near coming toward us, yea lieth already upon us, let us be the more diligent to call upon God for mercy. For I think verily these many years, there have not been so many and so despitiful hearts and evil willers, stout, and of such a rebellious heart against the Church of God, as be now adays: neither be they lacking that would work all that they can against it, and lovers of new-fangleness; whose hearts the

Elsay 5. Lord happily will turn, that they shall not hate his people, and work deceit against his servants, I mean against Priests, whom they have now in little or no reputation at all, albeit many yet there be, through Gods grace, good and godly; But yet the fury of the Lord is not turned away, but still his hand is stretched out. And unless ye be converted, he shaketh his Sword, he hath bent his Bow, and prepared it ready. Yet the Lord standeth waiting, that

Elsay 30. he may have mercy upon you, *Elsay 30.* And therefore, as the greatness of fear ought to incite us, so hope of salvation may allure us to pray and call upon the Lord, especially now toward this holy and sacred time and solemnity of Christs Nativity: For that holy and continual prayer without intermission is profitable, and the instant devotion and vigilant deprecation of the just man is of great force. And if terrene Kings, in the day of celebration of their Nativity, be wont to shew themselves more liberal and bountiful, how much more ought we to hope well, that the heavenly King, of nature most benign, now at his Natal and Birth-day, will not deny pardon and remission to such as rightly call unto him.

Joshua 7. And now therefore, as it is written in *Joshua, Chap. 7.*

1 Kin. 25. *Be ye sanctified against to morrow, &c.* And say unto him as it is written in the first Book of *Kings, Chap. 25.* *Now let thy servants I pray thee find favour in thy sight, for we come to thee in a good season.* Moreover, ye may find that ye ask, if that ye ask that which he brought in the day of his Nativity; that is, the peace of the Church, not spiritual only, but also temporal; which the Angelical noise did sound, and experience the same did prove, testified by *T. Livius, Plinius*, and other Heathen story-writers, which all marvelled thereat, saying, that such an universal peace as that could not come on earth, but by the gift of God. For so God did forepromise in the Prophet

Elsay 66. *Elsay, Chap. 66.* *Behold, I will let peace into Jerusalem like a water flood, &c.* And in the *Psal. 71.* *In his time righteousness shall flourish, ye and abundance of peace, &c.*

Therefore now (O reverend fathers in the Lord) and you here in this present Assembly, behold, I say, the day of life and salvation; now is the opportune time to pray unto God, that the same thing, which he brought into the world at his birth, he will grant in these days to his Church, that is, his peace. And like as *Ninive* was subverted, and over-turned, not in members but in manners, so the same words of my Theam, *Juxta est justitia mea ut reveletur*, may be verified in us, not of the primitive justice, but of our sanctification by grace; so that, as to morrow is celebrated the Nativity of our Saviour, our righteousness may rise together with him, and his blessing may be upon us, which God hath promised saying, *My saving health is near at hand to come, &c.* Whereof speaketh *Elsay* the Prophet, *Chap. 51.* *My saving health shall endure for ever, &c.* This health grant unto us, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen.

This Sermon was made by Master *Nicholas Orem* before Pope *Urban* and his Cardinals, upon the Even of the Nativity of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of *Advent*, in the year of our Lord 1364. and the second of his Popedom.

In the 5th. year of this forenamed Pope *Urban*, began first the Order of the *Jesuites*. And unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 1367. the Offices here in *England*, as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and of the Privy Seal, were wont to be in the hands of the Clergy. But about this year, through the motion of the Lords in the Parliament, and partly (as witnesseth mine Author) for hatred of the Clergy, all the said Offices were removed from the Clergy to the Lords Temporal.

After the death of Pope *Urban*, next succeeded Pope *Gregory* the 11th. who, among his other acts, first reduced again the Papacy out of *France* unto *Rome*, which had from thence been absent the space now of 70 years, being there moved (as *Sabellicus* recordeth) by the answer of a certain Bishop, whom as the Pope saw standing by him, he asked, why he was so long from his charge and Church at home, saying that, *it was not the part of a good Pastor, to keep him from his flock so long.* Whereunto the Bishop answering again, said, *And you your self, being the chief Bishop, who may and ought to be a spectacle to us all, why are you from the place so long where your Church doth ly?* By the occasion whereof the Pope sought all means after that to remove and to rid his Court out of *France* again to *Rome*, and so he did.

This *Gregory 11th.* in a certain Bull of his sent to the Archbishop of *Prague*, maketh mention of one named *Militizius* a *Bohemian*, and saith in the same Bull, that this *Militizius* should hold opinion and teach *Anno 1366*, that Antichrist was already come. Also that the said *Militizius* had certain Congregations following him; and that in the same Congregations were certain Harlots, who being converted from their wickedness, were brought to a godly life. Which Harlots being so converted, he used to say, were to be preferred before all the holy religious Virgins. And therefore he commanded the Archbishop to excommunicate and persecute the said *Militizius*, which in foretime had bin a religious Man of *Prague*, and after forsook his Order, and gave himself to preaching, and at length was by the foresaid Archbishop imprisoned.

Jacobus Misnensis, a learned Man and a Writer in the time of *John Hus*, maketh mention of this *Militizius*, and calleth him a worthy and a famous Preacher. Also he citeth many things out of his Writings, in the which Writings this good *Militizius* thus declareth of himself, how he was moved and urged by the Holy Ghost to search out by the sacred Scriptures, concerning the coming of Antichrist. And that he was compelled by the same holy Spirit publicly to preach at *Rome*, and also before the Inquilitor there to protest plainly, that the same great Antichrist, which is prophesied of in the holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreover his saying was, *That the Church through negligence of the Pastors was desolate, did abound in temporal riches, but in spiritual riches was empty.* Also, *That in the Church of Christ were certain Idols which destroyed Jerusalem, and defaced the Temple, but hypocrisie caused that those Idols could not be seen.* Also, *That many there were which denied Christ, because that knowing the truth, yet for fear of men they durst not confess their conscience, &c.* And thus much of good *Militizius*, living in the time of *Gregory 11.* and King *Edward* the third, *An. 1370.*

The which King of *England*, holding a Parliament in the third year of this Pope, sent his Embassadors to him, desiring him, that he from henceforth would abstain from his Reservations of Benefices used in the Court of *England*; And that spiritual Men, within this Realm promoted unto Bishopricks, might freely enjoy their Elections within the Realm, and be confirmed by their Metropolitans, according to the ancient custom of the Realm. Wherefore upon these, and such other like, wherein the King and the Realm thought themselves much grieved, he desired of the Pope some remedy to be provided, &c. Whereunto the Pope returned a certain answer again unto the King, requiring by his messengers to be certified again of the Kings mind concerning the same. But what answer it was, it is not in the story expressed, save that the year following, which was 1374, there was a tractation at *Burges* upon certain of the said

The Order of *Jesuites*. Anno 1367. The chief offices of the Realm translated from the Clergy to the Lords Temporal.

Pope, *Gregory* the 11th.

Anno 1370. The Papacy reduced again from *France* to *Rome*.

Militizius a *Bohemian*, for the truth persecuted by the Pope. Ex Bulla *Gregoris 11.*

The coming of Antichrist prophesied.

K. *Edward* complaineth of the Popes reservation of Benefices.

The Pope
put from his
reserving of
Benefices in
England.
Quare impedi-
dit.

saide Articles between the King and the Pope, which did hang two years in suspence; and so at length it was thus agreed between them, that the Pope should no more use his reservations of Benefices in England, and likewise the King should no more confer and give Benefices upon the Writ, *Quare impedit, &c.* But as touching the freedom of Elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, mentioned in the year before, thereof was nothing touched.

As touching these Reservations, Provisions and Collations, with the Elections of the Archbishops, Bishops, Beneficed Men, and other, wherewith the Pope vexed this Realm of England, as before you have heard; the King by the consent of the Lords and Commons, in the 25th. year of his Reign enacted; that according to a Statute made in the 30th. year of his Grandfather Edward the first, wherein was made an Act against the ravenous pillage of the Pope, through the same Provisions, Reservations and Collations, &c. but not put in execution: By the which Provisions, the state of the Realm decreased more and more, the Kings Royalty and Prerogative was greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the Realm transported, aliens and strangers placed in the best and fattest Bishopricks, Abbeyes and Benefices within the Realm; and such, as either for their Offices in Rome, as Cardinalships, and such like, could not be here resident, or if resident, yet better away for causes infinite, as partly have been touched before; he not only revived the said Statute made by Edward the first his Grandfather, but also enlarged the same. Adding thereunto very strait and sharp penalties against the offenders, therein, or in any part thereof, as exemption out of the Kings protection, loss of all their Lands, Goods and other possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the Kings pleasure; and further, whosoever was lawfully convicted, or otherwise, for want of appearance by Process directed forth, were within the lapse of this Statute or *Premunire* (for so bare the name thereof) should suffer all and every such molestations and injuries, as men exempted from the protection of the King. Infomuch, that whosoever had killed such Men, had been in no more danger of law therefore, than for the killing of any Outlaw, or one not worthy to live in a Commonweal. Like unprofitable members were they then, yea, in that time of ignorance, esteemed in this Commonweal of England which would offer themselves to the wilful slavery and servile obedience of the Pope; which thing in these days, yea and that amongst no small fools, is counted more than Evangelical holiness. He that list to peruse the Statute, and would see every branch and Article thereof at large discussed and handled, with the Penalties therefore due; let him read the Statute of Provision and *Premunire* made in the 25th. year of this Kings days. And let him read in the Statutes made in the Parliaments holden the 27th. year, and 38th. year of his Reign; And under the same Title of Provision and *Premunire* he shall find the Popes Primacy and Jurisdiction within this Realm more nearly touched, and much of his Papal power restrained: Infomuch that, whosoever for any cause or controversie in law, either spiritual or temporal, the same being determinable in any of the Kings Courts (as all matters were) whether they were personal or real citations, or other, should either appeal or consent to any appellation to be made out of the Realm to the Pope or See of Rome; should incur the said penalty and danger of *Premunire*. Divers other matters wherein the Pope is restrained of his usurped power, authority and jurisdiction within this realm of England, are in the said Titles and Statutes expressed, and at large set forth, who ever list to peruse the same, which for brevities sake I omit, hasting to other matters.

The law of
Premunire,
with the pe-
nalty there-
of.

The Popes
Primacy
here in Eng-
land bridled

6. Bridget.

Ex lib. reser-
vationum
Dive Brid-
gete.

About this time, being the year of our Lord 1370. lived holy Bridget, whom the Church of Rome hath canonized not only for a Saint, but also for a Prophetess; who notwithstanding, in her Book of Revelations, which hath bin oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the Pope, and of the filth of his Clergy, calling him a murderer of souls, a spiller and a pillar of the flock of Christ; more abominable than the Jews, more cruel than Judas, more unjust than Pilate, worse than Lucifer himself. The See of the Pope she prophesieth shall be thrown down into the deep like a Millstone; and that his asister shall burn with brimstone; Affirming, that the Prelates, Bishops and Priests are the cause why the Doctrine of Christ is

neglected, and almost extinguished. And that the Clergy have turned the Ten Commandments of God into two words, to wit, *Da pecuniam*, that is Give money. It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth. Among the rest which I omit, let this suffice for all, whereas the said Bridget affirmeth in her Revelations, that when the holy Virgin should say to her Son, how Rome was a fruitful and fertile field; yea, said he, but of Weeds only and Cockle, &c.

To this Bridget I will joyn also Catharina Senensis, an holy Virgin, which lived much about the same time, An. 1379. Of whom writeth Antoninus part. historie 3. This Katharine, having the spirit of Prophecy, was wont much to complain of the corrupt state of the Church, namely of the Prelates of the Court of Rome, and of the Pope; prophesying before of the great Schism, which then followed in the Church of Rome, and dured to the Council of Constance, the space of thirty nine years; also of the great Wars and Tribulation, which ensued upon the same. And moreover, declared before, and foretold of this so excellent Reformation of Religion in the Church now present. The words of Antoninus be these: After this Virgin in her going to Rome had told her Brother of the Wars and Tumults that should rise in the Countries about Rome, after the schism of the two Popes; I then curious to know of things to come, and knowing that she understood by Revelation what should happen, demanded of her I pray you (good Mother) said I, and what shall befall after these troubles in the Church of God? And she said:

By these Tribulations and Afflictions, after a secret manner unknown unto Man, God shall purge his holy Church, and stir up the spirit of his elect. And after these things, shall follow such a reformation of the holy Church of God, and such a renovation of holy Pastors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof, maketh my Spirit to rejoyce in the Lord. And as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the Spouse, which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and deckt with most rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faithful shall be glad and rejoyce to see themselves so beautified with so holy Shepherds. Yea, and also the Infidels then, allured by the sweet savour of Christ shall return to the Catholick fold, and be converted to the true Bishop and Shepherd of their Souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm be will give to us a great calm. And after she had thus spoken, she staid, and said no more.

Note.

Besides these aforementioned, the Lord, which never ceaseth to work in his Church, stirred up against the malignant Church of Rome, the spirits of divers good and godly Teachers, as Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian born, who about the year of our Lord 1370. wrote a large Book of Antichrist, and proveth him to be already come, and noteth the Pope to be the same. Which Book one Illiricus a Writer in these our days hath, and promiseth to put it in Print. In this Book he doth greatly inveigh against the wickedness and filthiness of the Clergy, and against the neglecting of their duty in governing the Church. The Locust mentioned in the Apocalyps he saith, be the hypocrites reigning in the Church. The works of Antichrist, he saith, be these, the fables and inventions of Men reigning in the Church, the Images and feigned Reliques that are worshipped every where. Item, That men do worship every one his proper Saint and Saviour beside Christ, so that every Man and City almost hath his divers and peculiar Christ. He taught and affirmed moreover, that godliness and true worship of God are not bound to place, persons or times, to be heard more in this place than in another, at this time more than at another, &c. He argueth also against the Cloisters, which leaving the only and true Saviour, set up to themselves their Franciscans, their Dominicks, and such other, and have them for their Saviours, glorying and triumphing in them, and feigning many forged lies upon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monks and Friars, for neglecting or rather burying the Word of Christ, and instead of him, for celebrating and setting up their own rules and Canons; affirming it to be much hurtful to true godliness, for that Priests, Monks and Nuns do account themselves only spiritual, and all other to be Lay and Secular, attributing only to themselves the opinion of holiness, and

KING
Ed. 3.
Da pecuni-
am.

Rome a fer-
tile ground
of Weeds
and Cockle.

Catharina
Senensis.
Ex Anton.
part. 3. hist.

The refor-
mation of
Religion
prophecied
of before.

The Pro-
phesy of
Katharine.

Matthias
Parisien-
sis a
Writer a-
gainst the
Pope.
Antichrist
already
come.
The Doc-
trine and
protection
of Manhim.

KING and contemning other Men, with all their politick administration, and the offices prophane in comparison of their own. He further writeth that Antichrist hath seduced all Universities and Colledges of Learned Men, so that they teach no sincere Doctrine, neither give any light to the Christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to pass, that God yet once again will raise up godly teachers, who being fervent in the Spirit and zeal of *Helias*, shall disclose and refute the errors of Antichrist, and Antichrist himself, openly to the whole World. This *Matthias* in the said Book of Antichrist, alledgeth the Sayings and Writings of the University of *Paris*, also the Writings of *Gulielmus de sancto Amore*, and of *Militizius* afore noted.

About the same time, or shortly after, *An. 1384.* we read also of *Joannes* of *Mountziger*, Rector of the University of *Ulme*, who openly in the Schools in his Oration pronounced that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God with that kind of worship called *Latreia*, as the Sophister termeth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he also defended by writing; affirming also, that Christ in his Resurrection took to him again all his blood which in his Passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to infer, that the blood of Christ, which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blood of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was refuted and withstood by the Monks and Friars; who by this kind of idolatry were greatly enriched, till at length the Senate and Council of the City was feign to take up the matter between them.

Nilus was Archbishop of *Theffalonica*, and lived much about this time. He wrote a long work against the *Latines*, that is, against such as took part and held with the Church of *Rome*. His first Book being written in *Greek* was afterward translated into *Latine*, and lately now into *English*, in this our time. In the first Chapter of this Book, he layeth all the blame and fault of the dissention and schism between the East and the West Church, upon the Pope. He affirmed that the Pope only would command what him listed, were it never so contrary to all the old and ancient Canons; that he would hear and follow no mans advice; that he would not permit any free Councils to be assembled, &c. And that therefore it was not possible, that the controversies between the *Greek* Church and *Latine* Church should be decided and determined.

In the second Chapter of his Book, he purposely maketh a very learned disputation. For first, he declareth that he, no whit at all by Gods Commandment, but only by humane law, hath any dignity, more than hath other Bishops; which dignity, the Councils, the Fathers, the Emperors have granted unto him. Neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinance, than for that the same City then had the Empire of all the whole world, and not at all for that *Peter* ever was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, That the same primacy or prerogative is not such and so great, as he and his Sycophants do usurp unto themselves. Also he refuteth the chiefest propoitions of the *Papists* one after another. He declareth, That the Pope hath no dominion more than other Patriarchs have, and that he himself may err as well as other mortal Men; and that he is subject both to Laws and Councils, as well as other Bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperor, to call general Councils; and that in Ecclesiastical causes he could establish and ordain no more than all other Bishops might. And lastly, that he getteth no more by *Peter's* succession, than that he is a Bishop, as all other Bishops after the Apostles be, &c.

I cannot among other, following here the occasion of this matter offered, leave out the memory of *Jacobus Misenfis*, who also wrote of the coming of Antichrist. In the same he maketh mention of a certain learned Man, whose name was *Militizius*, which *Militizius* (saith he) was a famous and worthy Preacher in *Praga*. He lived about the year 1366. long before *Huss*, and before *Wickliff* also. In the same his writings he declareth, how the same good Man *Militizius* was by the holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moved to search out of the holy Scriptures the manner and coming of Antichrist; and found that now in his time he was already come. And the same *Jacobus* saith, That the said *Militizius* was constrained by the Spirit of

God to go up to *Rome*, and there publickly to preach. And that afterward before the Inquisitor he affirmed the same. That the same mighty and great Antichrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come.

He affirmed also, that the Church, by the negligence of the Pastors should become desolate; and that iniquity should abound, that is, by reason of Mammon, master of iniquity. Also, he said that there were in the Church of Christ Idols, which should destroy *Jerusalem*, and make the Temple desolate, but were cloked by hypocrisie. Further, that there be many which deny Christ, for that they keep silence; neither do they hear Christ, whom all the world should know, and confesse his verity before Men, which also wittingly do detain the verity and justice of God.

There is also a certain Bull of Pope Gregory the 11th. to the Archbishop of *Praga*; wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute *Militizius* and his auditors. The same Bull declareth, that he was once a Canon of *Praga*, but afterward he renounced his Canonship, and began to preach; who also, for that he so manifestly preached of Antichrist to be already come, was of *John* Archbishop of *Praga* put in Prison, declaring what his error was: To wit, how he had his company or congregation to whom he preached, and that amongst the same were certain converted Harlots, which had forsaken their evil life, and did live godly and well, which Harlots he accustomed in his Sermons to prefer before all the blessed Virgins that never offended. He taught also openly, that in the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, Priests, and other religious Men was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only he, and such as held with him, taught the true way of Salvation. His Possil in some places is yet to be seen. They alledge unto him certain other inconvenient Articles, which notwithstanding, I think the adversaries, to deprave him withal, have slanderously invented against him. He had, as appeared by the foresaid Bull, very many of every state and condition, as well rich as poor, that cleaved unto him.

About the year of our Lord 1371. lived *Henricus de Jora*, whom *Gerson* doth much commend, and also his companion *Henricus de Hassia*, an excellent learned and famous Man. An Epistle of this *Henricus de Hassia*, which he wrote to the Bishop of *Normacia*, *Jacobus Carisiensis* inserted in his Book *De erroribus Christianorum*. In the same Epistle the Author doth greatly accuse the spiritual Men of every Order, yea and the most holy of all other, the Pope himself, of many and great vices. He said, that the Ecclesiastical Governours in the Primitive Church were compared to the Sun shining in the day time; and the Political Governours, to the Moon shining in the night. But the spiritual Men, he said that now are, do neither shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darkness do obscure both the day and the night, that is, with their filthy living, ignorance and impiety. He citeth also out of the Prophecy of *Hildegardis* these words: Therefore doth the Devil in himself speak of you Priests; Dainty Banquets and Feasts, wherein is all voluptuousness, do I find amongst these men; Inasmuch that mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and my veins be even filled with the froth of them, and my breasts stand a-strut with the riches of them, &c. Lastly, saith he, they every day more and more, as Lucifer did, seek to climb higher and higher; till that every day with him more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.

About the year of our Lord 1390. there were burned at *Brinca* 36 Citizens of *Moguntina*, for the Doctrine of *Waldensis*, as *Brassius* affirmeth; which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the Pope to be that great Antichrist, which should come; Unless peradventure the Pope seemed then to be more evidently convicted of Antichristianity, than at any other time before he was revealed to be.

For the like cause, many other beside these are to be found in stories, which sustained the like persecutions by the Pope, if leisure would serve to peruse all that might be searched. As where *Massius* recordeth of divers to the number of an hundred and forty; which in the Province of *Narbone* chose rather to suffer whatsoever grievous punishment by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the *Romish* Church, contrary to the upright truth of the Scripture.

What

Joannes Mountziger
Protestant
against the
Pope.
Anno
1384.

Nilus the
Archbishop
of *Theffalonica*.

Militizius
persecuted
by the Pope.

Henricus de Hassia.

The Citizens of *Moguntina*.

A brief rehearsal of such as were put to death for holding against the Bishop of *Rome*, before the time of *Wickliffe*.

What should I here speak of the 24 which suffered at *Paris* An. 1210? Also in the same Author is testified that An. 1211. there were 400 under the name of Hereticks burned, 80 beheaded, Prince *Americus* hanged, and the Lady of the Castle stoned to death.

Moreover, in the Chronicles of *Hoveden*, and of other Writers, be recited a marvellous number, which in the Countries of *France* were burned for Hereticks. Of whom, some were called *Publicans*, some *Catharites*, some *Paterines*, and other by other names. What their assertions were, I find no certain report worthy of credit.

Eckhardus a frier burned

In *Trithemius* it is signified of one *Eckhardus* a Dominican Frier, who, not long before *Wickliff's* time, was condemned and suffered for Heresie at *Heidelberg*, An. 1330. who as he differeth not much in name, so may he be supposed to be the same, whom other do name *Beghardus*, and is said to be burned at *Erpord*.

Of *Albingenses* because sufficient mention is made before, of whom great number were burned about the time of King *John*, I pass them over.

An Hermit disputing against the Pores Sacraments. *Ranulphus*.

Likewise, I let pass the Hermit, of whom *John Bacon* maketh relation, in his 2 *Dist. Quest. 1*. Who, disputing in *Pauls Church*, affirmed That those Sacraments which were then used in the Church, were not instituted by Christ, An. 1306. Peradventure it was the same *Ranulphus*, mentioned in the Flower of Histories, and is said to die in Prison; for the time of them doth not much differ.

In *Boetius*, why the Pope should so much commend a certain King, because for one man he had slain 400, cutting away the Generals from the rest, I cannot judge, except the cause were that, which the Pope calleth Heresie.

But to let these things overpass that be uncertain, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them which have withstood the corruption of the Popes See, neither have we any such firm testimony left of their doings, credibly to stay upon: We will now (Christ willing) convert our story to things more certain and undoubted; grounding upon no light reports of feeble credit, nor upon any fabulous Legends without authority; but upon the true and substantial Copies of the publick Records of the Realm, remaining yet to be seen under the Kings most sure and faithful custody. Out of the which Records such matter appeareth against the Popish Church of *Rome*, and against his usurped authority, such open standing and crying against the said See, and that not privily, but also in open Parliament, in the days of this King *Edward* the third; that neither will the Romish people of this our age easily think it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to deny the same, so near standeth the force of those Records.

Ex Archivis Regie Majestatis.

Partial dissimulation in our Histories of the Church of England.

Ye heard a little before, p. 433. how *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being sent for, and required by the King to come unto him, refused so to do. What the cause was why he denied to come at the Kings sending, is neither touched of *Polydore Virgil*, nor of any other Monkish Chronicler, writing of those acts and times. Whose part had bin, faithfully to have dispensed the simple truth of things done to their posterity. But that which they dissimblingly and colourably have concealed, contrary to the true law of story, the true cause thereof we have found out by the true Parliament Rolls, declaring the story thus.

Ex anno 6. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 1.

King *Edward* the 3d. in the 6th. year of his Reign, hearing that *Edward Bailiol* had proclaimed himself King of *Scotland*, required counsel of the whole state, to wit, whether it were better for him to assail *Scotland*, and to claim the demeling or demains of the same; or else by making him party to take his advantage, and thereby to enjoy the service, as other his ancestors before him had done. For this cause he summoned a Parliament of all estates to meet at *Tork*, about the beginning of *December*. Where the King was already come, waiting for the coming of such as were warned thereunto. For the want of whose coming the Parliament was rejourned till *Monday*, and from thence to *Tuesday* next ensuing. But forso much as most of the States were absent, the Assembly required the continuance of the Parliament, until the *Utas* of Saint *Hilary* then ensuing at *Tork*, which was granted. And so a new Summons was especially awarded to every person with special charge to attend, so that the affairs of the King and the Realm might not be hindered, because of the debate between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Archbishop of *Tork*, for the superior bearing of their cross.

In conclusion, for all the Kings summoning, none other of all the Clergy came, but only the Archbishop of *Tork*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and of *Carlisle*, and Abbots of *Tork* and *Selby*. So that hereunto came not the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, nor any other of his Province, and all for bearing the Cross. Whereby the same was not only a loss to the opportunity to *Scotland*; but also an importable charge to the whole estate by a new reassembly. And thus much out of the Records, whereby thou mayst easily judge (prudent Reader) what is to be thought of these Pope-holy Catholic Church-men, being of the Popes brood and setting up; whom such frivolous causes of contention stir up both to such disquietness among themselves, and also to such disobedience against their Prince; excuse them who can.

Ex An. 6. Regis Edwardi 3.

It followeth moreover, in the same Records, concerning the abandoning of the Popes provisions; how that the Commons find great default at Provisions coming from *Rome*, whereby strangers were enabled within this Realm to enjoy Ecclesiastical Dignities, and shew divers inconveniences ensuing thereby, namely, the decay of daily Alms, the transporting of the Treasure to nourish the Kings enemies, the discovering of the secrets of the Realm, and the disabling and impoverishing of the Clerks within this Realm.

KINO, 1. Edw. 3. The Archbishop of Canterbury came not to the Parliament at Tork, and all for bearing the Cross.

Ex an. 17. Reg. Ed. 1. tit. 39. The Popes provisions restrained, tit. 39.

The Church of England spoiled by the Pope and his forefathers.

They also shew how the Pope had in most covertwise granted to two new Cardinals within this Realm (and namely to Cardinal *Peragor*.) above ten thousand Marks of yearly Taxes. They therefore required the King and Nobles to find some remedy, for that they never could ne would any longer bear those strange oppressions, or else to help them to expel out of this Realm the Popes power by force.

The Act of K. Edward the first revived for preeminence tit. 60.

Hereupon the King, Lords and Commons, sent for the Act made at *Carlisle*, in the 35th. year of King *Edward* the first, upon the like complaint; thereby forbidding that any thing should be attempted or brought into the Realm, which should tend to the blemishing of the Kings prerogative, or to the prejudice of his Lords or Commons. And so at this time the Statute called the Act of Provision, was made by common consent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any Bulls, or such Trinkets from the Court of *Rome*, or the using, enjoying, or allowing of any such Bill, Process, Instruments, or such Ware, as thereby at large doth appear. Whereof sufficiently is touched before *Pag. 400*.

The penalty of which Statute afterward followed in the next Parliament, An. Reg. Ed. 18. tit. 32. the which penalty was this: the transgressors thereof were to lie in perpetual prison, or to be forejured the Land; And that all Justices of Assise, Goal-delivery, and Oyer and Determiner may determine the same. Required withal, that the same Act of provision should continue for ever.

An. Reg. Ed. 18. tit. 32.

Item, In the said 18th. year of the Reign of King *Edward*, tit. 34. it was moreover propounded; that if any Archbishop, or any person religious, or other, do not present within 4 Months some able Clerk to any Dignity, where any person hath obtained from *Rome*, any Provision, Bull, &c. but surcease the same; that then the King may present some able Clerk.

Presentat. on within 4 months, an. reg. 18. tit. 34.

Item, It was propounded in the said Parliament, An. 18. Reg. Ed. 3. That if any Bishop elect shall refuse to take any such Bishopricks, otherwise than by such Bull; that then such elect shall not enter ne enjoy his Temporalties without his special licence.

No election to be taken by the Pope but only by the King, an. reg. 18. tit. 35.

Also that the King shall dispose all such Benefices and Dignities of such aliens his enemies, as remain in the Country of his enemies, and employ the profits thereof to the defence of the Realm.

Disposition of Benefices only in the Kings hand, an. 18. Ed. 3. tit. 36.

Moreover, it was propounded, that Commissioners be sent to all the Kings Ports, to apprehend all such persons as shall bring in any such instrument from *Rome*, and to bring them forthwith before the Council to answer thereto.

Bulls from Rome forbidden, an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 37.

Propounded furthermore, that the Deanry of *Tork*, which is to be recovered by judgment in the Kings Court, may be bestowed upon some able Man within the Realm, who will maintain the same against him (meaning the Cardinal, who holdeth the same by provision from *Rome*, being the enemy to the King, and to the Realm) and that the profits may be employed to the defence of the Realm.

The Deanry of Tork taken from the Cardinal, an. 18. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 38.

The

[KING] The Kings answer. To all which petitions answer was made in form following. It is agreed by the King, Earls, Barons, Justices, and otherwise Men of the Realm, that the petitions aforesaid be made in sufficient form of Law, according to the petitions aforesaid.

[Note] in this answer of the King (good Reader) that at the grant hereof the consent of the Bishops is neither named, nor expressed, with the other Lords of the Parliament: and yet the Parliament standeth in his full force, notwithstanding.

Notes of the Parliament holden in the Twentieth year of King Edward the Third.

TO pass further, in the twentieth year of the Kings Reign in the Parliament holden the same year, it was propounded; That all alien Monks should avoid the Realm by the day of *S. Michael*, and that their livings should be disposed, to young *English* Scholars. The livings of these the King took to his hands.

Item, That the King may take the profits of all other strangers livings, as Cardinals and others, during their lives. The profits of whom were also in the Kings hands.

That such Aliens enemies, as be advanced to Livings here in *England* (being in their own Countries, Shoemakers, Taylors, or Chamberlains to Cardinals) should depart before *Michaelmas*, and their Livings be disposed to poor *English* Scholars. The Livings also of these remained in the Kings hands.

The Commons denied to pay any payment to any Cardinals, lying in *France* to entreat of War or Peace, which also was granted of the Kings part as reasonable.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, That the yearly advancement of two thousand marks (granted by the Pope to two Cardinals, out of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*) should be restrained, and such as shall pursue therefor to be out of the Law.

Likewise enacted and agreed, That no *English* Man should take any thing in farm of any Alien Religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of their counsel, on pain of perpetual imprisonment.

Enacted further, That no person should bring into the Realm, to any Bishop or other, any Bull, or any other Letters from *Rome*, or from any Alien; unless he shew the same to the Chancellor or Warden of the Cinque Ports, upon loss of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the said Parliament the Bishops were commanded, before the next Convocation, to certify unto the Chancery the names of such Aliens, of their Benefices, and the values of the same.

Notes of the five and twentieth year of King Edward the Third.

THE Parliament of the 25. year, was begun the sixth day of *February*, the 25th. year of King *Edward* the Third. In the which Parliament beside other matters moe, was propounded; that remedy might be had against the Popes reservations by which brocage and means the Pope received the first fruits of all Ecclesiastical Dignities: A more Consumption to the Realm, than all the Kings Wars.

Also that the like remedy might be had against such as in the Court of *Rome* presume to undo any judgment given in the Kings Court, as if they enforced to undo the Laws of the Realm.

Whereunto it was answered, That there was sufficient remedy provided by Law.

Notes of the eight and thirtieth year of King Edward the Third.

IN the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the 38th. year of *Edward* the Third, in the Octaves of *Hilary* (*Simon* Bishop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellor) it was required by the Kings own mouth, and declared to the whole Estates; How daily citation and false suggestions were made to the

Pope, for matters determinable in his Courts within the Realm, and for procuring provisions to Ecclesiastical Dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient Laws, to the spoiling of his Crown, to the daily conveying away of the Treasure, to the wasting of Ecclesiastical Livings, to the withdrawing of Divine Service, Alms, Hospitality, and other acceptable works, and to the daily increase of all mischiefs: Wherefore, in person by his own mouth the King required the whole Estate to provide hereof due remedy.

It is to be noted finally in this Parliament of the 38th. year, that the Act of Provisors, brought in this Parliament, although in the Printed Copy, Chap. 1, 2, 3, 4. it doth agree with the Record, in manner; yet in the said Records unprinted are moe biting words against the Pope: a mystery not to be known of all Men.

Notes of the fortieth year of King Edward the Third.

IT followeth moreover in the said Acts of King *Edward* the Third, and in the 40th. year of his Reign, another Parliament was called at *Westminster* the 3d. of May, An. 1366. the Bishop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellor and Speaker. Who in the second day of the said Assembly in the presence of the King, Lords and Commons, declared; how the day before generally they understood the cause of this their Assembly, and now more particularly should understand the same; specially how that the King understood, that the Pope (for the homage which King *John* made to the See of *Rome* for the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the tribute by him granted) meant by Process to cite the King to *Rome*, to answer thereto. Wherein the King required their advices, what were best for him to do, if any such thing were attempted. The Bishops by their selves required a respite of answer, until the next day. So did the Lords and Commons every of them by their selves.

The same next day the whole Estates re-assembled together, and by common consent enacted in effect following, viz. Forasmuch as neither King *John*, nor any other King, could bring his Realm and people in such thralldom and subjection, but by common assent of Parliament, the which was not done; and therefore was done against his Oath at his Coronation (beside many other causes:) If therefore the Pope should attempt any thing against the King, by Process or other matter indeed; That the King with all his Subjects should with all their force and power resist the same.

Here moreover is not to be omitted, how in the said present Parliament the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* on the one side, and the Friars of the four Orders Mendicants in the said Universities on the other side, made long complaints the one against the other to the King in Parliament, and in the end submitted themselves to the Kings Order.

After which, the King upon full digesting of the whole matter (by assent of Parliament) took order; that as well the Chancellor and Scholars, as the Friars of those Orders in the said Universities, should in all Graces and other School Exercises use each other in friendly wise, without any rumor as before. That none of those Orders should receive any Scholars into their said Orders, being under the age of eighteen years.

That the said Friars shall take no advantage, ne procure Bulls, or other Process from *Rome*, against the said Universities, or proceed therein.

And that the King have power to redress all controversies between them from thenceforth; and the offenders to be punished at the pleasure of the King, and of the Council.

Notes of the fiftieth year of King Edward the Third.

IN process of the foresaid Acts and Rolls, it followeth more, that in the 50th. year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the year of our Lord 1376. another great Parliament was Assembled at *Westminster* the 24th. of April: where, Sir *John* Knyvet being Lord Chancellor of *England*, a certain long Bill was put up against the usurpations of the Pope, as being the cause of all

What mischiefs come by transporting causes to *Rome*, iii. codem.

The printed Statute of provision not agreeing in all terms against the Pope with the Record, iii. 9.

Ex An. Reg. Ed. 40. iii. 7. videlicet.

The Pope mindeth to send for the King up by Process.

King *John* could not without consent of Parliament become tributary to the Pope, iii. 8. Agreed by parliament, that the King by force should resist the Pope.

Brawl between the four orders of Friars and the two Universities Ex iii. 10.

The Friars subject to the Kings Order only in all their controversies, Parliament, iii. 12.

Ex Archivis Regie Majestatis, An. 50. Reg. Ed. 3. iii. 94.

S f the

Against the
usurpation
of the Pope.
The Pope
cause of all
mischief in
England.
The Treas-
ure of the
Realm con-
veyed away
by the Pope's
means, iii.
97.

the plagues, murrions, famine, and poverty of the Realm, so as thereby was not left the third person, or other commodity within the Realm that lately was.

2. That the Taxes paid to the Pope of Rome for Ecclesiastical Dignities, do amount to five-fold as much, as the Tax of all profits which appertain to the King, by the year, of his whole Realm; And that for some one Bishoprick or other Dignity, the Pope, by way of translation and death, hath three, four, or five several Taxes.

That the brokers of that sinful City for money promote many Caitiffs (being altogether unlearned and unworthy) to a thousand Marks Living by year, where the the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty Marks, whereby learning decayeth.

4. That Aliens (enemies to this Land) who never saw ne care not to see their Parishioners, have those Livings, whereby they despise Gods service, and convey away the Treasure, and are worse than *Jews* or *Saracens*.

5. Also it was put up in the said Bill to be considered, That the Laws of the Church would have such Livings to be bestowed for Charity only, without praying or paying.

6. That reason would that Livings given of Devotion should be bestowed in Hospitality.

7. That God had committed his sheep to the Pope, to be pastured, and not thorn or shaven.

8. That Lay Patrons, perceiving the Covetousness and Simony of the Pope, do thereby learn to sell their Benefices unto Beasts, none otherwise than Christ was sold to the *Jews*.

9. That there is none so rich a Prince in Christendom, that hath the fourth part of so much treasure, as the Pope hath out of this Realm for Churches, most sinfully.

10. Over and besides in the said Bill, repeating again the tender zeal for the honour of the Church; were declared and particularly named, all the plagues which have justly fallen upon this Realm, for suffering the same Church to be so defaced, with declaration that it will daily increase without redress.

11. Whereupon with much perswasion this was desired, to help to re-edifie the same: and the rather for that this was the year of Jubile, the 50th. year of the Kings Reign, the year of joy and gladness, than the which there could be no greater.

12. The means how to begin this was to write two Letters to the Pope; the one in Latine under the Kings Seal, the other in French under the Seals of the Nobles, importing their particularities, and requiring redress; of the which Letter of the Lords the effect may be seen in a like Letter mentioned before, pag. 436.

13. And for a further accomplishment hereof, to enact, that no money were carried forth of the Realm by Letter of Lumbardy or otherwise, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, and to Enact the Articles hereafter ensuing.

14. The King hath heretofore by Statute provided sufficient remedy, and otherwise pursueth the same with the Holy Father the Pope, and so mindeth to do from time to time, until he hath obtained as well for the matters before, as for the Articles ensuing, being in a manner all one.

15. That the Popes Collector and other strangers the Kings enemies, and only Lieger spies for *English* Dignities, and disclosing of the secrets of the Realm may be touched.

16. That the same Collector being also receiver of the Popes pence, keepeth a House in London, with Clerks and Officers thereto, as it were one of the Kings solemn Courts, transporting yearly to the Pope twenty thousand Marks and most commonly more.

17. That Cardinals and other Aliens remaining at Rome, whereof one Cardinal is Dean of York, another of Salisbury, another of Lincoln, another Archdeacon of Canterbury, another Archdeacon of Duresm, another Archdeacon of Suffolk, another Archdeacon of York, another Prebendary of Thame and Nassington, another Prebendary of Bucks in the Church of York, have divers of the best Dignities of England and have sent over to them yearly twenty thousand Marks, over and above that which *English* Brokers lying here have.

18. That the Pope (to ransom the French-men the Kings Enemies, who defend Lumbardy from him) doth

always at his pleasure Levy a Subsidy of the whole Clergy of England.

19. That the Pope for more gain maketh sundry translations of all the Bishopricks and other Dignities within the Realm.

20. That the Popes Collector hath this year taken to his use the first fruits of all Benefices, by collation or provision.

21. To renew all the Statutes against Provisors from Rome; sith that the Pope reserveth all the Benefices of the world for his own proper gifts, and hath this year created twelve new Cardinals; so as now there are thirty, where was wont to be but twelve, and all those Cardinals, except two or three, are the Kings enemies.

22. That the Pope in time will give the Temporal Masters of those Dignities to the Kings Enemies, sith he so dayly usurpeth upon the Realm, and the Kings Regalities.

23. That all Houses and Corporations of Religion, who unto the Kings Reign now had free Election of heads, the Pope hath incroached the same to himself.

24. That in all Legacies from the Pope, whatsoever, the *English* Clergy beareth the charge of the Legates, and all for the goodness of our money.

25. And so it appeareth, that if the money of the Realm were as plentiful as ever it was; the Collectors aforesaid, with the Proctors of Cardinals, would soon convey the same.

26. For remedy hereof it may be provided, That no such Collector or Proctor do remain in England, on pain of life and member. And that no *English*-man, on the like pain, become any such Collector or Proctor, or remain at Rome.

27. For better information hereof, and namely touching the Popes Collector, for that the whole Clergy being obedient unto him, dare not displease him: It were good, that Sir John Strensale, Parson of Saint Botolphs in Holborn, may be sent to come before the Lords and Commons of this Parliament. Who being straitly charged, can declare much more; for that he served the same Collector in House five years.

¶ And thus much of this Bill touching the Popes matters: whereby it may appear, not to be for nought that hath been upon us reported by the *Italians* and other strangers, which used to call *English-men* good Asses: for they bare all burthens that be laid upon them.

Item, in the said Parliament it was provided also, That such order as is made in London against the horrible vice of usury, may be observed throughout the whole Realm.

The Commons of the Diocese of York complain of the outrageous taking of the Bishop and his Clerks, for admissions of Priests to their Benefices.

To these Records of the Parliament above prefixed, of the fiftieth year of this King Edward, we will adjoyn also other Notes collected out of the Parliament in the year next following, which was 51. and the last year of this Kings life and Reign, An. 1377. the 27th. of January: Although in the printed Book, these Statutes are said to be made at the Parliament holden, as above, in the fiftieth year: which is much mistaken, and ought to be referred to the one and fiftieth year, as by the Records of the said year manifestly doth appear.

In which Parliament, the Bishop of Saint Davids, being Lord Chancellor, making a long Oration, taking his Theam out of S. Paul, *Libenter suffertis incipientes*. &c. Declaring in the said Oration many things; as first, in shewing the joyful news of the old Kings recovery; then declaring the love of God toward the King and Realm, in chastising him with sickness: Afterward shewing the blessing of God upon the King in seeing his Childrens Children; Then by a similitude of the head and members, exhorting the people as the members of one body to conform themselves unto the goodness of the head; Lastly, he turned his matter to the Lords and the rest, declaring the cause of that Assembly: That forasmuch as the French King had Allied himself with the Spaniards and Scots, the Kings enemies, which had prepared great powers, conspiring to blot out the *English* Tongue and name, the King therefore was willing to have therein their faithful counsel.

{ KING }
Edw. 3.
The Popes
Practice in
England to
make money,
iii. 108.

The Law of
Premunire
to be renewed.

Against the
Popes usur-
pation, iii.
112.

English men
payeth the
Popes Legacies,
iii. 113.

No good
money in
the Realm
for the Pope
and Card.
iii. 114.

The Popes
Collector or
Proctor driven
out of the
Realm,
iii. 115.

The Popes
Collector
to be examined.

English-men
good Asses.

Order taken
in London
against
usury, iii.
158.

Complaint
against the
Bishop of
York and his
Officers for
their excessive
taking for their
admissions,
iii. 171.
Ex. Archivis
Reg. Edw. 3.
Reg. 5. iii.
36.
Against the
Popes provisions
from Rome, An.
no. Reg. 51.

The effect
of the Chan-
cellors Oration.

The Pope
giveth ex-
ample to
sell Benefi-
ces, iii. 99.

Inestimable
that the
Pope hath
here out of
England,
iii. 100.

Reformati-
on of the
Church of
England de-
sired in the
Parliament,
iii. 101.

AGs made
for no mo-
ney to be
transported,
iii. 103.

Against the
Popes Lie-
ger spies
and Collec-
tors, iii.
104.

The Popes
Collection,
what it
cometh to,
iii. 105.

The best
dignities in
England in
the Cardi-
nals, iii. 106.

The Pope
maintaineth
the Kings
enemies
with the
Kings mo-
ney, iii. 107.

KING
Edward.
The cause
of this Pa-
rliament
chiefly for
the Popes
usurpation
against the
King.

This being declared by the Bishop; Sir Robert Aylmer the Kings Chamberlain, declaring that he was to move them from the King, for the profit of the Realm (the which words percase lay not in the Bishops mouth, for that it touched the Pope) viz. By protesting first, That the King was ready to do all that ought to be done for the Pope. But for that divers usurpations were done by the Pope to the King his Crown, and Realm, as by particular Bills in this Parliament should be shewed, he required of them to seek redress.

Against the
Popes his
provisions
from Rome
An. Reg.
31. iii. 35.

In this present Parliament petition was made by the Commons, that all Provisors of things from Rome, and their Ministers, should be out of the Kings protection.

The Kings
Answer.

Whereunto the King Answered, That the Pope had promised redress, which if he did not, the Laws then should stand.

Against the
Popes his
dispensati-
on, iii. 62.

It was also in that Parliament required, That every person of what sex soever, being professed of any Religion, continuing the habit of fifteen years, may upon the trial of the same in any of the Kings Courts, be in Law utterly fore-barred of all inheritance, albeit he have dispensation from the Pope. Against which dispensation, is the chief grudge. Whereunto the King and the Lords answered, saying, That they would provide.

By this An-
swer, that
is, pre-
sented, is
meant the
prebendi-
ance above
the King.
The Popes
Law of pre-
bendary,
which now
we corrupt-
ly call pre-
bendary, de-
barred by
the King,
iii. 71.

Item, In the said Parliament was propounded, That the Statute of Provisors made at any time may be executed, and that remedy may be had against such Cardinals, as have within the Provinces of Canterbury and York, purchased reservations, with the clause of *Anteferris* to the value of twenty or thirty thousand Scutes of Gold against the Popes Collector: who was wont to be an English-man, and now is a meer French, residing at London, and conveyeth yearly to the Pope twenty thousand Marks, or twenty thousand Pounds, who this year gathereth the first fruits whatsoever. Alledging the means to meet with these reservations and novelties, as to command all strangers to depart the Realm during the Wars; that no English-man become their Farmor, or send to them any money without a special licence, on pain to be out of the Kings protection. Whereunto was answered by the King, that the Statutes and Ordinances, therefore made, should be observed.

Ex officio
Parliamenti
in An. Reg.
Ed. Terii
15. iii. 24.

In these Rolls and Records of such Parliament as were in this Kings time continued, divers other things are to be noted much worthy to be marked, and not to be suppressed in silence. Wherein the Reader may learn and understand the state of the Kings jurisdiction here within this Realm, not to be straitened in those days (although the Pope then seemed to be in his chief ruff) as afterward since in other Kings days was seen. As may appear in the Parliament of the fifteenth year of this King Edward the Third, and in the Twenty fourth Article of the said Parliament: where it is to be read, That the Kings Officers and Temporal Justices did then both punish Usurers, and impeached the Officers of the Church for bribery, and for taking money for temporal pain, probate of Wills, solemnity of Marriage, &c. all the pretended liberties of the Popish Church to the contrary notwithstanding.

Punishment
of the Cler-
gy in the
temporal
men hands.

Furthermore, in the Parliament of the 25th. year it appeareth, That the liberties of the Clergy, and their exemptions in claiming the deliverance of Men by their Book under the name of Clerks, stood then in little force, as appeared by one Hauktine Honby Knight: who, for imprisoning one of the Kings Subjects till he made fine of twenty pound, was therefore executed, notwithstanding the liberty of the Clergy, which by his Book would have saved him, but could not.

Clerks sub-
ject to tem-
poral Law.

The like also appeared by judgment given against a Priest at Nottingham, for killing of his Master.

And likewise by hanging certain Monks of Combe. *Ex Parliam. An. 23. Ed. 3.*

The arraignment
of the
Archbishop
of Canterbury.
An. 15.
Ed. 3. iii.
49.

Item, In the Parliament of the 15th. year by apprehending of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Arraignment: concerning which his Arraignment all things were committed to Sir William of Kildisby.

Besides these truths and notes of the Kings Parliaments, wherein may appear the toward proceedings of this King and all his Commons against the pretended Church of Rome; this is moreover to be added to the commendation

of the King, how in the Volumes of the Acts and Rolls of the King it appeareth; That the said King Edward the Third sent also John Wickliff, Reader then of Divinity Lecture in Oxford, with certain other Lords and Ambassadors over into the parts of Italy, to treat with the Popes Legates concerning affairs betwixt the King and the Pope with full commission: the tenor whereof here followeth expressed.

John Wick-
liff sent
with the
Kings Am-
bassadors by
the King.

REX Universis, ad quorum notitiam presentes littere pervenerint, &c.

In English thus:

The King to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Know ye, that we reposing assured confidence in the fidelity and wisdom of the Reverend Father John Bishop of Bangor, and other our loving and faithful subjects, M. John Wickliff, Reader of the Divinity Lecture, M. John Guntur Dean of Segobyen, and M. Simon Moulton Doctor of Law, Sir William Burton Knight, M. John Belknap, and M. John Homington, have directed them as our Ambassadors and special Commissioners to the parts beyond the Seas. Giving to the said our Ambassadors and Commissioners, to six or five of them, of whom I will that the said Bishop shall be one, full power and authority, with commandment special, to treat and consult mildly and charitably with the Legates and Ambassadors of the Lord Pope touching certain affairs. Whereupon of late we sent heretofore the said Bishop, and William Lightred Monk of Dureme, and M. John Shepy to the See Apostolical: And hereof to make full relation of all things done and past in the said Assembly, that all such things which may tend to the honour of Holy Church and the advancement of our Crown and this our Realm, may by the assistance of God and wisdom of the See Apostolical be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witnes our selves, &c. at London, dated the 26th. day of July in the forty eighth year of our Reign.

By the which it is to be noted, what good will the King then bare to the said Wickliff, and what small regard he had to the sinful See of Rome.

Of the which John Wickliff, because we are now approached to his time, it remaineth consequently for our Story to entreat of, so as we have heretofore done of other like valiant Souldiers of Christs Church before him.

John Wickliff.

After all these heretofore recited, by whom (as ye have heard) it pleased the Lord something to work against the Bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the Friars: it now remaineth consequently, following the course of years, orderly to enter into the story and tractation of John Wickliff our Country-man, and other moe of his time, and same Country, whom the Lord (with the like zeal and power of spirit) raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poyson of the Popes Doctrine, and false Religion set up by the Friars. In whose opinions and assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted; yet such blemishes they be, which rather declare him to be a Man that might err, than which directly did fight against Christ our Saviour, as the Popes proceedings and Friars did. And what Doctor or learned Man hath been from the prime age of the Church so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swarved away? And yet be the said Articles of his neither in number so many, nor yet so gross in themselves and so Cardinal, as those Cardinal enemies of Christ perchance do give them out to be; if his Books which they abolished, were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes, which they have wrested to the worst, as evil-will never said the best.

Here begin-
neth the sto-
ry of John
Wickliff.

This is certain and cannot be denied, but that he, being the publick Reader of Divinity in the University of Oxford, was for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great Clerk, a deep School-man, and no less expert in all kind of Philosophy. The which doth

The blem-
ishes of
Wickliff
made worse
than they
be.

The testi-
mony of
Walden an
enemy in
commen-
dation of
Wickliff.

The time
of John
Wickliff.

{ Ann.
1371 }

{ Ann.
1372 }

Ex Cas-
sons.

A descrip-
tion of Wick-
liff's time.

not only appear by his own most famous and learned Writings and Monuments, but also by the confession of Walden his most cruel and bitter Enemy. Who in a certain Epistle written unto Pope Martin the fifth, saith, *That he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong Arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons, &c.* And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this Wickliff flourished about the year of our Lord 1371, Edward the Third Reigning in England: for thus we do find in the Chronicles of Caxton: In the year of our Lord 1371. (saith he) Edward the Third, King of England in his Parliament was against the Popes Clergy: He willingly hearkned and gave ear to the voyces and tales of Hereticks with certain of his council: conceiving and following sinister opinions against the Clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he tasted and suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after in the year of our Lord (saith he) 1372, he wrote unto the Bishop of Rome, that he should not by any means intermeddle any more within his Kingdom, as touching the reservation or distribution of Benefices, and that all such Bishops as were under his dominion, should enjoy their former and antient liberty, and be confirmed of their Metropolitans, as hath been accustomed in times past, &c. Thus much writeth Caxton. But as touching the just number of the year and time, we will not be very curious or carful about it at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkness of God his Truth had over-shadowed the whole Earth, this Man stepped out like a valiant Champion, unto whom it may justly be applyed that is spoken in the Book called Ecclesiasticus, of one Simon the Son of Onias: *Even as the morning Star being in the midst of a Cloud, and as the Moon being full in her course, and as the bright beams of the Sun; so doth he shine and glister in the Temple and Church of God.*

Thus doth Almighty God continually succor and help, when all things are in despair: being always (according to the Prophecy of the Psalm) a helper in time of need. The which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these later days and extreame age of the Church; when as the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of Religion, was depraved and corrupted. That like as the disease named *Leishargus* amongst the Philistines, even so the state of Religion amongst the Divines, was past all Mans help and remedy. The only name of Christ remained amongst the Christians, but his true and lively Doctrine was as far unknown unto the most part, as his name was common unto all Men. As touching Faith, Consolation, the end and use of the Law, the Office of Christ, of our impotency and weakness, of the Holy Ghost, of the greatness and strength of Sin, of true Works, Grace and free justification by Faith, of liberty of a Christian Man, wherein consisteth and resteth the sum and matter of our profession, there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken of. Scripture, Learning, and Divinity, was known but unto a few, and that in the Schools only, and there also turned and converted almost all into Sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, Men occupied their time in studying *Aquinas* and *Scotus*, and the Master of Sentences. The world leaving and forsaking the lively power of Gods spiritual Word and Doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward Ceremonies and humane Traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all Christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Inasmuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the Temples or Churches taught or spoken of in Sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certain shadowed Ceremonies upon Ceremonies, neither was there any end of these heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see; and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The Church being degenerated from the true Apostolick institution above all measure (reserving only the name of the Apostolick Church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreme tyranny;

whereas the poverty and simplicity of Christ was changed into cruelty and abomination of life. Instead of the Apostolick gifts and continual labors and travels, sloathfulness and ambition was crept in amongst the Priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange Religions, being the only root and Well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depravations were crept into the Sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signs of things for the very things themselves: and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials? Finally, what thing was there in the whole state of Christian Religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of daily new fangled Ceremonies were the silly Consciences of Men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snared? Inasmuch that there could be no great difference almost perceived between Christianity and Jewishness, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Jews might seem somewhat more tolerable than ours. There was nothing sought for out of the true Fountains, but out of the dirty puddles of the *Philistines*; The Christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the Noses, with meer decrees and constitutions of Men, even whither as pleased the Bishops to lead them, and not as Christs Will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and over-whelmed with error and darkness. And no great marvel; for why, the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the Holy Scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them, to know only these things which were delivered them by their Pastors and Shepherds, and they on the other part taught in a manner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the Court of Rome; whereof the most part tended to the profit of their Order, more than to the glory of Christ.

The Christian Faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that every Man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, That all Men should know and understand that thing which the Devils themselves also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderful Holiness. All Men were so addict unto outward shews, that even they themselves, which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the Scriptures, scarcely did understand or know any other thing. And this did evidently appear, not only in the common sort of Doctors and Teachers, but also in the very heads and Captains of the Church; whose whole Religion and Holiness, consisted in a manner in the observing of days, meats, and garments, and such like Rhetorical circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of Vestures and Garments; so many differences of colours and meats, with so many Pilgrimages to several places, as though S. James at *Compostella* could do that, which Christ could not do at *Canterbury*: or else, that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found, but being sought for by running gadding hither and thither. Thus the Holiness of the whole year was transported and put off unto the *Lent* season. No Country or Land was counted Holy, but only *Palestina*, where Christ had walked himself with his corporal feet. Such was the blindness of that time, that Men did strive and fight for the Crofs at *Hierusalem*, as it had been for the chief and only force and strength of our Faith. It is a wonder to read the Monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this Crofs had caused almost in every Christian Commonwealth. For the *Romish* Champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea and by quarrelling, to move and stir up Princes to mind War and Battel, even as though the Faith and belief of the Gospel were of small force, or little effect without that wooden Crofs. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble Prince King Richard unto *Hierusalem*. Who being taken in the same journey, and delivered unto the Emperor, could scarcely be ransomed home again for 30 Marks, pag. 280. In the same enterprife or journey, Frederick the Emperor of Rome, a Man of most excellent vertue, was much endamaged, Anno. 1179. And also Philip the King of France scarcely returned home again in safety,

{ KING
Edw. 3 }

All good
things de-
filed and
spotted
with super-
stition.

The Cap-
tain of the
Church se-
duced as
well as the
inferior
fort.

Palestina
deemed ho-
ly for
Christs
walking
there.

Richard
King of
England.

Fredrick
the Empe-
ror of Rome.

Philip King
of France.

KING safety, and not without great losses: so much did they esteem the recovery of the Holy City and Crofs.

Upon this alone all Mens eyes, minds, and devotions were so set and bent, as though either there were no other Crofs but that, or that the Crofs of Christ were in no other place but only at *Jerusalem*. Such was the blindness and superstition of those days, which understood or knew nothing but such as were outwardly seen: whereas the profession of our Religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that *Urbanus* did so vex and torment himself, because that *Antioch*, with the the Holy Crofs, was lost out of the hands of the Christians. For so we do find it in the *Chronicles*, at what time as *Jerusalem* with King *Guido* and the Crofs of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the *Sultan*, *Urbanus* took the matter so grievously, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succeeded *Lambertus*, which was called *Gregory* the eighth, by whose motion it was decreed by the Cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousness) they should Preach the Crofs of Christ, and by their Poverty and Humility first of all should take the Crofs upon them, and go before others into the Land of *Jerusalem*. These are the words of the History; whereby it is evident unto the vigilant Reader, unto what grossness the true knowledg of the spiritual Doctrine of the Gospel was degenerate and grown in those days; how great blindness and darkness was in those days, even in the first primacy, and supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*: as though the outward succession of *Peter* and the Apostles had been of greater force and effect to the matter. What doth it force in what place *Peter* did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every Man should labour and study with all their endeavour to follow the life and confession of *Peter*: And that Man seemeth unto me to be true successor of *Peter* against whom the Gates of Hell shall not prevail. For if that *Peter* in the Gospel do bear the type and figure of the Christian Church (as all Men in a manner do affirm) what more foolish or vain thing can there be; than through private usurpation to restrain and to bind that unto one Man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it self free and open to so many?

Thus in these so great and troublous times and horrible darkness of ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner to be no one so little a spark of pure Doctrine left or remaining; this aforesaid *Wickliff* by Gods providence sprang and rose up: through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deep streams of humane Traditions. Thus you have here the time of *Wickliff*'s original.

Which *Wickliff*, after he had now a long time professed Divinity in the University of *Oxford*, and perceiving the true Doctrine of Christs Gospel to be adulterate and defiled with so many filthy inventions of Bishops, sects of Monks, and dark errors: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himself (with many secret sighs, and bewailing in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world) could no longer suffer or abide the same; he at the last determined with himself to help and to remedy such things as he saw to be wide and out of the way. But forasmuch as he saw that this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things, which had been so long time with use and custom rooted and grafted in Mens minds, could be suddenly plucked up or taken away, he thought with himself that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his original at small occasions, thereby opened himself a way or mean to greater matters. And first he assailed his adversaries in Logical and Metaphysical questions, disputing with them of the first form and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like Sophisms of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding, it did not a little help and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began *Keningham* (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against *John Wickliff*.

By these originals, the way was made unto greater points, so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the Sacraments, and other abuses of the Church.

Touching which things this holy Man took great pains, protesting (as they said) openly in the Schools, That it was his chief and principal purpose and intent, to revoke and call back the Church from her Idolatry to some better amendment; especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this Bile or sore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of Monks and begging Friars were set on a rage and madness, which (even as Hornets with their sharp stings) did assail this good Man on every side; fighting (as is said) for their Altars, Paunches and Bellies. After them the Priests, and then after them the Archbishop took the matter in hand, being then *Simon Sudbury*; who for the same cause deprived him of his Benefice, which then he had in *Oxford*. Notwithstanding, he being somewhat friended and supported by the King, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friars, and of the Archbishop all this while of his first beginning, till about the year of our Lord, 1377. After which time, now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and conflict, first I must fetch about a little compass, as requisite is, to infer some mention of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster* the Kings Son, Lord *Henry Percy*, which were his special maintainers.

As years and time grew on, King *Edward* the Thrid which had Reigned now about 51 years, after the decease of Prince *Edward* his Son, who departed the year before, was stricken in great age, and in such feebleness withal, that he was unwildy through lack of strength to govern the affairs of the Realm. Wherefore a Parliament being called the year before his death, it was there put by the Knights and other the Burgeses of the Parliament because of the misgovernment of the Realm (by certain greedy persons about the King, raking all to themselves, without seeing any justice done) that twelve sage and discreet Lords, and Peers, such as were free from note of all avarice, should be placed as Tutors about the King, to have the doing and disposing under him (six at one time, and in their absence, six at another) of matters pertaining to the publick Regiment. Here by the way, I omit to speak of *Alice Perris* the wicked Harlot, which as the story reporteth) had bewitched the Kings heart, and governed all, and fate upon causes her self through the devilish help of a Friar *Dominick*: who by the Duke of *Lancaster* was caused to be taken, and was convicted, and should have suffered for the same, had not the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Friars (more regarding the liberty of their Church, than the punishment of vice) reclaimed him for their own prisoner. This *Alice Perris*, notwithstanding she was banished by this Parliament from the King, yet afterward she came again, and left him not, till at his death she took all his Rings upon his fingers and other jewels from him, and so fled away like an Harlot. But this of her by the way.

These twelve Governors by Parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the King, and to attend the publick affairs of the Realm, remained for a certain space about him; till afterward it so fell out, that they being again removed, all the Regiment of the Realm, next under the King, was committed to the Duke of *Lancaster* the Kings Son. For as yet *Richard*, the Son of Prince *Edward*, lately departed, was very young and under age.

This Duke of *Lancaster* had in his heart of long time conceived a certain displeasure against the Popish Clergy; whether for corrupt and impure Doctrine ioyned with like abominable excess of life, or for what other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Only by story the cause thereof may be guessed to rise by *William Wickam* Bishop of *Winchester*. The matter is this.

The Bishop of *Winchester* (as the saying went then) was reported to affirm, That the foresaid *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was not the Son of King *Edward*, nor of the Queen. Who, being in Travail at *Gaunt*, had no Son (as he said) but a Daughter: which the same time by lying upon of the Mother in the Bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the Queen, fearing the Kings displeasure, caused a certain Man Child of a Woman of *Flanders* (born the very same time) to be conveyed, and brought unto her instead of her Daughter

Wickliff deprived of his Benefice at *Oxford* by *S. Sudbury*. Ex *Chron. de Albani*. Duke of *Lancaster*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, great maintainers of *J. Wickliff*.

Alice Perris the Kings Concubine. The King bewitched by a woman through the help of a Friar.

The property of an Whore.

Twelve Governors assigned about the King.

Ex *Chron. Monasterii Albani*.

A practice of the Prelates against the Duke of *Lancaster*.

aforesaid. And so she brought up the Child whom she bare not, who now is called Duke of *Lancaster*. And this (said the Bishop) did the Queen tell him, lying in extreams on her death-bed under seal of Confession; charging him if the said Duke should ever aspire to get the Crown, or if the Kingdom by any means should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said Duke of *Lancaster* was no part of the Kings blood, but a false heir of the King. This slanderous report of the wicked Bishop, as it favoureth of a contumelious lye, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtil zeal toward the Popes Religion, meaning fallhood. For the foresaid Duke, by favouring of *Wickliff*, declared himself to be a professed enemy against the Popes profession: Which thing was then not unknown, neither unmarked of the Prelates and Bishops then in *England*. But the sequel of the Story thus followed:

W. Wickham
B. of *Wint.*
deprived.

This slanderous villany of the Bishops report being blazed abroad, and coming to the Dukes ear: he therewith being not a little discontented (as no marvel was) fought again, by what means he could, to be revenged of this forenamed Bishop. In conclusion, the Duke having now all the government of the Realm under the King his Father, in his own hands, so pursued the Bishop of *Winchester*, that by Act of Parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his Temporal Goods; which Goods were assigned to Prince *Richard of Burdeaux*, the next inheritor of the Crown after the King; and furthermore he inhibited the said Bishop not to approach near to the Court by twenty miles. Further as touching this Bishop, the story thus proceedeth: Not long after in the year of our Lord, 1377, a Parliament was called by the means of the Duke of *Lancaster*, upon certain causes and respects: in which Parliament great request and sute was made by the Clergy for the deliverance of the Bishop of *Winchester*. At length when a Subsidy was asked in the Kings name of the Clergy, and request also made in the Kings behalf for speedy expedition to be made for the dissolving of the Parliament, the Archbishop therefore accordingly convented the Bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the Bishops with great lamentation complaining for lack of their fellow and Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*: Whose injury, said they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole Church; And therefore denied to joyn themselves in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head. And (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwise do. And seemed moreover to be moved against the Archbishop for that he was not more stout in the cause, but suffered himself so to be cited of the Duke.

Bishops
hold together.
Liberties of
the Church
a great
matter.

B. of *Wint.*
sent for to
the convoca-
tion.

The Archbishop although having sufficient cause to excuse himself, wherefore not to send for him (as also he did) because of the perils which might ensue thereof: yet being enforced and perswaded thereunto, by the importunity of the Bishops, directed down his Letters to the foresaid Bishop of *Winchester*, willing him to resort unto the Convocation of the Clergy. Who being glad to obey the same, was received with great joy of the other Bishops. And at length by the means of *Alice Perris*, the Kings Paramour above mentioned, (giving to her a good quantity of money) the said *Winchester* was restored to his own Temporalities again.

John Wick-
liff sent for
by the
Duke of
Lancaster.

As the Bishops had thus sent for *Winchester*, the Duke in the mean time had sent for *John Wickliff* who, as is said, was then the Divinity Reader in *Oxford*, and had commenced in sundry acts and disputations contrary to the form and teaching of the Popes Church in many things: who also for the same had been deprived of his Benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in *Oxford*, first in his Lectures and Sermons to intreat of, and wherefore he was deprived, were these: That the Pope had no more power to Excommunicate any man than hath another. That if it be given by any person to the Pope to Excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another Priest as in his. He affirmed moreover, That neither the King nor any Temporal Lord could give any perpetuity to the Church, or to any Ecclesiastical person: for that when

such Ecclesiastical persons do sin, *habitualiter*, continuing in the same still, the Temporal powers ought and may meritoriously take away from them, that before hath been bestowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practised before here in *England* by *William Rufus*. Which thing (said he) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? If he did it unlawfully, then doth the Church err (saith he) and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The story which ascribed to him these assertions being taken out (as I take it) of the Monastery of *S. Albans*, addeth withal: That in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to be an hypocrite, the cause was this:

{KING}
{Edw. 3}

Example of
W. Rufus.

Ex. hiff.
Monasterii
D. Albani.

First, Because he reformed much to the Orders of the begging Friars, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their poverty.

Secondly, Because he and his fellows usually accustomed in their preaching to go barefoot, and in simple russet Gowns.

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appear to the indifferent, the nature and condition of *Wickliff*, how far it was from the ambition and pride, which in the slanderous Pen of *Polydore Virgil* reporting in his 19th. Book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the Church (conceiving therefore indignation against the Clergy) he became their mortal enemy. How true was this, he only knoweth best, that rightly shall judge both the one and the other.

The slanderous
Pen of
Polydore.

In the mean time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly conjecture what is to be thought of the Man. But howsoever it was in him either true or false; yet it had been *Polydore*s part either not so intemperately to have abused his Pen, or at least to have shewed some greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rashly to defame a Man whose life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithful Story-writer.

Wickliff
falsely charged
with
ambition by
Polydore.

But to return from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and assertions above recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to be brought in order; he began also then something nearly to touch the matter of the Sacrament, proving that in the said Sacrament, the accidents of Bread remained not without the subject of substance; both by the Holy Scriptures, and also by the authority of the Doctors, but specially by such as were most ancient. As for the later Writers, that is to say, such as have written upon that argument under the thousand years since Christs time, he utterly refused; saying, That after these years Satan was loosed and set at liberty. And that since that time the life of Man hath been most subject and in danger of errors: and that the simple and plain truth doth appear and consist in the Scriptures, whereunto all humane Traditions whatsoever they be, must be referred, and specially such as are set forth and published now of late years. This was the cause why he refused the later Writers of Decretals, leaning only to the Scriptures and ancient Doctors: most stoutly affirming out of them, That in the Sacrament of the body which is celebrate, with bread, the accidents not to be present without the substance. That is to say, That the body of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of Priests in those days did dream. As for his Arguments what they were, we will shortly at more opportunity by Gods Grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the Poet speaketh very truly) had gotten *John Wickliff* great displeasure and hatred at many Mens hands; and especially of the Monks and richest sort of Priests.

Wickliff be-
ginmeth to
touch the
matter of
the Sacra-
ment.

The later
writers of
the Church
to be mis-
doubted.
The acci-
dents not
to be in the
Sacrament
without the
substance.

Albeit through the favour and supportation of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, he persisted hitherto in some mean quiet against the Wolvish violence and cruelty: Till at last about the year of our Lord, 1376, the Bishops still urging and inciting their Archbishop *Simon Sudbury*, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained by Process and order of Citation to have him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appear, after their usual form, was to him assigned.

The

KING {Edw. 3} The Duke having intelligence that *Wickliff* his client should come before the Bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weak against such a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of Friars, four Bachelors of Divinity, out of every order one to join them with *Wickliff* also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said *Wickliff* to appear, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth of February: *John Wickliff* went accompanied with the four Friars aforesaid, and with them also the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, Lord Marshal of England; the said Lord Percy also going before them to make room and way where *Wickliff* should come.

Thus *Wickliff* (through the Providence of God) being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the Bishops sat; whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to fear nor shrink awhit at the company of the Bishops there present, who were all unlearned (said they) in respect of him. For so proceed the words of my fore-said Author, whom I follow in this Narration: neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harm. With these words, and with the assistance of the Nobles, *Wickliff*, in heart encouraged, approached to the Church of St. Paul in London, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the Lords (for all the puissance of the high Marshal) unnet with great difficulty could get way through: Inasmuch that the Bishop of London (whose name was *William Courtney*) seeing the stir that the Lord Marshal kept in the Church among the people, speaking to the Lord Percy, said, That if he had known before what Maistries he would have kept in the Church, he would have stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the Bishop the Duke disdainng not a little, answered to the Bishop again, and said, That he would keep such mastery there, though he said nay.

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies Chappel; where the Dukes and Barons were sitting together with the Archbishops and other Bishops. Before whom the fore-said *John Wickliff*, according to the manner, stood to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the Lord Percy, bidding him to sit down, saying, That he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the Bishop of London, cast eftsoons into a furnish chafe with those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to Law or Reason, that he, which was cited there to appear to answer before his Ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them: Inasmuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

Then the Duke, taking the Lord Percies part, with hasty words began also to take up the Bishop. To whom the Bishop again nothing inferior to reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought; but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scolding, that to use the words of mine Author, *Eru-buit Dux quod non potuit prævalere litigio*. i. that the Duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the Bishop in bawling and railings, and therefore fell to plain threatening, menacing the Bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the Prelacy of England. And speaking moreover unto him: Thou (said he) bearest thy self so brag upon thy Parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves. For his Parents were the Earl and Countess of Devonshire. To whom the Bishop again answered, That to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his Parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the Duke softly whispering in the Ear of him next by him, said, That he would rather pluck the Bishop by the Hair of his Head out of the Church, than he would take this at his Hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon being set in rage, they cried out, saying, That they would not suffer their Bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose

their lives, than that he should so be drawn out by the hair. Thus that Council, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the Clock. And the Duke with the Lord Percy went to the Parliament; where the same day before dinner, a Bill was put up in the name of the King by the Lord Thomas Wofstock, and Lord Henry Percy, that the City of London should no more be governed by a Mayor, but by a Captain, as in times before. And that the Marshal of England should have all the ado in taking the Arrests within the said City, as in other Cities besides, with other Petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the Liberties of London. Which Bill being read, *John Philpot*, Burges then for the City, standeth up, saying to them which read the Bill, That that was never seen so before; and adding moreover, That the Mayor would never suffer any such things, or other Arrest to be brought into the City, with more such words like stoutness.

The next day following the Londoners assembled themselves in a Council, to consider among them upon the Bill for changing the Mayor, and about the Office of the Marshal, also concerning the injuries done the day before of to their Bishop.

In which mean time they being busie in long Consultation of this matter, suddenly and unawares entred in the place two certain Lords, whether to come to spy, or for what other cause the Author leaveth it uncertain, the one called Lord Fitz-Walter, the other Lord Guy Brian. At the first coming in of them the vulgar sort was ready forthwith to fly upon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an Oath, declaring that their coming in was for no harm toward them. And so they were compelled by the Citizens to Swear to the City their truth and fidelity, contrary to the which Oath if they should rebel, they would be contented to forfeit whatsoever Goods and Possessions they had within the City.

This done, then began the Lord Fitz-Walter in this wise to persuade and exhort the Citizens; first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to their City, not for the Oath only now newly received, but of old and ancient good will from his great Grand-fathers time. Besides other divers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principal fautors; forasmuch as whatsoever tendeth to their damage and detriment, redounded also no less unto his own; for which cause he could not otherwise chuse, but that what he did understand to be attempted against the publick Profit and Liberties of the City, he must needs communicate the same to them. Who unless they with speedy circumspection do occur and prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turn in the end to their no small incommodity. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which he could in no wise but admonish them of; which was this, necessary to be considered of them all, how the Lord Marshal Henry Percy in his place within himself had one in Ward and Custody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said Lord Marshal was not allowed any such Ward or Prison in his House, within the Liberties of the City. Which thing if it be not seen to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would in fine breed to such a prejudice unto their Customs and Liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, reform the injury thereof.

These words of the Lord Fitz-Walter were not so soon spoken, but they were as soon taken of the rash Citizens; who in all hasty fury running to their Armor and Weapons, went incontinently to the House of the Lord Percy, where, breaking up the Gates, by violence they took out the Prisoner, and burned the Stocks wherein he sat, in the midst of London. Then was the Lord Percy sought for; whom (saith the Story) they would doubtless have slain if they might have found him. With their Bills, and Javelins all corners and privy Chambers were searched, Beds and Hangings torn asunder. But the Lord Percy (as God would) was then with the Duke, whom one *John Tper* the same day with great instance had desired to Dinner.

The Londoners not finding him at home, and supposing that he was with the Duke at Savoy, in all hasty heat turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to

Petitions put up in the Parliament against the City of London.

Hasty counsel of the Londoners.

The Oration of the Lord Fitz-Walter to the Londoners.

The Citizens of London break up the Lord Percy his House at Savoy.

Gods provision in saving his servants.

The House of the Duke of Lancaster searched by the Londoners.

Edw. 3. Monachi D. alibi ex commendat. D. Marb. Archiepisc. Cant.

Striving for the Lords to pass by the people.

W. Courtney Bishop of London. The words of the Bishop of London to the Lord Percy.

W. Wickliff bid to sit down before the Bishops. Wickliff denied by the Bishop of London to sit down. Strife between the Lord Marshal and Bishop of London. The people set in a stir. Strife between the Duke of Lancaster and Bishop of London. The Bishop overgoeth the Duke in scolding.

This Bishop of London was W. Courtney son to the Earl of Devonshire.

The Duke threatneth to draw their Bishop by the hair out of the Church. Londoners take part with their Bishop.

The Duke
and Lord
Percy fly to
the Prince.

A Priest in
the Duke
of Lancas-
ter's House
cruelly
killed.

The villany
of the Lon-
doners a-
gainst the
Duke.

The message
of the Prin-
ces to the
Londoners.

The Duke
revenged
of the Lon-
doners.

to the Dukes House; where also in like manner they were disappointed of their cruel purpose. In the mean while as this was doing, cometh one of the Dukes men running in post haste to the Duke and to the Lord Percy, declaring what was done. The Duke being then at his Oysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shins at the Form for haste, took Boat with the Lord Percy, and by Water went to *Kingstene*, where then the Princeps with *Richard* the young Prince did lie. Who there declared unto the Princeps all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the *Londoners* as 'it was. To whom she promised again, that such an order should be taken in the matter, as should be to his contentation. At what time the Commons of *London* thus as is said, were about the Dukes House at *Savoy*, there meeteth with them a certain Priest, who marvelling at the suddain rage and concourse, asked what they sought. To whom answer was given again of some, that they sought for the Duke and the Lord Marshal, to have of them the Lord *Peter de la Mare*, whom they wrongfully had detained in Prison. To this the Priest answered again more boldly than opportunely: That *Peter* (said he) is a false Traitor, to the King, and worthy long since to be hanged. At the hearing of these words the furious people with a terrible shout cried out upon him, that he was a Traitor and one that took the Dukes part, and so falling upon him with their Weapons, strived who might first strike him. Who after they had wounded him very sore, so being wounded they had him into Prison, where within few days upon the foreness of his wounds he died.

Neither would the rage of the people thus have ceased, had not the Bishop of *London*, leaving his Dinner, come to them at *Savoy*, and putting them in remembrance of the blessed time (as they term it) of *Lent*, had perswaded them to cease and to be quiet.

The *Londoners* seeing that they could get no vantage against the Duke, who was without their reach; to wreak their anger they took his Arms, which in most despicable ways they hanged up, in the open places of the City in sign of reproach, as for a Traitor. Inasmuch that when one of his Gentlemen came through the City, with a Plate containing the Dukes Arms, hanging by a Lace about his Neck, the Citizens not abiding the sight thereof, cast him from his Horse, and pluckt his Escutcheon from him, and were about to work the extremity against him, had not the Mayor rescued him out of their hands, and sent him home safe unto the Duke his Master. In such hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of *London*.

After this the Princeps, understanding the hearts and broil of the *Londoners* set against the foresaid Duke, sent unto *London* three Knights, *Sir Albred Lewer*, *Sir Simon Burle*, and *Sir Lewes Clifford*, to entreat the Citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The *Londoners* answered, That they, for the honour of the Princeps, would obey and do with all reverence what she would require. But this they required and enjoined the Messengers to say to the Duke by word of mouth: that he should suffer the Bishop of *Winchester* afore-mentioned, and also the Lord *Peter de la Mare*, to come to their answer, and to be judged by their Peers. Whereby either they might be quit if they were guiltless; or otherwise if they be found culpable, they might receive according to their deserts after the Laws of the Realm. What grief and displeasure the Duke conceived and retained in his mind thereof: Again, what means and suit the *Londoners* for their part made to the old King for their Liberties: What Rimes and Songs in *London* were made against the Duke: How the Bishops at the Dukes request were moved to Excommunicate those malicious slanderers: And moreover how the Duke at last was revenged of those contumelies and injuries: How he caused them to be brought before the King: How sharply they were rebuked for their misdemeanour by the worthy Orator of the Lord Chamberlain, *Robert Astor*, in the presence of the King, Archbishops, Bishops, with divers other States the Kings Children, and other Nobilities of the Realm: In conclusion, how the *Londoners* were compelled to this at length, by the common assent and publick charges of the City, to make a great Taper of Wax, which, with the Dukes Arms set upon it, should be brought with Solemn Procession to the Church of *St. Paul*, there to burn continually before the Image of our Lady: And at last, how

both the said Duke and the *Londoners* were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new King: with the kiss of peace, and the same reconciliation publicly denounced in the Church of *Westminster*, and what joy was in the whole City thereof: These, because they are impertinent and make too long a digression from the matter of *Wickliff*, I cut off with brevity, referring the Reader to other Histories namely of *St. Albans*, where they are to be found at large.

As these foresaid for brevity sake I pass over, so will I not be long, and yet cannot omit that, which happened the same time and year to the Bishop of *Norwich*, to the intent that this Posterity now may see, to what pride the Clergy of the Popes Church was then grown. The same time as this broil was at *London*, the Bishop of *Norwich* a little after the time of *Easter* coming to the Town of *Lenham*, belonging to his Lordship: being not contented with the old accustomed honour due unto him, and used of his predecessors before in the same Town, required more over with a new and unused kind of magnificence to be exalted: Inasmuch that when he saw the chief Magistrate or Mayor of that Town to go in the streets with his Officer going before him, holding a certain Wand in his hand tipped at both ends with black Horn, as the manner was; he reputing himself to be Lord of that Town (as he was) and thinking to be higher than the highest, commanded the honour of that Staff due to the Mayor, to be yielded and born before his Lordly personage. The Mayor or Bailiff, with other the Townsmen, courteously answered to him again, That they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibit that reverence unto him, and would so do, if he first of the King and Council could obtain that Custom, and if the same might be induced after any peaceable way with the good wills of the Commons and Body of the Town: Otherwise said they, as the matter was dangerous, so they durst not take in hand any such new alteration of ancient Customs and Liberties, lest the people (which is always inclinable and prone to evil) do fall upon them with stones, and drive them out of the Town. Wherefore kneeling on their knees before him, there humbly they besought him that he would require no such thing of them: that he would save his own honour and their lives, who otherwise if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the Bishop, youthful and haughty, taking occasion by their humbleness, to swell the more in himself, answered, That he would not be taught by their counsel, but that he would have it done, though all the Commons (whom he named *Ribals*) said nay. Also he rebuked the Mayor and his Brethren for Meccocks and dastards, for so fearing the vulgar sort of people.

The Citizens perceiving the wilful stoutness of the Bishop, meekly answering again, said, They minded not to resist him, but to let him do therein what he thought good: only they desired him that he would License them to depart, and hold them excused for not waiting upon him, and conducting him out of the Town with that reverence which he required. For if they should be seen in his company, all the suspicion thereof would be upon them, and so should they be all in danger, so much as their lives were worth. The Bishop not regarding their advice and counsel, commanded one of his men to take the Rod born before the Mayor, and to carry the same before him. Which being done, and perceived of the Commons, the Bishop after that manner went not far, but the rude people running to shut the Gates, came out with their Bows, some with Clubs and Staves, some with other instruments, some with Stones, and let drive at the Bishop and his men, as fast as they might: in such sort, that both the Bishop and his Horse under him with most part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this jolly Prelate, ruffling in his new Scepter, was received and welcomed there. That is, he was so pelted with Bats and stones, so wounded with Arrows and other instruments fit for such a skirmish, that the most part of his men, with his Mace-bearer, all running away from him, the poor wounded Bishop was there left alone, not able to keep his old power, which went about to usurp a new power more than to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true in all, so is it well exemplified here, which is commonly said, and as it is commonly seen, that Pride will have a fall, and Power usurped will never stand. In like manner, if the Citizens of

KING
Edw. 3.
The Lon-
doners
caused to
bear a Ta-
per of Wax
in proces-
sion in ho-
nour of the
Duke.

A story of
the Bishop
of Norwich.

Example of
Pride in the
Popes
Clergy.

The counte-
sance of the
Townsmen
toward the
Bishop.

The stout
answer of the
Bishop
to the
Township.

The Town
of Lenham
riseth a-
gainst the
Bishop.

Pride will
have a fall.
Power us-
urped will
never stand.

Rome,

KING Rome, following the example of these Lennam-men, as they have the like cause, and greater, to do by the usurped power of their Bishop, would after the same lawce handle the Pope, and unlesper him of his Mace and regality, which nothing pertaineth to him; they in so doing both should recover their own liberties, with more honor at home, and also with much more commendation abroad. *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.*

This Tragedy with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at Lennam, which was a little after Easter, (as is said) about the month of April, An. 1377. the same year upon the 12th. day of the month of June next after, died the worthy and victorious Prince King Edward the Third, after he had Reigned 51 years. A Prince no more aged in years than renowned for many singular and Heroical virtues, but principally noted and lauded for his singular meekness and clemency towards his subjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentleness and mercy without all rigor or austere severity. Among other Noble and Royal Ornaments of his nature, worthily and copiously set forth of many, thus he is described by some, which may briefly suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: *Orphanis erat quasi pater, afflictis compatiens, miseris condolens, oppressos relevans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna.* That is, To the Orphans he was as a Father, compatiens to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieving the oppressed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of need, &c. But chiefly above all other things in this Prince, in my mind, to be commemorate is this, that he above all other Kings of this Realm, unto the time of King Henry the eighth, was the greatest bridle of the Popes usurped power, and outrageous oppressions: during all the time of which King, neither the Pope could greatly prevail in this Realm, and also John Wickliff was maintained with favour and aid sufficient.

But before we close up the story of this King, there cometh to hand that which I thought good not to omit, a noble purpose of the King in requiring a view to be taken in all his Dominions of all Benefices and Dignities Ecclesiastical remaining in the hands of Italians and Aliens, with the true valuation of the same, directed down by Commission; whereof the like also is to be found in the time of King Richard the Second, the tenor of which Commission of King Edward I thought here under to set down for worthy memory.

The King directed Writs unto all the Bishops of England in this form.

Edward by the Grace of God, King, &c. To the Reverend Father in Christ N. by the same Grace Bishop L. Greeting. Being willing upon certain causes to be certified what and how many Benefices as well Archdeacons and other Dignities, as Vicarages, Parsonages, Prebends and Chappels, within your Diocess, be at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they be, of what value, and how every of the said Benefices be called by name; and how much every of the same is worth by the year, not as by way of Tax or extent, but according to the true value of the same; and likewise of the names of all and singular such strangers being now Incumbents or occupying the same and every of them; moreover the names of all them, whether English-men or strangers, of what state or condition soever they be, which have the occupation or disposition of any such Benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalf, or by the authority of any the foresaid strangers by way of farm, or title, or procurator, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, and how long they have occupied or disposed the same; and withal if any the said strangers be now residents upon any Benefices; we command you, as heretofore commanded you, that you send us a true certificate of all and singular the premises, into our High Court of Chancery under your Seal distinctly and openly, on this side the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord next coming, without further delay: returning unto us this our Writ withal. Witness our self at Westminster the 16th. day of April in the 48th. year of our Reign of England, and over France the 35th. year.

By virtue hereof, Certificate was sent up to the King into his Chancery, out of every Diocess of England, of all such Spiritual Livings as were then in the occupation either of Priors, Aliens, or of other strangers; whereof the number was so great, as being all set down, it would fill almost half a Quier of Paper. Whereby may appear that it was high time for the King to seek remedy herein, either by treaty with the Pope or otherwise; consider so great a portion of the revenues of his Realm was by this means conveyed away and employed either to the relief of his Enemies, or maintenance of the Foreigners: amongst which number the Cardinals of the Court of Rome lacked not their share; as may appear by this which followeth.

The Lord Francis of the title of S. Sabine, Priest and Cardinal of the Holy Church of Rome, doth hold and enjoy the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, in the jurisdiction of Lichfield, which is worth five hundred Marks by the year; and the Prebend of Brewood, and the Parsonage of Adbaston to the same Deanry annexed, which Prebend is worth by the year fourscore Marks, and the Parsonage twenty pounds; which Deanry with the Prebends and Parsonage aforesaid, he hath holden and occupied by the space of three years. And one Master De Ingris a stranger, as Proctor to the said Cardinal, doth hold and occupy the same Deanry with other the premises with the appurtenances, by name of Proctor during the years aforesaid, and hath taken up the fruits and profits, for the said Cardinal, dwelling not in the Realm.

Lord William Cardinal of S. Angelo, a stranger, doth hold the Archdeacons of Suffolk, by virtue of provision Apostolical, from the Feast of Saint Nicholas last past; he is not resident upon his said Archdeacons. And the said Archdeacons, together with the Procurations due by reason of the Visitation, is worth by year, 66 l. 13 s. 4 d. And Master John of Helington, &c. doth occupy the Seal of the Official of the said Archdeacons, &c.

Lord Reinald of S. Adrian Deacon Cardinal, hath in the said County the Parsonage of Godalminge, worth by year forty pound, and one Edward Teweeste doth farm the said Parsonage for nine years past.

The Lord Anglicus of the Holy Church of Rome Priest and Cardinal, a stranger, was Incumbent, and did hold in possession the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of York, from the 11th. day of November, Anno. 1366. and is yearly worth according to the true value thereof, four hundred pounds; and M. John of Stoke, Canon of the said Church, doth occupy the said Deanry and the profits of the same, in the name or by the authority of the said Lord Dean, &c. But the said Dean was never resident upon the said Deanry since he was admitted thereunto. Item, Lord Hugh of our Lady in Deacon and Cardinal, a stranger, doth possess the Prebend of Driffild in the said Church of York from the seventh day of June, An. Dom. 1363. from which day, &c. John of Gisbourne, and George Conpemanthorp, &c. do occupy the said Prebend, worth by year one hundred pounds; the said Lord Hugh is not resident upon the said Prebend.

Item, Lord Simon of the title of S. Sixt Priest and Cardinal, &c. doth possess the Prebend of Wistow in the said Church of York, worth by year 100 l. And the foresaid Master John of Stoke doth occupy the foresaid Prebend and the profits thereof, &c. But the said Lord Simon is not resident upon the said Prebend.

Item, Lord Francis of the title of S. Sabine, Priest and Cardinal, a stranger, doth possess the Prebend of Stransal in the said Church of York, worth by year 100 Marks. And Master William of Merfield, &c. doth occupy the said Prebend, &c. but the said Lord Francis is not resident upon the said Prebend.

Lord Peter of the title of S. Praxed, Priest and Cardinal, a stranger, doth hold the Archdeacons of York, worth by year 100 l. and M. William of Merfield, &c. for farmers.

The Deanry of the Cathedral Church of Sar. with Churches and Chappels underwritten to the same Deanry annexed, doth remain in the hands of Lord Reginald of the title of S. Adrian Deacon and Cardinal, and so hath remained these 26 years, who is never resident; his Proctor is one Lawrence de Ingris, a stranger, and is worth by year 254 l. 12 s. 4 d.

Richard

Richard Bishop doth hold the Vicarage of Meere to the Deanry annexed, and hath holden the same for nineteen years, worth by year 40 l.

Robert Codfor, farmer of the Church of Heightredbury, to the same annexed, worth by year 50 l.

The Deanry of Salisbury.

The Church of Stoning and the Chapel of Rescomp to the same Deanry annexed, worth by year 70 Marks.

The Chappel of Herst to the same Deanry annexed, worth by year 40 l.

The Chappel of Wokenhame to the same Deanry annexed, worth by year 36 l.

The Chappel of Sanburst, worth by year 40 s.

The Church of Godalining, to the same Deanry annexed, in the Diocesis of Winchester, worth by year 40 l.

Treasurer of the Church of Sar.

The dignity of Treasurer in the Church of Sarum, with Church and Chappels underwritten to the same annexed is in the hands of Lord John of the title of S. Mark Priest and Cardinal, and hath so continued twelve years, who was never resident in the same, worth by year 136 l. 13 s. 4 d.

The Church of Figbelden to the same annexed, worth by year, 26 l. 13 s. 4 d.

The Church of Alwardbury with the Chappel of Putton, worth by year 10 l.

The Prebend of Calve to the same Treasurer annexed, worth by year 100 l.

The Archdeacons of Berck, in the Cathedral Church of Sarisbury, with the Church of Mordon to the same annexed, is in the hands of the Lord William of the title of S. Stephen, who was never resident in the same, worth by year eight score Marks.

The Archdeacons of Dorset in the Church of Sarisbury, with the Church of Giffiche to the same annexed, in the hands of Lord Robert, of the title of the Twelve Apostles, Priest and Cardinal, and is worth by year 103 Marks.

The Prebend of Woodford and Wyvelford in the Church of Sarisbury, is in the hands of Robert the Cardinal aforesaid, and is worth 40 Marks.

The Prebend of Heirworth in the Church of Sarisbury is in the hands of the Lord Cardinal of Agrifolio who is never resident, and is worth by year 80 l.

The Prebend of Netherbarnby and Bemister, in the Church of Sarisbury, one Hugh Pelgrini a stranger did hold twenty years and more, and was never resident in the same, worth by the year eight score Marks.

The Church Prebendary of Gillinham in the Nunnery of Salisbury lately holden of Lord Richard now Bishop of Ely, is in the hands of the Lord Peter of the title of Saint Praxed, Priest and Cardinal, &c. worth by the year 80 l.

Canterbury.

Lord William of the Holy Church of Rome Cardinal, a stranger, doth hold the Archdeacons of Canterbury, and is not resident; the true value of all the yearly fruits, rents and profits, is worth seven hundred Florens.

Bath and Wells.

The Lord Cardinal of Canterbury is Archdeacon of Wells, and hath annexed to his Archdeacons the Churches of Hewish, Berwes, and Southbrent which are worth by year, with their procurations of visitations of the said Archdeacons, 160 l.

Item, The Lord Cardinal is Treasurer of the Church of Wells, and hath the moiety of the Church of Merton annexed thereunto, worth by year 60 l.

Item, The Lord Cardinal of Agrifolio is Archdeacon of Tawnton in the Church of Wells, and is worth by year with the procurations and the Prebend of Mylmerton to the same annexed, 80 l.

Like matter is also found in the time of King Richard the Second, upon what occasion it is uncertain: but as it seemeth by record that of time; A new Pope being come in place, he would take no knowledge of any matter done by his Predecessors, that might any way abridge his commodity. And therefore this King was forced to begin anew, as may appear by this following.

An. 2. Rich. 2. The Archdeacons of Sar.

Lord Cardinal of Agrifolio is Prebendary of the Prebend of Soringham, together with a portion of S. Mary of Stow to the same annexed; the fruits whereof by common estimate be worth by year, 165 l. Master John Vicar of Coringham, and Master Robert Parson of Kestelstorp, and W. Thurlly, be Farmers.

Lord Cardinal Albanum is Prebendary of the Prebend of Sutton, the Fruits whereof be commonly esteemed worth by year 400 Marks. Roger Skynet of Buckingham, and William Bedeford of Sutton do Farm the same Prebend. The Lord Cardinal Glandacen is Prebendary of the Prebend of Nassington, worth by estimation 300 Marks. Robert of Nassington, and John Son of Robert of Abetborp, do occupy the same Prebend.

The Archdeacons of Northampton.

Lord Cardinal Nonmacem is Parson of Adderbury, worth by estimation, 100 l. Adam Robelyn Clerk, is his Proctor, and occupieth the same.

Lord Cardinal of S. Prebendary of Thame, In the Archdeacons of Oxon. worth yearly by common estimation, 200 Marks, John Heyward and Thomas a Lay-man, do occupy the same Prebend.

Lord Peter de Yeverino, Cardinal, is Prebendary of Aylesbury, worth yearly by common estimation, 80 Marks. Holy Dufe of Aylesbury doth occupy the same Prebend.

In the Archdeacons of York.

The Cardinal of S. Angelo hath the Archdeacons of Suff. and is worth by year by common estimation an hundred Marks.

In the Diocesis of Norwich.

Lord Cardinal Nemiacem Treasurer of the Church of Sar. hath the Archdeacons of Sar. the Church of Figbelden to his dignity annexed, which is let to farm to Grace, late Wife of Edmund Swayne deceased, paying yearly 50 Marks. He hath also, in the same Archdeacons and County, the said Church of Alwerbury, with the Chappels of Putton and Farld to the same annexed, which is let to farm to the Prior of the House of Ederose for the yearly rent of 23 l. he hath also the Prebend of Calve in the said Archdeacons and County, worth by year, 100 pound, and farmer thereof is Raymund Peregrine.

In the Diocesis of Sar.

Lord Cardinal of Agrifolio, Hath the Archdeacons of Berk, worth by year 120 Marks, and it remaineth in his own hands. Item, He hath the Prebend of Worth, worth by year a hundred pound; Raymund Peregrine is Farmer there.

Lord Cardinal Gebanen hath the Prebends of Woodford and Willeford in the County of Wiltshire, let to farm to John Bennet of Sar. worth by year 40 Marks.

Lord Andomer de Rupy is Archdeacon of Canterbury, to the which Archdeacon belongs the Church of Lymin within the same Diocesis, worth by year after the taxation of the tenth, 20 l. The Church of Tenham, worth by year after the said taxation, 130 l. 6 s. 8 d. The Church of Hakington near Canterbury, worth by year twenty Marks. The Church of Saint Clement in Sandwich, worth by year after the taxations aforesaid eight Marks. The Church of Saint Mary in Sandwich, worth by year eight pound, of the which the said Archdeacon receiveth only six Marks. The profits of all which premisses S. William Latimer Knight hath received, together with the profits arising out of the jurisdiction of the Archdeacons, worth by year, 20 l.

In the Diocesis of Canterbury.

Anglicus of the Church of Rome, Priest and Cardinal, hath the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of York, worth by year 373 l. 6 s. 8 d. And the Prebend of Southcane, valued yearly at 160 Marks.

Lord Cardinal Gebanen doth hold the Church of Wermouth, and Archdeacons of Durham, worth by year 200 Marks. And John of Chambré, and Thomas of Harington of Newcastle be the Farmers and Proctors of the said Cardinal.

In the Diocesis of Durham.

Ex Bundelio Brevium Regis de An. 2. Rich. 2. part. 1.

King RICHARD the Second.

AFTER King Edward the Third succeeded his Sons King Richard II. Son, Richard the Second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven years: who in the same year of his Fathers decease with great pomp and solemnity was Crowned at Westminster, An. 1377. who, following his Fathers steps was no great disfavoured of the way and Doctrine of Wickliff: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquity of time, partly through the Popes Letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithstanding something he did in that behalf, more perhaps than in the end he had thank for of the Papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appear. But as times do change, so changeth

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changeth commonly the cause and state of Man. The Bishops now seeing the aged King to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the Realm depended upon the Duke of Lancaster; And now the said Bishops again seeing the said Duke, with the Lord Percy, the Lord Marshal, to give other Offices, and to remain in their private Houses without intermeddling, thought now the time to serve them, to have some vantage against John Wickliffe; who hitherto, under the protection of the foresaid Duke and Lord Marshal, had some rest and quiet. Concerning the story of which Wickliffe, I trust (gentle Reader) it is not out of thy memory what went before, pag. 487. how he being brought before the Bishops, by the means of the Duke and Lord Henry Percy, the Council was interrupted, and brake before nine of the Clock. By reason whereof Wickliffe at that time escaped without any further trouble. Who notwithstanding, being by the Bishops forbid to deal in that Doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows going barefoot, and in long Frise Gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whose Sermons these Articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

The Bishops
take vantage
of time.The first
Article collected
out of Wickliffe's
Sermons.

That the Holy Eucharist, after the Consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figuratively.

That the Church of Rome is not the head of all Churches more than any other Church is: Nor that Peter hath any more power given of Christ, than any other Apostle hath.

Item, That the Pope of Rome hath no more in the Keys of the Church, than hath any other within the Order of Priesthood.

Item, If God be, the Lords Temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away their Temporalities from the Church-men offending *habitualiter*.

Item, If any Temporal Lord do know the Church so offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the Temporalities from the same.

Item, That all the Gospel is a rule sufficient of it self to rule the life of every Christian Man here, without any other rule.

Item, That all other rules, under whose observances divers Religious persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the Gospel, than doth the white colour to the Wall.

Item, That neither the Pope, nor any other Prelate of the Church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

The Articles
of John
Wickliffe
sent to the
Pope.
Pope Gregory
the 11th.

Besides these Articles, divers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by Bishops at England, which they sent diligently to Pope Gregory at Rome: Where the said Articles being read and perused, were condemned for Heretical and erroneous by three and twenty Cardinals.

Wickliffe called
before the Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury.

In the mean time the Archbishop of Canterbury, sending forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliffe in the presence of the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy; who, upon the declaration of the Popes Letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him not to intreat any more of those matters. But then through the disturbance of the Bishop of London and the Duke, and Lord Percy, that matter was soon dispatched, as hath been above recorded, pag. 487. And all this was done in the days and last year of King Edward the Third, and Pope Gregory the Eleventh.

Anno
1378Edmund
Stafford
bringer of
the Popes
Bull.

The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1378, being the first year of King Richard the Second, the said Pope Gregory taking his time, after the death of King Edward, sendeth his Bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one Master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the University of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a Pope, for suffering so long the Doctrine of John Wickliffe to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their Catholick Doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited un-

The Masters
of Oxford
doubt whe-
ther to re-
ceive or re-
ject the
Popes Bull.

to their hands, by the Popes Messenger aforesaid; the Proctors and Masters of the University, joining together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves whether to receive the Popes Bull with honor, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the Authors of this story whom I follow; what exclamations, what wondrings and marvels they make at these Oxford Men, for so doubting at a matter so plain, so manifest of it self, (as they say) whether the Popes Bull sent to them from Rome was to be received or contrary. Which thing to our Monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheeks are fain to cut off the matter in the midst with silence.

The Copy of this wild Bull, sent to them from the Pope, was this:

Gregory the Bishop, the servant of Gods servants, to his well-beloved Sons, the Chancellor and University of Oxford, in the Diocese of Lincoln, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

WE are compelled not only to marvel, but also to lament, that you, considering the Apostolical Seat hath given unto your University of Oxford so great favour and privilege, and also for that you flow as in a large Sea in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and Catholick Faith (without the which there is no salvation) by your great negligence and sloth will suffer wild Cockle, not only to grow up among the pure Wheat of the flourishing field of your University, but also to wax strong and choke the Corn. Neither have ye any care (as we are informed) to extirp and pluck the same up by the roots, to the great blemishing of your renowned name, the peril of your souls, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient Faith. And further (which grieveth us) the increase of that filthy weed was more sharply rebuked and judged of in Rome, than in England where it sprang. Wherefore let there be means sought by the help of the faithful, to root out the same. Grievously it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliffe, Parson of Lutterworth in Lincoln Diocese, a professor of Divinity (would God he were not rather a Master of Errors) is run into a kind of detestable wickedness, not only and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, diverse professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable Heresies. Whereby he might defile the faithful sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the Church, and utterly subvert the secular policy. Of which his mischievous Heresies some seem to agree (only certain names and terms changed) with the perverse opinions, and unlearned Doctrine of Martilius of Padua, and of John Gandune, of unworthy memory, whose Books were utterly abolished in the Realm of England, by our predecessor of happy memory John the 22th. which Kingdom doth not only flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in pureness of Faith; accustomed always to bring forth Men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, Men notable in devotion, and defenders of the Catholick Faith. Wherefore we will and command you by our writing Apostolical in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favour, indulgences and privileges granted unto you and your University from the said See Apostolical; that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent Heresies, and those subtil and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good works (howsoever they term it, or what curious implication of words soever they use) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question; Left if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare Medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately, or cause to be apprehended the said John Wickliffe, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custody of our well-beloved brethren, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gainsayers corrupted with the said Doctrine (which God forbid) in your said University within your jurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errors; that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody, and otherwise to do in this case as it shall ap-

The Popes
mad Bull
sent to Ox-
ford.The Pope
complains
in of John
Wickliffe.Martilius
Patsavinus,
Joan de
Gandune
noted.Here the
wild Bull
strieth.

pertain unto you: So as by your careful proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premises may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not only purchase unto you the favour and benevolence of the seat Apostolical, but also great reward and merit of Almighty God.

Yeven at Rome at S. Maries the greater, xi. Kalend. of June, and in the 7th. year of our Consecration.

Simon Sudbury Arch-bishop of Canterbury W. Courtney Bishop of London.

Beside this Bull sent to the University of Oxford, the said Pope Gregory directed moreover his Letters the same time to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, to the Bishop of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliff therein inclosed, commanding them, by vertue of those his Letters Apostolical, and straitly enjoining them to cause the said John Wickliff to be apprehended, and cast into prison; and that the King and the Nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his Doctrine in any wise.

Three sundry Letters of the Pope to one person, about one matter.

Beside this Bill or Bull of the Pope, sent unto the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of London, bearing date, 11. Kalend. Jun. and the seventh year of the Reign of the Pope; I find moreover in the said story two other Letters of the Pope concerning the same matter, but differing in form, sent unto the same Bishops and all bearing the same date, both of the day, year, and month of the Reign of the said Pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be supposed, that the said Pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliff to be apprehended, which wrote three divers Letters to one person, and all in one day, about one business; or else that he did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leave to the judgment of the Reader.

Furthermore, beside these Letters written to the University, and to the Bishops, he directeth also another Epistle bearing the same date unto King Edward; as one of my stories saith, but as another saith, to King Richard, which foundeth more near to the truth, forasmuch as in the seventh year of Pope Gregory the 11th. which was the year of our Lord, 1378. King Edward was not alive. The Copy of his Letters to the King here followeth.

The Copy of the Epistle sent by the Bishop of Rome to Richard King of England, to persecute John Wickliff.

The Popes Letter to K. Richard against John Wickliff.

UNTO his Welbelov'd Son in Christ, Richard, the most noble King of England, health, &c.

The Kingdom of England, which the most highest hath put under your power and governance, being so famous and renowned in valiancy and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches, but much more glorious, resplendent and shining through the brightness and clearness of all godliness and faith, hath accustomed always to bring forth Men indued with the true knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the Catholick Faith: The which have not only directed and instructed their own people through their wholesome Doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods Commandments; but also we have heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great grief and heart sorrow) that John Wickliff Parson of Lutterworth, in the Diocese of Lincoln, professor of Divinity (I would to God he were no author of Heresie) to be fallen into such a detestable and abominable madness, that he hath propounded and set forth diverse and sundry conclusions full of errors, and containing most manifest Heresie, the which do tend utterly to subvert and overthrow the state of the whole Church. Of the which, some of them (albeit under coloured phrase and speech) seem to smell and savour of perverse opinions, the foolish doctrine of condemned memory of Marcellus of Padua, and John of Ganduno, whose Books were by Pope John the 22th. our predecessor, a Man of a most happy memory, reprov'd and condemned, &c.

Hitherto, gentle Reader, thou hast heard how Wickliff was accused by the Bishop. Now you shall also hear the Popes mighty reasons and arguments, by the which he did confute him, to the King. It followeth.

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Therefore, forsomuch as our Reverend Brethren the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London have received a special commandment from us, by our authority to apprehend and commit the forenamed John Wickliff unto prison, and to transport his confession unto us: if they shall seem in the prosecution of this their business to lack your favour or help, we require and most earnestly desire your Majesty, even as your most noble predecessors have always been most earnest lovers of the Catholick Faith (whose case or quarrel in this matter is chiefly handled) that you would vouchsafe (even for the reverence of God, and the Faith aforesaid, and also of the Apostolick Seat, and of our person) with your help and favour to assist the said Archbishop and all other that shall go about to execute the said business. Whereby besides the praise of Men, you shall obtain an Heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the See aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11th. Kal. of June in the 7th. year of our Bishoprick, An. 1378.

Here is pronouncing, but no teaching

The Articles included in the Popes Letters, which he sent to the Bishops, and to the King against Wickliff, were these which in order do follow.

The Conclusions of J. Wickliff, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Bishops at Lambeth.

ALL the whole race of Mankind here on Earth, besides Christ, hath no power simply to ordain, That Peter and all his off-spring should politically rule over the world for ever.

Certain Conclusions of John Wickliff.

2. God cannot give to any Man for him and his heirs any Civil Dominion for ever.

3. All writings invented by Men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible

4. Every Man, being in grace justifying, hath not only right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed above all the good things of God.

5. A Man cannot only ministratoriously give any temporal or continual gift, either as well to his natural Son, as to his Son by imitation.

6. If God be, the temporal Lords may lawfully and metitiously take away the riches from the Church when they do offend habitualiter.

7. We know that Christ's Vicar cannot, neither is able by his Bulls, neither by his own will and consent, neither by the consent of his College, either to make able or disable any Man.

8. A Man cannot be Excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first and principally Excommunicate by himself.

9. No Man ought, but in Gods cause alone, to Excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by any Ecclesiastical censure.

10. A Curse or Excommunication doth not simply bind, but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of Gods Law.

11. There is no power given by any example, either by Christ or by his Apostles, to Excommunicate any subject, specially for denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwise.

12. The Disciples of Christ have no power to exact, by any civil authority, temporalities by censures.

13. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the Pope, or any other Christian do pretend by any means to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

14. We ought to believe that the Vicar of Christ doth at such times only bind and loose, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and Ordinance of Christ.

15. This ought universally to be believed, that every Priest rightly and duly ordered, according unto the Law of Grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the Sacraments, and consequently Absolve any

[KING] any man confessing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same.

16. It is lawful for Kings, in causes licensed by the law, to take away the temporalities from the spirituality, sinning habitualiter, that is, which continue in the customs of sin, and will not amend.

17. Whether they be temporal Lords, or any other men whatsoever they be, which have endowed any Church with temporalities; it is lawful for them to take away the same temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid sin, notwithstanding any Excommunication or other Ecclesiastical censure; forsomuch as they are not given but under a condition.

18. An Ecclesiastical Minister, and also the Bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his Subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accused either of the Clergy or of the Laity.

These Letters with the Articles inclosed being thus received from the Pope, the Bishops took no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themselves, and that in open profession before their provincial Council, that all manner respects of fear or favour set apart, no person neither high nor low should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreaty of any Man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most surely upright justice and equity: yea albeit present danger of life should follow thereupon. But these so fierce braggings, and stout promises, with the subtil practices of these Bishops, which thought them so sure before, the Lord (against whom no determination of Mans counsel can prevail) by a small occasion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the Examination being come; a certain personage of the princes Court, and yet of no great Noble birth, named *Lewes Clifford*, entring in among the Bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against *John Wickliffe*. With which words they all were so amazed, and their Combs so cut, that (as in the Story is mentioned) they became so mute and speechless, as men having not one word in their mouths to answer. And thus by the wonderful work of God his providence, escaped *John Wickliffe* the second time out of the Bishops hands; and was by them clearly dismissed upon his declaration made of his Articles, as anon shall follow.

Moreover, here is not to be passed over, how at the same time, and in the said Chappel of the Archbishop at Lambeth, where the Bishops were sitting upon *John Wickliffe*, the Story writing of the doing thereof, addeth these words, saying, *Non dico civis tantum Londonenses, sed viles ipsius civitatis se impudenter ingerere presumptum in eandem capellam & verba facere pro eodem, & istud negotium impedire, confisi, ut reor, de ipsorum premissa negligentia prelatorum, &c.* That is, I say not only, that the Citizens of London, but also the vile abjects of the City presumed to be so bold in the same Chappel at Lambeth, where the Bishops were sitting upon *John Wickliffe*, both to intreat for him, and also to let and stop the same matter; trusting, as I suppose, upon the negligence which they saw before in the Bishops, &c.

Over and beside, here is not to be forgotten, how the said *John Wickliffe*, the same time of his Examination, offered and exhibited unto the Bishops in writing a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his own mind, upon the said his Articles, the effect hereof followeth.

The Protestation of John Wickliffe.

First I protest (as I have often before done) that I do mind and intend with my whole Heart (by the grace of God) to be a true Christian, and as long as breath shall remain in me, to profess and defend the Law of Christ. And if it shall happen that through ignorance or otherwise I shall fail therein: I desire my Lord God of pardon and forgiveness. And now again as before also, I do revoke and make retraction; most humbly submitting my self under the correction of our Holy mother the Church. And forsomuch as the sentence of my faith, which I have holden in the schools and elsewhere, is reported even by Children, and moreover is carried by children even unto Rome: therefore lest my Dear beloved Brethren should take any

offence by me, I will set forth in writing the sentence and articles, for the which I am now accused and impeached: the which also even unto the death I will defend, as I believe all Christians ought to do, and specially the Bishop of Rome and all other Priests and Ministers of the Church. For I do understand the conclusions after the sense and manner of speaking of the Scriptures and holy Doctors, the which I am ready to expound: And if they shall be found contrary to the faith, I am ready to revoke, and speedily to call them back again.

An Exposition upon the Conclusions of John Wickliffe, exhibited by him to the Bishop.

1. **A**LL the race of mankind here in Earth, beside Christ, hath no power simply to ordain, that Peter, &c.

This conclusion of it self is evident, forasmuch as it is not in Mans power to stop the coming of Christ to his final Judgment, but he must needs come, according to the Article of our Creed, to judge both the quick and the dead. And then (as the Scripture teacheth) shall surcease all civil and politick rule here; I understand the temporal and secular Dominion pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortal life. For so do the Philosophers speak of civil Dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called sometimes perpetual: yet because in holy Scripture, and in use of the Church, and in the Books of Philosophers most commonly that is taken to be perpetual, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which sense the Church singeth *Gloria patri, &c. Nunc, & in perpetuum*; I also after the same signification do take here this word (perpetually) and so is this conclusion consonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in Mans power to ordain the course and voyage of the Church, here perpetually to last.

2. God cannot give to any man, &c.

To the Second conclusion I answer, understanding civil Dominion, as in the conclusion before. And so I hold, that God first by his ordinate power cannot give to any person civil Dominion here for ever. Secondly, by his absolute power it is not probable that he will so do: Forsomuch as he cannot ever detain his spouse in perpetual prison of this life, nor always defer the final beatitude of his Church.

3. To the Third conclusion. Many writings or charts invented by men, as touching perpetual Herirage civil, be impossible.

The verity of this conclusion is incident. For we must not Canonize all manner of charts whatsoever, as Catholick, or Univeral: for then it were not lawful by any means to take away or sequester things given by Chart or charter, when any doth unjustly occupy the same. And so if that stand confirmed and ratified by the Faith of the Church, great occasion thereby should be ministred to men so chartered, to trust to their temporal Charts; and so might grow thereby much liberty and licence to sin. For like as by some supposition every truth is necessary: So by the same supposition every false thing is possible, as it is plain by the Testimony of the Scripture, and of holy Doctors speaking of necessity of things to come.

4. Every man being in grace justifying finally, hath in grhis not only right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed over all the good things of God.

The verity hereof is evident, by holy Scripture, *Mat. 24*. Where verity promisseth to every man entring into his joy: verily (saith he) I tell you, he shall set and place him over all the goods he hath. For the right and title belonging to the Communion of Saints in their country (he meaneth in the Kingdom of Heaven) *Fundatur ob-jective supra universitatem bonorum Dei*: That is, Hath his relation, as unto his object, to all the goods and possession of God.

5. A man can but only ministratoriously give any temporal Dominion or gift perpetual, as well to his own natural son, as to his son by imitation.

It is evident. For every man ought to recognise himself in all his works and doings, as an humble servant and minister of God. As the words of Scripture do teach us. Let a man so esteem of us as the Ministers of Christ.

T t

Yea,

Exposition of John Wickliffe upon his conclusions.

Exposition of the second conclusion.

Note here: he speaketh only of the right of things in the country to come, and not in this exile.

The stout brags of the Bishops overthrown.

Wickliffe again called before the Bishops. Lewes Clifford.

John Wickliffe again delivered from the Bishops.

The Protestation of John Wickliffe.

Yea, so Christ himself did teach his chief Apostles to minister; but in their country the Saints shall give unto their fellow Brethren the Dominion of their goods, *Ut patet de suis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura*, according to the words of Luke 6. They shall give you, and put into your bosoms a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped up, and running over.

6. *If God be temporal Lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of Fortune from the Church when they do offend habitualiter.*

This conclusion is Correlative with the first Article of our Faith: *I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.* Where I understand this word (may) in this conclusion after the manner of Authentick Scripture, which faith and granteth, *that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham*; for otherwise all Christian Princes were Hereticks. For upon this conclusion thus standeth the reason: If God be, he is Omnipotent, and if he be Almighty, he is able to command the Lords temporal so to do: and if he may so command, then may they lawfully so take away such goods, &c. And so by the vertue of the same principle, Christian Princes have practised the said sentence upon the Churchmen heretofore, as did *William Rufus, &c.* But God forbid that any should believe hereby my intention to have been, that secular Lords may lawfully take away what goods soever, and by what means soever, by their own naked authority at their pleasure: But only by the Authority of the Church they may so do, in cases and form limited by the Law.

7. *We know that it is not possible that the Vicar of Christ is able by his pure Bulls, &c.*

¶ This is manifest by the Catholick Faith; forasmuch as the Church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore no Man being Christ his Vicar, hath any power in this matter, but only as Vicar in the name of the Lord, so far forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notify unto the Church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any Man do any thing, not as Vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethink to be his author and head; it is a presumption of *Lucifer*, forasmuch as Christ by his Apostle faith, *1 Cor. 3.* All our ability or sufficiency cometh of God. And so consequently, it cometh not purely by the Ministry of his Vicarship, that he is enabled; but the ableness or unableness of him, being the Vicar of Christ, cometh to him another way from above.

8. *A Man cannot be Excommunicate to his hurt or undoing, except he be Excommunicate first and principally of himself.*

It is evident, forasmuch as all such Excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his own sin which is damnable: whereupon *Augustine* faith, *De verbis Domini Sermon 51.* Do not thou conculcate thy self, and Man overcometh thee not. And moreover the Faith of the Church doth teach, *quod nulla ei nocebit adversitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas*: That is to say, No adversity shall hurt, if no iniquity hath the upper hand. And yet notwithstanding, every Excommunication for many causes is also to be feared, although that the Excommunication of the Church, to the humble Man being Excommunicated, be not damnable but wholesome.

9. *No man ought but in Gods cause alone to Excommunicate, suspend, &c.*

It is clear, forasmuch as every just cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be weighed and pondred. Yea, the love of the person excommunicate, ought to surmount the zeal of revengement, and the desire of all temporal goods whatsoever; for otherwise he that doth excommunicate, doth damnify himself. To this 9th conclusion notwithstanding it is congruent, that a Prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of Man, so that his principal respect in so doing be had to the injury done to his God, as appeareth 13. *quest. 4. Inter querelas.*

10. *No curse or Excommunication can bind simply, but in case it be given out against the adversary of Christs Law.*

And it appeareth thus, because that God doth bind simply every one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but only for transgression of his Law. Whereunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the

Church doth not bind simply, but secondarily in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the adversary of the members of the Church. KING Ric. 2.

11. *There is no example of Christ, which giveth power to his Disciples to excommunicate any subject (especially for denying of any temporalities) but contrary.*

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we believe that God is to be beloved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloved above all temporal goods of this world necessarily; for the Law of God cannot be contrary unto it self.

12. *The Disciples of Christ have no power by any civil coercion to exact temporal things by their censures.*

This appeareth by the faith of the Scripture, *Luke 23.* Where Christ did forbid his Apostles civilly to reign or to bear any Lordship. The Kings (faith he) of the Gentiles bear rule over them; but you not so. And after this sense it is expounded of *S. Bernard*, of *S. Chrysostome*, and other holy Men: which conclusion notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporal things by Ecclesiastical censures incidently, if case be that it appertain to the revengement of their God.

13. *It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Christian do pretend to bind or loose at their pleasure by what means soever, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.*

The contrary of this conclusion will destroy the whole Catholick Faith, importing no less but him to be a blasphemer which so usurpeth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet by this conclusion I intend not to derogate from the power of the Pope, or of any other Prelate of the Church, but that he may by the vertue of the head so bind and loose: But do understand the conditional of this negative (to be impossible) after this sense, that it cannot be that the Pope or any other Prelate of the Church can pretend by himself to bind or loose (how and after what manner he list himself) except in such sort, that he do indeed so bind and loose before God, as he doth pretend to do.

14. *We ought to believe, that the Vicar of Christ doth at such times only bind and loose, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and ordinance of Christ, &c.*

The reason thereof is this, because otherwise it is unlawful for him so to do, except he should do it in the vertue of that Law; and so consequently, unless it be conformable to the Law and ordinance of Christ.

15. *To this conclusion, this ought universally to be believed, that every Priest rightly and duly ordered hath power according to his vocation, &c.*

The reason hereof is this, because that the order of Priesthood in his own nature and substance receiveth no such degrees, either of more or less. And yet notwithstanding the power of inferior Priests in these days, is upon due consideration restrained, and sometimes again, in time of extrem necessity, released. And thus according to the Doctors, a Prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of jurisdiction or regiment. And according to this second power, the Prelates are in a higher majesty and regiment.

16. *It is lawful for Princes and Kings (in cases by the Law limited) to withdraw temporal Commodities from Churchmen, abusing the same habitualiter.*

The reason thereof is plain, for that temporal Lords ought rather to lean to spiritual Alms, which bringeth with it great fruit, than to temporal Alms, the case so standing, that sometime it were a necessary work of spiritual Alms, to chastise such Clerks by taking from them their temporal livings, which use to abuse the same, to the damnifying both of their soul and body. The cases which the Law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his spiritual Head, or els for lack of correcting the Faith of the Clerk which so offendeth, as appeareth 16. *q. 7. filius. Dist. 40. cap. Si. Papa.*

17. *Whether they be temporal Lords, or any other men whatsoever, which have indued any Church with temporalities, &c.*

The truth thereof is evidently seen, for that nothing ought to stop a Man from the principal works of Charity necessarily, because in every action and work of Man is to be understood a privy condition necessary of God, his good will concurring withal, as it is in the civil Law *de c. Conrad cap. 5. in fine collat. x.* And yet, God forbid, that

The power of all Priests toward God equal.

Ordo sacerdotis non suscipit magis & minus. Potestas ordinis, Potestas ministerii.

16. q. filius.

[ING] that by these words occasion should be given to the Lords temporal to take away the goods of fortune from the Church.

18. An Ecclesiastical Minister, yea, the Bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his Subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accused, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity.

The proof of this is manifest hereby, because the said Bishop of Rome is subject to fall into the sin against the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, saving the Sanctitude, Humility and Reverence due to such a Father. For so long as our Brother is subject unto the infirmity of falling, he lieth under the Law of Brotherly correction. And when the whole College of Cardinals may be slothful in Ministering due correction for the necessary prosperity of the Church: it is apparent that the residue of the Body of the Church, which possibly may stand most of Lay men, may wholsomely correct the same, accuse and bring him to a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, Dist. 40. Si Papa. If the Pope do erre from the right Faith, &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to be supposed in the Lord Pope without manifest evidence: So again, such an obstinacy ought not to be supposed in him, possibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receive the wholsome Medicine of his superior, correcting him in the Lord. The practice of which conclusion also is testified in many Chronicles. Far be it from the Church of Christ, that verity should be condemned which foundeth evil to transgressors and other slothful persons, for then the whole Faith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus John Wickliffe in giving his exposition unto his foresaid propositions and conclusions, as is above prefixed, through the favour and diligence of the Londoners, either shifted off the Bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by the said Bishops, that he should not Teach or Preach any such Doctrine any more, for the offence of the Lay people.

Thus this good Man, being escaped from the Bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his Godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the Church as he had begun.

Unto whom also (as it happened by the providence of God) this was also a great help and stay, for that in the same year, or in the beginning of the next year following, the foresaid Pope Gregory the Eleventh which was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. After whom ensued such a Schism in Rome, between two Popes, and other succeeding after them, one striving against another; that the Schism thereof endured the space of 39. years, until the time of the Council of Constance.

The occasioner of which Schism first was Pope Urban the Sixth, who in the first beginning of his Popedom was so proud and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queens, and so set to advance his Nephews and kindred, with injuries to other Princes, that the greatest number of his Cardinals and Counters by little and little shrunk from him, and set up another French Pope against him, named Clement, who Reigned 11. years. And after him Benedictus the Thirteenth who Reigned 26. years. Again of the contrary side after Urbanus the Sixth, succeeded Boniface the Ninth, Innocentius the Eighth, Gregory the Twelfth, Alexander the Fifth, John the Thirteenth.

Papæ. Years. Months. Antipapæ. Years.

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|
| Urbanus 6. | 11. | 8. | Clement. | 11. |
| Bonifacius 9. | 14. | 9. | Benedictus, 13. | 26. |
| Innocentius 8. | 2. | 0. | | |
| Gregorius 12. | 2. | 7. | | |
| Alexander 5. | 0. | 11. | | |
| Johannes 13. | 5. | 10. | | |

As touching this Pestilent and most miserable Schism, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragical parts thereof, what trouble in the whole Church, what parts taking in every Country, what apprehending and imprisoning of Priests

and Prelates taken by Land and Sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof. How Orbo, Duke of Brunswick and Prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. How Joan his Wife, Queen of Jerusalem and Sicilia, who before had sent to Pope Urban, beside other gifts at his Coronation, 40000 Duckets in pure Gold, was after by the said Urban committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled. What Cardinals were racked, and miserably without all mercy tormented on Gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what battels were fought between the two Popes, whereof 5000 on the one side were slain, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of five Cardinals together after long torments, and how the Bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected of Pope Urban, for not Riding faster with the Pope, his Horse being not good, was there slain by the Popes commandment, sending his Souldiers unto him to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with divers other more Acts of horrible cruelty, hapning in the time of this abominable Schism, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodorick Niern, who was near to the said Pope Urban, and present at all his doings, therefore as a thing needles I here pertermitt; referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three Books of the said Theodorick above mentioned.

About the same time also, about three years after, there fell a cruel Dissention in England, between the Common people and the Nobility, the which did not a little disturb and trouble the Common-wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place after succeeded William Courtney, which was no less diligent than his Predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out Hereticks. Notwithstanding in the mean season Wickliffe's Sect increased privily, and daily drew to greater force, until the time that William Barton Vicechancellor of Oxford, about the year of our Lord 1380, had the whole Rule of that University: who calling together eight Monastical Doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinity, putting the common Seal of the University unto certain writings, set forth an Edict, declaring unto every Man, and threatening them under a greivous penalty, that no Man should be so hardy, hereafter to associate themselves with any of Wickliffe's fautors or favourers: and unto Wickliffe himself he threatned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unless that they after three days Canonical admonition or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. The which thing when Wickliffe understood, forsaking the Pope and all the Clergy, he thought to appeal unto the Kings Majesty: But the Duke of Lancaster coming between, forbade him, that he should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himself unto the censure and judgment of his Ordinary. Whereby Wickliffe being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, he was forced once again to make confession of his Doctrine: in the which his confession, to avoid the rigor of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and assuage the rigor of his Enemies.

The next year after, which was 1382, by the commandment of William Archbishop of Canterbury, there was a Convocation holden at London, whereas John Wickliffe was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally or not, I find it not in story certainly affirmed. The mandate of the Archbishop William Courtney (sent abroad for the conventing together of his Council) here followeth under-written, truly copied out of his own Registers.

Memorandum, That where as well amongst the Nobles as Commons of this Realm of England, there hath a certain brute been spread of divers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the Church, which tend to the subversion of the whole Church, and to our province of Canterbury, and also to the subversion of the whole Realm, being Preached in divers and sundry places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publicly: We William by Gods permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and

Was not here a jolly agreement?

Theodorick Niern, de schismat.

Rebellion in England by Jack Straw.

Simon the Archbishop beheaded. William Courtney 2 Archbishop of Canterbury.

Barton Chancellor of Oxford. Anno 1380.

An edict against the Wickliffite.

Anno 1382.

The mandate of the Archbishop.

En Registro, Archbishop William Courtney.

and Legate of the See Apostolical, being minded to execute our office and duty herein; have convoked or called together certain of our fellow Brethren and others a great many, as well Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, as Doctors of the Canon and civil Law, and those whom we thought to be the most famous Men, skillfullest Men, and Men of soundest Judgment in Religion, that were in all the Realm, whose names hereunder ensue. And the same being (the 17th day of the Month of May) in the Year of our Lord 1382. in a certain Chamber within the Territories of the Priory of the Friars Preachers of London, before us and our foresaid fellow Brethren assembled, then and there personally present: After that the said conclusions (the Tenor whereof hereunder ensueth) were openly proposed, and distinctly and plainly read: We burthened our foresaid fellow Brethren, Doctors and Bachelors, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answer before the High Judge in the day of Judgment, that they should speak their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what every of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premisses, the foresaid our Brethren the Bishops, Doctors and Bachelors reassembled before us the 21st day of the same Month in the foresaid Chamber, the foresaid Conclusions being again and again repeated and plainly read; by us and by the common consents of us all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and other some erroneous and contrary to the determination of the Church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appear. And forasmuch as by sufficient information we find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of our said Province have been, as is said, both taught and preached; and that divers other persons do hold and maintain the same, and be of Heresie vehemently and notoriously suspected: we have thought good, as well generally as specially, to send out this Process underwritten.

The names of the Jurors were these.

Imprimis Eight Bishops, Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Exeter, Hereford, Sarum, Rochester, and Frier Botleham. B.

Item, Three Friars Preachers, Siward, Paris, Langley.

Item, Four Minorities, Folville, Carlel, Frisly, Bermwel.

Item, Augustine Friars four, Ashborne, Bowkin, Woldley, Hornington.

Item, Carmelites Four, Glanvoile, Dis, Loney, Kingtonham.

Item, Monks four, Wels, Ramsey, Bloxam, Marston.

Item, Doctors of the Canon and civil Law, fourteen, Appelby, Walrom, Baketon, Chadesen, Tregiston, Stow, Blanchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flainburgh, Motrum, Brandon and Prophet.

Item, Bachelors of Divinity six, Humbleton, Pickwech, Lindlow, Wich, Chiseden, Tomson.

The Articles of John Wickliffe here above specified, whereof there were ten which were by these Friars condemned as Heretical, the rest as Erroneous, here in order follow, and are these. Although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting, than he meant them in his own works and writings.

The Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as Heretical.

1. **T**he substance of material Bread and Wine, doth remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after the consecration.

2. The accidents do not remain without the subject in the same Sacrament, after the consecration.

3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal person.

4. That if a Bishop or a Priest be in deadly sin, he doth not Order, Consecrate, nor Baptize.

5. That if a Man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him.

6. That it is not found or stablished by the Gospel, that Christ did make or ordain Mals.

7. If the Pope be a reprobate and evil Man, and consequently a Member of the Devil; he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful Christians, except peradventure it be given him from the Emperor.

8. That since the time of Urban the sixth, there is none to be received for Pope, but every Man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own Law.

9. That it is against the Scripture, that Ecclesiastical Ministers should have any temporal possessions.

The other Articles of John Wickliff, condemned as Erroneous.

10. **T**hat no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any Man except he knew him first to be Excommunicate of God.

11. That he, which doth so Excommunicate any Man, is thereby himself either an Heretic or Excommunicated.

12. That a Prelate or Bishop Excommunicating any of the Clergy, which hath appealed to the King or the Council, is thereby himself a Traitor to the King and Realm.

13. That all such, which do leave off Preaching or hearing the Word of God or Preaching of the Gospel for fear of Excommunication; they are already Excommunicated, and in the day of Judgment shall be counted as Traitors unto God.

14. That it is lawful for any Man, either Deacon or Priest, to Preach the Word of God without Authority or Licence of the Apostolick See or any other of his Catholicicks.

15. † That so long as a Man is in deadly sin, he is neither Bishop nor Prelate in the Church of God.

16. * Also that the temporal Lords may, according to their own will and discretion take away the temporal goods from the Churchmen whensoever they do offend.

17. That tenths are pure alms, and that the Parishioners may, for offence of their Curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their own will and pleasures.

18. Also, that all special Prayers applied to any private or particular person, by any Prelate or religious Man, do no more profit the same person, than general or universal Prayers do profit others, which be in like case or state unto him.

19. Moreover, in that any Man doth enter into any private Religion, whatsoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt and unable to observe and keep the Commandments of God.

20. That holy Men, which have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are induced and possessed, as also the Order of begging Friars having no possessions) in so doing, have grievously offended.

21. That religious Men, being in their private Religions, are not of the Christian Religion.

22. That Friars are bounden to get their living by the labour of their Hands, and not by begging.

23. That whosoever doth give any Alms unto Friars, or to any begging observant, is accursed, or in danger thereof.

The Letter of the Archbishop directed to the Bishop of London, against John Wickliff and his adherents.

William by Gods permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, and of the Apostolical See Legate. To our Reverend Brother by the Grace of God Bishop of London, Salutation. The Prelates of the Church ought to be so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lords flock committed unto them; how much the more they shall understand the

{ KING Ric. 2 }

This Article either is slanderously reported, or else can hardly be defended.

He meaneth Church goods not to be so peculiar to Ministers, but that they may be taken away if they so deserve.

† This Article peradventure was not so fearfully meant of him as it was gathered of them as before said. * This Article expoundeth the ninth Article above.

A Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury against Wickliffe.

KING Ric. 2. the Wolves, being clothed in sheeps apparel, fraudulently to go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly by the continual cry and bruted fame (which it grieveth me to report) it is come to our knowledge that although by the Canonical Sanctions, no Man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publicly or privately without the Authority of the Apostolical See or Bishop of that place, usurpe or take upon him the Office of a Preacher: Some notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, being under the vale of blind ignorance, are brought into such a dotting mind, that they take upon them to Preach, and are not affraid to affirm and teach diverse and sundry propositions and conclusions here under recited, both heretical, erroneous and false, condemned by the Church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy Church, which tend to the subverting of the whole State of the same, of our Province of Canterbury, and to the destruction and weakening of the tranquility of the same; and that as well in the Churches, as in the Streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said Province, generally, commonly, and publicly, do Preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the Catholick Church, without which there is no salvation. We therefore, considering that so pernicious a mischief, which may creep amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to pass over, which may with deadly contagion slay the souls of men, lest their blood be required at our hands; are willing so much as God will permit us to do, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the Counsel and consent of many of our Brethren and Suffragans, we have convened divers and sundry Doctors of Divinity, as also professors and other Clerks of the Canon and civil Law, the best learned within the Realm, and of the most soundest opinion and judgment in the Catholick Faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions, being in the presence of us, and our fellow Brethren and other convocations openly expounded, and diligently examined, were in the end found by the Common council and consent as well of them as of us, and so declared that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the Church, as hereunder are described. We will and command your brotherhood and our Brethren, and Suffragans of our body and Church of Canterbury, that with all speedy diligence you possibly can, you likewise enjoyn them (as we have enjoyed you) and every of them. And that every one of them in their Churches and other places of their City and Diocess do admonish and warn, and that you, in your Church and other Churches of your City and Diocess do admonish and warn as we by the Tenor of these presents do admonish and warn the first time, the second time, and the third time; and yet more straitly do warn, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition Canonical and peremptory, another day; That no Man from henceforth of what estate or condition soever, do bold, preach, or defend the foresaid Heresies and errors or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that he hear or hearken to the Heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or lean unto him either publicly or privately; but that immediately he shun him, as he would avoid a Serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison, under pain of the greater Curse, the which we command to be thundred against all and every one which shall be disobedient in this behalf, and not regarding these our monitions, after that those three days be past which are assigned for the Canonical monition, and that their delay, fault or offence committed require the same: And then according to the Tenor of these writings, we command both by every one of our fellow Brethren and our Suffragans in their Cities and Diocess, and by you in your City and Diocess (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the uttermost both ye and they cause the same Excommunications to be pronounced. And Furthermore we will and command our foresaid fellow Brethren, and all and singular of you apart by our selves, to be admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ we likewise admonish you; that according to

the institution of the Sacred Canons, every one of them in their Cities and Diocess, be a diligent inquisitor of this heretical pravity; and that every one of you also in your Cities and Diocess be the like inquisitor of the foresaid heretical pravity. And that of such like presumption they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalf) with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was Crucified, and for the preservation of the Christian Faith and Religion.

Yea rather for the honour of your Pope and the destruction of Christian Faith.

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of Gods divine admonition or warning; for when as the Archbishop and Suffragans, with the other Doctors of Divinity and Lawyers, with a great company of babling Friars and religious persons were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliffs Books, and that whole Sect; When as I say, they were gathered together at the Gray Friars in London, to begin their buliness, upon S. Dunstons day after Dinner, about two of the Clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward with their buliness, a wonderful and terrible Earthquake fell throughout all England: Whereupon diverse of the Suffragans, being feared by the strange and wonderful Demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the Archbishop (as chief Captain of that Army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirm and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discouraging Wickliffs Articles, not according unto the Sacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their own private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly Heretical, other some half Erroneous, other Irreligious, some Seditious, and not consonant to the Church of Rome.

An Earthquake what time Wickliffe was examined. Ex Chron. mon. Aban.

Item, The Twelfth day of June, in the year aforesaid, in the Chamber of the Friars Preachers, the foresaid Master Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwel professors of Divinity (being appointed the same day and place, by the foresaid Reverend Father in God Archbishop of Canterbury) appeared before him in the presence of the Reverend Father in God, Lord William by the Grace of God Bishop of Winchester, and divers other Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and of the Canon and civil Law, whose names are before recited. And first the said Chancellor by the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, being examined what his opinion was touching the foresaid Articles, publicly affirmed and declared, that certain of those conclusions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other Doctors and Clerks afore mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the foresaid Thomas Brightwel was examined, which upon some of the Conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but in the end being by the said Archbishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirm and repute the same to be heretical and erroneous, as the foresaid Chancellor had done. Another Bachelor of Divinity also there was named N. stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the judgment of the foresaid Chancellor and Thomas as is above declared. Whereupon the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, willing to let and hinder the peril of such hereties and errors, delivered unto the foresaid Chancellor, there being publicly read, his Letters Patents to be executed, the Tenor whereof in these words doth follow.

Determination upon the Articles of Wickliff.

William by the Grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolical See, To our welbeloved Son in Christ the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, within the Diocess of Lincoln, Greeting, Grace, and Benediction. The Prelates of the Church, about the Lords flock committed to their charge, ought to be so much more vigilant as that they see the Wolf, clothed in sheeps attire, fraudulently go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Doubtless, the

A Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Chancellor of Oxford.

Had ye tried them by the truth, you should have found them otherwise.

We that kill them shall think he doth God good service.

common fame and brute is come unto our ears, &c. Ut in mandato præcedenti. We will therefore and command, straitly enjoying you, that in the Church of our blessed Lady in Oxford, upon those days in the which accustomedly the Sermon is made, as also in the Schools of the said University upon those days the Lectures be read, ye publish and cause by others to be published to the Clergy and people, as well in their Vulgar-Tongue, as in the Latin-Tongue, manifestly and plainly without any curious implication, the same heretical and erroneous Conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy Church, as is aforesaid; to have been and be condemned; which Conclusions we also declare by these our Letters to be utterly condemned. And that furthermore you forbid, and canonically admonish and cause to be admonished, as we by the tenour of these presents do forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, and preach, or defend the Heresies and Errors above said, or any of them, either in School or out of School by any sophistical Cavillation or otherwise: or that any admit to preach, hear or hearken unto John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, Canon regular, or John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, which be vehemently and notoriously suspected of Heresie, or else any other whatsoever, so suspected or defamed; or that either privately or publickly they either aid or favour them or any of them, but that incontinently they shun and avoid the same as a Serpent which putteth forth most pestiferous poison. And furthermore we suspend the said suspected persons from all scholastical act, till such time as they shall purge themselves before us in that behalf: and that you denounce the same publickly by us to have been and be suspended; and that ye diligently and faithfully enquire of all their Favourers and Favourers, and cause to be enquired throughout all the Halls of the said University. And that when you shall have intelligence of their Names and Persons, that ye compel all and every of them to abjure their Outrages by Ecclesiastical Censures and other pains Canonical whatsoever, under pain of the greater Curse, the which against all and singular the rebellious in this behalf, and disobeying our monitions, we pronounce: so that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf deserve the same (the said monition of ours being first sent) which in this behalf we esteem and allow Canonical: that then and again according to the effect of these our Letters, &c. The absolution of all and singular such, which shall incur the Sentence of this Instrument by us sent forth (which God forbid) we specially reserve unto our selves: exhorting you the Chancellor by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ, that to the uttermost of your Power hereafter you do your endeavour, that the Clergy and people being subject unto you, if there be any which have strayed from the Catholick Faith by such Errors, may be brought home again to the laud and honour of his Name that was Crucified, and preservation of the true Faith. And further our will is, that whatsoever you shall do in the premises, in manner and form of our Process in this behalf it be had and done: and that you for your part, when you shall be required thereunto, plainly and distinctly do certify us by your Letters Patents, having the tenour hereof.

Make sure
work.

The Conclusions and Articles here mentioned in this Letter are above prefixed. Of which some were condemned for heretical, some for erroneous.

After this, within few days the foresaid Archbishop William Courtney directed down his Letters of Admonition to Robert Rigge Commissary of Oxford, for the repressing of this Doctrine: which yet notwithstanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praised) doth remain: the Copy of his monition to the Commissary here out of his own Register followeth.

The monition of the Archbishop unto the foresaid Chancellor.

Another
Letter of
the Arch-
bishop to
the Com-
missary of Ox-
ford.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Whereas we Will, by the permission of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Primate of England, and Legate of the Apostolical See, by the

consent of our Suffragans, have caused to be assembled together divers Clerks both secular and regular of the University of Oxford, within our Province of Canterbury, and other Catholick persons to inform us of, and upon certain Conclusions heretical and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and published in divers places of the said Province of Canterbury, to the subversion of the whole State of the Church, and our said Province: And whereas also mature deliberation had upon the same, by the Common Council of the said our Suffragans and their Convocates, it was declared, that certain of the said Conclusions, have been and be condemned, some for heretical, and some for erroneous, and notoriously repugnant to the determination of the Church, which we also our selves have declared to be damnable: And have understood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the University aforesaid, hast and dost incline partly to the foresaid damnable Conclusions, whom also we in this part have partly suspected, dost intend to molest these our Clerks above specified, and others adhering unto us in this behalf as they ought to do, through thy subtil and sophistical imaginations, sundry and manifold ways; therefore we admonish thee Master Robert Chancellor aforesaid, the first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, that thou dost not grieve, let, or molest, judicially or extrajudicially, apertly or privily, or cause to be grieved, let, and molested, or procure directly or indirectly by thy self or any other, as much as in thee lieth to be grieved, the foresaid Clerks secular or regular, or such as favour them in the premises, in their scholastical acts, or in any other condition whatsoever. And that thou suffer none hereafter to teach, maintain, preach or defend any such Heresies or Errors in the said University, either within or without the Schools: Neither that thou do admit John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, which are vehemently and notoriously suspected of Heresie, or any other so suspected or defamed unto that Office of Preaching; but that thou denounce the said persons to be suspended, whom we have suspended from all scholastical act, whilst they clear their Innocency in this part before us, under the pain of the great Curse, which we here in these writings denounce against thy person if thou shalt not obey those our admonitions with effect, as thy crime, subtilty and offence in this behalf shall require according to this our admonition premised; which we repute in this part for Canonical, as well then, as now, and now as well as then; reserving the absolution of this sentence Excommunicatory, if it happen to light upon thee, (as GOD forbid) specially unto our selves. Testified with the hands of the Jurors, above in the page 496. before specified.

KING
Ric. 2.

The Examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton.

THE 18th day of the month and year aforesaid, in the Chamber of the Preaching-Fryers afore-mentioned, before the foresaid Archbishop in the pretence of divers Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and many Lawyers both Canon and Civil, whose names are under written, appeared M. Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton Bachelors of Divinity. Who after a corporal Oath taken to shew their judgment upon the Conclusions aforesaid, were examined severally, each one by himself, before the Archbishop. Who there required day and place to deliberate upon the Conclusions aforesaid, and to give their answer unto the same in writing. And also required to have a Copy of the said Conclusions to be delivered unto them. The which Copy the said Nicholas and Philip (being openly read unto them) received. Also the foresaid M. John Ashton likewise was examined, and judicially admonished by the said Archbishop by vertue of the Oath, that he, setting aside all sophistical words and subtilties, would say his mind fully and plainly upon the Conclusions aforesaid. And being asked moreover by the said Archbishop whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his Answers, as the foresaid Nicholas and Philip had before; said expressly that he would not, but would answer presently to those Conclusions; and so for

M. John
Ashton ex-
amined.

KING for final answer said, as concerning all these Conclusions (containing them all together) that his judgment was in this behalf to hold his peace. Wherefore the foresaid Archbishop, reputing the said *John* herein to be suspected, admonished him in form of words as followeth, *We admonish thee John Ashton, whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriously suspected of Heresie, the first, the second, and third time, that in our Province of Canterbury hereafter thou do not Preach publicly or privately without our special Licence, under pain of the greater Curse, which we denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then.* And consequently, forasmuch as the said *John* being asked of the Archbishop, confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the Archbishops Mandate, wherein was contained that no person prohibited or not sent should preach hereafter; the foresaid Archbishop assigned to him *Friday* next following, which was the 20th day of the same month, after dinner, to appear before him either at *Lambeth*, or in the same place, to say for himself wherefore he might not be pronounced for an Heretick, and for such an one to be denounced through his whole Province. Also the said Archbishop assigned to the foresaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, the said day and place to answer peremptorily, and to say fully and plainly to the conclusion aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

The Names of the Fryers that sate upon them.
Fryers Preachers.

Thomas Barnewell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whately, Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Haker.

Carmelites three.

Walter Dish, John Kiningham, John Lovey.

Augustine Fryers.
Thomall Ashborne, Doctor.

In the twentieth day aforesaid of the said month of *June*, the year and place above prefixed, before the foresaid Archbishop sitting in his Tribunal Seat, in the presence of divers Doctors of Divinity, and Lawyers both Civil and Canon, personally appeared Master *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington*, Bachelors of Divinity, and *John Ashton*, Master of Art. Where the foresaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, being required by the said Archbishop to answer, and say fully and plainly their judgment upon the Conclusions prefixed, to which purpose the said Archbishop had assigned to the said *Nicholas* and *Philip* the same Term, did exhibit to the said Archbishop, there judicially sitting, certain answers in writing contained after the manner of Indenture; the tenour whereof here under is contained, and after the same form answered to the same conclusions. The tenour of which Indenture, containing the foresaid conclusions to them moved as afore, followeth in these words.

The Protestation of Nicholas, Philip, and John, with their Articles and Answers to the same.

WE protest here as before, publicly in these presents, that we intend to be humble and faithful Children to the Church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the Church. And if it shall chance us at any time, which God forbid, to swerve from this our intention, we submit our selves humbly to the correction of our reverend Father, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of all *England*; and of all other which have interest to correct such Swarvers. This Protestation premised, thus we answer to the conclusions aforesaid.

That the substance of material Bread and Wine remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar after Consecration.

After the sense contrary to the Decretal, beginning *Firmiter credimus*, we grant that it is Heresie.

That the accidents do not remain without the subject, after consecration of the Sacrament.

After the sense contrary to that Decretal, *Cum Marthe*: we grant that it is Heresie.

That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really in his own corporal presence.

Although this conclusion as the words stand, found to be probable and intelligible, yet in the sense contrary to the Decretal in *Ele. Si dudum*, we grant that it is Heresie. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, as touching also all other things, we profess that we will both in word and sense hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy Church, and sayings of the holy Doctors.

Obstinately to affirm that it hath no foundation in the Gospel, that Christ ordained the Mass;

We grant that it is Heresie.

That God ought to obey the Devil.

In this sense, that God in his own Person or Essence, ought to obey the Devil with the obedience of necessity;

We grant that it is Heresie.

If a man be duly contrite, that all external confession is to him superfluous and unprofitable;

We grant that it is Heresie.

If the Pope be a Reprobate, and an evil man, and consequently a Member of the Devil, he hath no Power over the faithful of Christ given to him of any, unless it be of *Cæsar*;

We grant that it is Heresie.

That after Pope *Urban* the Sixth none is to be received for Pope, but that we ought to live after the manner of the *Grecians*, under our own Laws;

We grant that it is Heresie.

To say that it is against the holy Scripture for Ecclesiastical Persons to have Temporal Possessions.

If obstinacy be joyned withall, we grant that it is Heresie.

That no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any man, unless he know him before to be excommunicated of God. We grant that it is an Error; Understanding this knowledge to signifie an experimental knowledge; so that herewith may stand the Decree of the Church. 11. q. 3. *Nemo Episcopo.*

That he which doth so Excommunicate, is thereby an Heretick or Excommunicate.

After the sense, agreeing with the other before, we grant to be an Error.

That a Prelate Excommunicating a Clerk, which appealeth to the King or Council of the Realm, in so doing is a Traitor to God, the King, and the Realm;

We grant it is an error.

That they which leave off to preach, or to hear the Word of God and the Gospel Preached, for the Excommunication of Men, are Excommunicate, and in the day of Judgment shall be counted for Traitors to God.

Understanding this conclusion universally, so as Scripture and Laws do understand such indefinite propositions;

We grant it is an error.

To affirm that it is lawful for any Deacon or Priest to Preach the Word of God without the Authority of the See Apostolick, or Catholick Bishop, or of any other whose Authority he knoweth sufficient;

We grant it is an error.

To affirm that there is no civil Lord, no Bishop nor Prelate, whilst he is in Mortal sin; We grant it is an error.

That temporal Lords may at their pleasure take away the temporal Goods from the Churches, offending *habitu*aliter; We grant it is an error, After this sense, that they may so take away temporal Goods of the Churches, without the Cases limited in the Laws of the Church and Kingdoms.

That the vulgar people may correct the Lord offending at their pleasure: understanding by this word *May*, that they may do it by the Law, We grant it is an error, because that subjects have no power over their Lords.

That Tithes be pure Alms, and that Parishioners may, for the offences of their Curates, detain the same, and bestow them to others at their pleasure: understanding by his word *May*, as before, to may by the Law, We grant it is an error.

That

That special prayers applied to any one person by Prelates or religious men, do no more profit than the general prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike: understanding this Conclusion universally negatively, and understanding by special prayers, the prayers made upon special devotion, and general prayers of general devotion: then after this sense, no such special prayers, applied to any one person, by special Orators, do profit more specially the said person, than general prayers do, which are made of the same, and for the same persons, we grant it is an Error.

He that giveth Alms to the Fryers, or to any Fryer that preacheth, is Excommunicate; both he that giveth, and he that taketh: understanding this Proposition universally, or conditionally, as is aforesaid; we grant to be an Error.

That who so entreth into any private Religion whatsoever is thereby made more unapt and unmeet to obey the Commandments of God; we grant it is an Error.

That such holy men as did institute any private Religions whatsoever, as well of secular having possessions, as of Fryers having none, in so instituting did sin: understanding this reduplicatively or universally, we grant it an Error. After this sense, that what Saint soever did institute private Religion, instituting the said Religion upon that consideration as they did, did sin.

That religious men living in private Religions, be not of the Religion of Christ: understanding the Proposition universally, as is aforesaid; we grant it is an Error.

That Fryers are bound to get their Livings by the labour of their hands, and not by begging: understanding this Proposition universally, as before; we grant it is an Error.

These things have we spoken reverend Father and Lord, in all humility, under your gracious supportation and benign correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities for this present (the honour of GOD, the verity of our Belief, and safe Conscience in all points reserved) more humbly yet beseeching you, that if any other thing there be, that seemeth meet unto your Excellency and Discretion to be more or otherwise said and spoken, that your gracious Fatherhood would vouchsafe to inform us as Children by the Sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the Church, or authorities of the holy Doctors. And doubtless with ready Wills, and obedient Minds, we will consent and agree unto your wholesome Doctrine. May it therefore please your Fatherhood, right reverend in God, according to the accustomed manner of your benignity, favourably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the foresaid Conclusions were never by us either in Schools affirmed, or else in Sermons publicly preached.

Further Examinations and Proceedings against the foresaid Nicholas Herford, P. Reppington, and John Ashton.

Further Examinations against the said Nicholas, Philip, and John, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton examined. 20. Junii. Anno 1582.

When all these Answers were made unto the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the said Nicholas and Philip, for that they answered not unto the meaning and words of the first Conclusion expressly, but contrary to the sense of the decretal *Firmiter credimus*, were there judicially examined what their sense and meaning was; but they would not express the same. Then was it demanded of them, according to the sense of the same Conclusion declared on the behalf of the said Lord of Canterbury, whether the same material bread in numero, which before the Consecration is laid upon the Altar, remain in proper substance and nature, after the Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar; and likewise of the wine? To this the said Nicholas and Philip answered, *That for that time they could say no more therein, than that they already answered, as is before alledged in writing.* And for that unto the sense and words of the second Conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but in a sense contrary to the Decretal *Cum Martine*: being asked what was their meaning, they would not express the same: therefore it was demanded of them, according to the sense of the same Conclusion, declared in the behalf of the said Lord of Canterbury, whether those corporal ac-

cidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them, were in the same bread and wine after the consecration, or else were subjected in any other substance? To this they answered, *That better to answer, than before in their writings they already had, for that time they could not.* To the meaning also and words of the third Conclusion for that they answered not plainly and expressly, but in sense contrary to the Decretal in the *Clementines*, *Si dudum*, being asked what was that sense and meaning, would not declare the same. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same Conclusion, declared on the behalf of the said Lord of Canterbury, Whether the same Body of Christ, which was assumed of the Virgin, be in the Sacrament of the Altar, *secundum seipsum*, even as he is really in carnal substance, proper essence and nature? To this they answered, *That for that time they could say no more than that they had said, as before is specified in writing.*

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth Conclusion, for that they answered not fully and expressly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the Devil or not: they said, *Yea, as the obedience of love, because he loveth, and punished him as he ought.* And to prove that God ought so to obey the Devil, they offered themselves to the fire.

To the 11th Conclusion, for that they answered not expressly, being asked whether a Prelate might Excommunicate any man being in the state of Grace: they said, *Yea.*

Unto the 20th Conclusion, for that they answered not fully, simply, and expressly; being demanded whether special or general prayers did most profit, and were of greater force; they would not say but that special.

Unto the last Conclusion, for that they answered neither simply, nor expressly; and being demanded particularly, whether any Fryer were bound to get his living with his manual labour, so that it might not be lawful for them to live by begging; they would make no answer at all.

After that, the foresaid Lord Archbishop of Canterbury demanded of all the foresaid Doctors, what their judgment was touching the answers that were made upon all and singular such Conclusions. All which Doctors and every of them severally said, *That all the answers given unto the first, second, third, and sixth Conclusions (as is before recited) were insufficient, heretical and subtil; and that all the answers made specially to the ninth, tenth, and last Conclusions, as is above mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse.* Whereupon the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, considering the said answers to be heretical, subtil, erroneous, and perverse, accordingly as the said Doctors (as is aforesaid) had weighed and considered, admonished the said Nicholas and Philip sufficiently under this form of words.

The name of Christ being called upon, we William by Gods permission, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, and through all our Province of Canterbury, Inquisitor of all heretical Pravity, do sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington, Professors of Divinity, having this day and place assigned you by your own consent and our prefixion, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your Opinions touching these Conclusions, whereunto we do refer you (all subtil, sophistical, and logical words set apart) being thereunto sworn, cited, and commanded. Which thing to do, without cause reasonable or any licence given thereunto, you neither have been willing, nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuously refused to answer to some of those Conclusions before us judicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commandment before said. But for that ye have answered unto some of them heretically, and to other some erroneously, although not fully; we admonish and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that plainly and fully (all subtil, sophistical and logical words set apart) you and every of you answer unto the same Conclusions, and unto that sense and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwise such Conclusions by you confessed deserve, and that for the same Conclusions you ought to have.

Which Admonition being made and done, for that the foresaid Nicholas and Philip would make none other answer,

(KING)
Ric. 2.

The judgments of the Doctors upon these Articles.

Admonition and citation of the Archbishop against the Examinants.

KING Ric. 2. answer, the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury concluded that business, prefixing and assigning unto the foresaid Nicholas and Philip, eight days space; that is to say, until the 27th day of the same month, and that then they should appear before the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, wherefore within the same his Province of Canterbury he should fortune to be, to hear his Decree that should be made in that behalf. This done, the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently, John Ashton under the tenour of these words following.

In the Name of God; We William by Gods permission, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Legate of the See Apostolical, and through all our Province of Canterbury, of all heretical pravity chief Inquisitor, do monish and cite thee J. Ashton, Master of Art, and Student in Divinity, appearing before us, judicially to say and speak the plain verity touching these Conclusions, to the which we do refer thee; and to the which we have caused thee to swear, laying thy hand upon a Book; as being also otherwise by us admonished and commanded to keep this day and place by us appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propose such reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced an Heretick. And sufficiently and lawfully we monish and cite thee, the first, second, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtil, sophistical, and logical words set apart) do answer unto the same Conclusions under the pain that unto such Conclusions belong, and on thy part confessed, and that thou for such Conclusions oughtest to suffer. Which monition being thus promised, the said Archbishop read the first Conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and hereupon he said his mind concerning the foresaid monition. Then the foresaid John Ashton, being often required by the Archbishop, that he would answer in the Latin-Tongue, to those questions which were demanded of him, because of the Lay-people that stood about him; he crying out in the English-Tongue, uttered frivolous and opprobrious Contumelies to move and excite the people against the said Archbishop; as it should seem. Neither did he unto the first Conclusion, nor unto any of these other Conclusions, effectually and pertinently seem to them to answer; but rather by subtilties and shifts, saying oftentimes, and as expressly as Luke said, it was sufficient for him to believe as the holy Church believed. Then the said Archbishop examined him upon the first Conclusion touching the Sacrament of the Altar; whether that after the words of Consecration there remaineth material bread, particular bread, or universal bread? He said the matter passed his understanding, and therefore said, he would in that form and manner answer, and otherwise not: But amongst other things, he spake in deriding-wise unto the said Archbishop against this word Material, saying, You may put that in your purse, if you have any. Whereupon the said Archbishop calling that an unwise and foolish answer, as the rest of the Doctors did (of whom mention was made before) the rather for that he was a Graduate in the Schools, farther proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

And thou John Ashton monished and commanded by us, as is aforesaid, after thine Oath taken, without any reasonable cause or any other licence, neither wouldst thou, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet dost contemptuously, to answer unto such Conclusions before us; judicially according to our monition and commandment aforesaid; we do hold all such Conclusions to be by thee confessed, and thee the foresaid John, with all thy foresaid Conclusions, convicted. And therefore we do pronounce, and declare by Sentence giving, that thou John Ashton, concerning those Conclusions, which by us with good deliberation of divers Prelates our Suffragans, and also divers and sundry Professors of Divinity, and other wise men and learned in the Law, according to the Canonical Sanctions, being condemned and declared for an Heretick, and heretical hast been, and still art an Heretick, and thy Conclusions heretical. And as touching thy other Conclusions, by us heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare sententially by these our Writings, that both thou hast erred, and dost err.

Upon the same 20th day of June, in the year and place above recited, the foresaid Lord of Canterbury being desirous, as he pretended, to be informed by Thomas Hilman, Bachelor of Divinity, there being present, and somewhat favouring the said Master John Ashton, what his Judgment and Opinion was touching the foresaid Conclusions, prefixed and assigned unto the said Thomas (for that time demanding the same deliberation and day) eight days after; that is to say, the 28th of the said month, to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, wherefore within his said Province of Canterbury he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his judgment and opinion was touching the foresaid Conclusions. Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

The Names of Fryers and Doctors assistant at the Examination aforesaid.

Fryers Observants, Botlesham Bishop of Navaton, Fryer John Langley, William Suard. Fryers of Dominicks Order, John Kingham, John Lovey, Peter Stokes, Walter Dish. Fryers Carmelites, Thomas Ashburn, Baukine, Robert Walbey.

Doctors and Fryers Augustines, Master John Barner, Master Thomas Backton, Master John Blanchard, Master John Shillingford, Master Lidford, Master Thomas Southam.

The Fryday next following, that is to say, the 28th day of June, the foresaid M. Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman, appeared before the said Archbishop and Lord Inquisitor of Canterbury, in the Chappel of his Mannor of Otford, in the Diocels of Canterbury there sitting in his Tribunal-Seat. To whom the said Bishop of Canterbury saying, That because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the Doctors in Divinity and of the Canon and Civil Law, he continued the said business touching the said Nicholas, Philip and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, till Tuesday next and immediately ensuing; that is to say, the first day of July, the year of our Lord aforesaid: and prefixed unto the said Nicholas Philip, and Thomas Hilman the same day to appear before him, wherefore within his Province of Canterbury he should then chance to be, to do that which upon the said, 28th day, they were purposed to do together or apart.

Which Tuesday being come, the foresaid Archbishop in the chief house of his Church at Canterbury, before the hour of Nine with the Doctors, whose names are under contained, and other Clerks a great multitude; expected the foresaid Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas long time, by the Beadle, calling them and looking after them; who nevertheless appeared not before two of the Clock after dinner the same day, continuing the foresaid business in the pristine state till the same hour. At which hour the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury, having Assistants the Doctors and Clerks under recited, examined the foresaid Master Thomas Hilman, then and there judicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foresaid Conclusions; who at them and the meaning of them somewhat stammering, at last to all and singular the same Conclusions then to him read and expounded, thus answered, I suppose and judge all and singular those Conclusions lately condemned by my Lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the council and consent of his Clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, even as the same my Lord of Canterbury and other Doctors of Divinity, of the Canon and Civil Law, by common consent and counsel have supposed and thought. And the same (being for Heresies and Errors, as before is said condemned) I do as much as in me is condemn; protesting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of those Conclusions, and in the same Faith live and die. Then the said Archbishop of Canterbury, then and there sitting as Tribunal or Judge, pronouncing the said Masters, Nicholas and Philip, long in Court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing, guilty of Contumacy and Disobedience; excommunicated them for the penalty of this their Contumacy, in tenour of these words following:

We William by the Grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, Legate of the Apostolical See,

Master Thomas Hilman suspected to be a favourer of John Ashton. The 20th day of June

Days given to Thomas Hilman to answer.

The 28th day of June An. 1381.

The 1st day of July, An. 1382.

The answer of Thomas Hilman.

Nic. Herford and Philip Rappington, for not appearing, excommunicated.

Another day assigned for the examiners to appear.

Process made by the Archbishop against John Ashton.

John Ashton severally examined.

The Archbishop and his Fryers do see the English Tongue for the people.

Whether material bread remain in the Sacrament.

Excommu-
nication
pronounced
by the
Archbishop.

Sec, and through all our Province of *Canterbury*; of all Heretical pravity chief Inquisitor; do pronounce Master *Nicholas Herford* and Master *Philip Reppington*, Professors of Divinity, having this day and place by our prefixion appointed to hear and decree in this business of Heretical pravity (being in Court by our Bedle long called and tarried for, and yet not appearing) to be stubborn and disobedient persons; and, for the penalty of this their contumacy, we do Excommunicate them and either of them by these presents.

The denouncing of the Excommunication against Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington.

The 13th
day of July,
An. 1382.
Excommu-
nication to
be denoun-
ced at Pauls
Crofs.

William by Gods permission Archbishop of *Canterbury*, &c. To our beloved Son in Christ, who-soever he be, that this instant Sunday shall Preach at *Pauls Crofs* in *London*, salutation grace and blessing. Forasmuch as we prefixed a certain competent day and place to Master *Nicholas Herford*, and Master *Philip Reppington*, Canon Regular of the Monastery of our Lady of *Leicester*, being Doctors of Divinity, and of Heretical pravity vehemently suspected (after certain answers not fully made, but impertinent and nothing to the purpose, as also Heretical and Erroneous) in divers places of our said Province commonly, generally, and publicly taught and preached; and that therefore they should judicially appear before us, to do and to receive peremptorily in that behalf, what thing soever the quality of that business should move us unto: and that we have for their contumacy in not appearing before us at that day and place, judicially appointed, as right therein required: We by these presents command and commit unto you, firmly injoyning you, that when all the multitude of People shall be gathered together to hear your Sermon, that in the day and place appointed you publicly and solemnly denounce the fore-said *Nicholas* and *Philip*, holding up a Crofs, and lighting up a Candle, and then throwing down the same upon the ground, to have been so and in such manner Excommunicated, and still be.

Fare ye well. In our Mannor House at *Lambeth*, the 13th day of *July*, the Year of our Lord, 1382. and first Year of our Translation.

The Citation against the said Nicholas and Philip.

William by the Grace of God, &c. To our Wel-beloved Son *M. Robert Rigge*, Chancellor of the *University* of *Oxford*, Salutation, &c. Forasmuch as we have prefixed a competent day and place to *M. Nicholas Herford*, and *M. Philip Reppington*, &c. As before: We straitly charge and command you, that you publicly and solemnly denounce in the Church of our Lady, and in the Schools of the *University*, the fore-said *Nicholas* and *Philip* to have been by us Excommunicated, and still be. And that you further cite, or cause to be cited peremptorily the fore-said *Nicholas* and *Philip*, that they and every of them appear before us within 15. days after the date of this Citation, where-soever it shall fortune us, within our said Province of *Canterbury*, then to be: To hear and see how we mean to proceed against them, and every of them, concerning the fore-said Heretical and Erroneous conclusions, according to the form of retroactions, and quality of the business in this behalf had and used. And that both of the day of the receipt of this present Citation, of the manner and form thereof; or if that you shall apprehend by personal Citation the said *Nicholas* and *Philip*, or either of them, or whether they shall be absent and hide themselves, as of every thing else, which in this behalf you shall think meet to be done; that between this and the Feast of *S. Laurence*, you clearly certifie us by your Letters Patents, containing the effect of these things.

Fare ye well. At our Mannor of *Lambeth*, the 13th day of *July* in the Year of our Lord 1382. and first Year of our Translation.

{KING,
Ric. 2.

The names of the Doctors and Friars assistants at this sitting.

Seculars, *M. William Blankpaine*, *M. William Barton*.

Friars *Carmelites*, *Robert Every*, Prior, *John Renningham*, Prior, and *John Lunne*.

Friars *Minors*, *William Barnwel*, *John Rydden*, and *William Brunscombe*.

Friars *Augustines*, *John Court*, *Patrington*, *Tomson* and *Keepes*.

Against this blind Excommunication of the said Archbishop the parties Excommunicate commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the Bishop of *Rome*. Which appeal of theirs as insufficient, or rather to him unpleasant, the said Archbishop utterly rejected (as might oftentimes overcome right) proceeding in his preconceived Excommunication against them, and writing moreover his Letters to him that should Preach next at *Pauls Crofs*, as is afore-said, to denounce and to publish openly the said *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington* to be Excommunicate, for not appearing at their term assigned. Which was in the 13th day of the Month of *July*.

Which Archbishop moreover the said year, the month and day afore-said, sent also another Letter to *M. Rigge*, Commissary of *Oxford*, straightly injoyning and charging him, not only to denounce the said sentence of Excommunication, and to give out publick Citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all *Oxford* for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, personally before him to appear at a certain day prescribed for the same. Whereby may appear how busie this Bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poor Men, whom rather he should have nourished and Cherished as his Brethren. But as his labor is past, so his reward will follow, at what day the great Archbishop of our souls shall judicially appear in his Tribunal Seat, to Judge both the quick and the dead.

The Archbishop not yet contented with this, doth moreover by all means possible sollicite the King to joyn withal the power of his temporal Sword; for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the Popish Clergy had not Authority sufficient, by any publick Law or Statute of this Land, to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever, in case of Religion, but only by the usurped Tyranny and example of the Court of *Rome*. Where note (Gentle Reader) for thy better understanding the practice of the Romish Prelates in seeking the Kings help to further their bloody purpose against the good Saints of God. Which King being but young, and under years of ripe Judgment, partly induced, or rather seduced by importune sute of the fore-said Archbishop, partly also either for fear of the Bishops (for Kings cannot always do in their Realms what they will) or else perhaps inticed by some hope of subsidy to be gathered by the Clergy, was content to adjoyn his private assent (such as it was) to the setting down of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first Law that is to be found made against Religion and the professors thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, An. 5. Ric. 2. Where among sundry other Statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed Books of Statutes, this supposed Statute is to be found, cap. 5. & ultimo.

Item, Forasmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil persons within the Realm, going from County to County, and from Town to Town, in certain habits under dissimulation of great Holiness, and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient Authority, Preaching daily not only in Churches and Churchyards, but also in Markets, Fairs, and other open places where a great Congregation of people is, divers Sermons containing Heresies and notorious Errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian Faith and destruction of the Laws, and of the Estate of holy Church, to the great peril of the souls of the people, and of all the Realm of *England* as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops and other Prelates, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of Canon and of civil Law, and a great

The Excom-
munication
of Herford
and Rep-
pington de-
nounced at
Pauls Crofs.

13th day of
July, An.
1382.

Other Let-
ters of the
Archbishop
sent to the
Chancellor
of Oxford.

Hitherto no
Law to
burn any
Man for
Religion.

The King
circumven-
ted by the
Archbishop.

The first law
to be found
practised by
the Clergy
for burning
the profes-
sors of re-
ligion.
An. 5. Ric.
Secundo.

This Sta-
tute was
made by the
Clergy,
without
consent or
knowledge
of the Com-
mons.

KING a great part of the Clergy of the said Realm, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to ingender discord and dissention betwixt divers Estates of the said Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, in exciting of the people to the great peril of all the Realm: which Preachers being cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their Summons and Commandments, nor care not for their Monitions nor Censures of the holy Church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtil and ingenious words, do draw the people to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their Errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and assented in this present Parliament, That the Kings Commissions be made and directed to the Sheriffs, and other Ministers of our Sovereign Lord the King, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and also their Fautors, Maintainers and Abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy Church. And the King willet and commandeth, that the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times, that he by the Prelates, or any of them shall be certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid.

An Examination of the foresaid supposed Statute, and of the invalidity thereof.

WHigh supposed Statute forasmuch as it was the principal ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time; it is therefore not impertinent to examine the same more particularly, whereby it shall appear, that as the same was fraudulently and unadvisedly devised by the Prelates only, so was it in like manner most injuriously and unorderly executed by them. For immediately upon the publishing of this Law, without further warrant either from the King or his Council, Commissions under the Great Seal of England were made in this form, *Richard by the Grace of God, &c. ut patet, act. pag. 541. Witness my self at Westminster the 26th day of June, in the sixth year of our Reign.* Without more words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite, viz. *per ipsum Regem: per Regem & concilium: per breve de privato Sigillo.* All or any which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may be seen in the Kings Records of that time; it must therefore be done either by warrant of this foresaid Statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said Statute appointed the Commissions to be directed to the Sheriff, or other Ministers of the Kings, or to other sufficient persons learned for the arresting of such persons; the said Commissions are directed to the Archbishop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth Parties in the case, authorizing them further without either the words, or reasonable meaning of the said Statute, to imprison them in their own houses, or where else pleased them.

Besides also, what manner of Law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, Judge by that that followeth, viz.

In the *Utas* of Saint Michael next following, at a Parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth year of the said King, among sundry Petitions made to the King by his Commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this form, *Article 52.*

Item, prayen the Commons, That whereas an Estate was made the last Parliament in these words, It is Ordained in this present Parliament, That Commissions from the King be directed to the Sheriffs, and other Ministers of the King, or to other sufficient persons skilful, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made unto the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such Preachers, and their Fautors, Maintainers and Abettors: And them to detain in strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason, and law of holy Church: And the King willet and commandeth, that the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times as he shall be by the Prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid. The which was never agreed nor granted by the Commons: but whatsoever was moved therein, was with-

out their assent. That the said Statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the Prelates, than were their Ancestors in former times, whereunto is answered, *il plaist al, Roy. 1.* the King is pleased.

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust Law of *An. 5.* was repealed, and the fraud of the Framers thereof sufficiently discovered: yet such means was there made by the Prelates, that this Act of repeal was never published, nor ever thence imprinted with the rest of the Statutes of that Parliament. Inasmuch as the said Repeal being concealed, like Commissions and other Process were made from time to time, by virtue of the said Bastard-Statute, as well during all the Reign of this King, as ever thence against the Professors of Religion; as shall hereafter by the Grace of God appear in the second year of King Henry the Fourth, where the Clergy pursued the like practice. And now again to the story of our Oxford Divines, and of the Archbishop, to whom the King writeth his Letters Patents, first to the Archbishop, then to the Vice-Chancellor in Oxford as followeth.

The Kings Letters Patents to the Archbishop.

Richard by the Grace of God King of England, and Lord of Ireland. To all those to whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. By the Petition of the reverend Father in God, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, exhibited unto us, we right well understand: That divers and sundry Conclusions, very contrary to wholesome Doctrine, and redounding both to the subversion of the Catholick Faith, the holy Church, and to his Province of Canterbury, in divers and sundry places of the same his Province, have been openly and publicly preached, although damnable preached: Of the which Conclusions, some as Heresies, othersome as Errors have been condemned, but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and used; and by common council of the said Archbishop, his Suffragans, and many Doctors in Divinity, and other Clerks and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were essentially and wholesomely declared. Whereupon the said Archbishop hath made his Supplication unto us; that both for the coercion and due castigation of such as shall henceforth of an obstinate mind, preach or maintain the foresaid Conclusions, we would vouchsafe to put to the arm and helping hand of our Kingly Power. We therefore moved by the zeal of the Catholick Faith, whereof we be, and will be Defenders, and unwilling that any such Heresies or Errors should spring up within the Limits of our Dominion: Give and grant special Licence and Authority, by the tenour of these presents, unto the foresaid Archbishop, and to his Suffragans, to arrest and imprison either in their own prisons, or any other, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or apertly preach and maintain the foresaid Conclusions, so condemned; and the same persons so imprisoned there at their pleasures to detain, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such heretical Pravitities, or else it shall be of such arrests, by us and our Council otherwise determined and provided: Further charging and commanding all and singular our Liege-men, Ministers and Subjects, of what state and condition soever they be, upon their Fidelity and Allegiance, wherein they stand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counsel, or help the Preachers, or else Maintainers of the said Conclusions so condemned, or their Favourers, upon pain and forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they obey and humbly attend upon the said Archbishop, his Suffragans, and Ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and manifest publication against the foresaid Conclusions and their Maintainers, without any perturbation, may be done and executed, as for the Defence of our Realm and Catholick Faith shall be thought most meet and requisite. In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made.

Witness our self at Westminster the 16th of June, and sixth year of our Reign.

The King ratifieth the repeal.

The Kings Letters against the Favourers of Wickliff.

The 16th day of June Anno 1382.

The

Note that this Statute was repealed afterwards at the instance of the Commons.

No usual words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite, viz.

The petition of the Commons for the repealing of the foresaid Statute.

The Statute repealed.

The Kings Letters Patents to the Vice-Chancellor.

Another
Letter of
the King to
the Vice-
Chancellor.

THe King to the Chancellor and the Procurators of the University of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall be greeting. Moved by the zeal of Christian Faith, whereof we be, and always will be Defenders, and for our Souls health induced thereunto, having a great desire to repress, and by condign punishment to restrain the Impugners of the foresaid Faith, which newly and wickedly go about and presume to sow their naughty and perverse Doctrine within our Kingdom of England, and to preach and hold damnable Conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same Faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as we understand: Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others. We have by these Presents appointed you to be Inquisitor-General (all the chief Divines of the said University being your Assistants) and the same likewise to be done of all and singular the Graduates, Divines and Lawyers of the same University. And if they shall know any which be of the Jurisdiction of the said University of Oxford, which be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, belief, or defence of any Heresie or Error, and specially of any of the Conclusions publickly condemned by the reverend Father, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Council of his Clergy, or else of any other Conclusion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words; and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall believe, favour, or defend any of the foresaid Heresies or Errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be bold to receive into their Houses and Inns, Master John Wickliffe, Master Nicholas Herford, Master Philip Reppington, or Master John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspicion of any the foresaid Heresies, or Errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word: Or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such Favourers, Receivers, Communicants, and Defenders, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, that you banish and expel them from the University and Town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their Innocency before the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, by manifest purgation. So notwithstanding that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certifie us and the said Archbishop, under your Seals, from time to time within one month, that they be such manner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the Halls of the said University ye cause diligently to be searched and inquired out of hand; If any man have any Book or Tractation of the Edition, or compiling of the foresaid M. John Wickliffe, or N. Herford: and that when and wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such Book or Tractation, ye cause the same to be arrested and taken, and unto the foresaid Archbishop within one month (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatsoever) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore we straitly enjoin and command you, upon your Fidelity and Allegiance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon pain of forfeiture of all and singular your Liberties and Privileges of your said University, and of all that ever you have besides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premisses, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and form aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid Archbishop, and his lawful and honest Mandates, that he shall think good to direct unto you in this behalf, as it is meet ye should. And we give in charge unto the Vice-Chancellor and Major of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our Sheriffs, and Under-Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Subjects by these presents; that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premisses. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster the thirteenth day of July, the sixth year of his Reign.

The 13th
day of Ju-
ly, Anno
1382.

Besides these Letters Patents, the said young King moved by the unquiet importunity of the Archbishop, sendeth moreover another special Letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of the University of Oxford. Wherein, under a pretended zeal of Defence of Christian

Faith, he straitly and sharply enjoineth and assigneth them (for the utter abolishing of those Conclusions and Opinions) to make a general Inquisition through the whole University, as well for the Parties aforesaid, John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such others; as also for all other whom they know or judge to be suspected of that Doctrine, or to be Maintainers, Receivers, and Defenders of the foresaid Parties, or their Conclusions any manner of way; to the intent that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be within seven days of their Admonitions expelled the University, and cited up to the Archbishop of Canterbury, before him to appear and to stand to their Answers. Willing moreover and commanding the said Vice-Chancellor and Proctors with other Regents their Assistants, that if any person or persons in any House, Hall, or College, or in any other place shall be found to have any of their Books or Treatises compiled by the said John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, &c. they will cause without delay the said person or persons with their Books, to be arrested and attached, and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foresaid Archbishop, upon their Faith and Allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and singular the Liberties and Privileges of the University appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the Archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his Injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawful and honest. Giving moreover in these our Letters charge and commandment to the Major, Bailiffs, and other the Inhabitants of Oxford to be Assistant and Attendant unto the foresaid Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, touching the execution of the Premises, bearing the date of the 14th day of July, which was the year of our Lord, 1382.

{ KING }
Ric. 2.

Another
Letter of
the King
sent to Ox-
ford against
Wickliffe
and his Fel-
lows. The
effect of
the Kings
Letter
briefly
compre-
hended.

The person
with their
Books to be
arrested.

The 14th
day of Ju-
ly, Anno
1382.

Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, with others.

THe Vice-Chancellor the same time in Oxford was M. Robert Rigge. The two Proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish; who then, as far as they durst, favoured the Cause of John Wickliffe and that side. Inasmuch that the same time and year, which was Anno 1382. when certain publick Sermons should be appointed customably at the Feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the Cloyster of Saint Frideswide (now called Christs Church) before the people, by the Vice-Chancellor aforesaid and the Proctors: the doings thereof the Vice-Chancellor aforesaid and Proctors had committed to Philip Reppington and Nicholas Herford, so that Nicholas Herford should preach on the Ascension-day, and Reppington upon Corpus Christi day. First, Herford beginning was noted to defend John Wickliffe openly to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with Out-cries was amongst the Fryers. This Herford, after he had long favoured and maintained Wickliffes part, grew first in suspicion amongst the Enemies of the Truth. For as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing, which tended to the defence of Wickliffe; by and by the Carmelites, and all the Orders of Religion were on his top, and laid not a few Heresies unto his Charge; the which they had strained here and there out of his Sermons, and had compiled together in a certain forme, by the hands of certain Notaries (through the industry and diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischief, uproars, and debate, and dissention.) After this the Feast of Corpus Christi drew near; upon which day it was looked for that Reppington should preach. This man was a Canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first Degree unto Doctorship, who preaching the same time at Brodsgates, for the same Sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the Pharisaical brood of the Fryers: but through the great and notable dexterity of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modesty and honesty, he did so overcome, or at the least assuage this cruelty and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after, by the consent of the whole Fellowship, he was admitted Doctor.

Robert
Rigge Vice-
Chancellor
of Oxford.

Nicholas
Herford
preaching
on the As-
cension-day
defended
Wickliffe.

Reppington
first Canon
of Leicester,
after Bishop
of Lincoln.

Reppington
admitted
Doctor.

Who

[KING] Who assoon as he had taken it upon him, by and by he stepped forth in the Schools, and began immediately to shew forth and utter, that which he had long hidden and dissembled. Protesting openly, that in all moral matters he would defend *Wickliff*. But as touching the Sacrament he would as yet hold his peace, until such time as the Lord shall otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the Clergy.

Now the day of *Corpus Christi* aforesaid approaching near, when the Friars understood that this Man should preach, fearing lest that he would rub the galls of their Religion, they convented with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that the same day, a little before that *Philip* should preach, *Wickliff's* Conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole Univerfity. The doing of which matter was committed to *Peter Stokes* Frier, Standard-bearer, and chief Champion of that side against *Wickliff*.

There were also Letters sent unto the Commissary, that he should help and aid him in publishing of the same Conclusions, as is before declared.

These things thus done and finished, *Reppington* at the hour appointed, proceeded to his Sermon. In the which Sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect:

That the Popes or Bishops ought not to be recommended above Temporal Lords.

Also, *That in moral matters he would defend Master Wickliff as a true Catholick Doctor.*

Moreover, *That the Duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection; besides many things more, which touched the praise and defence of Wickliff.*

And finally, in concluding his Sermon, he dismissed the People with this Sentence; *I will (said he) in the speculative Doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, keep silence and hold my peace, until such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the Clergy.*

When the Sermon was done, *Reppington* entred into *S. Frideswides* Church, accompanied with many of his friends; who, as the enemies surmised, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Frier *Stokes* the *Carmelite* aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept him within the Sanctuary of the Church, not daring as then, to put out his head. The Vicechancellor and *Reppington*, friendly saluting one another in the Church-porch, sent away the People, and so departed every man home to his own house.

There was not a little joy through the whole Univerfity for that Sermon; but in the mean time, the unquiet and busie *Carmelite* slept not his matter. For first, by his Letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the Archbishop, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring his help and aid, pretermittng nothing whereby to move and stir up the Archbishops mind, which of his own nature was as hot as a Toft, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (three days after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said Frier, breathing out threatnings and Heresies against them, took the way unto the Schools, minding there to prove, that the Pope and the Bishops ought to be prayed for before the Lords Temporal.

Whilst this Frier was thus occupied in the Schools, he was mocked and derided of all Men, and shortly after he was sent for by the Archbishop to *London*; whom immediately after the Vicechancellor and *Brightwel* followed up, to purge and clear themselves and their adherents, from the accusations of this Frier *Peter*. At the length, they being examined upon *Wickliff's* Conclusions that were condemned; they did all consent, that they were worthily condemned. The Vicechancellor being afterward accused for the contempt of the Archbishops Letters, when as he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he desired pardon. The which when he had now again (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtained; by the help of the Bi-

shop of *Winchester* he was sent away again with certain commandments, and Suspensions of Hereticks. Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appear and shew, and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these Friars and Religious Men; unto whom, whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one *Henry Crompe*, a Monk *Cistercian*, a well learned Divine, which afterward was accused by the Bishops of Heresie. He at that time was openly suspected by the Commissary, because in his Lectures he called the Hereticks *Lollards* in his Acts (as they term them) in the School. Then he, coming by and by up to *London*, made his complaint unto the Archbishop, and to the Kings Council.

Whereupon he obtaining the Letters of the King, and of his Council, by the vertue thereof (returning again to the Univerfity) he was released and restored again to his former state, the words of which Letter here followeth under written.

The Copy of the King's Letter.

THE King to the Vicechancellor and Procurators of the Univerfity of *Oxford*, greeting. Whereas we of late understanding by the grievous complaint of *Henry Crompe* Monk, and Regent in Divinity within the said Univerfity, how that he, being assisted by the Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by other Clerks and Divines in the City of *London*, to proceed in the condemnation of certain conclusions erroneous and heretical, hath been therefore molested by you, and that you through sinister suggestion of some adversaries (pretending the peace of the said Univerfity to have been broken by the said *Henry* in his last Lecture) did therefore call him before you to appear and answer, and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obdurate, and convict of peace breaking, and have also suspended the said *Henry* from his Lectures, and all scholastical Acts. And whereas we by our Writ did call you up for the same, to appear and answer before our Council unto the premises; and, all things being well tried and examined by the said Council, it was found and determined, that all your process against the said *Henry*, was void and of none effect, and commandment given, that the said *Henry* should be restored and admitted again to his former Lectures and scholastical Acts, and to his pristine state as you know. To the intent therefore that this Decree aforesaid should be more duly executed of your part, we here by these Presents straitly charge and command you, that you speedily revoking again all your Process against the said *Henry* in the Univerfity aforesaid, with all other that followed thereof, do admit and cause to be restored again the said *Henry* to his scholastical Acts, his accustomed Lectures, and pristine estate, without all delay, according to the form of the decree and determination aforesaid. Enjoyning you moreover, and your Commissaries or Deputies, and your successors, and all other masters regent and not regent, and other Presidents, Officers, Ministers and Scholars of the Univerfity aforesaid, upon your faith and allegiance you owe to us, that you do not impeach, molest or grieve, or cause to be grieved (any manner of way, privy or apert) the said Frier *Henry* for the causes premised, or Frier *Peter Stokes Carmelite*, for the occasion of his absence from the Univerfity, or Frier *Stephen Packington Carmelite*, or any other religious or secular person favouring them, upon occasion of any, either word or deed whatsoever, concerning the Doctrine of *Mr. J. Wickliff, Nich. Herford, and Ph. Reppington*, or the reproof and condemnation of their Heresies and Errors, or the correction of their favourers; but that you do procure the peace, unity and quiet within the said Univerfity, and chiefly between the religious and secular persons; and that you with all diligence, nourish, increase and preserve the same to the uttermost of your strength. And that you in no case omit to do it accordingly, upon the forfeitures of all and singular the liberties and priviledges of the Univerfity aforesaid.

Witness my self at *Westminster* the fourteenth day of *July*.

V v

Mention

Religious Men first causers of this trouble.

Hen. Crompe first an accuser of other, after accused himself for Heresie.

The Kings Letter to the Vicechancellor and Procurators of *Oxf.*

Hen. Crompe complaineth to the Kings Council of the most secular Masters of *Oxford*.

Hen. Crompe, Peter Stokes, Carm. Steph. Packington, Carm. restored by the King to their scholastical Acts.

Two Sides Standard-bearers to the Popish.

Notes of the Sermon of *Reppington*.

The Univerfity rejoiceth.

Whether the Lords Temporal were to be prayed for before the Bishops. The Frier derided and mocked in the Schools.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how Master *Rigges* Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, coming up with Master *Brightwel* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of *Wickliff*, where he notwithstanding, through the help of the Bishop of *Winchester*, obtained pardon, and was sent away again with commandments and charges to seek out all the favourers of *John Wickliff*. This commandment being received, *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington* (being privily warned by the said Vicechancellor) in the mean season conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the Duke of *Lancaster* for succour and help; but the Duke, whether for fear, or for what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsook his poor and miserable Clients.

Herford and Reppington fled to the Duke of Lancaster.

In the mean time, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found. Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Courtney*, directed out his Letters first to the Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, then to the Bishop of *London* named *Robert Braybroke*; charging them not only to excommunicate the said *Nicholas* and *Philip* within their jurisdiction, and the said Excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the Dioceses of his Suffragans: but also moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in *Oxford* and in *London*, that they might be apprehended; requiring moreover by them to be certified again, what they had done in the premises. And this was written the 14th. day of *July*, Anno 1382. *Ex Regist.*

Letters of the Archbishop to the Vicechancellor. Letters of the Archbishop to the Bishop of London. *Robert Braybroke* Bishop of London.

The 14th. day of July, Anno 1382.

Unto these Letters received from the Archbishop diligent Certificat was given accordingly, as well of the Bishop of *London* his part, as also of the Vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this:

The Letter Certificatory of the Vicechancellor to the Archbishop.

TO the reverend father in Christ, Lord *William Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, *Robert Rigges*, Professor of Divinity, and Vicechancellor of the University of *Oxford*, greeting with due honour. Your Letters bearing the date of the fourteenth of *July* I have received; by the authority whereof I have denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* to have been, and to be excommunicate publickly and solemnly in the Church of *S. Mary*, and in the Schools, and to be cited also personally, if by any means they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid for them of my part, to have them personally cited and apprehended, I could not find neither the said *Mr. Nicholas*, nor *Mr. Philip*, who have hid or conveyed themselves, unknown to me, as here is well known. Whereof I thought here to give signification to your Fatherhood. Sealed and testified with the Seal of mine office. From *Oxford* the 25th. of *July*.

The Letter of R. Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford to the Archbishop.

The 25th. day of July, Anno 1382.

Herford and Reppington repulsed from the Duke of *Lancaster*. The 23d. day of *Octob.* *Reppington* released by the Archbishop. *J. Ashton* reconciled by the Archbishop.

In the mean time *Nicholas Herford* and *Reppington* being repulsed of the Duke, and destitute (as was said) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went to the Archbishop, it was uncertain. This I find in a Letter of the foresaid Archbishop, contained in his Register; that *Reppington* the 23d. day of *October*, the same year 1382. was reconciled again to the Archbishop, and also by his general Letter was released, and admitted to his scholastical Acts in the University. And so was also *John Ashton*, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of *Nicholas Herford* all this while I find no special relation.

In the mean time, about the twenty third of the Month of *September* the said year, the King sent his Mandate to the Archbishop for collecting of a Subsidy, and to have a Convocation of the Clergy summoned against the next Parliament, which should begin the 18th. day of *November*. The Archbishop likewise, on the 15th. day of *October*, directed his Letters Monitory (as the manner is) to *Robert Braybroke* Bishop of *London*, to give the same admonition to all his Suffragans, and other of the Clergy within his Province, for the assembling of the Convocation aforesaid.

A Parliament summoned the 15th. of *Octob.* 1382.

All which done and executed, the Parliament begun, being holden at *Oxford* the eighteenth day of *November*, where the Convocation was kept in the Monastery of *Frideswide* in *Oxford*. In the which Convocation the Archbishop, with other Bishops there sitting in their Pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present Assembly, the one (saith he) to repress Heresies, which began newly in the Realm to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the Church. The other cause (saith he) was to aid and support the King with some necessary Subsidy of Money to be gathered, which thus declared, the Convocation was continued till the day following, which was, the 19th. of *November*.

The KING Ric. 2. The Convocation of Frideswide in Oxford, the 18th. day of Nov.

At the said day and place, the Archbishop with the other Prelates, assembling themselves as before: the Archbishop after the used solemnity, willed the Procurators of the Clergy, appointed for every Diocese, to consult within themselves, in some convenient several place, what they thought for their parts touching the redrels of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

The 19th. day of November Anno 1382.

Furthermore, forso much (saith he) as it is so noised through all the Realm, that there were certain in the University of *Oxford*, which did hold and maintain conclusions (as he calleth them) Heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other Lawyers and Doctors of Divinity; he therefore assigned the Bishops of *Sarum*, *Hereford*, and *Rocheſter*, with *William Rugge* then Vicechancellor of the University of *Oxford* (for belike *Robert Rigges* was then displaced) as also *William Berton*, and *John Middleton* Doctors; giving them his full authority with curbing and banning to compel them to search, and to enquire with all diligence and ways possibly, over all, and singular whatsoever, either Doctors, Bachelors, or Scholars of the said University, which did hold, teach, maintain and defend, in Schools, or out of Schools, the said Conclusions Heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give Certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus for that day the Assembly brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third being *Monday*, the 24th. day of *November*; *Ex Regist. W. Courtney.*

Rob. Rigges displaced from the Vicechancellorship.

Inquisition made at Oxford.

The 24th. day of Nov. Anno 1382.

On the which day, in the presence of the Prelates and the Clergy in the Chapter house of *St. Frideswide*, came in *Philip Reppington* (otherwise called of the Brethren afterward *Rampington*) who there abjured the Conclusions and Assertions aforesaid, in this form of words as followeth.

In Dei nomine, Amen. I *Philip Reppington*, Canon of the House of *Leicester*, acknowledging one Catholick and Apostolick Faith, do curse and also abjure all Heresy, namely these Heresies and errors underwritten, condemned and reprobated by the Decrees Canonical, and by you most reverend Father, touching which hitherto I have been defamed; condemning moreover, and reproving both them and the Authors of them, and do confess the same to be Catholically condemned. And I swear also by these holy Evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never by any persuasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions underwritten; but do and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy Catholick Church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as stand contrary to this faith, I do pronounce them with their Doctrine and Followers worthy of everlasting curse. And if I my self shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the Canons. Subscribed with mine own hand, and of mine own accord, *Philip Reppington*. And thus the said *Rampington* was discharged, who afterward was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, and became at length the most bitter and extream Persecutor of this side, of all the other Bishops within the Realm, as in process hereafter may appear.

The Abjuration of Philip Reppington.

Philip Reppington after his abjuration, became a terrible Persecutor.

After the Abjuration of this *Reppington*, immediately was brought in *John Ashton* Student of Divinity; who being examined of those Conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered, That he was too simple and ignorant, and therefore would not, and could not answer anything clearly or distinctly to those Conclusions. Whereupon the Archbishop assigned to him Doctor *William Rugge* the Vicechancellor and other Divines, such as he required himself,

A short time my Lord, for a man in one forenoon to learn a faith against his Conscience. The Abjuration of J. Ashton.

KING himself, to be instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon; who then, appearing again after Dinner before the Archbishop and the Prelates, did in like sort and form of words abjure as did Reppington before.

Of this *John Ashton* we read, that afterward, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in Prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainty to shew. This is certain, by the plain words of the Chronicle of *S. Albans*, that when the Archbishop with his Doctors and Friars sate in examination upon this said *John Ashton* in *London*, the *Londoners* brake open the door of the Conclave, *ipsique Archiepiscopus in civitate sedentem impederunt, cum processum fecisset contra Johannem Ashton, &c.* That is, And did lett the Archbishop himself sitting in the City of *London*, when he would have made process against *John Ashton*, *An. 1382.* And thus much of *John Ashton*.

As touching *Nicholas Herford*, during the time of this Convocation he did not appear; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he put his appeal from the Archbishop to the King and his Council. The Archbishop would not admit it, but finding stays and stops, caused him to be apprehended and inclosed in Prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God and good means, he escaped out of the Prison, returning again to his former exercise and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and secret manner as he could. Whereupon the Archbishop, thundring out his bolts of Excommunication against him, sending to all Pastors and Ministers, willing them in all Churches, and on all Festival days, to divulge the said Excommunication against him to all Men; he writeth moreover, and sendeth special charge to all and singular of the Laity, to beware that their simplicity be not deceived by his Doctrine, but that they like Catholick children will avoid him, and cause him of all other to be avoided.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his Letter unto the King, requiring also the aid of his temporal sword to chop off his Neck, whom he had already cast down. See and note, Reader, the seraphical charity of these Priestly Prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Christ. And yet these be they which, walking their hands with *Pilate*, say, and pretend, *Nobis non licet interficere quendam; it is not our parts to kill any man.* The Copy of the Letter written to the King is this:

The Letter of the Archbishop to the King.

TO the most excellent Prince in Christ, &c. William, &c. Greeting in him by whom Kings do reign, and Princes bear rule. Unto your Kingly celsitude by the tenor of these presents we intimate, that one Master *Nicholas Herford* Doctor of Divinity, for his manifest contumacy and offence in not appearing before us being called at the day and place assigned, is therefore invrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publicly by our ordinary authority; and in the same sentence bath continued now forty days, and yet still continueth with obdurate heart, wickedly condemning the keis of the Church, both to the great peril of his soul, and to the pernicious example of other. Forasmuch therefore, as the holy Mother the Church bath not to do, or to proceed any further in this matter, we humbly desire your Kingly Majesty to direct out your Letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate, according to the custom of this Realm of England, whole somely observed and kept hitherto; to the intent that such, whom the fear of God doth not restrain from evil, the discipline of the Secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending. Your Princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From Lambeth the 15th. of January.

To this Letter of the Archbishop might not the King (gentle Reader) thus answer again, and answer well.

Your Letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained, we have received and well considered: For the accomplishing whereof ye shall understand, that as we are readily bent to gratifie and satishe your mind in this behalf on the one tide; so we must beware again on the other, that our authority be not abused, either to

oppress before we know, or to judge before we have tried. Wherefore forsomuch as you in your Letters do excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword against one *Nicholas Herford*, for his not appearing before you; and yet shewing in the said your Letters no certain cause to us what you have to charge him withal: we therefore following the example of *Alexander Magnus*, or rather the rule of equity in opening both our ears indifferently, to hear as well the one part as the other, doth assign both to him, when as he may be found, and to you, when ye shall be called, a term to appear before us. To the intent that the controverſie between you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true Touchstone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferently may be ministred according as the offence shall be found. In the mean time, this we cannot but something marvel at in your said Letters: First, to see you Men of the Church, and Angels of peace, to be so delirous of blood. Secondly, to consider you again so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the express law of God and his Commandments. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doubleness in your proceedings, who pretending in your publick sentence to become as intreaters for them to us in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our severity, yet in your Letters be they which most set us on. If not appearing before you be such a matter of contumacy in case of your law, that it is in no case to be spared; what should then our Princely discipline have done to Men of your calling? *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, being at *Canterbury*, was sent for by our special commandment, to come to our speech, who denied to come, and yet we spared him. *John Stratford* Archbishop, your predecessor, being required of our Progenitor King *Edward* the 3d. to come to him at *York*, would not appear; by the occasion whereof of *Scotland* the same time was lost, and yet was he suffered. The like might be said of *Robert Winchelsey* in the days of King *Edward* the first, and of *Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the days of King *Henry* the third; *Stephen Langton* was sent for by King *John* to come, he came not. The like contumacy was in *Becket* toward K. *Henry* the second. Also in *Anselm* toward K. *Henry* the first. All these for their not appearing before their Princes ye do excuse, who notwithstanding might have appeared without danger of life; this one man for not appearing before you, you think worthy of death, whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. If the Squirrel climbing to the Tree from the Lions claws would not appear, being sent for to be devoured, it is no reason that the Eagle therefore should seise upon him without any just cause declared against the party. Wherefore, according to this and to that aforesaid, when he shall appear, and you be called, and the cause justly weighed, due execution shall be ministred.

And thus far concerning *Nicholas Herford*, and the other aforesaid: But all this mean while what became of *John Wickliff* it is not certainly known. Albeit, so far as may be gathered out of *Walden*, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile. In the mean time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wherefore he was, as by his Letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to Pope *Urban* the sixth. - In the which Letter he doth purge himself, that being commanded to appear before the Pope at *Rome*, he came not; declaring also in the same a brief confession of his faith. The Copy of which Epistle here followeth.

The Epistle of John Wickliff sent unto Pope Urban the sixth, Anno 1382.

Verily I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold, and specially unto the Bishop of *Rome*; the which forsomuch as I do suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.

First, I suppose that the Gospel of Christ is the whole body of Gods Law; and that Christ, which did give that same law himself, I believe to be a very Man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the Gospel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and hold the

Bishops of *Canterbury* appeared not before their Kings, and yet they were not persecuted.

The Epistle of *J. Wickliff* to Pope *Urban*.

Bishop of Rome, forsomuch as he is the Vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other Men unto that law of the Gospel. For the greatnest amongst Christs Disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Gospel of St. Matthew, the 8th. Chapter, and the 2d. of the Corinthians, the 8th. Chapter.

The true
Disciples of
Christ seek
no honour.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the Pope himself, or any of the holy men, but in such points as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter and the Sons of Zebedee, by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Christs steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.

Hereof I do gather, as a counsel, that the Pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole Clergy: for so did Christ, and especially by his Apostles. Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit my self unto correction, even by death, if necessity so require: and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine own person, I would surely present my self before the Bishop of Rome: but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than Men. Forsomuch then as God hath given unto our Pope just and true Evangelical Instructions, we ought to pray that those motions be not extinguished by any subtilie or crafty device.

And that the Pope and Cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our Pope Urban the sixth, as he began, that he with his Clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our Pope may be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able: forsomuch as that is the plain condition and manner of Antichrist.

The Pope
occupied so
in schismatical
Wars, that he had
no leisure
to other
matters.

Thus much wrote John Wickliff unto Pope Urban. But this Pope Urban, otherwise termed Turbanus, was so hot in his Wars against Clement the French Pope his adversary, that he had no leisure, and less list, to attend unto Wickliff's matters. By the occasion of which Schism, God so provided for poor Wickliff, that he was in some more rest and quietness. Concerning which schismatical Wars of these Popes, forasimuch as we have here entred into the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of John Wickliff, to touch something of the tragical doings of these two holy Popes, striving for the Triple Crown: to the intent that the Christian Reader (judging by their fruits and proceedings) may see and understand what difference is between these Popes, and Christ and his Apostles. For though in the story of the Gospel it is read, that certain of the Disciples did strive which should be the greater: yet neither do we read that one of them took ever Weapon against the other: and moreover, in the said story of the Gospel it doth appear, that they, for so striving as they did, were therefore sharply rebuked of our Saviour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

Difference
between the
Apostles and
the Popes in
striving for
prehem-
nence.

{ Ann. }
{ 1383 }

The Pope
set to War.

About the beginning of the next year following, which was Anno 1383. Pope Urban setting all his study how to repress and conquer the contrary Pope his adversary, being then at Avinion (seeing all his other means to fail, and that his Cross-keies could do no good) took to him the Sword of Romulus, and set upon him with open War. And first deviling with himself whom he might best chuse for his chief Champion: he thought none meeter for such affairs than Henry Spencer, being then Bishop of Norwich, a young and stout Prelate, more fitting for the Camping Cure, than for the peaceable Church of Christ, as partly also might appear before by his acts done at Len-

nam, in striving for the Mayors Mace, mentioned before pag. 488. Unto this Bishop of Norwich the Pope had sent his Bulls about this time, to Croisy whomsoever would go with him into France, to destroy the Antipope, which named himself Clement, and to make War against all those that took his part. Which Bulls, for that they gave unto him such great authority, he caused to be published in the Parliament house, and caused the Copies of the same to be sent all about, and to be set up and fastned upon all the Church Doors and Monastery Gates, that all Men might read them. In the which Bulls these privileges were granted, the Copy whereof here followeth:

{ KING }
{ Ric. 2. }

1. *Imprimis*, That the said Bishop of Norwich may use his Sword against the Antipope, and all his adherents, favourers and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

The very
fruits of
Antichrist.

2. *Item*, That he hath full power to enquire of all and singular such Schismatics, and to put them in Prison, and to confiscate all their Goods, moveable and immoveable.

3. *Item*, That he hath power and authority to deprive all lay men that are such Schismatics of all manner of secular Offices whatsoever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient persons.

4. *Item*, That he may deprive all such Clerks, and declare them to be schismatics, and in this behalf to give and bestow their Benefices either with Cure or without Cure, their dignities, parsonages or offices, to other persons more meet for the same.

5. *Item*, He hath power and authority over lay persons that are exempt, and Clerks both secular and regular, yea although they be Friars Mendicants, or Masters and Professors of other Houses or Hospitals of St. Johns of Jerusalem, or S. Mary of Flanders, or Professors of what Order soever else.

6. *Item*, He hath power to dispence with what secular Clerk soever, being beneficed either with Cure or without Cure, and also with such as have dignities, parsonages, or offices, being regulars either exempt or not exempt, that every one of them may be absent with him from their Dignities and Benefices, &c. under the standard of the Cross, without licence of any of their Prelates required, and yet to receive and take the entire commodities of their Benefices, as though they had been personally resident upon the same.

7. *Item*, There is granted to all that pass the Seas in this quarrel, either at their own expences, or at the expences of any other, full remission of their sins: and as large privileges are granted to all those that go over the Sea with him, as to any that pay their money, or go to fight for the Holy Land.

8. Also all such as with their proper goods and substance shall give sufficient stipend to able Soldiers, at the discretion of the foresaid Lord Bishop mustered, or by any other his Deputy, although he himself be not personally at this business aforesaid: yet shall he have like remission and indulgence, as they which have been personally with him in this expedition.

9. *Item*, All they are partakers of this remission, which shall give any part of their goods to the said Bishop to fight against the said Schismatics.

10. *Item*, If any shall chance to die in the journey that are Soldiers under the said standard of the Cross, or else before the quarrel by some means be finished: they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace, and shall be partakers of the foresaid remission and indulgence.

11. *Item*, He hath power to excommunicate, suspend and interdict what persons soever be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of his power and authority committed unto him, of what dignity, state, degree, preheminance, order, place or condition soever they shall be: whether they shall be either of Regal, Queenly or Imperial Dignity, or of what dignity else soever, either ecclesiastical or mundane.

12. *Item*, He hath power and authority to compel and enforce what religious person soever, and to appoint them, and send them over Sea, if it seem good to him: yea although they be professors of the Friars Mendicants, for the execution of the premises.

The

KING
Ric. 2.

The Popes Absolution by the Bishop pronounced.

By the authority Apostolical to me in this behalf committed, We Absolve thee A.B. from all thy sins confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldst be confessed if they came into thy memory; and we grant unto thee plenary remission of all manner of sins, and we promise unto thee thy part of the reward of all just men, and of everlasting Salvation. And as many privileges as are granted to them that go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant unto thee; and of all the prayers and benefits of the Church, the universal Synod, as also of the holy Catholick Church, we make thee partaker.

Christ's Pas-
son hath
here no
place.

This courageous or rather outrageous Bishop, armed thus with the Popes Authority, and prompt with his privileges, in the year aforesaid 1383. about the time of Lent came to the Parliament, where great consultation and contention, and almost no less schism, was about the Voyage of this Popish Bishop in the Parliament, than was between the Popes themselves. In the which Parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the Kings People and Subjects unto a rude and unskilful Priest. So great was the diversity of judgments in that behalf that the Voyage of the said Bishop was protracted unto the Saturday before Passion Sunday. In the which Sunday was sung the solemn Anthem, *Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adversae*; That is, *Behold the Cross of the Lord, Fly away all you adversaries.* After which Sunday the parties so agreed amongst themselves by common Decree, that the Bishop should set forward in his Voyage, having to him given the Fifteenth which was granted to the King in the Parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the Parliament, this warlike Bishop preparing before all things in a readines, set forward in this Pope-holy journey. Who about the Month of May being come to Canterbury, and there tarrying for a Wind in the Monastery of St. Augustine, received a Writ from the King that he should return to the King, to know further of his pleasure. The Bishop fearing, that if he turned again to the King, his journey should be staid, and so all his labour and prepance lost with great derision and shame unto him, thought better to commit himself to fortune with that little Army he had, than by tarrying to be made a laughing stock to his adversaries. Wherefore he sent word back again to the King, that he was now ready prepared, and well forward on his journey; and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talk which per-adventure should be to no manner of purpose; and that it was more convenient for him to hasten in his journey to Gods glory, and also to the honour of the King. And thus he calling his Men unto him, entred forthwith the Seas, and went to *Calis*, where he waiting a few days for the rest of his Army, after the receipt of them, took his journey first to the Town of *Gravenidge*; which he besieged so desperately, without any prepance of Engines of War, or counsel, or of politick Men, skilful in such affairs, that he seemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length, through the superstition of our Men, trusting upon the Popes Absolution, he so harshly approached the Walls, and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were pitiously slain with Shot and Wild-fire; till at the end (the inhabitants being oppressed and vanquished) our men entred the Town with their Bishop, where they at his commandment destroying both Man, Woman and Child, left not one alive of all them, which remained in the whole Town. *Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hostes ita deleterentur, quod unus ex eis non remansit*; that is, *And so it came to pass by the vertue of the Cross, that our Men crosed so prevailed against the enemies of the Cross, that not one of them remained alive.* Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

O bloodi-
ness of An-
tichrist.Ex Chron.
Mon. D. Alb.
in vita Ric.
2.

From *Gravenidge* this warlike Bishop set forward to *Dunkirk*, where not long after the *Frenchmen* meeting with him, joyned with them in battel; in which battel (if the story be true) twelve thousand of the *Frenchmen* were slain in the Chase, and of our Men but seven only missing.

It would require a long tractation here to discourse all things done in these *Popish Wars*. Also it would be no less ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upstart Captain. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitiful slaughter and murder of Christs people by the means of these pitiless Popes, during these Wars in *France*. As when the Bishop coming from *Dunkirk* to the Siege of *Ypres*, a great number of *Englishmen* there were lost, and much Mony consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignominy of the Bishop. Again, after the Siege of *Ypres*, thus with shame broke up, the same Bishop proceeding with a small power to fight with the *French Kings* Camp, contrary to the counsel of his Captains, which counted him rash and unskilful in his attempt, was faine to break company with them; whereby part of the Army went unto *Burburgh*, and the Bishop with his part returned to *Gravenidge*; which both Towns shortly after were besieged by the *French Army*, to the great loss both of the *English* and *French* Men. In fine, when the Bishop could keep *Gravenidge* no longer, the said Bishop with his Croylies, crossing the Seas, came home again as wise as he went. And thus making an end of this Pontifical War, we will return again from whence we digressed, to the story and matter of *John Wickliff*.

Which *John Wickliff* returning again within short space, either from his Banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his Parish of *Lutterworth*, where he was Parson; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384. upon *Silversfers* day.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this Man, as in divers other, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by *Thomas Walden*, writing against him in his Tomes entituled *De Sacramentis contra Wicklevium*, that he was well aged before he departed, by that which the foresaid *Walden* writeth of him in his Epilogue, speaking of *Wickliff* in these words; *Ita ut cano placeret, quod juveni complacebat*. &c. That is, *so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young.* Whereby it seemeth that *Wickliff* lived till he was an old Man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

Walden's
Tome de Sa-
cramentis.

This *Wickliff* had written divers and sundry Works, the which in the year of our Lord 1410. were burnt at *Oxford*, the Abbot of *Shrewsbury* being then Commissary, and sent to oversee that matter. And not only in *England*, but in *Boheme* likewise, the Books of the said *Wickliff* were set on fire by one *Subincus* Archbishop of *Prague*, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them; the number of the Volumes which he is said to have burned, most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of Gold, and rich Coverings (as *Eneas Silvius* writeth) were about the number of two hundred.

The number
of Wickliff's
Books came
to 200 Vo-
lumes. En-
as Silvius.

Johannes Coclens in his Book *De historia Hussitarum*, speaking of the Books of *Wickliff*, testifieth, that he wrote very many Books, Sermons and Tractations. Moreover, the said *Coclens* speaking of himself, recordeth also, that there was a certain Bishop in *England*, which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custody two huge and mighty Volumes of *John Wickliff's* Works, which for the quantity thereof might seem to be equal with the Works of Saint *Augustine*. *Hec Coclens*.

The Books
of Wickliff.

Among other of his Treatises, I my self also have found out certain, as *de sensu & veritate Scripturae*. Item, *De Ecclesia*. Item, *De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi*, which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abroad.

As concerning certain Answers of *John Wickliff* which he wrote to King *Richard* the second, touching the right and title of the King, and of the Pope; because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth:

John Wickliff's Answer unto King Richard the Second, as touching the right and title of the King and the Pope.

IT was demanded whether the Kingdom of England may lawfully in case of necessity, for its own defence, detain and keep back the treasure of the Kingdom, that it be not carried away to foreign and strange Nations, the Pope himself demanding and requiring the same under pain of censure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliff setting apart the minds of learned Men, and what might be said in the matter, either by the Canon law, or by the law of England, or the civil law; it resteth (saith he) now only to perswade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt by the principles of Christs law. And first I prove it thus: Every natural body hath power given of God to resist against his contrary, and to preserve it self in due estate, as Philosophers know very well. Infomuch, that bodies without life are indued with such kind of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardnes is given to resist those things that would break them, and coldnes to withstand the heat that dissolveth them. Forso-much then, as the Kingdom of England after the manner and phrase of the Scriptures ought to be one body, and the Clergy with the Commonalty the members thereof, it seemeth that the same Kingdom hath such power given it of God; and so much the more apparently, by how much the same body is more precious unto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forso-much then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpose, but that he may lawfully use the same to that end and purpose; it followeth that our Kingdom may lawfully keep back and detain their treasure for the defence of it self, in what case soever necessity doth require the same.

The Popes riches is but the alms of good men.

Secondly, The same is proved by the law of the Gospel, for the Pope cannot challenge the treasure of this Kingdom, but under the title of alms, and consequently under the pretence of the works of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

Necessity taketh away the Popes alms.

But in case aforesaid, the title of alms ought utterly to cease: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our Realm shall cease also in the presupposed necessity. Forso-much as all charity hath his beginning of himself, it were no work of charity, but of meer madness, to send away the treasures of the Realm unto foreign Nations, whereby the Realm it self may fall into ruine, under the pretence of such charity.

It appeareth also by this, that Christ the Head of the Church, whom all Christian Priests ought to follow, lived by the alms of devout women, Luke 7.8. He hungered and thirsted, he was a stranger, and many other miseries he sustained, not only in his members, but also in his own body, as the Apostle witnesseth, 2 Cor. 8. He was made poor for your sakes, that through his poverty you might be rich: whereby in the first endowing of the Church, whatsoever he were of the Clergy that had any temporal possessions, he had the same by form of a perpetual alms, as both Writings and Chronicles do witness.

Note well the saying here of Bernard.

Whereupon S. Bernard, declaring in his second Book to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the Vicar of Saint Peter, writeth thus; That if Saint John should speak unto the Pope himself, as Bernard doth unto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be so, that you do challenge it unto you by some other ways or means; but truly by any right or title Apostolical you cannot so do. For how could he give unto you that which he had not himself? That which he had he gave you, that is to say, care over the Church; but did he give you any lordship or rule? Hark what he saith, Not bearing rule (saith he) as Lords over the Clergy, but behaving your selves as examples to the Flock. And because thou shalt not think it to be spoken only in humility, and not in verity, mark the word of the Lord himself in the Gospel, The Kings of the people do rule over them, but you shall not do so.

Here lordship and dominion is plainly forbidden to the Apostles, and dardest thou then usurp the same? If thou wilt be a Lord, thou shalt lose thine Apostleship; or if thou wilt be an Apostle thou shalt lose thy Lordship: for truly thou shalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt have both, thou shalt lose both, or else think thy self to be of that number, of whom God doth so greatly complain, saying, They have reigned, but not through me; they are become Princes, and I have not known it. Now if it do suffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou hast thy glory but not with God. But if we will keep that which is forbidden us, let us hear what is said, He that is the greatest amongst you (saith Christ) shall be made as the least, and he which is the highest shall be as the Minister; and for example he set a child in the midst of them. So this then is the true form and institution of the Apostles trade; Lordship and rule is forbidden, ministration and service commanded.

KING Ric. 2.

The Pope must leave his Lordship, or else let him choose whether.

The manner of the Apostles.

By these words of this blessed Man, whom the whole Church doth reverence and worship, it doth appear that the Pope hath not power to occupy the Church goods, as Lord thereof, but as Minister, and Servant, and Proctor for the poor. And would to God, that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and Lordship, which this Seat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way unto Antichrist. For it is evident by the Gospel, that Christ through his poverty, humility, and suffering of injury, got unto him the children of his Kingdom.

How the Pope ought to occupy the Church goods.

The way to obtain the Kingdom of Christ.

And moreover, so far as I remember; the same blessed Man Bernard, in his Third Book, writeth also thus unto Eugenius, I fear no other greater poison to happen unto thee, than greedy desire of rule and dominion.

This Wickliff, albeit in his life time he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none so cruel unto him, as the Clergy it self. Yet notwithstanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the base and meanest sort, but also of the Nobility, amongst whom these Men are to be numbred, John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturins, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, John Mountegow, who plucked down all the Images in his Church. Besides all these, there was the Earl of Salisbury; who, for contempt in him noted towards the Sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was enjoined by Radulph Ergon Bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a Cross of stone, in which all the story of the matter should be written: and he every Friday during his life, to come to the Cross barefoot, and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do Penance for his fact. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric. 2.

John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturins, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, John Mountegow, The Earl of Salisbury. The penance of the Earl of Salisbury.

The Londoners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the Mayors authority, who for that year was John of Northampton, took upon them the office of the Bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to civil law) of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both Fornication and Adultery. For first they put the Women in the Prison, which amongst them was then named Dolium. And lastly, bringing them into the Market-place, where every Man might behold them, and cutting off their golden locks from their heads, they caused them to be carried about the Streets, with Bag-pipes and Trumpets blown before them, to the intent they should be the better known, and their companies avoided; according to the manner then of certain Thieves that were named Appellatores, (accusers or appeachers of others that were guiltless) which were so served. And with other such like opprobrious and reproachful contumelies did they serve the Men also that were taken with them in committing the forenamed wickedness and vices. Here the story recordeth how the said Londoners were encouraged hereunto by John Wickliff, and others that followed his Doctrine, to perpetrate this act, in the reproach of the Prelates being of the Clergy. For they said, that they did not only abhor to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthy avarice they did as much detest; which for greediness of Money were choaked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to such persons by the laws appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons favourably to continue in their wickedness. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared,

The fruits of good and true Doctrine.

KING feared, left for such wickedness perpetrated within the City, and so apparently dissimulated, that God would take vengeance upon them, and destroy their City. Wherefore they said, that they could do no less than purge the same; left by the sufferance thereof God would bring a Plague upon them, or destroy them with the Sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their City. *Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.*

¶ This story (gentle Reader) albeit the Author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful wise, to the great discommendation of the *Londoners* for so doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memory; which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the *Londoners* that so did, and to the necessary example of all other Cities to follow the same. After these things thus declared, let us now adjoyn the testimonial of the University of Oxford of *John Wickliff*.

The publick testimony given out by the University of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of John Wickliff.

UNto all and singular the Children of our holy Mother the Church, to whom this present Letter shall come, the Vicechancellor of the University of Oxford, with the whole Congregation of the Masters, with perpetual health in the Lord. Forasmuch as it is not commonly seen, that the Acts and Monuments of valiant Men, nor the praise and merits of good Men should be passed over and hidden with perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and example of others; Forasmuch also as the provident discretion of mans nature, being recompensed with cruelty, hath devised and ordained this buckler and defence against such as do blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that whensoever witness by word of mouth cannot be present, the Pen by writing may supply the same.

¶ Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and care which we bear unto *John Wickliff*, sometime Child of this our University, and Professor of Divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no less) with one mind, voice and testimony, we do witness, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life to have been most sincere and commendable; whose honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and known unto all faithful, for that we understand the maturity and ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labours and travels to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the Church.

¶ Wherefore we signifie unto you by these presents, that his conversation (even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death) was so praise-worthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noised of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himself laudably, and as a stout and valiant Champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such, who by their wilful beggary, blasphemed and slandered Christs Religion. Neither was this Doctor convicted of any Heresie, either burned of our Prelates after his burial. God forbid, that our Prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty, for an Heretick; who, amongst all the rest of the University, had written in Logick, Philosophy, Divinity, Morality, and the speculative Arts, without peer. The knowledge of which all and singular things we do desire to testify and deliver forth, to the intent that the fame and renown of this said Doctor may be the more evident and had in reputation amongst them unto whose hands these present Letters testimonial shall come.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters testimonial to be sealed with our common Seal. Dated at Oxford in our Congregation-house, the 1st. day of October, in the year of our Lord 1406.

The testimony and words of Mr. John Hus, as touching Mr. John Wickliff.

VERILY, as I do not believe, neither grant, that Mr. *John Wickliff* is an Heretick; so do I not deny, but firmly hope that he is no Heretick; forasmuch as in all matters of doubt I ought, as near as I can, to chuse the best part. Wherefore I surely trust, that Master *John Wickliff* is one of the number of them which are saved. The words of Christ move me thereunto, saying *Mat. 7. Do ye not judge, that ye be not judged; and Luke the 6th. Do not condemn, and ye shall not be condemned;* and the words of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 4. Do ye not judge before the Lord himself do come, the which shall open those things that are hid in darkness, to manifest the privities of all hearts.*

Secondly, The love and charity which I ought to bear unto my neighbour (loving him as my self) doth move me thereunto. *Luke 10.*

Thirdly, His good fame and report moveth me, the which he hath of the good Priests of the University of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar sort; although not of the covetous, proud and luxurious Prelates.

Fourthly, His own works and writings do stir me thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole endeavour to reduce all Men unto the law of Christ, and specially the Clergy, that they should forsake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the Apostles lead the life of Christ.

Fifthly, His own protestations, which he doth oftentimes use in his sentences, often repeating the same, do not a little move me.

Sixthly, His earnest desire and affection which he had unto the law of Christ, doth not a little allure me thereunto, disputing of the verity thereof, the which cannot fail in any one jot or tittle. Whereupon he made a Book of the verity of the holy Scripture, approving, even unto the uttermost, the truth of Gods Law.

Wherefore, it were too foolish a consequence to say, that because the number of the Prelates and Clergy in *England, France and Boheme*, do count *John Wickliff* for an Heretick, that therefore he is an Heretick, &c. Like as the reason for burning of the Books; for it is written in the first Book of *Machabees*, the first Chapter, *That they did burn the books of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whosoever was found to have kept any books of the testament or will of the Lord, or which observed and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the Kings commandment put to death.* If then the burning of the Books by wicked men, did argue, or prove the evilness of these Books, then was the law of God evil and naught.

So likewise the burning of *St. Gregory's* Books, and divers other Saints and good Men, should argue and prove that they were evil and naughty Men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the Bishops, Scribes and Pharises, with the elders of the People, condemned Christ Jesus as an Heretick, that therefore he is an Heretick: so likewise doth it not follow, of any other Man: The Bishops, Masters of Divinity, Monks and Prelates, condemned this Man as an Heretick; Ergo he is an Heretick. For this consequence is reproved by *John Chrysostome*, which was twice condemned as an Heretick by the Bishops and whole Clergy. Likewise *St. Gregory* in his Books, was condemned by the Cardinals.

By like proof also, as they affirm by Mr. *John Wickliff* to be an Heretick, *John Duke of Lancaster* (a Man of worthy memory, and Progenitor of *Henry King of England*) should also be an Heretick. For the said Duke defended, favoured, and greatly loved Mr. *John Wickliff*: Ergo, the said Duke is, or was an Heretick; the consequence is good. The *Minor* is well known to the *Englishmen*. The *Major* appeareth in the Canon, where it is said, *He which defendeth an Heretick, &c.*

But these things set apart, I demand of the adversary, whether Master *John Wickliff* be damned for ever or no? If he say, that he is damned, because he is an Heretick; I propound this unto him, whether Master *John Wickliff* whilst he lived, held any false Doctrine contrary to the

The test. mony and judgement of M. J. Hus concerning J. Wickliff.

Lib. de sensu or veritate Scripture per J. Wickliff.

Burning of Books proved not by and by an Heretick.

A false consequence reproved by Chrysostome.

John Duke of Lancaster a Man of worthy memory, and Progenitor of Henry King of England.

J. Wickliff proved no Heretick.

Great learning joined with good life & godliness.

The bones of Wickliff were not yet commended by the council of Constance to be burned.

the holy Scripture? If he do affirm it, let him then shew what Doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obstinately. But he shall find that in his Books he always wrote most commendable protestations against obstinacy and stiff-neckedness. And by and by after, Master *John Stokes* in his *Intimation* saith, that Master *John Wickliff* in *England* is counted for an Heretick. This seemeth also false by the Letter testimonial of the University of *Oxford*: unto the which there is more credit to be given than unto him. And this shall suffice for this present.

¶ Now as we have declared the Testimony of the University of *Oxford*, and of *John Hus*, concerning the praise of *John Wickliff*; it followeth likewise that we set forth and express the contrary censures and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the Popes Council gathered at *Constance*, proceeding first in condemning his Books, then of his Articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The Copy of which their sentence given against him by that Council here followeth.

The Council
of Constance
against John
Wickliff.

The sentence given by the Council of Constance, in condemning the Doctrine, and five and forty Articles of John Wickliff.

The sen-
tence of the
Council of
Constance
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THE most holy and Sacred Council of *Constance*, making and representing the Catholick Church, for the extirpation of this present schism, and of all other errors and heresies, springing and growing under the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the Church, being lawfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, for the perpetual memory of the time to come.

We are taught by the Acts and Histories of the Holy Fathers, that the Catholick Faith, without the which, as the holy Apostle *St. Paul* saith, it is impossible to please God, hath been always defended by the faithful and spiritual Souldiers of the Church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather perverse impugnors; which through their proud curiosity will seem to know more, and to be wiser than they ought to be, and for the desire of the glory of the world have gone about oftentimes to overthrow the same. These kinds of wars and battels have been prefigured to us before in those carnal wars of the *Israelites* against the Idolatrous people. For in those spiritual wars the holy Catholick Church through the vertue and power of faith, being illustrate with the beams of the Heavenly light, by the Providence of God, and being holpen by the help and defence of the Saints and holy men, hath always continued immaculate, and (the darkness of errors, as her most cruel enemies being put to flight) she hath most gloriously triumphed over all. But in these our days the old and unclean enemy hath raised up new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whose Prince and Captain in time past was one *John Wickliff* a false Christian; who during his life time, taught and sowed very obstinately many Articles contrary and against the Christian Religion, and the Catholick faith. And the same *John Wickliff* wrote certain Books which he called a *Dialogue*, and a *Triologue*, besides many other Treatises and Works, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which he wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles; the which his Books for the publication and advancement of his perverse Doctrine, he did set forth openly for every man to read. Whereby besides many offences great hurt and damage of soul hath ensued in divers Regions and Countries, but specially in the Kingdom of *England* and *Bobeme*. Against whom the Masters and Doctors of the Universities of *Oxford* and *Prague*, rising up in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of Schools, within a while after did reprove and condemn the said Articles.

The Books
of Wickliff
condemned
to be burn-
ed.

Moreover the most reverend Fathers the Archbishops and Bishops, (for that time present) of *Canterbury*, *York* and *Prague*, Legates of the Apostolick See, in the Kingdom of *England* and *Bobeme*, did condemn the Books of the

said *Wickliff* to be burnt. And the said Archbishop of *Prague*, Commissary of the Apostolick See, did likewise in this behalf determine and judge. And moreover he did forbid that any of those Books, which did remain unburned, should be hereafter any more read. And again, those things being brought to the knowledge and understanding of the Apostolick See, and in the General Council; the Bishop of *Rome* in his last Council condemned the said Books, Treatises and Volumes, commanding them to be openly burned. Most straitly forbidding that any men which should bear the name of Christ should be so hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the said Books or Treatises, Volumes or works, or by any means to use or occupy them; or else to alledge them openly or privily, but to their reproof and infamy. And to the intent that this most dangerous and filthy Doctrine should be utterly wiped away out of the Church, he gave commandment throughout all places, that the Ordinaries should diligently enquire and seek out by the Apostolick authority and Ecclesiastical censure, for all such Books, Treatises, Volumes and Works. And the same so being found, to burn and consume them with fire; providing withal, that if there be any such found, which will not obey the same Process to be made against them, as against the favourers and maintainers of Heresies. And this most holy Synod hath caused the said forty five Articles to be examined, and oftentimes perused, by many most reverend Fathers of the Church of *Rome*, Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of both Laws, besides a great number of other learned men; the which Articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it was no less) that many, yea and a great number of them be notoriously for Heretical reprov'd and condemned by the holy Fathers; other some not to be Catholick, but erroneous; some full of offence and blasphemy; certain of them offensive unto godly ears, and many of them to be rashful and seditious. It is found also that his Books do contain many Articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into the Church unsound and unwholesome Doctrine, contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the Church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this sacred Synod, ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the Archbishops and Council of *Rome*, do by this their Decree and Ordinance perpetually for evermore condemn and reprove the said Articles, and every one of them, his Books which he intituled his *Dialogue* and *Triologue*, and all other Books of the same Author, Volumes, Treatises and Works, by what name soever they be intituled or called, the which we will here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also we forbid the reading, learning, exposition, or alledging of any of the said Books unto all faithful Christians, but so far forth as shall tend to the reproof of the same; forbidding all and singular Catholick persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy openly to preach, teach or hold, or by any means to alledge the said Articles, or any of them, except (as is aforesaid) that it do tend unto the reproof of them; commanding all those Books, Treatises, Works and Volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synod at *Rome*, as is afore expressed. For the execution whereof duly to be observed and done, the said sacred Synod doth straitly charge and command the Ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every mans duty by the Canonical Laws and Ordinances.

What these Articles were here condemned by the Council, collected out of all his Works, and exhibited to that said Council, to the number of forty five, the Copy of them following under written declareth.

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Ric. 2. Certain other Articles gathered out of Wickliff's Books by his adversaries, to the number of forty five, exhibited up to the Council of Constance after his death, and in the same Council condemned.

Other Articles of Wickliff to the number of 45, condemned by the Council of Constance

Besides the twenty four Articles above mentioned, there were other also gathered out of his Books, to the number of forty five in all, which his malicious adversaries perversly collecting, and maliciously expounding, did exhibit up to the Council of Constance; all which to repeat, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them as they stand in that Council, it shall not be superfluous.

25. All such as be hired for temporal living to pray for other, offend and sin of Simony.
26. The prayer of the reprobate prevaleth for no man.
27. Hallowing of Churches, Confirmation of Children, the Sacrament of Orders be reserved to the Pope and Bishops only, for the respect of temporal lucre.
28. Graduations and Doctorships in Universities and Colleges as they be used, conduce nothing to the Church.
29. The Excommunication of the Pope and his Prelates is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.
30. Such as found and build Monasteries, do offend and sin, and all such as enter into the same, be members of the Devil.
31. To enrich the Clergy is against the rule of Christ.
32. Silvester the Pope, and Constantine the Emperor were deceived, in giving and taking possessions into the Church.
33. A Deacon or a Priest may preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolick See.
34. Such as enter into Order, or Religion Monastical, are thereby unable to keep Gods Commandments, and also to attain to the Kingdom of Heaven, except they return from the same.
35. The Pope with all his Clergy, having those great possessions as they have, be Hereticks in so having, and the Secular powers in so suffering them do not well.
36. The Church of Rome is the Synagogue of Satan, neither is the Pope immediately the Vicar of Christ, nor of the Apostles.
37. The Decretals of the Pope be Apocrypha, and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the Clergy that study them be fools.
38. The Emperor and Secular Lords be seduced, which so enrich the Church with such ample possessions.
39. It is not necessary to Salvation to believe the Church of Rome to be supreme head over all Churches.
40. It is but folly to believe the Popes Pardons.
41. All Oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man, be unlawful.
42. Benedict, Francis, Dominick, Bernard, with all such as have been Patrons of private Religion, except they have repented, with such also as have entred into the same, be in a damnable state, and so from the Pope to the lowest Novices, they be altogether Hereticks.

Besides these Articles, to the number of forty and five, condemned (as is said) by the Council of Constance, other Articles also I find diversly collected, or rather wrested out of the Books and writings of Wickliff; some by William Woodford, some by Walden, by Frier Tiffington, and other, whom they in their Books have impugned rather than confuted. In the number of whom William Woodford especially findeth out these Articles, and writeth against the same, to the number of eighteen, as here under follow.

W. Woodford
The Walden
Tiffington,
writers against
Wickliff.

Articles against Wickliff by W. Woodford.

1. The bread remaineth in his own substance, after the consecration thereof upon the Altar, and ceaseth not to be bread still.
2. As John was figuratively Helias, and not personally; so the bread is figuratively the body of Christ, and not naturally. And that without all doubt it is as well a figurative speech, to say, This is my body; as to say, This John is Helias.

3. In the Decree, *Ergo Berengarius*, the Court of Rome hath determined, that the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist is naturally true bread.

4. They which do affirm that the Infants of the faithful, departing without the Sacrament of Baptism, are not saved, be presumptuous and fools in so affirming.

5. The administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation is not only reserved to the Bishops.

6. In the time of St. Paul, only two Orders of Clerks did suffice in the Church, Priests and Deacons. Neither was there in the time of the Apostles any distinction of Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops; but these the Emperors pride did find out.

7. Such as in times past, either for covetousness of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual succour by kindred, or for cause to excuse their lust (although they despaired of issue) were married; were not coupled together by true Matrimony.

8. The causes of Divorcement, either for spiritual consanguinity, or for affinity, be not founded in Scripture, but are only Ordinances of men.

9. These words, *I will take thee to wife*, are rather to be taken in contract of Matrimony, than these words, *I do take thee to wife*. And the contract with any party, by the words of the future tense, ought not to be frustrate for the contract with any party afterward made by the words of the present time.

10. There be twelve Disciples of Antichrist, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deans, Monks, Canons, Friars and Pardoners.

11. In the Book of Numbers, the 18 Chapter, and in Ezechiel 44 Chapter, it is commanded simply, that neither the Priests of Aaron, nor the Levites should have any part of inheritance with other Tribes, but should live merely of Tythes and Oblations.

12. There is no greater Heretick or Antichrist than that Clerk which teacheth, that it is lawful for Priests and Levites of the Law of Grace to be indued with Temporal possessions. And if there be any Hereticks, Apostates, or Blasphemers, these Clerks be such.

13. It is not only lawful for the Lords Temporal to take away goods of fortune from the Churchmen, sinning usually; but also they are bound so to do, under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more serviceable to the Church, and more enamored with the love of Christ, is in the Church militant the greater, and the more near Vicar of Christ.

15. If Corporal Uction or anoyling were a Sacrament (as now it is fained to be) Christ and his Apostles would not have left the ordinance thereof untouched.

16. Unto the true Dominion secular is required the virtuous life of him that ruleth.

17. All things that happen do come absolutely of necessity.

18. Whatsoever the Pope or his Cardinals can deduce clearly out of the Scripture, that only is to be believed, or to be done at their monition: and whatsoever otherwise they do command, is to be condemned as Heretical.

Besides this W. Woodford afore-mentioned, divers other *Tractat. 1. 1. 1.* there were which wrote against these Articles of Wickliff *W. Woodford contra Tractat. 1. 1. 1.* aforefaid, maintaining the Popes part, as seemeth for flattery, rather than following any just cause so to do, or shewing forth any reason or learning in disproving the same. Notwithstanding on the contrary part some there were again both learned and godly, which taking the part of Wickliff, without all flattery, defended the most of the said Articles openly in Schools and other places, as appeareth by the works of John Hus; who in his publick determinations in the University of Prague, stood in defence of the same against all his adversaries, as partly is here to be seen in these Tractations under following.

¶ The publick defence of certain Articles of John Wickliff, in the first Act before the whole University of Prague, in Charles College.

The determination of John Hus upon the Fourteenth Article of Wickliff, as touching the Preaching and Hearing of the Word of God, made in the year of our Lord, 1412.

The whole University is against the judgment of the Doctors which condemned the 45 Articles.

Aug. Lib. de Doctr. Christi. Lib. 2.

Greg. Moral. Lib. 23.

FOrasmuch as to condemn the truth wittingly, or without reasonable examination, doth tend to great danger of salvation, as the Lord saith, *Luk. 6. Do ye not condemn, and ye shall not be condemned.* Therefore to avoid this great danger, the University of Prague, and the whole Commualty thereof, the Rector, Masters, Doctors, Bachelors and Students in their general assembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctors in their Council-house, requireth of the said Doctors a reasonable proof of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authority, or infallible reason, prove the falshood of every those five and forty Articles: The which being once done, the said University will agree to the said condemnation as just: For the University doth well know, that as *Augustine* saith in the end of his second Book of *Christian Doctrine*, whatsoever a man doth learn besides the holy Scriptures, if it be hurtful, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, he shall much more abundantly find those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marvellous depth, and marvellous profoundness of those most sacred Scriptures only.

Thus writeth *Augustine*. And *Gregory* in his Three and twentieth Book of *Morals*, saith thus, God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoever thing may happen unto any man, and in the same hath by the examples of those which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reform their lives. Whereby it appeareth that if every of the five and forty Articles containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and untruth, the same is either plainly or darkly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, It followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the five and forty Articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy Scriptures. And whereas again *St. Augustine* writeth unto *St. Hierom*, in his Eighth Epistle, and the ninth Distinction, I (saith he) have learned to attribute this honour and reverence unto those writers only which are called Canonical, that I dare affirm none of them to have erred in their Works or Writings. As for all other Writers, I do so read them, that although they abound with never so much holiness, or excell in Doctrine, I do not by and by think it true, because they themselves do so judge; but if they can, by other Canonical Authors or probable reasons, persuade or prove that they do not digress from the truth.

Also the said *Augustine* in his Book *de Unico Baptismo*, Lib. 2. saith thus, Who doth not know or understand the holy Canonical Scripture to be contained in his own bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other Letters and Decrees of Bishops, &c. And a little after he hath the like saying, as for the Letters of other Bishops which have been written, or be written, (after the Canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reprov'd, both by the word of them that be more skilful in that matter, and also by the ancient authority of other Bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by General Councils, if it so chance that they in any point have erred and gone astray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of *St. Austin* and other like, &c. the University of Prague hath concluded and determined, that they will not receive the condemnation of the five and forty Articles, made by the Doctors in their Council-house as just and true, except they which condemned them, will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons upon every of the five and forty Articles.

Wherefore for the due examination of the foresaid condemnation, whether it be effectual or no, we will at this present take in hand the fourteenth Article of the number of the five and forty: which Article is this,

They which leave off Preaching and hearing of the Word of God, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted the betrayers of Christ.

This Article containeth, first, that all Priests, omitting the Preaching of the Word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

Secondly, It containeth that all such as do omit the hearing of the Word of God, for fear of Excommunication, are already Excommunicated.

Thirdly, That both these sorts of men in the day of judgment, shall be counted Traytors of Christ.

As concerning the first point, it is presupposed, that the Preaching of the Word of God is commanded unto the Apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in *Mat. 10.* where it is said, *Jesus sent his twelve Disciples, commanding them and saying, Go and preach that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Also in the last of *Matthew*, and the tenth of *Luke*. Whereupon *Peter* the Apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandment for himself, and for the other Apostles and Successors, in the tenth of the *Acts*, saith thus, *He commanded us to preach and testify, that it is he which is ordained of God the Judge both of the quick and the dead.* This commandment also the other Apostles did acknowledg, and specially the chosen vessel, pronouncing under a great threatening, *1 Cor. 9. Wo be unto me if I do not preach the Gospel.* And *Pope Nicholas* considering that great threatening in 43 *Distinction*, saith, The dispensation and distribution of the Heavenly seed is commanded and enjoined to us: Wo be unto us if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing when as the Vessel of Election did fear and cry out upon, how much more ought all other inferiors to fear and dread the same? To the same purpose doth *Saint Gregory* write in his Pastoral in the Distinction, *Sit rector.* It is also evident by many other Doctors and holy men, as by *Saint Augustine*, *Hierome*, *Isidore*, *Bernard*, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

As touching the second point, That the hearing of the Word and Law of God is commanded unto the people, it is evident both by the old and new Law; for it is said in the 28 of the *Proverbs*, *He that turneth away his ear, and will not hear the Law of God, his Prayer shall be cursed.* And our Saviour rebuking the Scribes and Pharisees, concludeth thus in the eighth of *St. John*, saying, *He that is of God, heareth Gods word; but forso much as you are not of God, therefore you hear not his word.*

Thirdly, It is to be noted that Excommunication is a separation from the Communion, the 11 *Quest. 3. Nihil. & Cap. Canonica.* And 27. *Question*, first, *Viduas*, 34. *Question 3. Cum Sacerdos.* And this Excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret Excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the Mystical Body of Christ, and so from God through sin, according unto the 59 of *Esay*, *Your iniquities have made separation between your God and you.* And with this Excommunication doth the Apostle Excommunicate every man which doth not love the Lord Jesus Christ; saying in the first of the *Corinthians*, and last Chapter, *If any man do not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed.* The manifest and apert Excommunication may be divided into a manifest Excommunication by God, whereof it is spoken, *Mat. 25. Go ye cursed, &c.* And oftentimes else in the Law of God. Also into a manifest Excommunication by men, whereby the Prelate doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from the participation of the Communion of the Church; whereof this shall suffice at this present.

Then as touching the first part of the Article, it is thus argued, &c.

Whosoever forsake or leave the Commandments of God undone, they are Excommunicate of God. But the Priests which leave off the preaching of the Word of God, for fear of the unjust Excommunication of men, do leave the Commandment of God undone. Ergo, those Priests which do leave off preaching of the Word are Excommunicated of God.

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The first part of this Article is true: The Major appeareth by the Psalm, *Cursed be they which do decline and swerve from thy precepts.* The Minor is evident by the first Proposition, which proveth that the preaching of the word of God is the Commandment of God enjoined unto those Priests and Ministers. Whereupon the saying of our Saviour, *Mat. 15.* is spoken unto them, *Wherefore do you transgress the Commandments of God for your own Traditions?* Leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of unjust Excommunication; and so dishonouring the Father Christ, and the Mother the holy Church.

It is thus confirmed, All they which do omit or let slip any manner of work, principally and straitly enjoined them of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak and colour of grace, for fear of any Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate. But Priests, and especially Curates, admonished by the Spirit of God, leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the Excommunication of men, omit and leave off, for fear of the same Excommunication, a work principally and straitly enjoined unto them of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloak and colour of grace: *Ergo*, Priests, and specially Curates and such as be admonished and warned by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of Excommunication, are Excommunicate. The consequence is well known. The Major appeareth by the Psalm, *Cursed be they which do decline and go away from thy Commandments.* The Minor is also evident again by the first supposition.

The Apostles did not obey any wicked inhibition.

Item, If the Apostles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the Excommunication of men, which the Lord did foretew unto them in the 16th of *St. John*, saying, *They shall Excommunicate you out of their Synagogues*: They had been Excommunicated of God: *Ergo*, by like evidence the Priests and Ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same spirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leave it undone for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude. And the Antecedent is evident; for if the Apostles had left off preaching for fear of Excommunication, they had broken the Commandments of God; and so consequently had been accursed. Wherefore they willing to observe and keep the Commandments of God, and to put off the Excommunication of men, said unto the High Priests, Elders, and Scribes at *Jerusalem*, to *Annas*, *Caiphas*, to *John* and *Alexander*, and all other of the kindred of the Priests which were gathered together, and commanded them that they should not preach nor teach in the name of Jesus, *If it be just in the sight of God, that we should rather obey you than God, that judg you*, *Act. 4.* And in the fifth of the *Acts* they said unto them, *We ought rather to obey God than man.* By this saying of the Holy Ghost it is concluded, that the Priests and Ministers of Christ, inspired by the Holy Ghost to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the Holy Ghost, than those that shall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to suffer the Excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon Pope *Anacletus* spake very well in this, as it is written, *Distinction 43.* We know (saith he) that many do go about to molest and trouble the Doctors and Teachers to this end, that they might utterly destroy them, and fulfill their own proper lusts and desires; yet notwithstanding the said Doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or go back from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake. Thus much writeth he. And for reverend *Bede* (upon these words, *Ye shall find an ass tyed up, and an he-fole with her, loose her and bring her unto me; and if any man say any thing unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them*), writeth thus: Here it is mystically commanded unto the Doctors and Teachers, that if any adversity do lett or hinder, or any man do prohibit or stop, that sinners cannot be loosed from their bonds or snares, and be brought unto the Lord by the confession of their faith, that they notwithstanding should not leave off preaching, but constantly and boldly affirm and say, that the Lord hath need of such to edifie and build again his Church. For so did the Apostles; so likewise ought all the humble and meek Ministers of Christ to do. And *St. Hierome* writing unto *Rusticus* the Bishop of *Narbonne*, saith thus, Let no Bishop from henceforth be puffed up or inflamed with the envy of Divellish temp-

Anacletus, Dist. 4.

Hieronymus ad Rusticum

tation, if the Priests now and then do exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the Churches; or as it is said, do bless the people: For unto him which should deny unto me the doing hereof, I would say in this manner, He that will not that Priests should do those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that he is greater and above Christ. By the which words *St. Hierom* doth openly declare, that Priests are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the Churches. Secondly, That a Bishop denying or forbidding the same to be done, specially the Priests or Ministers being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Christ. And therefore consequently is not to be obeyed nor heard in his doings.

Item, Admit that the Pope be an Heretick, and teach perverse and contrary Doctrine unto the holy Scriptures; and that the Bishop be a Catholick man, unto whom the Pope giveth in commandment that he shall suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion; as it hapned in Pope *Leo*, and *Saint Hilary* the Bishop: Adding this also, That the Bishop do execute the Popes commandment under pain of Excommunication; this notwithstanding if the Catholick Priests, learned in the Law of God, do leave off preaching against the Popes Heresies, for fear of Excommunication of men, they are already Excommunicate. The which thing is evident, forasmuch as they are accursed through the consent of their silence, as *St. Isidore* saith, *11. Quest. 1.* He that doth consent unto sinners, or defendeth a sinner, he shall be cursed both before God and man, and shall be punished with a most severe rebuke. And in the 7 *Question*, 4. *Omnis*, it is said, He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, committeth no less fault than he which had before offended; for not only they which do commit the offence, but also they which consent thereunto are judged partakers thereof. In like case Priests which do not preach against the Heresie which the Pope teacheth, are dumb dogs, not able to open their mouths, or bark against the wolf, which will kill the sheep of Jesus Christ: *Ergo*, how can it then be otherwise, but they must needs be betrayers of the sheep of their own shepherd.

If the Pope be an Heretick, the godly Bishops may preach against him.

Item, Let it be so, that the Bishop with the chief Prelates be adulterers, or otherwise open offenders, and that he together with his Prelates do command under pain of Excommunication, that none be so hardy to preach against adultery; in such a case they which do omit their duty in preaching against Adultery, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicated of God; *Ergo*, the first part of the Article is true. The Antecedent is proved: For our Saviour in the eighth of *Mark* saith thus, *He that acknowledgeth me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the son of man shall also acknowledge and confess him when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels.* Therefore he that shall confess Christ, and these words of Christ, *Mat. 5.* *You have heard that it was said to them in old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, that every one which shall behold a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart*: He, I say, that shall confess these things before an adulterous Bishop with his chief Prelates, the which perchance are the wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of man shall also acknowledge him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Contrariwise, he which for the fear of Excommunication of men will not confess Christ and his words, before the sinful and adulterous generation is accursed. The consequence holdeth by the words of Christ, *Luk. 9.* *He that is ashamed of me and my words, him shall the Son of man be ashamed of, when he shall come in his Majesty, and in the glory of his Father, and his holy Angels*: pronouncing that which is spoken, *Mat. 25.* *Verily I say unto you, I know you not; go you cursed into everlasting fire.*

Albeit the chief Priests be Adulterers, yet ought the Ministers to preach against Adultery.

Also our Saviour Jesus Christ did not omit, or leave off the preaching of the Kingdom of God for any pretended Excommunication of the Bishops, Scribes and Pharisees; so likewise his true and humble Priests ought not to omit their preaching for any pretended Excommunication of men; the consequence holdeth by the saying of Christ, *Joh. 15.* *Be ye mindful of the words which I have spoken unto you, the servant is not greater than his master: If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also.* The Antecedent is apparent by the saying of *Saint John* in his

The example of Christ

his ninth Chapter. Even now the *Jews* had conspired, that whosoever did confess him to be Christ, should be Excommunicate. And likewise *Joh. 7. Whether did any of the Princes or Rulers, or any of the Pharisees believe in him. But this people which knoweth not the Law are accursed.*

The obedience of Christian Priests toward their Prelates.

Also the humble and just Ministers of God ought not, under pain of sin, to cease from the fruitful preaching of the Law of God for any unjust Excommunication, or unlawful Commandment; and it is proved thus: the humble and just Ministers of Christ ought not to obey their Prelates in such things as are contrary to God; as all the holy Doctors, and such as are learned in the Law of God, do wholly with one consent affirm. And forso much as an unjust Excommunication, and unlawful Commandment are against God, therefore the just and true Ministers of God ought not to obey such unlawful Excommunication and Commandments; and consequently ought not to cease for them from the fruitful preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the same. Forso much as the Lord doth comfort them in the fifth of *Matthew*, saying thus, *Blessed and happy are ye when as men do curse you, and persecute you, and speak all kind of evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.*

The power of preaching to edification ought not to cease.

Also every Minister having power given him from above to preach the Gospel, hath the same given unto him for the edifying of the Church, and not for the destruction of the same.

And the Apostle saith, *2 Cor. 10.* But every one leaving off the preaching of the Gospel, for fear of any pretended Excommunication of men, should frustrate the power given him for the edifying of the Church. And therefore in so doing he should sin against God and his Church, and consequently ought rather to chuse not to cease from preaching for fear of any such Excommunication, lest that he be Excommunicate of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The preaching of the Gospel is not to be left off for all the Popes prohibitions.

Item, Set case that the Pope doth command that there shall be no preaching in any place, then the Ministers of Christ leaving off their preaching for fear of the Popes Curse, are already Excommunicate of God; It is evident forso much as they have neglected the Commandment of God for the Commandment of men. And this case is possible: for by what reason the Pope may command under pain of Excommunication, that there shall be no preaching in some place, and namely in the Parish Churches; by the same reason he may command that no man should preach in any place.

The first part is evident by the prohibition of Pope *Alexander*, who in his Bull did prohibit to preach the word of God unto the people in Chappels, although the said Chappels were confirmed by the priviledg of the See Apostolick. The which Bull the Lord *Subincom*, Archbishop of *Prague*, with his Cancens, obtained. By these aforelaid, the first part of the Article is evident, which is this, that all Priests omitting the preaching of the word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

The second part of the Article.

The second part of the Article is this, That all they which do omit the hearing of the word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

And it is proved thus: All such as neglect the Commandments of God are Excommunicate. But they which neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication of men, are they which neglect the Commandments of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication are already Excommunicate.

Means necessary unto salvation are not to be omitted.

The Major is apparent by the *118 Psalm*, *Cursed be they which decline from thy Commandments.* And the Minor is evident by the second Supposition, which saith, That the hearing of the word of God is commanded unto the people.

This is confirmed, All such as omit the necessary means unto Salvation are Excommunicate: But such as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication by men, be such as do omit the necessary means unto salvation. Therefore in so doing they are Excommunicate. The consequence is plain: the Major is made evident by this, That all such as do omit the necessary means unto Salvation, do

also neglect their Salvation, and so are out of the way of Salvation, and be Excommunicate of God. The Minor appeareth hereby, that to hear the word of God is the means most necessary unto Salvation, as the Apostle doth prove in his tenth Chapter to the *Romans*, *How*, saith he, *shall they believe on him, whom they never heard of? And how shall they hear without a Preacher?* And by and by after the Apostle inferreth unto the purpose, *That faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*

{ KING Ric. 2. }

Item, Whatsoever is done contrary unto Conscience, doth edifie unto eternal damnation; as it is said, as touching the restitution of the spoiled goods, *Chap. Literas porro*. But to omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of Excommunication of men, is a thing which is done against Conscience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the word of God, for Excommunication doth edifie unto eternal damnation, and therefore consequently ought not to be done, for fear of any Excommunication. Wherefore a woman being judged unto a man, whom she knoweth to be within the degrees of Consanguinity, which Gods Law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that judgment, lest that she offend against God; but meekly and patiently to sustain the Excommunication, as it appeareth in the Chapter before alledged. So likewise all true Christians ought rather, than to offend against God, meekly to suffer the Excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose also serveth that which is spoken in the *11 Quest. 3.* He that feareth the Omnipotent God, will not presume by any means to do any thing contrary unto the Gospel or Apostles, either contrary unto the Prophets, or the Institutions of the holy Fathers. By these premisses, the second part of this Article is manifest, that all such as do omit the hearing of the word of God, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

A man ought to do nothing against his conscience.

And forso much as all Christians being of lawful age, not repenting at the end, shall be counted in a manner as Traytors to Christ in the day of judgment, because that they were unfaithful servants of Christ; therefore they which through fear omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication of men, shall be counted as Traytors to Christ, and shall render account thereof unto the Lord. Whereupon *Chrysostom* touching both those sorts in the *41 Homily*, shewing how the Lord would have some to be teachers, and othersome to be teachers, and othersome to be disciples, saith thus, For unto those which he would have to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his Prophet *Esay. Ye Priests speak to the hearts of the people, for if the Priests do not manifest all the truth unto the people, they shall render account thereof at the day of judgment: and likewise if the people do not learn the truth, they shall also give an account at the day of judgment.* It is also made more evident by him upon the tenth of *Matthew*, Do not fear them which kill the body, lest that through the fear of death, you do not freely speak that which you have heard, neither boldly preach that unto all men which you alone have heard in your ears. So that hereby alone it is evident that not only he is a betrayer of the truth, which transgressing the truth, doth openly speak lyes instead of the truth; but he also which doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defend, is also a Traytor unto the Truth. For like as the Priest is a debtor to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord; even so the lay-man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the Minister, approved by the Scriptures; which if he do not, then is he a Traytor unto the truth: for stedfast belief with the heart prevaleth unto righteousness; the confession which is made with the mouth helpeth unto salvation. Thus much writeth *Chrysostom*; who together with the people meekly bearing the Excommunication of the Bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so by his word and his works he freely taught the truth, lest he should be a Traytor unto the truth, and consequently be counted as a Traytor unto our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of Judgment. And thus the third part of the Article aforelaid is manifest.

The proofs of the third part.

Chrysostom in his 41 Homily.

Chrysostom although he was Excommunicate, yet he did preach.

The

{KING}
Ric. 2.The defence of the Fifteenth Article of John
Wickliff by John Hus.The 15th
Article of
Wickliff.

IT is lawful for any Deacon or Priest to Preach the Word of God without the Authority of the Apostolick See, or of his Catholiciks.

First, I understand here by the Authority of the Apostolick See, properly his special consent authorizing. And likewise I understand by Authority of the Bishop, a special consent of the Bishop authorizing the said Deacon or Priest to Preach.

The confirmation
of the Article.
Every man
being law-
fully called
of the
Church,
ought to
Preach the
Word of
God with-
out the
Pope's li-
cence.

Now as touching the truth of this Article, I thus argue: Like as after Matrimony once complete, the Man and Wife may lawfully, without any special licence of the Pope or Bishop, procreate carnal children: So likewise Deacons or Priests, by the motion of God through the Gospel of Jesus Christ, may lawfully without any special licence either of Pope or Bishop, generate spiritual children. Ergo, this Article is true, and the Antecedent is thus proved. For as it is an acceptable work unto God for Man and Wife, without the special licence of the Pope or Bishop, to generate carnal children; so it is acceptable unto him, that Deacons or Priests, by the motion of God through the Gospel of Jesus Christ, should lawfully generate spiritual children, without the special licence of the Pope, or of any other Bishop: Ergo, the assumption is true.

But if any Man will deny this similitude, let him shew the diversity. Yea, as it is worse not to receive or to choke the Seed of Gods word, than the Carnal seed; so contrariwise, it is better to receive and sow abroad that Seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raised up unto God, than to receive or give Seed whereby Carnal children may be gotten. Whereupon our Saviour in the 10th of Matthew saith thus; *Whoever doth not receive you, neither beareth your words, wipe off the dust from your feet: verily I say unto you, that in the day of judgment it shall be better unto the land of Sodom and Gomorrah than to that city.*

Also a Deacon or Priest being stirred by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, may Preach the Word of God without the special licence of the Pope or Bishop. Ergo, it is lawful for him so to do. The consequence is thus manifest; so much as the Spirit of God, moving the Deacon or Priest unto the Preaching of the Gospel, is of greater force than any prohibition of Pope or Bishop invented by Man. Ergo, according unto the rule of the Apostles, they ought infallibly to be obedient unto the Spirit of Christ, which doth so move them thereunto, and rather to obey God than Man, Acts 5. Also by like reason, as *Heldad* and *Medad*; upon whom the Spirit of God did rest, did lawfully prophecy without requiring any licence at *Moses* hands, as it is written, Numb. 11. By the same reason may the meek Minister of Christ, upon whom the Spirit of God doth rest, without the requiring of any licence either of the Pope or Bishop, lawfully Preach the Word of God unto the people. And would to God in this behalf all Prelates had the Spirit of *Moses*; for it is said, Numb. 11. That when as *Heldad* and *Medad* were prophesying in the Tents, a child ran unto *Moses*, and told him, saying; *Heldad* and *Medad* do prophecy in the Tents; and by and *Josua* the Son of *Nun*, the servant of *Moses* which he had chosen out amongst many, said, My Master *Moses*, forbid them: and he said, Why enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the people could prophecy, and that the Lord would give them his Spirit. O would to God the Pope and Bishops had the affections which this holy Man the friend of God had. Then would he not prohibit the meek Deacons and Ministers of Jesus Christ to Preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed Man *Gregory*, which in his 22d Book of Morals, writing upon these words of *Job*; And I have not afflicted the Soul of his Husbandmen, saith thus; The Husbandmen of this Earth are these, which being set in small Authority, with as fervent desire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, do work by the preaching of grace, to the erudition of the holy Church, the which Husbandmen of this World not to afflict, is not to envy their labours and doings: neither ought the Ruler of the Church, albeit he do challenge unto himself alone the title of Preaching, through envy gain-

God grant
that all the
people may
prophecy.

say others which do Preach truly and uprightly. For the Godly mind of the Pastor, which seeketh not his own glory amongst men, desireth to be holpen: the which thing also the faithful Preacher doth wish, if it might by any means be brought to pass, that the truth, which he alone cannot sufficiently express, all mens mouths might declare.

Wherefore, when as *Josua* would have resisted the two which were prophesying in the host, why dost thou envy (saith he) for my sake? For he did not envy that good in other which he himself had. Thus writeth *S. Gregory*.

Also the meek Ministers of Christ have, by a special gift of God, knowledge and mind to Preach the Gospel; but neither is it lawful for the Pope or Bishop, or any other Man to lett or hinder them, lest thereby they should lett the Word of God, that it have not his free course. Ergo, this Article is true; for the King doth not so much rule over the goods of his subjects, no not of his own Sons, but that they may give Alms to whom they will: much less hath the Bishop so great Authority over the knowledge of the meek Minister, with his other gifts of God, but that he may freely under the title of spiritual Alms Preach the Gospel unto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it should seem strange, that a Bishop should forbid any Man to give any corporal Alms to the poor that are an hungred; much more strange and marvellous would it be, if that he should prohibit the spiritual Minister of Christ to give spiritual Alms, by the Preaching of the Gospel of the Word of God.

The course
of the word
of God
ought not
to be stop-
ped.
Bernard.

Item, No Catholick Man ought to doubt, but that a Man able for the purpose, is more bound to teach them which are ignorant, to counsel and comfort the weak in Spirit, to correct such as are unruly, to forgive those that do them wrong, than to do any other work of mercy: Forasmuch then as he that hath sufficient is bound, under pain of damnation, to give corporal Alms, as it appeareth *Matth. 25.* much more he, which is able, is bound to do spiritual Alms. And this Alms *S. Barnard*, writing unto *Eugenius* in his 3d Book, perceived to be very necessary for the Bishop of *Rome*, whereas he said thus; I fear no greater poison, nor greater sword or mischief will happen unto thee, than this unsatiable desire of dominion. With what face then can the faithful Minister withdraw or keep back the spiritual Alms for the Pope and any other, even without the special licence of the Pope or of the Bishop; which licence, through the far distance from the Pope, the Ministers cannot so easily obtain or come by? For all prohibition of any Prelate, being broken through necessity, is not to be blamed, 11. *Quest. 3. Intercessor*, and also in the Chapter following.

Item, All authority of preaching given unto Deacons and Priests in their consecration, were but vain, except that in case of necessity, without any special licence, they might Preach the Gospel. It is evident, forasmuch as it is not lawful for them to use that Authority, by their adversary, without a special licence. Ergo, it is given them in vain. The consequence is evident by the common saying of the Philosopher, That power is but vain, whereof proceedeth no use of action. But forasmuch as this Article doth as it were depend upon the Article before passed, therefore this shall suffice to be spoken thereof at this present.

But against the affirmations of both these Articles this is objected out of the 16. *Quest. 1.* All faithful people, and specially all Priests, Deacons, and all others of the Clergy, ought to take heed that they do nothing without the licence of their Bishop. It is also objected out of the 5th Book of *Decretals*, *Tituli de hereticis cap. Cum ex injuncto*; where it is said, No Man ought to usurp to himself indifferently the Office of Preaching, forasmuch as the Apostle saith; How shall they Preach, except they be sent? Whereas also *Innocentius* doth declare, that it is not sufficient for a Man to say, that he is sent of God to Preach except he do shew the same. As touching the first point, the *Gloss* doth sufficiently answer upon this word, *without licence*; That is to be expounded, saith he without general licence; the which is obtained and given, when as a Bishop doth appoint any Priest to govern the people, For thereby (saith he) it seemeth a Bishop is thought to give him general power to Minister unto the people, and to Rule the Church. Thus much in the *Gloss*. And to the same end and purpose

Objections

The answers
to the ob-
jections.

What is
fally to
usurp the
Office of a
Preacher.

Who is a
true Mini-
ster of the
Church.

Four kinds
of sending
or calling.

The com-
mon Law.

The private
Law.

Private
Law, that is
the secret
and inward
working of
Gods spirit
in the heart.

The words
of Pope
Urban.

pose it is said in the 7th Quest. 1. Chapter, *Episcopi*, Bishops or Priests, if they come into the Church of another Bishop to visit the same, as it is said *Gloss 1. in honore suo*, Let them be received in their degree, and desired as well to Preach the Word, as to do any other consecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, which is very well spoken in the same place; No man ought to usurp unto himself the Office of Preaching, as a thing indifferent, For to usurp, is unlawfully to use any thing. Ergo, the same Deacon or Priest doth then usurp the Office of Preaching, as indifferently, who living viciously, contrary unto Law the of Christ, or being ignorant of the Law of God, doth Preach either for gain, or covetousness of living, either for his belly or dainty life, or for any vain glory: But he which doth live according unto the Laws of Christ, and being moved with the affection of sincere Charity, intending purely the Honor of God, and the Salvation of himself and his neighbours, doth Preach no lies nor vain jests, or other things not authorized, but only the Law of Christ, and the minds of the holy Doctors. And he that doth so Preach, necessity occasioning or moving him thereunto, in case there be no Pope or Bishop, or in case possible to withstand the Preaching of Hereticks or false Preachers, in so doing doth not usurp the Office of Preaching; and in such case there is no doubt but he is sent of God. And this doth also answer unto that which is consequently said; that if any man will peradventure craftily answer, that such Preachers are invisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, when as that invisible sending of God is much better than the visible sending of men: A man may reasonably answer thereunto, that forso much as that internal sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a Man only to say that he is sent of God, forso much as every Heretick may so say; but he ought to prove the same his invisible calling by the working of some miracle, or by some special Testimony of the Scripture.

Here it is to be noted, according to Saint *Augustine* in his 65th Book of Quest. unto *Orosius*, that there are four kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we read in *Moses* and other, which were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the danger of the Statute: So that he whom the Spirit of God hath inspired, this Prelate giving thanks may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon Pope *Urban* said 19. Quest. 2d There be (said he) two Laws, the one publick, the other private. The publick Law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy Fathers, such as is the canon Law, which is only given for transgressions. As for example, it is decreed in the Canons, that none of the Clergy shall go from one Bishoprick unto another, without the Letters commendatory of his Bishop; the which was ordained only for offenders, that no infamed persons should be received of any Bishop. For they were wont, when they could not celebrate or do their Office under their own Bishoprick, to go unto another: which now is forbidden by the Laws and Precepts. The private Law is that, which, by the instruction of the Holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the Apostle speaketh of many, which have the Law of God written in their hearts. And in another place; forso much as the Gentiles have not the Law of God, but naturally do those things which are of the Law, they are Laws unto themselves. And afterward he saith, the private Law is much more worthy than the publick Law. For the Spirit of God is a Law; And they which are moved by the Spirit of God, are led by the Law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the Holy Ghost? Whosoever therefore is led by the Spirit of God, albeit his Bishop do say him nay, let him go freely by our Authority; for the Law is not appointed for the just Man, for where as the Spirit of God is, there is liberty; and if ye be led by the Spirit of God, ye are not under the Law.

Behold, here it is affirmed, that the sending by God, through inspiration, is not bound under the bondage of the Law; for that Law is more worthy than the publick Law. Secondly, that the Law is made for Transgressors and Offenders, and not for the Just. Thirdly, that whosoever is led by the Spirit of God, although his Bishop stand against him, he may proceed unto a better life. Whereby it is evident, that a Deacon or Priest disposed to Preach, and being led by the Spirit of God, may freely Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the spiritual licence of his Bishop. It is evident, forso much as it is good, that a Deacon or Priest do live well, and Preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may

proceed from idleness unto the labor and Office of Preaching, and so unto a better life.

But whereas it is said afore, that forso much as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man barely to affirm only that he is sent of God, when as every Heretick may so say; but it is necessary, that he do confirm and prove his invisible sending by the working of some miracle, or by some special Testimony of the Scripture: Here is to be noted, that there are two kinds of Preachers; some true Preachers of our Saviour Christ; and others seducers, of Antichrist. The first sort following their Master Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching Faith, resist against the verity; and through covetousness, by their fained words do make merchandize of the people. And these men do give, and shall give miracles, as our Saviour saith, *Matth. 24.* There shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, the which shall shew great signs and wonders, inso much that even the elect themselves, if it were by any means possible, should be brought into error. And the Apostle in the 2. to the *Thessal. 2.* As touching their head Antichrist, writeth thus: Whose coming shall be according to the operation of *Satan*, with all power and signs, false miracles, seducing unto iniquity those which do perish, because they have not received the charity and love of truth, that they might be saved: Therefore will the Lord send upon them the operation of error, that they shall give credit unto lies: that all such as have not believed the truth, but consent unto wickedness, should be judged. Behold how expressly our Saviour by himself, and by his Apostle doth teach us, how the Disciples of Antichrist, with their head, should shine through their great signs and wonders. But the true Disciples of Christ shall not so do in the time of Antichrist. For as Saint *Isidore* saith in his first Book, 22. *De summo bono*: Before that Antichrist shall appear, all virtues and signs shall cease from the Church, that he may the boldlier persecute the same, as an abject. For this profit shall all miracles and signs cease under Antichrist, that thereby the patience of the holy Men might be known, and the lightness of the reprobate, which are offended, may be opened, and also that the cruelty of the persecutors should be made more fierce. Thus writeth Saint *Isidore*. And Saint *Gregory* in his 24th Book of Morals saith; For why? By a terrible examination of Gods secret dispensation shall all signs of vertue or power be taken away from the holy Church, before that the *Leviathan* appear in that most wicked and damnable Man, whose shape he doth take upon him. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the vertue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of Doctrine are put to silence, and the wonderful works of miracles are extinguished; which things nothing can utterly take away, but only the dispensation of God. But this dispensation is not so openly and manifoldly declared, as it hath been in times past; the which also is done by a marvellous dispensation, that through one only thing both Gods love and justice should be fulfilled. For the power of miracles being a while taken away, the holy Church appeareth the more abject and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, which revered the same for the hope of heavenly riches, and not for any present signs: and that the minds of evil men against the same might the sooner be known, which neglect to follow the invisible things which the Church doth promise, whiles they be led with visible signs.

Forso much then as the humility of the faithful is as it were destitute of the multitude and appearing of signs by the terrible working of Gods secret dispensation, whereby mercy is given unto the good and just, wrath heaped upon the evil; Forso much then, as it is truly said, that before this *Leviathan* shall plainly and manifestly come, poverty shall go before his face (for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithful.) Then shall that Ancient enemy shew himself against them by open wonders; that as he is extolled through signs and wonders, so shall he the more manly be vanquished of the faithful, without any signs or miracles. Also in his 16th Book upon these words, which the blessed man *Job* said; Who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth what he hath done? Whilest he did speak of the body of all evil, he suddenly converted his

KING
Ric. 2.

Every man
may pre-
tend to be
sent of God
immediate-
ly.
Two kinds
of Preach-
ers.

Of the
signs and
wonders of
Antichrist.

Why true
miracles
shall cease
under An-
tichrist.

Job 24.

speech

KING { speech unto the head of all the wicked ; for he did see that
Ric. 2. toward the end of the world *Satan* should enter into man,
 whom the Scripture calleth Antichrist, he shall be extolled
 with such pride, he shall rule with such power, he shall be
 exalted with such signs and wonders, under the pretence
 of holiness, that his doing cannot be controlled of men,
 forso much as his signs and tokens are joynd with power
 and terror, and with a certain shew of Holiness. Where-
 fore he saith, who shall controul his ways before him,
 what man is he that dare once rebuke or check him, whose
 look or countenance is he afraid of? But notwithstanding
 not only *Enoch* and *Elias*, the which are brought as ex-
 ample for his probation, but also the elect do argue and re-
 prove his way, whiles that they do contemn, and by the
 force and power of their minds, resist his malice. But
 forso much as this thing is not done by their own power and
 strength, but by Gods help and grace, therefore it is very
 well said: Who shall argue or reprove his ways before
 him? Who but only God? By whose help, the elect are
 aided and made able to resist.

The proof of Holiness. And a little after, upon the same Book of *Job*, *Gregory*
 saith, inso much as holy men do withstand his iniquity; It
 is not they themselves which do so rebuke his ways, but it
 is he through whose help they are strengthened. Also in
 his second Book he saith; Now the holy Church doth not
 regard, but despise the signs and miracles of the Hereticks,
 if they do any; forso much as the Church doth sufficiently
 understand, that it is no kind of Holiness: For why? The
 proof of Holiness is not to make signs or wonders, but to
 love every man as himself, to think truly of the very true
 God, and to think better of thy Neighbour than of thy
 self: For true vertue and holiness consisteth in love, and
 not in shewing of miracles. This the verity declareth
 saying; Hereby shall all men know that ye are my Disciples,
 if ye love one another: But he saith not, that hereby
 men shall know that ye are my Disciples, because ye work
 miracles; but contrariwise, if ye love one another: de-
 claring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the
 mear charity and love of God, which maketh us the ser-
 vants of God. Wherefore the chief Testimony of being
 Gods Disciple is to have the gift of brotherly love. This
 thorowout doth Saint *Gregory* write, and oftentimes in
 other places he speaketh very much of miracles, how that
 they shall cease amongst the just, and abound amongst the
 wicked.

Signs com- Also *Chrysostom* in his 55th Homily saith thus; It is a
 mon and indifferent to the Mini- God and the Ministers of the Di-
 strors of Christ and Antichrist, vel, to cast out Devils;
 but to confesse the truth, and to work righteousness, is the
 only work of the Saints and holy Men: therefore whomso-
 ever thou dost see casting out of Devils, if he have not
 the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousness
 in his hands, he is not a man of God: But if thou dost see
 a man openly confessing and declaring the truth, and doing
 justice, although he do not cast out any Devils, yet is he the
 man of God. And it followeth, Let us know, that like
 as at the coming of Christ, before him the Prophets, and
 with him the Apostles wrought miracles through the Holy
 Ghost; for such as the thing is which is stirred, such sent
 and favour will proceed from the same. He writeth also
 upon the beginning of *Matthew*, The whole world
 did marvel and wonder at three things, That Christ rose
 again after his death; that flesh ascended into Heaven;
 and that he did convert the whole World by his Twelve
 Apostles. There are four causes which wrought the same;
 that is to say, the contempt of riches or money; the de-
 spising of pomp and glory, the separation of themselves
 from all worldly occupation and business, and the patient suf-
 fering of torments. Thus much writeth *Chrysostom* also.
 Also *S. Isidore* in his first Book and 25th Chap. *De summo*
bono, writeth thus. Like as in the Apostles, the marvellous
 effect and power of works was much more commendable
 than the vertue of their signs; even so now in the Church
 it is much better to live well, than to work any signs or
 miracles. And the cause why that the Church of God
 doth not at this present work miracles, as it did in the time
 of the Apostles, is this; that it was necessary at that time
 that the World should believe miracles, and now at this
 present, every faithful believer ought to shine with good
 works, for to this end were signs and miracles then out-
 wardly wrought, that their Faith thereby might be in-

The princ-
 pal mira-
 cles.

The cause
 why the
 Church
 now work-
 eth not
 miracles.

wardly strengthened and established: for whatsoever faith-
 ful man he be that seeketh to work miracles, he seeketh
 vain-glory to be praised of men, for it is written; Mira-
 cles are signs and tokens unto the infidels and unbelie-
 vers, and not unto the faithful. Thus much writeth
Isidore.

Item, *S. Augustine* in his Book of confessions, saith
 thus; There is no greater miracle amongst men, than to
 love our Enemies. By these words of these holy men a
 man may easily gather, that, both in our days, and in the
 time to come, the Disciples of Antichrist both do, and
 shall more flourish and shew themselves by strange signs and
 miracles, than the Disciples of Christ, according to the say-
 ing of our Saviour Jesus Christ; *There shall rise up amongst*
you false prophets, which shall work strange miracles.
 Secondly, it is approved that they are greater and stranger
 miracles, to confesse the truth, and to do Justice, than to
 work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly it is gathered
 thereby, that whatsoever Minister or Deacon doth love his
 Enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the
 world, and flieth from all worldly troubles, meekly sustain-
 eth and suffereth most terrible and cruel threatnings and
 strokes for the Gospel sake; he worketh miracles, having
 thereby a Testimony and witness, that he is the true Disciple
 of Jesus Christ. And it is evident by the saying of our
 Saviour Jesus Christ. *Mat. 5th Let your good works*
so shine before men, that they may see your good works,
and glorifie your father which is in heaven. And likewise
John 10th Trust unto your good works. Whereupon *S. Gre-*
gory, in his first Book of Dialogues, writeth thus: *The*
estimation of a true life consisteth in the vertue of his works,
and not in the shewing of signs. Whereby it is fourthly
 concluded, by that which is aforesaid, that it is a more
 effectual Testimony and witness for a Priest or Deacon that
 he is sent of God to confesse the truth, and follow Christ in
 the foresaid vertues, than to cast out Devils, or to do any
 other miracles, as it is evident by the saying of *Chrysostome*
 before alledged. Whomsoever thou dost see to cast out
 Devils, if the confession or acknowledging of the truth be
 not in his mouth, neither righteousness nor justice in his
 hands, he is not a Man of God. This is also confirmed
 by the words of Christ. *Matth. 7. Many shall say unto*
me in that day; Lord, Lord, have not we prophesied in
thy name; have not we cast out devils in thy name; and
have not we also wrought many great wonders and mira-
cles in thy name? Then I will answer and say unto them;
forso much as I have not known you at any time, Depart
from me ye workers of iniquity. And as touching the
 second part, *Chrysostome* saith; If you see a man confess-
 ing and preaching the truth, and working righteous-
 nes, although he do not cast out devils, he is a man of
 God.

A great
 miracle to
 love a mans
 Enemy.

The true
 miracles of
 Christs Mi-
 nisters.

The Testi-
 mony of a
 true Priest.

Hereby it appeareth, that every Deacon, Priest, or Mi-
 nister, confessing the truth, and working justice, hath a
 perfect and sure Testimony that he is sent of God; and
 that it is not necessary for him to approve this his sending
 by the working of any miracle, in stead of working right-
 eousness; neither by any Testimonial, the which should
 plainly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord
 to Preach.

The first part appeareth manifest by that which is already
 spoken, that all miracles in the time of Antichrist shall
 cease in the elect.

The second part is also evident; forso much as none of
 the present Preachers can shew by the Scripture of the Law
 of God, that he is specially named thereunto.

And likewise I do also affirm and say, as touching all
 Preachers which shall come hereafter, that they are not
 named by name. But let no man here object *Enoch* and
Elias, which were ancient Preachers, and prophesied by
 the holy Spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is
 not a cause sufficient to prove, that this Priest or Deacon is
 sent of God to Preach, because he worketh miracles; so is
 it not a cause sufficient to prove, that he is not sent of God
 to Preach, because he doth no miracles; but to confesse the
 truth, to work righteousness, to contemn the World
 with the glory thereof, patiently to suffer rebukes, is a suf-
 ficient Testimony for any Priest or Deacon, having know-
 ledge of the Law of God, freely to Preach the Gospel of
 Jesus Christ, forso much as in such case he is sent of God.
 And this is the sending which the Apostle speaketh of in

the 10. to the *Romans*; How should they preach, except they be sent? Whereupon the *Gloss* of *S. Augustine* writeth thus; These things serve to set forth Gods grace, declaring that all our goodnes is prevented of grace.

For he saith, Belief cometh of hearing, hearing cometh of Preaching, and Preaching by the sending of God; so that altogether wholly cometh out of the Fountain of Grace, and Preaching truly cometh of sending. This hath the *Gloss*: how shall they then Preach, without they be sent of God? And this is evident, that the great and principal sending is from God alone, as it is approved by *Moses*.

The second sending is both from God and Man; as by the example of *Josua* and others, which were sent both by God and the Rulers to Preach.

The third sending is from Man alone; the which is not founded in the Law of God, but in mens Traditions, which they rather esteem.

The fourth sending, which hath but the name only, is proper to them, which of themselves unworthily usurp the Office of Preaching, as those false Prophets of whom God speaketh in the 23. of *Jeremy*; I did not send them, and they ran: I spake not unto them, and they prophesied; if they had continued in my counsels, and had declared my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil ways, and wicked imaginations. And our Saviour speaketh of these Prophets in *Matthew*, saying, *There shall arise false Prophets*. And *Peter* his true Vicar, in his second Epistle and second Chapter, prophesying unto the faithful Believers in Christ, speaketh thus of them; There were amongst the people false Prophets, as there shall be amongst you also Masters of lies, through whom the truth shall be blasphemed and slandered; and that he might the better instruct the people to know them, he addeth, That they shall go about with fained words, for covetousness sake, to make merchandize of you.

The difference between the Ministers of Christ and Antichrist.

Wherefore every faithful man, diligently weighing these things in his mind, may now easily perceive how great a number of false Prophets there be, through whom the Christian truth is blasphemed, and all covetous dealing is exercised, and these are they which freely Preach lies. But the humble and true Ministers of Christ, wheresoever they do appear, by and by are persecuted, whereby the prophecy of the Apostle is verified, which is written in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, the 3. All men, saith he, which desire to live godly, shall suffer persecution: But the evil men and Seducers shall prosper in their wickedness, running daily more and more into all kind of errors. The wicked have now so much prevailed, that they do Preach lies, making Hereticks of the faithful Christians; neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, so that they do not Preach against the vices of the Prelates. How then can you say, that Antichrist is not exalted above all that which is called God, suppressing the members of Christ, in his Office, fortifying and fostering his members in lying? Therefore the true and faithful Disciples of Christ ought to stand ready girt about their loins, and shooes upon their feet in defence of the Gospel, taking the Sword in hand, which is the word of God. *Ephes.* 6. And to fight against the crafts of Antichrist, who goeth about utterly to extinguish the true Preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Ministers of Antichrist do cloke the vices of their Prelates.

The second disputation in the University of Prague, upon the seventeenth Article of *John Wickliff*, most fruitful to be read; proving by four and Twenty reasons out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lords temporal have lawful authority and jurisdiction over the spirituality and Churchmen, both in taking from them, and correcting their abuses according to their doings and deserts.

The condemnation of the xlv. Articles, and therefore is not to be allowed.

TO the Honour of Almighty God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy Mother the Church, according to the Congregation of our University of Prague, which, avoiding always to do that which shall be prejudicial to the truth, hath deferred to give their consent unto the condemnation of the Forty five Articles, wishing even unto this present sufficient probation to be given of the con-

demnation of the said Articles, and particularly of every one of them. Whereupon the said University doth always require due proof of the same, forasmuch as Pope *Damasus* in his Canon, Distinction sixty eighth Chapter, *Chorepiscopi*, saith thus; That it is necessary that whatsoever thing standeth not by due reason should be rooted out. Whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the five and forty Articles, if it stand not with proof and sufficient demonstration for every Article, is necessary to be rooted out.

But if any man will object and say, that to require a reason of every thing, is to derogate from Gods divine power. Unto this objection Master *William* doth answer himself in his Philosophy, the first Book, almost at the end, where he intreating of the place, in the second Chapter of *Genesis*, God made man of the slime of the Earth, &c. Hath these words; For in what point (say we) are we contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we seek by reason to declare wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if that a wife man should say that a thing is done, and do not declare how it is done, and another man speaketh the very self same thing, and declareth how it is done, what contrariety is there? But forasmuch as they themselves know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might have all men partakers with them of their ignorance, they would have no man to inquire it out. But they would have us believe as ignorant people, neither to seek any reason of our belief, that the prophecy might be fulfilled: Such as the people is, such shall be the Priest. But we truly do say, that in all things a reason is to be sought, if it may by any means be found. But if that any man do stay at any thing which the Scriptures do affirm, let him commit the same unto faith, and unto the holy Ghost. For *Moses* saith, If the Lamb cannot be eaten, let it not be by and by consumed in the fire; but let him first call his Neighbour which dwelleth next house unto him; and if they also be not sufficient to eat the Lamb, then let it be burned in the fire. So likewise, when as we go about to seek any thing as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our selves to comprehend the same, let us call our Neighbour which dwelleth next house unto us; that is to say, let us seek out such a one as dwelleth in the same Catholick faith with us; and if then neither we, neither yet he be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of Faith.

But these men, albeit they have many Neighbours dwelling near unto them, yet for very pride they will not call any man unto them, chusing rather to continue still ignorant, than to ask any question. And if they do know any man to enquire for his Neighbour in such case, by and by they cry out upon him as an Heretick; presuming more upon their own heads, than having confidence in their wisdom. But I exhort you to give no credit unto their outward appearance, for already it is verified in them which the Satyrical Poet saith; No credit is to be given unto the outward shew: For which of them all is it that doth not abound with most shameful and detestable vices? And in another place he saith; They are very dainty of their speech, and have great desire to keep silence. And thus much hath *M. Wilhelmus*. Let all such hear whom this parable doth touch: for I with the rest of the Masters, Bachelors, and Students of our University, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the Forty five Articles of *Wickliff*, without reason, is, and how grievous a thing it were if we should thereunto consent, do call together my Neighbours, the Doctors of this University, and all others which would object any thing against the same, that we might presently find out the reason of the condemnation of this Article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the Clergy.

Notwithstanding I do profess that it is not my intent, like as it is not the meaning of the University to persuade, that Princes or secular Lords should take away the goods from the Clergy when they would, or how they would, and convert them to what use they list. But our whole intent is, diligently to search out whether this Article, as touching the taking away of temporalities from the Clergy, may have in it any true sense, whereby it may be defended without reproof. Wherefore this Article, being the seventeenth in the number of the Forty five, is, pro-

{ KING Ric. 2. }

An Allegory upon the Paschal Lamb.

A protestation, whereby he giveth light unto the Reader, how the proposition afore said is to be understood, and addeth, that the goods of the Clergy are not utterly to be taken away, but in case they do abuse the same.

KING
{ Ric. 2. }
The seven-
teenth Ar-
ticle pro-
ved by 44
Arguments.

"propounded under this form: The Lords temporal may at their own will and pleasure, take away the temporal Goods from the Clergy, if they do offend, and therein continue. It is thus proved: The Kings of the Old Testament took away the temporal Goods at Gods commandment from the Clergy; that is to say, from the Priests offending. Therefore the Kings also of the New Testament, at Gods commandment, may do the like, when as the Priests of the new Law do offend. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude. And the antecedent is evident. First, it is proved by Solomon in the 3d of the Kings, 2. Chapter, which Solomon deposed Abiathar the high Priest, because he had taken part with Adonias the Brother of Solomon to make him King, without the advice either of David, or of Solomon himself, which ought to reign, and set up Sadoc the Priest in the place of Abiathar, because he had not consented with Abiathar unto Adonias, as it is written in the 3d Book of Kings, 1. Chapter, where it is said; Adonias, the Son of Agitbe, exalted himself, saying, I will Reign, and made unto himself Chariots and Horsemen, and Forty men which should run before him; neither did his Father rebuke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done this? For he was very comely, being second Son, next to Absolom, and his talk was with Joab the Son of Sarvia and Abiathar the Priest, which took part with Adonias. But Sadoc the Priest, and Benaias the Son of Joiada, and Nathan the Prophet, and Semei, and Seretbi, and Felethi, and all the power of Davids Host, were not on Adonias part. This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar, because he took part with Adonias, that he should be King against Solomon the eldest Son of King David: Wherefore it is written in the Third Book, and second Chapter of the Kings; The King said unto Abiathar the Priest, Go your ways unto Anathoth thine own Field, for thou art a Man of death; but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast carried the Ark of the Lord before my Father David, and didst labour in all things wherein my Father laboured. Then did Solomon cast out Abiathar, that he should be no more the Priest of the Lord; that the Word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he spake upon the house of Heli in Silo.

"Behold, the most prudent King Salomon, according to the wisdom which was given him of God, did exercise his power upon the said Priest, putting him out of his Priesthood, and setting in his place Sadoc the Priest. This was a greater matter than to take away the temporalities. If then in the Law of Christ, which now reigneth over us, a Bishop should likewise rebel against the true Heir of the Kingdom, willing to set up another for King; why should not the King or his Heir have power, in like case, to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

"Item, It is also evident by the King Nabuchadonozor, which had power given him of God to lead away the children of Israel, with their Priests and Levites, into the Captivity of Babylon, as it is written in the 4th Book of the Kings, 25. Chapter.

"Item, It is read in the 4th Book of Kings, and 12th Chap. How that Joas the most godly King of Juda, according to the wisdom which God had granted him, took away all the consecrate vessels which Josaphat, Joram, and Ochafias, his Fore-fathers Kings of Juda had consecrated, and those which he himself had offered, and all the Treasure that could be found in the Temple of the Lord, and in the Kings Palace, and sent it unto Azabel King of Syria, and he departed from Jerusalem. Mark how this most holy King exercised his power, not only in taking away the Temporalities of the Priests, but also those things which were consecrate in the Temple of the Lord, to procure unto the Common-wealth the benefit of peace.

"Item, In the 4th Book, and 18th Chap. of the Kings, it is written, how that the holy King Ezechias took all the Treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the Kings Treasury, and brake down the Pillars of the Temple of the Lord, and all the Plates of Gold which he himself had fastned thereupon, and gave them unto the King of the Assyrians; yet was he not rebuked of the Lord therefore, as he was for his other sins, as it appeareth in the 2d Book of Paralip. 32. Chap. For so much then as in time of necessity all things ought to be in common unto Christians, it followeth that the secular Lords in case

"of necessity, and in many other common cases, may lawfully take away the moveable goods from the Clergy, when they do offend.

"Item, It is also read in the 12th of S. Matthew, That the Disciples of Jesus, to slack their hunger, upon the Sabbath day pulled the ears of corn, and did eat them, and the Pharisees rebuked them therefore; unto whom Christ answered, Have ye not read what David did when he was hungry, and those that were with him: How he David, entered into the House of the Lord, and did eat the Shewbread, which it was not lawful for him, neither for them that were with him to eat, but only for the Priests? This story is written in the first Book of the Kings, and 21. Chapter. And the commandment in the 12th Chapter of Deuteronomie. Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawful in time of necessity to use any thing, be it never so much consecrate. Otherwise children by giving their moveables to the consecration of any Temple, should not be bound to help their Parents; which is contrary and against the Gospel of S. Matthew in the sixteenth Chapter; Whereas our Saviour sharply rebuked the Pharisees, that for their own Traditions they did transgress the commandment of God.

"Item, Titus and Vespasian secular Princes had power given them of God, twenty four years after the Lords Ascension, to take away the Temporalities from the Priests which had offended against the Lords holy one, and thereby also bereft them of their lives: And it seemeth unto many, they did and might worthily do the same according to Gods good will and pleasure. Then forso much as our Priests in these days may transgress and offend as much, and rather more against the Lords anointed, it followeth, that by the pleasure of God, the secular Lords may likewise punish them for their offence.

"Our Saviour being King of Kings, and high Bishop, with his Disciples, did give Tribute unto Caesar, as it appeareth in the 17th Chap. of S. Matthews Gospel, and commanded the Scribes and Pharisees to give the like unto Caesar, S. Matth. 22. Whereby he gave example unto all Priests that would come after him to render Tribute unto their Kings: Whereupon blessed S. Ambrose in his fourth Book upon these Words in the 5th of S. Luke,

"(Cast out your nets) writeth thus; There is another kind of fishing amongst the Apostles, after which manner the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, Cast out thy Hook, and that Fish which cometh first up, take him. And then unto the purpose he saith; It is truly a great and spiritual document, whereby all Christian men are taught, that they ought to be subject unto the higher powers, and that no man ought to think that the Laws of a King here on Earth are to be broken. For if the Son of God did pay Tribute, who art thou so great a man, that thinkest thou oughtest not to pay Tribute? He payed Tribute which had no possessions; and thou which daily seekest after the lucre of the World, why dost thou not acknowledge the obedience and duty of the World? Why dost thou through the arrogancy of thy mind exalt thyself above the World, when as, through thine own miserable covetousness, thou art subject unto the World? Thus writeth S. Ambrose, and it is put in the 11. q. 1. Magnum quidem. He also writeth upon these words in Luke 20. Shew me a penny, whose Image hath it? If Christ had not the Image of Caesar, why did he pay any Tribute? He gave it not of his own, but rendered unto the World, that which was the Worlds; and if thou wilt not be in danger of Caesar, possess not those things which are the Worlds; for if thou hast riches thou art in danger of Caesar.

"Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing unto any Earthly King, forsake all those things, and follow Christ. If then all Ecclesiastical Ministers, having riches, ought to be under the subjection of Kings, and give unto them Tribute: It followeth that Kings may lawfully, by the Authority which is given them take away their Temporalities from them.

"Hereupon S. Paul, acknowledging himself to be under jurisdiction of the Emperor, appealed unto Caesar, as it appeareth, Acts 25.

"I stand, saith he, at Caesars Judgment seat, there I ought to be judged. Whereupon in the eighth Distinction, Chapter Quo jure, S. Ambrose alledgeth, that all

5.

Case of necessity.

6. Titus and Vespasian.

7. The example of Christ paying of Tribute.

S. Ambroses mind.

Christ commanded Tribute to be paid unto the Emperor.

Paul appealed to the Emperor. S. Ambrose there in the 8. Distinction things

- Dan. 2. "things are lawful unto the Emperor, and all things under his Power. For the confirmation whereof it is said, *Daniel* second Chapter, The God of Heaven hath given unto thee a Kingdom, Strength, Empire and Glory, and all places wherein the Children of men do dwell, and hath given into thy Power the Beasts of the field, and Fowls of the Air, and set all things under thy Subjection.
9. "Also in the 11. question and 1. he saith, If the Emperor require Tribute, we do not deny that the Lands of the Church shall pay Tribute; if the Emperor have need of our Lands, he hath power to challenge them, let him take them, if he will; I do not give them unto the Emperor, neither do I deny them. This writeth S. Ambrose, expressly declaring that the secular Lord hath power at his pleasure to take away the Lands of the Church; and so consequently the secular Lords have power at their own pleasures to take away the Temporal goods from the Ecclesiastical Ministers, when they do offend.
10. S. Augustine "Item, S. Augustine writeth, If thou sayst, what have we do with the Emperor? But now as I said, we speak of mans Law. The Apostles would be Obedient unto Kings, and honour them, saying, *Reverence your Kings*; and do not say, *What have I to do with the King?* What hast thou then to do with Possessions? By the Kings Law thy Possessions are possessed. Thou hast said, What have I to do with the King? but do not say, What have thy Possessions to do with the King? For then hast thou renounced the Laws of men, whereby thou didst possess thy Lands. Thus writeth S. Augustine in his eighth *Distinct.* by whose words it is manifest, that the King hath power over the Church-goods, and consequently may take them away from the Clergy transgressing or offending.
11. Magistrates, Keepers of both Laws. "Item, in his three and thirtieth Epistle unto Boniface, he saith, What sober man will say unto our Kings, Care not you in your Kingdom, by whom the Church of the Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it pertaineth not unto you, who will be either a religious man, or who will be a Church-Robber? Unto whom it may be thus answered, Doth it not pertain unto us in our Kingdom, who will either live a chaste life, or who will be an unchaste Whoremonger? Behold, this holy man sheweth here how that it is the duty of Kings to punish such as are Robbers of Churches, and consequently the proud Clergy when as they do offend.
- The duty of Kings to punish the Clergy. 12. "Item, he writeth in the 33. quest. 7. *Si de rebus*; The secular Lords may lawfully take away the Temporal goods from Hereticks; and forso much it is a case greatly possible that many of the Clergy are users of Simony, and thereby Hereticks, therefore the secular Lords may very lawfully take away their Temporalities from them. For what unworthy thing is it, saith S. Augustine, if the Catholics do possess, according unto the will of the Lord, those things which the Hereticks held? Forso much as this is the word of the Lord unto all wicked men, *Mat. 21. The Kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and given unto a Nation, which shall do the righteousness thereof*; is it in vain which is written in the eleventh Chapter of the Book of Wisdom? *The just shall eat the labours of the wicked.*
11. "And whereas it may be objected as touching the desire of other mens goods, S. Augustine answereth, That by that evidence the seven Nations, which did abuse the Land of Promise, and were driven out from thence by the Power of God, may object the same unto the people of God, which inhabit the same. And the Jews themselves, from whom, according unto the word of the Lord, The Kingdom is taken away, and given unto a people, which shall do the works of Righteousness, may object the same unto the Church of Christ, as touching the desire of other mens goods; but S. Augustines Answer is thus:
- An objection of the desire of other mens goods. "We, saith he, do not desire another mans goods; forso much as they are ours by the Commandment of him, by whom all things were made. By like evidence the Clergy having offended, their Temporal goods are made the goods of others, for the profit of the Church.
- S. Augustine 14 quest. 4. "To this purpose also, according to Saint Augustine serveth the fourteenth question 4. Unto a misbeliever it is not a half-penny matter, but unto the Faithful is a whole World of riches: shall we not then convince all such to possess another mans goods, which seemed to have gathered great riches together, and know not how to use them? for that truly is not anothers, which is possessed by right: and that is lawfully possessed, which is justly possessed; and that is justly possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that which is evil possessed is another mans, and he doth ill possess it, which doth evil use it.
- "If then any of the Clergy do abuse the Temporal goods, the Temporal Lords may at their own pleasure, according unto the rule of charity, take away the said Temporal goods from the Clergy so transgressing. For then, according to the Allegation aforesaid, the Clergy doth not justly possess those Temporal goods, but the Temporal Lords, proceeding according to the rule of charity, do justly possess those Temporalities, forso much as all things are the just mans, 1 Cor. 3. *All things, saith the Apostle, are yours; whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas; either the World, either Life or Death, or things present, or things to come: for all things be yours, you be Christs, and Christ is Gods.* Also in the twenty third question 7. *Quicunque*, it is written; *Jure divino omnia sunt justorum.* The words of S. Augustine in that place, *ad Vincetium*, be these, Whosoever, saith he, upon the occasion of this Law or Ordinance of the Emperor, doth molest or persecute you, not for love of any charitable correction, but only for hatred and malice to do you displeasure, I hold not with him in so doing.
- "And although there is nothing here in this earth, that any man may possess assuredly, but either he must hold it by Gods Law, by which *cuncta justorum esse dicuntur*; that is, all things be said to pertain to the possession of the Just: or else by mans Law, which standeth in the Kings Power to set and to ordain, &c. Here, by the words of S. Augustine alledged, ye see all things belong to the possession of the Just, by Gods Law.
13. The Clergy subject unto the Emperor and King by means of their possessions. "Item, forso much as the Clergy by means of their possessions are in danger of the Emperor and King: it followeth, that if they do offend, the Emperor or King may lawfully take away their possessions from them. The consequence dependeth on this point, forso much as otherwise they were not in subjection under the Emperor or King: and the antecedent is manifest by the eleventh question and first Parag. *Hic ita responderetur.* Whereas it is specified in Latin thus, *Hic ita responderetur, Clerici ex officio Episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus praediorum Imperatori sunt obnoxii: ab Episcopo unctioem, decimas, & primitias accipiunt; ab Imperatore vero praediorum possessiones nanciscuntur*: that is to say, The Clergy by means of their Office are under the Bishop, but by reason of their possessions they be subject unto the Emperor: Of the Bishop they receive Unction, Tythes, and First-fruits; of the Emperor they receive possessions. Thus then it is decreed by the Imperial Law, That Livelihoods should be possessed; whereby it appeareth, that the Clergy by the possession of their Livelihoods are in danger of the Emperor for him to take away from them, or to correct them according to their deservings, and to have the controulment of them, as it shall seem good unto him.
14. Users of Simony are punished by the civil Magistrate. "Item, the Temporal Lords may take away the Temporalities from such as use Simony, because they are Hereticks. Ergo, this Article is true.
- "The Antecedent is manifest, forso much as the Secular Lords may refuse such as use Simony, and punish them except they do repent. For by the decree of Pope Paschasius in the first and last question it appeareth, that all such as used Simony were to be refused of all faithful people, as chief and principal Hereticks; and if they do not repent after they be warned, they are also to be punished by the extern Power. For all other faults and crimes, in comparison of Simony, be counted but light, and seem small offences.
- "Whereupon the Gloss, expounding the same Text, saith, That by this word *Extern*, is understood the Laity, which have power over the Clergy, besides the Church, as in the 17. *Distinct.* *Non licuit, & 23. quest. 5. Principes.* Whereby it is evident, that the Temporal Lords may take away the Temporal goods from the Clergy when as they do offend.
- "Item,

KING

Ric. 2.

Gregory writeth to the French Queen.

Wicked Priests the destruction of the people.

Gregory to the French King

"Item, S. Gregory in the Register upon his seventh Book and ninth Chapter, writeth thus unto the French Queen: For so much as it is written that righteousness helpeth the people, and sin maketh them miserable: then is that Kingdom counted stable, when as the offence which is known, is soon amended.

"Therefore, for so much as wicked Priests are the cause of the ruine of the people, (for who shall take upon him; to be Intercessor for the sins of the people, if the Priest which ought to intreat for the same, have committed greater offences) and under your Dominions the Priests do live wickedly and unchastly: therefore that the offence of a few might not turn to the destruction of many, we ought earnestly to seek the punishment of the same. And it followeth, If we do command any person, we do send him forth, with the consent of your Authority, who together with other Priests, shall diligently seek out, and according unto Gods word correct and amend the same. Neither are these things to be dissembled, the which we have spoken of, for he that may correct any thing, and doth neglect the same, without all doubt he maketh himself partaker of the sin or offence.

"Therefore foresee unto your own Soul, provide for your Nephews, and for such as you do desire to Reign after you, provide for your Country, and with diligence provide for the correction and punishment of that sin, before our Creator do stretch out his hand to strike.

"And in his next Chapter he writeth unto the French King: Whatsoever you do understand to pertain either unto the Honour and Glory of our God, to the reverence of the Church, or to the honour of the Priests, that do you diligently cause to be decreed, and in all points to be observed. Wherefore once again we do move you, that you command a Synod to be congregated, and as we wrote lately unto you, to cause all the carnal Vices, which reign amongst your Priests, and all the wickedness and Simony of your Bishops (which is most hard to be condemned and reprov'd) utterly to be banished out of your Kingdom; and that you will not suffer them to possess any more substance under your Dominion, than Gods commandment doth allow.

"Behold how carefully blessed Gregory doth exhort the Queen and the King to punish the Vices of the Clergy, lest through their negligence they should be partakers of the same; and how they ought to correct their Subjects. For as it is convenient to be circumspect and careful against the outward enemies; even so likewise ought they to be against the inward enemies of the Soul. And like as in just War against the outward enemies it is lawful to take away their goods, so long as they continue in their malice; so also it is lawful to take away the goods of the Clergy, being the inward enemy. The consequence is proved thus, for so much as the domestical enemies are most hurtful.

"Item, it is thus argued; If God be, the Temporal Lords may meritoriously and lawfully take away the Temporal goods from the Clergy, if they do offend. For this point let us suppose that we speak of power, as the true authentic Scripture doth speak, Mat. 3. 9. God is able even of these stones to raise up Children to Abraham.

"Whereupon it is thus argued; For if God be, he is Omnipotent, and if he so be, he may give like power unto the secular Lords. And so consequently they may meritoriously and lawfully use the same power. But lest that any man may object, that a proof made by a strange thing is not sufficient; it is therefore declared how that the Temporal Lords have power to take away their Alms bestowed upon the Church, the Church abusing the same, as it shall be proved hereafter. And first thus, It is lawful for Kings, in cases limited by the Law, to take away the moveables from the Clergy when they do offend: it is thus proved, For the Temporal Lords are most bound unto the works of greatest mercy most easie for them: but in case possible, it should be greater Alms and easier Temporal Dominion, to take away their Alms from such as build therewithall unto eternal damnation, through the abuse thereof, than to give the said Alms for any bodily relief. Ergo, the assumption is true.

"Whereupon first this Sentence of the Law of Christ in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians the third Chapter is noted, whereas the Apostle writeth thus; when we

"were amongst you, we declared this unto you, That he that would not work should not eat. Wherefore the law of Nature doth licence all such as have the Governance of Kingdoms, to correct the abuse of the Temporalities, which would be the chief cause of the destruction of their Kingdoms; whether the Temporal Lords, or any other, had endowed the Church with those Temporalities or not. It is lawful for them in some case to take away the Temporalities, as it were by way of Physick to withstand sin, notwithstanding any Excommunication, or other Ecclesiastical Censures; forso much as they are not endowed, but only with condition thereunto annexed.

"Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the endowing, or enriching of any Church, is, that God should be honoured: the which condition if it once fail, the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is lost, and consequently the Lord which gave the Alms ought to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not to lett the fulfilling of Justice. Secondly, according to the Canon Law, 16. question 7. this Sentence is noted, where it is thus spoken as touching the Children, Nephews, and the most honest of the Kindred of him which hath builded or endowed any Church: That it is lawful for them to be thus circumspect, that if they perceive the Priest do defraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish or warn him, or else complain of him to the Bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the Bishop himself attempt to do the like, let them complain of him to his Metropolitan: and if the Metropolitan do the like, let them not defer the time to report it in the ears of the King. For so saith the Canon, Let them not defer to report it in the ears of the King. To what end I pray you, but that he should do correction? neither is it to be doubted, but that correction doth more appertain unto the King in this points for their good, whereof he is chief Lord by a subtraction proportional, according to the fault or offence.

"Item, it is thus proved; It is lawful for the secular Lords by their power to do correction upon the Clergy by some kind of fearful Discipline appertaining to their secular power: Ergo, by like reason it is lawful for them by their power to do such correction, by all kind of fearful Discipline pertaining unto their secular power. For so much then as the taking of their Temporalities is a kind of fearful discipline pertaining unto the secular power; it followeth that it is lawful for them thereby to do such correction. And consequently it followeth that the Truth is thus to be proved. The consequence is evident; and the antecedent is proved by Isidore 23. quest. 5. Principes. Where it is thus written, There should be no secular powers within the Church, but only for this purpose, that whatsoever thing the Priests or Ministers cannot bring to pass by Preachings or Teachings, the secular powers may command the same by the terror and fear of Discipline. For oftentimes the heavenly Kingdom is profited and holden by the earthly Kingdom: that they which are in the Church, and do any thing contrary unto faith and discipline, by the rigour of the Princes may be trodden down, and that the power of the Rulers may lay that discipline upon the necks of the proud and stiffnecked, which the utility and profit of the Church cannot exercise or use.

"Item, all things that by power ought to work or bring to any perfect end by the reasonable measuring of the mean thereto, may lawfully use by power the subtraction or taking away of the excess, and the addition of the want of the means, according as shall be convenient or meet for the measure to be made. For so much then as the secular Lords ought by their power to provide for the necessary sustentation of the Christian Clergy by the reasonable measuring of their Temporalities, which they are bound to bestow upon the Christian Clergy, it followeth, that they may lawfully by their power use the taking away or putting unto of those Temporalities according as shall be convenient for the performance of that reasonable matter.

"Item, it is lawful for the Clergy, by their power to take away the Sacraments of the Church from the Laity customably offending, for so much as it doth pertain to the Office of the Christian Ministers by their power to minister

When and how the title of any gift is lost.

It is lawful for the civil Rulers to correct the Clergy.

- “minister the same unto the Lay-people. Wherefore, for
 “so much as it doth pertain unto the Office of the Laity,
 “according unto their power to minister, and give Tem-
 “poralties to the Clergy of Christ, as the Apostle saith,
 “1 Cor. 9. It followeth, that it is also lawful for them
 “by their power to take away the Temporalities from the
 “Clergy, when they do customably sin and offend.
20. “Item, by like power may he which giveth a stipend
 “or exhibition, withdraw and take away the same from
 “the unworthy Labourers, as he hath power to give the
 “same unto the worthy Labourers: forsomuch then as
 “Temporalities of the Clergy, are the stipends of the Laity;
 “it followeth that the Lay-people may by as good autho-
 “rity take away again the same from the Clergy, which
 “will not worthily labour, as they might by their power
 “bestow the same upon those which would worthily la-
 “bour, according to the saying of the Gospel, *Matth 21.*
 “*The Kingdom shall be taken away from you, and given*
 “*unto a people which shall bring forth the fruits there-*
 “*of.*
21. “Item, it is also lawful for the secular Lords, by their
 “power, to chastise and punish the Lay-people when they
 “do offend, by taking away of their Temporalities accord-
 “ing to the exigent of their offence, forsomuch as the Lay-
 “people are subject under the Dominion of the Secular
 “Lords, as appears, *Rom. 13.* and many other places, it is
 “evident that it is lawful by their power to punish the
 “Clergy, by taking away of their Temporalities, if their
 “offence do so deserve.
22. “Item, the true and easie direction of the Clergy unto
 “the life of Christ and the Apostles, and most profit-
 “able unto the Laity, that the Clergy should not live
 “contrary unto Christs Institution, seemeth to be the taking
 “away of their Alms, and those things which they had
 “bestowed upon them. And it is thus proved, That
 “medicine is most apt to be laid unto the sore, whereby
 “the infirmity might soonest be holpen, and were most
 “agreeable unto the Patients: Such is the taking away
 “of the Temporalities: *Ergo*, this Article is true. The
 “minor is thus proved, forsomuch as by the abundance of
 “Temporalities the Worm or Serpent of Pride is sprung
 “up, whereupon unfatiable desire and lust is inflamed,
 “and therefrom proceedeth all kind of gluttony and le-
 “chery. It is evident in this point, for so much as the
 “Temporalities being once taken away, every one of
 “those sins is either utterly taken away, or at the least
 “diminished, by the contrary vertue induced and brought
 “in. It seemeth also most pertinent unto the Laity, for
 “so much as they ought not to lay violent hands upon
 “their Ministers, or to abject the Priestly Dignity, neither
 “to judge any of the Clergy in their open Courts. It seem-
 “eth also by the law of conscience to pertain unto the Lay-
 “people, for so much as every man, which worketh any
 “work of mercy, ought diligently to have respect unto the
 “ability of them that he bestoweth his Alms upon; lest
 “that by nourishing or helping Loyerers, he be made par-
 “taker of his offence. Whereupon, if Priests do not minister
 “of their Spiritualities, as *Hosienfis* teacheth in his third
 “Book, Of their Tythes, First-Fruits and Oblations, the
 “people ought to take away the Alms of their Tythes from
 “them.
23. “Item, it is confirmed by the last Chapter of the seven-
 “teenth question, out of the decree of Rents appropriate
 “unto the Church, *Quicumque*. Whereas the case is put
 “thus, That a certain man having no Children, neither
 “hoping to have any, gave all his goods unto the Church,
 “reserving unto himself the only use and profits thereof:
 “it hapned afterward that he had Children and the Bishop
 “restored again his goods unto him not hoping for it.
 “The Bishop had it in his power, whether to render again,
 “or no, those things which were given him; but that
 “was by the law of man, and not by the law of consci-
 “ence. If then by the decree of the holy Doctor *S. Au-*
 “*gustine* in his Sermon of the life of the Clergy, *Aurelius*
 “the Bishop of *Carthage* had no power by Gods Law to
 “withhold that which is bestowed upon the Church for
 “the necessity of Children; by the which Law, the wan-
 “ton, proud, and unstable Clergy, being more than suffi-
 “ciently possessed and enriched, do detain and keep back the
 “Temporalities to the detriment and hurt of their own
 “state, and of the whole Militant-Church, the secular
- “Patrons being thereby so impoverished, that they are com-
 “pelled by penury to rob and steal, to oppress their Tenants,
 “to spoil and undo others, and oftentimes by very necessity
 “are driven to beggary.
- “Item, suppose that a Priest and Minister, how grievously
 “soever he do offend, by what kind or sign of offence
 “soever it be, as it was in the case of Bishop *Judas Isca-*
 “*riotb*, of the religious Monk *Sergius*, of Pope *Leo* the
 “Heretick, and many other Priests, of whom the Scrip-
 “ture and Chronicles make mention, and daily experience
 “doth teach us the same: it is evident, that, as it is sup-
 “posed, the Priests in the Kingdom of *Bobeme* grievously
 “offending, it is the Kings Part, for so much as he is
 “Supream Head next under God, and Lord of the King-
 “dom of *Bobeme*, to correct and punish those Priests. And
 “for so much as the gentlest correction and punishment of
 “such as be indurate in their malice, is, the casting
 “away of their Temporal goods, it followeth, that it is
 “lawful for the King to take away Temporalities. Where-
 “fore it should seem very marvelous and strange, if that
 “Priests riding about should spoil Virgins, violently cor-
 “rupt and defile honest Matrons; if in such case it were
 “not lawful for them to take away their Armors, Weapons,
 “Horses, Guns and Swords from them. The like reason
 “were it also, if they had unlawfully conspired the death
 “of the King, or that they would betray the King unto his
 “Enemies.
- “Item, whatsoever any of the Clergy doth require or
 “desire of the secular Power, according unto the Law
 “and Ordinance of Christ, the secular power ought to
 “perform and grant the same. But the Clergy, being let-
 “ted by riches, ought to require help of the secular power
 “for the dispensation of the said riches. *Ergo*, the secular
 “power ought in such case, by the Law of Christ, to take
 “upon them the office or duty of getting, keeping, and
 “distributing all such manner of riches. The minor is
 “hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but
 “to that end, that they be helps, preferring and helping
 “unto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore
 “in case that secular possession do hinder the Clergy from
 “their duty, the secular power ought to take it away, for
 “so did the Apostles, *Acts* the sixth, saying, *It is not law-*
 “*ful for us to leave the word of God untaught, and to*
 “*minister unto Tables.*
- “And thus hitherto hath *John Hus* prosecuted *Wick-*
 “*liffs* Articles with long arguments and reasons; and it
 “were too long a travel, neither agreeable for this place,
 “to alledge all the whole order of his reasons and proofs,
 “which he used in that disputation, above the number of
 “twenty more, besides the testimonies of all the Writers be-
 “fore recited, the which he alledgeth out of the Scriptures,
 “Decretals, *S. Ambrose* in his Book of Offices, *S. Augustine*
 “in his fifth Book and fifth question, and also unto *Ma-*
 “*cedo*, *Isidore*, the Council of *Nice*, *Gregory* his eleventh
 “question, *Bernard* unto *Eugenius* in his third Book, and
 “out of *Lincolniensis* the sixty first Epistle, besides
 “many other more. The sum of all which Testimonies
 “tend unto this end, that he might utterly take away all
 “earthly Rule and Dominion from the Clergy, and to
 “bring them under the subjection and censure of Kings
 “and Emperors, as it were within certain bonds, the which
 “is not only agreeable unto equity and Gods word, but
 “also profitable for the Clergy themselves. He teacheth it
 “also to be necessary, that they should rather be subject
 “under the secular power, than to be above them; because
 “that else it were dangerous, lest that they being entangled
 “with such kind of business, they should be an easier prey
 “unto Satan, and sooner trapped in his Snares. And
 “thereby it should come to pass, that the Governance and
 “Principality of all things being at the length brought
 “into the hands of the Clergy, the lawful Authority of
 “Kings and Princes should not only be given over unto
 “them, but in a manner as it were grow out of use; spe-
 “cially for so much as already, in certain Kingdoms and
 “Commonwealths, the Ecclesiastical Power is grown unto
 “such height, that not only in *Bobeme*, but also almost
 “throughout all the Commonwealths, they do occupy the
 “third, or at least the fourth part of the Rents and Re-
 “venues. And last of all, he alledgeth the Example of
 “*Gregory* and of *Mauritius*, and afterward the Prophecy
 “of *Hildegardis*, writing in this manner.

{KING}
Ric. 2.

"As the Ecclesiastical Ministers do willingly receive reward and praise of Kings and Rulers for their good deeds; so also ought they, when they do offend, willingly suffer and receive punishment at their hands for their evil doings. The consequence holdeth thus, For so much as the punishment meekly and humbly received for his offence doth more profit a man, than his praise received for any good work. Whereupon Saint Gregory writeth thus unto *Mauritius* the Emperor, when he did persecute him, saying, *I believe that you do please Almighty God so much the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, which have been so evil a Servant unto him.* If then this holy Pope did so humbly and meekly, without any offence, suffer this affliction of the Emperor; why should not any of the Clergy, when they do offend, meekly sustain punishment at the Kings or Rulers hands, under whom he is bounden to be subject? When as the true Vicar of Christ faith, the first of *Peter* and second Chapter, *Be ye subject unto every Creature for Gods cause, whether it be unto the King, as most excellent, or unto the Rulers, as men sent of God for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good; for so is the good will of God.*

Gregorius ad
Mauritium.

Pope Leo
submitte
himself unto
the Emperor
Ludovicus.

"Whereupon Pope *Leo*, leaning unto this Rule, submitted himself unto *Ludovicus* the Emperor, as it is written in the second question 7. under these words, If we have done any thing incompetently, or if we have not observed the upright path and way of equity amongst Subjects, we will amend the same, either by your own judgment, or else by the advice or judgment of those which you shall appoint for that purpose. For if we, which ought to correct and punish other mens faults, do commit more grievous our selves, we are not then the Disciples of the Truth (but with sorrow we speak it) we shall be above all other the Masters of Error.

"And in the tenth Distinction he writeth thus, As touching the Obedience unto the Emperor, as concerning the Precepts and Commandments of our Emperors, and our Predecessors Bishops (the which the *Gloss* nameth *Emperors*, which are anointed after the manner of Bishops) to be observed and kept unbroken, we do profess our selves by all means possible, as much as in us lieth, or that we may and can, we will by the help of God preserve and keep them both now and ever. And if peradventure any man do inform, or hereafter shall inform you otherwise, know you him assuredly to be a lyer and slanderer.

The tyranny
and
pride of the
Clergy.

"Mark how this devout and holy Pope, calling the Emperors Bishops, submitted himself according to the rule of Saint *Peter* the Apostle under the Obedience, and also punishment of the Emperor. Wherefore then should not the Clergy of the Kingdom of *Boheme* submit themselves under the Obedience of their King, for Gods cause, to be punished if they do offend; and not only submit themselves unto the King, but also unto the Rulers; and not only unto the Rulers, but unto every other Creature? For by how much they do so humble and abase themselves in this world for Gods sake, so much the more shall they be exalted with him: but what is the let thereof, but only pride, whereby *Antichrist* doth exalt himself, above the most humble and meek Lord *Jesus Christ*?

The Prophecy
of
Hildegardis.

"Also it seemeth to appear by that which is aforesaid upon the taking away of the Temporalities, out of the Prophecy of *Hildegardis* the Virgin, the which he writeth in his Books under *Eugenius* the Pope in the Council of *Trevese*, approved and allowed by many Bishops of *France*, *Italy* and *Almaine*, which were there present, whereas also Saint *Bernard* himself was present; the which Virgin prophesying, spake in this manner; The Kings and other Rulers of the world, being stirred up by the just Judgment of God, shall set themselves against them, and run upon them, saying, We will not have these men to Reign over us with their rich Houses and great Possessions, and other worldly riches, over the which we are ordained to be Lords and Rulers; and how is it meet or comely that those shavelings with their stoles and chifils should have more Souldiers, or more or richer Armour or Artillery than we? So is it not convenient that one of the Clergy should be a man of war, neither a Souldier to be one of the Clergy. Wherefore let

us take away from them that, which they do not justly, but wrongfully possess. And immediately after the faith, The Omnipotent Father equally divided all things; that is to say, the Heavens he gave unto the heavenly Creatures, and the Earth unto the earthly. And by this means was there a just division made between the Children of men, that the Spirituality should have such things as belong unto them, and the secular people, such things as are meet and necessary for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppress each other by violence; for God doth not command, that the one Son or Child should have both the Cloke and the Coat, and the other should go naked, but he willed that the one should have the Cloke, and the other the Coat. Wherefore the secular sort ought to have the Cloke for the greatness of their worldly Cares, and for their Children, which daily increase and multiply. The Coat he giveth unto the Spirituality, that they should not lack clothing, and that they should not possess more than necessity doth require. Wherefore we judge and think it good, that all these aforesaid be divided by reason and equity. And whereas the Cloke and the Coat are both found, there the Cloke should be taken away, and given unto the needy, that they do not perish for lack or want. These aforesaid spake the Virgin *Hildegardis*, plainly foreshewing the taking away of the Temporalities from the Clergy by the secular Lords, and shewing for what cause they shall be so taken away. And what manner of division shall be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent unprofitably.

Forasmuch as mention is here made of *Hildegardis*, it shall not seem impertinent, moved by the occasion hereof, to give forth unto the Reader such things as we have found in certain old Volumes, touching her Prophecy of the coming of certain false Prophets, only meaning, as it seemeth, the begging-Fryers which sprang up shortly after her time. The tenour whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

Hildegardis
prophesying
of Fryers
and Monks.

"In those days there shall rise up a people without understanding, proud, covetous, untrusty, and deceitful, the which shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certain Order of foolish devotion, under the the fained Cloke of beggary, preferring themselves above all other, by their fained devotion, arrogant understanding, and pretended holiness, walking without shamefastness, or the fear of God, inventing many new mischiefs, being strong and stout: but this Order shall be accursed of all wise men and faithful Christians; they shall cease from labour, and give themselves over unto idleness; choosing rather to live through flattery and by begging. Moreover, they shall together study, how they may perversly resist the Teachers of the Truth, and slay them together with the Noblemen; how to seduce and deceive the Nobility, for the necessity of their living and pleasures of this world; for the Devil will graft in them four principal Vices; that is to say, flattery, envy, hypocrites and slander. Flattery, that they may have large gifts given them. Envy, when they see gifts given unto other, and not unto them. Hypocrites, that by false dissimulation, they may please men. Detraction, that they may extol and commend themselves, and backbite others, for the praise of men, and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach without devotion or example of the Martyrs, and shall detract the secular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true Pastors, receiving Alms of the poor, diseased and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceive their Husbands and Friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and rob their Husbands to give it unto them: for they will take all these stolen and evil gotten goods, and say, Give it unto us, and we will pray for you; so that they being curious to hide other mens faults, do utterly forget their own; and alas, they will receive all things of Rovers, Pickers, Spoilers, Thieves and Robbers, of sacrilegious Persons, Usurers, and Adulterers, Hereticks, Schismatics, Apostates, Whores and Bawds, of Noblemen, Perjurers, Merchants, false Judges, souldiers, tyrants, Princes, of such as live contrary to the

" the Law, and of many perverse and wicked men, following the persuasion of the Devil, the sweetness of sin, a delicate and transitory life, and fulness even unto eternal damnation. All these things shall manifestly appear in them unto all people, and they day by day shall wax more wicked and hard-hearted; and when as their wickedness and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they go about their houses hungry, and as mad Dogs looking down upon the Earth, and drawing in their Necks as Doves, that they might be satisfied with bread: then shall the people cry out upon them, Woe be unto you ye miserable Children of sorrow, the world hath seduced you, the Devil hath bridled your mouths, your flesh is frail, and your hearts without favour, your minds have been unstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly, your dainty Bellies desire delicate meats, your feet are swift to run unto mischief. Remember when you were apparently blessed yet envious, poor but rich, simple, mighty, devout Flatterers, unfaithful Betrayers, perverse Detractors, holy Hypocrites, Subverters of the Truth, overmuch Upright, proud, unshamefast, unstedfast Teachers, delicate Martyrs, Confessors for gain, meek slanderers, religious, covetous, humble, proud, pitiful, hard-hearted, lyers, pleasant Flatterers, Peace-breakers, Persecutors, Oppressors of the Poor, bringing in new Sects, newly invented of your selves, merciless, wicked, Lovers of the world, Sellers of Pardons, Spoilers of Benefices, unprofitable Orators, seditious Conspirators, Drunkards, desirers of Honour, Maintainers of Mischief, Robbers of the world, unsatiable Preachers, Men-pleasers, Seducers of Women, and Sowers of Discord: for Moses the glorious Prophet spake very well of you in his Song: A people without counsel or understanding; would to God they did know, understand, and foresee the end. You have builded up on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall; even as Simon Magus whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruel Plague; so you likewise through your false Doctrine, naughtiness, lies, detractions and wickedness, are come to ruine: and the people shall say unto them, go ye Teachers of wickedness, Subverters of the Truth, Brethren of the Sunamite, Fathers of Heresies, false Apostles, which have fained your selves to follow the life of the Apostles, and yet have not fulfilled it in any part, Sons of Iniquity, we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for pride and presumption hath deceived you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts. And when as yet ye would ascend higher than was meet or comely for you, by the just Judgment of God you are fallen back into perpetual opprobry and shame.

" This blessed *Hildegardis*, whose Prophecy this is, flourished about the year of our Lord, 1046. as it is written in *Martins Chronicles*.

Hugo de Sacramentis, part. 2.

" Also *Hugo* in his second Book Of Sacraments, in the second part, third Chapter and seventh, saith, The Laity forsomuch as they intermeddle with earthly matters necessary unto an earthly life, they are the least part of the body of Christ. And the Clergy, for so much as they do dispose those things which pertain unto a spiritual life, are as it were the right side of the body of Christ. And afterward interpreting both these parts himself, he saith, A spiritual man ought to have nothing but such as pertaineth unto God, unto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the Tythes and Oblations which are offered unto God: but unto the Christian and faithful Laity the possession of the Earth is granted; and unto the Clergy the whole Charge of spiritual matters is committed, as it was in the *Old Testament*. And in his seventh Chapter he declareth how that certain things are given unto the Church of Christ by the devotion of the faithful, the Power and authority of the Secular Power reserved, lest there might happen any confusion; Forso-much as God himself cannot allow any disordered thing. Whereupon oftentimes the worldly Princes do grant the bare use of the Church, and oftentimes use power to exercise Justice; which the Clergy cannot exercise by any Ecclesiastical Minister, or any other person of the Clergy, Notwithstanding they may have certain Lay- persons Ministers unto that Office. But in such sort, saith he, that they do acknowledge the power which they have to come from the secular Prince or Ruler, and that

" they do understand their Possessions can never be alienate away from the Kings Power; but (if that necessity or reason do require) the same possessions in all such case of necessity do owe him obeyance and service. For like as the Kings Power ought not to turn away the defence or safeguard which he oweth unto other: so likewise the possessions obtained and possessed by the Clergy, according to the duty and homage which is due unto the Patronage of the Kings Power, cannot by right be denied. Thus much writes *Hugo*.

In the third Act the same year, after the Feast of *S. Vitis*, as touching Tythes, &c.

Tythes are pure Alms.

Upon this Article it is to be noted, that forsomuch as Alms is a work of mercy, as *S. Augustine*, *S. Chrysostome*, and others do joyntly affirm, and that mercy (according to *Lincolniensis* mind) for the present is a love or desire to help the miserable out of his misery: and forsomuch as the misery of Mankind is double; that is to say, spiritual and bodily, the which is the want or taking away of the goods; and the goods of man is either the goods of the Soul or of the Body; And the goods of the Soul is double (that is to say, the lightning of the mind, and the uprightness of affection) the misery of the Soul is also double, as the darknes of ignorance, and a forward and wilful swarving from the Truth. And both the goods of the Soul are wont to be comprehended under one Title of name; that is to say, Wisdom; and both the miseries of the Soul under the name of Folly. Whereupon all the whole goodness of the Soul is Wisdom, and all the whole misery thereof is ignorance: The miseries of the Body are, lack of meat; that is to say, Hunger; and lack of drink, called Thirst: and briefly, all misery is the want of some thing which is desired. Also these are bodily miseries, nakedness, lack of harbour, sickness, and imprisonment. All the miseries therefore being numbred together, are but one of the Soul, the which is folly and lack of wisdom, and six of the Body, the which the Lord in the twenty fifth Chapter of *S. Matthew* doth plainly rehearse. There are also commonly appointed seven bodily Alms; that is to say, to feed the hungry, to give drink unto the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to harbour the stranger or harbourless, to visit the sick, and to bury the dead, the which all together are contained in these Verses:

Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, teco, colligo, condo.

The which Verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Visit the Sick, the Hungry feed,
Give drink to the Thirsty, clothe the Naked,
Bury the Dead, the Captive redeem,
The Harbourless receive to thy Lodging.

There be also seven other spiritual Alms appointed, which are these; To teach the ignorant; To counsel him that is in doubt; To comfort him which is in heaviness; To correct the Offender; To forgive him which hath offended against thee; To bear those which are grievous; And to pray for all men: The which are also contained in these Verses following:

Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora.

The which Verse is thus Englished, word for word:

Instruct the Ignorant, the Weak confirm,
Comfort the heavy Heart, and correct Sin:
Forgive the Offender, bear with the Rude,
Pray for all men both Evil and Good.

So that notwithstanding under the same Counsels and Doctrine be comprehended: Thus writeth *Thomas* in the second part of the second quest. 23. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be noted that in this present Article our intent is only to intreat of bodily Alms, the which is (as *Thomas* writeth in his second Part, second quest. 32. and 33.) according unto some mens minds is thus defined: Alms

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Alms is a work whereby anything is given unto the needy, of compassion, for Gods sake. And for so much as this definition serveth as well for the spiritual as for the corporal Alms; therefore to the purpose, Alms is a work, whereby any thing is given unto the needy in body for compassion, and for Gods sake. Or that is given of compassion or pity unto the bodily needy for Gods sake.

Whereupon it is manifest that Alms, as Saint Augustine and other holy men say, is a work of mercy, as also to give Alms. As it appeareth by the name, for in the Greek it is derived from this word Elemonia, which is Mercy: for as in the Latin, this word Misericordia, which signifieth pity, is derived of Misericordia, which is, Mercy; so this word Eleemosyna, which signifieth Alms, is derived of the Greek word Elemonia, which is to say, Mercy; and of the word Syna, which is to say, Commandment, as it were a commandment of mercy, or otherwise of this word Elemonia. By this Letter I, which is to say, God, and this word Syna, which is, Commandment: As if it were said, The Commandment of God, as Januensis in his Book intituled, Catholicon affirmeth.

For our Saviour doth command, in the 11th of Luke to give Alms, saying, Give Alms, and behold all things are clean unto you: lest that in this point there may be any equivocation, it is supposed presently, that the Alms given of men is a corporal Alms, given simply under the name of Alms. Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tythes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of Fortune, given by a man simply under the name of Alms for Gods sake.

These things being thus noted and supposed, the Article is thus proved. Every gift of Fortune, or Temporal Gift simply given under the name of Alms, is Alms. But some Tythes are the Gift of Fortune, or Temporal Gift under the name of Alms. Therefore some Tythes are Alms. This consequence is manifest of it self. The major appeareth by the first supposition: And the minor by the second.

Item, every Gift given by a man even of love, to relieve and help the miserable out of his misery, is an Alms. The tenth part of the goods of Fortune given by a man, simply under the name of Alms for Gods sake, is given by the same man even of love, to help the miserable out of his misery: Therefore the tenth part of the goods of Fortune, being given by any man simply under the name of Alms for Gods sake, is Alms. The consequence is manifest. The major appeareth by this, that every such gift is either a spiritual or bodily Alms. The minor seemeth hereby true, for so much as many holy men have given, and do give, even for love to relieve the miserable out of his misery. Neither is it to be doubted but that such kind of

S. Augustine
proveh
Tythes to
be pure
Alms.

Tythes are Alms. For Saint Augustine upon these words of the Lord in the Gospel writeth thus, Woe be unto you Pharisees, which do tythe the Mint and Anise: If they cannot be cleansed without they believe in him, he which doth cleanse his heart through faith, to what purpose is it that he saith, Give Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you? Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himself. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for Alms; the which any Christian-man doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, when he spake these words to them, as unto men which would do no Alms. This the Lord foreknowing, said, Woe be unto you Pharisees, which tythe the Mint and Rue, and all kind of herbs, and pass over the Judgment and Charity of God; For this it is to do Alms, if thou dost understand it, begin with thy self: For how canst thou be merciful unto another, which art unmerciful unto thy self? This writeth S. Augustine, plainly saying, That Tythes are Alms.

August. in
Enchirid.

Also in his Enchiridion in the seventy sixth Chapter upon these words of Saint Luke, in the eleventh Chapter; Notwithstanding that which is more than sufficient, give in Alms, and all things shall be clean unto you; he saith thus, When he had rebuked them, that they washed themselves outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquity and abomination, admonishing them, what, and how a man ought first to bestow Alms upon himself, and first to cleanse himself inwardly, he saith, That which doth remain give in Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you. Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had given them warning of, and what they had neglected to do, that they should not judge him ignorant of their Alms, he saith, Woe be unto you Pharisees; as though he should say, I

verily gave you warning that you should give such Alms, whereby all things might be clean unto you; but woe be unto you which do tythe the Mint, Rue, and all kind of herbs (for I do know these your Alms, that you should not think with your selves that you had given me warning thereof) and neglect and pass over the judgment and charity of God, by the which Alms ye might be cleansed from all your inward filthiness, and your bodies also which you do wash, should be clean, and all these things both inward, and also outward; as it is said in another place, cleanse that which is within, and the outward things shall be also clean.

But lest that he should seem to refuse those Alms which are given of the fruits of the earth, he said, You ought to have done these things; That is to say, the judgment and love of God; and not to neglect the other, that is to say, the Alms of the fruit of the earth. This writeth Saint Augustine, expressly calling the Tythes Alms.

Also Chrysostome upon the same words in the eleventh Chapter of S. Luke, That which remaineth give in Alms; he saith thus, Whereas it was spoken of the Jewish kind of cleansing, it is wholly passed. But for as much as Tythes is a certain Alms, and the time was not yet expressly come to kill the Sacrifices of the Law; for this cause he saith, Ye ought to do those things, and not to omit the other. And S. Thomas alledgeth him in his gloss upon S. Luke. And Chrysostome himself doth touch two points: First, That Tythes are Alms. Secondly, That Tythes are in a manner lawful, for so much as the gift thereof unto the Priests did not cease in the time of Christ.

Chrysostom.
in 11. Luk.

Also Saint Augustine, in a certain Sermon of giving Alms, saith thus, What is to say, Give Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you? Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himself. When he had spoken these words, without doubt they thought within themselves, who did give Alms, and how they did give it. They tythed all that they had, and took out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for Alms: the which no Christian lightly doth. Mark what the Jews did, they tythed not only their Wheat, but their Wine and Oil; and not that only, but also vile things, at the Commandment of the Lord, as Commin, Rue, and Anise; of the which they took the tenth part, and gave it for Alms. I think therefore, for so much as they called unto their minds, and thought with themselves, that our Lord Christ spake in vain unto them that they did no Alms, when as they knew their own works, that they tythed the smallest and worst of all their fruits, and gave Alms thereof: they mocked him amongst themselves, because he did speak in such sort unto them, as unto men that did no Alms. The which the Lord foreseeing, by and by added notwithstanding: Woe be unto you Scribes, Pharisees and Hypocrites, which tythe your Mint, Commin, and Rue, and all kind of herbs, that you may know, I do understand your Alms. Truly, these are your Tythes, these are your Alms; you tythe out the least and worst of all your fruits, and have left the weighty matters of the Law undone. Here S. Augustine often expoundeth that Tythes are Alms; Also he writeth the like in his Book of Homilies in his sixth Homily.

Item, for the proof of this Article, that Tythes are pure Alms, it is thus argued. For this Proposition, Tythes are pure Alms, is indefinite; taking the truth for many of his Particularities; It is most certain that it is not damnable, but most Catholick, that God is something; the which being false in all particulars, it is only true of that alone which doth surmount all kind. Ergo, by like reason this particular is true, tenths are pure Alms: For it is thus proved. These tenths of a good Lay-man being wholly distributed by a faithful Minister unto a needy Lay-man, according to a good intent, how can they be but pure Alms, yea, and more pure than any Alms given by any of the Clergy being a Fornicator? The whole antecedent I suppose as possible, and doubtful unto the Condemners, if it be true.

Item, It is also thus proved; These Tythes, and all other goods of Fortune, are pure Alms in respect of God. For so much as every man, Emperor and King is a begger of God. As S. Augustine doth oftentimes affirm, and consequently if he do receive fruitfully any such goodness at the hand of God, the same is pure Alms in respect of God: neither is there any faithful man that will deny the same, but that it simply followeth that the same is pure Alms before God. Ergo it is pure Alms.

It

It is also thus argued: All Tythes are by themselves, and every part of them Alms; neither is there any reason contrary unto this, that they are Alms. Ergo, they are pure Alms. For they are by no other means or reason than Alms, if they be altogether themselves Alms: For so much as it followeth, if they be by any other means or otherwise than Alms, then they are otherwise than some Alms, and for so much as they themselves are some Alms, it followeth, that they are otherwise than they are indeed; the which is false.

Sustenance
and cloth-
ing, given
to the Apo-
stles, was
Alms, Ergo
also Tythes.

But now to pass beyond the bounds of Logick, it is to be demanded, whether before the Church was endowed, or that sustenance and clothing were given unto the Apostles, there was any pure Alms, or that they were given by any other means by bond of debt, amongst them. And for so much as the reason is not to be fained, but that they were pure Alms, so afterward the custom of the same thing according unto like reason doth not alter the kind of the reason. For so might Beggars challenge by custom, beyond the purity of Alms, the Temporalities which they do beg. Neither doth debt utterly exclude the purity of Alms before God: for every man duly giving Alms doth as he ought to do: as every man duly receiving his Alms, ought so to receive it as according to Gods will. And simply to establish any humane Title, upon the continuance of any such Alms, it is altogether contrary unto the reason of Alms. Therefore they do continually observe, and keep the reason of the purity of Alms, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned doth not destroy the purity thereof: wherefore there is no cause why it should be denied that Tythes are pure Alms, except that the proud should be marvelously extolled, contrary to the humility of Christ. For they do challenge, by the Title of their lack or want, so to be pleased for their Tythes. For so might the begging-Fryer, by the continuance of his daily begging, challenge according unto the like quantity or circumstance. But it is no argument, that if the Curate do perform his corporal Ministry, that he ought therefore to challenge Tythes by any civil Title; because that as well on the behalf of him which giveth the Tythe, as also on the behalf of the Curate, every such ministry ought freely to be given, and not by any civil exchange. Forasmuch as it is not required, but that rather the comparison of such exchanges are repugnant; for so much as also no man freely giveth any Alms, except he do look for the duty of recompence, by the law of conscience.

Item, all temporal goods bestowed upon the Clergy by the Lay-people under condition, as the goods of the Church, are the Alms of them which give it; it is proved thus, for so much as all those goods are the goods of the poor, as it appeareth by many sayings of holy men and by the Law.

But they were not the goods of the poor, after they were meer secular goods, but only by the mean of the work of mercy, whereby they were bestowed upon the poor: Ergo, they were pure Alms. The consequence dependeth upon the definition of pure Alms.

Item, all things changed to the use and power of another, either by Civil exchange or Evangelical is changed. But the Church-goods are so changed by one of these Ministries. But the Evangelical exchange is not to be fained; because it is not done either by buying or selling, or any other civil exchange. Therefore there doth not remain but only a pure Gift, for hope of a heavenly Reward, the which is mercy, and so pure Alms. And it seemeth to follow consequently, that all the Clergy receiving such Alms are not only in respect of God, as all other men, but in respect of men, beggars. For they would not so instantly require those Alms except they had need of them: neither ought we to be ashamed thereof, or to be proud beggars; forasmuch as Christ touching his humanity became a beggar for us, because he declared his need unto his Father, saying, &c.

The Clergy
beggars.

Item, when any King, Prince, Knight, Citizen, or any other man doth give unto the Clergy, or to any Priest for his stipend, he giveth the same unto the Church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetual Alms, that he should attend to his vocation, preaching, praying, and studying. But this kind of giving doth not suffice to ground any secular Dominion amongst the Clergy; it followeth that the bare use remaineth in them, or the secular use without any secular power.

The major appeareth hereby, forasmuch as otherwise Alms should not be a work of mercy. Whereby it may also appear, that tenths are pure Alms given to the Church, to the use of the poor.

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And hereupon the holy men do say, That tenths are the Tributes of the needy Souls. Whereupon Saint Augustine in a Sermon made upon the restoring of Tythes saith, The giving of Tythes, most dear Brethren, are the Tributes of the poor Souls, therefore pay your Tribute unto the poor. And by and by after he saith, Therefore who desireth either to get any Reward, or to have any remission of Sins by giving of his Tenths, let him study to give Alms even of the ninth part: so that whatsoever shall remain more than a competent living, and decent clothing, it be not reserved for Riot, but that it be laid up in the heavenly treasury, by giving it in Alms to the poor. For whatsoever God doth give unto us more than we have need of, he doth not give it us specially for our selves; but doth send it us to be bestowed upon others by our hands: if we do not give it, we invade another mans Possessions.

Tythes are
to be given
of the ninth
part of
Goods.

Thus much writeth S. Augustine, and is repeated in the 16. question. 1. Decimæ.

Also S. Jerome in an Epistle, and it is put in the 16. question, and 2. chap. Quicquid. Whatsoever the Clergy hath, it is the goods of the poor.

Also Saint Augustine in his three and thirtieth Epistle unto Boniface, and it is alledged in the first question and 12.

Also in the twenty third, question 7. If we do possess any thing privately the which doth suffice us, they are not ours, but the goods of the poor, whose Stewards we are, except we do challenge to our selves a property by some damnable Usurpation. The Gloss upon that part of the 23. question 7. saith, The Prelates are but only the Stewards of the Church-goods, and not Lords thereof.

Saint Ambrose also upon this saying of the Gospel, Luke 16. Give account of your Bayliffship or Stewardship: Hereby then do we learn, that they are not Lords, but rather Stewards and Bayliffs of other mens Substance.

And Saint Jerome, writing to Nepotianus, saith, How can they be of the Clergy? which are commanded to condemn and despise their own Substance, and to take away from a friend, it is Theft; to deceive the Church it is Sacrilege, and to take away that which should be given unto the poor.

The Clergy
are Stew-
ards of the
Church-
goods, and
not Lords
thereof.

And Saint Bernard in his Sermon upon these words (Simon Peter said unto Jesus, Chap. 17.) said, Truly the goods of the Church, are the patrimony of the poor: and whatsoever thing the Ministers and Stewards of the same, not Lords or Possessors, do take unto themselves more than sufficient for a competent living, the same is taken away from the poor by a sacrilegious cruelty.

And Eusebius in his Treatise upon the Pilgrimage of Saint Jerome, writeth thus, If thou dost possess a Garment, or any other thing more than extream necessity doth require, and dost not help the needy, thou art a Thief and a Robber. Wherefore dearly beloved Children, let us be Stewards of our Temporalities, and not Possessors.

Idem de
summo bono

And Ildore in his Treatise De summo bono, Chap. 42. saith, Let the Bishop know that he is the Servant of the people, and not Lord over them.

Also in the fifth Book of Decretals, extra de donationibus, sub autoritate Alexandri tertii, Episcopi Parisiensis, he saith, We believe that it is not unknown unto your Brotherhood, that a Bishop, and every other Prelate is but a Steward of the Church-goods, and not Lord thereof. By these sayings of these holy men it is evidently declared, that not only Tythes, but also all other substance which the Clergy hath by gift or work of mercy, are pure Alms, which after the necessity of the Clergy once satisfied, ought to be transported unto the poor.

Secondly, It is declared how that the Clergy are not Lords and Possessors of those goods, but Ministers and Stewards thereof.

Thirdly, It is shewed, that if the Clergy do abuse the same, they are Thieves, Robbers, and sacrilegious Persons, and except they do repent, by the just judgment of God they are to be condemned.

And

[KING'S
MAG.]

AND thus hitherto I may peradventure seem to have made sufficient long recital out of *John Hus*, but so notwithstanding that the commodity of those things may abundantly recompence the prolixity thereof. Wherefore if I shall seem unto any man in the rehearal of this disputation to have passed very far the bounds of the History, let him think thus of me, that at what time I took in hand to write of these Ecclesiastical matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly joyned with the cause of the Church.

Neither that I did make more account of the History which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility

whereunto I had chief respect. There were besides these certain other Articles; whereupon the said *John Hus* had very wisely and learnedly disputed; but these shall suffice us for this present. And for the residue we will pass them over, to the intent we may the more speedily return where-as our story left; declaring what cruelty they used not only against the Books and Articles of *John Wickliff*, but also in burning his Body and Bones, commanding them to be taken up forty one years after he was buried, as appeareth by the Decree of the said Synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex, as followeth:

The order and manner of taking up y^e body of John Wickliff, and Burning his bones 41 years after his death.



The Decree of the Synod of Constance, touching the taking up of the Body and Bones of John Wickliff, to be burned forty one years after he was buried in his own Parish at Lutterworth.

The Decree
of the Council
for the
burning of
Wickliff's
dead bones.In the
Council of
Constance.

FORASMUCH as by the authority of the Sentence and Decree of the Council of Rome, and by the Commandment of the Church, and the Apostolical See, after due delays being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the said *John Wickliff*, and his memory having first made Proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whosoever would defend the said *Wickliff*, or his memory, if there were any such (but there did none appear, which would either defend him or his memory.) And moreover witnesses being examined, by Commissioners appointed by Pope *John* and his Council, upon the impenitency and final obstinacy and stubbornness of the said *John Wickliff* (reserving that which is to be reserved, as in such business the order of the Law requireth) and his impenitency and obstinacy even unto his end, being sufficiently proved by evident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses, and credit lawfully given thereunto. Wherefore at the instance of the Steward of the Treasury, Proclamation being made to hear and understand the sentence against this day, the sacred Synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the said *John Wickliff* was a notorious obstinate Heretic, and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condemning both him and his memory.

This Synod also decreeth and ordaineth, That the Body and Bones of the said *John Wickliff*, if it might be discerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, should be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any Church, according unto the Canon-Laws and Decrees. Which determination and sentence de-

finite being read and pronounced, the Lord President, and the foresaid Presidents of the four Nations, being demanded and asked whether it did please them or no? They all answered (and first *Hofiensis* the President, and after him the other Presidents of the Nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they allowed and confirmed all the premises, &c.

¶ What *Heraclitus* would not laugh, or what *Demo-critus* would not weep, to see these so sage and reverend *Catoes* to occupy their heads to take up a poor mans body, so long dead and buried before, by the space of forty one years? and yet peradventure were not able to find his right bones, but took up some other body, and so of a Catholick made an Heretic. Albeit herein *Wickliff* had some cause to give them thanks, that they would at least spare him so long till he was dead, and also to give him so long respite after his death, forty one years to rest in his sepulcher before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes; which ashes they also took and threw into the river. And so was he resolved into three Elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and Doctrine of *Wickliff* for ever. Not much unlike to the example the old Pharisees and Sepulcher-Knights, which when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all other must know, that as there is no counsel against the Lord; so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his Body, burnt his Bones, and drowned his ashes; yet the Word of God, and truth of his Doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn; which yet to this day, for the most part of his Articles, do remain; notwithstanding the transitory Body and Bones of the man was thus consumed and dis-

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perished.

dispersed, as by this picture here above set forth to thine eyes (gentle Reader) may appear.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the story and time of *Wickliff*; let us now (by the supposition of the Lord proceed to intreat and write of the rest, which either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same University, and raised up (as ye would say) out of his ashes were partakers of the same Persecution. Of whom speaketh *Thomas Walden* in his Book, *De Sacramentis & Sacramentalibus*, Cap. 53. where he saith, that after *Wickliff* many suffered most cruel death, and many mo did forsake the Realm.

In the number of whom was *William Swinderby*, *Walter Brute*, *John Purvey*, *Richard White*, *William Thorpe*, *Raynold Pecock* Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, and afterward of *Chichester*.

To this Catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) *Laurence Redman* Master of Art, *David Sautre*, Divine, *John Aschwarby* Vicar, as they call him, of St. Mary Church at Oxford, *Will. James* an excellent young man, well learned, *Thomas Brighwell*, and *William Hawlam* a Civilian, *Rafe Grenburst*, *John Scut*, and *Philip Norice*; which being Excommunicated by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, in the year of our Lord 1446, appeared unto a General or Oecumenical Council.

Peter Paine also, who flying from Oxford unto *Boheme*, did stoutly contend against the Sophisters, as touching both kinds of the Sacrament of the last Supper; who afterward among the rest of the Orators was one of the fourteen that was sent unto the Council of *Basil*: where by the space of three days he disputed upon the fourth Article, which was touching the Civil Dominion of the Clergy, Anno 1438. Also the Lord *Cobham*, &c. with divers others besides, whose names are mentioned in the Kings Writ, sent to the Sheriff of *Northampton*, which Writ of the King followeth in this tenor: *Rex Vicecomiti Northamptonie salutem*, &c. Forasmuch as *John Attysate* of *Chepingwarden*, *John Warryner*, *Ro. Brewood*, &c. being receivers and fautors of Hereticks, and especially of *John Woodward* Priest, publicly defamed and condemned of Heresie, will not be justified by the censures of the Church, as the reverend Father *John* Bishop of *Lincoln* hath certified us: We therefore willing to withstand all defenders and fautors of such Heresies, do will and command as well the forenamed, as namely the foresaid *John Woodward* to be apprehended, straitly charging the same to be imprisoned by their bodies, or otherwise punished as shall seem good to the Justices, until they and every of them shall submit themselves to the obedience of the foresaid Bishop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not under pain of an hundred pound. Witness our selves: Yeaven at our Manor of *Langley* the eighth day of *March*, the twelfth year of our reign.

To these above rehearsed, and other favourers of *Wickliff*, within this our Country of *England*, we may add also the *Bohemians*; forasmuch as the propagation of the said Doctrine of *Wickliff* in that Country also took root, coming from *England* to *Boheme* by this occasion, as in story here followeth.

There chanced at that time a certain Student of the Country of *Bohemia* to be at *Oxford*, one of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock; who returning home from the University of *Oxford* to the University of *Prague*, carried with him certain Books of *Wickliff*, *De Realibus Universalibus*, *De Civili Jure*, & *Divino*, *De Ecclesia*, *De questionibus variis contra Clerum*, &c. It chanced the same time a certain Nobleman in the City of *Prague* had founded and builded a great Church of *Matthias* and *Mattheus*, which Church was called *Bethlehem*, giving to it great Lands, and finding in it two Preachers every day, to preach both Holy-day and working-day to the people. Of the which two Preachers this *John Hus* was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongst them. Thus *John Hus* having familiarity with this young man, in reading and perusing these Books of *Wickliff*, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this Author openly in the Schools, but also in his Sermons; commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heavenly man, wishing himself, when he should die, to be there placed, whereas the soul of *Wickliff* should be.

And thus for the spreading of *Wickliff's* Doctrine enough.

And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of *John Wickliff* in general. Now particularly and in order let us (by Christs grace) prosecute the stories and persecutions of the said parties aforesaid, as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant Champions *William Swinderby*, and *Walter Brute*.

The History of William Swinderby.

IN the year 1389, *William Swinderby* Priest, within the Diocese of *Lincoln*, being accused and detected upon certain opinions, was presented before *John* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and examined upon certain Articles in the Church of *Lincoln*, after the form and order of the Popes law, according to their usual rite observed; his denouncers were these, *Frier Frisby* Observant, *Frier Hincely*, Augustine, and *Thomas Blaxton*, Dominican. The Articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words as they put them up, they might seem something strange here to be recited; yet to the intent that all men may see the spiteful malice of these Spider-Friers, in sucking all things to poison, and in forging that which is not true, as in process (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appear by his answers, I thought good to notify the same.

That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to imprison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

That if Parishioners do know their Curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their Tythes, or else they be fautors of his sins.

That Tythes purely be alms, and in case that Curates be evil men, the same may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an evil Curate to curse his Suget for withholding of Tythes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedly, and unduly from them their money.

That no Prelate may curse a man, except he know before that he is cursed of God.

That every Priest may absolve any sinner being contrite; and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the Bishop) to preach the Gospel unto the people.

That a Priest taking any Annual pension upon Covenant, is in so doing a Simoniack, and accursed.

That any Priest being in deadly sin, if he give himself to consecrate the body of the Lord, committeth Idolatry rather than doth consecrate.

That no Priest entrench into any house, but to evil intreat the wife, the daughter, or maid: and therefore he admonished the good man of the house to take heed what Priest he let into his house.

Another Conclusion falsely to him objected, That a child is not truly baptized, if the Priest that baptizeth, or the Godfather or Godmother be in deadly sin.

Item, That no man living against the Law of God is a Priest, however he were ordained Priest of any Bishop.

These Articles or Conclusions untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited against him by the Friers in the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Court. The which Articles although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the Process following: Yet the Friers with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to be convicted; bringing also dry wood with them to the Town to burn him, and would not leave him, before they made him promise and swear for fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them privily, nor apertly under pain of relapse; and that he should go to certain Churches to revoke the foresaid Conclusions, which he never affirmed. As first in the Church of *Lincoln*, then in St. *Margarets* Church of *Leicester*; also in St. *Martins* Church in *Leicester*, and in our Ladies Churches at *Newark*, and in other Parish-Churches also of *Melton-Mowbray*, of *Haloughton*, *Hareburgb*, and *Lentburgb*. Which penance being to him enjoined, he did obediently accomplish, with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under these words.

Ex Th. Walden, lib. de Sacramentis.

Laurence Redman, David Sautre, John Aschwarby, W. James, T. Brighwell, William Hawlam, Rafe Grenburst, John Scut, Philip Norice.

Peter Paine.

Lord Cobham.

The occasion how the Doctrine of Wickliff came to Bohemia.

Wickliffus vir bonus, sanctus, castus, dignus.

The great affection of John Hus to John Wickliff.

King Ric. 2.

Anno 1389. John Bishop of Lincoln, by first examined. Denounced of W. Swinderby, 3 Priests, Frisby, Hincely, Blaxton.

W. Swinderby compelled by the Friers to subscribe Articles which he never taught.

The Revocation of William Swinderby, whereunto he was forced by the Friars.

I William Swinderby Priest, although unworthy, of the Dioceſs of Lincoln, acknowledging one true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith of the Holy Church of Rome, do abjure all hereſie and error repugning to the determination of the Holy Mother Church, whereof I have been hitherto defamed, namely, the Concluſions and Articles above prefixed, and every one of them to me judicially objected, by the Commiſſary of the reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord John by the Grace of God Biſhop of Lincoln; and do revoke the ſame, and every one of them, ſome as hereſical, ſome as erroneous and falſe, and do affirm and believe them to be ſo, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm publicly or privily the ſame. Neither will I make any Sermon within the Dioceſs of Lincoln, but asking firſt and obtaining the liſenſe of the ſoreſaid reverend Father and Lord, the Biſhop of Lincoln. Contrary to the which if I ſhall preſume hereafter to ſay or do, to hold or preach, I ſhall be content to abide the ſeverity of the Canon, as I have judicially by the neceſſity of the Law, ſworn, and do ſwear, &c.

Thus have you the Concluſions and Articles of this good man, falſly objected to him by the malicious and lying Friars; and alſo the retractation whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewiſe be conjectured, what credit is to be given to the Articles and Concluſions which theſe cavilling Friars, wreſting all things to the worſt, have objected and imputed both to Wickliſſ and all other of that ſort, whom they ſo falſly do deſame, ſo ſlanderoſly do belye, and ſo maliciously do perſecute. After theſe thing thus done and wrought in the Dioceſs of Lincoln, it ſo beſell that the ſaid W. Swinderby removed to the Dioceſs and Country of Hereford; where he was as much or more moleſted by the Friars again, and by John Treſnant Biſhop of Hereford, as by the proceſs and ſtory here enſuing, ſet out at large out of their own Registers, may appear.

Here followeth the Proceſs of John Treſnant, Biſhop of Hereford, had againſt the aforeſaid William Swinderby in the cauſe of Heretical pravity, as the Popiſh Hereticks call it.

THE Glorious name of the Prince of Peace, and his counſel (whoſe counſellor no man is, and whoſe providence in his diſpoſition is never deceived) being invocated, To all and ſingular believers of Chriſt, which ſhall ſee or hear this our proceſs under-written, John by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of Hereford, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Forasmuch as God the Creator of all things, the keeper of juſtice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high Throne of his Providence the ſons of men, now through the fall of their firſt father prone and declining to diſhoneſt and filthy, and deſteſtable miſchiefs, and to keep under their malice (which wicked tranſgreſſion did firſt gender) hath appointed divers preſidents of the world ſtabliſhed in ſundry degrees, by whom and their circumſpect providence mans audacity ſhould be reſtrained, innocency ſhould be nourished amongſt the good, and terror ſhould be ſtricken into the wicked not to deceive; alſo that their power to hurt, and their inſolency ſhould be bridled in all places. And whereas amongſt many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are ſpecially bound to extend our ſtrength, chiefly that the Catholick faith may proſper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful; we therefore being excited through the information of many credible and faithful Chriſtians of our Dioceſs, to root out peſtiferoſ plants, as ſheep diſeaſed with an incurable ſickneſs, going about to infect the whole and ſound flock, are by the care of the ſhepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to

ſay, Preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new Sect, vulgarly called *Lollards*, which under a certain cloked ſhew of holineſs, running abroad through divers places of our Dioceſs, and endeavouring to cut aſunder the Lords unfowed coat, that is to ſay, to rent the unity of the holy Church, and of the Catholick Faith, and alſo to tear in pieces with their tempeſtuous blaſts the power of Saint Peter, that is to ſay, to weaken the ſtrength of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtates and degrees, and the determination of the ſame holy Church, have wickedly preſumed and do preſume from day to day to ſpeak, to teach, to maintain, (and that which is more horrible to be uttered) to preach openly many things heretical, blaſphemies, ſchiſms, and ſlanderoſ defamings, even quite contrary to the Sacred Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, ſo that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteouſneſs and truth, in that they expound to the people the Holy Scripture as the letter ſoundeth, after a judicial ſort, otherwiſe than the Holy Ghoſt will have it, whereas the words wander from their proper ſignifications, and appear to bring in by gheſſing new meanings, whereas the words muſt not be judged by the ſenſe that they make, but by the ſenſe whereby they be made, whereas the conſtruction is not bound to the *Denates* rules; whereas faith is far placed from the capacity of reaſon: But they labour by their pernicious Doctrines and teachings publick and privy, to boyl out the poiſon of ſchiſms between the Clergy and the people: We to encounter againſt ſuch kind of Preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible ſeducers amongſt the people, advancing and rousing up our ſelves in Gods behalf, and holy Mother Church, with the ſpiritual ſword, which may ſtrike them wiſely, and wound them medicinably, for their health and welfare; and namely William Swinderby Priest (ſo pretending himſelf to be) as a teacher of ſuch kind of pernicious Doctrine, and an horrible ſeducer amongſt the people; to whom perſonally appearing before us on the Wedneſday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of June, in the Pariſh Church of *Kington* of our Dioceſs, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of hereſie, ſchiſm, and his perverſe Doctrines both maniſeſt and privy; we therefore have cauſed many Caſes and Articles concerning the Catholick Faith to be miniſtered unto him, that he ſhould answer to the ſame at a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to ſay, on the Friday, being the laſt of the ſame month of June next following; aſſigned to him, at the Church of *Bodenham* of the ſame our Dioceſs. Of which Caſes and Articles exhibited unto us by many of Chriſts faithful people, * zealous followers of the Catholick Faith, to make information to our office (which Caſes and Articles alſo were by us adminiſtered, as is before ſaid, to the ſame William Swinderby) the tenour thereof followeth, and is thus:

Un Reverend Father and high Lord, Lord John, by God ſufferance Biſhop of Hereford: It is lamentably declared unto your reverend Fatherhood on the behalf of Chriſts faithful people, your devout children of your Dioceſs of Hereford, that notwithstanding the miſbelief of very many *Lollards*, which have too long a time ſprung up here in your Dioceſs, there is newly come a certain child of wickedneſs, named William Swinderby; who by his horrible perſwaſions, and miſchievous endeavours, and alſo by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert as much as in him is the whole Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſtirreth up, with all his poſſible power, ſchiſm between the Clergy and the people. And that your reverend Fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the ſame William Swinderby is; there be propoſed and exhibited hereafter to the ſame your Fatherhood, on the behalf of the ſame faithful people of Chriſt, againſt the ſame William Swinderby, Caſes and Articles. Which if the ſame William ſhall deny, then ſhall the ſame Caſes and Articles moſt evidently be proved againſt him by credible witneſs worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that thoſe being proved, the ſame Fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein, as to your Paſtoral office belongeth.

Lollards by the Pores interpretation, is a word derived of Lollum.

They counterfeit in the Prophets words as Apes do in Princes apparel. Who exoundeth the Scripture more after the letter, let the Reader judge by the est corpus meum.

If ſuch medicines ſhould be miniſtered to you, ye would con your Phyſician little thank.

Anno 1391.

** Such as were in the Marias days as John Beards, J. A. vales, Robin Papiſt, and other like murderers. Lord, Lord, a Latin ſtile of their own making. The denunciation of the Promoters to the Biſhop of Hereford.*

Matters articulated against W. Swinderby.

In primis, the same William Swinderby, pretending himself Priest, was openly and publicly convicted of certain Articles and Conclusions being erroneous, schismatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times, before a multitude of faithful Christian people. And the same Articles and Conclusions did he by force of Law revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and some as erroneous and false, avouching and believing them for such, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm openly or privily any of the same Conclusions: And if by preaching or avouching he should presume to do the contrary; that then he should be subject to the severity of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially upon the Holy Gospels.

2. Also the Conclusions, which by the same William were first openly taught and preached, and afterward abjured and revoked, as is aforesaid, are contained before in the process of the Bishop of Lincoln, even as they be there written word by word. And for the Cases and Articles, they were consequently exhibited by the forenamed faithful Christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the Conclusions before said, and hereafter written of which Cases and Articles the tenor here ensueth.

3. *Item*, The said William contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worse, and given up to a reprobate sense, came into your Diocese, where he running about in sundry places, hath presumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach of his own rashness many heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things contrary and repugnant to sacred Canons, and the determination of the Holy Catholick Church. What those things were, at what place and what time, it shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, The same William notwithstanding your Commandments and admonitions sealed with your Seal, and to all the Curates of your Diocese directed, containing amongst other things that no person of what state, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or else expound the Holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places within your Diocese, without sufficient authority, by any manner of pretence that could be fought, as in the same your Letters Monitory and of inhibition (the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth) is more largely contained; which Letters the same William did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the Town of Monemouth of your Diocese, in the year of our Lord 1390, so that these your Letters, and the Contents thereof came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the same William; yet notwithstanding hath the same William presumed in divers places and times to preach within the same your Diocese, after and against your Commandment aforesaid. The tenor of the same Letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

JOHAN by the sufferance of God Bishop of Hereford, to the Dean and Chapter of our Church of Hereford, and to all and singular Abbots, Priors, Provosts, Deans, rural, Parsons and Vicars of Monasteries, Priories, Churches, Colledges, and Parishes, and to other having Cure of Souls within the City and Diocese of Hereford, and to all and every other being within the same City and Diocese, greeting, Grace and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden lawrel of teaching Doctoral is not from above indifferently every mans gift; neither is the office of preaching granted save to such as are called, and especially by the Church admitted thereunto: We do admonish and require you all and singular Clerks aforesaid, and do straitly enjoin you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the Catholick faith, saving such as the same office of preaching shall by the Authority Apostolical, or else your Bishop, be specially committed unto; but that as much as in you shall lie, you do by word and deed labour to lett those that would attempt the contrary. And you Lords, Ladies, Knights, Barons, Esquires, and all singular persons, of what estate, degree, prebeminence, or condition soever ye be, remaining within the City and Diocese of Hereford, we do beseech and exhort in our Lord, that following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.

Item, According to the saying of the Apostle, Be not ye

carried away with divers and strange Doctrines; and that in the mean while (as saith the Apostle) you be not removed from the sense of the holy ancient Fathers, lest that any man by any means should seduce you; but you agreeing together in one mind, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not specially (as is aforesaid) committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the Catholick Faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies, and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and perverse. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the sacred Canons and Precepts of the holy Fathers, against such as do the contrary.

Dated at London in the house of our habitation, under our Seal, the last day save one of December, in the year of our Lord 1389, and of our Consecration the first.

5. *Item*, The same William in his preaching to the people, on Monday being the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the Parilh of Whitney of your Diocese, did hold and affirm, That no Prelate of the world, of what estate, prebeminence or degree soever he were of, having cure and charge of souls, he being in deadly sin, and hearing the confession of any under his hand, in giving him absolution, doth nothing: As who neither doth loose him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits, doth bind him by his sentence, except the Prelate shall be free himself from deadly sin, as St. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and loose.

6. *Item*, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful Christian people, that after the Sacramental words uttered by the Priest having the purpose to consecrate, there is not made the very Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.

7. *Item*, That accidents cannot be in the Sacrament of the Altar without a subject; and that there remaineth material bread there to such as be partakers Communicant with the Body of Christ, in the same Sacrament.

8. *Item*, That a Priest being in deadly sin, cannot be able by the strength of the Sacramental words to make the Body of Christ, or bring to perfection any other Sacrament of the Church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the Church.

9. *Item*, That all Priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or prebeminence.

10. *Item*, That only contrition putteth away sin, if so be that a man shall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

11. *Item*, Inferiour Curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the Pope or Bishop, but immediately from Christ: And therefore neither can the Pope nor Bishop revoke to themselves such kind of power, when they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

12. *Item*, That the Pope cannot grant such kind of Annual and yearly pardons; because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment, as are in the Popes Bulls or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of such like value as they speak of, and are praised to be.

13. *Item*, It is not in the Popes power to grant unto any person penitent forgiveness of the punishment of the fault.

14. *Item*, That person that giveth his alms to any, which in his judgment is not in necessity, doth sin in so giving it.

15. *Item*, That it stands not in the power of any Prelate, of what Religion soever he be of, privately to give Letters for the benefit of his Order, neither doth such benefit granted, profit them, to the salvation of their soul, to whom they be granted.

16. *Item*, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certain defart Wood, called Dervallwood, of your Diocese, and there in a certain Chappel not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage, hath in contempt of the Keys presumed of his own rashness to celebrate, nay rather to prophane.

17. *Item*, The same William hath also presumed to do such things in a certain prophane Chappel, being situate in the Park of Newton nigh to the Town of Leintwarden, of the same your Diocese.

Upon

Would God both they and all men did beware of that leaven.

The Letter Monitory of the B. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without his license.

KING Rich. 2.

What is one of Wicliff's blasmies.

Bread be made in substance.

THE PROTESTATION OF WILLIAM SWINDERBY, WITH HIS ANSWERS.

UPON Friday being the last of the Month of June, in the year above said, about six of the Clock, in the said Parish Church of Bodenhone, hath the said William Swinderby personally appeared before us. And he willing to satisfy the term to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful Christian people, many answers made and placed by the same William (in a certain Paper-book of the sheet folded into four parts) to the said Articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath be already to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the Law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any moe with him) did depart from our presence, because that we at the instance of certain noble personages, had promised to the same William free access, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without prefixing of any term, or without citation, or else any other offence or harm in body or in goods.

As for the tenour of the same answers, exhibited unto them by the same William, as is before specified; we have here under annexed it word for word, and in the same old language used at that time, when it was exhibited. And it followeth in these words.

The Protestation of William Swinderby, with his Answers to the Articles by the Promoters laid against him to the Bishop of Hereford, taken out of the Registers in the same old English wherein he wrote it.

The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Swinderby Priest unworthy, Covenanting and purposing wholly with all my heart to be a true Christian man, with open confession knowing mine own defaults, and unwise deeds, making openly this Protestation, cleping God to record here before our worshipful Bishop John, through the sufferance of God Bishop of Hereford, with witness of all this people; that it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirm, to maintain or to defend that is contrary to holy writ, against the belief of holy Church, or that should offend the holy determination of Christs Church, or the true sentences of holy Doctors. And if I have here before through mine uncurring been unordered, or by evil counsel been deceived, or any thing said, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrary to the Law of God; wholly and fully for that time, for now and ever with full will I revoke it and withdraw it, as everich Christen man should; Praying and beseeching ech Christen man, to whom this writing shall come to, that gif I ought err (as God forbid that I do) or ever erred in any point contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought said, And all the troths that I have said according with the Law of God, that may maintain them, and stand by them for life or death to Gods worship, as a true Christen man should, submitting me meekly to the correction of our Bishop, that here is, or of any other Christen man, after Christs laws and holy writ; in will ever ready to be amended; and with this protestation I say and answer to these Conclusions and Articles that here followen after, the which been put to me to answer to.

Object.

The first is this, That I William of Swinderby, pretending (he saith) my self a Priest was judicially convented of certain articles and conclusions of error, false, schismatick, and heresie, by me in divers places and times preached (he saith) before multitudes of true Christen men; and the same articles and conclusions by need of law revoked and forsworn, some as heresies, and some as errors and false; and such I affirmed and believed them to be; and that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirm, openly or privily, ne that I should make no Sermon to the people, ne preach, but by lawful leave asked and gotten; and if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the severity of the Law I should be buxom, as by need of the Law I swore.

To this I say, witnessing that God is in heaven, to my wit and understanding, that I never preached, held, ne taught these conclusions and articles, the which falsly of Friers

and of lecherous Priests were put upon me to the Bishop of Lincoln. For I was ordained by process * yerfaid of their law, by the Bishop and his Commissaries, so as I granted them to bring my Purgation of thirteen Priests of good fame. And so I did with a Letter and twelve Seals thereby, from the Mayor of Leicester, and from true Burgeses and thirty men to witness with me, as the Duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the Earl of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the Town, that I never said them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should have made my Purgation, there stood forth five Friers or moe, that some of them never saw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous Priests openly known, some living in their lechery twenty year (men sayden) or more, as by their childer was openly known. Some of these they clepsiden denunciations, and some weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falsly foresworn, they suing butily and crying with many another Frier, with great instance to give the dome upon me, to burn me, and boughten dry wood before as men tolden in that Town; and these sleights, and swearing, and money giving, as men sayden, with favour of the Bishop (by what law I wot not, but soothly not by Gods law) they sayden they held me as convicted, and might not have forth my Purgation. So as I fully forsook them, and never granted that I said them. Over this they made me swear, never to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, privily ne apertly; and that I would go to certain Churches to revoke the conclusions that I never said, in slander of my self, by great instance of the Friers. And so for dread of death, and for fleshly counsel that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they maden me to swear, that I should not preach (by instance of the Friers) within that Diocess, withouten license asked and granted; and never sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me again; whether by Friers counsel I will not deme, God wot, but in slander of me it is; and therefore I will answer now (with Gods help) to the conclusion. Of the which the first is this.

* Yerfaid, that is, before said. Witnesses with William Swinderby, 13 Priests and 30 other with the Letter of the Mayor of Leicester, and Burgeses, with 12 Seals.

The chastity of Votaries to be noted.

That men mowen asken their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to prison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

1. Conclusion.

So I said not; but thus I have said, and yet say with protestation put before; that whoso pursues his brother with malice, prisoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy, that fain would pay it if he might, he sinneth against Christs teaching, *Estote misericordes sicut pater vester misericors est.*

Answer: How debts to be pursued.

The second Conclusion, that false Friers and lecherous Priests putten upon me was this: *That if the Parochians know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an evil man, they owen to withdraw from him tithes, and else they bene fautors of his sins.*

2. Conclusion.

Thus I said not, but on this wise, and yet I say with protestation put before: That if it be known openly to the people, that Parsons or Curates come to her Benefice by simony, and liven in notorie fornication and done not their office and her duties to her Parochians by good ensample of holy life, in true preaching, living and residence, wending away from his Cure, occupied in secular office; he owes nought to have of the Parochians, tithes, ne offerings, ne herowes, not to hold him for her Curate, ny herowes, not to geven him tithes, lest they bin guilty to God of consent and maintaining of her open sin. *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. Quisquis per pecuniam, & dist. 80. cap. Siquis.*

Answer.

The third Conclusion was this, *That Friers and Priests putten upon me, that tithes purely bene almesses: And in case that Curates bene evil men, they mowen leefully be given to other men, by temporal Lords, and other temporalities been done away from men of the Church, actually and openly trespassing.*

3. Conclusion.

Thus I said not in these terms: but thus I say with protestation made before, That it was medeful and leetful to secular Lords by way of charity, and power given to him of God, in default of Prelates that amend not by Gods law, cursed Curates that openly misfuten the goods of Holy Church, that beene poor mens goods, and customably against the Law of God; the which poor men Lords berholden to maintain and defend, to take away and withdraw from such Curates poor mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms-deeds, and give them to such

Answer.

that duly serve God in the Church, and been needy in upbearing of the charge that Prelates shoulden do, and do it not. *Alter alterius onera portate, & sic adimplebitis legem Christi.* And as anenst taking away of Temporalities, I say, thus with protestation made before; that it is leeful to Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords of the World, to take away fro Popes, Cardinals, fro Bishops and Prelates, possessions in the Church, their Temporalities, and their Alms that they have given them, upon condition they shoulden serve God the better, when they verily seene that their giving and their taking bene contrary to the law of God, to Christs living and his Apostles; and namely in that, that they taken upon them (that shoulden be next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poornesse and meeknesse) to be secular Lords, against the teaching of Christ and S. Peter, *Luke 22. Reges gentium, & 1 Pet. 5. Neque dominantes in clero.* And namely, when such Temporalities maken them the more proud, both in heart and in aray, then they shoulden been else, more in strife and debate against peace and charity, and in evil ensample to the world more to be occupied in worldly businesse; *Omnem sollicitudinem projicientes in eum;* and draws them from the service of God, from edifying of Christs Church, in impoverishing and making less the state and the power of Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords that God hath set them in; in wrongful oppression of Commons for unmightfulness of Realms. For Paul faith to Men of the Church (whose lore Prelates shoulden sovereignly followen) *Habentes victum & vestitum, his contenti simus.*

4th. Conclusion.

The fourth Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests putten upon me falsely, *That an evil Curate cursing his Soget for withholding of Tithes is naught else, but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly money from them.*

Answer. Here may you see the fallhood of the Papists, gathering Articles against good men, which they never said nor meant.

Thus said I not, but thus I said, and yet do with protestation made before; that an evil Curate cursing his Parochians, unmighty to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pity, for his singular worldly winning against charity, and not for heed of their souls, there he is hold by his power reasonably to help his needy Parochians, and doth nought of the Goods of the Church; wickedly and unduly he withholds from them that which is due to them by the law of God, *Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis; date, & dabitur vobis; verum mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit Dominus.*

5th. Conclusion.

The fifth Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests falsely putten upon me; *That no man may curse any man, but if he were wete him cursed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any manner.*

Answer.

Thus said I not, but thus I said, and say with protestation put before; that no man ought to curse any man but for charity and with charity, *Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant.* And likewise I say, that no wrongful cursing of Pope, or any Prelate in earth binds anenst God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curse men, for that men will not do their singular will, unreasonable bidding, with highness of heart and cruelty (standing patience and charity in them that they curse wrongfully) he is blessed of almighty God, and they themselves bene cursed, *Mat. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines, &c. Et in Psalmo, Maledicent illi & tu benedices. Et Augustinus 11. q. 3. cap. Illud.*

6th. Conclusion.

The sixth Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests putten upon me falsely, *That ech Priest may assail him that sinneeth, contrition had; and, notwithstanding forbiddings of the Bishop, * is holden to preach to the people the Gospel.*

* Holden, that is, bound.

Answer.

Thus I said not, but thus I said, and yet say, with protestation made before; That ech true Priest may counsel sinful men, that shewen to him her sins, after the wit and cunning that God had given him, to turn fro sin to veruious life. And as touching preaching of the Gospel, I say, that no Bishop owes to let a true Priest, that God had given grace, wit and cunning to do that office; for both Priests and Deacons, that God had ordained Deacons and Priests, ben holden by power given him of God to preach to the People the Gospel, and namely and somely Popes, Bishops, Prelates and Curates; For this is due to the people and Parochians, for to have and ask of hem, and they duly and freely owen to done it, *Mat. 5. Luke 5. Ite,*

ecce ego mitto vos. Et Marc. 16. Euntes in mundum universum. Et Mat. 5. Euntes autem predicare. Et diff. 21. cap. In novo testamento. Et Isidor. de summo bono. 44. Et Chrysost. distinct. 34. ca. Nolite. Et Aug. distinct. 34. ca. Quisquis. Et Greg. in suo pastoralis, ca. 38. Et Tulliano. ca. Ignorantia. Et Jerom. distinct. 95. ca. Ecce ego.

The seventh Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests falsely putten upon me; *That a Priest taking for annuel, through Covenant, in that, he is schismatick and cursed.*

7th. Conclusion.

Thus said I, never in these terms, but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before; that no Priest owes to sell by bargaining and covenant his ghostly travel, ne his masses, ne his prayers, ne Gods word, ne hallowings, baptism, ne confirming, order giving, for weddings, for shrift, for housel, or for enointing; any worldly mens reward to ask or take for these, or for any of these, or for any ghostly thing, he errs and doth simony. *Ut patet 1. q. 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex concilio Triburenti. cap. Dictum est. Et Christus evangelio vendentes & ementes eiecit de templo, Mat. 22.*

The eighth Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests putten unto me falsely, saying, that I believe sadly as my sell says, *That yche Priest being in deadly sin, yef he put him to make Christs body, rather he does idolatry than makes it.*

8th. Conclusion.

Thus said I not; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before; that what Priest that puts himself presumptuously and unworthily in deadly sin, wittingly to minister and to receive that holy Sacrament, and so records hit cursedly and damnably, he receives his doom. *Qui manducat & bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat & bibit: 1 Cor. 11.*

Answer.

The ninth Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests falsely putten upon me; *That no Priests enters into any house, but evil for to treat the wife, the daughter or the wench; and therefore they sayden that I prayed the people, that their husbands should beware that they suffer no Priest to enter into her house.*

9th. Conclusion.

And if I had said thus, then I had prayed against my self, for I come oft into mens houses; but thus I said, and yet I do, praying Christian men to beware that they nourish nor maintain no lecherous Priest in their sins; for there be where (as men well known) they ben maintained in many places, continuing homely with her Women. And iche man there saine they paine therefore ascertain to the Bishops alms. *Et ideo ait Isido. 11. q. 4. qui consentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud Deum & homines.*

Answer.

The tenth Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests putten upon me falsely, *That a child is not verily baptised, if the Priest that baptiseth, the Godfather or the Godmother, been in deadly sin.*

10th. Conclusion.

God wot in Heaven they said full false; but thus I said, and yet I say, that the prayers that an evil Priest prays (living in lechery or other deadly sin) over the child when it shall be hallowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good Priest. And though better and cleaner the Priest is, the Godfather, and the Godmother; the more graciously God will hear him, if all they ben not greatest nor most rich in the World. *Unde gg. 13. q. 7. cap. in gravibus. Cum est qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus procul dabo ad deteriora provocatur.*

Answer.

The eleventh Conclusion is this, that Friars and Priests putten upon me falsely, *That no man living against the law of God is a Priest, however he were ordained Priest of any Bishop.*

11th. Conclusion.

Certes this is false, for I said never thus in these terms; but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before, that what ever Pope, or Cardinal, Bishop or Priest, or any Prelate of the Church comes to his state or dignity by Simony, and in Simony occupies that office, and holy Churches Goods; I say, that he is a thief, and that by the doom of God, and comes but to steal and kill, *Job. 10. Fur non venit nisi ut furetur, & mactet, & perdat.* And furthermore I say, that what Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, Prelate or Priest, in manner of living, or teaching, or laws making contrary to Christs living and his laws, or any other ground put in ruling of the Church or Christ, but by

Answer.

KING by Christ and his laws, is very Antichrist, adversary to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. *Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus.* Et patet 1. q. 3. c. Si quis. Et 1. q. 6. c. Ego autem. Quicumque.

The true description who is Antichrist.

But this worshipful Father Bishop of Hereford, that here is, says thus in his writing; That I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the foresaid revocation and abjuration (not setting at heart, but from evil to worse, he says, perverted his Diocesis) he says, I come running about by divers places; and by mine own folly he says, that I have presumed to preach many heresies, errors, blasphemies, schisms, and other diffames, and to holy Canons and determination of holy Church contrary and repugnant. Which, where, and when within forth more specially it shall be shewed, that ye be false enformed, that I have presumed in divers places of your Diocesis to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, schisms and other diffames. And sir, all the Country knows whether this be sooth or not; for sir, I presume not, sithen it is the office of a Priest, by the law of Christ, to preach the Gospel; ne nought I did it for presumption, but for the charge that I have of God by Priesthood (if all I be unworthy) and to the worship of God, and help of Christen souls, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching, if I erred in this, I will be amended. And sir, touching your mandement that ye senden to me, there was sent none. And sir, I made never yet disobedience unto you, ne to your Ministers; and yef all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God than to you, in that ye bidden contrary to Christs bidding. And sir, as ye saine, that I had no mind of my hele, it is too lightly demet; for God forbid, but yef there be hele, more than in your bidding; for God wot, for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my mind. But sir, it seems me, that ye charge not by evidence of the punishing so greatly the breaking of Gods helts, as ye done of your own. And sir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted you to teach him (and her Curates did not) by the desire of the people that weren hungry and thirsty after Gods word, ichone to bear up others charge as Gods law bids: I preached not for disobedience to you, but sir, in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me do, in excusing of my self to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holy Church, with the protestation that I first made, I answer thus to the Articles that ye have put to me.

1st Article. The fift is this, that I William of Swinderby the Monday the first of August, the year of our Lord 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of Whitney of your Diocesis, held and affirmed (as ye saine) That no Prelate of the world, of what state or degree that he be, having cure of souls, being in deadly sin, and bearing confession of his sin, does nought in absolving him, ne he absolves him not of his sin; and also in amending his sin, openly sinning, and him for his deserts cursing; his sentence binds not; but if that Prelate be as cleane out of deadly sin as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gave power of binding and unbinding.

Answer. The Popes binding how far it extendeth.

I never thought this, ne spake this, ne heard it, to the time that I saw it written in our Book; and that will witness, the Lord of the Town that has the same Sermon written, and many Gentiles and other that harden me that day. But thus I said, and thus I say with protestation put before, that there is no man, Pope ne Bishop, Prelate ne Curate, that binds soothly verily and ghostly, but inasmuch as his binding or unbinding, accords with the Keyes of Heaven that God gave to Peter. And as S. Gregory says, that power han they only, that hold together the ensample of the Apostles with her teaching. *Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque solvendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti Apostoli, qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto sententiarum.*

Greg. lib. 4. c. 17.

2d Article. And what if he had said so?

The second Article that is put upon me, is this, that I should have said, preached and affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ, That after the Sacramental words said of the Priest, having intention of consecration; That in the Sacrament of Gods Body, is not very Gods Body.

Answer.

This said I never God wot, and true men that have heard me.

3d Article.

The third Article is this, that our Bishop puts upon me, that I should have said in many places, and affirmed, That

accidents now not be in the Sacrament of the Altar, without subject, and that material bread leaves not therewith Gods body in the Sacrament.

This Conclusion I have not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I have not medled me of that matter. my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my belief with protestation put before, That the Sacrament of the Altar made by vertue of heavenly words, that Christ himself said in the Cene, when he made this Sacrament, that it is bread and Christs body, so as Christ himself says in the Gospel, and S. Paul says, and as Doctors in the common law have determined to this sentence. *Mat. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. Pa. 1 Cor. 10. & 11. de con. dist. 2. panis: & de consecr. dist. 2. Corpus. Io. 6. verus panis.*

Answer.

Bread and Christs body in the Sacrament.

The fourth Article is this, that our Bishop accuseth me of, that I should have preached about and said, That a Priest being in deadly sin may not by the strength of the Sacramental words make Gods body, or note other Sacrament of the Church, either perform to minister them to the members of the same.

Thus I never said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it; for well I wot, the wickedness of a Priest may appaure no very Sacrament; but the wickedness of the Priests appaures himself, and all that boldness and example of his sin causen the people to liven the worse against Gods law. *Unde Greg. Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum convertitur.*

Answer. The wickedness of the Priest impairs no Sacrament.

The fifth Article is this, that our Bishop puts unto me; That all Priests ben of even power in all things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignity, or more passing in higness of degree.

Certes, no man would say thus as I suppose, no more did I, ne never heard it that I wot of; but this I say, with protestation made before; that what Priest lives most holily, next following the law of God, he is most lover of God, and most profitable to the Church. If men speaken of worldly power and lordships and worships, with other vices that reign therein; what Priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree so he be) he is most Antichrist of all the Priests that ben in earth. *Unde Augustinus ad Valerium scribens ait; Nihil est in hac vita, & maxime hoc tempore facilius & levius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Episcopi, Presbyteri, aut Decani officii: sed si perfunctorie aut adulatorie, nihil apud Deum miserabilius, aut tristicus & damnabilius.*

Answer. Equality of Priests.

Aug. ad Valerium.

The sixth Article is this, That only contrition does away sin, if a man be duly contrite; and all outward confession by word is superfluous, and not required of need of health.

This conclusion said I never that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is never without charity and grace, does away all sins before done of that man that is verily contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise Priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needful and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting full to Gods mercy, and that he forgives thy sin. *Unde August. de conse. dist. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus, qui est agnus tollens peccata mundi.*

Answer.

Confession.

God forgiveth sin.

Aug. de consecr. dist.

The seventh Article is this, that I should say That lower Curates have not here power of binding and absolving by mean of Pope and Bishop, but of Christ without mony. And therefore neither Pope ne Bishop may revoke such manner power for time and place at her will.

Thus said I not, but not for thy it seems me thus, that no man should grant any thing after his own will, ghostly ne bodily. But everich man should be well adviset, that he so grant nothing, but if it be the will of God that he grant it. And it is no doubt that ne God grants * by mean persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christs people. *Unde & Job. 19. ait Pilatus, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te? Et Christus; Non haberes potestatem adversum me ullam, nisi esset tibi datum de super.*

Answer. Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding.

*Something here lacketh in the copy.

The eighth Article that our Bishop puts me to, is this, that I should say, That the Pope may not grant such manner indulgence of years, for there shall not be so many years unto the day of doom, as bene contained in his Bulls, or in the Popes indulgences, whereof it follows that Indulgences bene not so much worth as they semen, and bene preached.

8th Article.

This

Answer. This Article I said not thus; but I say, that the Pope may grant Indulgences written in his Letter of years, all so far forth, that he may grant him in Gods law so far to grant, and further not; years may he grant no mo than God hath set. If indulgence ben forgiveness of sin, I wot well all only God forgives sin. If it be releasing of pains in purgatory ordainet of God, if God have bidden him release so many, or ordained that he should release so many, he may then release him. If it be in his own disposing to release whom him likes, and how much, then he may destroy Purgatory, and let none come there, and release his own pain, as charities wots. So it seems he may be fiker to be saved, if himself list. If any go to purgatory, then it seems he full fails charity. If Bulls been the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not so much worth, as they costen there; for lightly they might be lost, drenched or brend, or a Rat might eaten them; his indulgence then were lost. Therefore, fir, have me excuset, I know not these terms; teach me these terms by Gods law, and truly I will learn them.

9th Article. The ninth Article is this, that I should have said, *That it is not in the Popes power to grant to any man (doing penance) remission from pain, ne from blame.*

The Pope proved a blasphem. Lewd I am, but this Article said I not thus lewdly; but thus I say, that sithen it is only due to God to give and to grant plenary remission from pains and from blame; that whatever he be, Pope or other, that presumptuously mistakes upon him that power that is only due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himself Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said, *Ascendam, & ero similis Altissimo.* Farther I say, if the Pope hold men of arms, in maintaining his temporalities and lordship to venge him on hem that gilten and offenden him, and geves remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarien hem, as men sayden he did by the Bishop of Norwich, not putting his Sward into his sheath, as God commanded *Peter, Mitte, &c.* he is *Antichristus*; for he does contrary to the commandments of Jesus, that bade *Peter* forgive to his brother seventy sithen seven sithen, *Si peccaverit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies? &c. Et Christus; non dico tibi septies, sed septuagesies septies.*

10th Article. The tenth Article is this, that our Bishop puts to me, that I should have said, *That a man giving his alms to any man after his dome (not having need) sins in so giving.*

Answer. This Article soothly I said not in these terms; but of this matter I have spoken, and will with protestation made before on this wise; that it is needful to give alms to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostly, but not to give it to ich shameless begger, strong and mighty of body, to get his lifeloode leveful and will not, and in what degree so he be, men owen not to give it to such a one, that he unreasonably asketh, for if he give it to him wittingly, he sins as fautor of his idleness. *Unde Sap. 12. Si benefeceris, scito cui benefeceris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.*

Eleventh Article. The eleventh Article is this, that is put to me, that I should have said, *That it is not in the power of any Prelate of what ever private Religion, to grant Letters of the good deeds of her order, ne such Benefices graunted profits not to hele of souls, to hem that they ben graunted to.*

Answer. I said never thus in these terms; but thus I say with protestation, That Prelates of private Religion mowen graunt Letters of the good deeds of her order; but the ghostly mede that comes of good deeds they mowen not graunt, for that is only propriet to God. And if they blind the people in misbelief for her worldly winning, wittingly behetting hem of her own graunt ghostly medes in heaven by her Letters and her Seal (uncertain, who shall be damned) but make the people bolder to sin by trust of her prayers; hit is none heal to the souls, but harms to that one and to that other. For God shall yeld to ech one after her werks. *Ipsē reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

Twelfth Article. The twelfth Article is this, that our Bishop puts to me, *That I many times and oft have come (he says) to a desert wood, cleped, Derwallwode of his Diocess, and there in a Chapel not hallowed, but accurset* shepherds hulk, by mine own folly, he says, have presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the Keys.*

* Or sheep Coat.

Hereto I say, that this is falsly put upon me of hem that told you this. For it is a Chappel where a Priest sings certain days in the year with great solemnity; and certes, I never song therein sithen I was born into this world.

The thirteenth Article is this, *That I should also presume to sing in an unhallowed Chappel, that stonds in the Park of Newton, besides the Town of Leyntwardy of this same Diocess.*

Truly I wot not where the place stonds. The fourteenth Article is this, *That I should say, that no man owes to swear for any thing, but simply withouten Oath to affirm or to deny, and if he swear, he sins.*

This Article said I not that I have mind of, in this manner; but oft have I said, and yet will, that men should not swear by any creature by the law of God; and that no man should swear in idel, as wellnigh all the people useth, and therefore methinks it is no need to comfort the people in swearing. For from the old unto the young, and namely men of holy Church breken his heft, and few Bishopps pursuen hem therefore.

The fifteenth Article is this, that I should have taught to true men of Christ, *That on no manner they should worship the Image of him that was done on the Crose, or the Image of the blessed Maid his Mother, or of other Saints into honour and worship of the same ordeinet in the mind of them. And oft sithen the worship of such image he was reproveth, saying and strongly affirming, that Churchmen sinnen and done idolatry.*

This conclusion have I not said in these terms; but this I say with protestation, that God commands in his law in divers places, *Exod. 20. Levit. 19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobie 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corin. 10. Esay 45. Jer. 2. 6. 8. & 10. 22. & ultimo Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 2. & Threnorum 4. & postremo;* that men should not worshippen graven images that ben werks of mens hands; and also he bids, that men should not make to hem graven images in likeness of the things that ben in Heaven, to that end to worshippen hem; sithen neither God ne Christ by his Manhood, gave never commandment to make these images, ne expresse counsel, ne his Apostles in all his law, ne to worship such that bene made. But well I wot, that by mens own relation, that have misbeleved in hem, that many men sinnen in maumetry, worshipping such dead images: † Not for thy, to tho men ben Images good to whom they have ben but Kalenders, and through the sight of them they knowen the better and worshippen oft God and his Saints. And to such men they done harm that setten her hope and trust in hem, or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his heft. *Unde ait Gregorius in registro, libro 10. in Epistola ad serenum Episcopum; Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe; adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc sollicite fraternitas tua admoneat, ut ex visione rei gestae ardorem compunctionis percipiant, ut in adoratione totius trinitatis prosternantur.*

These Conclusions, Points and Articles that I have under protestation, in this Book affirmed, I will stand by hem, and maintain hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the time that the contrary be provet duly by Gods law: And this protestation I make for my faith and my belief as I did at the beginning; that whensoever this worshipful or any other Christian man shews me veraily by Gods law the contrary of this, I will wholly forsake hem, and take me to the veray trowth and better understanding of wiser men, ready to be amended by the law of Jesus Christ, and be a true Christen man, and faithful Son of holy Church; and of these I beseech you all bear witness where ye comen.

Subsequentur vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus posset in propria persona citari; ipsum Gulielmum visis & modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi Praetoris in Ecclesia nostra Cathedrali: Herfordensi & parochialibus Ecclesiis de Kingston Crofte, & Whitney nostra Diocesis, ubi idem Gulielmus solebat commorari, citari fecimus, prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor sequitur in hac verba.

{KING
Ric. 2.}

The Citation.

The tenor
of the Cita-
tion.

John by Gods permission Bishop of Hereford, to his dear Sons our Dean of Leamster, to the Parsons of Croft, Almaday and Whitney, and also to the Vicars of Kingston, Ladersley, Wiggemore and Monmouth Clifford, and of Sancti Johns Altar in our Cathedral Church of Hereford, and to the rest of the Deans, Parsons, Vicars, Chaplains, Parish Priests, and to other, whosoever in any place are appointed through our City and Diocess of Hereford, sendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be cited peremptorily (and under the pain of Excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a Priest; that he appear before us, or our Commissaries the 20th. day of this present Month of July, at North Lodebury, within our Diocess, with the continuance of the days following in other places also to be assigned unto him if it be expedient, till such things as have been, and shall be laid against him, be fully discussed, to answer more at large to certain positions and articles, touching the Catholick Faith, and the holy Mother Churches determination, that have been exhibited and ministred unto the said William. And to see and hear also many things that have openly in judgment before us, and a great number of faithful Christians, by him been even in writing confessed, to be condemned as heretical, false, schismatical and erroneous. And to see and hear positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proved by faithful witnesses, and other lawful trials against the said William. And to receive for his false, heretical, erroneous and schismatical Doctrine, that Justice shall appoint, or else to shew causes why the premises should not be done.

And if the said William lieth privily, or else cannot be so cited in his proper person; we will that in your Churches, when most people shall then come together to Divine Service, you openly with a loud voice, and that may be understood, cause the said William peremptorily to be cited unto the premises, certifying the same William, that whether he shall appear the day and place appointed or no, we notwithstanding will proceed unto the premises against the said William, according to the canonical Decrees by form of law, in the absence or contumacy of the said William notwithstanding. We will moreover, if the said William shall appear at the said day and place, as is aforesaid, before us, friendly hear him, and honestly, and favourably, as far as we may with Gods leave, deal with him; granting free licence to come and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And see that you fully certifie us of the things that you or any of you shall do about the execution of this our commandment, and that by your Letters Patents signed with your Seal authentical, giving also faithfully to the said William, or to his lawful Proctor, if he require it, a Copy of this our present commandment.

Given at our house of Whitburne under our Seal the fifth day of the Month of July, in the year of our Lord 1391.

The first sitting
against
Will. Swin-
derby.

On Thursday the 20th of July, in the year of the Lord aforesaid, We in the Parish Church of North Lidebury aforesaid, about six of the Clock sitting in judgment, after that it was reported unto us, how the foresaid William was personally taken and lawfully cited; caused the same W. then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear and receive such things, whereto he was aforesaid, and to do otherwise that which Justice should perswade. And the said William appeared neither by himself, nor by Proctor; but only by a servant (whose name we know not) he sent a certain Schedule of Paper, made like an Indenture unto us, to excuse him. After which Schedule, seen, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and in any wise notwithstanding, we adjudged the said William (after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour tarried for, and by no means appearing) worthily obstinate; and for his obstinacy, and for his stubbornness, we assigned unto him the 29th day of July, in the Church of Ponsley, to appear before us with the foresaid safeguard, to answer more fully to such Articles, and otherwise to hear, receive and do, as before is noted.

The second days Act.

Upon Saturday being the 29th of July, and in the year of the Lord aforesaid, We John by Gods permission the fore remembred Bishop in the Church of Pontesbury, of our Diocess, at six of the clock, or thereabout, sitting in judgment; made the said William of Swinderby to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and assigned) he should appear before us, to answer to the foresaid Articles more fully, and to declare the said Articles as the darkness of his answers did worthily require. And because the said William being called, and for a due time looked for, did make no means to appear, we pronounced him to be obstinate, and for his obstinateness (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding favour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the 8th. of August, then next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the same our Diocess, unto the said William for the same thing.

The second
sitting a-
gainst Will.
Swinderby.

The third days Act.

Upon Tuesday the 8th of August, the year aforesaid, I John by Gods permission Bishop of Hereford aforesaid, in the Church of Cleobury Mortemere, about six of the clock, sitting in judgment, caused the foresaid William Swinderby to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premises, according to the appointment of the same day that Justice should advise, which William did not appear at all. Whereupon, we after that the said William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but appeared not at all, did judge him worthily (as of right appertained) obstinate; and for his obstinateness, assigned him the sixteenth day of the same Month of August next following, in the Parish Church of Whitborne of the same our Diocess, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs, and to see all witnesses brought forth, admitted and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the foresaid Articles, or at leastwise some of the same.

The third
sitting a-
gainst Will.
Swinderby.

The fourth days Act.

Upon Wednesday the 16th. day of the Month of August the year aforesaid, We John the Bishop in the Parish Church of Whitborne aforesaid of our Diocess, sitting in Judgment, caused the said William Swinderby oftentimes to be called, who (as is aforesaid) appeared not at all; whom, after that he was so called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appeared, we pronounced to be obstinate. We received also by certain faithful Christians, and zealous Men for the Catholick Faith of our Diocess, a certain process made, and had at another time against the same William, before the reverend Father in God and Lord, Lord John by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincoln, confirmed by the hanging on of the Seal of the same reverend Father, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. The tenor whereof word for word is contained before. And these faithful Christians moreover against the obstinateness of the said William Swinderby brought forth discreet men, Mr. William Leviet, Parson of the Parish Church of Kyversly, and also Edmund Waterdon, Parish Chaplain of the Chappel of N. and Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, Lay men of the Diocess of Lincoln, asking instantly that they might be received for witnesses, to prove some of the foresaid Articles, whom against the obstinateness of the said William Swinderby, we thought good to receive and did receive, and their Oaths on the holy Gospels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hand: And did diligently examine them in proper person severally in form of law; whose sayings and depositions are afterward brought in, and at the instance of the same faithful Christians, we assigned the second day of September then next following, to the said William Swinderby, to say and alledge against the said Process, Witnesses, and their sayings, in the said Church of Whitborne; decreeing that a Copy should be made for him of these things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the Witnesses. Here we fail in our Copy, till the Register come to our hands again, by

The fourth
sitting a-
gainst Will.
Swinderby.Of this pro-
cess men-
tion is made
before,
pag. 531.

by the door, but wendeth upon another half, he is a night thief and a day thief. And there he telleth, how he that flyeth from the flock, is not the Shepherd, but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheep.

ad. Conclusion.

* To the second Conclusion that he saien is error or heresie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalities and of lordships of Priests that been evil livers.

Declaration

I say, me seemeth that the Conclusion is true, and is this, that it were needful and letful to secular Lords by way of charity, and by power given to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend nought by Gods Law; cursed Curates that openly misuse the goods of the holy Church, that ben poor mens goods; and customably ayens the Law of God, (the which poor men Lords ben holden to maintain and defend) to take away, and to draw from such Curates, poor mens goods in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms deeds of worldly goods, and give them to such as duly serve God in the Church, and ben ready in upbearing of the charge that Prelates shoulde do, and done it not. And as anenches taking away of temporalities, I say thus, that it is letful to Kings, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lords of the world, to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, from Bishops, Prelates, and possessioners in the Church, their temporalities and their alms that they have given them upon condition, that they shoulde serve God the better; when they verily seen that their giving and taking ben contrary to the law of God, contrary to Christs living, and his Apostles; and namely, in that they taken upon them that they shoulde be next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poornesse and meeknes, to be secular Lords against the teaching of Christ and of Saint Peter. Truly me seemeth that all christen men, and namely Priests shoulde take keep, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The Priests of the old law were forbidden to have lordships among their brethren; for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ that was the highest Priest of the New Testament forsook worldly lordship, and was here in form of a servant, and forbad his Priests such Lordships, and said, *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non sic*; that is, *The Kings of the Heathen bear dominion and rule, &c. but you shall not do so.* And as St. Peter saith, *Neque dominantes in clero, &c. Not bearing rule and dominion of the Clergy, &c.* So it seemeth me, that it is against both laws of God, that they have such Lordships, and that their title to such Lordships is not full good. And so it seemeth me, that if they have been thereto of evil living, it is no great peril to take away from them such Lordships, but rather needful, if the taking away were in charity, and not for singular covetousnes, ne wrath. And I suppose, that if Friars that been bounden to their founders to live in poverty, would break their rule and take worldly Lordships; might not men lawfully take from them such Lordships, and make them to live in poverty as their rule would? And forsooth, it seemeth me, that Priests oughten also well to keep Christs rule, as Friars owen to keep the rule of their founder. Jeremy witnesseth, how God commended Rechab's children, for that they would not break their faders bidding in drinking of wine; and yet Jeremy proffered them Wine to drink. And so I trow, that God would commend his Priests if they would forsake worldly Lordships, and holden them apayed with lifelot, and with clothing, and busie them fast about their heritage of Heaven. And God saith *Numer. 18. In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars & hereditas vestra in medio filiorum Israel, &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis Sacerdotes & Levites, & omnes qui de eadem tribu estis, partem & hereditatem cum reliquo Israel; quia sacrificia Domini & oblationes ejus comedunt, & nihil accipiunt de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim ipse hereditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est illis. Et Luca 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renuntiaverit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Et Jeronymus in Epistola 34. Et Bernardus libro 20. ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte 2. libri Secundi, cap. 7. Et 12. q. pri. cap. Duo sunt: Et cap. Clericus. Et Bernardus in sermone de Apostolis, super illud: Ecce nos re-*

Every gift given upon condition, is frustrate upon the breach of every such condition.

If the Pope may take from the Friars, to cause them to keep St. Francis rule, may not the Emperor take from the Pope to cause him to keep Christs rule.

liquimus omnia. Et Chrysost. super Matth. Et vetus Testamentum. That is, You shall have no inheritance in that land, nor have no part amongst them; I will be your part and inheritance amongst the Children of Israel, &c. Deut. 18. The Priests and Levites, and all that be of the same Tribe, shall have no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israel, because they shall eat the Sacrifices of the Lord and his Oblations, and they shall take nothing for the possession of their brethren. The Lord himself is their possession, as he spake unto them. And the 14th. Chapter of Luke, Even so every one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my Disciple. And Jerome in his 14th. Epistle hath the like words. And Bernard in his 20th. Book to Eugenius the Pope. And also Hugo in his Book De Sacramentis, the second part of his second Book the 7th Chapter. And also in the 12th q. first Chapter, Duo sunt, and in the Chapter Clericus. And again Bernard in Sermon de Apostolis, upon this place, Ecce nos reliquimus omnia; Behold we leave all, &c. Chrysostome upon the Gospel of S. Matth. &c.

KING Ric. 2.

ad. Conclusion.

* The third Conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of Priests, withouten leave of Bishops, and is this, *That such Priests may counsel sinful men, that shewen to them their sins, after the wit and cunning that God hath given, to turn them from sin to vertuous life.*

Declaration

As touching preaching of the Gospel, I say that no Bishop oweth to lett a true Priest, that God hath given grace, wit and cunning to do that office. For both Priests and Deacons that God hath ordained Deacons or Priests bene holden, by power given to them of God, to preach to the people the Gospel, and namely and soverely, Popes, Bishops, Prelates and Curates; for this is due to the people and the Parishioners, to have it and ask it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generally to his Disciples; *Ite & predicate Evangelium omni creaturae, Go and preach the Gospel to all creatures, as well as he said, Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Go and baptise all Nations; and also as well longeth preaching to Priests without leave of a Bishop, as doth baptising; and then why may he not preach Gods Word withouten a Bishops leave? And sithen Christ bod his Priests preach, who should forbidden them preach? The Apostles were forbidden of a Bishop at Jerusalem, to speak more of the name of Jesus, but Peter said, Si justum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire quam Dominum, judicate; that is, Whether it be just in the sight of God to hear and obey you before the Lord, be your selves Judges. A Bishop may not lett a Priest of giving bodily alms in his Diocess; much more may he not lett the doing of spiritual alms in his Diocess by Gods law. A Priest may say his Mattens withouten the Bishops leave; for the Pope, that is above the Bishop, hath charged Priests therewith: And me thinketh, that Christs bidding should be all so much of charge as the Popes, *Mat. 10. Euntes autem predicate. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundum universum, &c. Luca 10. Et Anacletus Pap. Dist. 21. cap. In Novo Testamento. Et Beda super illud; Messis quidem multa. Et Isidorus de summo bono, cap. 44. Et Gregorius in Canone dist. 43. Praconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. Et Chrysost. Distinct. 43. Nolite timere. Et August. dist. 34. cap. Quisquis. Et Gregorius in suo pastoralis, cap. 38. Qui enim est. Et Chrysostom. Hom. 31. & in Toletano Concilio: Ignorantia. Et August. In Prologo sermonum suorum, & Hieronymus, dist. 9. Ecce ego. Et August. super id. Homo quidam peregrinus; That is, Go you forth and preach. And again, Behold I send you, &c. Mark 16. Go you into all the world, &c. and Luke 10. cap. in Novo Testamento. And Beda upon this place Messis quidem multa; the Harvest is great. Also Isidorus, De summo bono, cap. 44. And Gregorius in the Canon dist. 43. Praconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. And Chrysostome in his 34th distinction, Nolite timere. And Augustine in his 34th distinction, cap. Quisquis. And Gregorius in his pastoral, cap. 39. Qui enim est. And Chrysostome in his 31st. Homily, Et in Toletano Concilio, Ignorantia. And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Hierome in the 95th. distinct. Ecce ego. And Augustine upon this place, Homo quidam peregrinus; a certain Traveller, &c.**

A Priest admitted ought to preach, though the Prince and Bishop forbid, so that he preach the Word.

* The

KING
1. Ric. 2.
4th. Conclu-
sion.

* The fourth Conclusion toucheth the Sacrament of the Altar, and is this.

Declaration

That wholly I believe that the Sacrament of the Altar, made by vertue of heavenly words, is bread and Christs body: so as Christ himself saith in the Gospel, and as S. Paul saith, and as Doctors in the common law have determined: to this sentence *John 6. Moses hath not given you bread from Heaven, but my father will give you bread from Heaven.* He is the true bread that came down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the World. *My father giveth unto you bread indeed: the very true bread of God is that, which came down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the World. I am the bread of life: The bread which I will give is my flesh.* And in the Canon of the Mass, *Panem sanctum vite eterne*, the holy bread of life. And *Corinthians* the tenth Chapter and first Epistle, *The bread which we break, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man prove himself, and so eat of that bread, &c.* And Canon *De consecratione*, distinct. 2. under the authority of *Hilarius* the Pope, *Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari, &c.* And *Augustine* in the foresaid dist. *That which is seen is bread, &c. That which saith requirith bread and is the body of Christ.* And in the foresaid distinction, cap. *Omnia quaecunque, &c.* By these two sentences it is manifestly declared, that that bread and this be not two, but one bread and one flesh. Note the words, for that he saith the bread and flesh. And the Author, *De divinis officiis*, and also *Augustine* in his Book *De remediis penitentiae*: Why preparest thou thy teeth, &c? And *Ambrose*, *De Sacramentis, de consecratione*, dist. 2. *Revera mirabile est, &c. This meat which you receive, and this bread of one which descended from Heaven, doth minister the substance of eternal life, and whosoever shall eat the same shall not die everlastingly, and is the body of Christ.* Note how he saith, and is the body of Christ.

4th. Conclu-
sion.

Declaration

* The fifth Article telleth of forgiveness of sins, and is this: That very contrition withouten charity and grace, do away all sins before done of that man that is verily contrite; and all true confession made by mouth outwardly to a wise Priest and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is needful and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting fully to Gods mercy, that he forgiveth the sin.

Remission
doubt.

And hereto I say, that there been two remissions of sin; one that belongeth only to God, and that remission is the cleansing of the soul from sin: and the other remission, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his sins been forgiven of God, if he be sorry with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leave them for ever; and this manner of forgiveness longeth to Priests. Of the first manner of forgiveness *David* saith, *And I said, I will confess my unrighteousness unto the Lord, and thou forgavest me my misdeed.* And *Zechary* saith, *And thou, O child, shalt be called the Prophet of the highest, &c. To give knowledge of salvation unto his people for the remission of their sins, by the bowels of Gods mercy.* And *John Baptist*, *Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.* And *Saint John* the Evangelist saith in his Epistle, *If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all our iniquity.* And it followeth, *If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, and he it is that is the propitiation for our sins.* And of the other remission of sins, Christ speaketh in the Gospel, and saith, *Whose sins ye forgive they shall be forgiven.* And mans forgiveness availeth little, but if God forgive our sins through his grace.

4th. Conclu-
sion.

* The sixth Conclusion toucheth indulgences and pardons that the Pope granteth in his Bulls; and men callen it an Absolution *A pena & culpa.*

Declaration

Either there
be no Purga-
tory, or all
the Pope is
cruel & un-
charitable.

The Pope
power can
keep none
from bodily
pain. Ergo,
much less
from spiri-
tual.

Of this manner of speech I cannot find in the Gospel; ne in no place of holy Writ, ne I have not read that Christ used this manner of remission, ne none of his Apostles. But as me seemeth, if the Pope had such a power, fithen the pains after a mans death been much greater than any bodily pains of the world; me thinketh he should of charity keep men out of such pains, and then men needed not to find so many vicious Priests, after their life, to bring their souls out of Purgatory. Another thing me thinketh, that fith the Popes power ne may not keep us in this world from bodily pains, as from cold, from

hunger, from dread, from sorrow and other such pains, how should his power help us from spiritual pains, when we been dead? But for that no man cometh after his death to tell us the sooth of what pain they been, men mow tell thereof what him list. *Saint John* saith in his *Apocalyps*, that he saw under the Altar the souls of them which were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice, saying, *How long Lord holy and true, dost thou revenge our blood of them which dwell on the earth?* And white stoles were given to every of them to rest a while, till the number of their fellow servants and brethren should be fulfilled, which also remained to be slain as they were, &c. Here seemeth it, that these souls were not assailed a pena, that is, from pain; for their desire is not fulfilled. And they were bidden abide awhile, and that is a pain. And if Martyrs were not assailed from pain, it is hard for any man to say, that he assoileth other men a pena. Also good mens souls have not but spiritual blis, and they want bodily blis, until their Resurrection in the day of doom. And after they desired to have that blis, and abiden it, and that is pain to them. And I cannot see that the Pope hath power to bring him from this pain. But if any man can shew me, that he hath such a power granted in the troth of holy Writ, I will gladly leffen it.

If the Mar-
tyrs being
dead, be not
assured from
grief of tar-
rying, much
less can
they assoil
other from
pains of
Purgatory.

The Pope
hath no
power
grounded
upon Scrip-
ture to
bring from
pain of pur-
gatory.

7th. Conclu-
sion.

* The seventh point speaketh of the Pope, and is this; Sith it is only due to God, as I have said before, to geve and to grant plenar remission from pain, and from blame; that whatsoever he be, Pope or other, that presumptuously mistaketh upon him the power that is only due to God, in that, inasmuch as in him is, he maketh himself even with Christ, and blasphemeth God, as *Lucifer* did, when he said, *Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo*; that is, *I will ascend, and be like the highest, &c.*

The Pope
maketh
himself even
with Christ.

For that I say, if the Pope hold men of arms in maintaining of his temporal Lordship, to venge him on them that gilden and offend him, and geveth remission to fight and to sleigh them, that contrarien him, as men sayden he did by the Bishop of *Norwich*, not putting his sword in his sheath, as God commanded to *Peter*, he is Antichrist. For he doth the contrary of the commandment of *Jesus Christ*, that bad *Peter* forgiven to his brother seventy sithen seven sithen. Well I find in the Gospel, that when Christ sent his Disciples to *Samaria*, the *Samaritans* would not receive them. And some of them bidden Christ, that he should make fire come down from Heaven, to destroy the City. And he blamed them and said, *Nescitis cujus spiritus estis, Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed salvare.* That is, *ye know not of what spirit ye are; The Son of Man is not come down to destroy, but to save the lives and souls of men, &c.* If Christ then come to save men, and not to slay them; who that doth the reverse hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Antichrist. Christ bad *Peter* put his sword into his sheath and said, *Omnes qui gladium acceperunt gladio peribunt*: That is, *all which take the sword, shall perish with the sword.* And I cannot find that *Peter* drew out his sword after that time, but suffered as Christ said, *Cum senueris, alius cinget te, & ducet te quo tu non vis*: That is, *When thou shalt wax old, another shall gird thee, and lead thee whether thou wilt not.* And therefore, said *Peter*, Christ suffered for us, leaving us example that we should follow his steps. And *Paul* saith, *Not defending your selves, but give place to anger, leave revenging to me and I shall reward them, &c.* And therefore it seemeth to me, that it is much against Christs lore, that his Vicar should be a fighter; fithen that he mote be a Shepherd, that should go before his sheep, and let them come after him, and not with swords to drive them away from him. For as Christ saith, *A good shepherd shall put his life for his sheep.* And zif all that Christ had two swords, when that he was taken of the *Jews*, he said himself it was for that the Scriptures moten zif be fulfilled, *Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus est*; that is, *He was reputed among the wicked*; and not to figure two swords that men sayen the Pope hath to govern with the Church. And when I see such doings of the Pope, and many other that accorden not with Christs lore, ne his living; and when I read divers Scriptures of holy Writ, I am fowl astonied whether they shoulde be understood of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods love tell me the sooth. Christ saith, *Many shall come in my name, say-*

Declaration
The Bishop
of *Norwich*,
Henry Spencer
the
Popes War-
rior set up
of the Pope
to slay his
enemies.
Pag. 309.

The Pope
contrary to
Christ.

The Pope
again proved
Antichrist.

Two swords
never given
to the Pope.

Two sorts
of anoint-
ings in
Scripture.

A defection
in Anti-
christ's time.

ing, *I am Christ, and shall seduce many*, &c. Christ (I wot well) is as much to say, as he that is anointed, and two anointings there were in the law, one of Kings, another of Priests. And Christ was both King and Priest, and so the Pope saith that he is. And if all that have been Emperors of Rome, and other Heathen Kings have been Antichrists, they come not in Christ's name. But who so cometh in Christ's name, and feigneth himself Christ's friend, and he be privily his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. Saint Paul saith, before there cometh a defection first and the son of perdition shall be revealed, which is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worshipped; so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself as God. And it followeth in the same place; and now ye know what holdeth till he be revealed in his time, for he worketh already the mystery of iniquity. Only he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, &c. And St. John saith in the *Apocalyp.* *I saw another Beast ascending out of the earth, and two horns like to the Lamb. He spake like the Dragon, and had the power of the first Beast.* Many such authorities astonished me oft times; and therefore I pray you, for the love of God, to tell me what they mean.

The Sentence.

Mention
was made
of this sche-
dule before
in the first
days AG,
p. 537.

THe which Schedule aforementioned, with the contents thereof, diligently used, we considering that Diseases, which be not easily cured with gentle remedy, must have harder plaisters; considering moreover, these his Articles, with his answers to the same, and to other Articles also lastly against him produced; first mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter, with the foresaid Masters and Doctors, as well secular as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalf, have given sentence against the said William in form as followeth.

The sen-
tence given
against him.

The name of Christ being invocated, We John by the permission of God, Bishop of Hereford, sitting in Tribunal Seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the Articles by the foresaid faithful Christians put up against the said Swinderby, pretending himself to be Priest, with his answers upon the same, Actis & Actibus before us in the cause of Heretical perversity, with mature deliberation had before in this behalf, with Masters and Doctors of Divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and consent; Do pronounce, decree and declare the said William to have been and to be an Heretick, Schismatick, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithful Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, of what sex, state, condition or prebeminence soever, that neither they nor any of them within our Diocese, or any other, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the said William, till he shall deserve fully to be reconciled to the bosom again of holy Church.

The Appeal of William Swinderby, from this sentence of the Bishop prefixed, unto the King and his Council.

The Appeal
of William
Swinderby
from the
Bishop to
the King
and his
Council.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. I William Swinderby, Priest, knowledge openly to all Men, that I was before the Bishop of Hereford the third day of October, and before many other good Clerks, to answer to certain Conclusions of the Faith that I was accused of. And mine Answer was this, that if the Bishop or any man couthe shew me by Gods law, that my Conclusions or my Answers were error or heresie, I would be amended, and openly revoke them before all the people. * Knowes in any of my Conclusions, but sayden singly with sword, that there was errors in them, and bidden me subject me to the Bishop, and put me into his grace, and revoke mine error, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proved which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me guilty, so as I knew no error in them, of which I should be guilty, therefore the Bishops sate in doom in mine absence, and deemed me an Heretick, a Schismatick,

* Something
there lack-
eth in the
Copy.

and a teacher of errors, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the Church, and therefore for this unrightful Judgment, I appeal to the Kings Justices for many other causes.

KING
Ric. 2.

One cause is, for the Kings Court in such matter is above the Bishops Court; for after that the Bishop has accused, he may no fear by his law, but then mote he sech succour of the Kings law and by a Writ of *Significavit* put a man in Prison.

The Kings
Court above
the Bishops
Court.

The second cause is, for in cause of Heresie there liggeth judgment of death, and that dome may not be given without the Kings Justices. For the Bishop will say, *Nobis non licet interficere quemquam*: That is, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man*, as they saiden to Pilate when Christ should be doomed. And for I think that no Justice will give so daingly an untrue doom, as the Bishop did, and therefore openly I appeal to hem, and send my Conclusions to the Knights of the Parliament, to be shewed to the Lords, and to be taken to the Justices, to be well aviset or that they given doom.

The third cause is, for it was a false doom; for no man is an Heretick, but he that masterfully defends his error or heresie, and stiffly maintains it. And mine answer has been alway conditional, as the people openly knows, for ever I say, and yet say, and alway will; *That if they camen shew me by Gods law that I have erret, I will gladly bene amended, and revoke mine errors, and so I am no Heretick, ne nevermore in Gods grace will ben en no wise.*

What is an
Heretick.

The fourth cause is, for the Bishops aw, that they doom men by, is full of errors and heresies, contrary to the truth of Christs law of the Gospel.

The Bishops
law of con-
demnation
full of her-
esies and er-
rors.

For there, as Christs law bids us love our enemies, the Popes law gives us leave to hate them, and to sleigh them, and grants men pardon to werren against Heathen Men, and sleigh hem. And there as Christs law teaches us to be merciful, the Bishops law teaches to be wretchedful. For death is the greatest wretch that men mowen done to him that guilty is.

Whereas Christs law teaches us, to blessen him that diseazen us, and to pray for him; the Popes law teacheth us to curse them, and in their great sentence that they usen, they presume to damn hem to Hell that they curse. And this is a foul heresie of blasphemy; thereas Christs law bids us be patient, the Popes laws justifies two swords, wherewith he limiteth the sheep of the Church. And he has made Lords and Knights to swear to defend him and his Church.

There as Christs law forbiddeth us lechery, the Popes law justifies the abominable whoredom of common women, and the Bishops in some place have a great Tribute or Rent of Whoredom.

There as Christs law bids to minister spiritual things freely to the people; the Pope with his law sells for money, after the quantity of the gift, Pardons, Orders, Blessings and Sacraments, and Prayers, and Benefices, and preaching to the people, as it is known amongst them.

The con-
trariety be-
tween the
Pope and
Christ.

There as Christs law teaches peace; the Pope with his law assoiles men for money to gader the People, Priests, and other to fight for his cause.

There as Christs law forbids swearing; the Popes law justifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christs law teacheth his Priest to be poor; the Pope with his law justifies and maintains Priests to be Lords.

And yet the fifth cause is, for the Popes law, that Bishops demen men by, is the same unrightful law that Christ was demet by of the Bishops, with the Scribes and with the Pharisees. For right as at that time they given more credens to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, than they deden to all the people that witnessed to his true preaching and his Miracles; so the Bishops of the Popes law given more leven by their law to two Hereticks and Apostates, or two comen women that would witnessen against a man in the cause of heresie, than two thousands of people that were true and good. And for the Pope is this Antichrist, and his law contrary to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I read all Christen men. For thus by another point of this law they mighten conquer much of this world; For whan they can, by this law present a man an Heretick, his goods shulen be forfeit from him.

The con-
trariety be-
tween the
Pope and
Christ.

KING him and from his Heirs, and so might they lightly have two or three false witnesses to record an heretic again what true man so hem liked. Herefore me thinks, that whatsoever that I am a Christen man, I may lawfully appeal from a false doom of the Law, to be righteously demet by the trowth of Gods Law. And if this appeal will not serve, I appeal openly to my Lord Jesus Christ that shall deme all the world, for he, I wot well, will not spare for no man to deme a trowth. And therefore I pray God Almighty with David in the Sauter Book, *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & justitiam tuam filio regis; iudicare populum tuum in justitia & pauperes tuos in iudicio.* That is, O God, give thy judgment to the King, and thy justice to the Kings Sons, to judge thy people in justice, and thy poor ones in judgment, &c.

A Letter sent to the Nobles and Burgeses
of the Parliament, by Master
William Swinderby.

A Justful Letter to the Lords and Burgeses of the Parliament.
Jesus that art both God and Man, help thy people that loven thy Law, and make known through thy grace thy teaching to all Christen men. Dear Sirs, so as we seen by many tokens that this world draws to an end, and all that ever have been brought forth of Adams kind into this world shulen come togeder at Dome-day, rich and poor, schone to geve accompt and receive after his deeds, joy or paynen for evermore: Therefore make we our werkes good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be ye stable and true to God, and ye shulen see his help about you. Constantes elote & videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. This Land is full of Ghostly Cowards; inghostly battel few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of all that falleth (to that his Heart brast for our love) against the fiend the doughty Duke comforteth us thus: Estote fortes in bello, &c. Be ye strong in battel, he sayes, and Fight ye with the old Adder. State in fide, viriliter agite, &c. Wake ye and pray ye, stond ye in believe, do ye manly and be ye comfortet, and let all your things be done with charity. For Saint Paul that saw the privities of God in Heaven, bids thus in the Epistle; Evigilate iusti, &c. Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and unmoveable: Awake ye quickly and sleep nought, and stond now strongly for Gods Law. For Saint John in the Apocalyps says, Blessed be he that awakes; for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has be-hite the Crown of Life. For the hour is now, as S. Paul saith to us, from sleep for to rise, for he that early awakes to me, he shall find me, saith Christ himself. This awaking Ghostly is good living out of sin: This sleep betokens that which Cowardeth a mans heart from Ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same through a deceivable sleep is this that lets a Man of the blis of Heaven: The fiend makes men bold in sin, and ferd to do worship to God: death is a likening to a Thiefe that privily steals upon a man that now is rich, and full of wele, anon he makes him a needy wretch. Therefore said God by Saint John in the Apocalyps in this wise, Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a Thiefe, and thou shalt not wit what hour. And if the Husbandman (sayes Christ) wist what hour the Thiefe should come, he would wake and suffer him not to undermine his house. Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith; Wake and be ye ware, suffer ye no man (he sayes) as a Thiefe, but willingly for Gods love; for it is time, as Peters sayes, that doome begin from the House of God. Ye been the Body of Christ, sayes Paul, that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies been but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore curset be he, sayes Paul, that loves not Jesus Christ. And who it is that loves him, Christ himself tels in the Gospel; he that has my bests, and keepes them, he it is that loves me. Cursed be he therefore, sayes Paul, that doth Christs works deceiveably. Be ye not therefore, sayes Paul, ashamed of the true witness of Jesus Christ; for Christ our God says in the Gospel, He that shames me and my words, him shall mans Son asham, when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Majesty. And each man, he says, that knows me and my words before men in this sinful Generation, and whorish, Mans son shall knowledge him

before my Father, says Christ himself, when he shall come with his Angels in the Glory of his Father. Sith ye therefore been Christen men, that is to say, Christs men, shew in deed that ye been such as ye daren shew you the Kings men; for hit had been, as Peter says, better not to have known the way of truth, then after the knowing thereof to be converted backward therefrom. We knowen Christ, that is trowth; we sain all through our belief, if we turn from him for dred, truly we deny the trowth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knows but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worship, when we have time. Be true, says God, to the death, and you shall have the Crown of life. And think on Judas Macchabeus, that was Gods true Knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to be the followers of his Law. And geve ye, he said, your lives for the Testament of your Fathers. And ye shulen win, he said, great joy, and a name for evermore. Was not Abraham, he said, in temptation founden true, and was * arectet unto him evermore to righteousness? Joseph in time of his anguish he kept truly Gods best, he was made by Gods providence Lord of Egypt, for his trowth. Phinees our fadure loving, he saith, the zeal of God, took the Testament of everlasting Priesthood. Joshua, for he fulfilled the Word of God, was doomes man in Israel. Caleph, that witnessed in the Church, he took therefore the Heritage, he saith: David in his mercy he gat the Siege of the Kingdom in Worlds: Heli, for that he loved the zeal of Gods Law, was taken up into heaven. Anany, Azary, and Misael, he says, weren delivered thore through true belief out of the boar flame of fire. True Daniel in his simpleness was deliveret from the Lions mouth. Bethink ye therefore, he says, by Generation and Generation, and thou shalt never find that he failed that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he says, of the words of a sinful man; his glory is, he says but worms and tords: he is to day, he saith, ymade by, to morrow, he says, he is not founden; for he is turned, he says, into his Earth again, and the mind of him is perisher. Sons therefore, he says, by ye comfortet, and dy manly in the Law: For when ye han done that that God commands you to do, ye shulen be glorious in him. And King David says also on this wise in the Psalter Book; Blestet be they (Lord) that keepen thy Law, in Worlds of Worlds they shall praise thee. And in Levit. says God thus, Gif that ye wenden in mine bests, and keepen my commandments, and done hem, I shall bring forth their Fruit, and Trees shall be fulfilled with Apples. And ye shall eat your Bread in fulness, ye shoulde dwell in your Land without dred; I shall give peace in your costs, ye shall sleep and no man shall fear you. Evil beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not pass your terms, ye shulen pursue your Enemies, and they shall fall before you; fifty of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your Enemies, he saith, sholen fall through sword, and your sute: I shall, he says, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall be multipliet: And I shall strength with you my covenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in thereon. And ye shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amongs you, and I shall be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that ye hear me not, ne done nought all my bests, but despisen my law and my doomes, and that ye done not the things that of me bene ordenet, and broken my commandments and my covenants; I shall do these things to you. I shall visit you surely in nene and brenning, which shall dimme your egbenen, and shall wast your lives about nought. Ye shulne sow your seed, for hit shall be devouret of Enemies, I shall put put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your Enemies. And ye shullen be underlings to them that hatet you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall add thereunto thornes and sevenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the barabens of you, I shall geve the Heaven above you as Iron, and the Earth as Brast. About nought shall your labour be, for the Earth shall bring you forth no Fruit, ne Tree shall geve none Apples unto you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not hear me, I shall add hereto sevenfold wounds for your sins. I shall send amongst you Beasts of the field that shall devoure you and your Beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and ways shulne be desart. And if that ye will not

receive lore, but wenden againſt me, I will alſo wenden againſt you, and I ſhall ſmite you ſeven ſibes for your ſins. I ſhall lead in upon you ſword, venger of my covenant: and upon the ſlees into Cities I ſhall ſend Peſtilence in the miſdeſt of you. So that tenne women ſhall bake their Bread in one furnace, and yield them again by weight, and ye ſhall eat, and be not fillet. If that ye hear me not by theſe things, but wenden againſt me, I ſhall wend in againſt you in a contrary woodneſs, and blame you with ſeven plagues for your ſins, ſo that they ſhulene eat the fleſh of your Sons and of your Daughters. And inſomuch my ſoul ſhall loth you, that I ſhall bring your Cities into wilderneſs, and your Sanctuaries I ſhall make deſart, ne I ſhall not over that receive ſweet odor of your Mouth. And I ſhall diſperkle your Land, and Enemies ſhullen marvel thereon, when they ſhulen inhabit it, I ſhall ſperkle you among bea-then, and draw my ſword after you. Theſe vengeanceſ and many moe God ſaid ſhould fall on them that break his bidding, and deſpiſeth his lawſ, and his doomes. Then ſub Chriſt become man, and bought us with his heart blood, and has ſhewed us ſo great love, and given us an eaſie law, of the beſt that ever might be made, and to bring us to the joy of Heaven, and we deſpiſe it and loven it nought: what vengeance will be taken hereon, ſo long as he has ſuffered us, and ſo mercifully abidden, when he ſhall come that righteous judge in the clouds to deme this world? Therefore turn we us to him, and leave ſin that he hates, and over all things maintain his law that he confirmed with his death. For other lawſ, that men had made, ſhould be demed at that day by the juſt Law of Chriſt, and the maker that them made; and then we won that long life and that joy that Paul ſpeaketh of, that eye ne ſee not, ne ear heard not, ne into mans heart aſcended not, the bliſs and joy that God hath ordained to them that loven him and his lawſ.

Dear worſhipful Sirs in this World, I beſeech you for Chriſts love, as ye that I trow loven Gods law and trouth (that in theſe days is greatly born aback) that they wollen vouchſafe theſe things that I ſend you written to Gods worſhip, to let them be ſhewed in the Parliament, as your wits con beſt conceive, to moſt worſhip to our God, and to ſhewing of the trouth and amending of holy Church. My concluſion, and mine appeal, and other true matters of Gods law (giſ any man can find therein error, falſeneſs, or deſalt, provet by the Law of Chriſt clearly to Chriſten mens knowledge) I ſhall revoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet; ever ready to hold with Gods law openly and privily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintain that is contrary to his law.

Of this proceſs, anſwers, and condemnation of this worthy Prieſt, and true ſervant of Chriſt, William Swinderby, you have heard. What afterward became upon him I have not certainly to ſay or affirm; whether he in priſon died, or whether he eſcaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of King Richard the Second no great harm was done unto him. Which was to the year 1401. at what time King Richard being wrongfully depoſed, Henry the Fourth invaded the Kingdom of England. About the beginning of whole reign we read of a certain Parliament holden at London, mentioned alſo of Thomas Walden (as is above ſpecified) in which Parliament it was decreed; That whoſoever ſhewed themſelves to be favourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they ſhould be apprehended, and if ſo be they did obſtinately perſevere in that Doctrin, they ſhould be delivered over unto the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and from him ſhould be committed unto the ſecular Magiſtrate. This law (ſaith the Story) brought a certain Prieſt unto puniſhment the ſame year, who was burned in Smithfield in the preſence of a great number. This have we drawn out of a piece of an old Story: and it is moſt certain that there ſuch a Prieſt was burned for the affirmation of the true faith; but it doth not appear by the Story what the Prieſts name was. Notwithſtanding by divers conjectures it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby, that was forced to recant before the Biſhop of Lincoln. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premiſſes, let other men judge what

they think, I have nothing hereof expreſſly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge (which have here ſeen and read his Story) that if he were burned, then the Biſhops, Friers, and Prieſts, which were the cauſes thereof, have a great thing to anſwer to the Lord, when he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead, & ſecum per ignem.

The ſtory and proceſs againſt Walter Brute.

After the ſtory of William Swinderby, I thought good and convenient next to adjoyn the acts and doings of Walter Brute his joynſ fellow and companion, being a Lay-man, and learned; brought up as it ſeemeth in the Univerſity of Oxford, being there alſo graduate. The tractation of wole diſcourſe, as it is ſomething long: So therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and conſidered.

Fiſt, the mighty operation of Gods Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modeſt ſimplicity, his valiant conſtancy, his learned tractations and manifold conflicts ſuſtained againſt Gods Enemies. On the contrary part in his adverſaries may appear Might againſt Right, mans authority againſt plain verity; againſt which they, having nothing directly to anſwer, proceed in condemnation againſt whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefeſt occaſion, that ſeemed to ſtir up the heart and zeal of this Walter againſt the Pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of Pope Urban, granted to Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwich, to fight againſt Pope Clement, mentioned before Pag. 508. Secondly, the wrongfull condemnation of the Articles and concluſions of William Swinderby; the whole Order whereof, in the proceſs here following, more plainly may appear.

The proceſs had by John Biſhop of Hereford againſt Walter Brute a Lay-man and learned, of the Dioceſs of Hereford, touching the cauſe of Hereſie, as they called it, ſet forward by the way of the Biſhops Office, &c. At the inſtruction of certain faithful Chriſtians, as he termed them, but indeed cruel and falſe promoters.

IN the name of God, Amen: To all manner of faithful Chriſtian people, that ſhall ſee and hear this our preſent proceſs, John by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of Hereford ſendeth greeting and continual charity, in the Lord. We would that you all ſhould know, that of late by many faithful Chriſtian people, and ſpecially zealous followers of the Catholick Faith, it was lamentably done us to underſtand by way of complaint; that a certain Son of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute, a Lay perſon, learned, of our Dioceſs, hath under a cloked ſhew of holineſs damnably ſeduced the people; and, ſetting behind him the fear of God, doth ſeduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and privily as well the Nobles as the Commons, in certain concluſions heretical, ſchiſmatical and erroneous, and alſo heretofore condemned. And they have alſo probably exhibited againſt the ſame Walter, Articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced to the Biſhop, againſt Walter Brute.

Everend Father and Lord, we the faithful people of Chriſt, and zealous lovers of the Catholick Faith, and alſo your humble and devout Children, do Miniſter and exhibite to your Reverend Fatherhood the Articles under-written, touching the Catholick Faith, contrary and againſt malicious perſons, and detractors of the ſame faith, and the determinations of Holy mother Church, and namely againſt the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongſt the people: Humbly beſeeching, that you would vouchſafe to have regard to the correction of the Enormities under-written, according unto the Canoni- cal

The faithful request of William Swinderby.

KING Ric. 2.

The Story of Walter Brute a Brittain.

Ex regis Epif. Hereford.

Murdering hearts lurking under loving words.

Articles denounced against Walter Brute by Priests and Friers.

KING cal constitutions, even as to your office pastoral doth lie and belong.

The first Article.

Imprimis, We do give and exhibit and intend to prove that the same *Walter Brute*, being unmindful of his Salvation, hath been by many and divers faithful Christian people sundry times accused of the Cursedness of Heresie; As by the swift report, slander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the most Reverend Father and Lord, Lord *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and also before the the Reverend Father and Lord, Lord *John* late Bishop of *Hereford* your Predecessor, and now Bishop of *S. Asaph*, hath been testified, and also hath been many and divers times cited to answer unto Articles by him against the Catholick Faith avouched, and openly and publicly taught. But he in this matter of heretical Cursedness (so grievously and shamefully spoken of) hath never regarded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and sundry years laboured to advance things erroneous, and schismatical, and also Heresies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

The second Article.

Item, The foresaid *Walter Brute* hath openly, publicly, and notoriously avouched; and commonly said and taught, and stubbornly affirmed; that every Christian man (yea and woman) being without sin, may make the body of Christ so well as the Priest.

The third Article.

Item, The same *Walter* hath notoriously, openly and publicly avouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very body, but a sign and a memorial only.

The fourth Article.

Item, The foresaid *Walter* hath said commonly, and avouched, and also hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give Tithes, nor Oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his Tithes, and Oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their Curates.

The fifth Article.

Item, That such as do preach and prefer croised matters, and pardons (granted by the high Bishop to them that helped the purpose of the Reverend Father Lord *Henry* by the grace of God Bishop of *Norwich*, when as he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy Father the Pope) are schismaticks and hereticks, and that the Pope cannot grant such manner of pardons.

The sixth Article.

Item, The said *Walter* hath oftentimes said, and commonly avouched, that the Pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the Law and life of Christ.

The seventh Article.

Item, Whereas of late your Reverence did (at the instance of faithful Christian people) proceed in form of law against *William Swinderby*; and that the said *William Swinderby* had unto the said Articles objected against him given up his answers in writing, containing in them errors, schisms and heresies, even as you with the mature counsel of Masters and Doctors in Divinity, and other faculties have determined and given sentence, and have pronounced the same *William Swinderby* to be an Heretick and a schismatick, and an erroneous Teacher of the people: Nevertheless the forenamed *Walter* hath openly, publicly, and notoriously said, avouched and stubbornly affirmed, that the said *Williams* answers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous and not able to be convinced, in that they contain none error, and that your sentence before said, given against the said *William*, is evil, false and unjust; and that your assistance have wickedly, naughtily, perversly, and unjustly condemned the answers aforesaid.

Otherwise bloody promoters. These conclusions and Articles of *William Swinderby* here repeated, and objected to *Walter Brute* are to be found before, pag. 530. and 532.

Now thereupon immediately those same faithful Christian people have instantly required, that we would vouchsafe that other Articles given by the same faithful Christians against the said *William Swinderby*, together with the writings and answers of the same *William* thereunto, should be admitted against *Walter Brute*, mentioned of in this matter of cursed Heresie: of which Articles and answers, the Tenors do follow in these words.

Imprimis, That one *William Swinderby*, pretending himself Priest, was of certain Articles and conclusions erroneous, false, schismatical, and heretical by him preached, at divers places and times, before a great multitude of faithful Christians judicially convinced; and the same Articles and conclusions did he (inforced by necessity of law) revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and other as erroneous and false; and for such did he avouch them ever

afterward, promising so to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he should make Sermon or Preach within your Diocess without licence demanded and obtained. And in case he should to the contrary presume, by preaching or avouching; that then he should be subject to the severity of the Canons, even as he judicially swear accordingly as the law enforced. Also the conclusions abjured by the said *William*, do follow, and are such.

1. *Imprimis*, That men by the rule of charity may mand debts, but by no means imprison any man for debts: and that the party so imprisoning a body, is excommunicated, before pag. 530. Conclasion.

2. *Item*, That if the Parishioners shall know their Curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from their Tithes, &c. *ibid.*

3. *Item*, That Tithes are meer Alms; and in case that the Curates shall be ill, that they may be lawfully bestowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c. *ibid.*

4. *Item*, That an evil Curate to excommunicate any under his jurisdiction, for withholding of Tithes, is nought else, &c. *ibid.*

5. *Item*, That no man may excommunicate any body, except that first he know him excommunicate of God: Neither do those that excommunicate with such a one, incur the sentence of excommunication by any manner of means, *ibid.*

6. *Item*, That every Priest may absolve every sinner being contrite, and is bound to Preach the Gospel unto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Bishops, *ibid.*

7. *Item*, That a Priest, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is in so doing a schismatick, and excommunicate. *ibid.*

8. *Item*, He doth assuredly believe (as he avoucheth) that every Priest being in deadly sin, if he dispose himself to make the body of Christ, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Christs body: *ibid.*

9. *Item*, That no Priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the Wife, the Daughter, or the Maid, and therefore, &c. *ibid.*

10. *Item*, That the Child is not rightly Baptized, if the Priest, &c. *ibid.*

11. *Item*, That no manner of person if he live against Gods law, &c. *ibid.*

12. *Item*, The same *William* against the things premised, and his revocation and abjuration (not to his heart converting, but from evil to worse perverting) did turn aside into our Diocess; where running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his own rash head presumed to Preach, or rather to pervert, &c. pag. 532.

13. *Item*, After that we had heard divers rumors, and slanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundry places of our Diocess; that no person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to Preach or to Teach the sacred Scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our Diocess, &c. *ibidem.*

14. *Item*, That the same sort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our Seal, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the said *William*.

15. *Item*, The same *William*, unmindful of his own salvation, hath litherence and against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be spoken) in contempt of the high Bishops Dignity, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed in divers places of our said Diocess to Preach or rather to pervert and to teach the forementioned, and other heretical, erroneous and schismatical devices: pag. 532. Infandum facinus sceleratum.

16. *Item*, The same *William* in Preaching to the people, on Monday, to wit, the first of *August*, in the year of our Lord 1390. in the Church of *Whitby* in our Diocess, held and affirmed; that no Prelate of the World, of what state, preheminance or degree soever he were, having cure of souls and being in deadly sin, &c. *ibid.*

17. *Item*, The same *William* in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithful Christian people, after the sacramental words uttered by the Priest,

Priest, having the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. *ibid.*

18. *Item*, That accidents cannot be in the Sacrament of the Altar without their subject; and that there remaineth material Bread *Concomitanter*, with the body of Christ in the Sacrament. *Vide supra*, pag. 532.

19. *Item*, That a Priest being in deadly sin cannot by the power of the Sacrament words, make the body of Christ. *ibid.*

20. *Item*, That all Priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are in this world of higher Dignity, degree, or preheminance. *ibid.*

21. *Item*, That contrition only putteth away sin, if a man shall be duly contrite; and that all vocal confession and exercise is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation. *ibid.*

22. *Item*, That inferiour Curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the Pope or Bishop, but immediately of Christ &c. *ibid.*

23. *Item*, That the Pope cannot grant such a kind of annual pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment as are contained in the Popes bulls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be. *ibid.*

24. *Item*, That it is not in the Popes power to grant to any penitent body forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass. *ibid.*

25. *Item*, That one giving his Alms to any body, which as he judgeth hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving, &c. *ibid.*

26. *Item*, That it stands not in the power of any Prelate, of what private Religion soever he be, to give by letters Benefits of their Order; Neither do such kind of Benefits given, profit them to whom they be given for the salvation of souls. *Vide supra*, pag. *ibid.*

27. *Item*, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert Wood called *Derwalwood* of our Diocese, and there in a certain unhallowed Chappel (nay a prophane Cottage) hath presumed of his own proper rashness, to celebrate, &c. *ibid.*

28. *Item*, The same William hath also presumed to do the like things in a certain prophane Chappel, situate in the Park of *Newton*, nigh to the Town of *Leyntwardyn*, in the same our Diocese, pag. *ibid.*

A foul fault forsooth.

Walter Pride promoter, or rather a proud promoter.

The first Instrument exhibited by certain Canons of Hereford against Walter Brute.

Bishop of Hereford unjustly condemned the Articles of Sir William Swinderby.

¶ Which things being done, the same faithful Christian people, and especially Sir *Walter Pride* the penitentiary of our Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, personally appearing before us, sitting in our judgment Seat in the Parish Church of *Whiteborne* of our Diocese, brought forth and exhibited two publick Instruments against the same *Walter Brute*, in the case of cursed *Heretic* aforesaid, of which Instruments here followeth the Tenors and Articles in this fort.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all persons by this present publick Instrument, that in the year from the Incarnation, after the course and computation of the Church of *England* 1391. the Indiction xv. of the pontifical Office of our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Lord *Boniface* the Ninth, by Gods wisdom Pope, the second year, the xv. day of the Month of *October*, in the dwelling House of the worshipful man, *M. John Godemoston*, Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, in the presence of me the publick Notary under-written, and of witnesses subscribed; *Walter Brute* a Lay-man, learned, of *Hereford* Diocese, personally appearing said, avouched, and stilly maintained; that the said Bishop of *Hereford*, and assistants which were with him the third day of the foresaid Month of *October*, the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the Church of *Hereford*, did naughtily, wickedly, perversly, and unjustly condemn the answers of Sir *William Swinderby* Chaplain, given by the same Sir *William* to the same Lord Bishop in writing, and also the Articles ministred by the same Sir *William*.

And furthermore he said, held, and avouched, that the same conclusions given by the same Sir *William*, even as they were given, are true and Catholick.

Item, As touching the matters objected against him by them that stood by, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; he said, that after the Sacramental words there doth remain very Bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the body of Christ, and that there do not remain accidents without substance or subject after the consecration of the body of Christ. And as touching this matter, the Doctors hold divers opinions.

Furthermore, as concerning the Pope, he said, held, and avouched; that he is the very Antichrist, because that in life and manners he is contrary to the Laws, Doctrines, and Deeds of Christ our Lord.

All and every of these things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearsed in the year of our Lord, pontifical Office, month, day, and place aforesaid, at Supper time of the day, aforesaid, then and there being present the worshipful and discreet men, Sir *Walter Ramsbury*, chief Chaunter of the said Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, *Roger Hoore* Canon of the same Church, *Walter Wall*, Chaplain of the said Church of *Hereford*, being a Vicar of the Choral, and certain other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premisses. *Ex Regist. Hereford.*

And I *Richard Lee* Wheeler, Clerk of *Worcester*, being a publick Notary, by the authority Apostolick, was personally present at all and singular the premisses, whilst that (as is before rehearsed) they were done and a doing in the year of our Lord 1391. Pontifical Office, month, day, place, and the hour aforesaid: and I did see, write, and hear all and singular those things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this publick manner and form; and, being desired truly to testify the premisses, have sealed the said Instrument, made hereupon, with mine accustomed Seal and name.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons, by this present publick Instrument, that in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the Church of *England*, 1391. the Indiction fifteen, in the third year of the Pontifical Office of the most holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, Lord *Boniface* Pope by the providence of God the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the Month of *January*; *Walter Brute* Lay-man, of *Hereford* Diocese, personally appearing before the Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *John* by Gods grace Bishop of *Hereford*, in the presence of me being a publick Notary, and one of the witnesses under-written, did say, hold, publish, and affirm, the Conclusions hereafter written, that is to say, that Christian people are not bound to pay Tithes neither by the Law of *Moses*, nor by the Law of Christ.

Item, That it is not lawful for Christians, for any cause in any case, to swear by the Creator, neither by the Creature.

Item, He confesseth openly and of his own accord, that within the same Month of *January*, he did eat, drink, and communicate with *William Swinderby*, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said Reverend Father, whereby the same *William Swinderby* was pronounced an Heretick, schismatick, and a false seducer of the Common people. Which conclusions the same Reverend Father caused to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the same *Walter*. Which when he had seen and read, he said also that he did maintain and justify them according to the Laws aforesaid. These things were done in the Chamber of the said Bishop of *Hereford*, at his Manner of *Whiteborne* of the said Diocese of *Hereford*; there being then present the same Bishop aforesaid, Master *Reynold* of *Wolston* Canon of *Hereford*, Sir *Philip Dilek* Parson of the Parish Church of *Blamurin*, *Thomas Guildesfeld* Parson of the Church of *Englisbyknore*, *John Cresset* Parson of the Church of *Whiteborne*, and *Thomas Wallerwain* household servant, for witnesses especially called and desired to the premisses, of the Diocese of *Hereford* and Saint *Asaph*.

And I *Benedict Come* Clerk, of the Diocese of *S. Asaph*, publick Notary by the Apostolick Authority of the Diocese of *S. Asaph*, was personally present together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing, and did see, hear, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this publick form, and with my wonted

KING Ric. 2. Matters objected against Walter Brute.

The Pope Antichrist.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

Richard Lee Register and writer hercof.

The form of the second Instrument.

Matters and Conclusions ministred against Walter Brute. This Conclusion seemeth to be fully collected, as were before the Articles of William Swinderby. This conclusion also is not rightly gathered.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

Benedict Come register, witness and writer of this Instrument against Walter Brute.

KING wanted and accustomed seal and name have sealed it, being defined and required truly to testify the premisses.

At the last, the foresaid *Walter Brute* did present and cause to be presented to us (at divers places and times assigned by us to the same *Walter* to answer to the former Conclusions and Articles) divers Scrouls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his answers to the same Articles and Conclusions above written; he partly appearing by his own self, before us sitting in our judgment Seat, and partly by his Messengers, specially appointed to that purpose: of which Scrouls, the Tenors do follow in order word by word, and be on this matter.

Certain exhibits of *Walter Brute* in writing presented to the Bishop for his defence. *Walter Brute* a Brittain born.

Protestation made.

No witness or Doctor without his own, the Scripture only excepted. Error in the Doctors. Errors and contradictions among the Popish writers.

Even modestly except his learning.

The first case or supposition.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. I *Walter Brute*, Sinner, Lay-man, Husbandman, and a Christian (having my Off-spring of the Britains, both by my Fathers and Mothers side) of the Britains, have been accused to the Bishop of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the Catholick Christian Faith; by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latin to all those matters. Whose desire I will satisfie to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the World; that like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward greater or smaller, yea, be it never so big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal punishment; even so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous Doctrine for any Commodities sake. And if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, will shew me that I erre in my writings or sayings, by the Authority of the sacred Scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Christ only excepted) I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to establish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: because that, in the holy Apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found error by the Testimony of the holy Scripture, because that *Paul* himself doth confess that he rebuked *Peter*, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, *Galath. the 2d Chapter*. There have been errors found in the holy Doctors, that have been before us, as they themselves confess of themselves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the Teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themselves, and some of them do sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the self same thing to be Heretic and error. Which protestation premised, I will hear place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions established upon the same, and upon the Sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when as they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, it shall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thine only righteousness.

God the Father Almighty uncreate, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, hath sent his Son (that was everlastingly begotten) into this World, that he should be incarnated for the salvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of *Mary* the Virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He suffered passion under *Pontius Pilate* for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our Brethren. He was Crucified, that we should be Crucified to the World, and the World to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptism, and that we being dead to sins should live to righteousness. He descended into Hell, thereby delivering man from Thralldom, and from the Bondage of the Devil, and restoring him to his inheritance which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we also should walk in newness of life. He ascended up to the Heavens, to which no body hath ascended, saving he that descended from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his

footstool. He being in very deed so much better than the Angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, because the Father hath given all Judgment to the Son. In whose terrible Judgment we shall rise again, and shall all of us stand before this judgment Seat, and receive joy as well bodily as spiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the Sheep placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of body and soul, if we shall be found amongst Goats, placed on the left hand, &c.

Jesus Christ the Son of God, very God and very Man, a King for ever, by establishing an everlasting Kingdom (breking to powder all the Kingdoms, of the World,) *Daniel 2*. A Priest for ever after the order of *Melchisedech*, whereby also he is able evermore to save such as by him come unto God, and always liveth to intreat for us, *Heb. 7*. He offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation those that be sanctified, *Heb. 10*. Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the Will of God his Father, which Will he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us, and hath given the Law of Charity to be of his faithful people observed; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other Doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, because that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens Doctrine there changeth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we must forsake their Doctrines, if cokedly or expressly they be repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ. Mens Doctrines being made for the peoples profit, must be allowed and observed, so that they be grounded upon Christs Doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

If the high Bishop of Rome calling himself the Servant of the Servants of God, and the chief Vicar of Christ in this World, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ; then is he of those that have come in Christs name, saying, I am Christ, and have seduced many a one, by the Testimony of our Saviour in *Matth. Chap. 24*. And the Idol of desolation sitting in the Temple of God and taking away from him the continual sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which Idol must be revealed to the Christian people by the Testimony of *Daniel*. Whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospel; When ye shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by *Daniel* the Prophet, standing in the holy place: let him that readeth understand, he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole Universal Earth, as witnesseth *Jeremy*, Chapter 51. And not the Head of Christs body. For the ancient person in years, and honourable in reverence he is the Head, and the Prophet teaching lies is the Tail, as *Esay* alledgeth, Chapter 9. And he is that wicked and sinful Captain of *Israel*, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away *Cidarim*, and take away the Crown, *Ezechiel* Chapter 21. To whom it was said; Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and didst say, I am a God, and sitteth in the Seat of God, in the heart of the Sea, seeing thou art a Man and not God, and hast given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore behold I will bring upon thee the most strong and mighty Strangers of the nations; and they shall draw their Swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slain. And it followeth,

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy Merchandize, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, from the midst of the whole Earth, and will make thee as ashes upon Earth. Thou art become nothing, and never shalt thou be any more, *Ezech. Chapter 28*. Furthermore he is the idle Shepherd forsaking his flock, having a sword on his Arm, and another sword on his right eye, *Zech. 11*. And sitting in the Temple of God, doth advance himself above all things that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped, by the Testimony of *Paul* to the *Eph. 2*.

The second case or supposition.

The first Conclusion.

The Pope an Idol of desolation sitting in the Temple of God.

The Pope, if his laws be contrary to Christ, is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole Earth. *Jerem. 31*.

The Pope the sinful Captain of *Israel*, spoken of *Ezechiel 21*.

Antichrist described.

Ezech. 28. The Pope an idle Shepherd. *Zech. 11*.

The Beast
harned like
the Lamb.

The Pope
figuratively
the Beast
ascending
out of the
earth.

Terrible
Scriptures
against the
Pope.
Apoc. 13.

Rome Baby-
lon.

Apoc. 17.

1290 days
figured,
Dan. 12.

The fall of
Babylon.
Apoc. 14.

Isay 13.

Jer. 50.

Epistle, Chap. 2. *And in the defection or falling away shall the man of Sin be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth. For every Kingdom divided in it self shall be brought to desolation. He is also besides, The Beast ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a Lamb, but he speaketh like a Dragon, and as the cruel Beast ascending up out of the Sea, whose Power shall continue 42 months. He worketh the things that he hath given to the Image of the Beast. And he compelled Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Free-men and Bond-slaves, to worship the Beast, and to take his mark in their Forehead or their Hands, Apoc. Chap. 13. And thus by the testimony of all these places is he the chief Antichrist upon the Earth, and must be slain with the Sword of Gods word, and cast with the Dragon, the cruel Beast and the false Prophet that hath seduced the Earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.*

If the City of Rome do allow his Traditions, and do disallow Christs holy Commandments, and Christs Doctrine, that it may confirm his Traditions; then is she the Babylon the Great, or the Daughter of Babylon, and the Great Whore sitting upon many waters, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication, and the Inhabitants of the Earth are become drunken with the Wine of her Harlotry lying open to Bawdry. With whose spiritual Whoredom, Enchantments, Witchcrafts, and Simon Magus Merchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced; saying in her heart, *I sit as Queen, and Widow I am not, neither shall I see Sorrow and Mourning.* Yet is she ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruine by the Testimony of the Apoc. Chap. 17. Because that from the time of the continual Sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of Desolation placed, there be passed 1290 days by the Testimony of Daniel, and the Chronicles added do agree to the same. And the holy City also hath been trodden under foot of the Heathen, for forty two months, and the Woman was nourished up in the Wilderness (unto which she fled for fear of the face of the Serpent) during 1260 days, or else for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the Testimony of the Apocalyp, and the Chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaid, it is manifest in the Apocalyp, where it is said, *In one day shall her Plagues come, Death, Lamentation, and Famine, and she shall be burned with fire. For, strong is the Lord, which shall judge her. And again, Babylon that great City is fallen, which hath made all Nations to drink of the Wine of her Whoredom. And thirdly, One mighty Angel took up a mill-stone, that was a very great one, and did cast it into the Sea, saying, With such a violence as this is, shall that great City Babylon be overthrown, and shall no more be found. For her Merchants were the Princes of the Earth, and with her Witchcraft all Nations have gone astray, and in her is there found the blood of the Saints and Prophets. And of her destruction speaketh Esay in the thirteenth Chapter, And Babylon that glorious City, being so noble amongst Kingdoms in the pride of the Caldeans, it shall be that like as the Lord did overturn Sodom and Gomorra upside down, it shall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in no age, from Generation to Generation. Jeremy saith, Your Mother that hath born you is brought to very great confusion, and made even with the ground. And again, The Lord hath devised and done as he hath spoken against the Inhabitants of Babylon; which dwell richly in their Treasures upon many waters, thine end is come. And thirdly, Drought shall fall upon her waters, and they shall begin to be dry: for it is a Land of graven Images, and boasteth in her prodigious Wonders: it shall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in no Age nor Generation. Verily even as God hath subverted Sodom and Gomorra with her Calves.*

Pardon me (I beseech you) though I be not plentiful in pleasant words. For if I should run after the course of this wicked world; and should please men, I should not be Christs Servant. And because I am a poor man, and neither have nor can have Notaries hired to testify of these my writings; I call upon Christ to be my Witnesses,

which knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all Christian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed if any man will shew me where I have erred; being ready also (miserable Sinner though I be) to suffer for the Confession of the Name of Christ, and of his Doctrine, as much as shall please him by his Grace and Love to assist me a miserable Sinner. In witness of all these things I have to this writing set the Seal of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: which I beseech him to imprint upon my Forehead, and to take from me all manner of mark of Antichrist. Amen.

These two Suppositions (as they are termed in the Schools) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited unto the Bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfy the Bishop if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his: yet could they work neither of them effect in him. But he receiving and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, neither would reply or answer by learning to that which was truth, finding other by Cavillations, said, *That this his writing was too short and obscure, and therefore required him to write upon the same again more plainly and more at large.* Whereupon the said Master Walter satisfying the Bishops request (and ready to give to every one an account of his Faith) in a more ample Tractation reneweth his matter again before declared, writing to the Bishop in words and form as followeth:

Reverend Father, forsomuch as it seemeth to you that my motion in my two Suppositions or Cases, and in my two Conclusions, is too short and somewhat dark: I will gladly now satisfy your desire, according to my small Learning, by declaring the same Conclusions. In opening whereof, it shall plainly appear, what I do judge in all matters that I am accused of to your reverence; desiring you first of all that your discretion would not believe that I do enterprize of any presumption to handle the secrets of the Scriptures, which the holy and just, and wise Doctors have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferiour to them, whose holiness of life and profoundness in knowledge is manifoldly always allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of sins, they are to my self and others sufficiently known: wherefore I judge not my self worthy to unloose or to carry their shoes after them. Do you therefore no otherwise deem of me, than I do of mine own self. But if you shall find any goodness in my writings, ascribe it to God only: who according to the multitude of his mercy doth sometimes reveal those things to Idiots and Sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wise, according to this saying, I will praise and confess thee, O Father, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones: Even so, O Father, because it hath thus pleased thee. And in another place, I am come to Judgment into this world, that they which see not, may see; and that they which see, may be made blind. And Paul saith, That God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty; that no man shall boast in himself, but that all men should give the honour to God.

It was commanded to Esay, bearing the Type of CHRIST; Go, and say to this people: Hear ye with your hearing; and do not understand? Behold ye the Vision, and yet know ye not the thing that ye see? Make blind the heart of this people, and make dull their ears, and shut their eyes, lest that perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their ears they should hear, and with their hearts they should understand, and be converted, and I should heal them. And I said, How long Lord? And he said, until that the Cities be made desolate without Inhabitants, and the House without any person within it. Also in Esay thus it is written, *And the multitude of all Nations, which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that have warred, and besieged and prevailed against it, shall be as a dream that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, but when he shall awake out of sleep, his Soul is empty. And like as*

KING
Ric. 2.

Another
declaration
of the same
matter be-
fore, after a
more ample
Tractation
exhibited by
W. Brute to
the Bishop.

They that
so humbly
judge of
themselves
and do not
so carefully
consider
are of God

Isay 6.

Isay 19.

KING the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake he is still weary and thirsty, and his Soul void of nourishment: even so shall it be with the multitude of all Nations that have fought against the Mount Sion. Be you amazed, and have great wonder: reel ye too and fro, and stagger ye: be ye drunken, and not with Wine: stagger, but not through drunkenness: for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drowsiness. He shall shut your eyes; he shall cover your Prophets and Princes that see Visions. And a Vision shall be to you, altogether, like the words of a sealed Book, which when he shall give to one that is learned, he shall say, Read here, and he shall answer, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the Book shall be given to one that is unlearned, and knoweth not his letters, and it shall be said unto him, Read; And he shall answer, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith, Forasmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouths, and glorifie me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have rather seceded the commandments of men, and have cleaved to their Doctrines: Behold therefore I will add besides, and bring such a muse and marvel upon this people which shall make men amazed with marveling. For Wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the Understanding of the prudent persons shall be hidden. And soon after it followeth in the same place; yet a little while and Libanus shall be turned into Charmell, and Charmell counted for a Cops or Grove, and in the same day shall the deaf Folks hear the word of this Book, and the eyes of the blind (changed from darkness and blindness) shall see.

Esay 29. Nabuchodonosor enquiring of Daniel, said, Thinkest thou that thou canst truly declare me the dream that I have seen, and the meaning thereof? And Daniel said, As for the mystery whereof the King doth ask, neither the Wise-men, Magicians, Soothsayers, nor Enchanters can declare to the King: But there is a God in Heaven, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee (O King Nabuchodonosor) what things shall come to pass in the last times of all. To me also is this Sacrament or Mystery disclosed (not for any wisdom that is in me more than in all men living) but to the end that the interpretation might be made manifest to the King, and that thou shouldst know the cogitations of thy mind.

Dan. 2. It was also said to Daniel, And thou Daniel, shut up the words, seal up the Book, until the time appointed. Verily many people shall pass over, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel said to the man that was clothed with linnen Garments, who stood upon the waters of the flood; How long will it be before the end shall come of these marvelous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparel, who stood upon the waters of the floods; when he had lift up his right hand and his left hand unto Heaven, and had sworn by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and half a time. And when the scattering abroad of the band of the holy people shall be accomplished; then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and understood not, and I said, O my Lord, what shall be after these things? And he said, Go thy ways Daniel for this talk is shut and sealed up until the time that is before appointed.

Dan. 12. All these things have I written, to shew that he that hath the Key of David, Who openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth, doth (when and how long it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and hide secrets of the Scriptures from the Wise, Prudent, and Righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleasure revealeth the same to Sinners, and Lay-persons, and simple Souls, that he may have the honour and glory in all things. Wherefore as I have before said, if you shall find any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone: If you shall find otherwise, think ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error be shewed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why that such manner of matters are moved touching the disclosing of Antichrist in this Kingdom, more than in other Kingdoms, and in this time also more than in time past: the answer as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the last Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of the Twins, which is the house of Mercury, being the signifier of the Christian people:

which Conjunction seemeth to me to betoken the second coming of Christ to reform his Church, and to call men again, by the disclosing of Antichrist, to the perfection of the Gospel, from their Heathenish Rites, and ways of the Gentiles. By whom the holy City was trampled under foot, for 42 months, even as the Conjunction of the said two Planets being inclosed in the side of the Virgin, which is also the house of Mercury, did betoken the first coming of Christ, for the salvation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, whereby to call them, through the same coming, to the full perfection of the Gospel. As touching this calling of the Heathen, speaketh Christ in the Gospel, I have also other sheep that are not of this fold, and those must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one Sheepfold, and one Shepherd. For although the Gentiles be converted from the infidelity of their Idolatry to the Faith of Christ: yet are they not converted to the perfection of the Law of Christ. And therefore did the Apostles in the Primitive-Church, lay no burthen upon the Gentiles, but that they should abstain from hainous things, as from things offered to Idols, and from blood, and strangled, and Fornication. As touching this second coming speaketh Esay, On that day the root of Jesse which standeth for a sign or mark to the people, to him shall the Heathen make their homage and supplication, and his Sepulchre shall be glorious: and in that day shall it come to pass, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possess the remnant of his people, &c. And he shall lift up a token toward the Nations, and he shall assemble the runagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Juda shall be gather together from the four quarters of the Earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to pieces, and the enemies of Juda shall come to nought. Paul to the Thessalonians saith, We beseech you Brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together before him, that you be not soon removed from your understanding, neither that you be put in fear, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by Letter sent by us, neither by Spirit, nor yet by talk. Let not any body by any means bring you out of the way, or seduce you. For except there shall first come a departing, and that the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance, and is advanced above all things that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God. Do you not remember, that whilst I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now ye know what keepeth him back, that he may be uttered in his due time. For even now doth he work the mystery of Iniquity: only that he which holdeth, may hold still until he be come to light: and then shall that wicked One be disclosed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with brightness of his coming, even him, whose coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signs and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards those that do perish, because that they receive not heartily the love of Truth, that they might be saved.

Christ being demanded of the Apostles what should be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, said unto them, There shall come many in my Name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many: Also he telleth them of many other signs, of Battels, Famine, Pestilence, and Earthquakes. But the greatest sign of all be teacheth to be this, When you shall see (saith he) the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, be that reader let him understand. But Luke 21. in his Gospel speaketh more plainly hereof, When you therefore shall see Jerusalem to be compassed about with an Army, then know ye that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh. And afterward it followeth, And they shall fall by the face of the Sword, and shall be led away Captive to all Nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot of the Heathen, until the times of the Nations be fulfilled. Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter, And after 72 weeks shall Christ be slain, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the City and Sanctuary, a people shall (with his Captain that will come with them) destroy the said City and Sanctuary, and his end shall be to be wasted utterly, till it be brought so nought,

Schism between the two Popes which lasted 39 years: by the which Conjunction, his meaning is, that God would have Antichrist to be disclosed, and his Church to be reformed.

By this persecution (it supposeth) he meaneth the reformation of the Church being out of the way. Esay 11.

The revealing of Antichrist.

The abomination of desolation. Luke 21.

Destruction of the Jews Temple.

In sign of... Mark here (good Reader) by this Astronomical Conjunction of these two Planets in Gemini, he meaneth secretly the

and after the end of the War, shall come the Desolation appointed. In one week shall be confirm the Covenant to many, and within half a week shall the Offering and Sacrifice cease. And in the Temple shall there be the abomination of Desolation, and even unto the end shall the Desolation continue. And elsewhere in Daniel thus it is written, From the time that the continual Sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall be placed in Desolation, there shall be one thousand, two hundred, and ninety days.

1260 days, in Daniel expounded.

Now if any man will behold the Chronicles, he shall find, that after the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abomination; that is to say, the Idol of Desolation of Jerusalem, within the Holy place, where the Temple of God was before, there had passed 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the Heathen people are fulfilled, after whose Rites and Customs God suffered the holy City to be trampled under foot for forty and two months. For although the Christian Church, which is the holy City, continued in the Faith from the Ascension of Christ, even till this time: yet hath it not observed and kept the perfection of the Faith all this whole season. For soon after the departure of the Apostles, the Faith was kept with the Observation of the Rites of the Gentiles, and not of the Rites of Moses Law, nor of the Law of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Wherefore seeing that this time of the Error of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the Rites of their gentility to the perfection of the Gospel, as he called the Jews from the Law of Moses to the same perfection in his first coming: that there may be one Sheepfold of the Jews and Gentiles under one Shepherd. Seeing therefore, that Antichrist is known, which hath seduced the Nations, then shall the Elect, after that they have forsaken the errors of their gentility, come through the light of Gods Word to the perfection of the Gospel, and that same Seducer shall be slain with the Sword of Gods word. So that by these things it doth partly appear unto me, why at this time rather than at any other time this matter of Antichrist is moved.

Why rather at this time, than any other, the matter of Antichrist is moved, and why rather in this Kingdom than in another?

And why that this motion is come to pass in this Kingdom rather than in other Kingdoms, me thinks there is good reason; because that no Nation of the Gentiles was so soon converted unto Christ as were the Britains, the Inhabitants of this Kingdom. For to other places of the world there were sent Preachers of the Faith, who by the working of Miracles, and continual preaching of the word of God, and by grievous passion and death of the body, did convert the people of those places: but in this Kingdom, in the time of Lucius the King of the Britains and of Eleutherius Bishop of the Romans, that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Christian Faith, which was preached at Rome. Who believed straightways, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius for men skilful to inform him more fully in the very Faith it self: at whose coming he was joyful, and was baptized with his whole Kingdom. And after the receiving of the Faith, they never forsook it, neither for any manner of false preaching of other, neither for any manner of Torments, or yet assaults of the Painims, as in other Kingdoms it hath come to pass. And thus it seemeth to me the Britains amongst other Nations, have been, as it were by the special Election of God, called and converted to the Faith of Christ.

Britains by the special Election of God called to Faith. The calling of the Gentiles to faith

Of them as me seemeth did Esay prophesie, saying. For they did see to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him. And again, Behold, thou shalt call a Nation which thou knewest not; and Nations that have not known thee, shall run unto thee, for the Lord thy God, and the holy One of Israel, shall glorifie thee.

Apoc. 12.

The woman fed in the Desert 1260 days.

Of this Kingdom, did Saint John in the Apocalyps Prophesie (as me seemeth) where he said, The Dragon stood before the Woman, which was about to be delivered of child, to the intent that when she had brought it forth into the World, he might devour up her Son: And she brought forth her Child, which was a Manchild, who should govern all Nations with an iron Rod. And the same Son was taken up to God, and to his Throne. And the Woman fled into the Wilderness, whereas she had a

place prepared of God, that they may feed her 1260 days. And again in the same Chapter, After that the Dragon saw that he was cast out upon the earth, he did persecute the Woman, which brought forth the Manchild. And there were given to the Woman two Wings of a great Eagle, that she might flee into the Wilderness into her place, whereas she is fostered up for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did cast as it were a flood of Water after the Woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood: and the earth opening her mouth did help the Woman, and did swallow up the flood which the Dragon did cast out of his mouth. Let us see how these sayings may be applied unto this Kingdom rather than to other Kingdoms. It is well known that this Kingdom is a wilderness or a desert place, because that the Philosophers and wise men did not pass upon it, but did leave it for a Wilderness and Desert, because it is placed without the Climates.

This place of the Desert in the Scripture seemeth here some thing hardly expounded.

Unto this place fled the Woman; that is to say, the Church (which by Faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world) whereas she was fed with the heavenly Bread, the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, for one thousand, two hundred and sixty days, seeing that for so many days, taking a day for a year, the Britains continued in the Faith of Christ: which thing cannot be found so of any Christian Kingdom, but of this Desert: and well it is said, That she flew to this place. For from the East came the Faith into Britain, not by walking in journey, nor yet by sailing: for then should it have come by Rome, Italy, Almaine, France, which cannot be found: and therefore she flew over those places, and rested not in them, even as a Bird, flying over a place resteth not in the same: but rested in this Wilderness for a time, times, and half a time; that is, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, from the first coming of the Faith into Britain until this present.

Faith came into Britain from the East, not from Italy, or Rome.

In saying for a time, times, and half a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the less. The greatest time that we name, is a 1000 years, there is a time: and the next time that is less in the singular number, is 100 years. In the plural number, times signifie that there be more hundreds than one, at least two hundred years. Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it must needs be that they be two, but the same two cannot fifty be called some times, except they be hundreds. For in that, that there is a going down from the greater to the less, when as it is said a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of a 1000 is likely assigned for a time: It must needs follow that times must be taken for hundreds, and half a time for sixty, because it is the greater half of a hundred years, though that fifty be the even half.

A time, times, and half a time expounded.

And when that the Serpent sent the water of the Persecution after the Woman to cause her to be drowned of the flood; then did the earth, that is to say, the stability of Faith help the Woman, by supping up the water of Tribulation. For in the most cruel Persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian against the Christians, when as Christianity was almost every where rooted out; yet did they in this Kingdom stand continually in the Faith unmoveable. And so, considering that the Britains were converted to the Faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election, and picking out amongst all the Nations of the Heathen, and that after they had received the Faith, they did never start back from the Faith for no manner of Tribulation; it is not to be marvelled if in their place the calling of the Gentiles be made manifest, to the profiting of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, by the revealing of Antichrist.

Persecution in Dioclesian time swallowed up, look page 85.

But besides this, me seemeth that Ezekiel doth specially speak of them, whereas he speaketh of the fall of the Prince of Tyre, saying, Forasmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore behold, I will bring upon thee some of the strongest of the Heathen, and they shall draw their naked Swords upon the beauty of thy Wisdom, and they shall defile thy comeliness, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the slain persons, in the hearts of the Sea.

This Prince who saith that he himself is God, and doth sit in Gods Chair in the heart of the Sea, doth signifie

(as

(KING) (as most likely it seemeth to me) that *Antichrist* shall be destroyed by the most mighty persons of the *Gentiles* Folk, through the Sword of the Word of God. Because that amongst the other *Gentiles* there have been none more strong than the *Britans*, either in their body or their faith, and in their bodily Wars there have been none more mighty than they. For never in Wars have they been vanquished, but by their own Sedition or Treason. But how many Kingdoms have they conquered? Yea, and neither by the most mighty City of *Rome* could they be driven out of their Kingdom, until that God sent upon them Pestilence and Famine; whereby they being waited were compelled to leave their Country, which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they been amongst all the people the strongest, as is before said, because that by no Tribulation could they be compelled to forsake the Faith.

Wherefore of them this seemeth to me to be understood: Then I will bring upon thee some of the strongest people, and they shall draw their naked Swords, &c. By these things it may plainly appear, why at this time (rather than in time past) this matter is stirred up; and why in this Kingdom (rather than in other Kingdoms) the calling of the *Gentiles* is intreated of, to the verifying of the Gospel, through the disclosing of *Antichrist*.

But forasmuch as many Tales and Fables are told of *Antichrist* and his coming, and many things, which do rather seduce than instruct the Hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the Prophets; we will briefly write those things which are spoken of him, and we will shew that the same Fable sprang from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures prophesying. Now then they do say, that *Antichrist* shall be born in *Babylon* of the Tribe of *Dan*, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in sin, because that Christ was born of a Virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghost. They say, that he shall be an ill favoured Personage, because that it is written of Christ: *Come and beautiful is he, beyond the Sons of men.* They say, that he shall preach three years and half where Christ preached, and that he shall circumcise himself, and say that he is Christ, and the *Messias* sent for the Salvation of the *Jews*. And they say, that he shall three manner of ways seduce the people, by false Miracles, Gifts, and Torments. So that whom he shall not be able to overcome with Miracles nor with Gifts, those shall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of Torments. And those that he shall seduce, will he mark with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He shall sit in the Temple of God, and cause himself to be worshipped as God. He shall fight (as they say) with the two Witnesses of Christ, *Enoch* and *Heli*, and shall kill them, and he himself shall finally be slain with lightning. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but of none of the Prophets foretold (at least in no such wise as this is) do they apply the Prophets, as this of *Daniel*. When that continual Sacrifice shall be taken away, and abomination shall be placed to defolation: That is (say they) when the worshipping of God shall be taken away, and defolation (to wit, *Antichrist*) shall abominably shew forth himself to be worshipped, then shall there be 1290 days: that is to say, three years and an half. And this time do they say is the time, times, and half a time. And when it is said in *Daniel*, *Blessed is he that looketh for, and cometh to 1335 days*: This do they say is thus to be understood, 45 days of Repentance to such as have worshipped *Antichrist*: which 45 days added to the 1290 make 1335 days. Which days they that shall reach unto shall be called *Blessed*.

They apply also to this *Antichrist*, this saying of the *Apocalyps*, *I saw a Beast rising up out of the Sea, having seven heads and ten horns, who had power given him to make 42 months.* Which months (as they say) do make three years and an half, in which *Antichrist* shall Reign. And many other things there are told, and applied untidly to this imagined *Antichrist*, that are not truly grounded upon the Scriptures.

Now let us shew the Errors of this Fable: First of all, if there shall come such a one (saying expressly that he is Christ) what Christian would be seduced by him, though he should do never so many Miracles? neither shall he come after the manner of a Seducer, which shall shew

himself an express Adversary. Neither is it likely that the *Jews* can be seduced by such a one, seeing that Christ is not promised unto them of the Stock of *Dan* by any of the Prophets, but of the Stock of *Juda*: nor yet is he promised to them to be a King Warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Christ saith *Esay*, *And in the last days, shall there be prepared the Mountain of the House of the Lord, in the top of the Mountains, and it shall be exalted above the Hills: and to it shall all the Nations have great recourse, and many people shall go and say: Come, let us go up to the Mountain of the Lord, and to the House of the God of Jacob, and he shall teach us his ways, and we shall walk in his paths.* For out of *Sion* shall there go a Law, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*, and he shall judge the Nations, and reprove much people. And they shall turn their Swords into Plow-shares, and their Spears into Sythes. There shall not a Nation lift up it self against another Nation, nor yet shall they be any more exercised to war. And again, *A little Babe is born to us, and a Son is given to us, and his Imperial Kingdom upon his shoulder, and his Name shall be called, The great Counsellor, The mighty God, The Father of the World to come, The Prince of Peace.* His Empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of his peace. He shall sit upon the Seat of *David*, and upon his Kingdom: that he may make it stedfast and strong in Judgment, and in Justice, from henceforth and for evermore. *Zechary* doth say of *CHRIST*, *Rejoice thou greatly, O thou Daughter *Sion*, be thou exceeding merry, O Daughter *Jerusalem*: Behold thy King shall come a righteous Person and a Saviour unto thee, and yet be a poor man, and getting up upon an Ass, even upon a young Colt of the she-Ass. And I will scatter abroad the Chariot of *Ephraim*, and the Horse of *Jerusalem*: And the Bow of war shall be dispersed, and he shall speak peace to the Nations, and his Power shall be from the Sea to the Sea, and from the Flood unto the borders of the Earth.*

By which things it is manifest, that the wise *Jews* knew well enough, Christ to be promised to them of the Stock of *Juda*; and not of the Stock of *Dan*; and that he was given all to peace, and not to war: Therefore it is not likely that they can be seduced by such a one. But if there should have been in time to come some such singular *Antichrist*, then would Christ (seeing he loved his) have said somewhat unto them of him. Now, of one singularly doth he not speak, but of many, saying, *Many shall come in my Name, and say, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many persons.* But now let us see, how the Propheties in *Daniel*, and in the *Apocalyps* (afore said) be falsly and erroneously applied to the same imagined *Antichrist*. For in *Daniel* the ninth Chapter, thus it is written, *And after 72 weeks shall Christ be slain, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the City and Sanctuary shall be a people, with their Captain that shall come with them, destroy, whose end shall be utter defolation, and after the end of the war a determined destruction.* Now he shall in one week confirm his Covenant towards many, and in the half week shall the Offering and Sacrifice cease, and in the Temple shall there be an abomination of defolation, and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end shall the defolation continue. It is plain and manifest that this Prophetie is now fulfilled. For the people of *Rome* with their Captain destroyed *Jerusalem* even to the ground, and the people of the *Jews* was slain and scattered. And the abomination, that is, the Idol of Defolation was placed of *Adrian*, in the last destruction, in *Jerusalem*, in the holy place; that is to say, in a place of the Temple. And from that time hitherto have passed near about 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as *Daniel* takes it in his Propheties, and other Prophets likewise. For *Daniel* speaking of 62 weeks, doth not speak of the weeks of days but of years. So therefore when he saith, *From the time that the continual Sacrifice was taken away, &c.* 1290 days must be taken for so many years, from the time of the Defolation of *Jerusalem*, even unto the revealing of *Antichrist*: and not for three years and an half; which they say, *Antichrist* shall Reign. And again, whereas *Daniel* said, *How long till the end of these marvelous matters?* It was answered him, *For a time, and times, and half a time.* Behold also, how untidly they did assign this time, by three years and a half,

Antichrist cometh not so grossly as the Papists imagine.

Esay 2.

Esay 9.

Zech. 9.

Antichrist cannot come of the Tribe of Dan.

Dan. 9. The abomination or idol of defolation standing in the holy place.

Antichrist to Reign only three years and an half, is false.

a half, which they say, *Antichrist* shall Reign. For when as it is said *a time, times, and half a time*; there is a going downward from the greater to the less, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to half a time. If therefore there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst (which is greater than the whole it self) the going downward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years, and half a year. Wherefore more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and half a time doth signifie 1290 years, as is before said in the Chapter preceeding. Thus therefore is the Prophesie of *Daniel* falsly applied to that imagined *Antichrist*.

Look before
in the story
of the ten
first Perse-
cutions.

Apoc. 13.

The beast in
the 13th of
the Apoca-
lyps ex-
pounded.

The purple
Beast in the
Apocalyp
meaneth
Rome.

For the 42
see months,
look before
page 564.

Apoc. 2.

Apoc. 2.

The begin-
ning and
end of
the valiant
beggerly
Fryers, spo-
ken of in
the Apoca-
lyps, ex-
pounded of
Armacha-
nus: look
before pag.
294.

Now con-
sider the
Psalter-
ium con-
futed.

Likewise is the process of the *Apocalyp*s applied to the same imagined *Antichrist* too much erroneously. Because that the same cruel Beast which came up out of the Sea, having seven Heads, and ten Horns, to whom there was power given over every Tribe, People, and Tongue, and the power given for the space of 42 months: This Beast doth note the *Roman* Emperors, which most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well *Christians* as *Jews*. For when as the condemnation of the great Whore, sitting upon the many waters was shewed to *John*: he saw the same Woman sitting upon the purple coloured Beast full of the names of blasphemy, having seven Heads and ten Horns: and he saw a Woman being drunk with the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of *Jesus*. And the Angel expounding and telling him the mystery of the Woman, and the Beast that carried her said, *That seven heads are seven hills, and are seven Kings: Five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must Reign a short time. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten Kings, who have not yet taken their Kingdom, shall receive their Power as it were in one hour under the Beast. And finally he saith, The Woman whom thou sawest is the great City, which hath the Kingdom over the Kings of the Earth. And it is manifest that the City of Rome at the time of this Prophesie, had the Kingdom over the Kings of the Earth. And this City was born up and upholden by her cruel and beastly Emperors; who by their cruelty and beastliness did subdue unto themselves in a manner all the Kingdoms of the World, of zeal to have Lordship over others, and not virtuously to govern the people that were their Subjects, seeing that they themselves did lack all vertue, and drew back others from the faith and from vertue.*

Wherefore that cruel Beast coming up out of the Sea, doth rightly note the *Roman* Emperors, who had power over every Language, People, and Country. And the power of the Beast was for 42 months, because that from the first Emperor of Rome, that is to say, *Julius Caesar*, unto the end of *Frederick* the last Emperor of Rome, there were 42 months, taking a month for 30 days, as the months of the *Hebrews* and *Grecians* are, and taking a day always for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. By which things it may plainly appear how unfitly this Prophesie is applied to that imagined *Antichrist*, and the 42 months taken for three years and a half, which (they say) he shall Reign in, against the saying of the Prophets, because that days are taken for years. As in the second of the *Apocalyp*s. They shall be troubled ten days. Which do note the most cruel Persecution of *Dioctesian* against the *Christians* that endured ten years. And in another place of the *Apocalyp*s it is written of the smoke coming up out of the bottomless Pit: Out of which Pit there came forth Gralhoppers into the Earth, and to them was power given, as *Scorpions* have power, to vex and trouble men five months. Now it is manifest, that from the beginning of the Fryers Minors and Preachers, to the time that *Armachanus* began to disclose and uncover their Hypocritie, and their false Foundation of valiant begging under the Poverty of *Christ*, were five months, taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year. And to *Ezekiel* were days given for years. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assign the 42 months, being appointed to the power of the Beast, unto three years and a half, for the Reign of that phantastical and imagined *Antichrist*; specially seeing that they do apply to his Reign the 1290 days in *Daniel*, which make 42 months, and in the *Apocalyp*s they assign him 42 months. It is plain that the *Psaltery* and the *Harp* agree not. And therefore seeing that it is sufficiently shewed that the same fabling Tale of that

imagined *Antichrist* to come, is a Fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether *Antichrist* be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed within a little while according to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the Salvation of the Faithful.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it, who is that *Antichrist* lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the Prophets: I will pass on the Declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us say in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house tops. I therefore, as I have before said, so say, that if the high Bishop of Rome, calling himself the Servant of God, and the chief Vicar of *Christ* in this world, do make and justifie many Laws contrary to the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*: then is he the chief of many, which coming in the name of *Christ* have said *I am Christ*, who have seduced many. Which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest. For *Christ* is called of the *Hebrews* the very same that we call anointed. And amongst them there was a double sort of legal anointing by the Law, the one of Kings, and the other of Priests. And as well were the Kings, as the Priests, called in the Law *Christs*. The Kings, as in the *Psalms*, *The Kings of the Earth stood up together, and the Princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ or anointed*. And in the Books of the Kings very often are the Kings called *Christs*. And our Saviour was *Christ*, or anointed King, because he was a King for evermore upon the Throne of *David*, as the Scripture doth very oftentimes witness. The Priests also were called anointed, as where it is written, *Do not ye touch my Christs*; that is, mine anointed Ones, and be not ye spiteful against my Prophets. And so was our Saviour *Christ*, a Priest for ever, according to the Order of *Melchisedec*.

Seeing then that the Bishops of Rome do say that they are the High Priests; they say also therein that they are Kings, because they say that they have the Spiritual Sword pertaining to their Priesthood, and the corporal Sword which agreeth for a Kings State. So is it plain, that really and in very deed, they say, *That they are Christs*, albeit that expressly they be not called *Christs*. Now that they come in the name of *Christ* it is manifest, because they say that they are his principal Vicars in this World, ordained of *Christ* specially for the Government of the Christian Church. Therefore, seeing they say, that really and in very deed they are *Christs*, and the chief friends of *Christ*: If they make and justifie many Laws contrary to the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, then is it plain that they themselves in earth are the principal *Antichrists*, because there is no worse plague and pestilence, than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against *Christ*, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the Christian people, because that a manifest enemy shall have much ado to deceive a man, because men trust him not: but a privy enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea those that be wise.

But that this matter may the more fully be known, let us see what is the Law and Doctrine of *Christ*, that ought to be observed of all faithful people, which being known, it shall be an easie thing to see, if the Bishop of Rome do make or maintain any Laws contrary to the Law of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*.

I say then, that the Law of *Christ* is Charity, which is the perfect love of God and of *Christ*. This thing is plain and manifest. For *Christ* being demanded of a certain Doctor of the Law, *What is the greatest commandment in the Law?* answered: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: That is the principal and greatest commandment. And as for the second it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thine own self. In these two commandments, doth the Law and whole Prophets depend. And in another place Christ saith: All manner of things therefore that you would that men should do to you*

KING
Rit. 2.
Whether
Antichrist
be already
come.

The Pope
proved An-
tichrist.

Anointing
double in
Scripture.

Kings and
Priests a-
nointed.

The Pope
make them-
selves Priests
and Kings.
The Pope
maketh
himself
Christ.
The Pope
cometh in
the name of
Christ.
Popes pro-
ved princ-
pal Anti-
christ.
The Pope
an outward
friend and
a privy en-
emy to Christ.

Whether
the Pope
doth main-
tain any
Laws against
the Laws of
the Christ.

The Law of
love com-
manded in
the Gospel.

Job. 13.
you

KING 2. you, the same also do ye unto them; For this is the Law and the Prophets. And in John the thirteenth Chapter,

Christ saith, And now do I say unto you, I give you a new Commandment, that you should love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you also should love one another. In this shall all men know that you are my Disciples, if you shall have love one towards another. And John fifteenth Chapter,

Joh. 15. This is my Commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath no body, that a man should give his life for his Friends. The

1 Pet. 4. Apostle Peter saith in his first Epistle fourth Chapter. Above all things having continually Charity one towards another; for Charity covereth the multitude of sins. Be ye Harbours, and entertain ye one another without grudging; every one as he hath received Grace, so let him bestow it upon another man, as the good Stewards of the manifold Graces of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the Word of God. If any man do ought for another, let it be done with singleness and unfained verity, ministered of God to us-ward, that in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord.

James 2. James in his Epistle the second Chapter, If ye perform the Royal Law accordingly to the Scriptures (thou shalt love thy Neighbour) ye do well: But if ye be partial in receiving and preferring mens Personages, ye work wickedness, being blamed of the Law as Transgressors. And again, So speak ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be judged by the Law of Liberty. What shall it avail (my Brethren) if a man say he have Faith, and have no Works? never shall the Faith be able to save him. For if a Brother or Sister be naked, and have need of daily food, and some of you say to them, go ye in peace, be ye made warm and satisfied: and if ye shall not give those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it avail? Even so Faith, if it have not Works, is dead in it self.

1 Joh. 3. John in his first Epistle the third Chapter, This is the tydings which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another. And again, we know that we are translated from death to life, if we love the Brethren: He that loveth not, abideth in death. And again herein we know the love of God, because that he hath laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren. He that shall have the substance of this world, and shall see his Brother have need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little Children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth. And again, Chap. 4. Most dearly Beloved, let us love together. For love is of God; he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the World, that we should live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath first loved us, and hath sent his Son an attonement for our sins. Most dearly Beloved, if God have loved us, we so ought to love together. No man hath seen God at any time; if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us. And again, Let us love God, for he hath first loved us. If a man shall say, I love God, and do hate his Brother, he is a liar. For he that loveth not his Brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this Commandment have we of God, that who so loveth God, should love his Brother also. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans the

1 Joh. 4. thirteenth Chapter, Owe ye nothing to no body, saving that you should love together for he that loveth his Brother hath fulfilled the Law. For thou shalt not commit Adultery, thou shalt not Murther, thou shalt not Steal, thou shalt not bear false Witness, thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours goods; and if there be any other Commandment, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. Wherefore the fulfilling of the Law is love.

Rom. 13. Paul to the Corinthians the thirteenth Chapter saith, If I should speak with the Tongues of men and Angels, and yet have not Charity, I am become as it were a piece of sounding metal or tinkling Cymbal. And if I have all Prophecy, and know all Mysteries and all Knowledge, and shall have all Faith, so that I might remove Mountains, and yet shall not have Charity, I am nothing. And if I shall give abroad all my Goods to feed the Poor, and shall give up my Body to be burned, and yet have not

1 Cor. 13. Charity, it profits me nothing. To the Galatians 5. saith Paul, For you my Brethren are called unto liberty: do ye not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by Charity of the Spirit serve ye one another. For all the Law is fulfilled in one saying; Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thine own self. To the Ephesians the fourth Chapter, he saith, I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord do beseech you, that you would walk worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humbleness and mildness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace: that you be one body and one spirit, even as you be called in one Hope of your calling. And again in the fifth Chapter, Be ye followers of me as most dear Children, and walk ye in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered up himself for us, an Offering and Sacrifice to God of a sweet savour. To the Philippians, thus he speaketh in the first Chapter, Only let your Conversation be worthy of the Gospel of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may hear of you, that you stand stedfast in one spirit, labouring together with one accord for the Faith of the Gospel. And in nothing be ye afraid of the Adversaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battel that both you have seen in me, and also now do hear of me. If therefore there be any Consolation in Christ, if any comfort of Charity, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfil you my joy, that you may be of one judgment, having one and the self same Charity, being of one accord, of one manner of judgment, doing nothing of contention nor of vain glory, but in humbleness accounting other amongst you, every one better than your selves; not every body looking upon the things that be his own, but those that belong unto others. And to Col. 3. thus he writeth, You therefore as the Elect of God, holy, and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentleness, humbleness, lowliness, modesty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to your selves (if any have a quarrel against any body) even as the Lord forgave you, so do you also. Above all things have ye Charity, which is the bond of Perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body. And be ye kind and thankful. And to the Thessalonians, thus Paul writeth in the fourth Chapter, As concerning brotherly Charity we have no need to write unto you: for you your selves have learned of God, that you should love one another. And the same thing ye do towards all the Brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Out of all these any many other places of the holy Scripture it sufficiently appeareth, that the Law of Christ is Charity; neither is there any virtue commanded of Christ, or any of his Apostles, to be observed of the faithful people, but that it cometh out of Charity, or else doth nourish Charity. The Law is given by Moses, and the Truth by Christ. Christ came not to unloose the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. But yet many things were lawful and might have been observed in the time of the Law, which in the time of Grace must not be observed. And many things were unlawful to them that were under the Law, which in the time of Grace are lawful enough. After what sort then he did not loose the Law, but did fulfil it, it is necessary to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said. For amongst Christians many things are judged to be lawful, because in the former Testament in the Law they were lawful: and yet they be expressly contrary to Christs Gospel. But the Authors of such things do argue and reason thus, Christ came not to loose the Law or the Prophets. Now after what sort he did not unloose them it is manifest by the holy Scripture: that the Law given by Moses, was written in Tables of stone, to declare the hardness of the peoples heart towards the love of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his Law in the hearts and in the minds of his; that is to say, the Law of perfect love of God, and of Christ. Which Law whosoever observeth, he doth observe the Law of Moses, and doth much greater works of Perfection, than were the works of the Law. Thus therefore were the morals

Many things observed in the old law, which be not observed now. Many things unlawful in the old law, which be lawful now. How Christ did loose, and not loose the Law.

Gal. 5. Eph. 4. Eph. 5. Phil. 1. Col. 3. 1 Thess. 4.

of the old Law fulfilled in the Law of Charity of Christ, and not unloosed; because they are much more perfectly observed, than of the *Jews*: This I say, if the *Christians* do observe the Commandments of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to be observed. Christ hath fulfilled the Laws moral of the *Old Testament*, because that the morals and judicials were ordained, that one person should not do injury to another, and that every man should have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charity, will do no injury to others, neither do they take other mens goods away from them. Nay, it seeketh not her own things. For charity seeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much less by a stronger reason it ought not to seek for other mens goods. And when as the judicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not by the works of the Law justify the Believers in him, but by Grace justified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfil that by Grace that the Law could not by Justice.

Free justification, by Faith only. Grace, that is, free favour, mercy and goodness of God.

Paul to the *Romans* declareth in a godly discourse, and to the *Galathians* likewise, That none shall be justified by the works of the Law, but by Grace in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. As for the morals and ceremonies of the Law, as Circumcision, Sacrifices for Offences, and for sins, First-fruits, Tenths, Vows, divers sorts of Washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from unclean Meats, which are ordained for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sin, no nor yet the prayers of the Priests, neither the preachings of the Prophets could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from *Adam* to *Moses*, and sin from *Moses* to Christ, as *Paul* declareth to the *Romans* in the fifth Chapter. But Christ willing to have Mercy and not Sacrifice, being a Priest for ever after the Order of *Melchisedec*, and an High Priest of good things to come, did neither by the blood of Goats, or Calves, but by his own blood enter in once into the holy places, when as everlasting Redemption was found: neither did *Jesus* enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but unto the very Heaven, that now he may appear before the countenance of God for us. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer up himself oftentimes, as the high Bishop entered into the holy place every year with strange blood (for otherwise he must needs have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world) but now in the later end of the world hath he once appeared by his own Sacrifice, for the destruction of sin. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that cometh judgment: even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sins of many. The second time shall he appear without sin to the salvation of such as look for him. For the Law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance it self of the things, can never by those Sacrifices which they offer (of one self same sort continually year by year) make them perfect that come unto her. Otherwise men would leave off offering, because that those Worshippers being once cleansed should

Rom. 5.

Heb. 9.

Christ enters not into the Temple made by man, but into the very Heaven. The Sacrifice of Christ not many times offered, but once for all.

Heb. 10.

have no more prick of conscience for sin afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins every year. For it is impossible, that by the blood of Goats and Bulls sins should be taken away. Wherefore he entering into the world doth say, *As for Sacrifice and Offering thou wouldst not have, but a Body hast thou framed unto me.* And Sacrifices for sin have not pleased thee: then said I, behold, I come; In the head, or principal part of the Book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God. Wherefore he said before, that Sacrifices, Oblations, and Burnt-Offerings, and that for sin thou wouldst not have: neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the Law: then said I, behold, I come, that I may do thy will, O God: He taketh away the first, that he may establish that that followed. In which Will we are sanctified and made holy by the offering up of the Body of *Jesus Christ* once. And verily every Priest is ready every day ministering, and oftentimes offering the self same Sacrifices, which never can take away sins. But this man, offering one Sacrifice for sins, doth for ever and ever sit at Gods right hand, looking for the rest to come, till that his Enemies be placed to be his Footstool. For with one Offering hath he for ever made perfect those that be sanctified. By which things it plainly appeareth, that

Christ by once offering hath cleansed his from their sins; who could not be cleansed from the same by all the Ceremonies of the Law, and so did fulfil that which the Priesthood of the Law could not. Wherefore only the morals and judicials he fulfilled by the Law of Charity, and by Grace; and the Ceremonials, by one offering up of his Body on the Altar of the Cross. And so it is plain that Christ fulfilled the whole Law.

Wherefore sithence that the holy things of the Law were a shadow of those things that were to come in, the time of Grace, it were meet that all those things should utterly cease amongst *Christians*, which should either be against Charity or the Grace of Christ. Although in the time of the Law they were lawful, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of Perfections in *Christ*s Faith; yet it were meet that they should cease at the coming of the Perfection which they did prefigure; as Circumcision, the eating of the *Paschal-Lamb*, and other ceremonial points of the Law. Whereupon also *Paul* to the *Hebrews* the seventh Chapter, saith thus, *If therefore the making up of the perfection of all was by the Levitical Priesthood (for the people received the Law under him) why was it necessary besides, that another Priest should rise up after the Order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the Order of Aaron? For when the Priesthood is removed, it must needs be that the Law also be removed.* For he in whom these things are spoken is of another Tribe, of which none stood present at the Altar: because it is manifest that our Lord had his Offspring of *Juda*, in which Tribe *Moses* spake nothing of the Priests. And besides this it is manifest; *If according to the Order of Melchisedec there do arise up another Priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commandment, but according to the power of the life that cannot be lost.* For thus he beareth witness, *That thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec*: so that the commandment that went before, is disallowed for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof. For the Law hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Christ making an end of the Priesthood of *Aaron*, doth also make up a full end of the Law belonging to that Priesthood. Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do say, That *Christian* folks are bound to this small Ceremony of the payment of Tythes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the small Ceremonies of the Law.

KING Ric. 2.

All shadows ought to cease among Christians.

Heb. 7. Where the Priesthood is removed, there also the Law is removed. Bound, as a matter of Religion, as by the necessity of Gods Law and not mans: but now Tythes stand by mans Law, and not by the old Law.

The cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth. He meaneth that necessity of tythes, which standeth by the necessity of the old Law, to cease.

It is plain, that the Tythes were given to the Sons of *Levi*, for their serving in the Tabernacle and in the Temple of the Lord, as the First-fruits were given to the Priests, and also part of the Sacrifices, and so were the Vows of their Ministry, as it appeareth in the Book of *Numbers* the 22th Chapter. But forasmuch as the labour of those Sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And seeing that the First-fruits were not demanded of *Christians*, which First-fruits were then rather and sooner demanded than the Tythes: why must the Tythes be demanded except it be therefore peradventure, because that the Tythes be more worth in value than be the First-fruits.

Secondly, why are the Lay-people bound to the payment of Tythes, more than the Levites and the Priests were to the not having of Possessions of Realities and Lordships amongst their Brethren, seeing that the self same Law in the self same place (where he saith, *That the Tythes ought to be given to Levites*) saith also to the Levites, *You shall be contented with the offering of the Tythes, and have none other thing amongst your Brethren.* Wherefore seeing that the Priests be bound, to the not having of Temporal Lordships, how are the Lay-people bound by that Law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the payment of Tythes?

If Tythes be claimed by force of the old law, by the same law Priests are bound to have no Temporalities.

He proveth not contrary, but that Tythes be due by the profitable law of man;

Although not by the ceremonial law of *Moses*. Circumcision ceased: Ergo, the Ceremonials do cease.

Thirdly, as touching Circumcision, which is one of the greater Ceremonies of the Law, and was given before the Law, and was an universal Ceremony concerning the Covenant between God and his people, and was so much regarded in the Law, that thereof it was said, *The Soul, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from among his people*: Yet did this Ceremony utterly cease at the coming of Christ, although that certain of the *Jews* did say in the Primitive-Church, that the

KING } the Christians must needs keep the commandment of circum-
Gal. 4. } cision with the Faith; whom Paul reproveth, writing
 thus to the *Galatians*, the fourth Chapter, where he speak-
 eth of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman,
 which do signifie the two Testaments. But we (O Brethren)
 are the children of the promise after Isaac; but like as at that
 time he that was born after the flesh, did persecute him which
 was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the
 Scriptures? Throw out the bondwoman and her son. The son
 of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the
 freewoman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sons of the
 bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye stedfast in the liberty
 wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not ye holden
 again under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I Paul say unto you,
 if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I
 testifie again, to every man that circumciseth himself, that
 he is bound to keep all the whole law. Ye are utterly void
 of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen
 from grace.

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing,
 we are debtors and bound to keep all the whole law. For to
 say, that Men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and
 not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore
 we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same
 old law Men are not bound to pay Tithes, it may be shewed
 by many reasons, which we need not any more to multiply
 and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient.
 Whereupon some do say, that by the Gospel we are bound
 to pay Tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisees, *Matth.*
23d Chap. Wo be to you Scribes and Pharisees, which
 pay your Tithes of Mint, of Anisee, and of Cummin, and
 leave judgment, mercy and truth undone, being the
 weightier things of the law; both should ye have done
 these things, and also not have left the other undone.
 O ye blind guides, that strain at a Gnat, and swallow
 up a Camel. This word soundeth not as a commandment,
 or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command
 Tithes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the
 hypocrisy of the Pharisees, who of covetousness did
 weigh and esteem Tithes because of their own singular
 commodity, rather than other great and weighty
 commandments of the law. And me seemeth that our Men
 are in the same predicament of the Pharisees, which do
 leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only
 the commandment of tithing. It is manifest and plain
 enough by the premises, and by other places of the
 Scripture, that Christ was a Priest after the order of
 Melchisedek, of the Tribe of Judah, not of the Tribe
 of Levi, who gave no new commandment of tithing of
 any thing to him and to his Priests, whom he would
 place after him; but when his Apostles said to him,
 Behold we leave all things and have followed thee,
 what then shall we have? he did not answer them
 thus, Tithes shall be paid you; neither did he promise
 them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in Heaven.
 For he both for food, and also apparel, taught his
 Disciples not to be careful; Be ye not careful for your
 life what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall
 put on: Is not the life of Man more worth than the
 meat, and the body more worth than apparel? Behold
 ye, the Birds of Heaven, which do not sow, nor reap,
 neither yet lay up in Barns, and yet your heavenly
 Father feedeth them. And as for apparel, why should
 you be careful? Consider the Lilies of the field, how
 they grow, they labour not, neither do they spin,
 &c. In conclusion he saith, Be not ye careful, saying,
 what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith
 shall we be covered? For all these things do the
 Gentiles seek after; for your Father knoweth that
 you have need of all these things. First, therefore
 seek ye for the Kingdom of God and the righteousness
 thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you.
 And Paul right well remembring this Doctrine, instructed
 Timothy, and saith thus, But we having food, and
 wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be contented.
 And as the Acts of the Apostles do declare in the first
 conversion of the Jews at Jerusalem, they had all things
 common, and to every one was divison made, as need
 required. Neither did the Priests make the Tithes their
 own proper goods. For like as it was not meet that
 the lay people being converted, should have propriety
 of goods; even so neither that Priests should have propriety

of Tithes. So that if the Priests started back from fervent
 charity in challenging to themselves the propriety of
 Tithes; it is no marvel of departing backward (as do the
 Priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laity,
 to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts
 remaining after Tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither
 Christ, nor any of the Apostles, commanded to pay
 Tithes; it is manifest and plain, neither by the law
 of Moses, nor by Christ's law, Christian people are
 bound to pay Tithes; but by the Tradition of men
 they are bound.

By the premises now it is plain, that Christ did not
 undo the law, but by grace did fulfil it. Notwithstanding,
 in the law many things were lawful, which in the time
 of grace are forbidden; and many things were then
 unlawful, which now are lawful enough. For nothing
 that is contrary to charity, is lawful to a Christian.

Let us now hear what manner of commandments
 Christ hath given us in the Gospel, without the
 observation of which commandments, charity shall
 not perfectly be kept. By which commandments
 Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfil it.
 By the observation also of which commandments,
 he teacheth us to pass and go beyond the
 righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, who
 most perfectly thought themselves to keep the law.

This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we
 are bound to have beyond the righteousness of the
 Pharisees and the Scribes, he teacheth in *Matthew*
5, 6, and 7 Chapters, which being heard and
 compared to the Traditions made and commanded
 by the Roman Prelates, it shall plainly appear,
 whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore
 saith, You have heard, that it was said to them
 of the old time, Thou shalt not kill. For he that
 killeth shall be guilty of judgment. But I say
 unto you, that every one that is angry with his
 brother shall be in danger of judgment. In this
 he doth teach that we ought not to be angry
 with our brethren; not that he would undo this
 old commandment (Thou shalt not kill) but that
 the same should be the more perfectly observed.

Again he saith, You have heard that it was said,
 thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy.
 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, do well
 to them that hate you, pray for them that
 persecute and slander you, that you may be the
 children of your Father which is in Heaven: Which
 maketh his Sun to arise upon the good and the
 evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust.
 For if you love them which love you, what
 reward shall you have? Do not the Publicans
 thus? And if you shall salute your brethren
 only, what great thing do ye? Do not the
 Heathen thus also? Be ye therefore perfect, as
 also your heavenly Father is perfect.

Again Christ saith, You have heard that it is
 said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But
 I say unto you, see that you resist not evil. But
 if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek,
 give him the other too. And to him that will
 strive with thee for thy Coat in judgment, let
 him have thy Cloak also. And whosoever shall
 constrain thee one Mile, go with him also two
 other. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he
 that will borrow of thee, turn not thyself from
 him.

By these things it may plainly appear how that
 Christ the King of peace, the Saviour of Mankind,
 who came to save, and not to destroy; who gave
 a law of charity to be observed of his faithful
 people; hath taught us not to be angry, not to
 hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil,
 nor to resist evil. For all these things do foster
 and nourish peace and charity, and do proceed
 and come forth of charity, and when they be
 not kept, charity is loosed, and peace is broken.
 But the Bishop of Rome approveth and alloweth
 Wars, and slaughters of men in War, as well
 against our enemies, that is, the Infidels, as
 also against the Christians for temporal goods.
 Now, these things are quite contrary to Christ's
 Doctrine, and to Charity, and to Peace.

In the Decrees 23. q. 1. cap. *Paratus*, it is
 taught, that the precepts of patience must
 always be retained in purpose of the heart,
 so that patience with benevolence must be
 kept in the mind secret. But apparently and
 manifestly that thing should be done which
 seemeth to do good to those, whom we ought
 to wish well unto. Wherein they give to
 understand, that a Christian may freely defend
 himself.

Tithes due to be paid by the positive Law of Men.

The Doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrary to the traditions of the Pope or not. *Mat. 5.*

The Doctrine of Christ and of the Pope compared.

The gloss of Gratian upon the c. *Paratus* 23. q. 1. is disproved.

self. And for confirmation of this saying they do say, That Christ, when he was stricken on the face of the High Bishops servant, did not fulfil (if we look upon the words) his own commandment; because he gave not to the smiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his injury. For he said, if I have spoken evil, beare witness of the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me? I do marvel of this saying; for first, if those commandments of patience must be kept in secret in the mind; and seeing the body doth work at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moved and ruled by the same; it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appear also outwardly in the body.

Secondly, I marvel that it is said, that Christ did not fulfil his own precept of patience. For it is manifest, that albeit he teaching always as a good Schoolmaster, those things which were fit for the salvation of souls, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the High Bishops servant, smiting him unjustly, did neither by word forbid another stroke to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himself bodily from striking on the same cheek; but speaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom he informeth, but layeth open before him all his face; even so do I believe that Christ did, that he might fulfil in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ by his word or by his deed shew any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

Thirdly, I marvel why wise men leaving the plain and manifest Doctrine of Christ, whereby he teacheth patience, do seek corners of their own imagining, to the intent they may approve fightings and wars. Why mark they not after what manner Christ spake to Peter, striking the High Bishops servant, saying, *Put up thy sword into the sheath, for every one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword?* But in another case we must make resistance; which case may be for righteous, as it is for a Mans Lord and Master being a most righteous Man, and yet suffering injury of mischievous persons.

Fourthly, I marvel, seeing that we are bound of charity, and by the law of Christ, to give our lives for our Brethren, how they can allow such manner of dissensions and resisting. For when thy Brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou mayst be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into the snare of the Devil. If thou shalt keep patience, he shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayst bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the Devil, and call him back again to charity. If thou resist, and perchance by resistance dost strike again, his fury shall be the more kindled, and he being stirred up to greater wrath, peradventure shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thy self thou art uncertain if thou go about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou go backward from the perfection of Christs commandment: Neither dost thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moved, as that by the heat and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas if thou wouldst dispose thy self to patience (as Christ teacheth) thou shouldst easily avoid all these mischiefs, as well on the behalf of thy Brother, as also of thine own part. Wherefore the observing of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be observed.

Fifthly, I do marvel, why that for the allowing of this corporal resistance, he doth say in the same Chapter, that Paul did not fulfil the precept of the patience of Christ, when as he being stricken in the place of Judgment by the commandment of the High Priest, did say, *God strike thee, O thou painted Wall: Dost thou sit to judge me according to the law, and dost thou command me to be stricken against the law?* It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the Priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had overpassed the bounds of patience, through the grief of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of Paul's impatience for this cause be justified, and the commandment of patience taught by Christ be left undone for Paul's deed, and corporal resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paul and Peter might err. But in the Doctrine of Christ there may be found no error. Where-

fore we must give more credence and belief to Christs sayings, than to any living mans doings. Wherefore although Paul had resisted, which I do not perceive in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporal resistance must be approved, which is of Christ expressly forbidden. I much marvel that always they seek corners and shadows to justify their deeds. Why do they not mark what great things Paul reciteth himself to have suffered for Christ? And where I pray you, have they found that he, after his conversion strook any man that did hurt him? Or where do they find that he in express word doth teach such a kind of corporal resistance? But as touching patience, he saith in plain words to the Romans, *Be not wise in your own conceits: Render ill for ill to no body: providing good things not only before God, but also before all men, if it be possible. Be at peace with all folks, as much as in you lieth; not revenging your selves, my most dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy shall be an hungred, give him meat; if he be athirst, give him drink. For thus doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good.*

To the Corinthians the 5th. as touching judgment and contention, which are matters of less weight than are fightings, thus he writeth, *Now verily there is great fault in you, that ye be at law amongst your selves. Why rather take ye not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not deceit?* And generally in all his Epistles, he teacheth that patience should be kept, and not corporal resistance by fighting, because charity is patient, it is courteous, it suffereth all things. I marvel how they justify and make good the wars by Christians, saving only the wars against the Devil and sin. For seeing that it is plain, that those things which were in the Old Testament, were figures of things to be done in the New Testament; Therefore we must needs say, that the corporal wars being then done, were figures of the Christian wars against sin, and the Devil, for the heavenly Country which is our inheritance. It is plain that it was written thus of Christ: *The mighty Lord, and of great power in battel hath girded himself in force and manliness to the War; and he came not to send peace into the earth, but War.* In this war ought Christian people to be soldiers, according to that manner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians the last, *Put upon you the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the Devil. For we have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against Princes and Potestates, against the rulers of the darkness of the World, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand ye therefore girded about in truth upon your loyns, having put upon you the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod in a readiness to the Gospel of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.*

By these things it is plain, what are the wars of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this Testament is of greater perfection than the former, we must now fight more perfectly than at that time. For now spiritually, then corporally; now for an heavenly everlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporal; now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* He saith not, blessed are they that fight for righteousness. How can a man say that they may lawfully make war and kill their Brethren for the temporal goods, which peradventure they unjustly occupy, or unjustly intend to occupy? For he that killeth another to get those goods which another body unjustly occupieth, doth love more the very goods than his own Brother. And then he falling from charity, doth kill himself spiritually. If he go forward without charity to make war, then doth he evil, and to his own damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor justly in proceeding to the damnation of his own self and his Brother; whom, though he see unjustly to occupy

Christ in answering to his striker, did not break his rule of patience outwardly.

The precept of Christ to turn the other cheek, hath a privy comparison; as if he would say, rather be you content to suffer two blows than to revenge one.

This Article of Brute must have a relation ever to the Doctrine of the Clergy.

The cause here again of Christ was private, and his Doctrine is to be understood in private cases. War in case allowed of W. Brute.

He meaneth resistance for private causes, or for worldly goods.

Patience commended in private causes amongst Christian Brethren.

The inconvenience of private resistance amongst Christian Brethren.

Paul being stricken did not break the rule of christian patience, neither made any bodily resistance.

KING Ric. 2.

The fact either of Paul or of any other, doth not derogate from the doctrine of our Saviour.

Rom. 12 Rules of Christian patience.

I Cor. 5. He meaneth such wars of Christians, as the Pope alloweth, thinking rather of private revenge of Princes, for worldly glory or ambition, than for any public necessity.

Corporal Wars in the Old Testament be figures of the spiritual wars in the New Testament against sin and the Devil.

Ephes. 6.

What be the wars most proper to Christians

All this teacheth not away the lawfulness of wars, in case of public necessity, but only in private case for temporal goods.

* Notethis word, without charity

KING occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kill. And what if such kind of Wars were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not, that now they are lawful to Christians; because that their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, but the deeds of Christians in the light of perfection. It was not said unto them, All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword. What if *John the Baptist* disallowed corporal fightings, and corporal warfare, at such time as the Soldiers asked him saying, *And what shall we do?* who faith to them, *See that you strike no man, neither pick ye quarrels against any, and be you contented with your wage.* This saying of *John* alloweth not corporal warfare amongst Christian. For *John* was of the Priests of the Old Testament, and under the Law, neither to him it appertained not to follow the law, but to warn the people to the perfect observation of the law; for he, being likewise demanded of the *Publicans* what they should do, said unto them, *Do no other thing than is appointed unto you.* But Christ the Author of the New Testament, and of greater perfection than was the perfection of the old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth by the Gospel. So that Christians ought to receive information of Christ, not of *John*. For of *John* also doth Christ speak, *Verily I say unto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of Men, a greater than John Baptist, but he that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.* In which saying, Christ sheweth, that those that be least in the Kingdom of Heaven in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection than was *John*, which was one of them that were the Elders, and he lived also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when as certain of *John's* Disciples said unto him, *Master, be that was beyond Jordan, to whom thou gavest witness, behold he baptiseth, and all people come unto him; John answered and said, A man cannot take upon him, unless it shall be given him from above. You yourselves do bear me record, that I said I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegrooms friend, who standeth and heareth him, he rejoiceth with great joy to hear the voice of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is fulfilled; he must increase and I must be diminished. He that cometh from on high, is above all. He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: He that cometh from Heaven, is above all folks; that which he hath seen and heard, the same doth he witness, and yet his witnessing doth no body receive. But he that receiveth his witnessing, hath put to his Seal, that God is true. For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the Words of God.*

By which things it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be given neither to *John*, nor yet to Angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christs Doctrine. For Christ is above the Angels, because that God infinitely passeth them in wisdom. Now if *Moses* the servant of God, a Minister of the Old Testament, was so much to be believed, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminished from the Commandments that were given by him, (for so *Moses* had said, *The thing that I command thee, that do thou only to the Lord, neither add thou any thing, nor diminish;)* How much more ought we not to add nor to take away from the Commandments given by God himself, and also the Son of God? In the primitive Church because the Christians had fervent love and charity, they observed these precepts as they were given; but the fervent charity afterward waxing lukewarm, they invented Glosses by drawing the commandments of God back to their own deeds, which they purposed to justify and maintain; that is to say, wars against the infidels. But that these by wars should be converted to the faith, as a fact faithless enough: because that by violence or unwillingly, no body can believe in Christ, nor be made a Christian, neither did he come to destroy them by battel, that believed not in him; for he said to his Disciples, *You know not what spirit you are of. The son of man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* Then to grant pardons and forgiveness of sins to those that kill the infidels, is too much an infidels fact, seducing many people. For what greater seducing can there be, than to promise to a man forgiveness of sins, and afterward the joy of Heaven, for setting himself against Christs commandments in the killing of infidels, that would not be converted to the faith? whereas Christ doth say, *Not every one that saith to me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth*

the will of my Father which is in Heaven, this person shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Now the will of the Father is, that we should believe in his only Son Jesus Christ, and that we should obey him by observing of those things which he himself hath commanded. Wherefore Christs precepts of patience must be fulfilled, wars, fightings and contentions must be left, because they are contrary to charity.

But peradventure some man will thus reason against Christ, *Objection.* The Saints by whom God hath wrought Miracles, do allow wars against the faithful people, as also against the Infidels. And the holy Kings were Warriors, for whose sakes Miracles also have been shewed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea in the very time wherein they were at warfare. Wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawful. For otherwise God would not have done Miracles for them.

To this again I say, That we for no Miracles must do contrary to the Doctrine of Christ; for in it can there be no error; but in Miracles there oftentimes chanceth error, as it is plain as well by the Old as by the New Testament. God forbid then that a Christian should for deceiverable Miracles depart from the infallible Doctrine of Christ. In *Exod.* the 7th Chap. it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the Egyptians, through the enchantments of Egypt, and certain secret workings, threw their Wands upon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, even as *Aaron* before time in the presence of *Pharaoh* threw his Wand upon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a Serpent. In the 3d of the *Kings* the 22d Chap. *Micah* did see the Lord sitting upon his Throne, and all the Host of Heaven standing about him on the right hand and on the left. *3 Re. 12.* And the Lord said, who shall deceive *Achab* the King of Israel, that he may go up and be slain in Ramoth Gilead? *Achab* deceived by false Prophets. And one said this way, and another otherwise; now, there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord and said, I will deceive him. To whom the Lord spake, by what means? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And the Lord said, thou shalt deceive him and prevail, go thy ways forth, and do even so. Thus also it is written in *Deut.* If there shall arise a Prophet amongst you, or one that shall say, he hath seen a dream, and shall foretell a sign and a wonder; and if that shall come to pass that he hath spoken, and he shall say unto thee, let us go and follow strange Gods: (whom thou knowest not) and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that Prophet or Dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether you love him or no, with all your heart, and with all your soul.

In *Jeremy* the 23d Chap. Are not my words even like fire, saith the Lord? and like an hammer that breaketh the stone? Therefore behold, I will come against the Prophets which have dreamed a lie (saith the Lord) which have shewed those things, and have seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when as I sent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people (saith the Lord) In *Mark* the 13th Chap. saith Christ, For there shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders to deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect. Paul in his second Epistle to the *Corinthians* the 11th Chap. Such false Apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ. And no marvel, for even *Satan* transformeth himself into an Angel of Light; therefore it is no great thing though his Ministers transform themselves, as though they were the Ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works.

In the *Apocalyps* the 13th Chap. *John* saw a Beast *Apoc. 13* ascending up out of the earth, and it had two horns like a Lamb, but he spake like the Dragon, and he did all that the first beast could do before him; and he caused the earth and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come down from Heaven on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwell on the earth, by means of the signs which were permitted him to do in the sight of the beast.

By these things it is most manifest and plain, that in Miracles this manifold error oftentimes happeneth, through the working of the Devil, to deceive the people withal. Wherefore we ought not for the working of Miracles to depart from the Commandments of God. I would

Answer: Legibus a gentium, non exemplis. True miracles here of holy men be not disproved, but speaking universally, the stable Doctrine and Word of God, is the sure rule for men to follow.

Actab deceived by false Prophets.

Jer. 23. Prophets must be tried by Doctrine.

Mark 13. False Prophets.

2 Cor. 11.

Miracles are to be tried.

Mat. 7. would to God that they which put confidence in Miracles, of Mat. thus speaking, *Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and in thy name cast out Devils, and in thy name done many great works? &c. I will profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me all ye which work iniquity.*

The servants of Christ discerned by working, not of Miracles, but of virtues.

Men or women are not rashly to be judged Saints.

By this saying it is most manifest that the servants of Christ are not discerned by working of Miracles, but by the working of virtues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandments of God. Wherefore it is wonderful, that any in this life dare presume to prevent the day of the Judgment of God, to judge by means of Miracles, that some are Saints, whom Men ought to worship, whom peradventure, God will in the last Judgment condemn, saying, *Depart from me all ye which work iniquity.* If any Man could here on earth judge sinners to be condemned; then if this judgment were certain, Christ should not judge the second time; and whatsoever such Judges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in Heaven. But if such a judgment be uncertain, then it is perilous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth, may instead of Saints, worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the Devils, and in prayer require their aid, who even like as the Devils their companions, are more ready, and more of might to evil than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they mark not what Christ said, when his Kinswoman came unto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying, *Command that these my two sons may sit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand in thy Kingdom.* But Jesus answering, said, *Ye know not what ye ask, can ye drink of the cup which I shall drink of? they said unto him, we can.* He said unto them, *of my cup indeed ye shall drink, but to sit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father.* Christ being equal unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in Goodness and Wisdom, said, *to sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father.* If it were none of his to give to sit at the right hand, or at the left, &c. how then is it in the power of any sinful man to give unto any Man a seat either on the right hand or on the left in the Kingdom of God, which sinful Man knoweth not whether such have any seat prepared for them of the Father in his Kingdom? They much extol themselves which exercise this judicial power in giving judgment, that there are some Saints which ought to be honored of Men, by reason of the evidences of Dreams, or of deceitful Miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his judgment will condemn them or not, together with the Devils for ever to be tormented. Let them beware, for the infallible truth saith, that *every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low.*

This proposition of Mr. Brute, concerning the War of Christians not to be lawful, is not to be taken universally, but in particular case as he meaneth, which is this, That such Wars allowed of the Pope, not for the necessary defence of public peace, liberty and safeguard of our Countries, or against public Injuries offered; but only to go and kill the Infidels, because they believe not, having no other cause, those Wars of the Pope he liketh not.

By these things is gathered that the Wars of Christians are not lawful; for that by the Doctrine and Life of Christ they are prohibited, and by reason of the evidence of the deceitful Miracles of those which have made Wars amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the Infidels. Because Christ could not err in his Doctrine, forasmuch as he was God: And forasmuch as Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but the Words of Christ shall not pass away; He therefore which establisheth his laws, allowing wars and the slaughter of men in wars, as well of Christians as of Infidels, doth he not justify those things which are contrary unto the Gospel and Law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist; seducing the people, making men believe that to be lawful and meritorious unto them, which is expressly prohibited by Christ.

¶ And thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and war, wherein he declareth Christ and the Pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to war, and so to prove in conclusion, the Pope to be Antichrist. Where in the mean time thou must understand (gentle Reader) his meaning rightly; not that he so thinketh no kind of wars among the Christians in any case to be lawful, for he himself before hath openly protested the contrary; but that his purpose is, to prove the Pope in all his doings and teachings more to be addicted to

war than to peace; yea, in such cases where is no necessity of war. And therein proveth he the Pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercy.

In which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth us to be merciful, because mercy (as he saith) proceedeth from charity, and nourisheth it. In which Doctrine of mercy, he breaketh not the law of righteousness, for he himself by mercy hath cleansed us from our sins, from which we could not by the righteousness of the law be cleansed. But whom he hath made clean by mercy, undoubtedly it behooveth those same to be also merciful. For in the fifth Chapter of Matthew he saith, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* And again in the sixth of Matthew he saith, *If ye forgive unto men their sins, your father will forgive unto you your sins.* And again in the seventh Chapter of Matthew. *Judge not and ye shall not be judged, condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned, and with what measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured unto you again.* In the 18th Chapter of Mat. Peter asked the Lord, saying, *Lord, how often shall my Brother sin against me, and I shall forgive him, seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee seven times, but seventy times seven. Therefore is the Kingdom of Heaven likened unto a certain King, which would take account of his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which oweth him ten thousand Talents; And because he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his master commanded him to be sold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The servant therefore fell down, and besought him, saying, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that servant, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But when that servant was departed, he found one of his fellow servants, which ought him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, pay me that thou owest; and his fellow fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. And when his other fellows saw the things that were done, they were very sorry, and came and declared unto their master all that was done: Then his master called him, and said unto him, O thou ungracious servant, I forgave thee all that debt when thou desiredst me, oughtest thou not then also to have such pity on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him unto the Jailors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my Heavenly Father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts each one to his brother their trespasses.*

By this Doctrine it is most plain and manifest, that every Christian ought to be merciful unto his brother, how often soever he offendeth against him. Because we, so often as we offend, do ask mercy of God. Wherefore forasmuch as our offence against God is far more grievous than any offence of our brother against us; it is plain that it behoveth us to be merciful unto our brethren, if we will have mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this Doctrine of Mercy, the Romish Bishop maketh and confirmeth many laws, which punish offenders, even unto the death; as it is plain by the process of the Decrees, *Dist. 25. quest. 5.* It is declared and determined, that to kill men *ex officio*, that is, having authority and power so to do, is not sin. And again, the soldier which is obedient unto the higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guilty of murder. And again, he is the Minister of the Lord, which smiteth the evil in that they are evil, and killeth them. And many other such like things are throughout the whole process of that question determined; That for certain kinds of sins men ought by the rigour of the law to be punished even unto death. But the foundation of their saying they took out of the old law, in which for divers transgressions were appointed divers punishments. It is very much wonderful unto me, why that wise men, being the authors and makers of laws, do always for the foundation of their sayings look upon the shadow of the law, and not the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for they give not heed unto the figure of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the 3d of John, *God sent not his Son into the World, to judge the World,*

KING, Ric. 2.

Doctrine of Christian mercy declared.

Mat. 5.

Mat. 6.

Mat. 7.

Mat. 18.

Mercy and pity commended.

Mercy and compassion necessary to all Christians.

The Pope contrary to Christ in shewing mercy.

The foundation of the foresaid 5. quest. cap. 29. in the Popes Decrees, taken only out of the old Testament, and nothing out of the new.

The makers of the Popes laws follow not the perfect rule.

John 3.

KING. World, but to save the world by him? in John the 8th Chap. The Scribes and Pharisees bring in a Woman taken in adultery, and set her in the midst, and said unto Christ, Master, even now this woman was taken in adultery. But in the law Moses hath commanded us to stone such, what sayst thou therefore? This they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him, he lift himself up, and said unto them, let him that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at her. And again he stooped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldest; so Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lift up himself again, he said unto her, where be they which accused thee, hath no man condemned thee? She said, no man Lord. And Jesus said unto her, neither do I condemn thee. Go thy way, and sin now no more.

It is manifest by the Scriptures, that Christ was promised he should be King of the Jews, and unto the Kings pertained the judgments of the law; but because he came not to judge sinners according to the rigour of the law, but came according to grace, to save that which was lost, in calling the sinner to repentance; it is most plain, that in the coming of the law of grace, he would have the judgment of the law of righteousness to cease; for otherwise he had dealt unjustly with the foresaid woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adultery, bare witness against her. Wherefore seeing the same King Christ was a Judge, if it had been his will that the righteousness of the Law should be observed, he ought to have adjudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded; which thing, forasmuch as he did not, it is most evident that the judgments of the law of righteousness are finished in the coming of the King, being King of the law of grace; even as the Sacrifices of the Priesthood of Aaron, are finished in the coming of the Priest, according to the order of Melchisedek, who hath offered himself up for our sins; because, as it is before said, neither the righteousness of the law, nor Sacrifices for sin, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it was necessary that the same, by reason of their imperfection should cease. And seeing among all the laws of the world, the law of Moses was most just, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most just Judge; and by that law always look, what manner of injury one had done unto another, contrary to the commandment of the law, the like injury he should receive for his transgression, according to the upright judgment of the law; as death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and most just punishments were ordained according to the quantity of the sins. But if this law of righteousness be clean taken away in the coming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of the Gentiles remain among Christians, which was never so just? Is not this true, that in them which are converted unto the faith, there is no distinction between the Jew and the Grecian? For both are under sin, and are justified by grace in the faith of Christ, being called unto faith, and unto the perfection of the Gospel.

If therefore the Gentiles converted, are not bound to play the Jews, to follow the law of the Jews; why should the Jews converted, follow the laws of the Gentiles which are not so good? Wherefore, it is to be wondered at, why Thieves are among Christians, for theft put to death, where after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer Adulterers to live, Sodomites, and they which curse Father and Mother, and many other horrible sinners; and they which according to the most just law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteousness given of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.

Wherefore the Law-makers and Judges do not give heed unto the foresaid sentence of Christ unto the Scribes and Pharisees, who said, * He which amongst you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her. What is he that dares be so bold as to say, he is without sin? Yea, and without a grievous sin, when as the transgression of the commandment of God is a grievous sin? And who can say that he never transgressed this commandment

of God, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self?

Or the other commandment which is of greater force, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c.

Wherefore thou, whatsoever thou art, that judgest thy brother unto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the judgment of God, which peradventure hast offended more grievously than he hath whom thou judgest? How seest thou a mote in thy brother's eye, and seest not a beam in thine own eye? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall be measured to you again?

Doth not the Scripture say, Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render again saith the Lord? How can any man say that these men can with charity keep these judgments of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God just judgment for his offence? He desireth not judgment but mercy. If he desire mercy for himself, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himself?

Or how dost thou shew mercy unto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandment of Christ) which seeketh the greatest vengeance upon him that thou canst infer unto him? for death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death, can no man infer. Wherefore, they which will keep charity ought to observe the commandments of Christ touching mercy; and * they which live in the law of charity, ought to leave the law of vengeance and judgments. Ought we to believe that Christ in his coming, by grace abrogated the most just law which he himself gave unto the children of Israel by Moses his servant, and established the laws of the Gentiles, being not so just, to be observed of his faithful?

Doth not Daniel expound the Dream of Nabuchodonosor the King, concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonosor saw that a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and strake the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and gold broken all together, and became like the chaff of the Summer flower, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore four Kingdoms unto the four parts of the image, namely, the Kingdom of the Babylonians unto the head of gold; the Kingdom of the Medes and Persians, unto the breast and arms of silver; the Kingdom of the Grecians unto the belly and thighs of brass, but the fourth Kingdom which is of the Romans, he applieth unto the feet and legs of iron. And Daniel addeth, in the days of their Kingdoms shall God raise up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and his Kingdom shall not be delivered unto another, but it shall break and destroy those Kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and brake in pieces the clay, and iron, brass, silver and gold.

Seeing therefore it is certain, that this stone signifieth Christ, whose Kingdom is for ever; it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to reign every where, and to break in pieces the other Kingdoms of the world. Wherefore if terrestrial Kings, and the terrestrial Kingdom of the Jews, and their laws and judgments have ceased by Christ the King, calling the Jews unto the perfection of his Gospel, namely, unto Faith and Charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the Kingdom of the Gentiles, which is more imperfect, and their laws, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentility unto the perfection of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For there is no distinction between the Jews and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Christ; but all of them abiding in that eternal Kingdom, ought to be under one law of charity and of virtue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the judgments of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make laws mark not the parable of Christ, saying, The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but when men were on sleep, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the Wheat, and went his way. But when the herb was grown and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the servants came unto the good man of the

field, and said, Lord, we have laboured hard, and thou hast slept, and the tares are sown in the midst of the Wheat. He answered and said, Yea, but what should I do? Shall I destroy the Wheat with the tares? No, but let both grow together until the harvest, and then will I say to the reapers, Gather up first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn, but gather the Wheat into the barn. And he shall say to the servants, Let both grow together until the harvest, and then will I say to the reapers, Gather up first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn, but gather the Wheat into the barn.

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gainst such Churchmen, who professing the rule of mercy, shew no mercy at all, but all rigour by their laws, as if they were

* He meaneth of the Pope, and of the Clergy.

He speaketh against the desire of revenge, not against the execution of necessary law done by Magistrates.

The dream of Nabuchodonosor concerning the image expounded by Daniel.

The judicial necessity of those laws he meaneth to cease, notwithstanding Christian Princes may borrow both out of those laws, and out of all other, what they think good and expedient for their Commonwealth.

Here is meant, and to be understood, not what such Magistrates may do, in cases of righteousness, but what ecclesiastical persons, according to the office of their profession should do, in not revenging by death, as they do by offices.

His marvel is not so much, why Thieves are put to death; but why the judicial law of Moses in this point is broken, and in other points is strictly kept. Mark his meaning.

* Take his meaning widely (as the Reader) his mind is not in this, that no Magistrate, being not without sin, may punish a transgressor, but he speaketh of

house, and said unto him, Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And he said unto them, the enemy hath done this. And the servants said unto him, wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he said no, lest peradventure gathering up the tares ye pluck up the wheat by the roots; suffer them both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say unto the harvest men, gather first the tares and bind them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn. Christ himself only expoundeth this Parable in the self same Chapter, saying, He which soweth the good seed is the son of man, but the field is the world, and the good seed, those are the children of the Kingdom. But the tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which soweth them is the Devil. And the Harvest is the end of the World, and the Harvestmen are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the World. The son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all offenders, and those which commit iniquity, and shall put them into a furnace of fire, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

His purpose is not that no evil doer should be punished in a Commonwealth, but his relation is to the 23. q. 5. afore-said, noting causes of religion, which the Pope and his Prelates are wont to punish with death, taking many times for tares, that which indeed is pure Wheat.

I Cor. 5.

By which plain Doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will have mercy shewed unto sinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remain mingled with the good; lest peradventure, when a man thinketh that he doth right well to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat. For how great a sinner soever a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtain mercy of God: neither are we certain of the time, wherein God will by grace judge him whom we abhor as a sinner. And peradventure such a one shall more profit after his conversion in the Church, than he whom we think to be just, as it came to pass in Paul. And if God justifieth a man by grace (although at his end) why darest thou be so bold to be his judge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man seem to be obstinate and hardened in his evil, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction (correct him before one alone;) if he do not receive open correction being done before two or three witnesses; neither passeth upon a manifest correction when his sin is made known unto the Church; Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea, rather he saith, If he hearken not unto the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and Publican. And Paul following this Doctrine in the I Corinth. 5th Chapter, saith, There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one should have his fathers wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I verily as absent in body, but present in Spirit, have already determined, as though I were present, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that such a one by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh; that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Paul teacheth not to kill this man (as some gather by this Text) but to separate him from the other faithful, and so from Christ, which is the head of the Church of the faithful, and so is he delivered unto Satan, which is separated from Christ, that the flesh may be killed, that is, that the carnal concupiscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may be destroyed in him by such a separation, that the spirit may be saved; and not that his body should be killed, as some say, as it is manifest in the same Chap. where he saith, I wrote unto you an Epistle, that you should not keep company with fornicators, and I meant not of all the fornicators of this World, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then must ye needs have gone out of the World. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner; with him that is such, see that ye eat not.

By which it is manifest, that Paul would have the foresaid fornicator separated from the fellowship of the faithful; that his carnal concupiscence might be mortified,

for the health of the spirit, and not that the body should be killed. Wherefore they do ill understand Paul, which by this saying do confirm the killing of men. And forso much as Heretic is one of the most grievous sins (for an Heretic leadeth men in errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saved) it doth most great hurt in the Church.

Further, as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, flee from the man that is an Heretic after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sinneth, forso much as he is by his own judgment condemned. Behold, Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithful. But some say, that Peter in the Primitive Church slew Ananias and Saphira for their sins, wherefore they say it is lawful for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare in shewing the whole process how falsely they speak in alledging of Peter, to justify their error.

In the fourth Chap. of the Acts it is written, That as many as were possessors of lands or houses, they sold them, and offered the prices of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the Apostles; and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certain man called Ananias with Saphira his wife, sold a piece of Land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it, and bringing a certain part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the Apostles. But Peter said unto Ananias, Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie unto the Holy Ghost, to keep back a part of the price of the land? Did it not whilst it remained, remain unto thee: and being sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And when Ananias heard these words, he fell down and gave up the Ghost, and great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to pass, about the space of three hours after, that his wife came in, being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said unto her, Tell me Woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, yea for so much. But Peter said unto her, why have ye agreed together to tempt the spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which buried thy Husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. And straightway she fell down before his feet, and gave up the Ghost, and the young men entering in, found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear came on all the Church, and all those which heard these things. It is marvel that any man that is wise, will say that by this process Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his son, and sent his servants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. The King then sent forth his servants to the outcorners of the High ways, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and so they did. And the Marriage was full furnished with guests; Then came in also the King to view and see them sitting; among whom he perceived there one sitting, having not a wedding garment, and saith unto him, friend, how camest thou hither? And he being dumb, had not a word to speak. Then said the King to the servants, take and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen, &c.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charity, without which because Ananias entered into the Marriage of Christ, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learn and understand, that they which have faith and not charity, although they appear to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feign. Such there are no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the Marriage of Christ, as we see this here exemplified in the death of Ananias and his Wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter then have judged Ananias (albeit he had judged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? for why? by the law he had not been guilty of death, for that part which they did fraudulently and dissemblingly reserve to themselves; yea, and if they had stolen as much from another man, which was greater; neither yet for

KING, Ric. 2. Hereby it appeareth, that all his relation in this matter, toucheth only the cases of heresy and opinions in Religion.

By this it appeareth again, that his respect is only to the Pope and his Prelates of the Church, and not to Civil magistrates.

The example of Peter slaying Ananias and Saphira falsely weeded of the Papists.

Peter not the cause of the death of Ananias and Saphira

The Wedding garment what it is

The death of Ananias and his Wife, what Information it giveth to the Church

King for his life committed, he had therefore by that law of justice been found guilty of death. Wherefore, if he did not condemn him by the law of justice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercy, which he learned of Christ. And so consequently, it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that Peter put him to death by the meer motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the Bishop of Rome which pretendeth to be successor of Peter, excuse himself and his Priests from the judgment of death against Hereticks and other offenders, although they themselves be consenting to such judgments done by lay men? For, that which was done of Peter without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his fellow Priests from the spot of crime, **Acts 5.** It is manifest that there was another which did more grievously offend than Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharp words; but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he believed and was baptised, he joynted himself with Philip; and when he saw that the holy Spirit was given by the Apostles (laying their hands upon men) he offered them money, saying; Give unto me this power, that upon whomsoever I shall lay my hand, he shall receive the Holy Ghost: To whom Peter answered, Destroyed be thou and thy money together; And for that thou supposest the gift of God to be bought with money, thou shalt have neither part nor fellowship in this Doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God, therefore repent thee of thy wickedness, and pray unto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee: for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickedness, and band of iniquity. Behold here the grievous offence of Simon; Peter's hard and sharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the judgments of death are not grounded upon the expresse and plain Scriptures, but only under the shadow of the old law, that they are not to be observed of Christians because they are contrary to charity. Ergo, The Bishop of Rome approving such judgments, alloweth those that are contrary to the Law and Doctrine of Christ, as before is said of Wars, where he approveth and justifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of Priesthood, albeit it doth justifie the judgments to death of the Laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselves forbidden to put in execution the same judgments. The Priests of the old law being imperfect, when Pilate said unto them concerning Christ (whom they had accused worthy death) take him unto you, and according to your law judge him, answered, That it was not lawful for them to put to death any man.

Whereby it appeareth, that our Priests, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give judgment of death against any offenders; yet notwithstanding, they claim unto them the power judicial upon offenders: Because, say they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to judge upon the same being known, and to enjoyn divers penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, unto God for the offences which he never committed. And to confirm unto them this judicial power, they alledge the Scriptures in many places, wresting it to serve their purpose.

First, They say that the Bishop of Rome (who is the chief Priest and Judge among them) hath full power and authority to remit sins. Whereupon they say, that he is able fully and wholly, to absolve a man a *pena & culpa*, so that if a man at the time of his death, had this remission, he should straightways fly unto Heaven without any pain of Purgatory. The other Bishops (as they say) have not so great authority. The Priests constituted under every Bishop, have power, say they, to absolve the sins of them that are confessed, but not all kind of sins: because they are some grievous sins referred to the Absolutions of the Bishops; and some again, to the Absolution only of the chief and high Bishop. They say also,

that it behoveth the offenders, for the necessity of their souls health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifest the same with all the circumstances thereof, unto the Priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a Judge; and afterward humbly to fulfil the penance enjoined unto him by the Priest for his sins, except the said penance so enjoined, or any part thereof, be released by the superiour power. All these things (say they) are manifestly determined, as well in the Decrees as Decretals. And although these things have not expressly their foundation in the plain and manifest Doctrine of Christ, nor any of the Apostles; yet the Authors of the Decrees and Decretals concerning this matter, have grounded the same upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the process of Christ in the Gospel of Saint Matthew the 16th Chapter, Whereupon they ground the Popes power judicial to surmount the powers of other Priests, as where Christ said unto his Disciples, *Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, some say that thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremy, or one of the Prophets. To whom he said, but who say you that I am? Simon Peter, making answer, said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou Simon the Son of Jonas; for flesh and blood hath not opened this unto thee; but my Father which is in Heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and Hell gates shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall also be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in Heaven.*

Out of this Text of Christ, divers Expositions have drawn divers errors. For when Christ said, *And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*; Some thereupon affirm, that Christ meant he would build his Church upon Peter by authority of that Text, as it is written in the first part of the Decrees, *Dist. 19. cap. Ita Dominus noster*. The Exposition hereof is ascribed to Pope Leo; the error whereof is manifestly known. For the Church of Christ is not builded upon Peter, but upon the Rock of Peter's confession, for that he said, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God*. And for that Christ said singularly unto Peter, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c.* By this saying they affirm, that Christ gave unto Peter specially, as chief of the rest of the Apostles, a larger power to bind and to loose, than he did unto the rest of the Apostles and Disciples. And because Peter answered for himself and all the Apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly above the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the Apostles had even as himself, by the revelation of the heavenly Father: it appeareth that as the Faith of all the Apostles was declared by the answer of one; so by this that Christ said unto Peter, *whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c.* is given unto the rest of the Apostles, the same power and equality to bind and to loose, as unto Peter. Which Christ, declareth in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, the 18th Chapter in these words, *Verily I say unto you, what things soever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be also loosed in Heaven*. And further he addeth, *And again I say unto you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, and request, whatsoever it be, it shall be granted unto you of my Father which is in Heaven, For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them*. And in John the 20th Chap. he saith generally unto them, *Receive ye my Spirit. Whose sins ye shall remit, shall be remitted unto them; and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained*.

By this it appeareth, that the power to bind and to loose is not specially granted to Peter, as chief and head of the rest; and that by him the rest had their power to bind and to loose; for that the head of the body of the Church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the Apostles are the good members of the body of Christ; receiving power and virtue of Christ, whereby they do confirm and glew together the other members (as well the strong and noble, as the weak and unable) to a perfect composition and seemliness of the body of Christ: that

Mat. 16.
The Popes
usurped
power fal-
ly founded
upon Scrip-
tures.

Dist. 19. cap.
Ita Dominus
noster.

The place
of Christ
giving the
keys to Pe-
ter, Mat. 16,
aptly ex-
pounded.

Mat. 18.

John 20.

Christ only,
the head of
the Church.

that all honour from all parts and members may be given unto Christ as Head and Chief, by whom as Head all the members are governed. And therefore Paul, 1 Cor. Ch. 3. *When one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnal men? For what is Apollo? What is Paul? The Minister of him in whom ye have believed, and he as God groweth unto every man. I have planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath given the increase. Therefore neither he that planted is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.*

Gal. 2. And Paul to the Gal. 2. God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great and do much, availed or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the Uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Circumcision unto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of the Circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was given me, Peter, James and John, straightways joynted themselves with me and Barnabas: that we among the Gentiles, and they in Circumcision only might be mindful of the poor, the which to do, I was very careful. Hereby it appeareth that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sins, but of him which said unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the prick. Here is Paul of the head of the Church, and not of Peter: By which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made lively.

The third Error.

The third Error which the Authors of the Canons conceive in the said Text of Christ, which was said to Peter, *Unto thee will I give the Keys, &c.* is this, They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter of the authority to bind and loose, was meant, that as Christ gave unto Peter above all the rest of the Apostles a special, and as it were an excellent power above all the Apostles; even so, say they, he gave power unto the Bishops of Rome (whom they call Peters chief Successors) the same special power and authority, exceeding the power of all other Bishops of the world.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appear manifestly by the premisses to be erroneous; wherein is plainly shewed that the other Apostles had equal power with Peter to bind and loose. Wherefore consequently it followeth the second part of the similitude, grounded upon the same Text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an error, wherein is said, that the Bishops of Rome are Peters chief Successors. For although there be but one Catholick Christian Church, of all the faithful sort converted; yet the first part thereof, and first converted, was of the Jews, the second of the Greeks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latins. Whereof the first part was most perfectly converted unto the Faith, for that they faithfully observed the perfection of charity, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles, by the multitude of the believers. They were of one heart, and one soul, neither called they any thing that they possessed their own, but all was common amongst them.

Other Apostles had like power to bind and to loose as Peter had.

Act. 2.

Rom. 1.

Peter ruled three Churches.

Act. 1.

Act. 2.

Hereupon Paul to the Romans: Salutation to every believer, first to the Jew, and to the Greeks after the Jews. The Greeks were the second, and after the Jews next converted, and after them the Romans, taking their information of the Greeks, as appeareth by the Chronicles, although indeed some Romans were converted unto the faith by Peter and Paul. And as Christ said thrice unto Peter, *Feed my sheep*, so Peter ruled these three Churches, as witnesseth the Chronicles. But first he reformed the Church of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea, as appeareth by the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles. For Act. 1. it is manifest how Peter standing up amongst his Brethren, spake unto them concerning the election of an Apostle in the place of Judas the Traytor, alledging places unto them out of the Scripture, that another should take upon him his Apostleship. And so by lot was Matthias constituted in the twelfth place of Judas, Act. 2. After that the Holy Ghost was come upon the Apostles, and that they spake with the Tongues of all men, the hearers were astonished at the miracle. And some mocked them, saying, These men are full of new wine: But Peter stood up and spake unto them, saying, That it was fulfilled in them that was pro-

phesied by Joel the Prophet, And he preached unto the people Christ, whom they of ignorance had put to death. To whom was a Saviour promised by the testimony of the Prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying unto him and the rest of the Apostles, What shall we then do? And Peter said unto them, Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost. And there were joynted unto them the same day about three thousand souls. And Act. 3. 4, 5. it appeareth that Peter above the rest did those things which belonged to the Ministry of the Apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some Chronicles say, that Peter governed the Church of the Jews at Jerusalem, four years before he governed Antioch. And by the testimony of Paul to the Galatians, as before is said, the Gospel of the Uncircumcision is committed to Paul, even as the Circumcision to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of Circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles. Whereby it appeareth that the Church of the Jews was committed to the Government of Peter. And in the process of the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter believed that the Faith of Christ was not to be preached unto those Gentiles, which always lived in uncleanness of Idolatry. But when Peter was at Joppe, Cornelius a Gentile sent unto him that he would come and shew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before the coming of the messengers of Cornelius) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell in a trance, and saw heaven open, and a certain vessel descending even as a great sheet, letten down by four corners from heaven to earth. In the which were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice spake unto him, saying, Arise Peter, kill and eat: and Peter said, Not so Lord, because I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision did signifie) and found the messengers of Cornelius.

As concerning the authority judicial of the Clergy, many things are written thereof in the Canons of Decrees, greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The Authors of the Canons say, That Christ gave unto the Priests power judicial over sinners that confessed their sins unto them. And this they ground upon the Text of Christ: *I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest, &c.* And these Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, they call the knowledge to discern, and the power to judge, which they say only belongeth to the Priests, except in case of necessity; then they say a lay-man may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the sinners part: First, hearty contrition, whereby the sinners ought to bewail their offending of God through sins: The second is, Auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to shew unto the Priest his sins, and the circumstances of them: The third is satisfaction through penance enjoined unto him by the Priest for his sins committed. And of his part that giveth absolution there are two things (say they) to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discern one sin from another, whereby he ought to make a difference of sins, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantity of the sins. The second is, authority to judge, whereby he ought to injoyne penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed, ought with all humility to submit himself to this authority, and wholly and voluntarily to do those penances which are commanded him by the Priest, except the said penance be released by a superior power: for all Priests (as they say) have not equal authority to absolve sins. The chief Priest whom they call Peters Successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolve. But the inferior Priests have power, some more, some less. The more as they are near him in dignity, the less as they are farther from the degree of his dignity. All this is declared by process in the Decrees, but not by the express Doctrine of Christ, or any of his Apostles. For although Christ absolved men from their sins, I do not find that he did it after the manner of a Judge, but of a Saviour. For Christ saith, God sent not his Son into the world to judge sinners, but that the world should be saved by him, Joh. 3. Whereupon he spake unto him whom Joh. 3. be healed of the palsy, Behold thou art made whole, go thy ways.

KING Ric. 2.

Act. 3. 4.

5. Peter governed the Church at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch.

Gal. 3.

The Keyes of the Kingdom.

Abolution. Three things required in Popish Abolution, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction.

Two things required in this part that giveth Popish Abolution.

Decree de penitentia.

KING ways and sin no more. And to the woman taken in adultery
Christ said, *Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man*
Joh. 5. *condemned thee? who said, No man, Lord. To whom*
then Jesus thus said, No more will I condemn thee, go and
now sin no more.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other
places of the Scripture it appeareth he was not as a Judge at
his first coming, to punish sinners according to the quan-
tity of their offences; but that day shall come hereafter,

Mat. 25. in *Mat. 25.* where he saith, *When the Son of man shall come*
in his Majesty, and all his Angels with him; then shall
be sit upon the seat of his Majesty, and all Nations shall
be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them
one from another, as a shepherd separateth the sheep from
the goats, &c. Neither shall he judge alone, but his Saints

The Saints shall judge with Christ. For he saith, *You that have followed me in*
this generation, when the Son of man shall sit in the seat
of his Majesty, shall sit also upon twelve seats, and judge
the twelve Tribes of Israel. If then Christ came not as a

Judge, why do the Priests say that they supply the room of
Christ on earth, to judge sinners according to the quantity
of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to
be marvelled at, how the Bishop of Rome dareth to take

upon him to be a Judge before the day of Judgment, and
to prevent the time, judging some to be Saints in Hea-
ven, and to be honoured of men, and some again to be
tormented in Hell eternally with the Devils? Would God

1 Cor. 4. these men would weigh the saying of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 4.*
Judge ye not before the time until the coming of the Lord,
who shall make light the dark and secret places, and disclose
the secrets of hearts, and then every one shall have his
praise. Let the Bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Exe-
kiel be spoken by him, *Because thy heart is elevate, and*
thou saidst unto thy self, I am God, I have sitten in the
seat of God, and in the heart of the Sea, when thou art
but man, and not God. It is manifest that the remission of

sins principally belongeth to God, who through grace wash-
eth away our sins. For it is said, *The Lamb of God taketh*
away the sins of the world. And unto Christians it belong-
eth as the Ministers of God. For in the 20th of *John,*

Joh. 20. Christ saith, *Receive unto you the Holy Ghost: whose sins*
you shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose
sins you shall retain, they are retained. Seeing therefore that
all Christians that are baptized in the name of the Father,

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, receive the Holy
Ghost; it appeareth that they have power given to them
of Christ, to remit sins Ministerially. Hath not every Chris-
tian authority to baptize? and in the Baptism all the sins
of the baptized are remitted. Ergo, they that do baptize do
remit sins. And thus Ministerially all such have power to
remit sins. Therefore to say that one man hath more au-
thority to remit sins than all other Christians have, is too
much to extoll him, and to place him even in Gods seat. I

pray you how are the sins remitted him that is baptized of
the Priest (yea although he were of the Pope himself bap-
tized) more than if he were baptized of another Christian?
Surely I think no more. For seeing that before Baptism he
remaineth a sinner, and of the Kingdom of the Devil by
sin, after Baptism he entrench into the Kingdom of Heaven;

it appeareth that he that doth baptize, openeth the Gate
of the Kingdom of Heaven to him that is baptized; the
which he cannot do without the Keys of the Kingdom of
Heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptize hath the
Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; as well the inferior
Priest as the Pope. But these Keys are not the knowledg to
discern, and power to judge, because these do nothing avail
in Baptism: Ergo, There are other Keys of the Kingdom
of Heaven than these. Wherefore it seemeth that the Au-
thors of the Canons erred in mistaking the Keys, where-
upon they ground the Authority Judicial of the Clergy.

The Keys of Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to
great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore in my judg-
ment it seemeth that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven
are Faith and Hope. For by faith in Jesus Christ, and hope
in him for the remission of sins, we enter the Kingdom of
Heaven. This faith is a spiritual water, springing from Je-
sus Christ the fountain of wisdom, wherein the soul of the
sinner is washed from sin. With this water were the faith-
ful Patriarchs baptized before the Law, and the faithful
people of the *Hebrews,* and the faithful Christians after the

The Keys Law. Wherefore I greatly marvel of that saying in the
Decrees, which is ascribed unto *Augustine,* That little
children that are not baptized shall be tormented with eter-
nal fire, although they were born of faithful Parents that
wished them with all their hearts to have been baptized;
as though the Sacrament of Baptism in water were simply
necessary to Salvation, when nevertheless many Christians
are saved without this kind of Baptism, as Martyrs. If that
kind of Sacrament be not necessary to one of elder years,
how then is it necessary to an Infant born of the faithful?
Are not all baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire?
But yet not with material fire: no more is the lotion of
water corporally necessary to wash away sins, but only spi-
ritual water, that is to say, the water of Faith. Are not the
quick baptized for them that are dead? as witnesseth Paul,
1 Cor. 15. *If the dead rise not at all, why are the living*
then baptized for them? If the living be baptized for the
dead, why then is not the Infant saved by the Baptism of
his Parents; seeing the Infant it self is impotent at the time
of death, and not able to require Baptism? Christ saith,
He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. He saith
not, *He that is not baptized, but he that believeth not shall*
be damned. Wherefore in the 12th Chapter of *John,* Christ
saith, *I am the resurrection and life, he that believeth in*
me, yea, although he were dead, shall live. The faith there-
fore is necessary which the Infant hath in his faithful pa-
rents, although he be not washed with corporal water.
How then is the Infant damned and tormented with eter-
nal fire? Were not they that were before the coming of
Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand years, sav-
ed also by his death and passion? All that believed in him,
were baptized in his blood, and so were saved and redee-
med from sin, and the bondage of the Devil, and made par-
takers of the Kingdom of Heaven. How then in the time
of Grace shall the Infant be damned that is born of faith-
ful parents, that do not despise, but rather desire to have
their children baptized? I dare not consent to so hard a
sentence of the Decrees; but rather believe that he is sav-
ed by vertue of the Passion of Christ, in faith of his faith-
ful parents, and the hope which they have in Christ. Which
faith and hope are the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom.
God were not just and merciful, if he would condemn a
man that believeth not in him, except he shewed unto him
the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Christ
saith, *If I had not come and spoken unto them, sin could*
not have been laid unto their charge, but now they have
no excuse of sin. Therefore seeing the faith of Christ is not
manifest unto the Infant departing before Baptism, neither
hath he denied it, how then shall he be damned for the
same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumina-
tion of the intelligence of the Infant, as he speaketh unto
Angels; who then knoweth (save God alone) whether
the Infant receiveth or not receiveth the Faith of Christ?

Children What is he therefore that so rashly doth take upon him
to judge the Infants begotten of faithful parents, dying with-
out Baptism, to be tormented with eternal fire? Now let
us consider the three things which the Canons of Decrees
affirm to be requisite for the remission of the sins of those
that sin after Baptism: that is to say, contrition of heart,
Auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed through
penance enjoined by the Priest for the sins committed. I
cannot find in any place in the Gospel, where Christ com-
manded that this kind of confession should be done unto
the Priest; nor can I find that Christ assigned any penance
unto sinners for their sins, but that he willed them to sin
no more. If a sinner confess that he hath offended God
through sin, and sorroweth heartily for his offences, mind-
ing hereafter no more to sin; then is he truly repentant
for his sin, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he
shall then humbly and with good hope crave mercy at God
and remission of his sins: what is he that can lett God to
absolve that sinner from his sin? And as God absolveth a
sinner from his sin, so hath Christ absolved many, although
they confessed not their sins unto the Priests, and although
they received not due penance for their sins. And if Christ
could after that manner once absolve sinners; how is he
become now not able to absolve? Except some man will
say that he is above Christ, and that his power is diminished
by the ordinances of his own Laws. How were sinners ab-
solved of God in the time of the Apostles, and always here-
tofore,

Auricular **confession.** **Children** departing before Baptism not condemned.

The Keys **of** **the** **King-** **dom** **of** **Heaven.** **The** **Keys** **which** **are** **in** **the** **Pope** **Canons.** **And** **the** **Keys** **which** **are** **in** **the** **Hands** **of** **Christ.**

Joh. 3.

tofore, unto the time that these Canons were made? I speak not these things as though confession to Priests were wicked, but that it is not of necessity requisite unto Salvation. I believe verily that the confession of sins unto good Priests, and likewise to other faithful Christians, is good, as witnesseth St. James the Apostle, *Confess ye your selves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be saved; for the continual prayer of the just availeth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like unto you, and he prayed that it should not rain upon the earth, and it rained not in three years and six months. And again he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit.* This kind of confession is good, profitable and expedient; for if God peradventure heareth not a mans own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet nevertheless the prayers of the Priests seem too much to be extolled in the Decrees, where it treateth of Penitence, and that saying is ascribed unto Pope Leo, *Cap. multiplex misericordia Dei*, &c. And it followeth, So is it ordained by the Providence of Gods Divine Will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the Priests, &c. The prayer of a good Priest doth much avail a sinner, confessing his faults unto him. The counsel of a discreet Priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsel to beware hereafter to sin, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preserved from sin.

De penit.
Dist. 1. Cap.
Multiplex
misericordia
Dei.

After this manner I esteem confession to Priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confess sins unto the Priest as unto a Judge, and to receive of him corporal penance for a satisfaction unto God for his sins committed; I see not how this can be found upon the truth of the Scripture. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction unto God for his sins, although he suffered never so much penance for his sins. And therefore it was needful that he that was without sin, should be punished for sins, as witnesseth *Esaie*, Chapter fifty three, where he saith, *He took our griefs upon him, and our sorrows he bare. And again, He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickedness. And again, The Lord put upon him our iniquity. And again, For the wickedness of my people have I stricken him.* If therefore Christ through his Passion hath made satisfaction for our sins, whereas we our selves were unable to do it; then through him have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now that we are sufficient to make satisfaction unto God by any penance enjoined unto us by mans authority, seeing that our sins are more grievous after Baptism, than they were before the coming of Christ? Therefore as in Baptism the pain of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins; even so after Baptism, if we confess that we have offended, and be heartily sorry for our sins, and mind not to sin again afterwards.

1 Joh. 1.

Hereupon John writeth in his first Epistle, *Ch. 1. If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just, he will remit them, and cleanse us from all our iniquities. If we say we have not sinned we make him a lyer, and his word is not in us. My welbeloved children, thus I write unto you that ye sin not; but if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.* Therefore we ought to confess our selves chiefly unto God even from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sins, without whose absolution little availeth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The Authors of the Canons say, that although Auricular confession made unto the Priest, be not expressly taught by Christ, yet say they it is taught in that saying which Christ said unto the diseased of the leprosie, whom he commanded, *Go your ways and shew your selves unto the Priests*: because as they say, the law of cleansing Lepers, which was given by Moses, signified the confessions of sins unto the Priest. And whereas Christ commanded the Lepers to shew themselves unto the Priests, they say, that Christ meant that those that were unclean with the leprosie of sin, should shew their sins unto the Priests by Auricular confession. I marvel much at the Authors of the Canons; for even from the beginning

Confession
unto God.

Auricular
confession
not truly
grounded
upon the
Scripture.

Luk. 17.

The Authors
of the
Canon-Law
reproved.

ning of their Decrees unto the end, they ground their sayings upon the old Law, which was the Law of sin, and death, and not (as witnesseth Paul) upon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith, *The words which I speak unto you, are the Spirit and Life.* They ground their sayings in the shadow of the Law, and not in the light of Christ; for every evil doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reproved; but he that doth the truth cometh into the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done in God, *Joh. 3.*

Now let us pass to the words that Christ spake to the Leper, *Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus stretching forth his hand touched him, saying, I will be thou clean; and straightways he was cleansed of his leprosy. And Jesus said unto him, See thou tell no man, but go and shew thy self to the Priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a witness of these things.* This Gospel witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of the Lepers were cleansed only by Christ, and not by the Priests, neither did Christ command the Leper to shew himself unto the Priests, for any help of cleansing that he should receive of the Priests; but to fulfill the Law of Moses, in offering a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony unto the Priests, who always of envy accused Christ as a transgressor of the Law. For if Christ after he had cleansed the Leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were clean, before he had shewed himself cleansed unto the Priests, then might the Priests have accused Christ as a transgressor of the Law; because it was a precept of the Law, that the Leper after he was cleansed, should shew himself unto the Priests. And they had signs in the Book of the Law, whereby they might judge whether he were truly cleansed or no. And if he were cleansed, then would the Priests offer a gift for his cleansing; and if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be assimilated unto the thing that is figured; I pray you then what agreement is there between the cleansing of Lepers by the Law, and the confession of sins? By that Law the Priest knew better whether he were leprous than he himself that had the leprosy. In confession the Priest knew not the sins of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that Law the Priest did not cleanse the leprous. How now therefore ought the Priests to cleanse sinners from their sin, and that without them they cannot be cleansed? In this Law the Priest had certain signs, by the which he could certainly know whether a man were cleansed from his leprosy or not. In confession the Priest is not certain of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not also whether he will not sin any more; without the which contrition and granting to sin no more, God hath not absolved any sinner. And if God hath not absolved a man, without doubt then is he not made clean. And how then is confession figured under that Law? Doubtless so it seemeth to me (under the correction of them that can judge better in the matter) that this Law beareth rather a figure of Excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled again. For so it appeareth by the process of the Gospel, that when as the sinner doth not amend for the private correction of his Brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the public correction of the whole Church; then is he to be counted as an Ethnick and a Publican, and as a certain Leper to be avoided out of the company of all men. Which sinner notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacy.

But he which pretendeth himself to be the chief Vicar of Christ, and the high Priest, saith that he hath power to absolve a *pena & culpa*. Which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he enjoyneth to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that from their sins he may well absolve them, yet from the pain (which they call a *pena*) he doth not simply absolve, as in his Indulgences he promiseth. But if he were in charity, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in Purgatory for sin, forso much as that pain doth far exceed all other pain which here we suffer. What

KING
Ric. 2.

The story
of the
Lepers
ex-
pounded,
to
make
nothing
for
Auricular
confession.

The cleansing
of the
Lepers,
and
the
cleansing
of the
Sinner
in
Auricular
confession
agree not.

The Pope
poyver
in
absolving
from
sin,
not
founded
in
Scripture.
The
Pope
can
absolve
none
from
penitence.

KING Ric. 2. What man is there being in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the Pope then to deliver out of pains of Purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poor. And if he sell to the rich his Indulgences, doublewise, yea triplewise he seduceth them. First, in promising them to deliver them out of the pain from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them; and so maketh them falsly to believe that which they ought not to believe. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his Indulgences. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he promising to deliver them from pain, doth induce them into grievous punishment indeed, for the heresie of simony, which both of them do commit, and therefore are worthy both of great pain to fall upon them; for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his Temple. Also Peter said unto Simon the first Author of this Heresie, *Thy money, said he, with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to be possessed for money.* Moreover, whereas Christ faith, *Freely you have received, freely give.* And whereas contrary the Pope doth sell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievously deserve to be punished, both he that selleth, and he that buyeth, for the crime of simony which they commit? Over and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not absolve a man contrite for his sins, although he do absolve him from the guilt.

But this marvelleth me, that he in his Indulgences promisseth to absolve men from all manner of deadly sins, and yet cannot absolve a man from debt; forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance than is the debt of our Brother. Wherefore if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seem that he is able to forgive the debt of our Brother.

Another thing there is that I marvel at, for that the Pope sheweth himself more strait in absolving a Priest for not saying, or negligently saying his Mattens, than for transgressing the Commandment of God; considering that the transgression of the Commandment of God, is much more grievous than the breach of mans Commandment.

For these and many other errors concurring in this matter of the Popes absolutions; blessed be God, and honour be unto him for the remission of our sins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he doth and will absolve us from our sins, if we be sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and Will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort unto good and discreet Priests, who with wholesome discretion and sound counsel can instruct us, how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter. And which, because they are better than we, may pray to God for us; whereby we may both obtain more sooner the remission of our sins past, and also may learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come. *Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford.*

Notes. And thus much concerning the judgment and doctrine of this Walter for Christian patience, charity and mercy; which as they be true and infallible notes and marks of true Christianity; so the said Walter Brute, making comparison herein between Christ and the Pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest; whereby all men may see what contrariety there is between the rule of Christs teaching, and the proceedings of the Pope, between the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether given to peace; so is the other on the contrary side as much disposed to wars, murther, and bloodshed, as is easie to be seen; whose looketh not upon the outward shewes and pretended words of these Romish Popes, but adviseth and considereth the inward practices and secret works of them, shall easily esteeme under the vizard of peace, what discord and debate they work; who bearing outwardly the meek horns of the Lamb mentioned in the Apocalyps, within do bear the howls of a Wolf, full of cruelty, murther, and bloodshed. Which if any do think to be spoken of me contumeliously, would God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I speak it sincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of Histories both old and new. Thus under in Dei no-

mine, Amen, how unmercifully doth the Pope condemn his brother! And while he pretended not to be lawful for him to kill any man, what thousands hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending in visceribus Jesu Christi, as though he would be a Mediator to the Magistrate for the party; yet indeed will he be sure to Excommunicate the Magistrate, if he execute not the sentence given. Who be true Hereticks the Lord when he cometh shall judg. But give them to be Hereticks whom he condemneth for Hereticks, yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing but burning, fagotting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatening, reviling, cursing, and oppressing, and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their Wars appear, if we consider how Pope Urban the Fifth, besides the racking and murdering of seven or eight Cardinals, set up Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French Pope. Innocentius the Fourth was in war himself against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander the Fourth his Successor stirred up the Son of King Henry the Third to fight against the Son of Frederick the Second, Emperor for Apulia. Boniface the Eighth moved Albertus (which stood to be Emperor) to drive Philip the French King out of his Realm. Gregorius the Ninth excited Ludovick the French King three sundry times to mortal war against the Earl Raimundus and City of Tholouse, and Avinion, where Lewes the said French King died. Honorius the Third, by strength of War many ways resisted Frederick the Second, and set out thirty five Gallies against the coasts of the Emperors Dominions. The same Pope also besieged Ferraria. To pass over the War at Ticinum, with many other battels and conflicts of Popes against the Romans, Venetians, and divers other Nations. Innocentius the Third set up Philip the French King to War against King John. What stir Pope Gregorius the Seventh, otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the Emperor Henricus the Fourth, it is not unknown. And who is able to recite all the Wars, Battels, and Fields fought by the stirring up of the Pope? These with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as he did, making yet thereof no universal proposition, but that Christian Magistrates in case of necessity might make resistance in defence of publick right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Touching the matter (saith he) of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my judgment upon the same, I firmly believe whatsoever the Lord Jesus taught implicitly or exprefly to his Disciples, and faithful people to be believed. For he is (as I believe and know) the true Bread of God which descended from Heaven, and giveth life to the world. Of which Bread who-soever eateth, shall live for ever; as it is in the sixth of John declared. Before the coming of Christ in the flesh, although men did live in body, yet in spirit they did not live; because all men were then under sin, whose souls thereby were dead; from the which death no man by the Law, nor with the Law was justified: For by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified, Gal. 2. And again in the same Epistle, Chap. 3. That by the law no man is justified before God it is manifest: for the just man shall live by his faith; the law is not of faith; but whosoever hath the works thereof, shall live in them. And again in the same Chapter, If the law had been given, which might have justified, then our righteousness had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise might be sure by the faith of Jesus Christ to all believers. Moreover, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our Schoolmaster in Christ Jesus, that we should be justified by faith. Also the said Paul, Rom. 5. saith, That the law enired in the mean time, whereby that sin might more abound. Where then sin hath more abounded, there hath also grace superabounded; that like as sin hath reigned unto death, so that grace might also reign by righteousness unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Whereby it is manifest that by the faith which we have in Christ, believing him to be the true Son of God which came down

Examples, declaring what Wars have been stirred up by Popes.

Joh. 6.

Gal. 2.

Justification by faith, and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

Joh. 6. down from Heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin; and so do live by him which is the true bread and meat of the soul. And the bread which Christ gave is his flesh given for the life of the world, *Joh. 6.* For he being God, came down from Heaven, and being truly carnal man, did suffer in the flesh for our sins, which in his Divinity he could not suffer. Wherefore like as we believe by our Faith that he is true God: so must we also believe that he is a true man. And then do we eat the bread of Heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if we believe that he did voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

True eating of Christ is true believing in him.

Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is.

And thus except we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, we have not eternal life in us; because the flesh of Christ verily is meat, and his blood is drink indeed; and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ, and Christ in him, *Joh. 6.* And as in this world the souls of the faithful live, and are refreshed spiritually with this Heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ; so in the world to come, the same shall live eternally in Heaven, refreshed with the Deity of Jesus Christ, as touching the most principal part thereof, that is to wit, *Intellectum*; forasmuch as this bread of Heaven in that it is God, hath in it self all delectable pleasantness. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same (as well exterior as interior) they are refreshed with the flesh (that is to say) with the humanity of Jesus Christ; which is as a Queen standing on the right hand of God, decked with a Golden robe of divers colours; for this Queen of Heaven alone by the Word of God is exalted above the company of all the Angels; that by her all our corporal power intellective, may fully be refreshed, as is our spiritual intelligence, with the beholding of the Deity of Jesus Christ, and even as the Angels shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, present in this world, and in the world to come, hath Christ given unto us (for eternal blessedness) the Sacrament of his body and blood in the substance of Bread and Wine; as it appeareth in *Mat. 26.* As the Disciples

Mat. 26. sat at Supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto his Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body: And he took the Cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this, this is my Blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. And Luke in his Gospel, Chap. 22. of this matter thus writeth, And after he had taken the bread, he gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you, do you this in my remembrance. In like manner he took the Cup after Supper, saying, This is the Cup of the New Testament in my Blood, which shall be shed for you.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well gentle Reader.

That Christ said, this is my body, in shewing to them the bread, I firmly believe, and know that it is true: That Christ (forasmuch as he is God) is the very truth it self, and by consequence all that he saith is true. And I believe that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body; for in that he is Almighty, he hath done whatsoever pleased him: And as in *Cana of Galilee* he changed the water into wine really, so that after the Transubstantiation, it was wine and not water: So when he said, This is my Body, if he would have had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it must needs have been so. But I find not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any such real Transubstantiation or Mutation.

And as the Lord God Omnipotent, in his perfection Essential being the Son of God, doth exceed the most pure Creature, and yet when it pleased him he took upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man; so that after this assuming of our substance, he was really very God, and very man; even so, if he would when he said, This is my body, he could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For less is the difference of the essence between bread and the body of a man, than between the Deity and Humanity, because that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood; of the blood, natural seed; and of natural seed the natural substance of man is ingendred. But in that that

God became man, this is an action supernatural. Wherefore he that could make one man to be very God, and very man, could if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expressly in the Scripture, that he would any such Identity or conjunction to be made. And as Christ said, I am very bread, not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figurative speech; so if he would, it might be, when he said, This is my body, that this should really have been the bread as it was before, and Sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth unto me most nearly to agree to the meaning of Christ, forasmuch as he said, Do this in remembrance of me. Then forasmuch as in the Supper it is manifest that Christ gave unto his Disciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouths: in which bread he gave himself also unto them, as one in whom they should believe (as to be the food of the soul) and by that faith they should believe him to be their Saviour which took his body, wherein also he would it to be manifest, that he would redeem them from death; so was the bread eaten with the Disciples mouths, that he, being the true bread of the soul, might be in spirit received and eaten spiritually by their faith which believed in him.

The bread which in the Disciples mouths was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomach. For as Christ saith, *Whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the privy, Mat. 15.* But that true and very bread of the soul was eaten of the spirit of the Disciples, and by faith entered their minds, and abode in their inwards through love. And so the bread broken, seemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but Sacramentally to be the body of Christ, as *Paul, 1 Cor. 10.* The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord?

So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lords body. And it is manifest that the Heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subject to such breaking. Therefore *Paul* calleth the material bread which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not his essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ Sacramentally. Even as Christ is the very Vine, abiding really and figuratively the Vine: so the Temple of *Jerusalem* was really the material Temple, and figuratively it was the body of Christ; because he said, *Destroy you this Temple, and in three days I will repair the same again.* And this spake he of the Temple of his body; whereas others understood it to be the material Temple, as appeared by their answer. For, said they, *forty seven years hath this Temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three days?*

Even so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet figuratively the body of Christ. And if therefore Christ would this bread to be only Sacramentally his body, and would not have the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his Priests to make this Sacrament as a memorial of his passion; then do the Priests grievously offend, which beseech Christ in the holy Mass, that the bread which lyeth upon the Altar may be made really the body of Christ, if he would not have the same to be but a Sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceived themselves, and also do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really Transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is only the body of Christ Sacramentally; no doubt but that the people are marvellously deceived. For the people believe that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself between the hands of the Priests (for so is the common Oath they swear) By him whom I saw this day between the Priests hands. And the people believe that they eat not the body of Christ but at *Easter*, or else when they lie upon their death-bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the Sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admit the bread be Transubstantiated really into the body) as in the Sacrament *indivisibiliter*, that is, not able to be divided; and so *immutabiliter*, that is, not able to be measured: *Ergo, indivisibiliter*, that is, not able to be seen. To believe therefore that he may be seen corporally in the Sacrament is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ

KING. Ric. 2.

Bread by similitude.

Bread figuratively, and the body sacramentally.

The bread which the Lord gave entereth not into the bodies, but the body which he gave entereth into the minds of the Disciples. Paul calleth it material bread.

Note Reader.

The vain prayer of the Priests at their Mass.

The people greatly deceived in the Sacrament.

MARKING Christ is the souls food, and not the food of the body in this world; for that whosoever believeth, doth eat spiritually and really, at any time when he so believeth; it is manifest, that they do greatly erre which believe that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their Teeth the Sacrament of the Body of Christ.

The Priests
seek their
own honore
in their
transubstanti-
ation.

And although it should be to the great honor of Priests, that the Bread really were changed into the Body of Christ, by the vertue of the sacramental words pronounced; yet if Christ would not have it to be so; then they desiring to do this contrary to the will of Christ, and informing the people that is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ, are in great peril, most dangerously seducing both themselves and the people. And then although that thereby they get a little worldly and transitory honour for a short time; it is to be feared lest perpetual shame, finally shall follow and ensue upon the same. For Christ saith; every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low. Let them therefore take heed, lest they extolling themselves for this Sacrament above the company of Angels which never flimed, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the sinful Angels under the Earth.

Mark here
ye good
Priests.

Let every man therefore think lowly of himself in what state or degree soever he be; neither let him presume to do that which he is not able to do; neither desire to have that thing done, which God would not have done.

The makers
of the Ca-
non Law
contrary to
themselves.

I greatly marvel at those which were the makers of the Canons, how variably and contrary one to another they write of this Sacrament of the Body of Christ. In the last part of the Decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but also in the process of the matter, divers do diversly write, and one contrary to another. For in the Chapter that thus beginneth, *Prima inquit heresis*, it is thus written, You shall not eat this Body which you see, nor shall drink this Blood which they shall shed which shall crucifie me: I will commend unto you a certain Sacrament spiritually understood that quickneth you; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the same Chapter it is thus written, Till the world shall have an end, the Lords place is in Heaven: Yet notwithstanding the verity of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the Body wherewith he rose ought to be in one place, but his verity is in every place diffused and spread abroad. And in the Chapter following, which thus beginneth; *Omnia quaecunque voluit, &c.* It is written; Although the figure of the Bread and Wine seem to be nothing; Yet notwithstanding they must after the words of consecration be believed, to be none other thing than the very flesh of Christ, and his blood. Whereupon the verity himself said unto his Disciples; This is (saith he) my flesh, which is given for the life of the World: and to speak yet more marvellously, this is none other flesh, than that which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Cross, and rose out of the Sepulcher.

De consecr.
cap. Prima
guidem in-
fide.
De consecr.
cap. secunda
Omnis qui
consecrat vo-
luit.
Contrariety
in the Pope's
Canons.

See how far this Chapter differeth from the first. And in the Chapter which beginneth, *Ego Berengarius, &c.* This is the confession which Berengarius himself confessed touching this Sacrament, and his confession is of the Church allowed: I confess (saith Berengarius) that the Bread and Wine which is laid upon the Altar after the consecration, is not only a Sacrament, but also that it is the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the same not only sensually to be a Sacrament, but also verily to be handled with the Priests hands and to be broken, and chewed with the Teeth of faithful men. This confession doubtless is heretical: For why? If the body of Christ be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is so determined; it is there then *Multiplicative*, and so *indivisibiliter* wherefore not *sensualiter*. And if it be there *indivisibiliter*, that is, in such sort as it cannot be divided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, nor with the Teeth of men chewed.

The recon-
struction
of
Berengarius
is heretical.

The Sacra-
ment left
by the
Priests ne-
gligence to
be eaten of
a Mouse, re-
turneth a-
gain from
Body to
Bread.

The Writers of this time and age do affirm, that if by the negligence of the Priest, the Sacrament be so negligently left, that a Mouse, or any other Beast or Vermin eat the same; then they say, that the Sacrament returneth again into the nature and substance of Bread. Whereby they must needs confess, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the Priest, as first there was made

by the consecration of the Priest in making the Sacrament. For either by the eating of the Mouse the Body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of Bread, which is a transubstantiation supernatural; or else of nothing by creation is this Bread produced; and therefore either of these operations is miraculous and to be marvelled at. Now considering the disagreeing opinions of the Doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I believe with Paul, that the Bread which we break, is the participation of the Body of Christ: and as Christ saith, that the Bread is made the Body of Christ for a memorial and remembrance of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his Body, in the same manner and sort do I believe it to be his Body.

But whether we men may make the Body of Christ, and Minister it unto the people: or whether that Priests be divided from the Lay people for their knowledge, preeminence, and sanctity of life, or else by external signs only: Also whether the sign of tonsure and other external signs of Holiness in Priests, be signs of Antichrist and his Characters, or else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ; consequently it remaineth next to speak thereof unto the faithful sort (according to the process of the holy Scripture) and first of the three kinds of the Priests. I remember that I have read, the first of them to be Aaronical, Legal, and Temporal; The second to be Eternal and regal according to the Order of *Melchisedech*; The third to be Christian. The first of these ceased at the coming of Christ; for that as Saint Paul to the *Hebrews* saith, The Priesthood of Aaron was translated to the Priesthood of the Order of *Melchisedech*. The Legal sort of Priests of Aaron, were separated from the rest of the people by Kindred, Office, and Inheritance. By Kindred, for that the children of Aaron only were Priests. By Office, for that it only pertained to them to offer Sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By Inheritance, because the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongst their Brethren, but those things which were offered unto the Lord, as the First-fruits, parts of the Sacrifices, and Vows; except places for their Mansion-Houses for them and theirs, as appeareth by the process of *Moses* law. The Priesthood of Christ did much differ from this Priesthood, as Paul doth witness to the *Hebrews*, Chapter, 1, 8, 9, 10.

Whether
external
signs in a
Priest be the
signs of An-
tichrist or
else ground-
ed upon
Christ.

Three Ord-
ers or sorts
of Priests.
1. Aaroni-
cal.
2. Eternal.
3. Christian.

Levitical
Priests di-
vided from
the people
by kindred
Office and
Inheritance.

First in kindred, because that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, came of the Stock and Tribe of *Juda*: of which Tribe none had to do with the Altar, and in which Tribe nothing at all was spoken of the Priests of *Moses*.

The Priest-
hood of
Christ dif-
fereth from
the Levitical
Priesthood
how and
wherein.
1. In kin-
dred.
2. In Oath
taking.

The second, for that other were made Priests without their Oath taken: But he by an Oath, by him which said, The Lord swore and it shall not repent him, Thou art a Priest for ever according to the Order of *Melchisedech*.

Thirdly, by durability, for that many of them were made Priests but during the term of their lives: But he for that he remaineth for ever, hath an eternal Priesthood. Wherefore he is able to save us for ever, having by himself access unto God; which ever liveth to make intercession for us.

3. In dura-
bility.

The Law made also such men Priests as had infirmities; but *Sermo* (that is the word, which according to the law is the eternal Son and perfect) by an Oath.

The Priesthood of Christ also did differ from the Priesthood of Aaron and the Law in the matter of the Sacrifice, and in the place of Sacrificing. In the matter of their Sacrifices, because they did use in their Sacrifices strange bodies, of the matter of their Sacrifices, and did shed strange blood for the expiation of sins: But he offering himself unto God his Father for us, shed his own Blood for the remission of our sins. In the place of Sacrificing, because that they did offer their Sacrifice in the Tabernacle or Temple: But Christ suffering death without the Gates of the City, offered himself upon the Altar of the Cross to God his Father, and there shed his precious Blood. In his supping Chamber also he blessed the Bread and consecrated the same for his Body, and the Wine which was in the Cup he also consecrated for his Blood; delivering the same

4. In matter
of Sacrifice.

5. In place
of Sacrific-
ing.

The Law
bringeth
none to
perfection.

The Priest-
hood of
Christ differeth
from
all other
Priesthoods.

The third
Priesthood.
The name
of *Sacerdos*
or Priest
not used in
the New
Testament
of Christ.

The fourth
Priesthood,
which is the
Roman
Priesthood.

to his Apostles to be done for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. Neither did Jesus enter into the Sanctuary made with mans hands, which be examples and figures of true things, but he entered into Heaven it self, that he might appear before the Majesty of God for us. Neither doth he offer himself oftentimes, as the chief Priest in the Sanctuary did every year with strange blood (for then should he oftentimes have suffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in the latter end of the World to destroy sin by his peace-offering hath he entered. And even as it is decreed, that man once shall die and then cometh the judgment; so Christ hath been once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appear without sin to them that look for him, to their salvation. For the Law having a shadow of good things to come, can never by the Image it self of things (which every year without ceasing they offer by such Sacrifices) make those perfect that come thereunto; for otherwise that Offering should have ceased: Because that such worshippers, being once cleansed from their sins, should have no more conscience of sin. But in these, commemoration is made every year of sin: For it is impossible that by the blood of Goats and Calves, sins should be purged and taken away. Therefore coming into the World he said; Sacrifice and Oblation thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou given me, peace-offerings for sins have not pleased thee: Then said I, behold I come: In the Volume of the Book it is written of me, that I should do thy will O God: Saying as above; because thou wouldst have no Sacrifices nor burnt Offerings for sin, neither dost thou take pleasure in those things that are offered according to the law. Then said I, Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first to stablish that which followeth. In which Will we are sanctified by the oblation of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every Priest is ready daily ministering, and oftentimes offering like Sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this Jesus, offering one Sacrifice for sin, sitteth for evermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his Enemies be made his footstool. For by his own only oblation, hath he consummated for evermore those that are sanctified. All these places have I recited which Paul writeth, for the better understanding and declaration of those things I mean to speak. By all which it appeareth manifestly, how the Priesthood of Christ differeth from the legal Priesthood of Aaron: And by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other Priesthood Christian, that imitateth Christ. For the properties of the Priesthood of Christ, above recited, are found in no other Priest, but in Christ alone. Of the third Priesthood, that is, the Christian Priesthood, Christ by his express words speaketh but little, to make any difference between the Priests and the rest of the people, neither yet doth use this name of *Sacerdos* or *Presbyter*, in the Gospel. But some he calleth Disciples, some Apostles, whom he sent to Baptise and to Preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the Salt of the Earth, in which name wisdom is meant: and he calleth them the light of the World, by which good living is signified. For he saith, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.* And Paul speaking of the Priests to Timothy, and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any diversity, betwixt the Priests and the other people, but in that he would have them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth Priesthood is the Roman Priesthood, brought in by the Church of Rome; which Church maketh a distinction between the Clergy and the Lay-people: and after that the Clergy is divided into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the Decretals.

This distinction of the Clergy from the Laity, with the tonsure of Clerks, began in the time of *Anacletus*, as it doth appear in the *Chronicles*. The degrees of the Clergy were afterward invented and distinguished by their Offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the Priesthood, but by inferior Orders and degrees. But in the Primitive Church it was not so: For immediately after the conversion of some of them to Faith and Baptism received; they were made Priests and Bishops; as appeareth by *Ananias*, whom *Marcus* made of a Taylor or Shoemaker to be a Bishop. And of many other it was in like case done,

according to the Traditions of the Church of Rome. **KING Ric. 2.** Priests are ordained to offer Sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to bless and sanctify. The oblation of the Priesthood only to Priests (as they say) is congruent: whose duties are upon the Altar to offer for the sins of the people of the Lords Body, which is consecrated of Bread. Of which saying I have great marvel, considering S. Paul his words to the *Hebrews* before recited. If Christ, offering for our sins one Oblation for evermore, sitteth at the right hand of God, and with that one Oblation hath consummated for evermore, those that are sanctified: If Christ evermore sitteth at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us: what need he to leave here any Sacrifice for our sins of the Priests to be daily offered? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of his Apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a Sacrifice for sin: but only as a Sacrament and Commemoration of the Sacrifice passed, which Christ offered upon the Altar of the Cross for our sins. For it is an absurdity to say that Christ is now every day really offered as a Sacrifice upon the Altar by the Priests; for then the Priests should really Crucifie him upon the Altar, which is a thing of no Christian to be believed. But even as in his Supper his Body and his Blood he delivered to his Disciples, in memorial of his Body that should be Crucified on the morrow for our sins: So after this ascension, did his Apostles use the same (when they brake Bread in every House) for a Sacrament, and not for a Sacrifice, of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this means were they put in remembrance of the great love of Christ, who so entirely loved us, that willingly he suffered the death for us, and for the remission of our sins. And thus did they offer themselves to God by love, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the saving health of his Brethren, fulfilling the new commandment of Christ, which said unto them; A new commandment do I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you. But when love began to wax cold, or rather to be Frozen for cold, through the anguish and anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ; then Priests did use the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a Sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give themselves a Sacrifice by death unto God through the confession of his name, and saving health of their Brethren: some other worshipped Idols, fearing death; as did also the chief Bishop of Rome, and many other more in divers places of the World. And thus it came to pass, that that which was ordained and constituted for a memorial of the one and only Sacrifice, was altered (for want of love) into the reality of the Sacrifice it self.

The body
of Christ
not left to
be a Sacrifice
for sin,
but only for
a Sacrament.

How the
memorial
of the Sacrament
came to the
reality of
the Sacrifice
it self.

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequently upon the same, an other brief tractation of Women and Lay-men; whether in defect of the other, they may exercise the action of prayer, and Administration of Sacraments belonging to Priests, where he declareth the use received in the Popes Church for Women to Baptise, which, saith he, cannot be without remission of sins; wherefore seeing that Women have power by the Pope to remit sin, and to Baptise, why may not they as well be admitted to minister the Lords Supper, in like case of necessity? Wherein also he maketh relation of Pope Joan the Eighth, a woman Pope, moving certain Questions of her. All which for brevity I pretermitt, proceeding to the Ministeration of prayer, and blessing of sanctification, appropriate to the Office of Priests, as followeth.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto Priests seem to be ordained (to omit here the question whether Women may pray in Churches, in lack of other meet persons) it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ, being desired of his Disciples to teach them to pray, gave them the Common-Prayer both to men and women, to the which Prayer in my Estimation no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due unto the Deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoever is necessary for us, both for the time present, or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed for. He informeth us besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close Chamber,

The Order
and Office
of prayer.
The Lords
Prayer.

Mat. 6.

KING
No. 2.The Arts of
Necroman-
cy, Sooth-
saying, and
Witch-
crafts, how
and from
whom they
came.Against ex-
orcising of
Priests.Conjuring
or hallow-
ing in the
Popish
Church.Holy water
conjured.

Exorcise.

The abun-
dancy and a-
bomination
in the Po-
pish exor-
cism de-
scribed.Where was
the Popes
holy Water
then in
the great
pestilence in
the time of
King Ed-
ward the
Third.

Jam. 4.

Chamber, and there in secrecy he willet us to pray unto his Father. And faith moreover, when ye pray, use not much babbling, or many words, as do the Heathen. For they think in their long and prolix praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them. By the which Doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the Heathen Gentiles; from whom proceed these superstitious manner of Arts (or rather of ignorances) as Necromancy, the Art of Divination, and other spices of conjuration, not unknown to them that be learned: For these Necromancers believe one place to be of greater vertue than another; there to be heard sooner, than in another. Like as *Balaam* being hired to Curse the people of God by his Art of soothsaying or charming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he removed to another; but he in the end was deceived of his desire. For he, intending first to Curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed, so that his Curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort the Necromancers turn their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the Necromancers believe that the vertue of the words of the prayer, and the curiosity thereof, causeth them to bring to effect that which they seek after; which is also another point of infidelity, used much of charmers, forcerers, inchanters, soothsayers and such like. Out of the same Art (I fear) proceedeth the practice of exorcising, whereby Devils and Spirits be conjured to do that, whereunto they are enforced by the exorcist. Also whereby other Creatures likewise are exorcised or conjured, so that by the vertue of their exorcism they may have their power and strength exceeding all natural operation.

In the Church of *Rome* many such exorcisms and conjurations be practised, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of these exorcisers, whether they believe the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them, which they pretend? If they so believe, every child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy Water being of them exorcised or conjured, hath no such power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorcism do command. For there they injoyne and command, that where-soever that Water is sprinkled, all vexation or infestation of the unclean Spirit should avoid, and not that no pestilent Spirit there should abide, &c. But most plain it is, that no Water, be it never so Holy, can have any such power so to do, as it is commanded, to wit, to be an universal remedy to expel all diseases.

This I would ask of these Exorcists; whether in their commanding, they do conjure or adjure the things conjured to be of an higher vertue and operation, than their own nature doth give: Or else whether they in their prayers desire of God, that he will infuse into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commanding do so believe, then do they believe that they have that power in them to the which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And so doing they are much more deceived, forasmuch as they see themselves, that they which are so Authorized to the Office of exorcising, say to the Devil being conjured, *Go, and he goeth not; and to another, come, and he cometh not*; and many things else they command the inferior spirit their subject to do, and he hath not. So in like case, when they pray to God to make the Water to be of such vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse every unclean Spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemperature, and pestilence of the Air (being an unreasonable petition asked, and sore displeasing to God) it is to be feared lest their Benediction, their hallowing and blessing is changed into Cursing, according to that saying that followeth: And now, O you Priests, I have a message to say unto you; If you will not hear and bear well away in your minds, to give the glory unto my name, faith the Lord God of Hosts, I will send scarcity among you, and I will curse your blessings. What things and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the Church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore according to the saying of *S. James*, they ask and are not heard, because they ask not as they should, that they in their own desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their Fire, Water, Incense, Wax, Bread, Wine,

Wine, the Church, the Altar, the Churchyard, Ashes, Bells, Copes, Palmes, Oil, Candles, Salt, the hallowing of the Ring, the Bed, the Staffe, and of many such like things; and I believe that a man shall find out many errors of the heathen Magicians, Witches, Soothsayers and Charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient and old Magicians in their Books command those that be conjurers, that they in any wise live devoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the Spirits will not obey their commandments, and conjurations) yet the *Roman* conjurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy Words, because they be they which work, and not the holiness of the conjurers: How cometh it to pass that they say, the things consecrated of a Cursed and vicious Javel should have so great vertue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mystical words, as if they were pronounced of a Priest never so holy? But I marvel that they say so, reading this saying in the *Acts of the Apostles*: because the Charmers pronouncing the name of *Jesus* (that is above all names) would have healed those that were possessed with Devils, and said; *In the name of Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men*. And the possessed with Devils answered, *Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye?* And they all to be beat the Conjurers.

And now considering this and many such like things, I marvel wherefore the vicious Priests do sell their prayers and blessings dearer (as also their Masses and Trentals of Masses) than those that be devout Lay-men, and holy Women: which with all their heart desire to flee from vices, and take hold of vertue. Forasmuch as God in divers places of the Scripture doth promise that he will not hear sinners and wicked persons. Neither should he seem to be just, if he should sooner hear the prayers of his Enemies, than of his faithful Friend. How I pray you shall a sinful Priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or else from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himself by his prayer from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the Mass of a vicious Priest, that for his Mass, his prayer or Oblation, he might deliver any man either from sin, or from the pain due for sin? No, but for that that Christ once offered himself for our sins, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, always shewing unto him what and how great things he hath suffered for us. And every Priest always maketh mention in his Mass of this Oblation. Neither do we this that we might bring the same Oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he always in his presence seeth the same; but that we should have in remembrance this so great love of God, that he would give his own Son to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purifie us from all our sins. What, doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a Priest, which more loveth sin than God? Or how can any prayer of such a Priest please God, in what holy place soever he be, or what holy Vestiments soever he put on, or what holy prayers soever he maketh? And whereas Christ and his Apostles do command the Preaching of the Word of God; the Priests be now more bound to celebrate the Mass, and more straitly bound to say the Canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvel. For why? To obey the precepts of men more than the Commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to bestow the Sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is also spiritual fornication. How therefore are Priests bound at the commandment of man to leave the Preaching of the Word of God, at whose commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the Mass, or singing of Mattens? Therefore, as it seemeth, Priests ought not at the commandment of any man to leave the Preaching of the Word of God, unto the which they are bound both by Divine and Apostolical precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of *Hierome* upon the Decretals, saying in this wise; Let none of the Bishops swell with the envy of divelish temptation; let none be angry, if the Priest do sometimes exhort the people, if they Preach in the Church, &c. For to him that forbiddeth me these things I will say, that he is unwilling that Priests should do those things which he commanded of God. What thing is there above Christ? Or what may be preferred before his Body and his Blood, &c.

Do Priests therefore sin or not, which bargain for Money to pray for the Soul of any dead Man? It is well known that

Romish
conjurers.The good
life of a
Priest, a
great matter
to deal in
Gods mat-
ters.The Prayers
of a vicious
Priest little
availeth be-
fore God.Remem-
brance of
Christ's pas-
sion needeth
not to God,
but to Man.Priests
more bound
to say Mass
commanded
by Man,
than to
Preaching
commanded
of God.
Spiritual
fornication.

Hierome.

Whether
Priests may
bargain to
sing for
Souls de-
parted.

that Jesus did whip those that were Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, saying; *My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made the same a den of thieves*: Truly he cast not out such Merchants from out of the Church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Hierome upon this Text saith; Let the Priests be diligent and take good heed in this Church, that they turn not the House of God into a Den of Thieves. He doubtless is a Thief which seeketh gain by Religion, and by a shew of Holiness studieth to find occasion of Merchandise. Hereupon, the holy Canons do make accursed Simoniacal Heresie, and do command that those should be deprived of the Priesthood, which or the passing or marvelous spiritual grace do seek gain or Money. Peter the Apostle said to Simon Magus, Let thy Money and thou go both to the Devil, which thinketh that the gifts of God may be bought for Money. Therefore the spiritual gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Microscopic.

Selling of prayer abominable.

Verily prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is also the Preaching of the Word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the Administration of other the Sacraments. Christ, sending forth his Disciples to Preach, said unto them; *Heal ye the sick, cast out devils, raise the dead, freely ye have received, freely give ye again*. If the Priests have power by his prayers to deliver souls being in Purgatory from grievous pains, without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How therefore can he sell his Act, unless he resist the Commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, which is against the Commandment of God. How plainly spake Christ to the Pharisees and Priests, saying; Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, because ye have eaten the whole houses of such as be widows by making long prayers, and therefore have you received greater damnation. Wherein I pray you do our Pharisees and Priests differ from them? Do not our Priests devour Widows houses and possessions, that by their long prayers they might deliver the souls of their Husbands from the grievous pains of Purgatory? How many Lordships I pray you have been bestowed upon the Religious Men and Women to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliver those dead men from the pain (as they said) that they suffer in Purgatory, grievously tormented and vexed? If their prayers and speaking of Holy words shall not be able to deliver themselves from pain, unless they have good works; how shall other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, which whilst they lived here, gave over themselves to sin? Yea, peradventure those Lordships or Lands, which they gave unto the Priests to pray for them, they themselves have gotten by might from other faithful men, unjustly, and violently: And the Canons do say, that sin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be restored: How then shall they be able (which do unjustly possess such Lordships or Lands) to deliver them by their prayers from pain, which have given to them these Lordships or Lands, seeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt Sacrifices? Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: But he which doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven. And again, Not the hearers of the Law, but the doers of the Law shall be justified.

Religious men and women devourers of widows houses. Praying for souls in Purgatory. Evil gotten Lands, as evil bestowed, for praying for souls in Purgatory.

Buying and selling of prayers in the Popes Church. Buying and selling of pardons. Person, place, apparel, curiosity or eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.

If therefore the words of him that prayeth do not deliver himself from sin, nor from the pain of sin, how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man, than for himself? Therefore many are deceived in buying or selling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be delivered from pain; when as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious Prelates, than for the prayers of devout Women and devout Men of the lay people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiousness of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Pharisee and the Publican go up into the Temple to pray? The Publicans prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisees prayer for his pride and arrogancy is condemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousness of his prayer doth help the Pharisee: Because

the Publican not thinking himself worthy to lift up his eyes unto Heaven, for the multitude of his sins (saying, O God, be merciful unto me a sinner) is justified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the Pharisee boasting in his righteousness is despised, because God thrusteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meek. The rich Glutton also that was clothed with Purple and Silk, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in pains and torments of Hell fire. But Lazarus, who lay begging at his Gate, (being full of Sores) is placed in the Bottom of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his Apparel, nor the deliciousness of his Banquets, nor the gorgeousness of his Estate, neither the abundance of his Riches, doth help any thing to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich Glutton, nor yet diminish his Torments, because that mighty men in their mightiness shall suffer torments mightily. How dare any man by composition demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he believe that he can by his prayer deliver his Brother from grievous pain, he is bound by Charity to relieve his Brother with his prayers although he be not hired thereunto: But if he will not pray unless he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer, which abideth not in Charity? Therefore let him first take compassion of himself by prayer, that he may come into Charity, and then he shall be the better able to help others. If he believe not, or if he standeth in doubt whether he shall be able to deliver his Brother by his prayer, wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargain, and taketh his Money, and yet knoweth not whether he shall relieve him ever a whit the more, or not, from his pain? I fear lest the Words of the Prophet are fulfilled, saying; From the least to the most all men apply themselves to covetousness, and from the Prophet to the Priest all work deceitfully. For the poor Priests excuse themselves of such bargaining and selling of their prayers, saying; The young Cock learneth to Crow of the old Cock. For, saith he, thou maist see that the Pope himself, in stalling of Bishops and Abbats, taketh the First-fruits: In the placing or bestowing of Benefices he always taketh somewhat, and specially if the Benefices be great. And he selleth pardons or bulls, and to speak more plain, he taketh Money for them. Bishops in giving Orders, in hallowing Churches and Church-yards, do take Money: In Ecclesiastical correction they take Money for the mitigation of penance: In the grievous offences of convict persons Money is required, and caused to be payed. Abbots, Monks, and other religious men that have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual Suffrages, unless he bestow somewhat upon them, or promise them somewhat. Curates and Vicars having sufficient livings by the Tithes of their Parishioners, yet in Dirges and years minds, in hearing confessions, in Weddings and Burings, do require and have Money. The Friars also of the four Orders of beggars, which think themselves to be the most perfect men of the Church, do take Money for their prayers, confessions, and burings of the dead: and when they Preach, they believe that they shall have either Money or some other thing worthy Money. Wherefore then be the poor Priests blamed? ought not they to be held excused, although they take Money for their prayers by composition? Truly (me thinketh) that this excuse by other mens sins doth not excuse them, forasmuch as to heap one mischief upon anothers head, is no sufficient discharge. I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual Suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruine of the great City, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the Prophet say; *And the Merchants of the Earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their Merchandise, that is, their Merchandise of Gold and Silver, and of precious Stone, and of Pearl, and of Silk and purple*? And again, he saith; *And the Merchants which were made rich by her, shall stand aloof for fear of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas! Alas! that City Babylon, that great City, which was wont to wear purple, white silk, crimson, gold, pearl, and precious Stone, because that in one hour all those riches are come to nought*. And Again; *And they cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and saying; Alas! Alas! that great*

KING 2.

Prayer that doth more for Money than for charity, disapproved.

Selling of pardons, Selling of Orders, Selling of Church hallows, Selling of discipline, Selling of fraternity, Selling of dirges, year minds, confessions, weddings, burings, Selling of sermons, &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

KING and mighty City Babylon, by whom all such as had Ships upon the Sea, were made rich by rewards; because that in one hour she is become desolate.

The City of Rome, Babylon. Apr. 18.

This Babylon, this great City, is the City of Rome, as it appeareth by the process of the Apottle. Because the Angel which shewed unto Saint John the destruction of the mighty Harlot sitting upon many Waters, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication, and all they which dwell upon the Earth, are made drunk with the Wine of her Whoredom, said unto him; And the Woman which thou sawest, is the great City which hath Dominion above Kings, &c. And indeed in the days of Saint John the whole World was subject to the temporal Empire of the City of Rome, and afterwards it was subject to the spiritual Empire or Dominion of the same. But touching the temporal Government of the City of Rome it is fallen already: and so that other also, for the multitude of her spiritual Fornication, shall fall. The Emperors of this City gave themselves to Idolatry, and would have that men should honour them as Gods, and put all those to death that refused such Idolatry, and by the cruelty of their Torments all Infidels gat the upper hand.

The temporal Dominion of the City of Rome.

The spiritual Dominion of the City of Rome.

Hereupon by the Image of Nabuchadonozor, the Empire of the Romans is likened to Iron, which beateth together, and hath the Mastery of all Metals. And in the vision of Daniel, wherein he saw the four Winds of Heaven to fight in the main Sea; and four very great Beasts coming out of the Sea; the Kingdom of the Romans is likened to the fourth terrible and marvellous Beast, the which had great iron Teeth; eating and destroying, and treading the rest under his Feet: And this Beast had Ten Horns, and as Daniel saith, he shall speak words against the most high, and shall rear with his Teeth the Saints of the most high: and he shall think that he may be able to change times and laws, and they shall be delivered into his power, until a time, times, and half a time. In the Apocalyps, Saint John saw a Beast coming out of the Sea, having seven Heads and ten Horns, and power was given to him to make Months 42. So long time endured the Empire of the Romans; that is to say, from the beginning of Julius Cesar, which was the first Emperor of the Romans, unto the end of Fredericus, which was the last Emperor of the Romans. Under this Empire Christ suffered, and other Martyrs also suffered for his names sake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon (which is all one) according to the manner of speaking in the Apocalyps, as touching the Temporal and Corporal power of governing. And thus shall she fall also touching the spiritual power of governing, for the multitude of Iniquities and spiritual Fornication, and Merchandise that are committed by her in the Church.

The feet of the Image in the dream of Nabuchadonozor signify Rome.

The feet of the Image which Nabuchadonozor saw, did betoken the Empire of Rome, and part of them were of Iron, and part of Clay and Earth. The part that was of Iron fell, and the power thereof vanquished away, because the power thereof, was at an end after certain Months. That part of Clay and Earth yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the Testimony of the Prophets: Whereupon Saint John in the Apocalyps; After that, he saw the part made of Iron rising out of the Sea, to which each people, Tribe, and Tongue submitted themselves. And he saw another Beast coming out of the Earth, which had two Horns like to the Horns of a Lamb, and he spake like a Dragon, and he vanquished the first Beast in his fight.

The Beast with two Horns like the Lamb, signifieth the spiritual Dominion of Rome.

This Beast as seemeth me, doth betoken the Clay and Earthen part of the feet of the Image, because he came out of the Earth. For that by terrene help he is made the High and chief Priest of the Romans in the Church of Christ, and so from below he ascended, on high. But Christ from Heaven descended, because that he which was God, and Author of every Creature, became man; and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the shape of a Servant. And although that in the Heavens the company of Angels Minister unto him, he himself Ministered or served in Earth, that he might teach us Humility, by which a man ascendeth into Heaven, even as by pride a man goeth down into the bottomless Pit. This Beast hath two Horns most like a Lamb, because that he challengeth to himself both the Priestly and Kingly power above all other here in Earth. The Lamb, that is, Christ, is a King for ever upon the Kingly Seat of David, and he is a Priest forever after the

Order of Melchisedech; but his Kingdom is not of this World: but the Kingdom of this Beast is of this World, because those that be under him fight for him. And as Jesus is Christ two manner of ways, because that Christ is as much to say as Unctus; he verily was anointed King, and anointed Priest: So this Beast saith, that he is chief King and Priest. Wherefore doth he call himself Christ? Because that Christ, knowing that afore, said; Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. And thus because that he is both King and Priest, he challengeth to himself the double Sword, that is, the corporal Sword and the spiritual Sword. The corporal Sword is in his right Hand, and his spiritual Sword is in his right Eye, by the Testimony of Zachery. But he speaketh subtilly like a Dragon, because that by the Testimony of Christ he shall deceive many, as the Apocalyps witnesseth. He did great wonders that also he might make more fire to come from Heaven into the Earth in the sight of men, that he might deceive those that dwell upon the Earth, because of the wonders, that are permitted him to do in the sight of the Beast, and he overcame the first Beast which ascended out of the Sea. For that Beast challenged unto himself Authority of Government of the whole World. He hath put to death and Tormented those that resist his Commandments, and would be honoured as a God upon the Earth. The Bishop of Rome saith that the whole World ought to be in subjection unto him; those that be disobedient unto his Commandments he putteth in prison, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the Devils Dungeon. But he that hath no power over the body, much less hath he power over the soul. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any Priest under him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicate, so that the person of him that is excommunicate be not first excommunicate of God through sin.

Jesus is Christ two manner of ways; as King and Priest.

The double Sword of the Pope.

And thus it seemeth a Troth unto me, that God thus turns their Blessings into Cursings, because they give not due Glory unto his name. So when that they unjustly Excommunicate and Curse, he turneth their Cursings into Blessings. Also the Bishop of Rome doth make men to worship him as God, because that the special Sacrifice that God doth require of us, is to be obedient unto him in keeping of his Commandments. But now the Popes Commandments be commanded to be kept, and be kept in very Deed; but the Commandments of Christ are contemned and rejected. Thus sitteth the Bishop of Rome in the Temple of God, shewing himself as God, and extolleth himself above all that which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall he shall be revealed, because that every Kingdom divided in it self shall be made desolate. He teaching a truth is the Head of the Church; but the Prophet teaching a lie is the Tail of the Dragon. He seducing the World shall be acknowledged to be the verity of the Doctrine of Christ; but after he is known, he shall be rejected and nought esteemed. He giveth to small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, Marks in their right Hands, and in their Foreheads; that no man should buy or sell, but those that shall have the Marks of the name of the Beast, or that look to have of him some recompence, small, mean, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is 300. The Pope saith, that in the Administration of every Sacrament he doth Imprint a certain Character or Mark into the soul of him that receiveth it. In Baptism he saith that he doth Imprint, into the soul of him that is Baptized, a Mark that cannot be wiped out, and so likewise in other Sacraments. And I know that in a Sacrament are two things, that is, the Sacramental Sign, and spiritual grace represented by the same Sign: the Sacramental Sign is given to Man of Man, but the spiritual grace is given of Christ.

The Bishop of Rome seeketh to be worshipped as God. The Commandments of the Pope more regarded than Christ's.

In every Sacrament two things contained.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty Priest doth Baptise any Man, if he that is Baptized or his Parents (if he be a Child) do ask with lawful meaning Baptism, and do mean faithfully hereafter to observe the words of Baptism; he is as well Baptized, as if he were Baptized of never so vertuous a Priest. So also the sinner which with all his heart is sorry for his Sins, and doth ask faithfully mercy of God, is as well absolved of a vicious Priest, as of a vertuous. Because the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World, wipeth away inwardly our sins

by his Grace; because that he is the Bishop and Pastor of our Souls. All other Priests do outwardly work absolution, which know not for a certainty whether they have absolved or not. So also is it in the other, because that the grace of the Sacrament is given of God, and the Sacramental sign, of man. In giving of Orders the chief Bishop doth imprint the corporal marks; but of the spiritual marks I know none; unless a man will say, that by receiving the Order he hath some belief that he may work some things pertaining to that Order, the which before the receiving of the Order he could not. But this one thing is certain, that none in the Church ought to sell spiritual Merchandize (of which things we have spoken before) unless he have the mark of the Beast. My counsel is, let the buyer beware of those marks; because that after the fall of Babylon, *If any man hath worshipped the Beast and her Image, and hath received the mark upon his Forehead, and upon his Hand, he shall drink of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the Cup of his anger, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy Angels, and in the sight of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torments shall evermore ascend, although he look for a recompence, small, mean, or great, of the Beast, or else the number of his Name.* The Beast doubtless doth recompence his Friends with his small reward; that is, with great Gifts and Benefices corporal; with a mean reward, that is, with great spiritual Gifts, in authority of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exercising other spiritual Works; and with his greatest reward, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honoured in Earth among the Saints. The number of his name, according to the opinion of some men, is, *Dux Cleri*, the Captain of the Clergy, because by that name he is named, and maketh his name known, and that name is 666.

This is my opinion of the Beast ascending out of the Earth, and shall be, until such time as I shall be of the same Beast better instructed. And although that this Beast doth signifie the Roman Bishops; yet the other cruel Beast ascending out of the Sea, doth signifie the Roman Emperors. And although that the Dragon being a cruel Beast, and the false Prophet giving the mark, must be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for ever; I would have no man to judge, but I leave such things altogether to the final Judgment of Christ to be determined. But *Martin* the Popes Confessor, which maketh the Chronicle of the Emperors and Popes, reciteth many Errors of the Popes, more horrible and abominable than of the Emperors. For he speaketh of the Idolatrous Popes, heretical, simoniacal, and Popes that were Murderers, that used Necromancy and Witchcraft, that were Fornicators, and defiled with all kind of Vice. But I have partly declared how that the Popes Law is contrary to Christs Law, and how that he saith, *That he is the chief Vicar of Christ in Earth*; and in his deeds is contrary to Christ, and doth forsake both his Doctrine and Life. I cannot see who else may be so well *Antichrist*, and a Seducer of the people. For there is not a greater Pestilence than a familiar enemy.

As concerning Idols, and the worshipping of them, I think of them, as *Moses*, *Solomon*, *Isaias*, *Jeremy*, and the rest of the Prophets did, which all spake against the making of Images, as also the worshipping of Images. And faithful *David*, full of the Spirit of God, saith, *Let all those be confounded that worship Images, and that rejoyce in Idols.* And again he saith, *Let them be made like unto them that make them; and all such as put their trust in them.* Wherefore I pray God that this evil come not upon me, which is the Curse of God pronounced by *David* the Prophet. Nor will I be, by Gods Grace, either a maker, or else a worshipper of Images.

As concerning Oaths, I believe and obey the Doctrine of the Almighty God, and my Master Jesus Christ, which teacheth, That Christian-men in affirmation of a truth should pass the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the Old Testament, or else he excludeth them from the Kingdom of Heaven. For he saith, *Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* And as concerning Oaths he saith, *It hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but shalt*

perform unto the Lord those things which thou knowest. **KING**
But I say unto you, Thou shalt not swear at all, neither by the Heaven, nor yet by the Earth, &c. But let your Communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever shall be more than this, proceedeth of evil. Therefore as the perfection of the ancient men of the Old Testament was, not to forswear themselves; so the perfection of Christian men is, not to swear at all, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose Commandment must in no case be broken, although that the City of Rome is contrary to this Doctrine of Christ, even as in many things she is found contrary to her self.

As touching the taking away of Temporal goods, from those that are Ecclesiastical Persons offending *habitualiter*, by such as are Temporal Lords, I will not affirm any thing to be lawful in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to Charity: And that because it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of Charity; because peradventure he that taketh away is the more moved to such manner of taking away, by reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he endeavourerth to take away: or else, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person, from whom he goeth about to take away those goods, more than that he, from whom those goods be taken, should be amended. Therefore unless he that taketh away be only moved of Charity to the taking away of such goods, I dare not affirm that such taking is lawful. And if such taking away proceed of Charity, I dare not judge it unlawful: because that the Bishop of Rome which received his Temporal Dominion of the Emperor, when the Emperor rebelled and was not obedient unto him, deprived him from his Temporal Jurisdictions: How much more then may Temporal Lords do the same, which have bestowed upon them many Temporal Dominions and Lordships, only to the intent that they might the better intend to serve God, and keep his Commandments? Now if they perceive that they be against the Laws of God, and that they be over-busily occupied about worldly matters: I cannot see but that they may well enough take from them those Temporal Goods, which is to a good purpose they gave them. But if, in time to come after this, those that be Temporal Lords shall take from Ecclesiastical persons such Temporalities: let him that desireth to understand this, read the Prophet *Ezekiel*, in the Chapter of the Shepherds of Israel, which fed themselves in stead of their flock; and also let him read the *Apocalypsis* of the fall of Babylon: Let him also read the Popes Decretals against Hereticks; and in those he shall find, that the taking away of the Temporalities from the Clergy, shall come to pass for the multitude of their sins.

Thus reverend Father have I made mine Answer to the matter whereof I am accused: beseeching you that as I have been obedient to your desire, and that even as a Son, declaring unto you the secrets of my heart in plain words (although rudely;) so I may know your opinion, and crave your fatherly Benevolence, that now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning I have promised you, if any man of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, can shew me any error in any of my writings by the Authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded on the Scriptures; I will receive his Information willingly and humbly.

After that all the foresaid things were exhibited and given by the foresaid *Walter Brute*, unto the foresaid Bishop of Hereford; he further appointed to the same *Walter*, the third day of the month of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the days following to hear his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being *Friday*, in the year of our Lord God, 1393. the said *Walter Brute* appeared before him, sitting in Commission in the Cathedral-Church of Hereford, at six a Clock, or thereabout; having for his Assistants in the same place, divers Prelates and Abbots, and twenty Bachelors of Divinity, whereof twelve were Monks, and two Doctors of the Law. Amongst these was *Nicholas Hereford* accompanied with many other Prelates and worshipful Men, and wise Graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the foresaid *Walter* appoyed of his Writings aforesaid, and the Contents therein. Earnest were they in picking out of those Writings, his Here-

Whether Temporal goods may be taken away from Ecclesiastical Persons offending.

Popes take from Emperors, their Benefactions, Temporal Dominion, when they offend: Ergo, much more may Emperors take from Popes Temporal Dominion when they offend.

A Prophecy of *Walter Brute*, that Temporal goods shall be taken away from the Clergy for the multitude of their sins

Walter Brute again commanded to appear.

Bishops and Abbots, with twenty Bachelors of Divinity, ten Monks, two Doctors of Law sitting upon *Walter Brute*. *Nicholas Hereford* there also present

Caveat Emperor.

The rewards of the Beast.

The number the name of the Beast. *Dux Cleri*.

Martin penitentialius. More wicked Popes than Emperors.

Matters of Idolatry.

Images. Oaths, how far they are tolerable.

KING lies, and in shewing his Schisms, sundry Errors, and divers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day, and the two days following (that is, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) in their Informations and Examinations against the same *Walter Brute*; the same *Walter Brute* submitted himself to the determination of the Church, and to the correction of the said *John Bishop*, as it appeareth word for word in a Scroul written in the English-Tongue: The tenour of which Scroul, is as followeth:

The writings of *Walter Brute* examined.

The tenour of the submission of *Walter Brute*.

I *Walter Brute* submit my self principally to the Evangelically of *Jefus Christ*, and to the determination of holy Kirk, and to the general Councils of holy Kirk. And to the Sentence and determination of the four Doctors of holy Writ; that is, *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *Gregory*. And I meekly submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his Bishop.

The submission of *Walter Brute* openly read at Hereford.

Which Scroul, as before is recited, in the English-Tongue, the foresaid *Walter Brute*, read with a loud and intelligible Voice, at the Cross in the Church-yard on Monday; that is to say, the sixth of the said month of October, before the Sermon made unto the people in presence of the said Bishop of Hereford and other above written, as also other Barons, Knights, and Noblemen, and Clergy, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the Scroul, the foresaid *Thomas Crawlay*, Bachelor of Divinity, made a Sermon unto the people, and took for his Theme the words of the Apostle to the Romans, the eleventh Chapter, that is as followeth; Be not over-wise in your own conceits, but stand in fear, &c.

¶ Out of these Declarations and Writings of *Walter Brute*, the Bishop with the Monks and Doctors above rehearsed, did gather and draw certain Articles, to the number of 37, which they sent to the University of Cambridge to be confuted, unto two learned men, *Master Colwill* and *Master Newton*, Bachelors of Divinity. Which *Master Colwill* and *Newton* did both labour in the matter, to the uttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said 37 Articles.

Belides them also, *William Woodford* a Frier (who wrote likewise against the Articles of *Wickliff*) labouring, in the same Cause made a solemn and a long tractation, compiling the Articles of the said *Brute*, to the number of nine and twenty. All which Treatises as I wish to come to the Readers hand, that the slenderness of them might be known; so it may happen percase, that the same being in my hand may hereafter be further published, with other like tractations more, as convenient time for the prolixity thereof may hereafter better serve than now.

What after this became to this *Walter Brute*, or what end he had, I find it not registred: but like it is, that he for this time escaped. Certain other writings I find moreover, which albeit they bear no name of this *Walter*, nor of any certain Author; yet because they are in the same Register adjoynd to the History of him, I thought therefore most fit here to be inserted. Of the which one was a Letter sent to *Nicholas Hereford* a little above specified: who being at the first a great Follower of *John Wickliff*, as appeareth before, page 500. was now in the number of them which fate upon this *Walter*, as is in the Column above recorded. The Copy of this Letter bearing no name of any special Author, but only as sent by a certain Lollard (as the Register doth term him) is written in manner and form as followeth.

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter sent to Master *Nicholas Hereford*, by a Lollard, as in the Register it is said.

A Letter sent to *Nicholas Hereford*.

Forasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the Plough and looketh back is meet for the Kingdom of GOD, as our Saviour Christ saith: What marvel is it, although Master *Nicholas Hereford*, which at the first (by the Visitation of the Spirit of God peradventure) put his hand; that is, gave his diligence unto the Plough; that is, to the sowing of the Word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good works, is now so blind

and unskilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is understood by the Kingdom of Heaven? Truly it is no marvel, O thou that art Master of the Nicolaitans, which, like *Nicholas* the most false Deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theological verity is shut up as well from thee as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions, forasmuch as thou goest not in by the door to expound the same Evangelical verity. Therefore when thou didst recite this other day, first, the Pharisaical and hypocritical Woe (nothing at all to any purpose) thou shouldst have said justly in this sort, both of thy self, and other thy Followers and religious Antichrists: Woe be unto us Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the Kingdom of Heaven; that is to say, the true Knowledge of the holy Scriptures, before men by our false Glosses and crooked Similitudes: and neither we our selves enter into the same Kingdom or Knowledge, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth unto the faithful sort, that wrongfully, falsely, and without any reverence, ye have expounded that Text of *Gregory*, 1. q. 1. that is to say, Quicumque stude, &c. For this is the true understanding of the same: Knowing first that there be some Priests after the thing, and name only; and doth shew that this is true, that whosoever studieth to receive the holy Order by giving of money, he is not a Priest, Secundum rem, & nomen. But to say the truth, he desireth to be called a Priest; that is, to be a Priest Secundum nomen tantum. And such a Priest, which is a Priest in name only, is no Priest. No more than *Saint Mary* painted is *Saint Mary*: Nor a false Doctor a Doctor, but no Doctor: And a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus such a Priest in name only is not a Priest: Because that all faithful men do firmly believe with *Saint GREGORY*, that no man buying the holy Orders, may then be called a Priest, as he saith, 1. q. 1. They that buy or sell holy Orders can be no Priests. Whereupon is written, Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi; that is, Simoniacal Heresie. And it followeth, How therefore, if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when that they be not in the body of Christ, how can they either receive or deliver the Body of CHRIST? He that is accursed, how can he be blessed? as though he would say, It is impossible. As *Pope Urbanus* saith, 1. q. 1. Siquis a Simoniaco, &c. Where he saith thus, They that willingly know and suffer themselves to be consecrated, nay rather execrated, of those that are infected with Simony; we judge that their Consecration is altogether void. Also *Pope Leo* in 2. q. 1. saith in this wise, Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not Grace. Spiritual Usurers do not receive freely: Therefore, they receive not the spiritual Grace, which specially worketh in the Ecclesiastical Orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by this it is more clear than the light, that they which know so much, and receive Orders by spiritual Usury of Simony, are neither Priests nor Deacons, neither after the manner nor character. For if such character or mark were otherwise given in giving Orders, it were requisite always that there should be a certain Grace imprinted in the man; but there is no such Grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifest. Therefore there is no character to be fained. Therefore such character or mark abideth not in him, forasmuch as he never had nor hath the same. And yet furthermore in the same place, What then do the simoniacal Prelates give? And he maketh answer, Truly even that which they have, as the spirit of Lying. How prove we this? Because that if it be the spirit of verity, as the same verity doth testifie from whom it cometh, it is freely received. And it followeth for the whole purpose no doubt; it is convicted to be the spirit of lying, which is not freely received.

Nicolaitans.

1. q. 1. cap. Quicumque stude.

1. q. 1. Si quis a Simoniaco.

Ex Leone Papa. 2. q. 1.

By this it appeareth manifestly to the faithful sort, that those which wittingly and simoniacally are made Priests, forasmuch as they receive not the Character of the Lord, but only the Spirit of lying and the mark of *Simon Magus*, and of *Judas the Traytor*, they be not Priests neither according to the mark nor manner. Nor such do no more make the Sacraments of Church, than other Lay-men may in the time of necessity, nor yet so truly, during their heretical naughtiness. And yet indeed (Brother mine) univoce natura, but yet æquivoce in moribus; I do not write thus sharply unto you, through anger, or any imperfect hate, but through

Brother in nature: in manners as Brother.

through the perfect hate of your horrible Hereſie, and denying the Faith of Chriſt, that I may ſay with David in the Pſalms, Perfecto odio oderam, &c. And I am very ſorry for you, that you, which in times have excellently well and fruitfully preached the Goſpel in the Pulpit, do now as well fail in the Congruity of the Latin-Tongue, as in the other Science natural. For as it was heard, thrice in one Lecture you ſaid appetitis; that is to ſay, pronouncing the middle ſyllable long, which thing not only the Maſters, but alſo the young Scholars underſtood. And many other faults there were in Grammar, which for ſhame I dare not recite. I ſend unto you theſe five Concluſions.

Five Con-
cluſions.

The firſt Concluſion, It is an infallible verity that the words of the four chief Doctors, expounding the holy Scripture according to the verity which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond, He which importeth any equivocation out of any of the Doctors expounding, for the colouring of his Text, his equivocation is always to be left.

The third, No perverſion of any Reprobate is able to turn the Congregation of the Elect from the Faith, becauſe all things that ſhall come to paſs are eternally in God, deviſed and ordained for the beſt unto the Elect Chriſtians.

The fourth, Like as the myſtical Body of Chriſt is the Congregation of all the Elect; ſo Antichriſt myſtically is the Church of the wicked and of all the Reprobates.

The fifth, The Concluſions of Swinderby be agreeable to the Faith in every part.

* This Letter was thus ſubſcribed :

By the Spirit of God, ſometime viſiting
you.

¶ Beſides this Epiſtle above prefixed, there is alſo found annexed with the ſame a device of another certain Letter counterfeited under the name of Lucifer Prince of Darkneſs; writing to the Pope and all Popiſh Prelates, perſecuting the true and right Church (with all might and main) to maintain their Pride and Domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and viſor of the Catholick-Church and ſucceſſion Apoſtolical. Which Letter although it ſeemeth in ſome Authors to be aſcribed to Ockham, above mentioned; yet becauſe I find it in the ſame Register of the Church of Hereford contained, and inſerted among the Tractations of Walter Brute, and deviſed (as the Register ſaid) by the Lollards; I thought no meet place than here to annex the ſame; the tenour whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow.

The device or counterfeit of a certain Letter
fained under the name of Lucifer Prince of
Darkneſs, writing to the perſecuting Pre-
lates of the Popiſh Clergy.

The Epiſtle
of Lucifer
to the
proud Pre-
lates of the
Popes Cler-
gy.

I Lucifer Prince of Darkneſs and profound heavineſs, Emperour of the myſteries of the King of Acheront, Captain of the Dungeon Erebus, King of Hell, and Controulor of the Infernal fire, To all our Children of Pride, and Companions of our Kingdom, and eſpecially to our Princes of the Church of this later age and time (of which our Adverſary Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Prophet, ſaith, I hate the Church or Congregation of the wicked) ſend greeting, and wiſh Proſperity to all that obey our Commandments, as alſo to thoſe that be obedient to the Laws of Satan already enacted, and that are diligent Obſervers of our Beheſts, and the Precepts of our Decree. Know ye that in times paſt certain Vicars or Vicegerents of Chriſt, following his ſteps in Miracles and Vertues, living and continuing in a beggerly life, converted (in a manner) the whole world from the Toke of our Tyranny unto their Doctrine and manner of life, to the great deriſion and contempt of our Priſon-houſe and Kingdom, and alſo to the no little prejudice and hurt of our Jurisdiction and Authority, not fearing to hurt our fortified Power, and to offend the majeſty of our Eſtate. For then received we no Tribute of the world, neither did the miſerable ſort of common people ruſh at the Gates of our deep Dungeon as they were wont to do, with continual pealing and rapping, but then the eaſe,

Humility
e diſeth.
Pride de-
ſtroyeth.

pleasant, and broad way, which leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noiſe of trampling Travellers, neither yet was trod with the feet of miſerable men. And when all our Courts were without Suiters, Hell then began to howl. And thus, continuing in great heavineſs and anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoiled. Which thing conſidered, the impatient rage of our ſtomach could no longer ſuffer, neither the ugly wretchleſs negligence of our great Captain-General could any longer endure. But we, ſeeking remedy for the time that ſhould come after, have provided us of a very trim ſhift. For in ſtead of theſe Apoſtles and other their Adherents which draw by the ſame line of theirs, as well in Manners as Doctrine, and are odious Enemies unto us. We have cauſed you to be their Succeſſors, and put you in their place, which be Prelates of the Church in theſe later times, by our great might and ſubtilty, as Chriſt hath ſaid of you: They have reigned, but not by me. Once we promiſed unto him all the Kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worſhip us; but he would not, ſaying, My Kingdom is not of this world, and went his way when the multitude would have made him a Temporal King. But to you truly which are fallen from the ſtate of Grace, and that ſerve us in the earth, is that my promiſe fulfilled: and by our means all terrene things which we have beſtowed upon you are under your Government. For he hath ſaid of us as ye know, The Prince of this world cometh, &c. and hath made us to Reign over all Children of unbelief. Therefore our Adverſaries before recited did patiently ſubmit themſelves unto the Princes of the world, and did teach that men ſhould do ſo, ſaying, Be ye ſubject to every Creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be to the King as moſt chief. And again, Obey ye them that are made Rulers over you, &c. For ſo their Maſter commanded them, ſaying, The Kings of the Heathen have Dominion over them, &c. But I think it long till we have poured our poiſon upon the earth, and therefore fill your ſelves full. And now be ye not unlike thoſe Fathers, but alſo contrary unto them in your life and conditions, and extol your ſelves above all other men. Neither do ye give to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Cæſar that which is his: but exerciſe you the power of both the Swords, according to our Decrees, making your ſelves doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrel, intangled with ſecular labours and buſineſs. And climb ye by little and little from the miſerable ſtate of Poverty unto the higheſt Seats of all Honours, and the moſt Princely places of Dignity by your deviſed practices, and falſe and deceitful wiles and ſubtilty; that is, by Hypocriſie, Flattery, Lying, Perjury, Treasons, Deceits, Simony, and other greater wickedneſs than which our Infernal Furies may deviſe. For after that ye have by us been advanced thither where ye would be, yet that doth not ſuffice you, but, as greedy ſhavelings more hungry than ye were before, ye ſuppreſs the poor, ſcratch and rake together all that comes to hand, perverting and turning every thing topsie-turvy; ſo ſwollen that ready ye are to burſt for pride, living like Lechers in all corporal delicateness, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to your ſelves names of Honour in the earth, calling your ſelves Lords, Holy, yea and moſt holy perſons.

KING
Rie. 2.

Placing of
proud Pre-
lates the
cauſe of all
miſchief.
The Church
never well
governed
ſince the
Devils of-
fers were
taken of the
Church-men

Pride in
Prelates,
noted,
Popiſh Pre-
lates nei-
ther give to
God nor
Cæſar that
which be-
longeth to
God and
Cæſar.
The double
Jurisdiction
of the
Popes two
Swords
cometh of
Lucifer.
The out-
rages of the
Popes Cler-
gy deſcri-
bed.

Domini-
sancti-
Sanctiſim

Thus, either by violence ye raven, or elſe by ambition, ſubtilly ye piſſer away, and wrongfully wreſt and by falſe Title poſſeſs thoſe Goods, which for the ſuſtentation of the poor Members of Chriſt (whom from our firſt fall we have hated) were beſtowed and given, conſuming them as ye your ſelves liſt, and therewith ye cheriſh and maintain an innumerable ſort of Whores, Strumpets, and Bawds, with whom ye ride pompouſly like mighty Princes, far otherwiſe going, than thoſe poor beggerly Priests of the Primitive-Church. For I would ye ſhould build your ſelves rich and gorgeous Palaces: ye ſave like Princes, eating and drinking the moſt daintieſt meats, and pleaſanteſt wines that may be gotten; ye hoord and heap together an infinite deal of Treſure, not like to him that ſaid, Gold and ſilver have I none; ye ſerve and fight for us according to your wages. O moſt acceptable Society or Fellowship, promiſed unto us by the Prophet, and of thoſe Fathers long ago reproved: Whiſt that Chriſt called thee The Synagogue of Satan, and likened thee to the mighty Whore which committed Fornication with the Kings of the Earth, the adulterous Spouſe of Chriſt, and of a chaſt perſon made a ſtrumpet.

The laſt-
ous and
whoriſh life
of the Ro-
miſh Clergy

KING Ric. 2. a strumpet. Thou hast left thy first love and hast cleaved unto us, O our beloved Babylon, O our Citizens, which from the transmigration of Jerusalem come hither: we love you for your deserts, we rejoyce over you which condemn the Law of Simon Peter, and embrace the Law of Simon Magus our Friend, and have them at your fingers ends, and exercise the same publickly, buying and selling spiritual things in the Church of God, and against the Commandment of God. To give Benefices and Honours by petition, or else for money; for favour, or else for filthy service. And refusing to admit those that be worthy to Ecclesiastical Dignities, and preferring those that are unworthy, you call unto the Inheritance of Gods Sanctuary, Barreds, Lyars, Flatterers, your Nephews, and your own Children, and to a childish Boy ye give many Prebends, the least whereof ye deny to bestow upon a poor good man: ye esteem the person of a man, and receive gifts, ye regard money and have no regard of Souls. Ye have made the House of God a Den of Thieves. All abuse, all extortion is more exercised a hundred-fold in your Judgment-Seats, than with any secular Tyrant. Ye make Laws and keep not the same, and ye dispence with your Dispensations as it pleaseth you; you justify the wicked for Rewards, and you take away the just mans desert from him. And briefly ye perpetrate or commit all kind of mischief, even as it is our will ye should. And ye take much pain for lucre sake in our service, and especially to destroy the Christian Faith. For now the Lay-people are almost in doubt what they may believe, because if ye preach any thing to them as some times (although it be but seldom seen, and that negligently enough, even as we would have it) yet notwithstanding they believe you not, because they see manifestly that ye do clean contrary to that ye say. Whereupon the common people, doing as ye do which have the Government of them, and should be an example to them of well-doing; now many of them, leaning to your Rules, do run headlong into a whole Sea of Vices; and so continually a very great multitude flocketh at the strong and well fenced Gates of our Dungeon. And doubtless ye send us so many day by day of every sort and kind of people, that we should not be able to entertain them, but that our insatiable Chaos with her thousand ravening jaws is sufficient to devour an infinite number of Souls. And thus the Sovereignty of our Empire by you hath been reformed, and our intolerable loss restored. Wherefore, most specially we commend you, and give you most hearty thanks; exhorting you all that in any wise ye persevere and continue, as hitherto ye have done: neither that you slack henceforth your enterprize. For why? by your helps we purpose to bring the whole world again under our Power and Dominion. Over and besides this, we commit unto you no small Authority, to supply our places in the betraying of your Brethren; and we make and ordain you our Vicars, and the Ministers of Antichrist our Son, now hard at hand, for whom ye have made a very trim way and passage. Furthermore, we counsel you which occupy the highest Rooms of all other, that you work subtilly, and that ye faintly procure Peace between the Princes of the world, and that ye cherish and procure secret Causes of discord. And like as craftily ye have destroyed and subverted the Roman Empire, so suffer ye no Kingdom to be overmuch enlarged or enriched by tranquility and peace; lest perhaps in so great tranquility (all desire of peace set aside) they dispose themselves to view and consider your most wicked works, suppressing on every side your Estate; and from your Treasures take away such substance, as we have caused to be reserved and kept in your hands, until the coming of our welbeloved Son Antichrist. We would ye should do our Commendations to our entirely beloved Daughters, Pride, Deceit, Wrath, Avarice, Belly-cheer, and Lechery, and to all other my Daughters; and specially to lade. Simony which hath made you men, and enriched you, and hath given you suck with her own breasts, and weaned you, and therefore in no wise see that you call her sin. And be ye lofty and proud, because that the most high dignity of your Estate doth require such Magnificence. And also be ye covetous, for whatsoever ye get and gather into your Fardel, it is for Saint Peter, for the peace of the Church, and for the defence of your Patrimony and the Crucifix; and therefore ye may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the highest Seat of Dignities without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of

our Adversary Jesus Christ, and alledging again, that he preferred his Kinsfolks (being but of poor and base degree) unto the Apostleship; but do not you so, but rather call, as ye do, those that live in Arrogancy, in haughtiness of Mind, and filthy Lechery, unto the state of wealthy riches and pride; and those Rewards and Promotions, which the Followers of Christ forsook, do ye distribute unto your Friends. Therefore as ye shall have better understanding, prepare ye Vices cloked under the similitude of Vertues. Alledge for your selves the glosses of the holy Scripture, and wrest them directly to serve for your purpose. And if any man preach or teach otherwise than ye will, oppress ye them violently with the Sentence of Excommunication, and by your Censures heaped one upon another, by the consent of your Brethren, let him be condemned as an Heretick, and let him be kept in most strait prison, and there tormented till he die, for a terrible example to all such as confess Christ. And setting all favour apart, cast him out of your Temple, lest peradventure the ingrafted word may save your Souls, which word I do abhor as I do the Souls of other faithful men. And do your endeavour, that ye may deserve to have the place which we have prepared for you, under the most wicked foundation of our dwelling-place. Fare ye well, with such Felicity as we desire and intend finally to reward and recompence you with.

Given at the center of the Earth, in that our dark place, where all the rabblement of Devils were present, specially for this purpose called unto our most dolorous Consistory, under the Character of our terrible Seal, for the confirmation of the premises.

Ex Registro Herefordensi ad verbum.

Who was the true Author of this Poetic or Epistle above written, it is not evidently known; neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered on their part, which here be noted, may minister unto them sufficient occasion of wholesome Admonition, either to remember themselves what is amiss, or to bethink with themselves what is to be amended. Divers other writings of like argument, both before and since, have been devised: as one bearing the Title, *Luciferi ad malos Principes Ecclesiasticos*, imprinted first at Paris in Latin. And under the writing thereof, bearing this date, *Anno a Palatii nostri fractione, consortiumque nostrorum subtractione, 1351*. Which if ye count from the Passion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of Wickliff, 1385, which was above six years before the examination of this Walter Brute.

There is also another Epistle of Lucifer Prince of Darkness, ad Prelatos, mentioned in the Epistle of the School of Prague, to the University of Oxford, set forth by Hedericus Huttenus, about the year of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370, which seemeth to be written before this Epistle.

Also Vincentius in Speculo Hist. lib. 25. cap. 89. inferreth like mention of a Letter of the Fiends Infernal unto the Clergy-men, as in a Vision represented, before 400 years. In which the Devils gave thanks to the Spiritual-men, for that by their silence and not preaching the Gospel, they sent infinite Souls to Hell, &c.

Divers other Letters also of like device have been written, and also recorded in Authors. Whereunto may be added, that one, Jacobus Garthufensis, writing to the Bishop of Wormace, alledged out of the Prophetic of Hildegardis, in these words, *Ideo & Diabolus in semetipso de vobis Sacerdotibus ait: Escas epulantium, convivis & omnes voluptates in istis invenio; sed & oculi, & aures, & venter meus, & vena mea, de spuris illorum plena sunt, & ubera mea plena sunt divitiis illorum, &c. i. e.* Therefore, saith he, the Devil may say of you Priests in himself; The meats of banquetting-Dishes, and Feasts of all kind of pleasure, I find in these men; yea also mine Eyes, mine Ears, my Belly, and all my Veins be full of their frothing, and my Breasts be full stuffed with their riches, &c. Furthermore, saith he, they labour every day to rise up higher with Lucifer, but every day they fall with him more deeply.

Hereunto also pertaineth a story written, and commonly found in many old written Books: In the year of our Lord, 1228, at Paris in a Synod of the Clergy, Clergy-men there

Promoting of proud and rich Cardinals. Cloked honest.

Wresting of Scripture.

Tyranny and cruelty by the Pope.

Ex Registro Hereford.

Epist. Lucif. ad Prelatos.

Vincent. Spec. Hist. lib. 25. cap. 89.

Ex Proph. Hildegardis.

The Devil giveth thanks to Clergy-men there.

there was one appointed to make a Sermon. Who being much careful in his mind, and solicitous what to say, the Devil came to him, and asking him, *Why he was so careful for his matter what he should preach to the Clergy*; say thus, quoth he, *The Princes of Hell salute you, O you Princes of the Church, and gladly give you thanks, because through your default and negligence it cometh to pass, that all Souls go down to Hell.* Adding moreover, *That he was also enforced by the Commandment of God to declare the same, yea and that a certain Token moreover was given to the said Clerk for a sign, whereby the Synod might evidently see that he did not lye.* Ex Catal. Illyr. fol. 546.

The silence of Priests in not preaching the Gospel, damns many a Soul.

The Bull of Pope Boniface the Ninth, against the Lollards.

The Popes Letter to the Bishop of Hereford.

Bonifacius Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, To the reverend Brother, John Bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting and Apostolical Benediction. We mean to write unto our wellbeloved Son in Christ (Richard the renowned King of England) in form inclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your Brotherhood; that as much as ye may ye study and endeavour yourself to exhort and induce the same King to do those things which we have written unto him, as it is said before. And notwithstanding that now many a day you ought to have done it of your self, and not to look that we should persuade you to that effect by us written; you may proceed as well by our Authority, as by your own, forasmuch as it was given you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion beareth unto the Catholick Faith, and to the conserving of the Ecclesiastical Honour, and also to the execution of your Pastoral Office.

Given at Rome at S. Peters the 15th Kalends of October, the sixth year of our Bishop-like Dignity.

The tenour of the Bull, to the renowned Prince, Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The Popes wild Bull let loose against the Servants of Christ.

TO our welbeloved Son in Christ, Richard the noble King of England, we send greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy Mother the Church in all places through Christendom lamenteth. We understand that there be certain Heresies sprung, and do without any condign restraint range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithful people, and do every day with overmuch liberty enlarge their undiscereit bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preservation both of you and your famous Kingdom, and also the sincerity of the Faith, and do with much more ardent desire cover that the prosperous state of the same should be preserved and enlarged; the sting of greater sorrow doth so much the more penetrate and molest us, forasmuch as we see (alas the while) in our time, and under the regal presidency of your most Christian Government, a certain crafty and hairbrain Sect of false Christians, in the same your Kingdom to grow and increase; which call themselves, The poor men of the treasury of Christ and his Disciples, and whom the common people by a more sounder name call Lollards (as a man would say, withered Darnel) according as their sins require; and perceive that they may wax strong, and as it were prevail against the Diocesans of some places, and other Governors, as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselves against them as they ought to do (whereof chiefly and not undeservedly I give them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption and stomach among the unlearned people. And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men, do rise up against the sound Faith, and holy universal Church of Rome; and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them) they got sitting upon their Mothers lap the said Church of Rome, do rise up or inveigh against the determination of the holy Fathers, with too much presumptuous boldness, to the subversion of

Alack good heart, what sorrow the Pope taketh.

As though no learning were but in the Church of Rome.

the whole Ecclesiastical Order and Estate; and have not been afraid, nor are yet afraid, publicly to preach very many erroneous, detestable, and heretical Articles, for that they are not put to silence, reprov'd, driven out, rooted out, or otherwise punished by any that hath authority and the fear and love of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same Articles, and so being written to deliver them to your Kingly Parliament, and obstinately to affirm the same. The venomous and disdainful recital of which Articles, upon good advisement, at this present we pass over, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heal. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evil should escape unpunished, and that without deserved vexation; and also that it might not get more heart, and wax more strong, We therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where is such negligence and sluggishness of our Prelates being present where this thing is) do commit and give in commandment to our reverend Brethren, Canterbury and York Archbishops, by other our Letters; that they stand up in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious Sect, and that they lively persecute the same in form of Law; root out and destroy those, that advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling-block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But because the assistance, counsel, favour, and aid of your Kingly Estate and Highness are requisite to the execution of the premises; we require, exhort, and beseech the same your Princely Highness by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, by his holy Faith, by your own Salvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to every man and woman, that not only your Kingly severity may readily shew, and cause to be shewed unto our Archbishops and their Commissaries (in this behalf requiring the foresaid due execution) convenient aid and favour, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted: but that also you will injoin your Magistrates and Justices of Assize and Peace, more straitly, that of their own good wills they execute the authority committed unto men, with all severity against such damned men, according as they are bound by the Office which they are put in trust with; against those, I mean, which have determined obstinately to defile themselves in their malice and sins, those to expel, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keep them, till condign Sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your Kingly wisdom seeth that such as they be do not only deceive poor simple Souls (or at the least do what they can to deceive them) but also bring their bodies to destruction, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall unto their Temporal Lords. Go too therefore, my sweet Son, and endeavour your self to work so in this matter, as undoubtedly we trust you will: that as this Firebrand (burning and flaming overfore) began under your Presidency or Government: so under your severe judgment and vertuous diligence, might, favour, and aid, there may not one spark remain hid under the ashes, but that it be utterly extinguished, and speedily put out.

KING Ric. 2.

The Dragon here spouteth out his floods of water to drown the Christians.

Behold the spirit of the Popes much holiness.

The bowels of Jesus Christ be full of mercy, the bowels of the Pope full of tyranny.

Help the Pope at a pinch, or else he is like to take a fall.

Given at our Palace of S. Peter at Rome, the 15th Calends of October, in the sixth year of our Pontificality.

The Kings Commission.

Richard by the Grace of God, King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, To all those unto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the instance of the reverend Father, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, and Legate of the Apostolical See, We for the redress and amendment of all those which would obstinately preach or maintain, publicly or privately, any Conclusions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy Mother the Church, and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the Catholick Faith, or containing any Heresie or Error, within the Province or Bishoprick of Canterbury, have by our special Letters Patents, in the zeal of the Faith, given Authority and Licence unto the foresaid Archbishop, and to all and singular his Suffragans, to arrest all and every of them that will preach or maintain any such Conclusions,

KING Conclusions, wheresoever they may be found, and to commit them either to their own Prisons, or any other at their own pleasure, and to keep them in the same, until they repent them of the errors and prauities of those Heresies; or till that, of such manner of arrests, by us or by our Council it should be otherwise determined; that is to say, to every one of them and their Ministers throughout their Cities and Dioceſs. And now the reverend Father in God, John Biſhop of Hereford, hath for a certainty informed us; that although the ſame Biſhop hath according to juſtice convinced a certain Fellow named William Swinderby, pretending himſelf to be a Chaplain, and one Stephen Bell, a learned man, and hath pronounced them Hereticks, and Excommunicate, and ſaſe Informers among the common people, and hath declared the ſame by the definitive Sentence of the aforeſaid Biſhop, for that they have preſumed to affirm and preach openly, in diuers places within the Dioceſs of Hereford, many Concluſions or naughty Opinions notoriously redounding to the ſubverſion of the Catholick ſound Faith, and tranquility of our Kingdom: The ſame Biſhop notwithstanding, neither by the Eccleſiaſtical Censures, neither by the force and ſtrength of our Commiſſion, was able to revoke the ſoreſaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacy of them; for that they, after that they were upon ſuch heretical prauity convicted by the ſame Biſhop (to the intent they might delude his judgment and juſtice) conveyed themſelves by and by unto the borders of Wales, with ſuch as were their Favourers and Accomplices, keeping themſelves cloſe, unto whom the force of our ſaid Letters doth in no wiſe extend. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop hath made ſupplication unto us, that we will vouchſafe to provide a ſufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore, which always (by the help of Almighty God) are Defenders of the Faith, willing to withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and perverſe Enterprizes by the moſt ſafe way and means we may give and commit full power and authority to the ſoreſaid Biſhop and to his Miniſters, by the tenour of theſe preſents, to arreſt or take, or cauſe to be arreſted or taken, the ſoreſaid William and Stephen, in any place within the City and Dioceſs of Hereford and our Dominion of Wales, with all the ſpeed that may be; and to commit them either to our priſon, or elſe to the priſon of the ſame Biſhop, or any other priſon at their pleaſure, if ſuch need be, and there to keep them ſafe. And afterwards, unleſs they will obey the commandments of the Church, with diligence to bring them before us and our Council, or elſe cauſe them to be brought; that we may determine for their further puniſhment, as we ſhall think it requiſite and convenient to be done by the advice of our Council, for the defence and preſervation of the Catholick Faith. And that the ſoreſaid William and Stephen, being ſuccoured by the aid of their Favourers or Favourers, ſhould not be able to fly or eſcape to their accuſtomed ſharing holes, and that the ſharpenſs of their pains ſo aggravated, may give them ſufficient cauſe to return to the lap again of their holy Mother the Church; we ſtraitly charge and command all and ſingular our Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Barons, and all other our Officers in the City and Dioceſs of Hereford, and in any other places being within our Dominion of Wales, by the tenour of theſe preſents; that from time to time (where they think it moſt meet) they cauſe it openly to be proclaimed in our Name, that none of what ſtate, degree, prebeminence, kind, or other condition he ſhall be, do cheriſh openly or ſecretly the ſoreſaid William and Stephen, until the time that they repent them of their Heresies and Errors, and ſhall be reconciled unto the holy Church of God: Neither that any perſon or perſons, be Believers, Favourers, or Receivers, Defenders, or in any caſe wittingly Inſtructors of the ſaid William or Stephen, or any other of the residue of the Hereticks that are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that alſo they giving their attendance be obedient and answerable to the ſoreſaid Biſhop and his Deputies in this behalf for the execution of the premisses: and that they certiſie us and our Council diſtinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and ſingular perſons, which ſhall fortune to be found culpable in this behalf, under their Seals. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made.

Witneſs our ſelf at Weſtmiſter, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth year of our Reign.
Farrington.

Another Letter of the ſaid King againſt Walter Brute.

Richard by the Grace of God King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to his beloved and faithful John Chaundos Knight, John Eynfore Knight, Renold de la Bere Knight, Walter Deveros Knight, Thomas de la Bare Knight, William Lucy Knight, Leonard Hakelute Knight, and to the Mayor of the City of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcaſtle, Richard Naſh, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Harry, Henry Morton, and to the Sheriff of Hereford, ſendeth Salutations.

Foraſmuch as it is advertiſed us, that one Walter Brute, and other ſuch Children of Iniquity, have damnably bolden, affirmed, and preached, certain Articles and Concluſions, being notoriously repugnant againſt the holy Scripture (of the which ſome of them as Heresies, and the reſt as errors are finally by the Church condemned) and that in diuers places within the Dioceſs of Hereford, and parts near adjoining, both privily, openly, and obſtinately; which thing we perceive not only to redound to the ſubverſion (in a manner) of the Catholick Faith, which as well we as other Catholick Princes ought of duty to maintain, but alſo to forewarn us of the ſubverſion of our faithful Dioceſſans: And that the ſaid Biſhop, upon the good deliberation and adviſement of a great number of Doctours in Divinity, and other learned and ſkilful men in the Scriptures, of ſpecial devotion, according to his bounden duty, purpoſed to begin and make diuers and ſundry Proceſſes by Law to be ſent unto the ſoreſaid Walter and his Accomplices to appear perſonally before him and other the Doctours aforeſaid in the Cathedral Church of Hereford, the morrow after the tranſlation of S. Thomas of Hereford next enſuing, and to proceed in the ſame place againſt the ſame Walter, in the ſoreſaid Articles and Concluſions, for the amendment of his Soul: and that they now aſreſh (becauſe that the ſaid Walter and others of their Retinue, cleaving and confederating with him, might not ſuffer condign pains according to their demerits) endeavour themſelves to make void and frustrate the ſaid godly purpoſe of the ſame Biſhop, in ſuch correction and execution as ſhould have been done, and with force do reſiſt and let the ſame with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our Crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: we do appoint you, and every of you, immediately as ſoon as this our Commiſſion ſhall be delivered unto you, in our behalf and name, to make open Proclamation in the Dioceſs and parts aforeſaid, where ye ſhall think it moſt meet and convenient: That no man be ſo hardy henceforth, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he ſhall be, within the Dioceſs and parts aforeſaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that ever he hath, to make or levy any Conventicles, Aſſemblies, or Confederacies, by any colour; or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the ſame Biſhops and Doctours aforeſaid may be by any means moleſted or let in the execution of ſuch correction as is to be done, according to the Canonical Sanctions; and to arreſt all thoſe which ye ſhall find, or take offending in this behalf, or that keep themſelves in any ſuch Conventicles: And that they, being committed to priſon, be there kept, till you ſhall have other Commandment from us and from our Council for their deliverance; and that ye diſtinctly and plainly certiſie us, and our ſaid Council, of all your doing in this behalf under your Seals, or elſe the Seals of ſome of you. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premisses, and that in your deeds ye execute the ſame with all diligence and careful endeavour in the form and manner aforeſaid. And further we give ſtrait charge and commandment to all and ſingular Sheriffs, Majors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and other our faithful Subjects, by the tenour of theſe preſents; that they be attending upon you, counſelling and aiding you and every of you, as is meet and convenient in the doing and execution of the premisses. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made. Witneſs my ſelf at Weſtmiſter the 22th day of September, in the ſeventeenth year of our Reign.

By the ſame King and Council.

Thus

King Richard set against the Gospellers by the Archbishop and the Prelates.

Ex Regis. W. Courtney, Arch. Cant.

Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wogstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, and Roger Goldsmith, Inhabitants of the same Town of Leicester. These with other more were denounced to the Archbishop for holding the opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar, of auricular Confession, and other Sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of Rome doth preach and observe. All which parties above named, and many other more, whose names are not known, did hold these Heresies and Errors here under-written, and are of the Romish-Church condemned.

Thus King Richard by the setting on of W. Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Fellows taking part with the Pope and Romish Prelates, waxed somewhat strait and hard to the poor Christians of the contrary side, of Wickliff, as by these Letters above prefixed may appear. Albeit, during all the life of the said King I find of none expressly by name that suffered burning. Notwithstanding some there were which by the foresaid Archbishop W. Courtney, and other Bishops, had been condemned, and divers also abjured, and did Penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the Town of Leicester, as followeth here to be declared out of the Archbishops Register and Records.

At what time the said Archbishop William Courtney was in his Visitation at the Town of Leicester, certain there were accused and detected to him, by the Monks and other Priests in the said Town. The names of which persons there detected were, one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wogstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, and Roger Goldsmith, Inhabitants of the same Town of Leicester. These with other more were denounced to the Archbishop for holding the opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar, of auricular Confession, and other Sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of Rome doth preach and observe. All which parties above named, and many other more, whose names are not known, did hold these Heresies and Errors here under-written, and are of the Romish-Church condemned.

1. That the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there remaineth the Body of Christ with the material Bread.
2. That Images ought not to be worshipped in any case, and that no man ought to set any Candle before them.
3. That no Cross ought to be worshipped.
4. The Masses and Mattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be said in the Church.
5. Item, That no Curate or Priest, taken in any Crime can Consecrate, hear Confessions, or minister any of the Sacraments of the Church.
6. That the Pope and all Prelates of the Church cannot bind any man with the Sentence of Excommunication, unless they know him to be first Excommunicated of God.
7. That no Prelate of the Church can grant any Pardons.
8. That every Lay-man may in every place preach and teach the Gospel.
9. That it is sin to give any Alms or Charity to the Friars, Preachers, Minorites, Augustines, or Carmelites.
10. That no Oblation ought to be used at the Funerals of the dead.
11. That it is not necessary to make confession of our sins to the Priest.
12. That every good man, although he be unlearned is a Priest.

Roger, Nicholas, Richard, Michael, William and Roger accused with Book, Bell, and Candle.

These Articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifestly in the Town of Leicester, and other places adjoining. Whereupon the said Archbishop monished the said Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, on the next day to make answer unto him in the said Monastery to the foresaid Articles. But the foresaid Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, hid themselves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the Archbishop upon Allhallow-day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high Mass at the high Altar in the said Monastery, being attired in his Pontificalibus, denounced the said parties with all their Adherents, Fautors, Favourers, and Counsellors, excommunicate and accursed, which either held, taught or maintained the foresaid Conclusions heretical and erroneous, and that in solemn wise, by ringing the Bells, lighting the Candles, and putting out the same again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumstances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after (being All-Soules-day) he sent for all the Curates and other Lay-men of the Town of Leicester, to inquire more diligently of the verity of such matter as they knew, and

were able to say against any persons whatsoever, concerning the foresaid Articles; as also against the parties before named and specified upon their Oaths, denouncing every one of them severally by their names to be excommunicated and accursed; and caused them also in divers Parish Churches in Leicester also to be excommunicate. And further the said Archbishop interdicted the whole Town of Leicester, and all the Churches in the same, so long as any of the foresaid excommunicate persons should remain or be within the same, and till that all the Lollards of the Town should return and amend from such Heresies and Errors, obtaining at the said Archbishop his hands the benefit of absolution.

At length it was declared and shewed to the said Archbishop, that there was a certain Anchorese, whose name was Matilde, inclosed within the Church-yard of Saint Peters Church of the said Town of Leicester, infected (as they said) with the pestiferous contagion of the foresaid Hereticks and Lollards: whereupon, after that the said Archbishop had examined the foresaid Matilde, touching the foresaid Conclusions, Heresies, and Errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtilly; he gave and assigned unto her a day peremptory, personally to appear before him in the Monastery of Saint James at Northampton, more fully to answer to the said Articles, Heresies, and Errors, which was the sixth day of the said month of November; commanding the Abbot of the Monastery of Pratis aforesaid, that the door of the Recluse, in which the said Matilde was, should be opened; and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe Custody. That done, he sent forth his Mandate against the Lollards, under this form:

William by the permission of God, &c. To his well-beloved Sons, the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Town of Leicester Diocese, greeting. We have lately received the Kings Letters, graciously granted us for the defence of the Catholick Faith, in these words following, Richard by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, &c. We on the behalf of our holy Mother the Church, by the Kings Authority aforesaid, do require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent unto us; that they with their pernicious Doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c. Given under our Seal, &c.

By another Instrument also in the same Register is mention made of one Margaret Caily Nun, which forsaking her Order was by the said Archbishop constrained; against her will, again to enter the same, as by this Instrument here-under ensuing may appear.

William by the Grace of God, &c. To our reverend Brother of God, John, by the Grace of God Bishop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the Visitation of our Diocese of Lincoln according to our Office amongst other Enormities worthy Reformation, we found one Sheep out of our Fold strayed, and amongst the Bryers tangled; to wit, Margaret Caily, Nun professed, in the Monastery of S. Radegond within your Diocese: who casting off the habit of her Religion, was found in secular attire, many years being an Apostata, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her blood should be required at our hands, we have caused her to be taken and brought unto you, being her Pastor; and straightly injoyning you, by these presents we do command, that you admit the same Margaret again into her foresaid Monastery (although returned against her will) or else into some other place, where for her Souls health you shall think most convenient; and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the strait Examination of the same you will yield an account. Given under our Seal, &c.

By sundry other Instruments also in the same Register recorded I find, that the foresaid Matilde the Anchorese, upon the strait examination and handling of the foresaid Archbishop, before whom peremptorily she was injoynted to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the Recluse, and committed to safe Custody, as you heard, retracted and recanted her foresaid Articles and Opinions. For the which she, being injoynted forty days Penance, was again

KING Ric. 2.

The whole Town of Leicester interdicted.

Matilde, an Anchorese, cited to appear.

The Kings process sent by the Bishop to arrest the eight above named.

Margaret Caily, a Nun, constrained against her will to take again her habit.

Matilde retracted.

[KING] again admitted into her foresaid recluse in *Leicester*. The Bishops Letter to the Magistrates of the Town thus beginneth: *Willielmus permissione divina, &c. Dilectis filiis, &c.*

Will. Smith, Roger Dexter, and Alice his Wife abjure.

Also by another Letter of the foresaid Archbishop to the Dean of the Cathedral Church of our Lady of *Leicester* being registred, I find that of the number of those eight persons before recited, whom the Archbishop himself at high Mass did in his Pontificalibus so solemnly curse with Book, Bell, and Candle: after certain proceß being sent out against them, or else in the mean time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, *William Smith*, and *Roger Dexter*. But in the mean time *Alice* the wife of the said *Roger Dexter*, taking hold of the foresaid Articles with her Husband also, together with the said *William Smith*, abjured the same. For these be the words of the instrument: *Subsequenter vero prefati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus suos respicientes, se nostro conspectu præsenterunt, &c.* Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselves willingly, or else were brought against their wills (as most like it was) hard penance was enjoyned them before they were absolved. These be the words of the Instrument.

Sancta mater Ecclesia, &c. i.e. Seeing our Holy Mother the Church denieth not her Lap to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but rather profereth to them the same: We therefore do receive again the said *William*, *Roger* and *Alice* to Grace. And further have caused them to abjure all and singular the foresaid Articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of Absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of Excommunication, wherein they were snarled, injoyning unto them penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth: that is to say, That the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they the said *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, holding every of them an Image of the Crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a Taper of Wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their shirts (having none other Apparel upon them) do go before the Cross three times, during the Procession of the Cathedral Church of our Lady of *Leicester*; that is to say, in the beginning of the Procession, in the middle of the Procession, and in the later end of the Procession; to the honour of him that was Crucified, in the memorial of his Passion, and to the honour of the Virgin his Mother; who also devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kiss the same Crucifix, so held in their hands. And so with the same Procession they entering again into the Church, shall stand during all the time of the holy Mass, before the Image of the Cross, with their Tapers and Crosses in their hands. And when the Mass is ended, the said *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, shall offer to him that celebrated that day the Mass. Then upon the Saturday next ensuing, the said *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, shall in the full and publick Market, within the Town of *Leicester*, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the foresaid Crosses in their right hands; which Crosses three times they shall (during the Market) devoutly kiss reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the beginning of the Market, in the middle of the Market, and in the end of the Market. And the said *William* (for that he somewhat understandeth the *Latin* Tongue) shall say this Antheme with the Collect, *Sancta Katharina*, and the foresaid *Roger* and *Alice*, being unlearned, shall say devoutly a *Pater Noster*, and an *Ave Maria*. And thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after the same, the said *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, in their Parish-Church of the said Town of *Leicester* shall stand and do, as upon the Sunday before they stood and did in the Cathedral Church of our Lady aforesaid in all things. Which done, the foresaid *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, after Mass, shall offer to the Priest or Chaplain that celebrated the same, with all humility and reverence the Wax-tapers, which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the foresaid Penitents might peradventure take some bodily hurt standing so long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the said our rigour) we give leave, that after their entrance into the Churches aforesaid, whilest they shall be in hearing the foresaid Masses, they may put on necessary garments to keep them from cold, so that their heads and feet notwithstanding be bare and uncovered.

The manner of their penance enjoyned.

[Ann.] 1389

Three kisses of the Cross

The Collect of Katharina. The Pater Noster, and Ave Maria.

Cold Weather graciously considered.

ed. We therefore will and command you together and apart, that you denounce the said *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice* to be absolved and restored again to the unity of our holy Mother the Church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforesaid. Given at *Dorchester* the seventeenth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our Translation.

Unto the Narration of these above said we will adjoyn the Story of one *Peter Pateshul*, an *Austin* Friar, who obtaining by the Popes priviledg (through the means of *Walter Dis* Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*) liberty to change his Coat and Religion, and hearing the Doctrine of *John Wickliff*, and other of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his Order, in such sort as all men wondred to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his Order, they to the number of twelve (coming out of their houses to the place where he was Preaching) thought to have withstood him perforce. Among whom one especially for the zeal of his Religion, stood up openly in his Preaching, and contraried that which he said, who then was Preaching in the Church of *St. Christopher* in *London*. This when the faithful *Londoners* did see, taking grief hereat, they were moved with great ire against the said Friar, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the Church, whom they not only had beaten and sore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to have destroyed their Mansion with fire also; and so would have done, had not one of the Sheriffs of *London*, with two of the Friars of the said House, well known and reported amongst the *Londoners*, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, *Peter Pateshul* thus disturbed, as is aforesaid, was desired by the *Londoners* (forasmuch as he could not well preach amongst them) to put in writing that which he had said before, and other things more that he knew by the Friars: who then at their request writing the same, accused the Friars of murder committed against divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murdered, with the names also of their tormentors: and named moreover time and place, where and when they were murdered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and Traytors both to the King and the Realm; with many other crimes, which mine Author for tediousness leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said Friars, the *Londoners* caused the said Bill to be openly set up at *St. Pauls* Church-door in *London*, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of King *Richard* the Second. *Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis. Cujus est exordium, Anno gratie millesimo, &c.*

Peter Pateshul against the Friars.

Londoners against the Friars.

Peter Pateshul.

The Friars accused with horrible crimes.

[Ann.] 1387
Ex Chron. D. Albani.

Thus it may appear by this and other above recited, how the Gospel of Christ, preached by *John Wickliff* and others, began to spread and fructifie abroad in *London*, and other places of the Realm: and more would have done no doubt, had not *William Courtney* the Archbishop, and other Prelates with the King, set them so forcibly with might and main to gainstand the course thereof. Albeit, as is said before, I find none which yet were put to death therefore, during the reign of this King *Richard* the Second. Whereby it is to be thought of this King, that although he cannot utterly be excused for molesting the godly and innocent Preachers of that time, (as by his Briefs and Letters afore mentioned may appear) yet neither was he so cruel against them, as other that came after him: and that which he did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the Pope and other Bishops, rather than either by the consent of his Parliament, or advice of his Council about him, or else by his own nature. For as the Decrees of the Parliament in all his time were constant in stopping out the Popes provisions, and in bridling his authority, as we shall see (Christ willing) anon: so the nature of the King was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he following the guiding thereof had not stood so much in fear of the Bishop of *Rome* and his Prelates, by whose importunate Letters and calling on he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both Right required, and Will perhaps in him desired. But howsoever the doings of this King are to be excused, or not, undoubted it is, that *Queen Anne* his Wife most

Few or none burned in King Richard's time.

Kings, many times, brought in too much fear of the Pope.

Commenda-
tion of Q.
Anne, Wife
to K. Rich.
Anno 1394.
The Marri-
age of Q.
Anne to K.
Richard.
The occa-
sion how the
Doctrines of
Wickliff
came to
Bohemia.

The death
of Q. Anne.
Ex fragmen-
to libri ca-
jusdam Wi-
gornensis Bi-
bliothecae.
Ex accom-
datis D. Mat.
Arch. Cant.
Q. Anne had
the four Go-
spels, with
the Doctors
in English.

Thomas A-
rundel Arch-
bishop,
breaketh his
own pro-
mise.

Th. Arundel
and the Bi-
shop of
London go
to Ireland
to the King
to complai-
n of the Fa-
vours of
Gods Word

Ex Hist. D.
Albani.

Anno 1395.

Conclusions
offered up
in the Par-
liament-
House.

rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time, living with the King, had the Gospels of Christ in English, with four Doctors upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian born, and Sister to Wencelaus King of Bohemia before: who was married to King Richard about the fifth (some say the sixth) year of his reign, and continued with him the space of eleven years. By the occasion whereof it may seem not unprobable, that the Bohemians coming in with her, or resorting into this Realm after her, perused and received here the Books of John Wickliff, which afterward they conveyed into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before.

The said vertuous Queen Anne, after she had lived with King Richard about eleven years, in the seven-teenth year of his Reign changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster. At whose Funeral Thomas Arundel, then Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, made the Sermon. In which Sermon (as remaineth in the Library of Worcester recorded) he intreating of the commendation of her, said these words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien born, she had in English all the Four Gospels, with the Doctors upon them: affirming moreover and testi-fying, that she had sent the same unto him to exa-mine. And he said they were good and true. And further, with many words of praise he did greatly commend her, in that she being so great a Lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly to vertuous Books. And he blamed in that Sermon sharply the negligence of the Prelates and other men. Infomuch that some said, He would on the morrow leave up the office of Chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfill his Pastoral office, for that he had seen and read in those Books. And then it had been the best Ser-mon that ever they heard. *Hæc ex libro Wigo.* In the which Sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered: First, the laudable use of those old times received, to have the Scripture and Doctors in our Vulgar English Tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise and also example of this godly Lady, who had these Books not for a shew hanging at her Girdle; but also seemed by this Sermon to be a studious occu-pier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the said Thomas Archbishop declared also himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same Books of hers in the English Tongue. Notwith-standing, the same Thomas Arundel, after this Sermon and promise made, became the most cruel enemy that might be against English Books, and the Authors there-of, as followeth after in his Story to be seen.

For shortly after the death of Queen Anne, the same year (the King being then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundel Archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrocke the Bishop of London, (whether sent by the Archbishop of Canter-bury and the Clergy, or whether going of their own ac-cord) crossed the Seas to Ireland, to desire the King in all speedy wise to return and help the Faith and Church of Christ, against such as holding of Wickliff's teaching, went about (as they said) to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the Canonical fictions of their holy Mother-Church. At whose complaint the King hearing the one part speak, and not advising the other, was in such sort incensed; that incontinently leaving all his affairs uncom-pleat, he sped his return toward England. Where he kept his Christmas at Dublin; in the which mean time, in the beginning of the next year following, which was Anno 1395, a Parliament was called at Westminster by the Com-mandment of the King. In which Parliament certain Ar-ticles or Conclusions were put up by them of the Gospels side, to the number of twelve. Which Conclusions more-over were fastned up upon the Church-door of St. Paul in London, and also at Westminster: the Copy of which Conclusions, with the words and contents thereof here under ensue.

KING
Rich.
The Book of Conclusions or Reformations, exhibi-
ted to the Parliament holden at London, and set
up at Pauls door, and other places, in the eigh-
teenth year of the Reign of King Richard the
Second, and in the year of our Lord 1395.

THE first Conclusion: When as the Church of En-
gland began first to dote in Temporalities after her
stepmother the great Church of Rome, and the Churches
were authorised by Appropriations, Faith, Hope, and
Charity began in divers places to vanish and fly away from
our Church, forsomuch as pride with her most lamentable
and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly sins, did chal-
lenge that place by title of heritage. And this Conclusion
is general, and approved by experience, custom, and man-
ner, as ye shall after hear.

Papistical
Priesthood
The second Conclusion: That our usual Priesthood,
which took his original at Rome, and is fained to be a pow-
er higher than Angels, is not that Priesthood which Christ
ordained unto his Disciples. This Conclusion is thus pro-
ved, Forsomuch as the Romish Priesthood is done with
signs and Pontifical Rites and Ceremonies, and Benedic-
tions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in
Scripture, forsomuch as the Bishops Ordinal and the New
Testament do nothing at all agree; neither do we see that
the Holy Ghost doth give any good gift through any such
signs or ceremonies; because that he, together with all no-
ble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person
with deadly sin. The corolary or effect of this Conclusion
is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto wise
men, and see the Bishops mock and play with the Holy
Ghost in the giving of their Orders; because they give
Crowns for their characters and marks, instead of white
hearts, and this character is the mark of Antichrist, brought
into the holy Church to cloak and colour their idleness.

The single
life of
Priests.
The third Conclusion: That the Law of Chastity en-
joyed unto Priesthood, the which was first ordained to
the prejudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the Church;
but we do excuse us by the Bible, because the suspect De-
cree doth say, that we should not name it. Both reason and
experience proveth this Conclusion. Reason thus, Forso-
much as the delicate feeding and fare of the Clergy will
have either a natural purgation, or some worse. Experi-
ence thus, forsomuch as the secret trial and proof of such
men is, that they do delight in women. And whensoever
thou dost prove or see such a man, mark him well, for he
is one of that number. The Corolary of this Conclusion
is, that these private Religions with the beginners thereof,
ought most chiefly to be be disannulled, as the original of
that sin and offence. But God of his might doth of privy
sins send open vengeance.

He doth ve-
ry excel-
lently paint
out the lea-
cherous
Clergy.
The fourth Conclusion that most harmeth the innocent
people, is this: That the fained miracle of the Sacrament
of Bread induceth all men, except it be a very few, unto
Idolatry: forsomuch as they think that the body which
shall never be out of Heaven, is by the vertue of the Priests
words essentially included in the little bread, the
which they do shew unto the people. But would to God
they would believe that which the Evangelical Doctor
teacheth us in his Trialogue, *Quod panis altaris est acci-*
dentaliter Corpus Christi: i.e. That the Bread of the Al-
tar is the Body of Christ accidentally: forsomuch as we
suppose that by that means every faithful man and woman
in the Law of God may make the Sacrament of that Bread
without any such miracle. The Corolary of this Conclusi-
on is, That albeit the Body of Christ be endowed with the
eternal joy; the service of Corpus Christi, made by Frier
Thomas, is not true, but painted full of false miracles;
neither is it any marvel, forsomuch as Frier Thomas, at that
time taking part with the Pope, would have made a mi-
racle of a Hens Egg; and we know it very well, that eve-
ry Lie openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke
and opprobry of him, which is always true without any lack.

He fained
miracle of
Trinith
transubstantiation
The fifth Conclusion is this: That the Exorcisms and
Hallowings, Consecrations, and Blessings over the Wine,
Bread, Wax, Water, Oyl, Salt, Incense, the Altar-stone, and
about the Church-Walls, over the Vestiment, Chalice, Mit-
ter, Crofs, and Pilgrim-staves, are the very Practices of
Necromancy, rather than of Sacred Divinity. This
Con-

KING
Rich.

Conclusions
exhibited in
the Parlia-
ment.

Papistical
Priesthood

The single
life of
Priests.

He doth ve-
ry excel-
lently paint
out the lea-
cherous
Clergy.

He Propher-
sieth against
Monkery.

The fained
miracle of
Trinith
transubstantiation

He misseeth
here Wick-
liff.

The Feast of
Corpus Chri-
sti invented
by Thomas
Aquinas.

The Exor-
cisms and
Blessings of
Priests.

KING. Conclusion is thus proved: Because that by such Exorcisms the Creatures are honoured to be of more force and power than by their own proper nature; for we do not see any alteration or change in any Creature so Exorcised, except it be by false faith, which is the principal point of Devilish art. The Corollary of this is, That if the Book of Exorcisation or conjuring of Holy water, which is sprinkled in the Church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that Holy water used in the Church, were the best Medicine for all kind of sickness and sores: *Cujus contrarium experimur: i.e.* the contrary whereof daily experience doth teach us.

The difference between the Ecclesiastical and Political.

The sixth Conclusion, which maintaineth much pride is, That a King and Bishop both in one person, a Prelate and Justice in Temporal causes, a Curate and Officer in worldly office, doth make every Kingdom out of good order. This Conclusion is manifest, because the Temporality and the Spirituality are two parts of the Holy Universal Church; and therefore he which addicteth himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, *Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis servire*: wherefore to be called *Amphibrosia*, which are men of both kinds, or *Ambo-dextri*, which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double estates. The Corollary of this Conclusion is, That thereupon we the Procurators of God in this case do sue unto the Parliament, that it may be Enacted, that all such as be of the Clergy (as well of the highest degree as of the lowest) should be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own Cure and Charge, and not with others.

The foundation of Masses for the Dead.

The seventh Conclusion that we mightily affirm is, That spiritual prayers made in the Church for the souls of the Dead (preferring any one by name more than another) is a false foundation of Alms, whereupon all the Houses of Alms in England are falsely founded. This Conclusion is proved by two reasons: The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from meer charity: and perfect charity excepteth no person, because thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Whereby it appeareth that the benefit of any temporal gift, bestowed and given unto Priests, and Houses of Alms, is the principal cause of any special prayers, the which is not far different from Simony. The other reason is, that every special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasing before God. And albeit it be doubtful, yet it is very likely unto the faithful Christian people, that the founders of every such House of Alms, for their wicked endowing of the same, are for the most part passed by the broad-way. The Corollary is, That every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and to live. The merchandize of special prayers now used for the Dead maketh Mendicant possessors and other hireling Priests, which otherwise were strong enough to work and to serve the whole Realm, and maintaineth the same in idleness, to the great charge of the Realm, because it was proved in a certain Book which the King hath, that a hundred Houses of Alms are sufficient for the whole Realm. And thereby might peradventure greater increase and profit come unto the Temporality.

A hundred Houses of Alms sufficient for England.

Pilgrimages and Oblations.

The eighth Conclusion, needful to tell to the people beguiled is, That Pilgrimages, Prayers, and Oblations made unto blind Croffes or Roods, or to deaf Images made either of wood or stone, are very near of kin unto Idolatry, and far different from Alms. And albeit that these things which are forbidden and imagined are the Book of errors unto the common people; notwithstanding the usual and common Image of the Trinity is most especially abominable. This Conclusion God himself doth openly manifest, commanding Alms to be given to the poor and needy man, for he is the image of God in a more perfect similitude and likeness than any block or stone. For God did not say, let us make a block or stone unto our likeness and image, but let us make man; forso much as the supreme and highest honour, which the Clergy calleth *Latria*, pertaineth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour which the Clergy call *Dulia*, pertaineth unto men and Angels, and to none other inferior creature. The Corollary is, That the service of the Croffes, celebrate twice every year in our Church is full of Idolatry: for if Rood, Tree, Nails, and Spear ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped,

The Image of the Trinity an abominable thing.

A poor man the perfect Image of God.

Latria, Dulia.

then were *Juda's* lips (if any man could get them) a marvellous goodly Relick. But thou Pilgrim, we pray thee tell us when thou dost offer to the bones of the Saints, and holy men which are laid up in any place; whether dost thou relieve, thereby the holy man which is already in joy, or that Alms-house which is so well endowed, whereas they are Canonised (the Lord knoweth how) and to speak more plain, every faithful Christian may well judge and suppose that the strokes of that same man, whom they call Saint Thomas, were no cause of Martyrdom, nor yet be.

Juda's lips.

The death of T. Becket of Cant., is not to be counted for Martyrdom.

Auricular confession: Confession the minister of lust.

The ninth Conclusion, that keepeth the people low is, That Auricular confession which is said to be so necessary for salvation, and the fained power of Absolution, exalteth and setteth up the pride of Priests, and giveth them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forso much as both Lords and Ladies do witness, that for fear of their Confessors they dare not speak the truth: and in time of confession is good opportunity ministered of wooing, or to play the Bawds, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sin. They affirm and say, that they are Commissaries sent of God to judge and discern of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whatsoever please them. They say also, that they have also the Keys of Heaven and Hell, and that they can excommunicate, curse and bless, bind and loose at their own will and pleasure: inso much that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of Heaven by charter and clause of warrantise, sealed by their common seal. This Conclusion is so common in use, that it needeth not any probation. The Corollary hereof is, that the Pope of Rome, which fained himself to be the profound Treasurer of the whole Church, having that same worthy jewel which is the treasure of the Passion of Christ in his own keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the Saints in Heaven, whereby he giveth fained Indulgences and Pardons *a pena & culpa*, is a Treasurer almost banished out of charity, whereby he may deliver all captives being in Purgatory at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithful Christian may easily perceive that there is much falsehood hid in our Church.

The impudent boldness of Priests.

The Pope Treasurer of the Church, instead of treasure, setteth up costs.

The Tenth, That Man-slaughter (either by war or by any pretended law of justice for any temporal cause or spiritual revelation) is expressly contrary unto the New Testament, which is the Law of Grace, full of mercy. This Conclusion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and have compassion upon them, and not to kill and murder them. The reason is this, that for the most part when as men do fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken; and whosoever dieth without charity goeth the right way to Hell. And besides that, we do well understand and know, that none of the Clergy, by any lawful reason, can deliver any from the punishment of death for one deadly sin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Testament, forbiddeth all manner of murder. For in the Gospel it is spoken unto our forefathers, *Thou shalt not kill*. The Corollary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when Lords purchase Indulgences and Pardons *a pena & culpa*, unto such as do help their Armies to kill and murder the Christian people in foreign Countries for temporal gain; as we do see certain Souldiers which do run among the heathen people, to get themselves fame and renown by the murder and slaughter of men. Much more do they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forso much as by humility and peace our faith is multiplied and increased; for murderers and manquellers Christ doth hate and menaceth, *He that striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword*.

How War is lawful, the proof by experience.

The eleventh Conclusion is, which is shame to tell, That the vow of Chastity, made in our Church by women that are frail and imperfect in nature, is the cause of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident unto the nature of man. For albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are Christened, and the destruction of their nature by Medicine, are filthy and foul sins; yet they accompanying among themselves, or with unreasonable beasts, or with any creature not having life, do pass to such an unseemliness, that they ought to be punished by infernal torments. The Corollary is, That Widdows and such as take the Mantle and the

Nuns and Widdows which vow single life.

Ring deliciously fed, we would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from private offence of sin.

The twelfth, that the multitude of Arts not necessary (used in this our Church) causeth much sin and offence in wast, curiosity, and disguising in curious Apparel: experience and reason partly doth shew the same, forasmuch as nature, with a few Arts, is sufficient for mans use and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our Ambassage, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithstanding they are more at large declared in another Book, with many other more in our own proper tongue, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodness sake, that he will wholly reform our Church (now altogether out of frame) unto the perfection of her first beginning and original. *Ex Archivis Regiis.*

The Verses following were annexed unto the Conclusions.

*Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:
Surgunt ingrati Gierzites Simone nati,
Nimine praelati, hoc defensare parati.
Qui Reges estis, populus quicumque praeestis,
Qualiter, his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis?*

The which Verses are thus Englished:

*The English Nation doth lament of Sodomites their sin.
Which Paul doth plainly signifie by Idols to begin.
But Gierzites full ingrate, from sinful Simon sprong,
This to defend (though Priests in name) make Bulwarks
(great and strong.
Ye Princes therefore which to rule the people God hath plac-
(ced,
With justice sword, why see ye not this evil great defaced?*

After these Conclusions were thus proposed in the Parliament, the King not long after returned home from Dublin into England, toward the later end of the Parliament. Who at his return called certain of his Nobles unto him, Richard Sturie, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c. whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straightly never to hold, maintain, nor favour any more these opinions and Conclusions. And namely of Richard Sturie he took an Oath, that he should never from that day favour or defend any such opinions; which Oath being taken, the King then answered, And I swear (saith he) again to thee, that if thou dost ever break thine Oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death, &c. *Ex Chron. D. Alban.*

All this while W. Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury was yet alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters. But yet Pope Urban the great Master of the Catholick Sect was dead and buried six years before. After whom succeeded in the schismatical See of Rome Pope Boniface the Ninth, who nothing inferior to his Predecessor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which Urban had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters forth of the light of the Gospel: and had written sundry times to King Richard, as well for the repealing of the Acts of Parliament against his provisions, *Quare impedit, & premunire facies*: as also that he should assist the Prelates of England in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such, whom he falsely suggested to be Lollards and Traytors to the Church, to the King, and the Realm, &c. Thus the courteous Pope, whom he could not reach with his sword at least with cruel slander of his malicious tongue would work his poyson against them; which Letter he wrote to the King in the year of our Lord 1396, which was the year before the death of William Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury. After whom succeeded in that See Thomas Arundel, Brother to the Earl of Arundel, being first Bishop of Ely, afterward Archbishop of York, and Lord Chan-

cellor of England, and at last made Archbishop of Canterbury about the year of our Lord 1397. The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1398, and the ninth year of the Pope, I find in certain Records of the Bishop of Duresm a certain Letter of King Richard the Second, written to the said Pope Boniface, which because I judged not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in form as followeth.

To the most Holy Father in Christ, and Lord, Lord Boniface the Ninth, by the Grace of God high Pope of the most holy Romish and Universal Church, his humble and devout Son Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England, and France, Lord of Ireland, Greeting and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted Church, and kissing of those his blessed feet.

WHO will give my head water, and mine eyes streaming tears, that I may bewail the decay, and manifold troubles of our Mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distress of this present schism and division. For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lords flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity, resembling to the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarce know whom they ought to follow, or what Pastour as a stranger they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that City, being full of riches, become solitary and desolate, and lest the land or people which was wont to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sat as a Queen, and am not a widow, be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in amazes, that she shall not know where to turn her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shall with weeping speak that saying of the Spouse, *I sought him whom my soul loveth, I sought him and found him not.* For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, Behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lords Vineyard, and made his amiable portion a wast wilderness.

This multitude of shepherds is become very burdous to the Lords flock. For when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and in so doing they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ, of a schism and division of the Church. And although both parties go about to subdue unto their power the whole Church militant, yet contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the body of the Church, like as when the division of the quick innocent body was naked, when the two harlots did strive afore Solomon; like as the Ten Tribes of Israel followed Jeroboam the Intruder, and were withdrawn from the Kingdom for Solomons sin: even so of old time the desire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the Church. Let your selves remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish Church in the time of the faction of the Primarch of Constantinople; and how Mahomet with his fellows, by occasion of Supremacy in Ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of Christians, and withdrew them from the Empire and ruling of Christ. And now in these days, where the same Supremacy is, hath withdrawn it self from the obedience of it, inasmuch that now in very few Realms the Candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for Davids sake his servant. And although now remain few Countries professing the obedience of Christs true Vicar: yet peradventure if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or that is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alledged on both sides: and this is the subtil craft of the crooked Serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity to procure schisms, as the Spider of a wholesome flower gathers poyson, and Judas learned of peace to make war

R. Sturie,
Lewes Cliff-
ord, T. Lat-
imer, John
Mountacute,
good favour-
ers.

Pope Urban
the Ninth
dead.
Anno
1399.
Pope Boni-
face the 9th.

The Letters
of Pope Bo-
niface the
Ninth to
K. Richard.

Anno
1396.
The death
of W. Court-
ney A. B. of
Canterbury.
T. Arundel
A. B. of Can-
terbury.

KING
Ric. 2.
Anno
1398.

A Letter of
K. R. 2. to
Pope Boni-
face the 9th.

Desire to
rule in the
Church.

Greece re-
nounceth
the Romish
Church.

KING {*Ric. 2.*} war. Wherefore it is lively believed of wise men, that except this pestilent schism be withstood by and by, the Keys of the Church will be despised, and they shall bind the conscience but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault, or to reform things contrary to Gods law, so by this means at length Temporal Lords will take away the Liberties of the Church, and peradventure the Romans will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will spoil their possessions, and bring the men of the Church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them will almost be taken away, when the greater part of the Church, left to their own liberty, shall wax prouder than they be wont, leaving a wicked example to them that do see it. For when they see the Prelates study more for covetousness than they were wont, to purse up money, to oppress the subjects, in their punishments to seek for gain, to confound laws, to stir up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poor subjects with wrong corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feastings past shame: what marvel is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of Gods Law? but all these things do follow if the Church should be left long in this doubtfulness of a schism, and then should that old saying be verified: In those days there was no King in Israel, but every one did that that seemed right and straight to himself. *Micheas* did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountains, as they had been sheep without a shepherd: for when the shepherd is smitten, the sheep of the flock shall be scattered, the great stroke of the shepherd is the minishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawn from his obedience. When *Jason* had the office of the highest Priest, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customs of the heathen, the Priests leaving the service of the holy Altar, and applying themselves to Wrestling, and other Exercises of the *Grecians*, and despising those things that belonged to the Priests, did labour with all their might to learn such things of the *Grecians*; and by that means the place, people, and holy ointing of Priests, which in times past were had in great reverence of Kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the Kings power, and was prophaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore let the highest Vicar of Christ look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

If you mark well, most holy Father, you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coveting the seat of honour: he taught them not to play the Lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be so much more humble than other, and more lowly to serve their brethren. To him that asked his coat, to give the cloak, to him that smote him on the one cheek, to turn the other to him. For the sheep that are given to his keeping he must forsake all earthly things, and to shed his own blood, yea and if need required, to die. These things, I say, be those that adorn the highest Bishop, if they be in him, not his white horse, not his Imperial Crown, because he among all men is most bound to all the sheep of Christ. For the fear of God therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your own cause, to whom peradventure the fulness of your own power is known; yet in pitying our weakness, if thou be he, tell us openly, and shew thy self to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody Bishop, lest by your occasion mans blood be shed, lest Hell swallow such a number of souls, and lest the name of Christ be evil spoken of by Infidels, through such a worthy personage. But peradventure ye will say, for our righteousness it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other mens disputation. If this bald answer should be admitted, the schism should continue still: seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other, and where the world is as it were equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give place to the other without much bloodshed. The Incarnation of Christ and his Resurrection was well enough known to himself and his Disciples; yet he asked of his Father to be made known to the world. He made also the Gospel to be written, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, and sent his Apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be known to all men. The foresaid rea-

son is the subtilty of *Mahomet*, the which knowing himself guilty of his sect, utterly forbade disputations. If ye have so full trust of your righteousness, put it to the examinations of worthy persons in a General Council, to the which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or else commit it unto able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the least, by forsaking the office on both parties, leave the Church of God free, speedily to provide for a new shepherd.

We find Kings have forsaken their Temporal Kingdoms, only upon respect of devotion, and have taken the apparel of Monks profession. Therefore let Christs Vicar (being a professor of most high holiness) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honour to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the *Romish* Church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away Kingdoms from it.

But if you say, It is not requisite that the cause of Gods Church should be called in controversy, and therefore we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gain-sayeth it.

To the which we answer, If it be the cause of God and the Church, let the General Council judge of it: but if it be a personal cause (as almost all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather chuse a temporal death, than to suffer such a wavering. I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endless destruction of souls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the Apostolical dignity. Did not *Clement* named, or (that I may more truly speak) ordained of *St. Peter* to the Apostolick dignity, and to be Bishop, resign his right, that his deed might be taken of his Successors for an example? Also Pope *Siricius* gave over his Popedom to be a comfort of the 11000 Virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if need require) give over your Popedom, that you might gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, even to bloodshed: so is it sometimes necessary for a man to wink at his own cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a Devil, and Christs enemy of all men, that would agree to an Election made of him for the Apostolical dignity and Popedom, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, division of the Church, the offence and loss of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be known to all the world by Gods revelation, to come to pass by such receiving of the Popedom and Apostolical dignity: then by the like reason why should he not be judged of all men an Apostata, and forsaker of his faith, which chuseth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than the unity of the Church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God, which are scattered abroad: but such an enemy of God and the Church wisheth his subjects bodily to die in battel, and the more part of the world to perish in soul, rather than forsaking to be Pope to live in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the fear of God, the desire of the heavenly Kingdom, and the earnest love of the unity of the Church do move your heart, shew indeed that your works may bear record to the truth. *Clement* and *Siricius* most holy Popes, not only are not reprov'd, but rather are revered of all men, because they gave over their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the Church of holy men shew forth their praise. Likewise your name should live for ever, and ever, if ye would do the like for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of Gods Church. Give no heed to the unmeasurable crying of them that say, that the right chusing of Popes is lost, except ye defend your parts manfully: but be afraid, lest such stirers up of mischief look for their own commodity or honour, that is to say, that under your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this sort *Achitophel* was joyned with *Abalom* in persecuting his own Father, and false usurping of his Kingdom.

Furthermore, there should be no jeopardy to that Election, because both parties stick stilly to the old fashion of Election, and either of them covet the preeminence of the *Romish* Church, counselling all Christians to obey them. And although through their giving over the fashion of chusing the Pope should be changed for a time, it were to be born, rather than to suffer any longer this division in Gods Church. For that fashion in chusing is not so necessarily required to the state of a Pope, but the successor of the Apostle, as necessary cause

Publick respect to be preferred before private.

Answer to a Popish objection.

Hard counsel for the Pope.

Unity of the Church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

The Pope will not lose his dignity, for any public tranquillity.

Wicked flatterers about the Pope.

Better that the order of the Popes Election should change, than the Church should suffer any division.

Bishops of Rome appointed their successors, to the time of Pope Hilary.

Election of the Pope not as was before.

Good counsel lost.

Christ's seamless Coat broken.

The Popes compared to the Soldiers that crucified Christ.

A godly purpose if it had been put in execution.

required, might come in at the door by another fashion of chusing, and that Canonical enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the Fathers; for Peter the Apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by false usurping of power, as we suppose. And it was thought that that fashion of appointing Popes was lawful unto the time of Pope Hilary; which decreed that no Pope should appoint his Successor.

Afterward the Election of the Pope went by the Clergy and people of Rome, and the Emperors Council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the Election of the blessed Gregory. But Martinus Pope, with the consent of the holy Synod, granted Charles the Power to chuse the Pope. But of late Nicolas the second was the first whom Martin makes mention of in his Councils to be chosen by the Cardinals. But all the Bishops of Lombardy (for the most part) withstood this Election, and chose Cadulus to be Pope, saying, That the Pope ought not to be chosen but of the Precinct of Italy. Wherefore we think it not a safe way so earnestly to stick to the Traditions of men, in the fashion of chusing the Pope, and so oft to change, lest we be thought to break Gods Traditions concerning the unity of the Church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordain a new fashion of his Election, and meeter for him as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the same Election might be kept safe, if Gods honour were looked for afore your own, and the peace of the Church were uprightly fought: for such a dishonouring should be most honour unto you, and that giving place should be the getting of a greater dignity, and the willing deposing of your honour should obtain you the entry of everlasting honour, and should procure the love of the whole world toward you, and you should deserve to be exalted continually, as David was in humbling himself. O how monstrous a sight, and how foul a monster is a mans body disfigured with two heads? So if it were possible, the Spouse of Christ should be made so monstrous, if she were ruled with two such heads: but that is not possible, she is ever altogether fair, in whom no spot is found; therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and thruster in of his second head. We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickedness in Gods house, that we should suffer Gods coat that wants a seam, by any means to be torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it in sunder. For if these two should be suffered to reign together, they would so betwixt them tear in pieces that little coat of the Lord, that scarce one piece would hang to another.

They pass the wickedness of the Soldiers that crucified Christ: for they willing to have the Coat whole, said, Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it whose it shall be. But these two Popes suffering their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in deeds) they pronounce this sentence, It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be divided; for they chose rather as it appeareth, to be Lords (though it be but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the unity of the Church) than in leaving that Lording, to seek for the peace of the Church. We do not affirm this, but we shew almost the whole judgment of the world of them, being moved so to think by likely conjectures. We looked for amendment of this intolerable confusion, by the space that these two inventers of this mischief lived. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble: for neither in their lives nor in their deaths they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their Successors matter of contention continual. But now for the space of seven years, whereas of their Successors we desired and looked for that they should bear good grapes, and they bring forth wild grapes in this matter we fall into a deep despair. But inasmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, which promised that miserably he would destroy those wicked men, and let his Vineyard to other Husbandmen which will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath promised faithfully that he will help his Spouse in her need to the end of the world: we leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by Gods grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this misery, when a convenient time shall serve, as much as our Kingly power is able; and although our wit doth not perceive how these things afore rehearsed may be amended, yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of Gods pro-

mise, will do our endeavour: like as Abraham believed, his Son being slain by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should encrease to the number of the Stars, according to Gods promise. Now therefore the times draw near to make an end of this schism, left a third election of a Schismatick against the Apostles Successor make a custom of the doing, and so the Pope of Avinion shall be double Romish Pope, and he shall say with his partakers, as the Patriarch of Constantinople said unto Christs Vicar when he forsook him: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with us. And is much to be feared of all Christian men: For that Pharisee begins now to be called the Pope of Avinion among the people. But peradventure it would be thought of some men, that it belongeth not to secular Princes to bridle outrages of the Pope. To whom we answer, that naturally the members put themselves in jeopardy to save the head, and the parts labour to save the whole. Christ so decked his Spouse, that her sides should cleave together, and should uphold themselves, and by course of time and occasion of things they should correct one another, and cleave together tunably. Did not Moses put down Aaron, because he was unfaithful? Solomon put down Abiathar, who came by lineal descent from Anathoth, and removed his Priesthood from his kindred to the stock of Eleazar in the person of Sadock which had his beginning from Eli the Priest? 3 Reg. 2. Orbo Emperor deposed Pope John the 12. because he was lecherous. Henry the Emperor put down Gratianus, because he used Simony in buying and selling spiritual livings. And Orbo deposed Pope Bennet the first, because he thrust in himself. Therefore by like reason, why may not Kings and Princes bridle the Romish Pope in default of the Church; if the quality of his fault require it, or the necessity of the Church by this compell to help the Church oppressed by tyranny? In old time schisms, which rose about making the Pope, were determined by the power of secular Princes, as the schism betwixt Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a Council before Theodoricus King of Italy. Henry the Emperor when two did strive to be Pope, deposed them both, and received the third being chosen at Rome to be Pope, that is to say, Clement the second, which Crowned him with the Imperial Crown. And the Romans promised him that from thenceforth they would promote none to be Pope without his consent. Alexander also overcame four Popes schismaticks, all which Frederick the Emperor corrected.

Thus look on the Register of Popes and their deeds, and ye shall find that schisms most commonly have been decided by the power of secular Princes, the schismaticks cast out, and sometimes new Popes made, and sometimes the old ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities again. If it were not lawful for secular Princes to bridle the outrages of such a Pope lawfully made, and afterward becoming a Tyrant: in such a case he might oppress overmuch the Church, he might change Christendom into Heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vain: or else truly God should not have provided for his Spouse in earth by all means as much as is possible by service of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsel you, with such a loving affection as becomes children, that ye consider in your heart well, lest in working by this means ye prepare a way to Antichrist through your desire to bear rule, and so by this means as we fear the one of these two shall chance; either ye shall cause all the Princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of the Apostolical dignity, or that is worse, the whole world, despising the ruling of one shepherd, shall leave the Romish Church desolate. But God keep this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the Church of God: for them that departing away, which the Apostle prophesied, should come before the coming of Antichrist were at hand: which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receive Antichrist with honour. Consider therefore the state of your most excellent Holiness, how ye received the power from God to the building of the Church, and not to the destruction of it; that Christ hath given you wine and oyl to heal the wounded; and hath appointed you his Vicar in these things which pertain to gentleness, and hath given us these things which serve to rigour. For

KING Ric. 2.

Secular Princes are to bridle the outrages of the Pope.

Popes put down by Princes.

Lawful that Princes should withstand the tyranny of the Pope.

The King seemeth here to prophesie of the desolation of the Roman Pope.

KING Ric. 2. For we bear not the Sword without a cause to the punishment of evil doers, the which power ordained of God we have received, our selves being witnesses: beseeching you to receive our counsel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may return to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with salt: lest the Ax swim on the water, and the wood sink, and lest the fruitful Olive degenerate into a wild Olive, and the Leprosie of Naaman that Nobleman cleave continually to the house of Gehazi, and lest the Pope and the Pharisees crucifie Christ again. Christ the Spouse of the Church, which was wont to bring the chief Bishop into the holiest place, encrease your holiness, or rather restore it being lost. Written, &c. *Ex Fragm. lib. cujusd. Dunelm.*

The Pope and the Pharisees, new Crucifiers of Christ.

¶ This Epistle of King Richard the second, written to Pope Boniface the ninth, in the time of the schism, about the year as appeared 1397. as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so how little it wrought with the Pope the sequel afterward declared. For the schism notwithstanding continued long after, in which neither of the Popes would give over their hold, or yield any thing to good counsel given them, for any respect of publick wealth. Such a stroke beareth Ambition in this Apostolical See, which we are wont so greatly to magnifie. But of this enough, which I leave and refer to the consideration of the Lord, seeing Men will not look upon it.

Drawing now toward the later end of King Richard's Reign, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of King Edward the third, so here also we shew forth a summary recapitulation of such Parliamentary Notes and Proceedings, as then were practised by publick Parliament in this Kings time, against the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome; to the intent that such, (if any such be) that think, or have thought the receiving of the Popes double authority to be such an ancient thing within this Realm, may diminish their opinion as evidently may appear by divers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and investing of Bishops by the King. As where King Oswin commanded Cedde to be ordained Archbishop of York. Also where King Egfride caused Cuthbert to be brought to King Canute, and at his commandment was instituted Bishop of the same See. *Ex lib. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum.* And likewise Mat. Paris. testifieth, that King Henry the Third gave the Archbishoprick of Canterbury to Radulphus then Bishop of London, and invested him with Staff and Ring. And the same King gave the Bishoprick of Winchester to William Gifford; and moreover, following the steps both of his Father and Brother before him, endowed him with the possessions pertaining to the said Bishoprick (the contrary Statute of Pope Urban, forbidding that Clerks should receive any Ecclesiastical Dignity at the hand of Princes, or of any lay person, to the contrary notwithstanding, &c.) Innumerable examples of like sort are to be seen in ancient Histories of this our Realm. As also out of the Parliament Rolls in the time of King Edward the Third, hath sufficiently been touched a little before. Whereunto also may be added the Notes of such Parliaments as have been holden in the Reign of this present King Richard the Second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

¶ Notes of certain Parliaments holden in the Reign of King Richard the Second, making against the Pope.

IN the first year of King Richard the Second, in the Parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, That the Popes Collector be willed no longer to gather the first fruits of Benefices within this Realm, being a very novelty, and that no person do any longer pay them.

Item, That no man do procure any Benefice by provision from Rome, on pain to be out of the Kings protection.

Item, That no Englishman do take to farm of any Alien any Ecclesiastical Benefice or Prebend, on the like pain. In which Bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had six thousand pounds yearly of such Livings in England.

Item, That remedy might be had against the Popes reservations to dignities elective, the same being done against the Treaty of the Pope, taken with King Edward the 3d.

In the second year of the said King Richard the Second, it was by Petition requested, that some order might be taken touching Aliens, having the greatest part of the Church Dignities in their hands. Whereunto the King answered, That by advice of the Lords he would provide therefore.

Item, It was Enacted, That all the Benefices of Cardinals, and other Rebels, to Pope Urban that now is, shall be seized into the Kings hands.

An Act that Pope Urban was true and lawful Pope, and that the Livings of all Cardinals, and other Rebels to the said Pope, should be seized into the Kings hands, and the King be answered of the profits thereof: And that whosoever within this Realm shall procure or obtain any provision or other instrument from any other Pope than the same Urban, shall be out of the Kings protection.

Moreover, in the third year of King Richard the Second, the Prelates and Clergy made their protestation in this Parliament, expressly against a certain new Grant, to wit, their Extortions: That the same never should pass with their assent and good will to the blemishing of the liberties of the Church, if by that word extortion they meant any thing largely to proceed against Ordinaries and others of the Church. But if they meant none otherwise to deal hereafter therein, than before that time had been done, then would they consent. Whereunto it was replied for the King, That neither for the same their said Protestation, or other words in that behalf, the King would stay to grant to his Justices in that case, and all other cases, as was used to be done in times past, and he was bound to do by virtue of his Oath taken at his Coronation.

Furthermore, in the fourth year of the said King Richard the Second, it was requested, That provision might be had against the Popes Collectors, for levying of the first fruits of Ecclesiastical Dignities within the Realm.

Item, That all Priors Aliens might be removed out of their Houses, and licensed to depart, and never to revert. And that Englishmen may be placed in their Livings, answering the King as they did.

And in the 9th year of the foresaid King, touching matter of the Staple, the Speaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought best the same were planted within the Realm, considering that Calis, Burges, and other Towns beyond the Seas grew very rich thereby, and good Towns here very much decayed; and so it was much for the common profit. Touching the King, he affirmed that the Subsidy and Custom of Wooll yielded more to the King when the Staple was kept in England by one thousand Marks yearly, than it did now being holden beyond the Seas.

Item, That inquisition and redress might be had against such religious persons, as under the licence to purchase 10 l. yearly, do purchase 80 l. or 100 l.

Item, That all Clerks, advanced to any Ecclesiastical Dignity or Living by the King, will grant to the King the first fruits of their Livings, none otherwise than they would have done to the Pope, being advanced by him.

In the 11th year of King Richard the Second, it was put up by the Petitions of the Commons, That such Impositions as are gathered by the Popes Bulls of volumus and imponimus of the Translations of B. B. and such like, might be employed on the Kings Wars against the Schismatics of Scotland. And that such as bring into the Realm the like Bulls and Novelties may be reputed for Traitors.

In the 13th year of his Reign followed another Parliament, in which although the Archbishop of Canterbury and York, for them and the whole Clergy of their Provinces, made their solemn Protestations in open Parliament, That they in no wise meant, or would assent to any Statute or Law made in restraint of the Popes authority, but utterly withstood the same, willing this Protestation of theirs to be enrolled; yet the said Protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect.

Item, In the same Parliament it was put up by publick Petition, That the Popes Collector should be commanded to avoid the Realm within 40 days, or else to be taken as the Kings enemy, and that every such Collector from henceforth may

Ex lib. Gali. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Ex lib. de vita Hen.

Ex Archiv. Parliament. An. 1. Reg. Ric. 2. m. 66.

Tu. 67.

Tu. 68.

Tu. 57.

Ex Anno 1. Tu. 70.

Tu. 71.

Tu. 72.

Ex 3. Anno Reg. Ric. 2.

Here note well a strange proceeding.

But mark the strange event.

Tu. 44.

Tu. 45.

Ex 9. Anno ejusdem Regis. Tu. 4.

Tu. 36.

Tu. 44.

Tu. 26.

An. 13. Ric. 2. Tu. 24.

Tu. 34.

may be an Englishman, and sworn to execute the statutes made in this Parliament.

Ex Tit. 9. Moreover, in the said Parliament, the year above said of the King, the 26th of January, Mr. John Mandour Clerk, was charged openly in the Parliament, That he should not pass, ne send over to Rome, ne attempt or do any thing there touching the Archdeaconry of Durham, in prejudice of the King, or of his laws, or of the party presented thereto by the King, on peril that might ensue.

Ex An. 14. Reg. Ric. 2. tit. 6. The next year following, which was the 14th of this Kings Reign, it was Enacted first touching the Staplers, That, after the Feast of Epiphany next ensuing, the Staple should be removed from Calis into England, in such places as are contained in the Statute made in 27 Edw. 3. the which Statute should be fully executed: And further, That every Alien, that bringeth Merchandise into the Realm, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away Commodities of the Realm, to half the value of the said Merchandise.

Tit. 24. Against usury. Item, In the same Parliament Petition was made, That against the horrible vice of Usury, then termed shifts, practised as well by the Clergy as Laity, the Order made by John Nette, late Mayor of London, might be executed throughout the Realm.

Ex tit. 29. Moreover, in the 15th year of the Reign of the foresaid King, it was accorded, for that Sir William Brian Knight, had purchased from Rome a Bull directed from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to Excommunicate such as had broken up his House, and had taken away divers Letters, Privileges and Charters; the same Bull, being read in the Parliament House, was adjudged prejudicial to the Kings Crown, and in derogation of the Laws; for the which he was by the King, and assent of the Lords, committed to the Tower, there to remain at the Kings will and pleasure.

Vide articulum tit. 29. In the said Parliament also, William Archbishop of Canterbury maketh his Protestation in the open Parliament, saying, That the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or to intermeddle, for, or touching any presentment to any Ecclesiastical Dignity recorded in any the Kings Courts. He further protested, that the Pope ought to make no translation to any Bishoprick within the Realm against the Kings will; for that the same was to the destruction of the Realm and Crown of England, which hath always been so free, as the same hath had none earthly Sovereign, but hath been subject to God only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other. The which Protestation he prayed might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Ric. 2. Titul. 33. In the 17th year of the Reign of the King aforesaid, it was desired that remedy might be had against such religious persons as caused their villains or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the Lands came to those religious mens hands by collusion.

Item, That sufficient persons might be presented to Benefices, who may do well on the same, so as their stock for want thereof do not perish.

Item, That remedy might be had against the Abbots of Colchester and Abington, who in the Towns of Colchester and Colnham claim to have Sanctuary.

Ex An. 20. Reg. Ric. 2. Tit. 22. To come to the Parliament holden in the 20th year of this Kings Reign; we find moreover in the said Rolls, how that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for themselves, and the Clergy of their Provinces, declared to the King in open Parliament, That (forasmuch as they were sworn to the Pope and See of Rome) if any thing were in the Parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same, the which their Protestation they require to be enrolled.

Tit. 31. Upon the Petition of the begging Friars, there at large it was Enacted, That none of that Order should pass over the Seas without licence of his Sovereign, nor that he should take upon him any order of Mr. of Divinity, unless he were first apposed in his Chapter provincial, on pain to be put out of the Kings protection.

Tit. 36. Item, That the Kings Officers, for making Arrests or Attachments in Churchyards, are therefore excommunicated, whereof remedy was required.

Ex Tit. An. Reg. Ric. 2. tit. 15. In the 21st year of the same Kings Reign the Parliament being holden at Westminster, we find how the Commons in full Parliament, accused Thomas Arundel Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, for that he as Chancellor procured, and as chief doer executed the same Commission, made traiterously in the tenth year of the King. And also, That he the said Archbishop procured the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, to inroach to themselves Royal Power, and to judge to death Simon de Burley, and Sir John Berners without the Kings assent. Whereupon the Commons required that the same Archbishop might rest under safe keeping; whereunto, for that the same Impeachments touched so great a person, they would be advised.

Ex Tit. 26. Item, The 25th day of September, the Commons prayed the King to give Judgment against the said Archbishop, according to his deserts. The King answered, that privately the said Archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistook himself in the said Commission, and therefore submitted himself to the Kings mercy: Wherefore the Kings, Lords, and Sir Thomas Percy, Proctor for the Clergy, adjudged the fact of the said Archbishop to be Treason, and himself a Traitor; and therefore it was ordered, that the said Archbishop should be banished, his Temporalities seized, his Lands and Goods forfeited, as well in use, as in possession.

The King further prescribed, that the said Archbishop should take his passing on Friday, within six Weeks of Michaelmas, at Dover, towards the parts of France.

Thus having hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as have happened in the Reign of this King, necessary for the Church to know, by course of story; we come now to the 22d year of K. Richard's Reign which is the year of our Lord 1399. In the which year happened the strange and also lamentable deposing of this K. Richard the 2d aforesaid from his Kingly Scepter. Strange, for that the like example hath not often been seen in Seats Royal. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grievous to any good mans heart, to see him either so to deserve, if he were justly deposed, or if he were unjustly deprived, to see the Kingly Title there not able to hold his right, where by force it is compelled to give place to might.

As concerning the order and process of whose deposing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the Kings Records in the Chronicle of St. Albans, and in other Histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof. What were the conditions and properties of this King, partly before hath been touched. In whom as some good virtues may be noted, so also some vices may seem to be mixed withal. But especially this, that he starting out of the steps of his Progenitors, ceased to take part with them, which took part with the Gospel. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind Wheel of Fortune, but by the secret hand of him which directeth all estates, that as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the Gospel of God, so the Lord began to forsake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to fail, there can lack no causes to be charged withal, whom God once giveth over to mans punishment. So that to me, considering the whole life and trade of this Prince, among all other causes alledged in stories against him, none seemeth so much to be weighed of us, or more hurtful to him than this forsaking of the Lord and his Word. Although to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withal, many and sundry defects in that King may appear in stories, to the number of thirty three Articles alledged, or forced rather against him.

In which as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame; so to be displaced therefore from his Regal Seat, and rightful state of the Crown, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare, or so material in a Prince, which either could or else would have served; had not he given over before to serve the Lord and his Word, chusing rather to serve the humor of the Pope and bloody Prelates, than to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of his Word. And then, as I said, how can enemies lack where God standeth not to friend? or what cause can be so little, which is not able enough to cast down, where the Lords arm is shortened to sustain? Wherefore it is a point of principal wisdom in a Prince, not to forget, that as he standeth always in need of Gods helping hand, so always he have the discipline and fear of him before his eyes, according to the counsel of the godly King David, Psalm 2.

And

KING And thus much touching the time and race of this King Richard, with the tragical story of his deposing. The order and manner whereof purposely I pretermitt, only contented briefly to lay together a few special things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient, in a brief summe, both to satisfie the Reader inquisitive of such stories, and also to forewarn other Princes to beware of the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this Prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain persons about him, and ruled all by their counsel, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the Realm: The Names of whom were Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, whom the King made Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevil Archbishop of York, Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, Robert Trisilian Lord Chief Justice, Nicholas Brembre, with other.

The King led with levied coun- sel.

These men, being hated and disdained of divers of the Nobles, and of the Commons, the King also by favouring them, was less favoured himself. Infomuch, that the Duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstock the Kings Uncle, with the Earl of Warwick, and Earl of Darby, stood up in Arms against those counsellors and abusers (as they named them) of the King. Infomuch that the King for fear was constrained against his mind to remove out of his Court, Alexander Nevil Archbishop of York, John Ford Bishop of Duresme, Frier Thomas Rushoke Bishop of Chichester, the Kings Confessor, with the Lord Haringworth, Lord Burnel, and Bemon, Lord Vere, and divers other.

The Nobles up in arms against cer- tain of the Kings Counsellors.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the same year following, Robert Trisilian the Justice was hanged and drawn. Also Nicholas Brembre Knight, James Salisbury also, and James Barnefe both Knights, John Beuwcamp the Kings Steward, and John Blake Esquire in like manner: All these by the counsel of the Lords being cast in the Parliament against the Kings mind, did suffer, which was in the 11th of his Reign, he being yet under governours; but consequently after the same, the King claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of twenty, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that stirred up the Kings stomach against the Nobles. *Ex Chron. Alban.*

Ex Chron. D. Alban.

The second preparative to the Kings deposing.

2. Another thing that stirred him up as much against the Londoners, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a Thousand pound, and they denied him, to their double and treble disadvantage, as after ensued upon it. *Ibidem.* Another occasion, besides this between the King and the Londoners happened thus, by reason of one of the Bishop of Salisburys servants, named Roman, and a Bakers man; who then carrying a Basket of Horsebread in in Fleetstreet, the foresaid Roman took a Horse-loaf out of the Basket. The Baker asking him why he did so, the Bishops lusty Yeoman turned back again and brake his head; whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have arrested this Roman, but he escaped away unto the Bishops House. Then the Constable would have had him out; but the Bishops men shut fast the Gates, that they should not approach, thus much people gathered together, threatening to burst open the gates, and fire the house, unless they had the foresaid party to them brought out. Whereby much ado there was, till at length the Mayor and Sheriffs came and quieted the rage of the Commons, and sent every man home to his house, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done, but if the Bishop for his part had been quiet, and had not stirred the coals of debate, which were well slacked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomach of the Bishop not yet digested (although his man had done the wrong) having no great cause so to do, whose name was John Waltam, being then Treasurer of England, went to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop the same time of York, and Lord Chancellor of England, to complain of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed, by the way, a privy mystery, which although it be not in this story touched of the Writers, yet it touched the hearts of the Bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously known to be favourers of Wickliff's side, as partly before this is to be seen, and in the story of S. Albans more plainly doth appear: Where the Author of the said History, writing upon the 15th year of Kings Richard's Reign, reporteth in these words of the Londoners, that they were *Male creduli in Deum & traditiones*

John Waltam Bishop of Salisbury Makebate.

The Arundel Archbishop of York.

Londoners favourers of Wickliff's Doctrine.

Ex bishop. D. Alban. cu- jus sic habet initium An. gualis, &c.

avitas, Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractatores, decimarum detentores, & communis vulgi depauperatores, &c. i. Not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, sustainers of the Lollards, depravers of religious men, withholders of Tithes, and impoverishers of the common people, &c.

Thus the Londoners, being noted and suspected of the Bishops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the said Bishops which were the more ready to find and take all occasions to work against them, as by their doing herein may well appear. For the Bishop of Salisbury, and Archbishop of York, having no greater matter against them, than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the King, complaining of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London. What trespasses the Mayor and Sheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, so may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The King, incensed not a little, with the complaint of the Bishops, conceived eftsoons against the Mayor and Sheriffs, and against the whole City of London, a great stomach: Infomuch, that the Mayor and both the Sheriffs were sent for, and removed from their Office. Sir Edward Darlington then was made Warden and Governour of the City; who also, for his gentleness shewed to the Citizens, was also deposed, and another named Sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that room. Moreover, so much grew the Kings displeasure against the City, that he also removed from London the Courts, and Terms to be kept at York, that is to say, the Chancery, the Eschequer, the Kings-Bench, the Hamper, and the Common Pleas; where the same continued from Midsummer till Christmas, to the great decay of the City of London; which was Anno 1393.

Londoners complained of to the King by the Bishops. Beati pacifici

The Court removed from London to York.

3. Another great cause, which purchased the King much evil will amongst his Subjects, was the secret murdering of his own Uncle named Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said Duke, with the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Darby, with other, were up in Armour against certain wicked Counsellors about the King. Whereupon the King, watching afterward his time, came into Chelmsford, and so to the place near by, where the Duke lay; where with his own hands he arrested the said Duke his Uncle, and sent him down by water immediately to Calis; and there, through the Kings commandment, by secret-mans he was put to death, being strangled under a Featherbed, the Earl Marshal being then the Keeper of Calis, whereby great indignation rose in many mens hearts against the King.

The ad pre- parative to the Kings deposing.

The King arresting his own Uncle, caused him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the same Duke of Gloucester also, about the same time, was arrested and imprisoned the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Arundel, who, being condemned by Parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the King. *An. 1397.*

Fourthly, to omit here the blank Charts sent over all the Land by the King; and how the King was said to let out his Realm to farm: Over and beside all these above pre- mised, fell another matter, which was the principal occasion of this mischief; The banishment, I mean, of Henry Earl of Darby, made Duke of Hereford a little before, being Son of John of Gaunt the Duke of Lancaster (who died shortly after the banishment of his Son, and lieth buried in the Church of S. Paul in London) and the Duke of Northfolk; who was before Earl of Nottingham, and after by this King made Duke of Northfolk the year before. At which time the King made five Dukes, a Mar- quess, and four Earls, to wit, Duke of Hereford, which was before Earl of Darby; Duke of Aumerle, which was before Earl of Rutland; Duke of Southbrey, who was before Earl of Kent; Duke of Exeter, which was before Earl of Huntington; and this Duke of Northfolk, being before Earl of Nottingham, as is aforesaid, &c. The occasion of banish- ing these foresaid Dukes was this.

Earl of Not- tingham made Duke of North- folk.

About this present time the Duke of Hereford did appeach the Duke of Northfolk upon certain words to be spoken against the King: whereupon casting their Gloves one against the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrel, a day being for the same appointed at Coventry. But the King took up the matter in his own hands, banish- ing the Duke of Northfolk for ever, which after died at Venice;

The Duke of Northfolk and Duke of Hereford banished.

Tho. Arundel banished as a Traitor by Parliament.

Venice; and the other Duke, which was the Duke of Hereford, for 10 years. Beside these, also was exiled into France *Tho. Arundel* Archbishop of Canterbury by Act of Parliament, in the same year, for points of Treason, as ye have heard before expressed, pag. 583. col. 2. All which turned to the great inconvenience of this King, as in the event following may appear.

Anno 1399. These causes and preparatives thus premised, it followed the year after, which was Anno 1399. and last year of this King, that the King, upon certain affairs to be done, took his Voyage into Ireland. In which mean time Henry of Bollingbroke, Earl of Darby, and Duke of Hereford, and with him the foresaid Archbishop Thomas Arundel (which before were both exiled) returning out of France to Calis, came into England, challenging the Dukedom of Lancaster, after the death of his Father. With them also came the Son and Heir of the Earl of Arundel, being yet but young. These together setting out of Calis, arrived at Ravenspur in the North. At the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

In this mean time, as the Duke was hovering on the Sea to enter the Land, Lord Edmund Duke of York, the Kings Uncle, to whom the King committed the custody of this Realm (having intelligence thereof) called to him the Bishop of Chichester, named Edmund Stafford, Chancellor of the Realm, and William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire Lord Treasurer, also John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, and John Rusebel, with divers other, consulting with them what was best in that case to be done. Who then gave their advice (whether wilful or unskillful, it is not known, but very unfruitful) that he should leave London, and go to St. Albans, there to wait for more strength, able to encounter with the Duke. But as the people out of divers quarters resorted thither, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the harm and prejudice of the Duke of Lancaster, who, they said, was unjustly expelled. The rest of the Council John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, William Scrope Treasurer, hearing and understanding how the Commons were minded to joyn with the Duke of Hereford, left the Duke of York, and the Lord Chancellor, and fled to the Castle of Bristow. Where it is to be understood, that these four were they, to whom the common fame ran, that the King had let out his Realm to farm; and were so hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more than for the King, this commotion was among the people.

What evil company doth about a King.

K. Richard returneth from Ireland to Milford Haven.

As this broil was in England, the noise thereof sounding to the Kings ears, being then in Ireland, for hasty speed of returning into England, he left in Ireland both his business, and most of his Ordinance also behind him; And so passing the Seas, landed at Milford Haven, not daring, as it seemed, to come to London.

On the contrary side, unto Henry Duke of Hereford, being landed, as is said, in the North, came the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Henry Percy, and Henry his Son, the Earl of Westmerland, Lord Radulph Nevil, and other Lords more to a great number, so that the multitude rose to 60000 able Soldiers. Who, first making toward the Castle of Bristow, took the foresaid Bushey, Grene, Scrope and Bagot; of whom three incontinently were beheaded, Bagot escaped away, and fled away to Ireland.

K. Richard forsaken of his Subjects. What it is for a Prince to be beloved of his Subjects.

The King in this mean while, lying about Wales, destitute and desolate, without comfort or counsel; who neither durst come to London, neither would any man come to him; and perceiving moreover, the Commons, that were up in such a great power against him, would rather die, than give over that they had begun, for fear of themselves; seeing therefore no other remedy, called to him Lord T. Percy Earl of Worcester, and Steward of his Household, willing him, with other of his Family, to provide for themselves in time. Who then openly in the Hall brake his white Rod before them all, commanding every Man to shift for himself. Although Fabian and some other say, that he did this of his own accord, contrary to his Allegiance. The King, compassed on every side with miseries, shifted from place to place, the Duke still following him; till at length, being at the Castle of Coneway, the King desired to talk with Thomas Arundel Archbishop, and the Earl of Northumberland; to whom he declared, That he would resign up his Crown, in condition that an honourable liv-

K. Richard agreed to resign his Crown.

ing might be for him provided, and life promised to eight persons, such as he would name. Which being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the Castle of Flint, where (after talk had with the Duke of Lancaster) he was brought the same night by the Duke and his Army to Chester, and from thence was conveyed secretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next Parliament. By the way as he came near to London, divers evil disposed men of the City being warned thereof, gathered themselves, thinking to have slain him, for the great cruelty he had used before toward the City; but by the policies of the Mayor and Rulers of the City, the madness of the people was stayed. Not long after followed the Duke, and also began the Parliament. In which Parliament the Earl of Northumberland, with many other Earls and Lords were sent to the King in the Tower, to take of him a full resignation, according to his former promise, and so they did. This done, divers Accusations and Articles were laid and engrossed against the said King, to the number of thirty three, some say thirty eight, which for the matter not greatly material in them contained, I overpass. And the next year after he was had to Pomfret Castle, and there furnished to death.

KING Hen. 4.

The King committed to the Tower.

King HENRY the Fourth.

AND thus King Richard by common assent being deposed from his rightful Crown, the Duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundel the Archbishop to the Seat Royal; who there standing up, and crossing himself on the forehead and the breast, spake in words as followeth:

The words of Henry Duke, claiming the Crown.

In the Name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster, claim the Realm of England and the Crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood, coming from that good Lord King Henry the Third. And through the right that God of his grace hath sent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover the same, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance, and due justice, &c.

After which words the Archbishop, asking the assent of the people, being joyful of their new King, took the Duke by the hand, and placed him in the Kingly Throne, which was Anno 1399. and shortly after, by the foresaid Archbishop, he was Crowned also for King of England. *Ex Chron. D. Alban.*

King Henry the fourth, intruded and crowned.

The next year after followed a Parliament holden at Westminster; in which Parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithful Priest, inflamed with zeal of true Religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole Realm. But the matter being smelt before by the Bishop, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the Convocation; where the said William Sautre being brought before the Bishops and Notaries thereunto appointed, the Convocation was deferred to the Saturday next ensuing.

Anno 1400. W. Sautre Martyr.

W. Sautre brought before the Bishops in the Convocation.

When Saturday was come, that is to say, the 12th day of February, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his Council Provincial, being assembled in the said Chapter-house, against one Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris Chaplain, personally then and there appearing by the commandment of the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury objected; that the said Sir William before the Bishop of Norwich had once renounced and abjured divers and sundry Conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that after such Abjuration made, he publicly and privily held, taught and preached the same Conclusions, or else such like, disagreeing to the Catholick faith, and to the great peril, and pernicious example of others. And after this he caused such like Conclusions, holden and preached, as is said, by the said Sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read unto the said Archbishop, by Mr. Robert Hall, Chancellor unto the said Bishop, in a certain Scrole written, in tenor of words as followeth.

Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre, Parish Priest of the Church St. Scitbe the Virgin in London, publicly and privily doth hold these Conclusions under written.

Imprimis,

KING
The
Articles of W.
Sautre.

¶ Imprimis, He saith, That he will not worship the Croſſe on which Chriſt ſuffered, but only Chriſt that ſuffered upon the Croſſe.

2. Item, That he would ſooner worship a temporal King, than the foreſaid wooden Croſſe.

3. Item, That he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, than the very Croſſe of Chriſt on which he hung, if it were before him.

4. Item, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the Croſſe of Chriſt.

5. Item, That he is bound rather to worship a Man that is predeſtinate, than an Angel of God.

6. Item, That if any Man would viſit the Monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the Tomb of Saint Thomas, or else any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may diſtribute the expences of his Vow, upon the alms of the poor.

7. Item, That every Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the Word of God, than to ſay the Canonical hours.

8. Item, That after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words of the body of Chriſt, the bread remaineth of the ſame nature that it was before, neither doth it ceaſe to be bread.

To which Concluſions or Articles being thus read, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury required the ſame Sir William to answer. And then the ſaid William asked a Copy of ſuch Articles or Concluſions, and a competent ſpace to answer unto the ſame. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop commanded a Copy of ſuch Articles or Concluſions to be delivered then and there unto the ſaid Sir William, aſſigning the Thursday then next enſuing to him to deliberate and make answer in. When Thursday the ſaid day of appearance was come, Maſter Nicholas Riſhton, auditor of the cauſes and buſineſs belonging to the ſaid Archbiſhop (then being in the Parliament Houſe at Weſtmiſter, otherwiſe let) continued the ſaid Convocation with all matters riſing, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandment of the ſaid Biſhop, until the next morrow at eight of the Clock. When the morrow came, being Friday, the foreſaid Sir William Sautre, in the Chapter-houſe before the ſaid Biſhop and his Council Provincial then and there aſſembled, making his perſonal appearance, exhibited a certain Scrole, containing the Answers unto certain Articles or Concluſions given unto him, as is aforeſaid, by the ſaid Biſhop; and ſaid, that unto the foreſaid Archbiſhop he delivered the ſame as his answer in that behalf, under the tenor of ſuch words as follow.

The answer
of W. Sautre
given up
in Writing.

I William Sautre, Priest unworthy, ſay and answer, that I will not, nor intend not to worship the Croſſe whereon Chriſt was crucified, but only Chriſt that ſuffered upon the Croſſe; ſo underſtanding me, That I will not worship the material Croſſe, or the groſſe corporal matter: yet notwithstanding I will worship the ſame as a ſign, token and memorial of the Paſſion of Chriſt, Adoratione vicaria. And that I will rather worship a temporal King, than the foreſaid wooden Croſſe, and the material ſubſtance of the ſame. And that I will rather worship the bodies of Saints, than the very Croſſe of Chriſt whereon he hung; with this addition, that if the very ſame Croſſe were afore me, as touching the material ſubſtance. And alſo that I will rather worship a man truly conſeſſed and penitent, than the Croſſe on which Chriſt hung, as touching the material ſubſtance.

The Croſſe
materially,
not to be
worſhipped.

And that alſo I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predeſtinate, truly conſeſſed and contrite than an Angel of God; for that the one is a man of the ſame nature with the humanity of Chriſt, and ſo is not a bleſſed Angel. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I ſhould.

Alſo, That if any Man hath made a Vow to viſit the Shrines of the Apoſtles Peter and Paul, or to go on Pilgrimage unto S. Thomas Tomb, or any whither else, to obtain any temporal benefit or commodity; he is not bound ſimply to keep his Vow upon the neceſſity of Salvation; but he may give the expences of his Vow in alms amongſt the poor, by the prudent counſel of his ſuperiour, as I ſuppoſe.

And alſo I ſay, that every Deacon and Priest is more bound to preach the Word of God, than to ſay the

Canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the Church.

Alſo, Touching the interrogation of the Sacrament of the Altar, I ſay, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words of the body of Chriſt, there ceaſeth not to be very bread ſimply, but remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the ſaid Sacrament to be the very body of Chriſt, after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words.

How bread
remaineth
in the Sa-
crament.

When all theſe answers were thoroughly by Maſter Robert Hall directly and publicly there read, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury inquired of the ſaid Sir William, whether he had abjured the foreſaid Heresies and Errors objected againſt him, as before is ſaid, before the Biſhop of Norwich, or not; or else had revoked and renounced the ſaid or ſuch like Concluſions or Articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then conſequently (all other Articles, Concluſions and Answers above written immediately omitted) the ſaid Archbiſhop examined the ſame Sir William Sautre, eſpecially upon the Sacrament of the Altar.

First, Whether in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words, remaineth very material bread or not? Unto which interrogation, the ſame Sir William ſomewhat waveringly ſaid, and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he ſaid, that there was very bread, becauſe it was the bread of life which came down from Heaven.

After that the ſaid Archbiſhop demanded of him, whether in the Sacrament after the ſacramental words, rightly pronounced of the Priest, the ſame bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not. And to this queſtion the foreſaid William answered in like manner as before, ſaying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

After that, the foreſaid Archbiſhop asked him, whether the ſame material bread before Conſecration, by the ſacramental words of the Priest rightly pronounced, be tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Chriſt, or not? Whereunto Sir William ſaid, that he knew not what that matter meant.

And then the ſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned unto the ſaid Sir William time to deliberate, and more fully to make his answer till the next day; and continued this Convocation then and there till the morrow. Which morrow, to wit, the 19th day of February, being come, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the ſaid Chapter-houſe of Saint Paul in London, before his Council Provincial then and there aſſembled, eſpecially asked and examined the ſame Sir William Sautre there perſonally preſent upon the Sacrament of the Altar, as before. And the ſame Sir William, again, in like manner, as before, answered.

The Convo-
cation con-
tinued.
W. Sautre
again ex-
amined.

After this, amongſt other things, the ſaid Biſhop demanded of the ſame William, if the ſame material bread being upon the Altar, after the ſacramental words being of the Priest rightly pronounced, is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt or not? And the ſaid Sir William ſaid, he underſtood not what he meant.

Then the ſaid Archbiſhop demanded, whether that material bread being round and white, prepared and diſpoſed for the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt upon the Altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requiſite thereunto, by the vertue of the ſacramental words being of the Priest rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Chriſt, and ceaſeth any more to be material and very bread or not? Then the ſaid Sir William, deridingly answering, ſaid, he could not tell.

Then conſequently, the ſaid Archb. demanded, whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holy Church or not, which affirmeth, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration being rightly pronounced of the Priest, the ſame bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaſeth any more to be bread? To this interrogation the ſaid Sir William ſaid, That he would ſtand to the determination of the Church, where ſuch determination was not contrary to the will of God.

Determina-
tion of the
Church ſo
to be fol-
lowed as it
is joynt to
the will of
God.

This done he demanded of him again, what his judgment was concerning the Sacrament of the Altar: Who ſaid and affirmed, That after the words of Conſecration, by the Priest duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the ſame bread which was before the words ſpoken. And this

Examination

Examination about the Sacrament, laſted from 8 of the Clock of the ſame day, until 11 of the Clock, or thereabouts; inſomuch that during all this time the foreſaid *William* would no otherwiſe answer, neither yet touching the ſame Sacrament receive Catholick information, according to the institution of the Popes Church, and his Chriſtian Faith. Wherefore the ſaid *Canterbury*, by the counſel and aſſent of his whole Covent then and there preſent, did promulgate and give ſentence, by the mouth of *Robert Hall*, againſt the ſame *Sir William Sautre* (being perſonally preſent, and reſuſing to revoke his Hereſies, that is to ſay, his true Doctrine, but conſtantly defended the ſame) under the tenor of words as followeth:

The ſentence againſt *W. Sautre*.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We Thomas by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of England, and Legate of the See Apoſtolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and bleſſed St. Peter and Paul, and of holy Church, and by our own authority, ſitting for Tribunal or chief Judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counſel and conſent of the whole Clergy our fellow brethren and Suffragans, aſſiſtants unto us in this preſent Council Provincial, by this our ſentence definitive do pronounce, decree and declare by theſe preſents, thee *William Sautre*, otherwiſe called *Chawtre*, Pariſh Priſt pretended, perſonally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of Hereſie, judicially and lawfully convicted, as an Heretick, and as an Hertick to be puniſhed.

Which ſentence definitive being thus read, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury continued in the ſame Provincial Council till *Wednesday* next and immediately enſuing, to wit, the 24th day of the ſame Month of *February*, which being expired, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, according to the commandment of the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſented unto the foreſaid *William Sautre* by a certain friend of his, being preſent at the ſame Council, a certain Proceſs incloſed and ſealed with his Seal, giving the names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeals, the tenor whereof followeth in this wiſe:

A certain proceſs againſt *W. Sautre* preſented by the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Memorandum, That upon the laſt day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1399. in the 7. Indiction, and 10 year of the Papacy of Pope *Boniface* the 2. in a certain Chamber within the Manor Houſe of the ſaid Biſhop of *Norwich*, at *South Helingham* (where the Register of the ſaid Biſhop is kept) before the 9th hour, in a certain Chappel within the ſaid Manor ſituate, and the firſt day of *May* then next and immediately enſuing, in the foreſaid Chamber *Sir W. Chawtre*, Pariſh Priſt of the Church of *S. Margaret* in the Town of *Lin*, appeared before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, in the preſence of *John de Derlington*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, Doctour of the Decrees, *Frier Walter Diſſe*, and *John Rikinghal*, Profeſſors in Divinity, *William Carlton*, Doctour of both Laws, and *William Friſebey*, with *Hugh Bridham*, Publick Notaries, and there publickly affirmed and held the Concluſions, as before is ſpecified.

All and ſingular the premiſſes the foreſaid *William* affirmed upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19th day of *May* in the year, Indiction and Papacy aforeſaid, in the Chappel within the Manor houſe of the ſaid *Henry* Biſhop of *Norwich* ſituate at *South Helingham*, the foreſaid *Sir William* revoked and renounced all and ſingular the foreſaid his Concluſions; abjuring and correcting all ſuch Hereſies and Errors, taking his Oath upon a Book before the foreſaid *Henry* the Biſhop of *Norwich*, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm nor hold, privily nor apertly, the foreſaid Concluſions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the ſaid Biſhop, the foreſaid Concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies in the Pariſh Churches of *Lin*, and *Timey*, and in other places at the aſſignment of the ſaid Biſhop; and further ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinance of the ſaid Biſhop touching the premiſſes, in the preſence of the diſcreet and worſhipful men afore-recited, with divers other more.

As concerning the firſt Concluſion, that he ſaid he would not worſhip the Croſs, &c. he confeſſed himſelf to have erred, and that the Article was erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelf. And as touching the ſecond Article, that he ſaid he would rather worſhip a King, &c. he confeſſed himſelf to have erred, and the Article

to be erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelf, and ſo forth of all the reſt. KING
Hind.

Then next after this, upon the 25th day of *May* in the year of our Lord aforeſaid, in the Churchyard of the Chappel of *St. James* within the Town of *Lin*, the foreſaid *William*, in preſence of the foreſaid Biſhop and Clergy, and the people of the ſaid Town of *Lin* ſtanding round about, publickly declared in the *Engliſh* Tongue, the foreſaid Concluſions to be erroneous and Hereſies, as was contained in a certain Scrole. And after this, the 26th day of *May* in the year aforeſaid, in the Church of the Hoſpital of *S. Johns* in the Town of *Lin*, the ſaid *Sir William*, before the ſaid Biſhop ſitting as judge, ſware and took his Oath upon the holy Evangelists, that he would never after that time preach openly and publickly the foreſaid Concluſions, nor would hear the confeſſions of any of the Subjects of his Dioceſs of *Norwich*, without the ſpecial licence of the ſaid Biſhop, &c. In the preſence of *Frier John Smermen*, *Mr. John Rikinghal* Doctour of Divinity, *William Carlton* Doctour of both Laws, and *Thomas Bulſton* Officer of the liberty of *Lin* aforeſaid, with divers others.

The tenor of the Scrole and Recantation.

Imprimis, Touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſaid, That I would adore rather a temporal Prince, and the lively bodies of the Saints, than the wooden Croſs whereupon the Lord did hang, I do revoke and recant the ſame, as being therein deceived. 1.

To this I ſay, that the Article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; the which I renounce and ask forgiveness thereof, and ſay, that it is a precious Relick, and that I ſhall hold it while I live, and that I ſwear here. 2.

I know well that I erred wrongfully by falſe information; for I wot well, that a Deacon or a Priſt is more bound to ſay his Mattens and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right; wherefore I ſubmit me, &c. 3.

Touching that Article, I know right well that I erred by falſe information. Wherefore I ask forgiveness. 4.

As concerning Vows, I ſay that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; for a man is holden to hold his Vow, &c. 5.

To the 7th Article I ſay, that I did it by authority of Priſthood, wheretrough I knowledge well that I gave guilt and treſpaſſed; wherefore I ſubmit me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, ſwearing that I ſhall never hold it more. 6.

To the 8th I ſay, that I held it by falſe and wrong information. But now I know well that it is Hereſie, and that bread, anon as the word of the Sacrament is ſaid, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into very Chriſts body; and that I ſwear here. 7.

I ſay, that this is falſe and erroneous, &c. 8.

I ſay as I ſaid, &c. 9.

This being done the 22d of *February* aforeſaid, in the year of our Lord 1400. in the Chapter houſe of *S. Paul* in *London* aforeſaid; the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Convocation of his Prelates, and Clergy, and ſuch like men there being preſent, cauſed the fore-recited proceſs of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to be read openly and publickly to *Sir William Sautre*, otherwiſe called *Chawtre*. And afterward he asked the ſaid *Sir William*, whether he plainly underſtood and knew ſuch Proceſs and the contents within the ſame; and he ſaid, yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could ſay or object any thing againſt the Proceſs, and he ſaid, No. And after that incontinent, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury demanded and objected againſt the ſaid *Sir William*, as divers others more did; That after he had before the Biſhop of *Norwich* revoked and abjured judicially divers errors and hereſies, among other errors and hereſies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, That in the ſame Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration made by the Priſt, as he taught, there remained material bread; which hereſie amongſt others as errors alſo he abjured before the foreſaid Biſhop of *Norwich*. Hereunto the foreſaid *William* answered ſmiling, or in mocking wiſe, ſaying, and denying that he knew of the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding, he publickly 10.

KING lickly affirmed, That he held and taught the foresaid things after the date of the said Process made by the said Bishop of *Norwich*, and that in the same Council also he held the same. Then finally it was demanded of the said *Sir William*, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into Heresie, and why they should not further proceed unto his degradation according to the Canonical Sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he alledge any cause to the contrary.

Whereupon the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the counsel and assent of the whole Council, and especially by the counsel and assent of the Reverend Fathers and Bishops, as also Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and other worshipful Doctors and Clerks then and there present in the Council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation, and actual deposing of the said *William Sautre*, as re-fallen into Heresie and as incorrigible, according to the Sentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth.

In the Name of God, Amen. We Thomas by the Grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Legate of the See Apostolic, and Metropolitan of all England, do find and declare, That thou William Sautre, otherwise called Chauris Priest, by us with the counsel and assent of all and singular our fellow brethren and whole Clergy, by this our Sentence definitive declared in writing, hast been for Heresie convict and condemned, and art (being again fallen into Heresie) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.

And from that day being *Wednesday*, there was in the said Council Provincial nothing further prosecuted, but was continued with all dependents till the *Friday* next ensuing. Which *Friday* approaching, Master *Nicholas Rishton*, by the commandment of the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then busied, as he said, in the Parliament House, continued this Council and Convocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions, growing and annexed thereunto the next day, to wit, *Saturday* next and immediately after ensuing. Upon *Saturday*, being the 26th of the said month of *February*, the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury* fate in the Bishops Seat of the foresaid Church of *S. Paul* in *London*, and solemnly apparelled in his Pontifical attire, sitting with him as his assistants these Reverend Fathers and Bishops, of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Exeter*, *Menevensis* & *Roffensis* *Episcopi*, above mentioned, commanded and caused the said *Sir William Sautre*, apparelled in Priestly Vestments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in *English* to all the Clergy and people there in great multitude assembled; That all Process was finished and ended against the said *Sir William Sautre*. Which thing finished, before the pronouncing of the said Sentence of Relapse against the said *Sir William*, as is premised, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said *William* in that behalf nothing abashed; he proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition in form as followeth.

Sentence of degradation. *IN Nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti. We Thomas by Gods permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, do denounce thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chauris, Chaplain fained, in the habit and apparel of a Priest, as an Heretick, and one re-fallen into Heresie, by this our Sentence definitive, by counsel, assent, and authority to be condemned; and by conclusion of all our fellow Brethren, fellow Bishops, Prelates, Council Provincial, and of the whole Clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy Priestly Order. And in sign of degradation and actual deposition from thy Priestly Dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the Patent and Chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the Mass, and also we pull from thy back the Casule, and take from thee the Vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of Priestly honour.*

Also, we *Thomas* the foresaid Archbishop by authority, counsel, and assent, which upon the foresaid *William* we have, being Deacon pretended, in the habit and apparel of a Deacon, having the New Testament in thy hands, being an Heretick, and twice fallen, condemned by Sentence as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the Order of

a Deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the Book of the New Testament, and the Stole, and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the Gospel, and of all and all manner of Dignity of a Deacon.

Item, We *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsel, and assent, which over thee the foresaid *William* we have, being a Sub-deacon pretended, in the habit and Vestiment of a Sub-deacon, an Heretick, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the Order of a Sub-deacon; And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the Albe and Maniple, and do deprive thee of all manner of Sub-diaconical Dignity.

Also, we *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by counsel assent, and authority which we have over thee the foresaid *William*, an Acolyte pretended, wearing the habit of an Acolyte, and Heretick, twice fallen, by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and put from thee all Order of an Acolyte; and in sign and token of this thy degradation, and actual deposition, we take from thee the Candlestick and Taper, and also *Urceolum*, and do deprive thee of all and all manner dignity of an Acolyte.

Also we *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, which upon thee the foresaid *William* we have, an Exorcist pretended, in the habit of an Exorcist or Holy-water Clerk, being an Heretick, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and depose thee from the Order of an Exorcist; And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the Book of Conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and singular dignity of an Exorcist.

Also, we *Thomas* Archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, as is aforesaid, do degrade and depose thee the foresaid *William*, Reader pretended, clothed in the habit of a Reader, an Heretick, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned from the order of a Reader; And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the Book of the Divine Lecti- ons (that is the Book of the Church Legend) and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of dignity of such a Reader.

Item, We *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* aforesaid, by authority, counsel and assent, the which we have, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee the foresaid *William Sautre*, Sexton pretended, in the habit of a Sexton, and wearing a Surplice, being an Heretick twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid from the Order of a Sexton; And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thee the Keys of the Church-door, and thy Surplice, and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of commodities of a Door-keeper.

And also, by the authority of Omnipotent God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our authority, counsel, and assent, of our whole Council Provincial above written, we do degrade thee, and depose thee, being here personally present before us, from Orders, Benefices, Privileges and Habit in the Church; and for thy pertinency incorrigible we do degrade thee before the secular Court of the High Constable and Marshal of *England*, being personally present; and do depose thee from all and singular Clerical honours and dignities whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused thy Crown and Ecclesiastical Tonfure in our presence to be rased away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular Lay-man; and here we do put upon the head of thee the foresaid *William* the Cap of a Lay secular person; beseeching the Court aforesaid, that they will receive favourably the said *William* unto them thus recommitted.

Thus *William Sautre* the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the Popes Kingdom, and metamorphosed from a Clerk to a secular Lay-man, was committed (as ye have heard) unto the secular power. Which so done, the Bishops, yet not herewith contented, cease not to call upon the King, to cause him to be brought forth to speedy Execution. Whereupon the King, ready enough and too much to gratifie the Clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible Decree against the said *William Sautre*, and sent it to the Major and Sheriffs of *London* to be put in execution: the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

D d d

The Book of the New Testament taken from him.

The Albe taken from him.

The Candlestick and Taper taken from him.

The Holy-water Book conjured from him.

He meaneth the Legend Book, as saith the Register.

The Surplice taken from him.

The Church door Keys taken from him.

Privilege of the Clergy taken from him.

The Priests Cap taken from his head, maketh up all in all.

The

The Decree of the King against William Sawtre.

The cruel
decree of
the King
against Saw-
tre.

THE Decree of our Sovereign Lord the King and his Council in the Parliament, against a certain new sprung up Heretick. To the Major and Sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the Reverend Father Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, by the assent, consent, and counsel of other Bishops, and his Brethren Suffragans, and also of all the whole Clergy within his Province or Diocese, gathered together in his Provincial Council, the due order of the Law being observed in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sawtre sometime Chaplain fallen again into his most damnable Heresie, the which before time the said William had abjured, thereupon to be a most manifest Heretick, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the Clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the secular power; and hath really so left him, ac-

ording to the Laws and Canonical Sanctions set forth in this behalf, and also that our Holy Mother the Church hath no further to do in the premisses: we therefore being zealous in Religion, and reverend lovers of the Catholick Faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the Holy Church, and the Laws and the Liberties of the same, to root all such Errors and Heresies out of our Kingdom of England, and with condigne punishment to correct and punish all Hereticks or such as be convict; provided always that both according to the Law of God and Man, and the Canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, such Hereticks convict and condemned in form aforesaid ought to be burned with fire: We command you, as straitly as we may, or can, firmly enjoying you that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some publick or open place within the liberties of your City aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon: *Teste Rege, apud Westm. 26. Febr. An. Regni sui.*

The burning of William Sawtre.



Admonition to Priests.

Thus it may appear how Kings and Princes have been blinded and abused by the false Prelates of the Church, inasmuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christs poor innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for Princes not to have knowledge and understanding themselves, but to be led by other Mens eyes, and specially trusting to such guides, who through hypocrisie both deceive them, and through cruelty devour the people.

King Henry the first of English Kings that tormented the Christians with fire.

As King Henry the Fourth, who was the deposer of King Richard, was the first of all English Kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christs Saints for standing against the Pope: so was this William Sawtre, the true and faithful Martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliffe's time, which I find to be burned in the Reign of the foresaid King, which was in the year of our Lord, 1400.

After the Martyrdom of this godly Man, the rest of the same Company began to keep themselves more closely for fear of the King, who was altogether bent to hold with the Popes Prelacy. Such was the Reign of this Prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeasurable, of few Men heartily beloved; but Princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his Reign very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood and mi-

fery. Such was their desire of King Richard again in the Reign of this King, that many years after he was rumored to be alive (of them which desired belike that to be true which they knew to be false) for the which divers were executed. For the space of six or seven years together almost no year passed without some conspiracy against the King. Long it were here to recite the blood of all such Nobles and others, which was spilt in the Reign of this King, as the Earl of * Kent, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Huntingdon, named John Holland, &c. as writeth the story of S. Albans. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of four Earls, of Surrey, of Excester, of Salisbury, and Lord Spencer Earl of Gloucester. *Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.*

And the next year following Sir John Clarendon Knight, with two of his servants, the Prior of Laund, with eight Friars, were hanged and quartered. And after these Henry Percy the younger, the Earl of Worcester, named Thomas Percy his Uncle, Lord of Kinderton, and Lord Richard de Vernova. The Earl of Northumberland scarce escaped with his pardon, An. 1403. In the which year the prison in Cornhill called the Tun, was turned into the Conduit there now standing.

To let pass other moe hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt Knight, and Bener Kely Knight, and Thomas Winterfel

Much more to be heard in the time of King Henry the Fourth. It is to be doubted.

Anno 1403

KING *Winterfel* Esquire; Also the same year was taken and Executed Sir *Bernard Brookes* Knight, Sir *John Shilley* Knight, Sir *John Mandelin* and *William Frierby*. After all these Lord *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf*, conspiring the Kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this King *Henry*.

Archbishop of *Tork* and Lord *Mowbray* against King *Henry* the Fourth.
This civil Rebellion of so many Nobles, and other, against the King, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this King *Henry*. Among whom I cannot pretermitt here also the Archbishop of *Tork* named *Richard Scrope*, who with the Lord *Mowbray*, Marshal of *England*, gathered a great company in the North Country against the foresaid King, to whom also was adjoyned the help of Lord *Bardolf*, and *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. *Ex Chron. D. Albani*. And to stir up the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certain Articles against the said King, to the number of ten, and fastned them upon the doors of the Churches and Monasteries, to be read of all Men in *English*. Which Articles if any be disposed to understand, forsomuch as the same also contain a great part of the doings between King *Henry* and King *Richard* afore said, I thought, for the better opening of the matter hereunder to insert the same, in such form as I found them in the story of *Scala mundi* expressed.

Articles set upon Church Doors against King Henry the Fourth.

ANNO 1401. **I**N the Name of God, *Amen*. Before the Lord *Jesus* Christ, judge of the quick and dead, &c. We *A. B. C. D.* &c. not long sithence became bound by oath upon the Sacred Evangelical Book, unto our Sovereign Lord *Richard*, late King of *England* and *France*, in the presence of many Prelates, Potentates and Nobility of the Realm; that we, so long as we lived, should bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his heirs succeeding him in the Kingdom by just title, right, and line, according to the statutes and custom of this Realm of *England*: By vertue whereof we are bound to foresee that no vices, or hainous offences arising in the Common-weal, do take effect or wilhed end, and we ought to give our selves and our goods to withstand the same, without fear of the sword or death whatsoever, upon pain of perjury, which pain is Everlasting Damnation. Wherefore we seeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceasing to be committed by the Children of the Devil and *Satanis* Souldiers against the supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, the liberty of the Church of *England*, and the Laws of the Realm, against the person of King *Richard* and his heirs, against the Prelates, Noble-men, Religion, and Commonalty, and finally against the whole Weal publick of the Realm *England*, to the great offence of the Majesty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his just wrath and vengeance toward the Realm and people of the same. And fearing also the destruction both of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, and the ruine of our Country to be at hand, having before our eyes the justice and the Kingdom of God, calling always on the name of *Jesus*, having an assured confidence in his Clemency, Mercy and Power; Have here taken unto us certain Articles, subscribed in form following, to be propounded, tried, and heard before the just Judge, *Jesus* Christ, and the whole world, to his honor, the delivery of the Church, the Clergy, and Commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the Weal Publick. But if (which God forbid) by force, fear, or violence of wicked persons we shall be cast in prison, or by violent death prevented, so as in this world we shall not be able to prove the said Articles as we would wish, then do we appeal to the high Celestial Judge, that he may judge and discern the same, in the day of his supreme judgment.

A Bill of Articles set up against King *Henry* the Fourth.
1. *First*, We depose, say, except, and intend to prove against the Lord *Henry* *Darby*, Son of the Lord *John* of *Gaunt*, late Duke of *Lancaster*, and commonly called King of *England* (himself pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto) and against his adherents, fautors, and complices; that ever they have been, are, and will be Traitors, invaders, and destroyers of Gods Church in *Rome*, *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*,

and of our Sovereign Lord *Richard* late King of *England*, his heirs, his Kingdom, and Common-wealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appear.

2. *Secondarily*, We depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, for that he had conceived, devised, and conspired certain hainous crimes and traitorous offences against his said Sovereign Lord *Richard* his State and Dignity, as manifestly did appear in the contention between the said Lord *Henry*, and the Lord *Thomas* Duke of *Northfolk* begun at *Coventry*, but not finished thoroughly. Afterwards he was sent into exile by sentence of the said King *Richard*, by the agreement of his Father the Lord *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, by the voice of divers of the Lords Temporal, and Nobility of the Realm, and also by his own consent; there to remain for a certain time appointed unto him by the said Lords, and withal he was bound by oath not to return into *England* before he had obtained favour and grace of the King. Not long after, when the King was departed into *Ireland* for reformation of that Country appertaining to the Crown of *England*, but as then rebelling against the same; the said Lord *Henry* in the mean time contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his fautors and invaders secretly entred into the Realm, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his coming into the Realm in the absence of the King was for none other cause, but that he might in humble sort with the love and favour of the King, and all the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance descending unto him of right after the death of his Father: which thing as it pleased all Men, so cryed they, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*. But how this blessing afterward turned into cursing, shall appear in that which followeth: and also ye shall understand his horrible and wicked conspiracy against his Sovereign Lord King *Richard*, and divers other Lords as well spiritual as temporal; besides that his manifest perjury shall well be known, and that he remaineth not only forsworn and perjured, but also Excommunicate, for that he conspired against his Sovereign Lord our King. Wherefore we pronounce him by these presents aswel perjured, as Excommunicate.

King *Henry* perjured.

3. *Thirdly*, We depose, &c. against the Lord *Henry*, that he the said Lord *Henry*, immediately after his entry into *England*, by crafty and subtil policy caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realm, that no tithes of the Clergy, fifteens of the people, sealing up of Cloth, diminution of Wool, impost of Wine, nor other extortions or exactions whatsoever, should hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchase unto him the voice and favour of the Prelates Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, the Merchants, and Commonalty of the whole Realm. After this he took by force the Kings Castles and Fortresses, spoiled and devoured his goods wheresoever he found it, crying, *Harvock, Harvock*. The Kings Majesties subjects as well Spiritual as Temporal, he spoiled and robbed, some he took Captive and Imprisoned them, and some he slew and put to miserable death, whereof many were Bishops, Prelates, Priests, and Religious Men. Whereby it is manifest, That the said Lord *Henry* is not only perjured, in promising and swearing that there should be hereafter no more exactions, paiments, or extortions within the Realm, but also Excommunicate for the violence and injury done to Prelates and Priests. Wherefore by these presents we pronounce him, as afore, as well perjured, as Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with untruth.

4. *Fourthly*, We depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, That he, hearing of the Kings return from *Ireland* into *Wales*, rose up against his Sovereign Lord the King with many thousands of armed Men, marching forward with all his power towards the Castle of *Flint* in *Wales*, where he took the King and held him prisoner, and so led him Captive as a Traitor unto *Leicester*: from whence he took his journey towards *London*, misuling the King by the way, both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffs. And in the end committed him to the Tower of *London*, and held a Parliament, the King being absent and in prison: wherein for fear of death he compelled the King to yield and resign unto him all his right and title of the Kingdom and Crown of *England*. After which resignation being made, the said Lord

King *Henry* charged with Treason against his Sovereign.

Henry standing up in the Parliament House, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, That the Kingdom of *England* and Crown of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that present, as of very right, and to no other; for that the said King *Richard* by his own Deed was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and interest that ever he had, hath, or may have in the same. And thus at length by right and wrong he exalted himself unto the Throne of the Kingdom: since which time, our Common-weal never flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath been void of virtue, for that the spirituality was so oppressed, exercise and war-like practices have not been maintained, Charity is waxed cold, and covetousness and misery hath taken place, and finally mercy is taken away and vengeance supplieth the room. Whereby it doth appear (as before is said) That the said Lord *Henry* is not only perjured and false by usurping the Kingdom and Dominion belonging to another, but also Excommunicate for the apprehending, unjust imprisoning, and depriving his Sovereign Lord the King of his Royal Crown and Dignity. Wherefore, as in the Articles before, we pronounce the said Lord *Henry* to be Excommunicate.

5. *Fifthly*, We depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, that he the same Lord *Henry* with the rest of his favourers and complices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to pass a most wicked and mischievous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and imprisoned the King, and deposed him by open injury against all humane nature; yet, not content with this, they brought him to *Pomfret* Castle, and there imprisoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life with such a kind of death as never before that time was known in *England*, but by Gods Providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of him? Wherefore, O *England*, arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury of thy King and Prince: which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the Righteous God will destroy thee by strange invasions and foreign power, and avenge himself on thee for this so horrible an act. Whereby doth appear not only his perjury, but also his Excommunication most execrable; so that, as before, we pronounce the said *Henry* not only perjured, but also Excommunicate.

6. *Sixthly*, We depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, That after he had attained to the Crown and Scepter of the Kingdom, he caused forthwith to be apprehended divers Lords Spiritual, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Religious Men of all Orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular Judges to be examined; not sparing the Bishops whose bodies were anointed with Sacred Oyl, nor Priests nor Religious Men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the Temporal Law and judgment, notwithstanding the privilege of the Church and Holy Orders, which he ought to have revered and worshipped, if he had been a true and lawful King: for the first and chiefest Oath in the Coronation of a lawful King is, to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deliver any Priest or Religious Man into the hands of the Secular Power, except for Heresie only, and that after his degradation, according to the order of the Church. Contrary unto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this Article as afore in the rest, that he is both perjured, and Excommunicate.

7. *Seventhly*, We depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, That not only he caused to be put to death the Lords Spiritual and other Religious Men, but also divers of the Lords Temporal and Nobility of the Realm, and chiefly those that studied for the preservation of the Common-weal, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by Gods Providence it be not prevented, and that with speed: Amongst all other of the Nobility, these first he put to death; the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Gloucester*, the Lord *Roger Clarendon* the Kings Brother, with divers other Knights and Esquires; and afterwards, the Lord *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester*, and the Lord *Henry Percy* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Northumberland*; the which Lord *Henry* he not

only slew, but to the uttermost of his power again and again he caused him to be slain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the Lord of *Furnile* to be buried (who committed his body to Holy Sepulture, with as much honor as might be, commending his soul to Almighty God with the Suffrages of blessed Mass and other Prayers) the said Lord *Henry*, most like a cruel beast still thirsting his blood, caused his body to be exhumate and brought forth again, and to be reposed between two Mil-stones in the Town of *Shrewsbury*, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers Cities of the Kingdom. Wherefore, for so detestable a fact never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former Articles, Excommunicate.

8. *Eighthly*, We depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, For that after his attaining to the Crown he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved a most wicked Statute set forth and renewed in the Parliament holden at *Winchester*. The which Statute is directly against the Church of *Rome*, and the power, and principality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ unto blessed *S. Peter* and his successors Bishops of *Rome*; unto whom belongeth by full authority the free disposing of all spiritual promotions as well superior as inferior: which wicked Statute is the cause of many mischiefs, viz. of Simony, Perjury, Adultery, Incest, Misorder, and Disobedience; for that many Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Prelates (we will not say by virtue, but rather by error of this Statute) have bestowed the Benefices vacant upon young Men, rude and unworthy persons, which have compacted with them for the same, so that scarce one Prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted for the half yearly, or, at the least, the third part of the said Benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said Statute is the destruction of the right of *S. Peter*, the Church of *Rome* and *England*, the Clergy and Universities, the whole Common-weal, and maintenance of Wars, &c.

9. *Ninthly*, We say and depose, &c. against the said Lord *Henry*, That after he had Tyrannously taken upon him the Government of the Realm, *England* never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continual exactions of money, and oppressions yearly of the Clergy and Commonalty: neither is it known how this money so extorted is bestowed, when as neither his Souldiers, nor his Gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges, and wonderful toil and labor, neither yet the poor Country people are satisfied for the victual taken of them: And nevertheless the miserable Clergy, and more miserable Commonalty, are forced still to pay by menaces and sharp threatnings. Notwithstanding he sware, when he first usurped the Crown, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the Clergy nor Laity. Wherefore, as afore, we pronounce him Perjured, &c.

10. In the tenth and last Article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for our selves, and all our assistants in the cause of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, and in the cause of King *Richard*, his Heirs, the Clergy and Commonalty of the whole Realm; that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state either of the Prelates Spiritual, Lords Temporal, or Commons of the Realm; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this Realm to approach, we have here brought before you certain Articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered of the whole Assembly, as well of the Lords Spiritual as Temporal, and the faithful Commons of *England*: beseeching you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ the Righteous Judge, and for the merits of our blessed Lady the Mother of God, and of Saint *George* our Defender, under whose displayed Banner we wish to live and die, and under pain of Damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our causes which are three in number. Whereof the first is, That we exalt unto the Kingdom the true and Lawful Heir, and him to Crown in Kingly Throne with the Diadem of *England*. And secondly, That we revoke the *Welsh*-men, the *Irish*-men, and all other our Enemies unto perpetual peace and amity. Thirdly, and finally, That we deliver and make free our Native Country from all Exactions, Extortions,

King Henry charged with murdering of his Prince.

King Henry charged with the orders of the Church.

King Henry charged with Tyranny.

KING
HENRY

The King charged with evil government

King Henry charged with oppression and perjury.

Three causes declared.

KING extortions, and unjust payment; beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all that assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work; and unto all those that are against us we threaten the Curse of Almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Christ and his Holy Church, and by these presents we pronounce them Excommunicate.

Earl of
Westmer-
land against
the Arch-
bishop.

Fellowship in
fellowship.

The Arch-
bishop of
York crafti-
ly circum-
vented.

The Arch-
bishop of
York, Lord
Thomas
Mowbray,
with many
Yorkshire
men exe-
cuted.

The Earl of
Northumber-
land, Lord
Thomas Bar-
dolph slain.
Ann.
1408

Abbot of
Hales han-
ged.

Ann.
1409

These Articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the Archbishop. The Earl of *Westmorland* (being then not far off, with *John the Kings Son*) hearing of this, mustred his Souldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the Archbishop: but seeing his part too weak to encounter with him, he useth practice of policy, where strength would not serve. And first coming to him under colour of friendship dissembled, he laboured to seek out the causes of that great stir. To whom the Archbishop again answering no hurt to be intended thereby, but profit rather to the King and Common-wealth, and maintenance of publick peace: but forso much as he stood in great fear and danger of the King, he was therefore compelled so to do. And withal he shewed unto him the contents of the Articles aforesaid; which when the Earl had read, setting a fair face upon it, he seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the Bishop: promising moreover, that he would help also forward in that quarrel to the uttermost of his power. And he required upon the same a day to be set, when they with equal number of Men might meet together, in some place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The Archbishop easily perswaded, was content, although much against the counsel of the Earl Marthal, and came. Where the Articles being openly published and read, the Earl of *Westmerland* with his Company pretended well to like the same, and to joyn their assents together. Which done, he exhorted the Archbishop, that forso much as his Garison had been now long in Armor and from home, he would therefore discharge the needless multitude of his Souldiers, and dismiss them home to their works and business, and they would together drink and joyn hands in the sight of the whole Company. Thus they shaking hands together, the Archbishop sendeth away his Souldiers in peace, not knowing himself to be circumvented, before he was immediately arrested by the hands of the aforesaid Earl of *Westmerland*; and shortly after the King coming with his power to *York*, he was there beheaded the *Monday* in *Whitson-week*, and with him also Lord *Thomas Mowbray* Marthal, with divers other more-over of the City of *York*, which had taken their parts. After whose slaughter the King proceedeth farther to persecute the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Thomas Bardolph*; who then did flee to *Barwick*. From thence they removed to *Wales*. At length within two years after, fighting against the Kings part, they were slain in the field, *An. 1408*. In the which year divers other also in the North parts, for favouring the foresaid Lords, were likewise condemned by the King, and put to death. Among whom the Abbot of *Hales* for the like Treason was hanged.

The King after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beloved of his Subjects, thought to keep in yet with the Clergy, and with the Bishop of *Rome*, seeking always his chiefest stay at their hands. And therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humor, as did appear as well in condemning *William Sautre* before, as also in other which consequently we have now to intreat of. In the number of whom cometh now by the course of time to write of one *John Badby* a Taylor and a Layman; who by the cruelty of *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop, and other Prelates, was brought to his Condemnation in this Kings Reign, *Anno. 1409*. according as by their own Registers appeareth, and followeth by his Narration to be seen.

John Badby Artificer.

John Badby
Martyr.
Ex Regist.
T. Arundel.

IN the year of our Lord, 1409. on Sunday being the first day of *March*, in the Afternoon, the examination following of one *John Badby* Taylor, being a Lay-man, was made in a certain House or Hall within the Precinct of the preaching Friars of *London*, in an utter Cloister,

upon the crime of Heresie, and other Articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous Church of *Rome*, before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other his assistants, as the Archbishop of *York*, of *London*, of *Winchester*, of *Oxford*, of *Norwich*, of *Salisbury*, of *Bath*, of *Bangor*, Et *Menevensis Episcopi*, and also *Edmund Duke of York*, *Thomas Bewford* the Chancellor of *England*, Lord *de Roos* the Clerk of the Rolls, and a great number of other Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, being then at the self same time present; Master *Morgan* read the Articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the foresaid Master *Morgan*, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all Men by this present publick Instrument, that in the year after the Incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of *England*, otherwise in the year 1409. in the second Indiction, in the third year of the Popedom of the most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Gregory* the 11th. by the Divine permission Pope, the second day of *January*, in the Chappel *Carvaria*, of *Saint Thomas* Martyr, nigh unto the Cathedral Church of *Worcester*, being situate in the said Diocess, in the presence of me the Publick Notary, and of the witnesses under written, the foresaid *John Badby* a Lay-man, of the said Diocess of *Worcester*, appearing personally before the Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Thomas*, by the Grace of God Bishop of *Worcester*, sitting in the said Chappel for chief Judge, was detected of and upon the crime of Heresie being Heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foresaid *John Badby*: That is, That the Sacrament of the body of Christ, Consecrated by the Priest upon the Altar, is not the true body of Christ by the vertue of the words of the Sacrament. But that after the Sacramental words spoken by the Priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the Altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the Sacramental words spoken of the Priests. Which *John Badby* being examined, and diligently demanded by the foresaid Reverend Father concerning the premises, in the end did answer, That it was impossible that any Priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no Priest could make the body of Christ by such words Sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressly that he would never while he lived believe that any Priest could make the body of Christ Sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the Priest upon the Altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he said, That *John Baker* of *Bristol* had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any Priest had. Moreover he said, That when Christ sate at Supper with his Disciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his Disciples; and he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words teaching and fortifying the Heresie in the same place, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the Catholick Faith.

Upon which occasion the same Reverend Father admonished and requested the said *John Badby* oftentimes, and very instantly to Charity; forso much as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such Heresie and opinion holden, taught and maintained by him, in such sort against the Sacrament, to renounce, and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the Holy Mother the Church doth believe. And he informed the said *John* on that behalf both gently, and yet laudably. Yet the said *John Badby*, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said Reverend Father, said and answered expressly, That he would never believe otherwise than before he had said, taught; and answered. Whereupon, the foresaid Reverend Father Bishop of *Worcester* seeing, understanding, and perceiving the foresaid *John Badby* to maintain and fortifie the same Heresie, being stubborn and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced the said *John* to be before this time convicted of such an Heresie, and that he hath been and is an Heretick, and in the end declared it in these words.

The Arti-
cles read.

The Sacra-
ment of
Christ's
body.

I cannot
blame ye
that ye are
so angry, for
it was
not for
your profit.

The sentence of the Bishop of Worcester against John Badby.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas Bishop of Worcester do accuse thee John Badby, being a lay-man of our Diocese, of and upon the crime of Heresie, before us sitting for Chief Judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of and upon that, That thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirm, and defend; that the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, Consecrated upon the Altar by the Priest, is not the true Body of Christ; But after the Sacramental words, to make the Body of Christ, by vertue of the said Sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of Heresie; and we do pronounce thee both to have been and to be an Heretick, and do declare it finally by these writings.

A rabble of Monks and Friars about the condemnation of John Badby.

Quare fremurum gentes? Psal. 2.

Scribes with Phari-ees.

These things were done accordingly as is above written, and are recited in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforesaid, being present the same time John Maline, Prior of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, John Dudle Monk, and Haul the sub-Prior of the said Church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fekenham of the order of the preaching Friars, William Pomfret of the order of the Minorites, being Professors and Masters of Divinity; William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew, being publick Notaries, and William Beuchampe and Thomas Gerbis being Knights, Richard Wils of Tredington, Thomas Wilbe of Hembury, John Weston of Tewley, being Parsons of Churches, and Thomas Baleinges, the Master of St. Wolston in Worcester, and also Henry Haggely, John Penevel, Thomas Trogmorton and William Wasseborn Esquires, of the Diocese of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipful and honest men being Witnesses and called specially to the things aforesaid.

And I John Chew, Clerk of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, and by the authority Apostolical, publick Notary of the said Bishop, have in Testimony of the Premises put my Hand and Seal to the Examination, Interrogation, Monition, and Answer of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacy, and also to the proceedings of all and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him before the said Bishop were handled and done, in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforesaid, which with the fore-named Witnesses was personally present: and the same, even as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) I caused to be written and published, and into this publick form have compiled the same. I the fore-said Notary am also privy unto the words and examinations interlined between seven or eight lines of the beginning of this Instrument; which lines I also the fore-said Notary do approve and make good.

The answer of John Badby to the Articles

And I Walter London, Clerk of the Diocese of Worcester, and by the Authority Apostolical, publick Notary, to all and singular the fore-said things as afore by the fore-said Notary is recited, and in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day and Place aforesaid handled and done, being with other the fore-recited Witnesses personally present, and to all and every of the same (as I saw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required:) In Testimony of the Premises have signed and subscribed according to the accustomed manner. *Hac ex Reg. Cant.*

The substance of Bread not changed in the Sacrament.

And when the Articles, in the fore-said Instrument contained, were by the Archbishop of Canterbury publicly and vulgarly read and approved; he publicly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the Archbishop to convince the constant purpose of the said John Badby, commanded the same Articles again to be read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the Religion that he was of. And furthermore, the said Archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same John, That he would (if he would live according to the Doctrine of Christ) gage his Soul for him at the Judgment day. And after that again he caused those Articles in the said Instrument expressed to be read by the fore-said Philip Morgan, and the said Archbishop himself expounded the same in English as before; whereunto John Badby answered: As touching the first Article concerning the Body of Christ, he expressly said, That after the Consecration at the Altar, there remaineth material Bread, and the same Bread which

was before: notwithstanding (said he) it is a Sign or Sacrament of the living God. KING Hen. 4.

Also, when the second Article was expounded unto him, That it is impossible for any Priest, &c. To this Article he answered and said, That it could not sink into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unless he should deny the Incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined of the third Article concerning Jack Raker, he said, That if Jack Raker were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power so to do, as hath the Priest: and said further, That he hath heard it spoken of some Doctors of Divinity, that if he should receive any such Consecrated Bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he said, That he would believe the Omnipotent God in Trinity; and said moreover, That if every Host being Consecrated at the Altar were the Lords Body, that then there be 20000 gods in England. But he believed (he said) in one God Omnipotent, which thing the fore-said Archbishop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded, That Christ sitting with his Disciples at Supper, &c. To this he answered and said, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a Loaf of Bread, and should break the same and give to every man a mouthful, that the same Loaf should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar Tongue; the fore-said Archbishop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his Opinions and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the Doctrine of Christ and Catholick Faith? He answered, That, according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answer unto. Then the Archbishop oftentimes required the said John, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he would forsake those Opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the Christian Faith; which thing to do in the audience of all the Lords and others that were present, he expressly denied and refused.

The com-
plicity of
John Badby
before the
Archbishop.

After all this, when the fore-said Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby (until the Wednesday next) might be committed; it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain Chamber or safe House within the Mansion of the Friars preachers, and so he was: and then the Archbishop of Canterbury said, That he himself would keep the Key thereof in the mean time. And when the fore-said Wednesday was expired, being the 15th day of March, and that the fore-said Archbishop of Canterbury, with his fellow Brethren and Suffragans, were assembled in the Church of St. Paul in London; the Archbishop of Canterbury taking the Episcopal Seat, called unto him the Archbishop of York, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, and the Noble Prince Edmund the Duke of York, Ralph Earl of Westmerland, Thomas Beaufort Knight, Lord Chancellor of England, and the Lord Beaumont, with other Noble men as well Spiritual, as Temporal, that stood, and fate by, whom to name it would be long. Before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer unto the Articles premised in the fore-said Instrument. Who when he came personally before them, the Articles were read by the Official of the Court of Canterbury, and by the Archbishop (in the vulgar Tongue) expounded publicly and expressly: and the same Articles, as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he lived, he would never retract the same. And furthermore, he said specially to be noted, That the Lord Duke of York, personally there present, as is aforesaid, and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation, than the Sacrament of the Altar, by the Priest in due form Consecrated. And whilst they were thus in his examination, the Archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing moreover his countenance stout and heart confirmed, so that he began to perswade other as it appeared in the same: these things considered, the Archprelate, when he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by Exhortations, Reasons, or Arguments, to bring the said John Badby from his constant truth to his Catholick Faith (executing and doing the office of his Great Master) proceeded to confirm

The Bishop
make sure
work.
The Arch-
bishop both
judge and
jaylor.

Afterwards
reges, curas,
& principes
conveniunt
in unum ob-
versari, &c.
Psal. 2.

KING confirm and ratify the former Sentence given before by the Bishop of Worcester against the said *John Badby*, pronouncing him for an open and publick Heretick. And thus shifting their hands of him, they delivered him to the Secular Powers; and desired the said Temporal Lords, then and there present very instantly, that they would not put the same *John Badby* to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death, in the presence of all the Lords above-recited.

Note here murdering Wolves in Sheeps clothing.

These things thus done and concluded by the Bishops in the forenoon: in the afternoon, the Kings Writ was not far behind. By the force whereof *John Badby*, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into *Smithfield*, and there being put in an empty Barrel, was bound with Iron Chains fastened to a Stake having dry Wood put about him.

And as he was thus standing in the Pipe or Tun (for as yet *Perillus* Bull was not in use among the Bishops) it happened that the Prince, the Kings eldest Son, was there present; who, shewing some part of the good *Samaritan*, began to endeavour and assay how to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical *Levites* and *Pharisees* sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that having respect unto himself he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous Labiriths of Opinions, adding oftentimes threatnings, the which might have daunted any mans stomach. Also *Courtney*, at that time Chancellor of *Oxford*, preached unto him, and enforced him of the Faith of holy Church.

The Prince laboureth to turn *Badby*. The Sacrament Solemnly brought to *Smithfield* at the burning of *Badby*.

In this mean season the Prior of *St. Bartholomews* in *Smithfield* brought with all Solemnity the Sacrament of Gods Body, with twelve Torches born before, and so

shewed the Sacrament to the poor man being at the Stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it? He answered, That he knew well it was hallowed Bread, and not Gods Body. And then was the Tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, *Mercy* (calling belike upon the Lord) and so the Prince immediately commanded to take away the Tun, and quench the fire. The Prince, his commandment being done, asked him if he would forsake Heresie to take him to the Faith of holy Church? which thing if he would do, he should have Goods enough, promising also unto him a yearly stipend out of the Kings Treasury, so much as should suffice his contentation.

But this valiant Champion of Christ, neglecting the Princes fair words, as also concerning all mens devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmovable in his former mind, the Prince commanded him straight to be put again into the Pipe or Tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant Champion of Christ, he persevered invincible to the end. Not without a great and most cruel Battel, but with much more greater triumph of victory; the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole World. For the manifestation of which torment, we have here set forth the Picture of his burning, in such manner as it was done.

John Badby constant to the end.

The description of the horrible Burning of *John Badby*, and how he was used at his death



All the power of man set against the Gospel.

This godly Martyr *John Badby* having thus consummate his Testimony and Martyrdom in fire, the persecuting Bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, in such sort, as this Doctrine of the Gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever, laid their conspiring heads together; and having now a King for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn in all points (during the time of the same Parliament above-recited yet continuing) the foresaid Bishops and Clergy of the Realm exhibited a Bill unto the Kings Majesty; subtly declaring, what quietness had been maintained within this Realm by his most Noble Progenitors, who always defended the ancient

Rites and Customs of the Church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the Realm; and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness was now risen by divers, as they termed them, wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of Doctrine, contrary to the Catholick Faith and determination of holy Church. Whereupon the King, always oppressed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and subtil pretences of the Clergy granted in the said Parliament (by consent of the Nobility assembled) a Statute to be observed, called *Ex Officio*, as followeth:

The Gospel of Christ counted as wicked and Heretical.

The Statute Ex Officio.

The cruel
Statute.
Ex Officio.

That is to say, That no man within this Realm, or other the Kings Majesties Dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without special License first obtained of the Ordinary of the same place (Curates in their own Parish Churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others admitted by the Canon Law, only excepted.) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any Book contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter make any Conventicles or Assemblies, or keep and exercise any manner of Schools touching this Sect, wicked Doctrine and Opinion. And further, That no man hereafter shall by any means favour any such preacher, any such maker of unlawful Assemblies, or any such Book-maker or writer; and finally any such Teacher, Informer, or stirrer up of the people. And that all and singular persons having any the said Books, Writings, Schedules containing the said wicked Doctrines and Opinions, shall within forty days after this present Proclamation and Statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered all and singular the said Books and Writings unto the Ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen any person or persons, of what kind, state or condition soever he or they be, to do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present Proclamation and Statute, or not to deliver the same Books in form aforesaid: That then the Ordinary of the same place in his own Diocese, by Authority of the said Proclamation and Statute shall cause to be Arrested and detained under safe custody the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have by order of Law purged him or themselves as touching the Articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted (according to the Laws Ecclesiastical) the said wicked Sect, Preachings, Teachings, and Heretical and Erroneous Opinions. And that the said Ordinary by himself or his Commissaries proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of Law against the said persons so Arrested and remaining under safe custody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said Arrest (all delays and excuses set apart) according to the order and custom of the Canon Law. And if any person, in any cause above-mentioned, shall be Lawfully convicted before the Ordinary of the Diocese or his Commissaries: that then the said Ordinary may Lawfully cause the said person so convicted (according to the manner and quality of his fact) to be laid in any of his own Prisons, and there to be kept so long as his discretion shall be thought expedient.

A bloody
Law of
King Henry
the fourth.

And further, The said Ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the Canon Law the party offending ought to be delivered unto the Secular power) shall charge the said person with such a Fine of money to be paid unto the Kings Majesty, as he shall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the said Diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said Fine, into the Kings Majesties Exchequer, by his Letters Patent under his Seal; to the intent that the said Fine may be Levied to the Kings Majesties use of the Goods of the person so convicted.

And further, If any person within this Realm and other the Kings Majesties Dominions shall be convicted before the Ordinary of the place, or his Commissaries, of the said wicked Preachings, Doctrines, Opinions, Schools, and Heretical and Erroneous Informations or any of them; and will refuse to abjure and recant the said wicked Sect, Preachings, Teachings, Opinions, Schools and Informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the Diocesan of the place, or his Commissaries (for so by the Canon Law he ought to be left to the Secular Power, upon credit given to the Ordinary or his Commissaries) that then the Sheriff of the same County, the Mayor, Sheriffs, or Sheriff, or the Mayor, or Bayliffs of the same City, Village, or Borough of the same County, and nearest inhabiting to the said Ordinary, or his said Commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to confer with the said Ordinary or his Commissaries in giving Sentence against the said persons

offending or any of them: And, after the said Sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked Doctrines and Heretical Opinions, or Authors and favourers thereof be no more maintained within this Realm and Dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian Religion, and Decrees of holy Church. In all which and singular the Premises, concerning the Statute aforesaid, let the Sheriff, Mayors, and Bailiffs of the said Counties, Cities, Villages and Boroughs be attendant, aiding and favouring the said Ordinaries and their Commissaries.

KING
Hen. 4.
A bloody
Statute.

By this bloody Statute so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here hast thou (gentle Reader) a little to stay with thy self, and to consider the nature and condition of this present World, how it hath been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible to strive against the ways of God, and to overthrow that which he will have set up. And although the World may see by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vain to strive against him; yet such is the nature of this World (all set in malignity) that it will not cease still to be like it self.

The like Law and Statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, and for the more strength was written also in Tables of Brasse, to the intent that the Name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever. And yet the Name of Christ remaineth, where that Brazen Law remained not three years. The which Law written then in Brasse, although it differ in manner and form from this our Statute Ex Officio, yet to the same end and cruelty, to spill the Blood of Saints, there is no difference between the one and the other. Neither is there any diversity touching the first Original doer, and worker of them both. For the same Satan which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up; the same also, now after his looking out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then with outward violence, as an open Enemy, he did what he could: Now by a more covert way, under the title of the Church, he impugneth the Church of Christ, using a more subtle way to deceive, under gay pretenced titles; but no less pernicious in the end whereto he shooteth, as well appeareth by this bloody Statute Ex Officio, the sequel whereof cost afterward many a Christian mans life. As in process of story remaineth more hereafter (Christ willing) to be declared.

The Law of
Maximinus,
and the
Statute Ex
Officio com-
pared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this Statute of the King aforesaid, concurrerth also another constitution made much about the same time by the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel. So that no industry nor policy of man here did lack to set the matter forward, but specially on the Bishops parts, who left no means unattempted, how to subvert the right ways of the Lord.

First, In most diligent and exquisite execution of the Kings Statute set forth; the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marvel it is to consider, all other Laws of Kings (commonly, be they never so good) to be so coldly kept, and this only among all the rest so nearly followed. But herein is to be seen the diligence of the Romish Prelates, which never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their Estate.

Secondly, Betide their vigilant care in seeing the Kings Statute to be executed, no less industrious also were they in adding thereunto more constitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other Archbishops hereafter, and by Pope Martine, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundel the Archbishop.

But before we enter to the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the Clergy-men, here cometh in more to be said and noted touching the foresaid Statute Ex Officio, to prove the same not only to be cruel and impious, but also to be of it self of no force and validity for the burning of any person for cause of Religion: for the disproof of which Statute we have sufficient Authority remaining as yet in the Parliament Rolls to be seen in her Majesties Court of Records; which here were to be debated at large, but that upon special occasion we have deferred the ample

WING ample discourse thereof to the cruel persecution of the Lord Cobham hereafter ensuing, as may appear in the defence of the Lord Cobham against Nicolas Harpesfield, under the title and name of *Alanus Copus*. And thus referring them for the examination of this Statute to the place aforefaid, let us now return to *Thomas Arundel*, and his bloody constitutions above-mentioned. The style and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigor of the same may appear to all men, I thought here-under to adjoyn, in words as followeth:

The constitution of Thomas Arundel against the followers of Gods Truth.

A cruel Constitution by the Archbishop against the Gospellers, with thirteen Articles.

Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the See Apostolick; To all and singular our Reverend Brethren fellow Bishops, and our Suffragans; and to Abbots, Priors, Deans of Cathedral Churches, Archdeacons, Provosts and Canons; also to all Parsons, Vicars, Chaplains, and Clerks in Parish-Churches, and to all Lay-men, whom and where-soever dwelling within our Province of *Canterbury*, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church. It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend Counsel, who so revolteth from the things being in the said Counsel once discussed and decided. And whosoever dare presume to dispute of the Supreme or Principal Judgment here in Earth, in so doing incurreth the pain of Sacrilege, according to the Authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human Law. Much more then they, who trusting to their own wits are so bold to violate and with contrary Doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemn the Precepts of Laws and Canons, rightly made and proceeding from the Key-bearer and Porter of Eternal Life and Death; bearing the room and person not of pure man, but of True God here in Earth: which also have been observed hitherto of the holy Fathers our predecessors unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains, are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members from the body of the Church Militant. For such ought to consider what is in the *Old Testament* written; *Moses and Aaron among his priests*, that is, were chief Heads amongst them. And in the *New Testament*, among the Apostles there was a certain difference. And though they were all Apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to *Peter*, that he should bear pre-eminence above the other Apostles; and also the Apostles themselves would the same, that he should be the Chief-tain over all the rest. And being called *Cephas*; that is, Head, should be a Prince over the Apostles. Unto whom it was said, Thou being once converted, confirm thy Brethren: as though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of Faith, of just Living, or right Conversation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again. Which thing no doubt the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove that we are sorry to speak, how the old Sophister, the Enemy of mankind fore-seeing and fearing lest the sound Doctrine of the Church, determined from ancient times by the Holy fore-Fathers should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in Unity of Faith under one Head of the Church doth therefore endeavour by all means possible to extirpe the said Doctrine, faining vices to be virtues. And so, under false pretences of verity diffinuled, he soweth discord in Catholick people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he in the mean time may gather to himself a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal Mother holy Church. In the which, Satan transforming himself into an Angel of Light, bearing a lying and deceitful ballance in his hand, pretendeth great Righteousness, in contrarying the ancient Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church, and refusing the Traditions of the same determined and appointed by holy Fathers; perswading men (by fained forgeries) the same to be naught, and so inducing other new kinds of Doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying perswasions pretendeth, although he in very truth

Blasphemy not of pure man, but of true God. He meaneth here of *Thos. Becket* his predecessor, who had his brains beat out in the time of King Henry the second. Scripture clerly applied. This year hangeth together like Germani lly.

Wise men of apostles. Mark this you Gram-marians. Mark well the Popes Divinity. An argument far from that true Doctrine consisteth in maketh one Head of the Church.

How aptly he painteth the proceedings of his own Popish Church.

neither willet nor mindeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow Schisms, whereby divers Opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the Church, Faith thereby may be diminished, and also the Reverend Holy Mysteries through the same contention of words may be prophaned with *Pagans*, *Jews*, and other Infidels, and wicked Miscreants. And so that Figure in *Apoc. 6.* is well verified, speaking of him that fate on the black Horse, bearing a pair of Ballance in his hand, by the which Hereticks are understood. Who at the first appearance, like to Weights or Ballance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the black Horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they under a divers shew and colour of a just Ballance, with the Tail of a black Horse sprinkling abroad Heresies and Errors, do strike. And being Poisoned themselves, under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and by certain persons fit to do mischief do publish abroad as it were the sugred taste of Hony mixt with Poyson, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing through their slight and subtilties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness and for the true will of Christ: Yea and moreover the foresaid persons thus pricked out do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the Seed, before the Seed discreetly be separate from the Chaff. Who not pondering the Constitutions and Decrees of the Canons, provided for the same purpose against such Pestilent sowers, do prefer sacrifice Diabolical (so to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy Church Militant.

Apoc. 6.

The Figure of the black Horse in the Apoc. Do-ctorly expounded.

We therefore considering, and weighing, that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide, which resisteth not the Viper thinking there to thrust out her Venom; And willing moreover to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy Mother-Church, whereby one uniform holy Doctrine may be sown and planted in the Church of God (namely in this our Province of *Canterbury*) so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of Faith and Service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offendic-les which by the means of perverse Preaching and Doctrine have sprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way with all diligence possible to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of Souls, which we see to rise under pretence of the Premises; also to remove all such Obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped; by the advice and assent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being present in this our Convocation of the Clergy, as also of the Procurators of them that be absent, and at instant the Petition of the Procurators of the whole Clergy within this our Province of *Canterbury*, for the more fortification of the Common Law in this part, adding thereunto punishment and penalties condign as be here under written, we will and Command, Ordain, and Decree:

Behold the true Image of Wolves under Sheeps clothing.

That no manner of person, Secular or Regular, being Authorized to preach by the Laws now prescribed, or Licensed by special privilege, shall take upon him the Office of preaching the Word of God, or by any means preach unto the Clergy or Laity, either within the Church or without, in *English*, except he first present himself, and be examined of the Ordinary of the place, where he preacheth. And so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said Ordinary to some one Church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said Ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforefaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful signification in due form of his sending and Authority, that is, that he that is Authorized do come in form appointed him in that behalf; and those, that affirm they come by special privilege do shew their privilege unto the Parson or Vicar of the place where they preach. And those, that pretend themselves to be sent by the Ordinary of the place, shall likewise shew the Ordinaries Letters made unto him for that purpose, under his Great Seal. Let us always understand, the Curate (having the perpetuity) to be sent of right unto the people of his own Cure. But if any person aforefaid shall be forbidden by the Ordinary of the place, or any other Superior, to preach by reason of his Errors or Heresies which before peradventure he hath preached and taught; that then and from thence-

The first Constitution.

No priests to preach but by limitation of the Prelates.

forth

forth he abstain from preaching within our Province, until he have purged himself, and be Lawfully admitted again to preach by the just arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him. And shall always after that carry with him, to all places wherefoever he shall preach, the Letters Testimonial of him that restored him.

A jolly
mean to
bring the
World into
such dark-
ness.

Moreover the Parish-Priests or Vicars Temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in form aforesaid, shall simply preach in the Churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the Provincial constitution set forth by *John* our predecessor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the Priests, which beginneth, *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*. Which Book of Constitutions we would should be had in every Parish-Church in our Province of *Canterbury*, within three months next after the publication of these Presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the Priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And lest this wholsom Statute might be thought hurtful to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficulty: we therefore Will and Ordain, That the Examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their Letters by the Ordinary be done *gratis* and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertain: And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our Statute grounded upon the old Law; after the publication of the same he shall incur the sentence of greater Excommunication *ipso facto*: whose Absolution we specially reserve by Tenor of these Presents to us and our successors. But if any such preacher despising this wholsom Statute, and not weighing the sentence of greater Excommunication, do the second time take upon him to preach; saying and alledging, and stoutly affirming, that the sentence of greater Excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the Church in the persons of the Prelates of the same; That then Superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the Communion of all Faithful Christians.

And that the said person hereupon Lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the Church) be pronounced an Heretick by the Ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an Heretick and Schismatick, and that he incur (*ipso facto*) the penalties of Heresie and Schismatie, expressed in the Law; And chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiscate by the Law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders being convicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not off within one month being lawfully warned thereof by their Superiors.

Confit. 2. Furthermore, no Clergy-man, or Parochians of any Parish or Place within our Province of *Canterbury* shall admit any man to preach within their Churches, Churchyards, or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his Authority, Privilege, or sending thither, according to the order aforesaid: Otherwise the Church, Church-yard, or what place soever, in which it was so preached, shall *ipso facto* receive the Ecclesiastical Interdict, and so shall remain Interdicted, until they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so Interdicted to be released in due form of Law, either from the Ordinary of the place, or else his Superior.

Confit. 3. Moreover, like as a Householder casteth Wheat into the Ground (well ordered for that purpose) thereby to get the more increase: even so we will and command, That the preacher of Gods Word, coming in form aforesaid, preaching either unto the Clergy or Laity, according to his matter proponed, shall be of good behavior, sowing such seed as shall be convenient for his Auditory. And chiefly preaching to the Clergy, he shall touch the vices commonly used amongst them, and to the Laity he shall declare the vices commonly used among them, and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the Ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

Confit. 4. Item, Forasmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole; we do Decree and Ordain, That no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, confession of Sins, or any other Sacra-

A bar for
the preach-
ers.

ment of the Church, or Article of the Faith, than that already is discussed by the holy Mother-Church, nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the Church; nor shall to his knowledge privily or apertly pronounce Blasphemous words concerning the same; nor shall teach, preach, or observe any Sect, or kind of Heresie whatsoever, contrary to the wholsom Doctrine of the Church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these Presents, shall incur the sentence of Excommunication *ipso facto*. From the which (except in point of death) he shall not be Absolved, until he hath reformed himself by abjuration of his Heresie, at the discretion of the Ordinary in whose Territory he so offended, and hath received wholsom Penitence for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being Lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced an Heretick, and his Goods confiscate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The Penance before-mentioned, shall be after this manner: If any man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in the Decrees, Decretals, or our Constitutions Provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of Heresie or Sect: he shall in the Parish-Church of the same place, where he so preached, upon one Sunday or other Solemn day, or more, at the discretion of the Ordinary, and as his offence is more or less, expressly revoke that he so preached, taught or affirmed, even at the time of the Solemnity of the Mass, when the people are most assembled, and there shall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined by the Church: and further shall be punished after the quality of his offence, as shall be thought expedient to the discretion of the Ordinary.

Item, Forasmuch as a new Vessel, being long used, favoureth after the head, we Decree and Ordain, That no School-masters and Teachers whatsoever, that instruct Children in *Grammar*, or others whosoever in Primitive Sciences, shall in teaching them intermingle any thing concerning the Catholick Faith, the Sacrament of the Altar, or other Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Nor shall suffer their Scholars to expound the Holy Scriptures, (except the Text as hath been used in ancient time) nor shall permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning the Catholick Faith, or Sacraments of the Church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously punished by the Ordinary of the place, as a favourer of Errors and Schisms.

Item, For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray, than an old way: we Will and Command, That no Book or Treatise made by *John Wickliff*, or other whomsoever, about that time or thence, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in Schools, Halls, Hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our Province of *Canterbury* aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the University of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or at the least by twelve persons, whom the said Universities or one of them shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our predecessors: and the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expressly approved and allowed by us or our successors, and in the name and authority of the University, to be delivered unto the Stationers to be Copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable price, the Original thereof always after to remain in some Chest of the University. But if any man shall read any such kind of Book in Schools or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a fower of Schism, and a favourer of Heresie, as the quality of the fault shall require.

Item, It is a dangerous thing (as witnesseth blessed St. Hierom) to Translate the Text of the Holy Scripture out of one Tongue into another: for in the Translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Hierom confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: We therefore Decree and Ordain, That no man hereafter by his own Authority Translate any Text of the Scripture into *English*, or any other Tongue, by way of a Book, Libel or Treatise, and that no man read any such Book, Libel or Treatise, now lately set forth in the time of *John Wickliff*, or thence, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily, or apertly, upon pain of greater Excommunication, until the said Translation be allowed by the Ordinary of the place, or (if the case so require) by the Council Provincial. He that shall do

KING
Hen. 4.

Confit. 5.
A Caveat
for School-
masters.

Confit. 6.
Books of
John Wick-
liff forbid-
den.

Confit. 7.
He confess-
eth that
St. Hierom
erred in his
translation.
And yet the
said Arch-
bishop com-
mendeth
Queen Ann,
for having
the Scrip-
ture in
English.

KING } do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer
 of error and heresie.

Constit. 8. *Item*, For that Almighty God cannot be expressed with any Philosophical terms, or otherwise invented of man: And St. *Augustine* saith, That he hath oftentimes revoked such conclusions as have been most true, because they have been offensive to the ears of the Religious: We do ordain and specially command, that no manner of person of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, do alledge or propone any Conclusions or Propositions contrary to the Catholick Faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except necessary Doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools or otherwise) although they defend the same with never so curious terms and words. For as saith blessed St. *Hugh* of the Sacraments, That which oftentimes is well spoken is not well understood. If any man therefore, after the publication of these presents, shall be convicted wittingly to have proponed such Conclusions or Propositions, except (being monished) he reform himself in one month by vertue of this present constitution, he shall incur the sentence of greater Excommunication *ipso facto*, and shall be openly pronounced an Excommunicate, until he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said Conclusion or Proposition in one Church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the Ordinary.

Constit. 9. *Item*, No manner of person shall presume to dispute upon the Articles determined by the Church, as is contained in the Decrees, Decretals, or Constitutions Provincial, or in the general Councils: But only to seek out the true meaning thereof, and that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret: nor shall call in doubt the Authority of the said Decretals or Constitutions, or the authority of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: And chiefly concerning the adoration of the Holy Cross, the worshipping of Images, of Saints, going on Pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of Saints, or against the Oaths, in cases accustomed to be given in both common places, that is to say, Spiritual and Temporal. But of all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the Cross and Image of the Crucifix, and other Images of Saints, in the honour of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with Procession, bowing of Knees, offering of Frankincense, Kissing, Oblations, lighting of Candles, and Pilgrimages, * and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been used in the time of our predecessors, and that giving of Oaths in cases expressed in the Law, and used of all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done upon the Book of the Gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirm (except he recant in manner and form aforesaid) shall forthwith incur the penalty of Heresie, and shall be pronounced an Heretick, in all effect of Law.

Constit. 10. *Item*, We do Decree and Ordain, That no Chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any Diocess within our Province of *Canterbury*, where he was not born, or received not Orders; except he bring with him his Letters of Orders, and Letters commendatory from his Ordinary, and also from other Bishops in whose Diocess of a long time he hath been conversant, whereby his conversation and manners may appear; so that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new Opinions touching the Catholick Faith, or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth, as he that suffereth him to Celebrate, shall be sharply punished at the discretion of the Ordinary.

Constit. 11. *Finally*, Because those things which newly and uncustomably creep up, stand in need of new and speedy help: and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumspection and stronger resistance; and not without good cause, the less noble ought discreetly to be cut away: that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: Considering therefore, and in lamentable wise shewing unto you how the ancient University of *Oxford*, which as a fruitful Vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the Church: now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter Grapes, which being undiscernedly eaten of ancient Fathers, that thought themselves skilful in the Law of

God, hath set on edge the Teeth of their Children: and our Province is infected with divers and unfruitful Doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of *Lollardy*, to the great reproof and offence of the said University being known in Foreign Countries, and to the great irksomeness of the Students there, and to the great damage and loss of the Church of *England*, which in times past by her vertue as with a strong Wall, was wont to be defended; and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: At the supplication therefore of the whole Clergy of our Province of *Canterbury*, and by the consent and assent of all our Brethren and Suffragans, and other the Prelates in this Convocation assembled, and the Proctors of them that are absent, lest the River being cleansed, the Fountain should remain corrupt, and so the Water coming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholsomly to provide for the honour and utility of the holy Mother the Church and the University aforesaid: We do Ordain and Decree, that every Warden, Provost, or Master of every Colledge, or Principal of every Hall within the University aforesaid, shall once every month at the least diligently inquire in the said Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath Authority, whether any Scholar or inhabitant of such Colledge or Hall, &c. have holden, alledged, or defended, or by any means proponed any conclusion, proposition or opinion concerning the Catholick Faith, founding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the Church otherwise than appertaineth to necessary Doctrine. And if he shall find any suspected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office admonish him to desist. And if after such monition given, the said party offend again in the same or such like, he shall incur *ipso facto* (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of greater Excommunication. And nevertheless, if it be a Scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterward do in the said University, shall not stand in effect. And if he be a Doctor, a Master, or Bachellor, he shall forthwith be suspended from any Scholars Act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said Colledge or Hall, whereof he is, *ipso facto*; and by the Warden, Provost, Master, Principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a Catholick by Lawful means forthwith placed in his place. And if the said Wardens, Provosts, or Masters of Colledges, or Principals of Halls shall be negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed by the space of ten days, from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents: that then they shall incur the sentence of greater Excommunication, and nevertheless shall be deprived *ipso facto*, of all the right which they pretend to have in the Colledges, Halls, &c. and the said Colledges and Halls, to be effectually vacant. And after Lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertain, new Wardens, Provosts, Masters, or Principals, shall be placed in their places as hath been accustomed in Colledges and Halls, being vacant in the said University. But if the Wardens themselves, Provosts, Masters, or Principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said Conclusions or Propositions, or be favourers and defenders of such as do therein offend, and do not cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our Authority, or by the Ordinary of the place: that then by Law they be deprived as well of all such privilege Scholastical within the University aforesaid, as also of their Right and Authority in such Colledge, Hall, &c. Besides other penalties aforesaid, and that they incur the said sentence of greater Excommunication.

But if any man in any case of this present Constitution, or any other above-expressed, do rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our Statutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expressly there limited) yet shall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three years after (without hope of pardon) to obtain any Ecclesiastical Benefice within our Province of *Canterbury*: and nevertheless according to all his demerits and the quality of his excess, at the discretion of his Superior, he shall be Lawfully punished.

And

Inquisition to be made through Colledges and Halls of *Oxford*.

I would the like were used now for the banishing of Papistry.

Constit. 12.

Constit. 13. And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering with our selves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of Heresie and offending the Prince, as is avouched in divers Laws; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the Divine Majesty requireth greater punishment, than to offend the Princes Majesty; And where it is sufficient (for fear of danger that might ensue by delaies) to convince by judgment the offender of the Princes Majesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a Citation sent by Messenger, by Letters, or Edict not admitting proof by Witnesses, and Sentence definitive to be: We do ordain, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better Reformation of the Church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently suspected in any of the cases aforesaid, or in Article of the Catholick Faith, founding contrary to good manners, by the Authority of the Ordinary of the place or other Superior, be cited personally to appear either by Letters, publick Messenger being Sworn, or by Edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his Parish-Church, if he have any certain dwelling-House; Otherwise, in the Cathedral Church of the place where he was born, and in the Parish-Church of the same place where he so preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being given, that the Citation was formerly executed against the party cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly without found or shew of Judgment, and without admitting proof by Witnesses and other Canonical probations. And also after Lawful information had, the said Ordinary (all delaies set apart) shall signify, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforesaid; and further, shall do according to Justice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

Given at Oxford.

Who would have thought by these Laws and Constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort, should utterly have been rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet such be the works of the Lord, passing all mens admiration, all this notwithstanding so far was it off, that the number and courage of these good men was vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in Registers Recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the King and the Catholick Fathers did so greatly detest for Hereticks, were in divers Countries of this Realm dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewesbury, in Calice, and divers other quarters mo, with whom the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel the same time had much ado, as by his own Registers doth appear. Albeit some there were that did shrink, many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the Law. Among whom was John Purvey, which recanted at Paul's-Crois, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be said in the Year 1421. Also John Edward, Priest of the Diocess of Lincoln, who revoked in the Green-yard at Norwich, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Willy of London, also John Becket, who recanted at London. Item, John Seynons of Lincolnshire, who was caused to revoke at Canterbury. The Articles of whom, which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abjure, most especially were these which follow:

Their Articles.

The Articles.

First, That the Office of the Holy Crois (ordained by the whole Church) celebrated doth contain Idolatry.

Item, They said and affirmed, That all they which do reverence and worship the sign of the Crois, do commit Idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, They said and affirmed that the true Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words spoken by the Priest truly pronounced.

Item, They said and affirmed the Sacrament of the Altar to be Sacramental Bread, not having Life, but only Instituted for a memorial of Christs Passion.

Item, They said and affirmed, That the Body of Christ, which is taken on the Altar, is a Figure of the Body of Christ as long as we see the Bread and Wine.

Item, They said and affirmed, That the Decree of the Prelates and Clergy in the Province of Canterbury, in their last Convocation, with the consent of the King and the Nobles in the last Parliament against him that was burnt lately in the City of London, was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, when the substance of material Bread is even as before in the Sacrament of the Altar it was, no change being made in the nature of Bread.

*** Item,** That any Lay-man may preach the Gospel in every place, and may teach it by his own Authority, without the License of his Ordinary.

Item, That it is sin to give any thing to the preaching Friars, to the Minorites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

Item, That we ought not to offer at the Funerals of the Dead.

Item, That the confession of sins to the Priest is unnecessary.

Item, That every good man (though he be unlearned) is a Priest.

Item, That the Infant (though he die unbaptized) shall be saved.

Item, That neither the Pope, nor the Prelate, neither any Ordinary can compel any man to Swear by any Creature of God, or by the Bible-Book.

Item, That the Bishop, the simple man, the Priest and Lay-man be of like Authority (as long as they live well.)

Item, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any Prelate.

William Thorpe.

Thus much briefly being signified by the way, touching these which have been forced in time of this King, to open abjuration: Next coming to our hands the worthy History of Master William Thorpe, a valiant Warriour, under the Triumphant banner of Christ, with the process of his examinations before the foresaid Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, written by the said Thorpe, and stered by his own Pen, at the request of his Friends, as by his own words in the process hereof may appear. In whose Examination (which seemeth first to begin, Anno 1407) thou shalt have good Reader, both to learn and to marvel. To learn, in that thou shalt hear truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved. To marvel, for thou shalt behold here in this man the marvellous force and strength of the Lords Might, Spirit, and Grace, working and fighting in his Soldiers, and also speaking in their mouths, according to the Word of his promise, Luke 21. To the Text of the Story we have neither added nor diminished: but as we have received copied out, and corrected by Master William Tindal (who had his own hand writing) so we have here sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wished it in his own natural speech, wherein it was first written. Notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple herein, this I thought before to premonish and testify to the Reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive which have seen the selfsame Copy in his own old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech and of the time. The name of whom, as for Record of the same, to avouch, is M. Whitehead; who as he hath seen the true ancient Copy in the hands of George Constantine, so hath he given credible relation of the same, both to the Printer and to me. Furthermore, the said Master Tindal (albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our manner) yet not fully in all words but that something doth remain, favouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were why this good man and servant of Christ, W. Thorpe, did write it, and pen it out himself, it is sufficiently declared in his own Preface, set before his Book, which here is prefixed in manner as followeth:

The Preface of William Thorpe.

He Lord God that knoweth all things, wotteth well that I am right sorrowful to write to make known this sentence beneath written: whereby of mine even Christen, set in high state and dignity, so great blindness and malice

KING
Hm. 4.

Easier to offend against the Princes Law than against the Bishops.

* Their Article commonly was thus: That who so taketh upon him the office of a Priest, though he have no cure of souls nor license of his Ordinary, is bound to preach the Gospel.

The Examination of the constant servant of God, William Thorpe.

This History first set forth and corrected by M. Will. Tindal.

John Purvey, John Edward, John Becket, John Seynons, abjured.

KING malice may be known; that they which do presume of themselves to destroy Vices, and to plant in Men virtues, neither dread to offend God, nor lust to please him, as their works do shew. For Certes the bidding of God and his Law, which in the praising of his most Holy name he commandeth to be known and kept of all Men and Women, Young and Old, after the cunning and power that he hath given to them, the Prelates of this Land and their Ministers, with the covent of Priests chiefly consenting to them, enforce them most busily to withstand, and destroy the Holy Ordinance of God. And there through God is greatly wroth and moved to take hard vengeance, not only upon them that do the evil, but also on them that consent to these Antichrists Limms: which know, or might know their malice and falshood, and dress them not to withstand their malice and their great pride. Nevertheless, four things move me to write this sentence beneath.

Four causes
of setting
forth his ex-
amination.

The first thing that moveth me hereto is this, That whereas it was known to certain Friends, that I came from the Prison of *Shrewsbury*, and as it befel indeed that I should to the Prison of *Canterbury*, then divers Friends in divers places spake to me full heartily and full tenderly, and commanded me then if it so were that I should be examined before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that if I might in any wise, I should write mine apposing, and mine answering. And I promised to my special Friends, that if I might, I would gladly do their bidding as I might.

The second thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this: Divers Friends, which have heard that I have been examined before the Archbishop, have come to me in Prison, and counselled me busily and coveted greatly that I should do the same thing. And other Brethren have sent to me, and required on Gods behalf, that I should write out and make known both mine apposing and mine answering, for the profit that (as they say) upon my knowledge may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I should be busie in all my wits, to go as near the sentence and the words as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: peradventure this writing may come another time before the Archbishop and his Council. And of this Counselling I was right glad: for in my conscience I was moved to do this thing, and to ask hither to the special help of God. And so then I considering the great desire of divers Friends of sundry places, according all in one, I occupied all my mind and my wits so busily, that through Gods grace I perceived, by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profit might come there through. For soothfastness and truth hath these conditions: whereforever it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof cometh a sweet savour. And the more violently the Enemies dress themselves to oppress and to withstand the truth, the greater and the sweeter smell cometh thereof. And therefore this Heavenly smell of Gods Word, will not as a smoke pass away with the Wind: but it will defend and rest in some clean soul that thirsteth thereafter. And thus some deal by this writing may be perceived through Gods grace, how that the Enemies of the truth (standing boldly in their malice) enforce them to withstand the Freedom of Christs Gospel, for which Freedom Christ became Man and shed his heart blood. And therefore it is great pity and sorrow, that many Men and Women do their own wayward will, and busie them not to know nor to do the pleasant will of God.

The Men and Women that hear the truth and soothfastness, and hear or know of this (perceiving what is now in the Church) ought herethrough to be the more moved in all their wits to able them to grace, and to set lesser price by themselves, that they without tarrying forsake wilfully and bodily all the wretchedness of this life, since they know not how soon, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them and assay their patience. For no doubt, who ever will live piteously, that is charitably in Christ Jesus, shall suffer now here in this life persecution, in one wise or another: That is, if we shall be saved, it behooveth us to imagin full busily the vility and foulness of sin, and how the Lord God is displeased therefore: and so of this vility and hideousness of sin, it behooveth us to busie us in all our wits, to abhor and hold in our mind a great shame of sin ever, and so then we

ought to sorrow heartily therefore, and ever fleeing all occasion thereof. And then it behooveth us to take upon us sharp penance, continuing therein, to obtain of the Lord forgiveness of our foredone sins, and grace to abstain us hereafter from sin. And if we enforce us not to do this wilfully, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not utterly destroy and cast us away) will in divers manners move Tyrants against us, to constrain us violently to do penance, which we would not do wilfully. And trust that this doing is a special grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt who ever will not apply himself (as is said before) to punish himself wilfully, neither will suffer patiently, meekly, and gladly the Rod of the Lord, howsoever that he will punish him: their wayward wills and their impatiency are unto them earnest of everlasting damnation. But because there are but few in number that do able them thus faithfully to grace, to live here so simply and purely, and without Gall of malice and of Grudging; therefore the lovers of this World hate and pursue them that they know patient, meek, chaste, and wilfully poor, hating and fleeing all Worldly vanities and Fleahly lusts. For surely their virtuous conditions are even contrary to the manners of this World.

The third thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this, I thought I shall busie me in my self to do faithfully, that all Men and Women (occupying all their business in knowing and in keeping of Gods Commandments) able them so to grace, that they might understand truly the truth, and have and use vertue and prudence, and so deserve to be lightened from above with Heavenly Wisdom: so that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleasant Sacrifices unto the Lord God; and not only for help of their own souls, but also for edification of Holy Church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to have this foresaid business, shall profit full meekly both to Friends and Foes. For some Enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, shall through Charitable folks be made astonished in their conscience, and peradventure converted from Vices to Vertues: and also, they that labour to know and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, and to suffer patiently all adversities, shall hereby comfort many friends.

And the fourth thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this: I know by my sudden and unwarned apposing and answering, that all they that will of good heart without faining able themselves wilfully and gladly, after their cunning and their power, to follow Christ patiently, travelling busily, privily and apertly in work and in word, to withdraw whomsoever that they may from Vices, planting in them (if they may) Vertues comforting them and furthering them that stand in grace; so that therewith they be born up in vain-glory through presumption of their wisdom, nor inflamed with any worldly prosperity, but ever meek and patient; purposing to continue stedfastly in the will of God, suffering wilfully and gladly without any grudging whatsoever Rod the Lord will chastise them with; that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such Men and Women in all their Tribulations, and at every point of Temptation that any Enemy purposed for to do against them. To such faithful Lovers specially, and patient Followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth by his wisdom from above them which the adversaries of the truth may not know nor understand. But through their old and new unshamefast sins, those Tyrants and Enemies of soothfastness shall be so blinded and obstinate in evil, that they shall ween themselves to do pleasant Sacrifices unto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongful pursuing and destroying of innocent Mens and Womens bodies; which Men and Women, for their virtuous living, and for their true knowing of the truth, and their patient, wilful and glad suffering of persecution for righteousness, deserve through the grace of God, to be Heirs of the endless bliss of Heaven. And for the fervent desire and great love that these men have, as to stand in soothfastness and witness of it, though they be suddenly and unwarned brought forth to be apposed of their Adversaries; the Holy Ghost yet, that moveth and ruleth them through his charity, will in that hour of their answering speak in them, and shew his wisdom, that all their Enemies shall not gainsay, nor againststand, lawfully.

The cause
why persecu-
tion is
suffered to
come.

The third
cause.

Edification
of others
necessary to
be consid-
ered.

The fourth
cause.

The assist-
ance of
God never
falleth them
that are
persecuted.

E e e

And

Gods Laws
must be
known and
followed.

The second
cause.

Truth seeth
always
a sweet
smell be-
hind it.

Godly
counsel gi-
ven, if it
may be fol-
lowed.

Persecution
followeth
the true
Church.

And therefore all they that are stedfast in the Faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his Commandments, and for their patient suffering of whatsoever adversity that cometh to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand continually in perfect charity; For those Men and Women dread not so the adversities of this life, that they will fear (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of Gods Word, when, where, and to whom they think their knowledging may profit. Yea, and though therefore persecution come to them in one wise or another, Certes they patiently take it, knowing their conversation to be in Heaven. It is an high reward and a special grace of God to have and enjoy the everlasting Inheritance of Heaven, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the term of this life. For lo, this Heavenly Heritage and endless reward, is the Lord God himself, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God himself, whereas he said to *Abraham*, I am thy meed: And as the Lord said, he was and is the meed of *Abraham*, so he is of all other his Saints. This most blessed and best meed, he grant to us all for his holy Name, that made us of nought, and sent his only most dear worthy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ to redeem us with his most precious Heart Blood. Amen.

*The Examination of William Thorp, Penned
with his own Hand*

Examina-
tion of Wil-
liam Thorp
before Tho-
mas Arun-
del Arch-
bishop.

Loytering
Prelates
cannot a-
bide travel-
ling
Preachers.

The grace
of God and
of my Lord
of Canterbu-
ry be two
things.

Your ordi-
nance, and
why not
Gods ordi-
nance, if it
please your
grace?

Known be it to all Men that read or hear this writing, that on the Sunday next after the Feast of *S. Peter*, that we call *Lammas*, in the year of our Lord 1407. I *William Thorp*, being in prison in the Castle of *Salwood*, was brought before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor then of *England*. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great Chamber and much people about him: and when that he saw me, he went fast into a Closet, bidding all secular Men that followed him to go forth from him soon, so that no man was left then in that Closet but the Archbishop himself: and a Phytician that was called *Mafveren*, Parson of *Saint Dunstons* in *London*, and two other Persons unknown to me, which were Ministers of the Law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me; *William* I know well that thou hast this twenty Winters and more, Travelled about busily in the *North* Country, and in divers other Countries of *England*, sowing about false Doctrine, having great buliness if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewd Will to infect and poison all this Land. But through the Grace of God thou art now withstood and brought into my ward, so that I shall now Sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and let thee to invenom the sheep of my province. Nevertheless, *S. Paul* saith: If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men. Therefore *William*, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feigning kneel down, and lay thy hand upon a Book and kiss it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine Ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gracious unto thee. Then said I to the Archbishop: Sir, Since ye deem me an Heretick, and out of belief, will you give me here audience to tell my believe? And he said, Yea, tell on. And I said, I believe that there is not but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead are three Persons, that is; the Father, the Son, and the soothfast Holy Ghost. And I believe that all these three Persons are even in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace of all goodness. For whatsoever that the Father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the Son doth and can and will; and in all their power, cunning and will, the Holy Ghost is equal to the Father, and to the Son.

Over this I believe that through counsel of this most blessed Trinity in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of Man, that is, the kind of man. And I believe, that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was conceived through the Holy

Ghost in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, with-
out mans seed. And I believe that after nine months
Christ was Born of this most Blessed Virgin, without any
pain or breaking of the Cloister of her Womb and without
filth of her Virginity.

And I believe, that Christ our Saviour was Circumcised in the Eighth day after his Birth, in fulfilling of the Law, and his name was called *Jesus*, which was so called of the the Angel, before that he was conceived in the Womb of *Mary* his Mother.

And I believe that Christ, as he was about xxx. years old, was Baptised in the Flood of *Jordane* of *John Baptist*: and in the likeness of a Dove the Holy Ghost descended there upon him, a voice heard from Heaven, saying: *Thou art my welbeloved Son, in thee I am full pleased.*

And I believe that Christ was moved then by the Holy Ghost to go into the Desert, and there he fasted 40. days and 40. nights without bodily Meat and Drink. And I believe that by and by after this fasting, when the manhood of God hungred, the Fiend came to him, and tempted him in Gluttony, in vain glory, and in covetise: But in all those temptations Christ concluded the Fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying Jesus began to Preach, and to say unto the people; Do ye penance, for the Realm of Heaven is now at hand.

I believe that Christ in all his time here lived most holily, and taught the Will of his Father most truly: And I believe that he suffered therefore most wrongfully greatest reproofs and despitings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporal Life, I believe that in the day next before that he would suffer passion in the morn, in form of Bread and of Wine he ordained the Sacrament of his Flesh and his Blood; that is, his own precious Body, and gave it to his Apostles to eat: commanding them, and by them all their after-comers, that they should do it in this form that he shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and commune forth to other Men and Women this most worshipful and holiest Sacrament, in mindfulness of his holiest living, and of his most true Preaching, and of his wilful and patient suffering of the most painful passion.

And I believe that this Christ our Saviour, after that he had ordained this most worthy Sacrament of his own precious Body, went forth wilfully against his Enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a Thief, and to scorn him and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their spittings. Over this, I believe that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his Enemies, to ding out with sharp scourges the Blood that was between his skin and his flesh: Yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruel *Jews* to Crown him with most sharp thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked *Jews* to draw him out upon the Crofs, and to nail him thereupon Hand and Foot. And so through his pitiful nailing, Christ shed out wilfully for mans Blood, the Blood that was in the Veins. And then Christ gave wilfully his Spirit into the hands or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died wilfully for Mans sake upon the Crofs. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the World, there was left Blood and Water in his heart, as before ordained, that he would shed out this Blood and this Water for Mans salvation. And therefore he suffered the *Jews* to make a blind Knight to thrust him in the heart with a Spear, and this Blood and Water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for Mans love: And after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the Crofs and Buried. And I believe that on the third day by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose again from death to life. And the Fortieth day thereafter, I believe that Christ ascended up into Heaven, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the Fiftieth day after his up-going, he sent to his Apostles the Holy Ghost, that he had promised them before; and I believe that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

And

This is un-
der the
ceatures of
Bread and
Wine.

KING And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty, so I believe in the Holy Ghost that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

What is the Holy Church.

And I believe an Holy Church, that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the World shall be, a people the which shall endeavour them to know and to keep the Commandments of God, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please him: and I believe, that all they that have had, and yet have, and all they that yet shall have the foresaid virtues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping stedfastly in his merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, wilfully, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ, chiefly and his Apostles, all these have their names written in the Book of Life.

The true notes of the true Church.

Therefore I believe, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the Holy Church of God, fighting here on Earth against the Fiend, the prosperity of the World, and their filthy lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and every part thereof, neither coveteth; nor willet, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to do his pleasing will meekly, gladly, and wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit my self unto this Holy Church of Christ, to be ever buxom and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the help of God. Therefore I knowledge now and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and will all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge I may perceive by the having and using of the before said virtues, to be Members of the Holy Church. Wherefore these Articles of belief and all other (both of the Old Law, and of the New, which after the Commandment of God any man ought to believe) and believe verily in my soul, as a sinful deadly wretch, of my cunning and power, ought to believe: praying the Lord God for his holy name to increase my belief, and to help my unbelief.

What He-ress in this belief, I pray you my Lord?

And because to the praising of Gods name, I desire above all things to be a faithful Member of Holy Church, I make this protestation before you all four that are now here present, coveting that all Men and Women that now be absent knew the same: That is, what thing soever before this time I have said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say at any time hereafter, I believe, that all the Old Law and New Law, given and ordained by council of the three Persons of the Trinity, were given and written to the salvation of mankind. And I believe, that these Laws are sufficient for Mans salvation. And I believe every Article of these Laws, to the intent that these Articles ordained and commanded of these three Persons of the most blessed Trinity are to be believed.

The old Law, and New.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these Gods Laws, meekly, gladly, and wilfully, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will by authority of Gods Law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any Article of belief (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodness) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxome and obedient unto those Laws of God, and to every Article of them. For by authority specially of these Laws I will, through the Grace of God be united charitably unto these Laws. Yea Sir, and over: this, I believe and admit all the sentences, authorities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors according unto the Holy Scripture, and declaring it truly.

Doctors to be followed, as they follow the report.

I submit me wilfully and meekly to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all these Saints and Doctors, as they are obedient in work and in Word to God and to his Law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, Dignity or State, through the help of God. But Sir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding I shall lay my hand upon the Book, to what intent; to swear thereby? And the Archbishop said to me, yea wherefore else? And I said to him; Sir, a Book is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to swear by any creature, both Gods Law and Mans Law is against it.

To swear by a Book whether it be lawful.

But Sir, this thing I say here to you before these your Clerks, with my foresaid protestation, that how, where,

when, and to whom men are bound to swear or to obey in any wise after Gods Law, and Saints, and true Doctors, according with Gods Law; I will through Gods grace be ever ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you Sir for the Charity of God, that ye will before that I swear (as I have here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto that I shall submit me: and shew me that whereof ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfil.

How, where, and when to swear.

And the Archbishop said unto me: I will shortly that now thou swear here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the Sect of *Lollards* hold, and is slandered with: So that after this time, neither privily nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworn) rehearse to thee here. Nor shalt thou favour any Man or Woman, young or old, that holdeth any these afore said opinions: But after thy knowledge and power thou shalt force thee to withstand all such distroublers of Holy Church in every Diocefs that thou comest in; and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the Bishop of the Diocefs that they are in, or to the Bishops Ministers. And over this I will that thou Preach no more unto the time that I know by good witness and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

And I hearing these words thought in my heart that this was an unlawful asking; and deemed my self Cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how *Susan* said: Anguish is to me on every side. And in that I stood still and spake not, the Archbishop said to me; Answer one way or other: and I said; Sir, if I consented to you thus as ye have herebefore rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or every Bishops espie, Somoner of all *England*. For if I should thus put up and publish the names of Men and Women, I should herein deceive full many persons: Yea Sir, as it is likely by the doom of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of Men and Women, yea both Bodily and Ghostly. For many Men and Women that stand now in the way of Salvation, if I should for the learning and reading or their belief publish them therefore up to the Bishops or to their unpiteous Ministers, I know some deal by experience that they should be so distressed and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I think) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth than to be travelled, scorned, slandered or punished, as Bishops and their Ministers now use to constrain Men and Women to consent to them.

Behold the Popish proceedings whereto they tend.

But I find in no place in Holy Scripture, that this Office, that ye would now infeeble me with, accordeth to any Priest of Christs Sect, nor to any other Christian Man: and therefore to do this were to me a full noyous bond to be bounden with, and over grievous charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many Men and Women would, yea Sir, might justly to my confusion say to me, that I wer a Traytor to God and to them: since (as I think in mine heart) many Men and Women trust so mickle in this case, that I would not for saving of my life do thus to them. For if I thus should do, full many Men and Women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered shamefully the Word of God. For if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchief or mischief that may befall unto me in this life, I deem in my conscience, that I were worthy heretofore to be Cursed of God and also of all his Saints: from which inconvenience keep me and all Christian people, Almighty God, now and ever for his Holy Name. And then the Archbishop said unto me: Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of *Pharao*, and the Devil hath overcome thee, and perverted thee, and he hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercy that I have profered to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answer, thou hast no will to leave thine old errors.

No marvel why: for Christ and Antichrist how can they agree?

It is pretty when Pharao judged Moses hard hearted. Where learned you my Lord to call your Brother *Rachab*?

But I say to thee lewd lossel, either quickly consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by Saint *Thomas* thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy Fellow into *Smithfield*. And at this saying I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine heart, that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy

He meaneth Gods Martyrs, *Wil. Saur.*

bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this menacing of the Archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowful that he had made *William Sautre* wrongfully to be burnt: and as I considered, that the Archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent Blood: And fast therefore I was moved in all my wits, to hold the Archbishop neither for Prelate nor for Priest of God: And for that mine inward Man was thus altogether departed from the Archbishop, me thought I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular Men by; but in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me and strength me against them that there were against the soothfastness. And I suppose to speak no more to the Archbishop and his Clerks than me need behooved: and all thus I prayed God for his goodness to give me then and alway grace to speak with a meek and an easie Spirit: and whatsoever thing that I should speak, that I might thereto have true authorities of the Scriptures or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the Archbishops Clerks said unto me; What thing musest thou? Do thou as my Lord hath now commanded to thee here.

The order
and manner
of his bring-
ing up.

And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then soon after the Archbishop said to me: Art thou not yet be- thought, whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee? And I said then to him; Sir, my Father and my Mother, on whose souls God have mercy (if it be his will) spent mickle Money in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made me a Priest to God. But when I came to years of Discretion, I had no will to be Priest, and therefore my Friends were right heavy to me, and then me thought their grudging against me was so painful to me, that I purposed therefore to have left their company. And when they perceived this in me, they spake sometime full fair and pleasant words to me: But for that they might not make me to consent of good heart to be a Priest, they spake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners, shewing to me full heavy cheer. And thus one while in fair manner, another while in grievous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, ere I consented to them to be a Priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I should ever bear their indignation, yea their Curse (as they said) then I seeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence to go to them that were named wise Priests, and of vertuous conversation, to have their counsel, and to know of them the office and the charge of Priesthood. And hereto my Father and my Mother consented full gladly, and gave me their blessing and good leave to go, and also Money to spend in this Journey. And so I went to those Priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of Heavenly wisdom; and so I communed with them unto the time, that I perceived by their vertuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore Sir, by the example of the Doctrine of them, and specially for the godly and innocent works which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectly Gods Laws, having a will and desire to live thereafter, which willett that all Men and Women should exercise themselves faithfully thereabout. If then Sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise, nor of so vertuous conversation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this Land, as these men were of whom I took my counsel and information, I should now forsake thus suddenly and shortly, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exercised my self in these thirty winters and more, my conscience should ever be herewith out of measure unquieted: and Sir, I know well, that many Men and Women should be therethrough greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said, Sir, to you before, for mine untruth and false cowardness, many a one should be put into full great reproof: Yea Sir, I dread that many one (as they might then justly) would Curse me full bitterly; and Sir I fear not, but the Curse of God, which I should deserve

herein, would bring me to a full evil end, if I continued thus. And if through remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to contrain me now to forsake: Yea Sir, all the Bishops of this Land, with full many other Priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse: and they that now have (though I be unworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would never trust to me, though I could teach and live never so vertuously, more than I can or may. For if after your counsel I left utterly all my learning, I should hereby first wound and defile mine own soul, and also I should herethrough give occasion to many Men and Women of full fore hurting; Yea Sir, as it is likely to me, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine evil example in it, as far as in me were, slea many folk Ghosly, that I should never deserve to have grace of God to the edifying of his Church, neither of my self, nor of any other Mans life, and should be undone both before God and Man.

But Sir, by example chiefly of some, whose names I will not now rehearse, of *H. of J. P. and B.* and also by the present doing of *Philip Rampington*, that now is become Bishop of *Lincoln*, I am now learned (as many more hereafter through Gods grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slander that these foresaid men chiefly have defiled principally themselves with. And in it that in them is, they have invenomed all the Church of God, for the slanderous revoking at the Cross of *Pauls*, of *H. P.* and of *B.* and how now *Philip Rampington* pursueth Christs people. And the feigning that these men dissembled by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their Preaching and communing within the bonds and terms (which without blame may be spoken and shewed out of the most Worldly livers) will not be unpunished of God. For to the point of truth, that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lives: but by example each one of them as their words and their works shew, busie them through their feigning to slander and to pursue Christ in his Members, rather than they will be pursued.

And the Archbishop said to me: These men, the which thou speakest of now, were Fools and Hereticks, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such Losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and other such deem them unwise. Nevertheless, I never wist any that right said, that any while were invenomed with your contagiounness, that is, contaminated and spotted Doctrine.

And I said to the Archbishop: Sir, I think well that these men and such other are now wise as to this World: But as their words sounded sometime, and their works shewed outwardly, it was like to move me that they had earnest of the wisdom of God, and that they should have deserved mickle grace of God to have saved their own souls and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilful poverty, and in other simple vertuous living: and specially if they had with these foresaid vertues continued in their busie fruitful sowing of Gods Word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits; full busily to know the pleasant will of God, travelling all their Members full busily to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and salvation of Christian people. But woe worth false covetise, and evil Counsel and Tyranny, by which they and many Men and Women are led blindly into an evil end.

Then the Archbishop said unto me; Thou, and such other Losels of thy Sect, would have your heads full near to have a Benefice. For by Jesus I know none more covetous shrews than ye are, when that ye have a Benefice. For loe, I gave to *John Purvy* a Benefice but a Mile out of this Castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness for Tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my Diocess.

And I said to the Archbishop: Sir, *Purvy* is neither with you now for the Benefice that you gave him, nor holdeth he faithfully with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he sheweth himself neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his Fellows may fore

KING
Hen. 4.

Philip Rampington
made Bishop, and a
persecutor.

Happy be
they that
continue to
the end.

Woe worth
false covetise.

It is pity
these Prelates
cannot
swear.
Covetousness
joyned
with Popishness.

KING I have dread, that if they turn not hastily to the way that they have forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the Archbishop said: Though *Purvey* be now a false Harlot, I quit me now to him: But come he more for such cause before me (ere we part) I shall know with whom he holdeth. But I say to thee: which are these holy men and wife, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

A worthy commendation of M. John Wickliff.

And I said: Sir, Master *John Wickliff* was holden of full many Men the greatest Clerk that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a passing ruly Man and an innocent in his living: and therefore great men communed oft with him, and they loved so his learning, that they writ it, and busily inforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore Sir, this foresaid learning of M. *John Wickliff* is yet holden, of full many Men and Women, the most agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the Church of Christ hath been, and yet should be ruled and governed. Therefore so many Men and Women covet this learning, and purpose through Gods grace, to conform their living like to this learning of *Wickliff*. M. *John Ashton* taught and writ accordingly and full busily, where, and when, and to whom that he might, and he used it himself right perfectly unto his lives end. And also *Philip of Rampington*, while he was a Canon of *Leicester*, *Nicholas Herford*, *Davy Gotray* of *Pakring*, Monk of *Byland*, and a Master of Divinity, and *John Purvey*, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busily this foresaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willingly to be informed of them and by them, and specially of *Wickliff* himself, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specially, and of these men I took the learning that I have taught; and purposed to live thereafter (if God will) to my lives end. For though some of those men be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the help of God I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they fate on *Moses* Chair, and specially while that they fate on the Chair of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with Gods help. For they feign and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men have been blamed for their slanderous doing: they grant not that they have taught amiss or erred before time, but that they were constrained by pain to leave to tell out the sooth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, than to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for soothfastness that Christ shed out his heart-blood for.

The Testimony for Wickliff out of the mouth of his own adversary.

And the Archbishop said: That learning, that thou callest truth and soothfastness, is open slander to Holy Church, as it is proved of Holy Church. For albeit that *Wickliff* your Author was a great Clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver: yet his Doctrine is not approved of Holy Church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching *Philip of Rampington*, that was first Canon, and after Abbot of *Leicester*, which is now Bishop of *Lincoln*, I tell thee, that the day is comen, for which he fasted the even. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold the learning that he taught, when he was a Canon of *Leicester*. For no Bishop of this Land pursueth now more sharply them that hold thy way, than he doth.

Many such vigils have our Popish Kalendar. Repington became a persecutor, after he was made Bishop.

Anc I said: Sir, full many Men and Women wondreth upon him, and speaketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed Enemy of the truth.

And the Archbishop said to me: Wherefore tarieest thou me thus here with such Fables, wilt thou shortly (as I have said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that ye have above rehearsed to me.

And thus as if he had been wroth, he said to one of his Clerks; Fetch hither quickly the certification that came to

me from *Shrewsbury* under the Bailiffs seal, witnessing the Errors and Heresies, which this Losel hath venomously sown there.

Then hastily the Clerk took out, and laid forth on a Cupboard divers Rolls and Writings, among which there was a little one, which the Clerk delivered to the Archbishop. And by and by the Archbishop read this Roll containing this sentence.

The third Sunday after *Easter*, the year of our Lord 1407. *William Thorp* came unto the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and through leave granted unto him to Preach, he said openly in *S. Chads* Church in his Sermon, that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, was material Bread. And that Images should in no wise be worshipped. And that men should not go on Pilgrimages. And that Priests have no Title to Tithes. And that it is not lawful to Swear in any wise.

And when the Archbishop had Read thus this Roll, he rolled it up again, and said to me. Is this wholesome learning to be among the people?

And I said: Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalf, and right sorrowful for them that have certified you these things thus untruly: for I never Preached, nor taught thus privily nor apertly.

And the Archbishop said to me, I will give credence to these worshipful men which have written to me, and witnessed under their Seals there among them. Though now thou deniest this, weenest thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou Losel hast troubled the worshipful Communalty of *Shrewsbury*, so that the Bailiffs and Communalty of that Town have written to me, praying me that am Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Chancellor of *England*, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthy) to suffer open joureis for thine Heresies, that thou may have thy joureis openly there among them; So that all they whom thou and such other Losels have there perverted, may through fear of thy deed be reconciled again to the unity of Holy Church. And also they that stand in true Faith of Holy Church, may through thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased the Archbishop, he said; By my thrift this hearty prayer and fervent request shall be thought on.

But certainly, neither the prayer of the men of *Shrewsbury*, nor the menacing of the Archbishop made me any thing afraid. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoiced, and yet doth. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet think shall come to all the Church of God herethrough, by the special merciful doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of Tyrants, by trusting stedfastly in the help of the Lord, with full purpose to knowledge the soothfastness, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the Archbishop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to prove by likely evidence, that they that are feigned to be out of the Faith of Holy Church in *Shrewsbury*, and in other places also, are in the true Faith of Holy Church. For as their words sound, and their works shew to Mans judgment (dreading and loving faithfully God) their desire, their will, their love, and their business are most set to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And again, they that are said to be in the Faith of Holy Church in *Shrewsbury* and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous, and other foul words and works, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupy their wits, truly and effectuously in the right Faith of Holy Church. Wherefore neither all these, nor any that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the Faith of Holy Church, except they inforce them more truly to come in the way which now they despise. For these Men and Women, that are now called faithful and holden just, neither know, nor will exercise themselves to know (of faithfulness) commandment of God.

And thus full many Men and Women now, and specially men that are named to be principal Limbs of Holy Church, stir God to great wrath, and deserve his Curse for that they call or hold them just men, which are full unjust, as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shameful works shew openly and

The Sacrament after consecration, material bread. Articles objected against *Wickliff*. Whole some enough for mans soul, though not for your kitchen.

O *Shrewsbury*, thou hast a cause to repent thee in that thou wouldst not receive the truth when it was offered thee.

The Romish Church must be established by persecuting of true Preachers.

A sure truth in Gods truth confoundeth the malice of Tyrants.

If the touch stone might try, truth should be known.

The description of the right Christians in *Shrewsbury*. The Catholics of *Shrewsbury*. *Shrewsbury*, except thou turn from thy wicked ways, thou canst not receive the truth.

witnes. And therefore such vicious men and unjust in their own confession call them unjust men and women, which after their power and cunning bulie themselves to live justly after the commandment of God. And where, Sir, ye say that I have distroubled the Communalty of *Shrewsbury*, and many other men and women with my teaching: If it thus be, it is not to be wondred of wife men, since all the Communalty of the City of *Jerusalem* was distroubled of Christs own person, that was very God and Man, and the most prudent Preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the Synagogue of *Nazareth* was moved against Christ, and so fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the Synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their City, and led him up to the top of a Mountain to cast him down there headlong: also accordingly hereto the Lord witnesseth by *Moses*, that he shall put diffention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Who, Sir, is he that shall preach the truth of Gods Word to the unfaithful people, and shall let the soothfastnes of the Gospel, and the Prophecie of God Almighty to be fulfilled?

Jerusalem
troubled by
the preach-
ing of Christ

And the Archbishop said to me, It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that ye do right well to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any Bishop. For you presume that the Lord hath chosen you only to preach, as faithful Disciples and special Followers of Christ.

The word
of God
ought truly
to be
preached.

If this Les-
son had
been well
followed,
the world
had not
been
brought to
such dark-
ness by
blind and
dumb
Priests.

An effect-
ous prayer,
God grant
in all Mini-
sters.

Why he
preached
without the
Bishops Li-
cence.

He answer-
eth to the
question
concerning
the Letter
of Licence.

And I said, Sir, by authority of Gods Law, and also of Saints and Doctors I am learned to deem, that it is every Priests office and duty to preach busily, freely, and truly the Word of God. For no doubt every Priest should purpose first in his Soul, and covet to take the Order of Priesthood, chiefly to make known to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his vertuous works: and for this intent we suppose that Bishops and other Prelates of holy Church should chiefly take and use their Prelacy, and for the same cause Bishops should give to Priests their Orders. For Bishops should accept no man to Priesthood, except that he had good will and full purpose, and were well disposed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore Sir, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy living, and also by the witnessing of his holy Apostles and Prophets, we are bound under full great pain, to exercise us after our cunning and power (as every Priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfil duly the Office of Priesthood. We presume not here of our selves to be esteemed (neither in our own reputation, nor in none other mans) faithful Disciples, and special Followers of Christ. But Sir, as I said to you before, we deem this by authority chiefly of Gods Word that it is the chief duty of every Priest to busie him faithfully to make the Law of God known to his people; and so to commune the Commandment of God charitably, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that ever we may, is our very duty: and for the will and busines that we owe of due debt to do justly our Office through the stirring and special help (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercy, we desire to be the faithful Disciples of Christ, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy Name, that he make us able to please him with devout prayers, and charitable Priestly works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

And the Archbishop said to me, Lewd Loffel, whereto makest thou such vain reasons to me? Asketh not *S. Paul*, *How should Priests preach except they be sent?* But I sent thee never to preach. For thy venomous Doctrine is known throughout *England*, that no Bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their Letters. Why then lewd Idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licensed of thy Sovereign to preach? Saith *S. Paul*, *That Subjects ought to obey their Sovereigns, and not only good and vertuous, but also Tyrants that are vicious.*

And I said to the Archbishop, Sir, as touching your Letter of Licence, or other Bishops, which, ye say, we should have to witnes that we are able to be sent to preach: we know well that neither you Sir, nor any other Bishop of this Land will grant to us any such Letters of Licence, but if we should oblige us to you, and to other Bishops by unlesful Oaths, not to pass the bounds and terms which ye, Sir, or other Bishops will limit to us. And since in this

matter your terms be some too large, and some too strait: we dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you to keep the terms, which you will limit to us, as you do to Friars and such other Preachers: and therefore, though we have not your Letter Sir, nor Letters of any other Bishops written with ink upon Parchment, we dare not therefore leave the Office of preaching (to which preaching all Priests after their cunning and power are bound, by divers Testimonies of Gods Law, and great Doctors) without any mention making of Bishops Letters. For as mikle as we have taken upon us the Office of Priesthood (though we are unworthy thereto) we came and purpose to fulfil it with the help of God, by authority of his own Law, and by witnes of great Doctors and Saints, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the Office of Priesthood, he will be our sufficient Letters and Witnes, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, specially occupy us faithfully to do our Office justly; yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithful or unfaithful) shall be our Letters; that is, our witnes-bearers: for the truth where it is sown may not be unwitnessed. For all that are converted and saved by learning of Gods Word, and by working thereafter, are witnes-bearers, that the truth and soothfastnes, which they heard and did after, is cause of their salvation. And again, all unfaithful men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter: also all they that might have heard the truth, and would not hear it, because that they would not do thereafter, all these shall bear witnes against themselves, and the truth which they would not hear, or else heard it and despised to do thereafter through their unfaithfulness, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore Sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of divers Saints and Doctors, and of all the people good and evil, sufficeth to all true Preachers; we think that we do not the Office of Priesthood, if that we leave our preaching, because that we have not, or may not have duly Bishops Letters, to witnes that we are sent of them to preach. This sentence approveth *S. Paul*, where he speaketh of himself and of faithful Apostles and Disciples, saying thus, *We need no Letters of Commendations as some Preachers do, which preach for covetousnes of Temporal goods, and for mens praising.* And where ye say Sir, that *Paul* biddeth Subjects obey their Sovereigns, that is sooth, and may not be denied. But there be two manner of Sovereigns, vertuous Sovereigns, and vicious Tyrants. Therefore to these last Sovereigns neither men nor women, that be subject, owe to obey in two manners. To vertuous Sovereigns and charitable Subjects they owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counsel, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitful works.

KING
1. Hen. 4.

The incon-
veniences
of seeing
of the Bishops
Letter of
Licence.

The witness
of the
Preachers
the good
life of the
Followers.

Two man-
ners of So-
vereigns.

He meaneth
Prelates
that be un-
vertuous.

This sentence *Paul* approveth, where he saith to Subjects, *Be ye mindful of your Sovereigns, that speak to you the word of God, and follow you the Faith of them, whose Conversation you know to be vertuous.* For as *Paul* saith after, these Sovereigns to whom Subjects ought to obey in following of their manners, work busily in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselves, and after in all their Subjects, and how they may best plant in them vertues. Also their Sovereigns make devout and fervent Prayers to purchase Grace of God, that they and their Subjects may over all things dread to offend him, and to love to please him. Also these Sovereigns to whom *Paul* biddeth us obey, as it is said before, live so vertuously, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keep the Commandments of God. But in this foresaid wise, Subjects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to Tyrants, while they are vicious Tyrants, since their will, their counsel, their biddings and their works are so vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such Tyrants be masterful and cruel in boasting and menacing, in oppressions and divers punishings: *S. Peter* biddeth the servants of such Tyrants, to obey meekly such Tyrants, suffering patiently their malicious cruelties. But *Peter* counselleth not any servant or subject to obey any Lord, or Prince, or Sovereign, in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

Two man-
ners of
obeying:
1. In fol-
lowing
their doings
and exam-
ples.
2. In suffer-
ing their
wrongs.
Wicked
Rulers are
not to be
followed in
evil.

And the Archbishop said unto me, If a Sovereign bid his subject do that thing that is vicious, this Sovereign herein is to blame: but the subject for this Obedience deserveth

Well re-
soned my
Lord, and
like a Clerk.

KING ^{H. 4.} deserveth meed of God. For Obedience more pleaseth God, than any Sacrifice.

And I said, *Samuel* the Prophet said to *Saul* the wicked King, *That God was more pleased with the Obedience of his Commandments, than with any Sacrifice of Beasts.* But *David* saith, and *S. Paul*, and *S. Gregory* accordingly together, *That not only they that do evil, are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil doers.* And Sir, the Law of the holy Church teacheth in the Decrees, That no Servant to his Lord, nor Child to the Father or Mother, nor Wife to her Husband, nor Monk to his Abbot ought to obey, except in leful things, and lawful.

Obedience not to be given but in things leful and lawful.

All is presumption that standeth against your masterful ambition

And the Archbishop said to me, All these alledgings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousness. For hereby thou inforcest thee to prove, that thou and such other are so just, that ye ought not to obey to Prelates. And thus against the learning of *Saint Paul*, that teacheth you not to Preach, but if ye were sent; of your own authority, ye will go forth and Preach, and do what ye list.

Priests in that they take Priesthood, they are sent to preach.

Mat. 10.

Mar. ult.

Luk. 10.

The Office of Priesthood is the Office of preaching.

And I said, Sir, presenteth not every Priest the Office of the Apostles, or the Office of the Disciples of Christ? And the Archbishop said, *Yea.* And I said, Sir, as the tenth Chapter of *Matthew* and the last Chapter of *Mark* witnesseth, Christ sent his Apostles to preach. And the tenth Chapter of *Luke* witnesseth, That Christ sent his two and ieventy Disciples to preach in every place that Christ was to come to: and *S. Gregory* in the Common Law saith, *That every man that goeth to Priesthood, taketh upon him the Office of Preaching:* For as he saith, *That Priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching.* And as other more glosses upon *Ezekiel*, witness, That the Priest that preacheth not busily to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saved by other special Grace of God, than by the Priests preaching, yet the Priests, in that they are ordained to preach and preach not, as before God they are Manslayers. For as far as on them is, such Priests as preach not busily and truly, slay all the people ghostly: in that they withhold from them the Word of God, that is the life and substance of mens souls. And *S. Isidore* said, *Priests shall be damned for wickedness of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners.* For all the work or business of Priests standeth in preaching and teaching, that they edifie all men as well by cunning of Faith, as by discipline of Works; that is, Vertuous teaching: And as the Gospel witnesseth, Christ said in his teaching, *I am born and comen into this World, to bear witness to the Truth, and he that is of the Truth beareth my voice.*

Priests that preach not, be slayers of the people. *Isidore.*

Doctrine of Faith. Discipline of Works.

Priests not only sent to preach, but commanded to preach. *Gregorius. Lincolnienf.* Whatsoever a man doth, leaving that undone which he is chiefly bound to do, is sin. Yet this Bishop plucketh him not by the beard, nor burneth not off his hand, as *Romer* did.

Then Sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is, his Voice, Priests are commanded to preach; whatsoever Priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to do thus, and ableth not himself after his cunning and power to do his Office by the Example of Christ and of his Apostles, whatsoever other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, *S. Gregory* saith, *That thing left that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatsoever other thing that a man doth, it is unthankful to the Holy Ghost;* and therefore saith *Lincoln*, *The Priest that preacheth not the Word of God, though he be seen to have none other default, he is Antichrist and Satans, a night-Thief, and a day-Thief, a Slayer of Souls, and an Angel of Light turned into Darkness.* Wherefore Sir, these Authorities and other well considered, I deem my self damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure of any Creature apply me not diligently to preach the Word of God. And in the same damnation I deem all those Priests, which of good purpose and will enforce them not busily to do thus, and also all them that have purpose or will to let any Priest of this business.

Holy Church.

And the Archbishop said to those three Clerks that stood before him, Lo Sirs, this is the manner and business of this Loffel and such other, to pick out such sharp sentences of holy Scripture and Doctors, to maintain their Sect, and lore against the Ordinance of holy Church. And therefore Loffel, it is thou that covetest to have again the *Psalter* that I made to be taken from thee at *Canterbury*, to record sharp Verses against us. But thou shall never

have that *Psalter*, nor any other Book, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully to be governed by holy Church.

And I said, Sir, all my will and power is, and ever shall be (I trust to God) to be governed by holy Church.

And the Archbishop asked me, What was holy Church?

And I said, Sir, I told you before what was holy Church. But since ye ask me this demand; I call Christ and his Saints holy Church.

And the Archbishop said unto me; I wot well that Christ and his Saints are holy Church in Heaven, but what is holy Church in Earth?

And I said, Sir, though holy Church be every one in Charity, yet it hath two parts. The first and principal part hath overcome perfectly all the wretchedness of this life, and reigneth joyfully in Heaven with Christ. And the other part is here yet in Earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against temptations of the Fiend; forsaking and hating the Prosperity of this World, despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts, which only are the Pilgrims of Christ, wandering towards Heaven by steadfast Faith, and grounded Hope, and by perfect Charity. For these heavenly Pilgrims may not, nor will not be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any Doctors discording from holy Scripture, nor by the floods of any Tribulation Temporal, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of menacing of any Creature: For they are all fast grounded upon the sure Stone Christ, hearing his Word and loving it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wits to do thereafter.

Two parts of the Church.

And the Archbishop said to his Clerks, See ye not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled with the Devil, occupying him thus busily to inedge such Sentences to maintain his Errors and Heresies. Certain, thus he would occupy us here all day, if we would suffer him.

One of the Clerks answered, Sir, he said right now, Well helpeth that this Certification, that came to you from *Shrewsbury*, is untruly forged against him. Therefore Sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall hear of his own mouth his answers, and witness them.

Well helped forward M. Clerk.

And the Archbishop took the Certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he said to me:

Lo here it is certified against thee by worthy men and faithful of *Shrewsbury*, that thou preachedst there openly in *S. Chads* Church, that the Sacrament of the Altar was material Bread after the Consecration; what sayest thou? Was this truly preached?

The fore-said Articles renewed against T. B.

And I said, Sir, I tell you truly that I touched nothing there of the Sacrament of the Altar, but in this wise as I will with Gods Grace tell you here. As I stood there in the Pulpit, busying me to teach the Commandment of God, there knelled a sacred Bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastily, and with noise ran fro towards me. And I seeing this, said to them thus, *Good men, ye were better to stand here still and to hear Gods Word. For certes the vertue and the meed of the most holy Sacrament of the Altar standeth mickle more in the belief thereof that you ought to have in your Soul, than it doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore ye were better to stand still quietly to hear Gods Word, because that through the bearing thereof, men come to very true belief.* And otherwise Sir, I am certain I spake not there of the worthy Sacrament of the Altar.

The vertue of the Sacrament standeth in the belief, more than in the outward sign.

And the Archbishop said to me, I believe thee not whatsoever thou sayest, since so worshipful men have witnessed thus against thee. But since thou deniest that thou saidst thus there, what sayest thou now? Resteth there after the Consecration in the Host, material Bread or no?

Material Bread.

And I said, Sir, I know in no place in holy Scripture where this term *material Bread* is written: and therefore Sir, when I speak of this matter, I use not to speak of *material Bread*.

Then the Archbishop said to me, How teachest thou men to believe in this Sacrament?

And I said, Sir, as I believe my self, so I teach other men.

He said, Tell out plainly thy belief thereof.

And

And I said with my protestation, Sir, I believe that the night before that Christ Jesus would suffer (wilfully) passion for Mankind on the morn after, he took Bread in his holy and most worshipful hands, lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, *blessed this Bread, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying to them; Take and eat of this all you, this is my Body.* And that this is and ought to be all mens belief, *Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul* witnesseth. Other belief Sir I have none, nor will have, nor teach: for I believe, that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this belief, with Gods Grace, I purpose to live and die, knowledging as I believe and teach other men to believe, that the worshipful Sacrament of the Altar is the Sacrament of Christs flesh and blood in the form of Bread and Wine.

And the Archbishop said to me, It is sooth that this Sacrament is very Christs Body in form of Bread. But thou and thy Sect teachest it to be substance of Bread. Think you this true teaching?

And I said, Neither I, nor any other of the Sect that ye damn, teach any otherwise than I have told you, nor believe otherwise to my knowing. Nevertheless Sir, I ask of you for Charity, that you will tell me plainly, how ye shall understand the text of *S. Paul*, where he saith thus, *This thing feel you in your self, that is in Christ Jesus, while he was in the form of God.* Sir, calleth not *Paul* here the form of God, the substance or kind of God? Also Sir, saith not the Church in the hours of the most blessed Virgin accordingly hereto, where it is written thus? *Thou Author of Health remember, that sometime thou took of the undefiled Virgin the form of our body.* Tell me for charity therefore, whether the form of our bodies be called here the kind of our body or no?

The Pope have none other defence for them, but only the Church. Every Ordinance of Churchmen bindeth not our faith.

And the Archbishop said to me, Wouldst thou make me to declare this Text after thy purpose, since the Church now hath determined, that there abideth no substance of Bread, after the Consecration, in the Sacrament of the Altar? Believest thou not this Ordinance of the Church?

And I said, Sir, whatsoever Prelates have ordained in the Church, our belief standeth ever whole, I have not heard, that the Ordinance of men under belief should be put into belief.

The greatest Doctors of the Church be Apostles. S. Paul calleth it Bread.

And the Archbishop said to me, If thou hast not learned this before, learn now to know that thou art out of belief, if in this matter and other thou believest not as the holy Church believeth. What say Doctors treating of this Sacrament?

And I said, Sir, Saint *Paul* that was a great Doctor of holy Church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belief of this most holy Sacrament, calleth it *Bread* that we break. And also in the Canon of the Mass after the Consecration, this most worthy Sacrament is called *holy Bread*. And every Priest in this Land, after that he hath received this Sacrament, saith in this wise, *That thing that we have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and clean mind; That is, as I understand, we pray God that we may receive, through very belief, this holy Sacrament worthily.* And Sir, Saint *Augustine* saith, *That thing that is seen is Bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of is very Christs Body.* And also *Fulgence* an ententive Doctor saith, *As it were an Error to say that Christ was but a Substance; that is, very Man, and not very God; or to say that Christ was very God, and not very Man: So is it (this Doctor saith) an Error to say, that the Sacrament of the Altar is but a Substance.* And also Sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the mid Mass on *Christmas-day*, it is written thus, *Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod divinum est; which sentence Sir, with the secret of the fourth Ferie, quatuor temporum Septembris, I pray you Sir declare here openly in English.*

The secret of the Mass on Christmas-day nameth it a terrene substance.

My Lord can revile apace, he can declare but a little. Choke him up my Lord

And the Archbishop said to me, I perceive well enough whereabouts thou art, and how the Devil blindeth thee, that thou may not understand the Ordinance of holy Church, nor consent thereto. But I command thee now, answer me shortly; Believest thou, that, after the Consecration of this foresaid Sacrament, there abideth substance of Bread, or not?

And I said, Sir, as I understand, it is all one to grant or believe that there dwelleth substance of Bread, and to grant and to believe, that this most worthy Sacrament of Christs own Body is accident without subject. But Sir, for as mickle as your asking passeth my understanding, I dare neither deny it, nor grant it; for it is a School-matter, about which I busied me never to know: and therefore I commit this term, *accidens sine subjecto*, to those Clerks which delight them so in curious and subtil sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with *pro & contra*, till that they wot not where they are, and understand not themselves. But the shame that these proud Sophisters have to yield them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fools, and to be concluded shamefully before God.

And the Archbishop said to me, I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtil arguments of Clerks, since thou art unable hereto; but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

And I said, Sir, by open evidence and great witness, a M. year after the Incarnation of Christ, the determination, which I have here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy Church as sufficient to the salvation of all them that would believe it faithfully, and work thereafter charitably. But Sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, since the Fiend was loosed, by Frier *Thomas* again, especially calling the most worshipful Sacrament of Christs own Body an accident without subject: which term, since I know not that Gods Law approveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterly I deny to make this Friars sentence, or any such other, my belief; do with me God what thou wilt.

And the Archbishop said to me, Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise ere that I leave thee. But what sayest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthy men of *Shrewsbury*, saying, *That thou preachedst there, that Images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?*

And I said, Sir, I preached never thus, nor through Gods Grace will I at any time consent to think, or to say thus, either privily or apertly. For lo, the Lord witnesseth by *Moses*, *That the things which he made were right good; and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipful in their kind.* And therefore, to the end that God made them so, they are all praiseable and worshipful, and specially man, that was made after the Image and likeness of God, is full worshipful in his kind, yea, this holy Image, that is man, God worshippeth. And therefore every man should worship other, in kind, and also for heavenly Vertues that men use charitably. And also I say, Wood, Tin, Gold, Silver, or any other matter that Images are made of, all these Creatures are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of highest state and dignity, and ordained of them to be a *Calendar* to lewd men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his Word, neither by his Creatures, nor by his wonderful and divers workings; yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in form, nor in the likeness of mans craft. Nevertheless, that every matter the *Painters* paint with, since it is Gods Creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to that end that God made and ordained it to serve man.

Then the Archbishop said to me, I grant well that no body ought to do worship to any such Images for themselves. But a Crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought there through to mans mind: and thus the Images of the blessed Trinity, and of the Virgin *Mary* Christs Mother, and other Images of Saints ought to be worshipped. For lo, earthly Kings and Lords which use to send their Letters ensealed with their Arms, or with their privy Signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receive their Lords Letters, in which they see and know the wills and biddings of the Lords in worship of their Lords, they do off their Caps to these Letters. Why not then, since in Images made with mans hand, we may read and know many and divers things of God, and of his Saints, shall we not worship their Images?

And

HING
Hos. 4.

To grant the real being of the Body without Bread, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the subject.

Against proud Sophisters.
Templum Domini,
Templum Domini.

The Church stood found till the fiend broke loose.

Transubstantiation brought in by Frier Thomas Aquinas.

It is happy he did not fly in his face, as Basil did.

The second point touching Images. Thus charged with an untruth. Men a worshipful Image of God.

Though man accept the painting or carving of Images, yet is it not the right way to learn to serve God.

The Image of the Trinity. A similitude of the Kings Seal or Letters to prove the worship of Images.

KING
H. 4.

No similitude to be made between earthly things and spiritual, namely when Gods word doth expresse to the contrary. So you say my Lord, but God saith contrary in his commandments. Painters devotion and the Popes divinity do well agree. Preparation of the painters to make a fair and a devout Image.

And I said, within my foresaid protestation I say, That these worldly usages of Temporal Laws that ye speak now of, may be done in case without sin. But this is no similitude to worship Images, made by mans hand, since that Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, and other Saints in the Bible forbid so plainly the worshipping of such Images.

Then the Archbishop said to me, Lewd Loffel, in the Old Law before that Christ took Mankind, was no likeness of any person of the Trinity neither shewed to man, nor known of man: But now since Christ became man, it is lesul to have Images to shew his Manhood, yea, though many men which are right great Clerks, and other alio, held it an Error to paint the Trinity; I say, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in Images. For it is great moving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinity and other Images of Saints carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the Sea are the best Painters that ever I saw. And Sirs, I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: when that an Image-maker shall carve, cast in mold, or paint any Images, he shall go to a Priest, and shrive him as clean, as if he should then die; and take Penance, and make some certain vow of Fasting or of Praying, or Pilgrimages doing, praying the Priest specially to pray for him, that he may have Grace to make a fair and a devout Image.

And I said, Sir, I doubt not if these Painters that ye speak of, or any other Painters, understood truly the text of Moses, of David, of the Wiseman, of Baruch, and of other Saints and Doctors; these Painters should be moved to shrive them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking upon them to do right sharpe Penance for the sinful and vain craft of painting, carving, or casting they had used: promising God faithfully never to do so after, knowing openly before all men their reproveable learning. And also Sir, these Priests that shrive (as you do say) Painters, and enjoyn them to do Penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them help of their prayers to be curious in their sinful crafts, sin herein more grievously than the Painters. For these Priests do comfort and give them counsel to do that thing, which of great pain, yea under the pain of Gods curse, they should utterly forbid them. For certes Sir, if the wonderful working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets, were made known to the people by holy living, and true, and busie teaching of Priests; these things (Sir) were sufficient Books and Kalenders to know God by, and his Saints, without any Images made with mans hand. But certes, the vicious living of Priests and their covetousness, are chief cause of this Error; and all other viciousness that reigneth among the people.

Then the Archbishop said unto me, I hold thee a vicious Priest and accurst, and all they that are of thy Sect; for all Priests of holy Church, and all Images that move men to devotion, thou and such other go about to destroy. Loffel, were it a fair thing to come into the Church, and see therein none Image?

And I said, Sir, they that come to the Church, to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits be the more fervent, that all their outward wits be close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and have believed faithfully in him; it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing Gods word, and doing thereafter) to believe in God, though they never see Images made with mans hand after any person of the Trinity, or of any other Saint.

And the Archbishop said to me with a fervent Spirit: I say to thee Loffel, that it is right well done to make and to have an Image of the Trinity: Yea, what sayest thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an Image?

And I said, Sir, ye said right now that in the Old Law, ere Christ took Mankind, no likeness of any Person of the Trinity was shewed to men: wherefore Sir, ye said it was not then lesul to have Images, but now ye say, since Christ is becomen man, it is lesul to have and to make an Image of the Trinity, and also of other Saints. But Sir, this thing would I learn of you: since the Father of Heaven, yea and every person of Trinity was without beginning God Almighty, and many holy Prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the Old Law, and also many men and women then died Confessors; Why was it not

then as lesul and necessary as now, to have made an Image of the Father of Heaven, and to have made and had other Images of Martyrs, Prophets, and holy Confessors, to have been Kalenders to advise men and move them to devotion, as ye say that Images now do?

And the Archbishop said, The Synagogue of the Jews had not authority to approve those things as the Church of Christ hath now.

And I said, Sir, S. Gregory was a great man in the new Law, and of great Dignity, and as the Common Law witnesseth, he commended greatly a Bishop, in that he forbade utterly the Images made with mans hand should be worshipped.

And the Archbishop said, Ungracious Loffel, thou favourest no more truth than an Hound. Since at the Rood at the Northdoor at London, at our Lady at Walsingham, and many other places in England, are many great and praisefable Miracles done: should not the Images of such holy Saints and places at the reverence of God, and of our Lady, and other Saints, be more worshipped than other places and Images, where no Miracles are done?

And I said, Sir, there is no such vertue in any Imagery, that any Image should heretofore be worshipped; wherefore I am certain that there is no Miracle done of God in any place in Earth, because that any Images made with mans hand should be worshipped. And therefore Sir, as I preached openly at Shrewsbury and other places; I say now here before you, That no body should trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand; and therefore no body should vow to them, nor seek them, nor kneel to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kiss them, nor incense them. For lo the most worthy of such Images, the brazen Serpent (by Moses made, at Gods bidding) the good King Ezechias destroyed worthily and thankfully, and all because it was incensed. Therefore Sir, if men take good heed to the writing and the learning of Saint Augustine, of Saint Gregory, and of Saint John Chrysostome, and of other Saints and Doctors, how they spake and wrote of Miracles, that shall be done now in the last end of the world: It is to be dread, that for the unfaithfulness of men and women, the Fiend hath great power to work many of the Miracles that now are done in such places. For both men and women delight now more to hear and know Miracles, than they do to know Gods word, or to hear it effectually. Wherefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus do, Christ saith, *The Generation of Adulterers requireth Tokens, Miracles, and Wonders.* Nevertheless, as divers Saints say, *Now when the Faith of God is published in Christendom, the Word of God sufficeth to mans salvation, without such Miracles:* And thus also the Word of God sufficeth to all faithful men and women without any such Images. But good Sir, since the Father of Heaven, that is, God in his Godhead, is the most unknown thing that may be, and the most wonderful Spirit, having in it no shape nor likeness, and members of any deadly Creature; in what likeness or what Image may God the Father be shewed or painted?

And the Archbishop said, as holy Church hath suffered the Images of the Trinity, and all other Images to be painted and shewed; it sufficeth to them that are Members of holy Church. But since thou art a rotten Member, cut away from holy Church; thou favourest not the Ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leave we this matter.

And then he said to me, What sayest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsbury, that Pilgrimage is not lesul? And over this thou saidst that those men and women that go on Pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverly, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste.

And I said, Sir, by this Certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no Pilgrimage is lesul. But I said never thus. For I know that there be true Pilgrimages and lesul, and full pleasant to God: and therefore Sir, howsoever mine Enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewsbury of two manner of Pilgrimages.

And

The Synagogue of Antichrist will have authority.

Great miracles done by Images, but my Lord doth not tell by whose power.

Miracles importing worship to be done to Images may well be suspected not to come of God. A Christian man ought not to vow, seek, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer, nor kiss an Image.

For the unfaithfulness of men, the devil may work miracles.

The word of God sufficeth us to salvation, without miracles. That which is of nature unknown, cannot be resembled by any visible creature known. Holy Church of your own building.

The 13th Article.

Two manner of pilgrimages.

The true books and kalenders to know God.

A better sight my Lord than to see blind folks there to be worshipped.

The right service of a Christian.

My Lord, you say will not answer Gods say.

Note this ye worshippers and maintainers of Images.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Whom callest thou true Pilgrims?*

The true pilgrimage is to travel in heavenly things.

And I said, Sir, with my protestation I call them true Pilgrims travelling toward the bliss of Heaven, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do busie them faithfully to occupy all their wits bodily and ghostly, to know truly, and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, bating and fleeing all the seven deadly sins, and every branch of them: Ruling them vertuously (as it is said before) with all their wits, doing discreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the Works of Mercy, bodily and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, disposing them to receive them in their Souls, and to hold therein the right blessings of Christ; busying them to know and to keep the seven principal Vertues, and so then they shall obtain here through Grace, to use thankfully to God all the conditions of Charity. And then they shall be moved with the good Spirit of God, to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they err in any Article of Belief, having continually (as frailty will suffer) all their busyness, to dread and to fly the offence of God, and to love

Every good work is a good step to Heaven.

The manner and examples of Saints.

over all, and to seek ever to do his pleasant will. Of these Pilgrimages I said, whatsoever good thought that they at any time think, what vertuous work that they speak, and what fruitful work that they work; Every such thought, word, and work is a step numbred of God toward him into Heaven. These foresaid Pilgrims of God, delight sore when they hear of Saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsook wilfully the prosperity of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the Fiend, how they restrained their fleshly lusts, how discreet they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their Adversities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moving them to hate all sins, and to fly them, and to shame ever greatly thereof, and to love all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ and his Followers by example of him suffered scorn and slanders, and how patiently they abode and took the wrongful menacing of Tyrants: How homely they were, and serviceable to poor men to relieve and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning, and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented them from Spectacles of vain sayings and hearings, and how stable they were to let and destroy all Vices, and how laborious and joyfull they were to sow and to plant Vertues? These heavenly conditions, and such other have Pilgrims, or endeavour to have them, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

And again, I said, As their Works shew, the most part of men and women, that go now on Pilgrimages, have not these foresaid conditions, nor love to busie them faithfully to have. For as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine whosoever will 20 of these Pilgrims, and he shall not find three men or women that know surely a Commandment of God, nor can say their Pater noster and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readily in any manner of Language. And as I have learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same Pilgrims, telling the cause why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their Souls: more to have riches and prosperity of this World, than to be enriched with vertues in their Souls: more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship, than to have friendship of God and of his Saints in Heaven: for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, or of any other Saint, cannot be had, without keeping of Gods Commandments. Further with my protestation, I say now, as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that have fleshly Wills, travel far their bodies, and spend mickle money, to seek and to visit the Bones or Images (as they say they do) of this Saint or of that: such Pilgrimage going is neither praiseworthy nor thankful to God nor to any Saint of God, since in effect all such Pilgrims despise God and all his Commandments and Saints. For the Commandments of God they will neither know, nor keep, nor conform them to live vertuously by Example of Christ and of his Saints. Wherefore Sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I

Pilgrimage displeaseth to God.

Goods evil bestowed in pilgrimage.

purpose all my life time to do with Gods help, saying, That such fond people waste blamefully Gods goods in

their vain Pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vicious Hostlers, which are oft unclean women of their bodies; and at the least, those goods with the which they should do works of Mercy, after Gods bidding, to poor needy men and women.

KING
Hm. 4.

These poor mens goods and their livelode, these Runners about offer to rich Priests, which have mickle more livelode than they need. And thus those goods they waite wilfully, and spend them unjustly against Gods bidding upon strangers, with which they should help and relieve after Gods will their poor needy Neighbours at home: yea and over this folly, oftentimes divers men and women, of these Runners thus madly hither and thither into Pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and sometime they steal mens goods hereto, and they pay them never again. Also Sir, I know well that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one Pilgrimage; they will ordain with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton Songs, and some other Pilgrims, will have with them Bagpipes: so that every Town that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the found of their piping, and with the tangling of their Canterbury Bells, and with the barking out of Dogs after them, they make more noise, than if the King came therewith all his Clarions, and many other Minstrels. And if these men and women be a month out in their Pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half year after, great Janglers, Taletellers and Lyars.

The inconvenience that cometh by pilgrimage.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Lewd Loffel, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travel of Pilgrims, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseworthy.* I say to thee, that it is right well done, that Pilgrims have with them both Singers and also Pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his Fellow begin then a Song, or else take out of his bosome a Bagpipe, to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his Fellow. For with such solace the travel and weariness of Pilgrims is lightly and merrily born out.

Well spoken my Lord for Lincolnshire bagpipes. And why then blamed these Pilgrims for singing in the stocks.

And I said, Sir, Saint Paul teacheth men to weep with them that weep.

And the Archbishop said, *What janglest thou against mens devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that the Pilgrimage that now is used, is to them that do it a praiseworthy and a good mean to come the rather to Grace.* But I hold thee unable to know this Grace, for thou inforcest thee to let the devotion of the people; since by authority of holy Scripture, men may lawfully have and use such solace as thou reprovest. For David in his last Psalm teacheth men to have divers Instruments of Musick to praise God therewith.

A new found way to grace of the Bishops making.

And I said, Sir, by the Sentence of divers Doctors expounding the Psalms of David, that Musick and Minstrelsy that David and other Saints of the Old Law spake of, ought now neither to be taken nor used by the Letter, but these Instruments with their Musick ought to be interpreted ghostly: For all those Figures are called Vertues and Grace, with which Vertues men should please God, and praise his Name. For S. Paul saith, All such things befall to them in figure. Therefore, Sir, I understand that the letter of this Psalm of David, and of such other Psalms and Sentences doth slay them that take them now literally: This Sentence as I understand Sir, Christ himself approveth, putting out the Minstrels, that he would quicken the dead Damsel.

Instruments and musick of the old Testament, how they are to be applied and used in the New Testament.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Lewd Loffel, is it not lesul to us to have Organs in the Church to worship therewithall God? And I said, Tea Sir, by mans Ordinance; but by the Ordinance of God, a good Sermon, to the peoples understanding, were mickle more pleasant to God.*

Organ in the Church. A fit comparison my Lord, and like your self.

And the Archbishop said, *That Organs and good delectable Songs quickened and sharpened more mens wits, than should any Sermon.*

But I said, Sir, lusty men and worldly lovers delight and covet, and travel to have all their wits quickened and sharpened with divers sensible solace: But all the faithful Lovers and Followers of Christ, have all their delight to hear Gods Word, and to understand it truly,

and

KING and to work thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, so dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things quickeneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people; and abletb them so to Grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their ears and all their wits and members from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For S. Hierome (as I think) saith, No body may joy with this world, and Reign with Christ.

The dying of Hierome.

You were my Lord.

The fourth Article concerning Priests tythes.

A Paradox without Gods word.

A difference to be put betwixt the old Law and the new. Priests had the tenth part of the Tythes given to the Levites.

Christ commanded Alms, not Tythes, except Tythes be Alms.

Tythes by whom and when they were first commanded in the new Law.

And the Archbishop (as it he had been displeased with my Answer) said to his Clerks, What ghes ye that this Idiot will speak there, where he hath no dread; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt be ordained for. And then he spake to me all angrily.

What sayst thou to this fourth Point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that Priests have no title to Tythes?

And I said, Sir, I named there no word of Tythes in my preaching. But more than a month after that I was arrested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of Tythes: and I said to him, Sir, in this Town are many Clerks and Priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be Seculars: Therefore ask ye of them this question. And this man said to me, Sir, our Prelates say, That we also are obliged to pay our Tythes of all things that renew to us; and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly from them of their Tythes. And I said (Sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, That I wonder that any Priest dare say men to be accursed, without the ground of Gods Word. And the man said, Sir, our Priests say, That they curse men thus by the authority of Gods Law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore, Sir, I pray ye that ye will ask the most cunning Clerk of this Town, that ye may know where this Sentence of cursing them that tythe not, is now written in Gods Law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not go from me to ask this question of another body: But required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case that cursing of Priests were lawful and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of Saint Peter, teaching Priests specially to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts: being evermore ready (as far as in them is) to answer through faith and hope to them that ask of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to use with a meek spirit, and with dread of the Lord.

Wherefore Sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the Old Law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up again from death to life, God commanded Tythes to be given to the Levites, for the great business and daily travel that pertained to their Office. But Priests, because their travel was mikle more easie and light, than was the Office of the Levites: God ordained the Priests should take for their livelode to do their Office, the tenth part of those Tythes that were given to the Levites. But now (I said) in the New Law, neither Christ nor any of his Apostles took Tythes of the people, nor commanded the people to pay Tythes, neither to Priests, nor to Deacons. But Christ taught the people to do Alms; that is, works of mercy, to poor needy men (of surplus, that is, superfluous of their Temporal goods) which they had more than them needed reasonably to their necessary livelode. And thus (I said) not of Tythes, but of pure Alms of the people, Christ lived and his Apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the Word of God to the people, that they might not travel otherwise to get their livelode. But after Christs Ascension, and when the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost, they travelled with their hands to get their livelode, when that they might thus do for busie preaching. Therefore by example of himself, Saint Paul teacheth all the Priests of Christ to travel with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus all these Priests, whose Priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211. year, one Pope Gregory the Tenth ordained new Tythes first to be given to Priests now in

the New Law. But Saint Paul in his time, whose trace or trample all Priests of God inforce them to follow, seeing the covetousness that was among the people, desiring to destroy that foul sin through the Grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himself, wrought and taught all Priests to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladly in high Poverty: Wherefore Paul saith thus, The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel. But we (saith Paul) that covet and bulie us to be faithful Followers of Christ, use not this power. For lo (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full poor, and needy, preaching among the people: he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travelled not only to get his own living, but also the living of other poor and needy Creatures: and since the people was never so covetous, nor so avaritious (I ghes) as they are now; it were good counsel that all Priests took good heed to this heavenly learning of Paul, following him here in wilful poverty, nothing charging the people for their bodily livelode. But because that many Priests do contrary to Paul in this foresaid Doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those Priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people, Accept ye none other Priests than they, that live after the form that I have taught you. For certain, in whatsoever Dignity or Order that any Priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful poverty, and in other heavenly vertues, and especially in true preaching of Gods Word; though such a one be named a Priest, yet he is no more but a Priest in name, for the work of every Priest in such an one wanteth. This sentence approveth Augutine, Gregory, Chrysostome, and Lincoln plainly.

And the Archbishop said to me, Thinkest thou this wholesome learning to sow openly, or yet privily among the people? Certain this Doctrine contrarieth plainly the Ordinance of holy Fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licensed Priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by Tythes and Offerings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said, Sir, if Priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived vertuously, and taught busily and truly the Word of God, by example of Christ and of his Apostles, without Tythes, Offerings, and other duties that Priests now challenge and take; the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.

And a Clerk said to me, How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freely to Priests their livelode; since that now by the Law every Priest can scarcely constrain the people to give them their livelode?

And I said, Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give Priests the livelode that they ask: Mekill people know now, how that Priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his Apostles. And therefore the people is full heavy to pay (as they do) their Temporal goods to Parsons, and to other Vicars and Priests, which should be faithful Dispensators of the Parishs goods: taking to themselves no more but a scarce living of Tythes, nor of Offerings, by the Ordinance of the Common Law. For whatsoever Priests take of the people (be it tythe or offering, or any other duty or service) the Priests ought to have thereof no more, but a bare living: and to depart the residue to the poor men and women, specially of the Parish of whom they take this Temporal living. But the most deal of Priests now wasteth their Parishs goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the World, in their vain lusts: So that in few places poor men have duly (as they should have) their own sustenance, neither of Tythes, nor of Offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that Priests take of the people in divers manners above that they need for needful sustenance of meat and clothing: but the poor needy people are forsaken and left of Priests to be sustained of the Parishioners, as if the Priests took nothing of the Parishioners to help the people with.

And thus Sir, into over great Charges of the Parishioners they pay their Temporal goods twice, where once might suffice, if Priests were true Dispensators. Also Sir, the Parishioners that pay their Temporal goods (be they Tythes or Offerings) to Priests that do not their Office among them justly, are Partners of every sin of those Priests: because that they sustain those Priests folly in their

Paul having power to take, yet used it not.

Paul would not be chargeous. If Priests were covetous then, what be they now? This rule with the rule of begging Friars cannot stand together.

Wholesome enough my Lord if you take vvere good to your li. But contrarieth not the Ordinance either of God, or of his Word. If Priests would not slack in their duty, they should not lack in having sufficient.

Fallax argumentum secundum novum casum et casum. The evil demeanour of the Priests is the cause why the people be so slack in their tythes.

Priests being content with sufficiency, and a bare living, ought to part the residue to the poor.

Priests did so then, but our Priests do not so now.

Whether tythes are to be paid to Priests doing not their duty.

their sin, with their Temporal goods. If these things be well considered; what wonder is it then Sir, if the Parishioners grudge against these Dispensators?

Ghostly Mother, say an unghostly step-dame, to all Gods Children.

Then the Archbishop said to me, Thou that shouldst be judged and ruled by holy Church, presumptuously thou deemest holy Church to have erred in the Ordinance of Tythes and other duties to be paid to Priests. It shall be long ere thou thrive Loffel, that thou despitest thy ghostly Mother. How darest thou speak this (Loffel) among the people? Are not Tythes given to Priests to live by?

By the law none could challenge Tythes, but only the seed of Levi: Our Priests be not of the seed of Levi: Ergo, by the Law our Priests cannot challenge Tythes. As the Priesthood is changed, so is the Law changed.

And I said, Sir, S. Paul saith, That Tythes were given in the Old Law to Levites and to Priests, that came of the Lineage of Levi. But our Priests, he saith, came not of the Lineage of Levi, but of the Lineage of Juda, to which Juda no Tythes were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, since the Priesthood is changed from the Generation of Levi to the Generation of Juda; It is necessary that changing also be made of the Law. So that Priests live now without Tythes and other Duties that they claim, following Christ and his Apostles in wilful Poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived (all the time of his Preaching) by pure Alms of the people; and by Example of him his Apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travel of their hands, as it is said above: every Priest, whose Priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in work, That a Disciple ought not to be above his Master, but it sufficeth to a Disciple to be as his Master, simple and pure, meek and patient; and by Example especially of his Master Christ every Priest should rule him in all his living; and so after his cunning and power, a Priest should busie him to inform and to rule whomsoever he might charitably.

Bless, but curse not, saith S. Paul. He goeth near you my Lord, when he toucheth your tythes. The difference of the freedoms between the Old and New Law.

And the Archbishop said to me with a great spirit, Gods Curse have thou and mine for this reaching: for thou wouldst hereby make the Old Law more free and perfect than the New Law. For thou sayst that it is leful to Levites and to Priests to take Tythes in the Old Law, and so to enjoy their Priviledges: but to us Priests in the New Law, thou sayst it is not lawful to take Tythes: and thus thou givest to Levites of the Old Law, more freedom than to Priests of the New Law.

For what cause tythes were given in the old Law.

And I said, Sir, I marvel that ye understand this plain Text of Paul thus; Ye wot well, that the Levites and Priests in the Old Law that took Tythes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his Apostles that took no Tythes. And Sir, there is a Doctor (I think that it is Saint Hierome) that saith thus, The Priests that challenge now in the New Law, Tythes; say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans love. Wherefore this Doctor saith this Sentence: Since Tythes were the heirs and wages limited to Levites and to Priests of the Old Law for bearing about of the Tabernacle, and for slaying and steying of Beasts, and for burning of Sacrifice, and for keeping of the Temple, and for trumping of battel before the Host of Israel, and other divers Observances that pertained to their Office: those Priests that will challenge or take Tythes, deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the Priests Office of the Old Law, for whom Tythes were granted, for else (as this Doctor saith) Priests take now Tythes wrongfully.

If you take away tythes you undo the Church.

And the Archbishop said to his Clerks, Heard you ever Loffell speak thus? Certain this is the Learning of them all, that wheresoever they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugn the freedom of holy Church.

And I said, Sir, why call ye the taking of Tythes, and of such other duties that Priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedom of holy Church: since neither Christ nor his Apostles, challenged nor took such duties? Therefore these takings of Priests now are not called justly the freedom of holy Church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous covetousness of men of the holy Church.

And the Archbishop said to me, Why Loffell, wilt not thou and other that are confederate with thee, seek out of holy Scripture and of the sense of Doctors, all sharp Authorities against Lords, Knights, and Squires, and against other secular men as thou dost against Priests?

And I said, Sir, whatsoever men or women, Lords or

Ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching specially, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their Office and their Charges: but Sir, since Chrysostome saith, That Priests are the stomach of the people, it is needful in preaching, and also in communing, to be most busie about this Priesthood: Since by the viciousness of Priests both Lords and Commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the covetousness of Priests and pride, and the boast that they have and make of their Dignity and Power; destroyeth not only the virtues of Priesthood in Priests themselves, but also over this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the Lords, and upon the Commons, which suffer these Priests charitably.

And the Archbishop said to me, Thou judgest every Priest proud that will not go arrayed as thou dost: by God I deem him to be more meek that goeth every day in a scarlet Gown, than thou in thy thread-bare blue Gown. Whereby knowst thou a proud man?

And I said, Sir, a proud Priest may be known, when he denieth to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful Poverty and other Vertues: and coveteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, menacing, or with flattering, or with simony, any worldly goods; and most; if a Priest busie him not chiefly in himself, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withstand sin.

And the Archbishop said to me, Though thou knewest a Paul faith, Priest to have all these vices, and though thou sawest a Priest lovely lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly, wouldst thou therefore damn this Priest damnable? I say you my Lord, that in the turning about of thy hand, such a Sinner may be verily repented.

And I said, Sir, I will not damn any man for any sin that I know done or may be done, so that the Sinner leaveth his sin. But by authority of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as you shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin; and most specially, a Priest that should be example to all other to hate and fly sin. And in how short time so ever ye say that such a Sinner may be repented: he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great shame and heavy sorrow for sin. For whosoever (and specially a Priest) that useth pride, envy, covetousness, lechery, simony, or any other Vices, sheweth not as open evidence of repentance as he hath given evil example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sin as long as he may; it is likely that sin leaveth him, and he not sin. And as I understand, such a one sinneth unto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as S. John saith.

And a Clerk said then to the Archbishop, Sir, the longer that ye appose him, the worse he is; and the more you busie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind, that he shameth not only to be himself a foul nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

And then the Archbishop said to his Clerk, Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified against him, and I will bear what he saith thereto.

And so then he said to me, Lo it is here certified against thee, that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsbury, that it is not lawful to swear in any case.

And I said, Sir, I never preached so openly, nor have I taught in this wise in any place. But Sir, as I preached in Shrewsbury, with my protestation I say to you now here, That by the authority of the Epistle of Saint James, and by witness of divers Saints and Doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lawful in any case to swear by any Creature. And over this Sir, I have also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities, that no body should swear in any case, if that without Oath in any wise be that is charged to swear might excuse him to them that have power to compel him to swear in leful thing and lawful. But if a man may not excuse him, without Oath, to them that have power to compel him to swear, then he ought to swear only by God, taking him only; that is, soothfastness, to witness to soothfastness.

And

KING

These Prelates would be thought to be good, if they never so bad.

A commun-
ication be-
tween a
Lawyer and
a Divine.

To swear
by a book,
to swear
by creatures

here now
acked *Bower*
o scratch
him by the
ace.

either Mr.
er, or
Sir Br
Blowcole.

drift pro-
fesseth
and giveth
truth and
grace.

It is happy
that *Chryse-*
stome was
not here, or
else he
would
have had
him by the
back.
But that
word can-
not be
touched. *As*
Thorpe refu-
seth not to
swear.

And the Clerk said to me, *Thou wouldst make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the Gospel is written in the Mass-book?*

This Clerk was well seen in the Mass-book.

And I said, Sir, though men use to say thus, yet it is an unperfect speech. For the principal part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For lo, Mans soul that may not now be seen here, nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly Man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root thereof, that may not be seen; for do away the root, and the tree is destroyed. And Sir, as ye said to me right now, *God and his Word are of one authority*; And Sir, St. Hierome witnesseth that Christ (very God and very Man) is hid in the letter of the Law; thus also, Sir, the Gospel is hid in the letter. For Sir, as it is full likely, many and divers Men and Women here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew, ghostly his Godhead: Right thus Sir, many Men now touch and see, and write, and read the Scriptures of Gods Law; which neither see, touch, nor read effectually the Gospel. For as the Godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is known by the vertue of belief, so is the Gospel, that is, Christs Word.

The Gospel is not the letter, but hid in the letter.

Misty matters for your blind eyes.

And a Clerk said to me, *These be full misty matters and unsavoury, that thou shewest here to us.*

And I said, Sir, if ye that are Masters know not plainly this sentence, ye may fore dread that the Kingdom of Heaven be taken from you, as it was from the Princes of Priests, and from the Elders of the Jews.

And then a Clerk (as I guess Malveren) said to me, *Thou knowest not thine equivocations: for the Kingdom of Heaven hath divers understandings. What callest thou the Kingdom of Heaven in this sentence that thou shewest here?*

The Kingdom of God taken for the understanding of Gods word. This salt was somewhat too sharp for their rotten flesh to abide.

And I said, Sir, by good reason and sentence of Doctors, the Realm of Heaven is called here the understanding of Gods Word.

And a Clerk said to me, *From whom thinkest thou that this understanding is taken away?*

And I said, Sir, (by authority of Christ himself) the effectual understanding of Christs Word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered Men, and presume to understand high things, and will be holden wife men, and desire Mastership, and high state and dignity; but they will not conform them to the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles.

Then the Archbishop said, *Well, well, thou wilt judge thy Sovereigns. By God, the King doth not his duty, unless he suffer thee to be condemned.*

Help down with him Sir John.

And then another Clerk said to me, *Why, (on Friday that last was) counselledst thou a Man of my Lords, that he should not shrieve him to no man, but only to God?*

And with this asking I was abashed; and then by and by I knew that I was subtilly betrayed of a man that came to me in Prison on the Friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certain, by his words I thought that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will; but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgive him, if it be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this Clerk: Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man hither; and all the words, as near as I can, repeat them, which I spake to him on Friday in the Prison, I will rehearse now here before you all, and before him.

Note here the crafty practice of this holy Church.

And (as I guess) the Archbishop said then to me, *They that are now here suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?*

A false brother.

And I said, Sir, that man came and asked me in divers things, and after his asking, I answered him (as I understood) that good was. And as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorry of his living in Court, and right heavy for his own vicious living, and also for the viciousness of other men, and specially of Priests evil living; and therefore he said to me with a sorrowful heart (as I guessed) that he purposed fully within short time to leave the Court and to busie him to know Gods law, and to conform all his life thereafter. And when he had said to me these words and more other which I would rehearse if he were present, he prayed me to hear his confession. And I said to him, Sir, wherefore comest ye to me, to be confessed of me? Ye wot well that the Archbi-

Auricular Confession.

shop putteth and holdeth me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any Sacrament of holy Church.

KING. H. 4.

And he said unto me, *Brother, I wot well, and so I wot many other more, that you and such other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly.* And I said to him, certain I wot well, that many men of this Court, and specially the Priests of this Household would be full evil apaid both with you and me, if they wist that ye were confessed of me. And he said, *that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them.* And as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of a good will and of a high desire, to have known and done the pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you now here; Sir, I counsel you to absent you from all evil company, and to draw you to them that love and busie them to know and to keep the precepts of God; and then the good Spirit of God will move you to occupy busily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethink you, shaming greatly of them, and sorrowing heartily for them: yea Sir, the Holy Ghost will then put in your heart a good will and a fervent desire to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate ever and to fly (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sin; and so then wisdom shall come to you from above, lightning (with divers beams of grace and of heavenly desire) all your wits, enforming you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowing to him only all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counsel and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, busying you faithfully to know and to keep his biddings, he will (for he only may) forgive you all your sins. And this man said to me, *Though God forgive men their sins, yet it behoveth men to be ajoyled of Priests, and to do the penance that they enjoyn them.*

A crafty train of a Popish devil.

And I said to him, Sir, it is all one to assoil Men of their sins, and to forgive Men their sins. Wherefore since it pertaineth only to God to forgive sin; it sufficeth in this case, to counsel Men and Women to leave their sin, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And again, Priests ought to tell sharply to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sin, but continue in divers sins while that they may sin, all such deserve pain without any end. And therefore Priests should ever busie them to live well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truly the Word of God, shewing to all folk in open preaching, and in privy counselling, *That the Lord God only forgiveth sin.* And therefore, those Priests that take upon them to assoil men of their sins, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth only to the Lord to assoil men of all their sins. For no doubt, a thousand year after that Christ was Man, no Priest of Christ durst take upon him to teach the people, neither privily nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be assoiled of them as Priests now do. But by authority of Christs Word Priests bound indurate, customable sinners to everlasting pains, which in no time of their living would busie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And again, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to fly all occasion of sin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving to please him continually; to these men and women Priests shewed how the Lord assoiled men of all their sins; and thus Christ promised to confirm in Heaven all the binding and loosing that Priests by authority of his Word, bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here upon Earth that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, *that he might well in Conscience consent to this sentence.* But he said, *Is it not needful to the lay people that cannot thus do, to go shrieve them to the Priests?* And I said, if a man feel himself so distressed with any sin, that he cannot by his own wit avoid this sin without counsel of them that are herein wiser than he; in such a case the counsel of a good Priest is full necessary. And if a good Priest fail, as they do now commonly, in such a case, Saint Augustine saith, *That a man may lawfully commune and take counsel of a virtuous secular man.* But certain, that man or woman is overladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their own sins into their mind, busying them night and day to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after

God only forgiveth sin. Man can only counsel to leave sin.

Shrift and confession to Priests.

A good secular man may be counsellor, where a Priest faileth, by S. Augustine.

KING after their cunning and power. And Sir, full accordingly to this sentence upon *Midlent Sunday* (two year as I gueſſe now agone) I heard a Monk of *Feverſham*, that Men called *Morden*, preach at *Canterbury* at the Croſſe within *Chriſt-Church* Abbey, ſaying thus of Confeſſion; *That as though the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, without counſel of any other body, of themſelves many men and women can imagine and find means and ways enough to come to pride, to beſt, to lechery, and other divers vices; in contrariwiſe this Monk ſaid, Since the Lord God is more ready to forgive ſin than the fiend is or may be of power to move any body to ſin, then whoſoever will ſhame and ſorrow heartily for their ſins, knowingledge them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counſel of any other body than of God and of himſelf (through the grace of God) all ſuch men and women may find ſufficient means to come to Gods mercy, and ſo to be clean aſſoiled of all their ſinns* This ſentence I ſaid, Sir, to this Man of yours, and the ſelf words as near as I can gueſſe.

Morden Monk of Feverſham, preaching of Confeſſion.

Heartily repentance to God, needeth no conſeſſion to a Prieſt.

No nor any thing elſe that is good

Chriſt giveth freedom the Pope giveth thralldom.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Holy Church approveth not this learning.*

And I ſaid, Sir, holy Church, of which Chriſt is Head in Heaven and in Earth, muſt needs approve this ſentence. For lo, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be ſufficiently taught to know and keep the Commandments of God, and to hate and to fly continually all occaſion of ſin, and to love and to ſeek virtues buſily, and to believe in God ſtably; and to truſt in his mercy ſtedfaſtly, and ſo to come to perfect charity, and continue therein perfeverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certain, ſince Jeſus Chriſt died upon the Croſſe, wilfully to make men free; Men of the Church are too bold and too buſie to make men thrall, binding them under the pain of endleſſe curſe (as they ſay) to do many obſervances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Chriſt nor of his Apoſtles approveth.

And a Clerk ſaid then to me, *Thou ſhewſt plainly here thy deceit, which thou haſt learned of them that travelled to ſow the popple among the wheat. But I counſel thee to go away clean from this learning, and ſubmit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou ſhalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.*

And as faſt then, another Clerk ſaid to me, *How waſt thou ſo bold at Paul's Croſſe in London, to ſtand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in his Sermon the worthy Clerk Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mighteſt? yea, and the ſame day at afternoon; thou meeting the worthy Doctor in Watlingſtreet, calledſt him falſe flatterer and hypocrite.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I think certainly, that there was no man nor woman that hated verily ſin, and loved virtues (hearing the Sermon of the Clerk at Oxford, and alſo Alkerton's Sermon) but they ſaid, or might juſtly ſay, that Alkerton reproveth that Clerk untruely, and ſlandred him wrongfully and uncharitably. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Chriſt chiefly and of his Apoſtles be true, no body that loveth God and his Law will blame any ſentence that the Clerk then preached there; ſince by authority of Gods Word, and by approved Saints and Doctors, and by open reaſon, this Clerk approved all things clearly that he preached there.

And a Clerk of the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *his Sermon was falſe, and that he ſhewed openly, ſince he dare not ſtand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I think that he purpoſeth to ſtand ſtedfaſtly thereby, or elſe he ſlandereth foully himſelf, and alſo many other that have great truſt that he will ſtand by the truth of the Goſpel. For I wot well, this Sermon is written both in *Latine* and *Engliſh*, and many men have it, and they ſet great price thereby. And Sir, if ye were preſent with the Archbiſhop at *Lambeth* when this Clerk appeared, and was at his answer before the Archbiſhop, ye wot well that this Clerk denied not there his Sermon, but two days he maintained it before the Archbiſhop and his Clerks.

And then the Archbiſhop or one of his Clerks ſaid (I wot not which of them) *That harlot ſhall be met with for that Sermon. For no Man but he and thou, and ſuch other falſe harlots; praiſeth any ſuch preaching.*

And then the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Your curſed Sect is buſie, and it joyeth right greatly to contrary and to deſtroy the privilege and freedom of holy Church.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I know no man that travel ſo buſily as this Sect doth (which you reprove) to make reſt and peace in holy Church. For pride, covetouſneſſe, and ſimony, which diſturb moſt holy Church, this Sect hateth and fleeth, and travelleth buſily to move all other men in like manner, unto meekneſſe and wilful poverty, and charity, and free miniſtring of the Sacrament, this Sect loveth and uſeth, and is full buſie to move all other folks thus to do. For theſe virtues ow all members of holy Church to their Head Chriſt.

Then a Clerk ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, *it is far day, and ye have far to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for he will none make: but the more Sir, that ye buſie you to draw him toward you, the more contumax he is made, and the further from you.*

And then *Malveren* ſaid to me, *William, kneel down, and pray my Lords grace, and leave all thy fantaſies, and become a child of holy Church.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I have prayed the Archbiſhop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Chriſt, that he will leave his indignation that he hath againſt me: and that he will ſuffer me after my cunning and power, to do mine office of Prieſthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I covet nought elſe but to ſerve my God to his pleaſing in the ſtate that I ſtand in, and have taken me to.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *If of good heart thou wilt ſubmit thee now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forth by my counſel, obeying meekly and wilfully to my Ordinance, thou ſhalt find it moſt profitable and beſt to thee to do thus. Therefore tarry thou me no longer, grant to do this that I have ſaid to thee now here ſhortly, or deny it utterly.*

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, owe we to believe that Jeſus Chriſt was and is very God and very Man?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, owe we to believe that all Chriſts living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he ſaid, *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, owe we to believe that the living of the Apoſtles, and the teaching of Chriſt and all the Prophets, are true which are written in the Bible for the health and ſalvation of good people?

And he ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, owe all Chriſtian Men and Women after their cunning and power, to conform all their living to the teaching ſpecially of Chriſt, and alſo to the teaching and living of his Apoſtles and of Prophets, in things that are pleaſant to God and edification of his Church?

And he ſaid, *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, ought the Doctrine, the bidding, or the counſel of any body to be accepted or obeyed unto; except this Doctrine, theſe biddings, or this counſel may be granted and affirmed by Chriſts living and his teaching ſpecially, or by the living and teaching of his Apoſtles and Prophets?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Other Doctrines ought not to be accepted, nor owe we to obey to any mans bidding or counſel, except we can perceive that this bidding or counſel accordeth with the life and teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophets.*

And I ſaid, Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counſels of holy Church, means and healful remedies, to know and to underſtand the privy ſuggeſtions, and the apert temptations of the fiend? and alſo ways and healful remedies to ſlay pride and all other deadly ſins, and the branches of them, and ſovereign means to purchaſe grace, to withſtand and overcome all the fleſhly luſts and movings?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever thing ye or any other body bid or counſel me to do, accordingly to this foreſaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the help of God, I will meekly with all my heart obey thereto.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Submit thee then now here meekly and wilfully to the ordinance of holy Church, which I ſhall ſhew to thee.*

The true freedom of holy Church not destroyed but increased by true preachers.

Take my Lords blessing and stand up.

My Lord hath said, for being benighted.

And why compel you this man to the contrary?

They consent to submit himself to the ordinance of Councils.

And I said, Sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearsed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Christ the Head of the holy Church, and to the learnings and bidding, and counsels of every pleasing member of him.

Then the Archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely upon a Cupboard, spake to me with a great spirit, saying, *By Jesus, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine Ordinance (ere that I go out of this place) I shall make thee as sure as any Thief that is in the Prison of Lanterne; advise thee now what thou wilt do.* And then, as if he had been angered, he went from the Cupboard where he stood, to a Window.

And then Malveren and another Clerk came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly; and another while they menaced me, and counselled full busily to submit me, or else, they said, I should not escape punishing over measure; for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, *Thou mayst eschew all these mischiefs, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthy Prelate, that hath cure of thy soul. And for the pity of Christ (said they) betink thee, how great Clerks the Bishop of Lincoln, Herford and Purvey were, and yet are, and also B. that is a well understanding man. Which also have forsaken and revoked all the learning and opinions that thou and such other hold. Wherefore since each of them is mickle wiser than thou art, we counsel thee for the best; that by the example of these four Clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.*

And one of the Bishops Clerks said then there, that he heard Nicholas Herford say, *That since he forsook and revoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mickle greater favour, and more delight to hold against them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them.*

And therefore Malveren said to me, *I understand, and thou wilt take thee to a Priest, and shrieve thee clean, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my Lord here, for the holding and teaching of them; within short time thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.*

And I said to the Clerks, that thus busily counselled me to follow these foresaid men; Sirs, if these men, of whom ye counsel me to take example, had forsaken Benefices of temporal profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of covetousness and of fleshly lust, and had taken upon them simple living, and wilful poverty; they had herein given good example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now, since all these four men have slanderously and shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receive, and to have and to hold temporal Benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this World: I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose, with the help of God (into remission of my sins, and of my foul cursed living) to hate and to flee privily and apertly to follow these men, teaching and counselling whomsoever that I may, to flee and to eschew the way that they have chosen to go in, which will lead them to the worst end, (if in convenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and revoking openly the slander that they have put, and every day yet put to Christs Church. For certain, so open blasphemy and slander as they have spoken and done in their revoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not privily be amended duly. Wherefore Sirs, I pray you that you busie not to move me to follow these men in revoking and forsaking the truth, soothfastness as they have done, and yet do; wherein by open evidence they stir God to great wrath, and not only against themselves, but also against all them that favour them, or consent to them herein, or that commune with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they have obliged them by Oath to slander and pursue Christ in his Members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodness of God) the worldly covetousness, and the lusty living, and the sliding from the truth, of these runagates, shall be to me, and to many other men and women an example and an evidence to stand more firmly by the truth of Christ.

For certain, right many men and women do mark and abhor the foulness and cowardness of these foresaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and stopped with Benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of Gods Word, forsaking utterly to suffer therefore bodily Persecution. For by this unfaithful doing, and apostasie of them (specially that are great lettered men) and have knowledged openly the truth, and now either for pleasure or displeasure of Tyrants have taken hire and temporal wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that covet to follow Christ in the way of righteousness; many men and women therefore are now moved. But many more, through the grace of God shall be moved hereby to learn the truth of God to do thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Then the Archbishop said to his Clerks, *Busie you no longer about him, for he, and other such as he is, are confederate together, that they will not swear to be obedient, and to submit them to Prelates of holy Church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not swear, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not swear to me. And Lofel, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to lose this young man, but blessed be God, thou shalt not have thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to be buxome and obedient to the ordinance of holy Church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily for the venomous teaching which thou haddest shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.*

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sorry. For long time thou hast busied thee to pervert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore as many deaths thou art worthy of, as thou hast given evil counsels. And therefore, By Jesus, thou shalt go thither, where Nicholas Herford and Thomas Purvey were harboured. And I undertake, ere this day eight days, thou shalt be right glad to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And Lofel, I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorrowful (as it was told me) thou wast glad at my last going out of England. By S. Thomas, I shall turn thy joy into sorrow.

And I said, Sir, there can no body prove lawfully that I joyed ever of the manner of your going out of this Land.

But Sir, to say the sooth, I was joyful when ye were gone; for the Bishop of London, in whose Prison ye left me, found in me no cause to hold me longer in his Prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no manner of submitting.

Then the Archbishop said to me, *Wherefore that I yede out of England, is unknown to thee: But be this thing well known to thee, that God (as I wrote well) hath called me again, and brought me into this Land, to destroy thee and the false Sect that thou art of: as, By God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a slip of you in this land.*

And I said to the Archbishop, Sir, the holy Prophet *Jere-* my said to the false Prophet *Anany*, *When the word, that is the prophecie of a Prophet, is known or fulfilled; then it shall be known, that the Lord sent the Prophet in truth.*

And the Archbishop (as if he had not been pleased with my saying) turned him awayward hither and thither, and said, *By God, I shall set upon thy Shins a pair of Pearls, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.*

These and many more wonders and convicious words were spoken to me, menacing me and all other of the same Sect to be punished and destroyed unto the uttermost.

And the Archbishop called then to him a Clerk, and rowned with him; and that Clerk went forth, and soon he brought in the Constable of Saltwood Castle, and the Archbishop rowned a good while with him; and then the Constable went forth, and then came in divers Seculars, and they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly, and some counselled the Archbishop to burn me by and by, and some other counselled him to drown me in the Sea, for it is near Luke 23. hand there.

And a Clerk standing beside me, there kneeled down to the Archbishop, praying him, that he would deliver me to him to say Mattens with him, and he would undertake, that within three days I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my Prelate.

And

If Borer had been here, he would not have stricken the Cupboard.

The multitude is not to be followed in evil.

See what man is, God giving him up to himself.

As clean from thirt as from sin.

Other mens examples are so to be followed, as they be the followers of Christ.

KING, Hen. 4. Promotions commonly, and great livings, choke truth. Men following the ways of the law.

Thorp's fellow refused to swear to the Prelates.

Arundel's going out of England.

The gentleness of the Bishop of London to Thorp.

So promised Winchester in Queen Marie's time but that passed his power to perform.

A notable answer of Thorp to the Bishop, promising to destroy all the Gospel-lets.

Such Pearls would better become my Lord, your golden Shoes.

As illi clamabant tolle tolle, crucifige eum.

KING And the Archbishop said, that he would ordain for me himself.

And then after, came again the Constable and spake privily to the Archbishop; and the Archbishop commanded the Constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were sent after again. And when I came in again before the Archbishop; a Clerk bad me kneel down and ask grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best.

And I said then to the Archbishop, Sir, as I have said to you divers times to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to be ordained ever, after my cunning and power, to God and to his Law, and to every Member of Holy Church, as far forth as I can perceive that these Members accord with their Head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority, specially of Gods law.

And the Archbishop said, *I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.*

And then I was rebuked, scorned and menaced on every side; and yet after this divers persons cried upon me to kneel down and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scorn me, but I said nothing.

In patience and silence possesse your souls.

Then a while after the Archbishop said to me, *Wilt thou not submit thee to the Ordinance of Holy Church?*

And I said, Sir; I will full gladly submit me, as I have shewed you before.

And then the Archbishop bad the Constable to have me forth thence in hast.

Thorp cast into prison. Thorp comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the Bishop.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foul unhonest Prison, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the Prison door after them; by and by after, I therein by my self, busied me to think on God, and to thank him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not only for that I was then delivered for a time from the fight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoiced in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, and among the menacing of mine adversaries, that without heaviness and anguish of my Conscience, I passed away from them. For as a Tree laid upon another Tree, overthrow or cross-wise, so was the Archbishop and his three Clerks always contrary to me, and I to them.

Now good God for thine holy Name, and to the praising of thy most blessed Name, make us one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy Word, that is true perfect charity) and else not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or hear, pray heartily to the Lord God, that he for his great goodness, that cannot be with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity. Amen.

Besides this Examination here above described, came another Treatise also to our hands of the same Will. Thorp, under the Name and Title of his Testament; which rather by the matter and handling thereof might seem to be counted a complaint of vicious Priests; which Testament or Testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

Matthew an Apostle of Christ, and his Gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy Gospel, the most holy living, and the most wholesome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that hear his words, and keep them, to a wise Man that buildeth his house upon a stone, that is, a stable and a sure ground. This house is Mans Soul, in whom Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, stablished faithfully in his living and in his true teaching, adorned or made fair with divers virtues, which Christ used and taught without any meddling of any error; as are chiefly the conditions of Charity.

Christ dwelleth in a faithful soul.

Christ is the stone whereon we must build.

This foresaid stone is Christ, upon which every faithful soul must be builded, since upon none other ground, than upon Christs living and his teaching, any body may

make any building or housing wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth St. Paul to the Corinthians, shewing to them that no body may set any other ground than is set, that is Christs living and teaching. And because that all men and women should give all their business here in this life, to build them virtuously upon this sure foundation: St. Paul, knowledging the fervent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesus, wrote to them comfortably, saying, *Now ye are not strangers, guests, nor yet comelings, but ye are the Citizens, and of the Household of God, builded above upon the fundament of the Apostles and Prophets. In which fundament, every building that is builded or made through the grace of God, is increased or groweth into an holy Temple; that is, every body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and living of Christ, is there-through made the holy Temple of God.*

How we are made the Temple of God.

This is the stable ground and stedfast stone Christ, which is the sure corner-stone, fast joyning and holding mightily together two Walls. For through Christ Jesus, mean or middle Person of the Trinity, the Father of Heaven is pitious or mercifully joyned and made one together to Mankind. And through dread to offend God, and fervent love to please him, men be unseparably made one to God, and defended surely under his protection. Also this foresaid stone Christ was figured by the square stones of which the Temple of God was made. For as a square stone, whereforever it is cast or laid, it abideth and lieth stably; so Christ and every faithful Member of his Church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true faith, and in all other heavenly virtues in all adversities that they suffer in the valley of tears.

Mark what we have by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

For lo, when these foresaid square stones were hewn and wrought to be laid in the Walls or Pillars of Gods Temple, no noise or stroke of the Workman was heard. Certain, this silence in working of this stone figureth Christ chiefly and his faithful Members, which by example of him have been, and yet are, and ever to the worlds end shall be so meek and patient in every adversity, that no sound, nor yet any grudging shall any time be perceived in them.

Nevertheless, this chief and most worshipful corner-stone, which only is the ground of all virtues, proud beggars reproved; but this despite and reproof Christ suffered most meekly in his own Person, to give example of all meekness and patience to all his faithful followers. Certain, this world is now so full of proud beggars, which are named Priests; but the very office of working of Priesthood which Christ approveth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of Priests that now reign in this world.

Christ is an example of all perfect meekness.

For from the highest Priest to the lowest, all (as who say) study, that is, they imagine and travel, busily, how they may please this world and their flesh. This sentence and many such other dependeth upon them, if it be well considered, either God the Father of Heaven hath deceived all Mankind by the living specially and teaching of Jesus Christ, and by the living and teaching of his Apostles and Prophets; or else all the Popes that have been since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the College of Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, Monks, Canons and Friars, with all the contagious flock of the commonalty of Priesthood, which have (all my life time, and mickle longer) reigned and yet reign, and increase damnable from sin into sin, have been, and yet be proud obstinate Hereticks, covetous simoners, and defouled adulterers in the ministering of the Sacraments, and specially in the ministering of the Sacrament of the Altar. For as their works shew whereto Christ biddeth us take heed; the highest Priests and Prelates of this Priesthood, challenge and occupy unlesful temporal Lordships. And for temporal favour and mede, they sell and give Benefices to unworthy and unable persons; yea, these simoners sell sin, suffering men and women in every degree and estate to lie and continue from year to year, in divers vices slanderously. And thus, by evil example of high Priests in the Church, lower Priests under them are not only suffered, but they are maintained to sell full dear (to the people for temporal mede) all the Sacraments.

Priests seek the pleasure of this World.

Great odds betwixt the life of the Popes, and Christ and his Apostles.

When Priests forget Gods truth, ye see whither they run headlong. The great infect the small.

And thus all this foresaid Priesthood is blown so high, and born up in pride and vain glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly covetousness, that they disdain to follow Christ in very meekness and wil-

Flethly Priests cannot avay with those things.

They hunt
after this
with tooth
and nail.

An exhorta-
tion to all
degrees, to
see Priests
& hood amen-
ded.

Prelates
and Priests
negligent in
their duty.

ful poverty, living holily, and preaching Gods Word truly, freely and continually, taking their livelihood at the free will of the people of their pure alms, where and when they suffice not for their true and busie preaching to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence, grounded on Christs own living, and teaching of his Apostles, these foresaid worldly and fleshy Priests will not consent effectually. But as their works and also their words shew, boldly and unshamefastly these forenamed Priests and Prelates covet and enforce them mightily and busily, that all holy Scripture were expounded and drawn accordingly to their manners, and to their ungrounded usages and findings. For they will not (since they hold it but folly and madriens) conform their manners to the pure and simple living of Christ and his Apostles, nor will they follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the Emperors and Kings, and all other Lords and Ladies, and all the common people in every degree and state, which have before time known, or might have known, and also all they that now yet know, or might know, this foresaid witness of Priesthood and would not, nor yet will inforce them after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably the foresaid enemies and Traitors of Christ, and of his Church: All these strive with Antichrist against Jesus, and they shall hear the indignation of God Almighty without end, if in convenient time they amend them not, and repent them verily, doing therefore due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For through presumptuousness and negligence of Priests and Prelates (not of the Church of Christ, but occupying their Prelacy unduly in the Church) and also flattering and false covetousness of other divers named Priests; Lousengers and Lounders are wrongfully made and named Hermites, and have leave to defraud poor, and needy creatures of their livelode, and to live by their false winning and begging, in sloth and in other divers vices. And also of these Prelates, these cokor noses are suffered to live in pride and hypocricie, and to defoul themselves both bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsel of these foresaid Prelates and other Priests, are made both vain brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and envy, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissention, and they multiply and sustain it uncharitably; for unjustly eating and drinking unmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselves. Also this vain confederacy of brotherhood is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

And in all these ungrounded and unlesful doings, Priests are partners, and great medlers and counsellors; and over this viciousness, hermites and pardoners, ankerers and strange beggers, are licensed and admitted of Prelates and Priests; to beguile the people with flatterings and leafings slanderously against all good reason and true belief; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them.

And thus the viciousness of these foresaid named Priests and Prelates hath been long time, and yet is, and shall be cause of wars both within the Realm and without. And in the same wise these unable Priests have been, and yet are, and shall be chief cause of pestilence of Men, and murren of Beasts, and of barrenness of the earth, and of all other mischiefs, to the time that Lords and Commons able them through grace to know and to keep the commandments of God, inforcing them then faithfully and charitably by one assent, to redress and make one this foresaid Priesthood, to the wilful, poor, meek and innocent living and teaching, specially of Christ and his Apostles.

Therefore all they that know, or might know the viciousness that reigneth now cursedly in these Priests, and in their learning, if they suffice not to understand this contagious viciousness: let them pray to the Lord heartily for the health of his Church, abstaining them prudently from their indurate enemies of Christ and of his people, and from all their Sacraments, since to them, all that know them, or may know them, they are but fleshy deeds and false; as S. Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees, and in the first cause, *Cap. Siquis inquit*. For as this St. and great Doctor witnesseth there, that not only vicious Priests, but also all they that favour them, or consent to them in their viciousness, shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duly, as all they perished that consented to *Dathan and Abiram*. For nothing were more confusion to

these foresaid vicious Priests, than to eschew them prudently in all their unlawful Sacraments, while they continue in their sinful living slanderously as they have long time done, and yet do. And no body needs to be afraid (though death did follow by one wife or other) to die out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of these foresaid Christs enemies, since Christ will not fail to minister himself all lesful and healful Sacraments, and necessary at all time (and especially at the end) to all them that are in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity.

But yet some mad fools say (to eschew slander) they will be shriven once in the year, and communed of their proper Priests, though they know them defouled with slanderous vices. No doubt but all they that thus do or consent, privily or apertly to such doing are culpable of great sin; since S. Paul witnesseth, that not only they that do evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil doers. Also (as their slanderous works witness) these foresaid vicious Priests, despise and cast from them heavenly cunning that is given of the Holy Ghost. Wherefore the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they neither use, nor do any Priesthood to him.

No doubt then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take or consent that any other body should take any Sacrament of any such named Priest, sinneth openly and damnable against all the Trinity, and are unable to any Sacrament of health.

And that this foresaid sentence is altogether true, into remission of all my sinful living, trusting steadfastly in the mercy of God, I offer to him my soul.

And to prove also the foresaid sentence true, with the help of God, I purpose fully to suffer meekly and gladly my most wretched body to be tormented where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporal pain and death he will, to the praising of his name, and to the edification of his Church.

And I that am a most unworthy and wretched Caitiff shall now through the special grace of God, make to him pleasant Sacrifice with my most sinful and unworthy body. Beseeching heartily all folk that read or hear this end of my purposed testament, that through the grace of God they dispose verily and virtuously all their wits, and able in like manner all their members to understand truly, and to keep faithfully, charitably and continually all the commandments of God, and so then to pray devoutly to all the Blessed Trinity, that I may have grace with wisdom and prudence from above, to end my life here in this foresaid truth, and for this cause, in true faith and steadfast hope, and perfect charity. Amen.

What was the end of this good man, and blessed servant of God *William Thorp*, I find as yet in no story specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the Archbishop *Thomas Arundel*, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go. Much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the Bishop; neither doth it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned, wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that he being committed to some strait Prison (according as the Archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as *Thorp* confesseth himself) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there he died by sickness.

The like end also I find to happen to *John Ashton*, another good follower of *Wickliff*, who for the same Doctrine of the Sacrament was condemned by the Bishops, and because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual Prison, wherein the good man continued till his death: *An. 1382*.

John Purvey.

Furthermore, in the said Examination of *William Thorp*, *John Purvey* mention is made (as ye heard) of *John Purvey*, of whom also something we touched before: promising of the said *John Purvey* more particularly to intreat in order and process of time. Of this *Purvey*, *Thomas Walden* writeth thus in his second Tome: *John Purvey*, faith he, was the Library of Lollards, and Glosser upon *Wickliff*. He

Cyprian. q. i. cap. Siquis inquit.

The end of
W. Thorp un-
certain.

KING He said that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salu-
tion. And in his third Tome he saith, This John Pur-
vey, with Herford a Doctor of Divinity, were grievously
 tormented and punished in the Prison of Saltwood, and at
 the length recanted at Pauls Croß at London, Thomas Ar-
 rundel being then Archbishop of Canterbury. Afterward
 again, he was imprisoned under Henry Chicheley Archbi-
 shop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1421. Thus
 much writeth Walden. The Works of this man which
 he wrote were gathered by Richard Lavingham his ad-
 versary, which I think worthy to be remembred. First,
 as touching the Sacrament of the last Supper, the Sa-
 crament of Penance, the Sacrament of Orders, the power
 of the Keys, the preaching of the Gospel, of Mariages,
 of Vows, of Possessions, of the punishing and correcting
 of the Clergy, of the Laws and Decrees of the Church, of
 the state and condition of the Pope and the Clergy ; of all
 these generally, he left divers Monuments gravely and ex-
 actly written, part whereof here in the end of his story
 we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latine into
 English.

The Articles which he taught, and afterward was forced
 to recant at Pauls-Croß, were these hereafter following :

Articles of
 John Purvey
 recanted.

1. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Con-
 secration, there is not, neither can be any accident with-
 out the subject; but there verily remaineth the same sub-
 stance, and the very visible and corruptible bread, and like-
 wise the very same Wine the which before the Consecration
 were set upon the Altar to be consecrate of the Priest; like-
 wise as when a Pagan or Infidel is baptised, he is spiritu-
 ally converted into a member of Christ through grace, and
 yet remaineth the very same man which he before was in
 his proper nature and substance.

2. Auricular confession, or private Penance, is a certain
 whispering, destroying the liberty of the Gospel, and new-
 ly brought in by the Pope and the Clergy, to intangle the
 consciences of men in sin, and to draw their souls into
 Hell.

3. Every lay man being holy and predestinate unto ever-
 lasting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true Priest
 before God.

4. That divers Prelates and other of the Clergy do live
 wickedly, contrary to the Doctrine and Example of Christ
 and his Apostles. Therefore they which so live, have not
 the Keys either of the Kingdom of Heaven, or yet of Hell;
 neither ought any Christian to esteem his censure any more
 than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the Pope should
 peradventure, interdict the Realm, yet could he not hurt,
 but rather profit us, forsomuch as thereby we should be dis-
 missed from the observation of his laws, and from saying of
 service according to the custom of the Church.

5. If any man do make an Oath or Vow, to keep perpe-
 tual chastity; or do any thing else wherunto God hath not
 appointed him, giving him grace to perform his purpose; the
 same Vow or Oath is unreasonable and indiscreet, neither
 can any Prelate compel him to keep the same, except he
 will do contrary unto Gods ordinance. But he ought to
 commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghost and
 of his own conscience; forsomuch as every Man, which
 will not fulfil his Vow or Oath, cannot do it for that
 cause.

6. Whosoever taketh upon him the office of Priesthood,
 although he have not the charge of souls committed unto
 him, according to the custom of the Church, not only may,
 but ought to preach the Gospel freely unto the people; oth-
 erwise he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy
 Church.

7. That Innocentius the third Pope, and six hundred
 Bishops, and a thousand other Prelates, with all the rest of
 the Clergy, which together with the same Pope agreed and
 determined, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the
 conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of
 Christ, the accidents of the said bread and wine do remain
 there without any proper subject of the same; the which
 also ordained, that all Christians ought to confess their sins
 once a year unto a proper Priest, and to receive the reve-
 rend Sacrament at Easter, and made certain other laws at
 the same time: All they, saith he, in so doing, were fools
 and blockheads, hereticks, blasphemers, and seducers of
 Christian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the

determinations of them, or of their successors, neither ought
 we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly
 grounded upon the holy Scripture, or upon some reason which
 cannot be impugned.

Other Articles drawn out of Purvey's Books more at large by Richard Lavingham.

AS touching the Sacrament of thanksgiving, he saith,
 That that Chapter of repentance and remission,
Omnis utriusque sexus, wherein it is ordained, That eve-
 ry faithful man ought once every year at the least, that is
 to say at Easter, to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist,
 is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous.

Item, That Innocentius the third Pope, was the head of
 Antichrist, who after the letting loose of Satan, invented
 a new Article of our Faith, and a certain feigned verity
 touching the Sacrament of the Altar, that is to say, that
 the Sacrament of the Altar is an accident without a sub-
 stance, or else an heap of accidents without a substance.
 But Christ and his Apostles do teach manifestly, that the
 Sacrament of the Altar is bread and the body of Christ to-
 gether, after the manner that he spake. And in that he call-
 eth it bread, he would have the people to understand, as
 they ought with reason, that it is very and substantial
 bread, and no false nor feigned bread.

And although Innocentius, that Antichrist, doth alledge,
 that in the Council at Lyons, where this matter was decid-
 ed, were six hundred Bishops with him, and one thousand
 Prelates, which were in one opinion of this determination;
 All those notwithstanding, he calleth Fools, according to
 that saying of Eccles. i. Of fools there are an infinite num-
 ber. And so in like manner he calleth them false Christs
 and false Prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in the 24th
 of Matthew, Many false Christs and false Prophets shall
 arise, and deceive many. And therefore every Christian
 man ought to believe firmly, that the Sacrament of the Al-
 tar is very bread indeed, and no false nor feigned bread. And
 although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding, it
 is the very body of Christ in that sort he spake, and called
 it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of
 Christ.

And as Christ concerning his humanity was
 both visible and passible, and by his Divinity was in-
 visible and impassible: so likewise this Sacrament in that
 it is very bread, may be seen with the corporal eye, and
 may also abide corruption. But although a man may see
 that Sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body
 of Christ in that Sacrament be seen with the corporal
 eye, although it be the body of Christ in that man-
 ner he spake it; for that notwithstanding, the body
 of Christ is now incorruptible in Heaven. So the Sa-
 crament of the Cup is very wine, and the very blood
 of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was.
 Also Innocentius the third, with a great multitude of his
 secular Priests, made a certain new determination, That
 the Sacrament of the Altar is an accident without a
 substance, whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his
 Apostles taught this Faith (but openly and manifestly
 to the contrary) neither yet the holy Doctors, for the
 space of a thousand years and more, taught this Faith open-
 ly.

Therefore when Antichrist or any of his shavelings doth
 ask of thee that art a simple Christian, Whether that
 this Sacrament be the very body of Christ or not? af-
 firm thou it manifestly so to be. And if he ask of thee
 whether it be material bread, or what other bread else? say
 thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant
 by his proper word; and such bread as the Holy Ghost
 meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which
 he brake; and wade thou no further therein. If he ask thee
 how this bread is the body of Christ? say thou, as Christ
 understood the same to be his body, which is both omni-
 potent and true, and in whom is no untruth; say thou also as the
 holy Doctors do say, That the terrestrial matter or substance
 may be converted into Christ, as the Pagan or Infidel may
 be baptised, and hereby spiritually be converted, and be
 a member of Christ, and so after a certain manner be-
 come Christ, and yet the same man remain still in his
 proper nature. For so doth Saint Augustine grant, that
 a sinner forsaking his sin, and being made one Spirit
 with

Articles out
 of Purvey's
 Books col-
 lected by
 R. Laving-
 ham.

The Sacra-
 ment of the
 Popish Altar

Pope Inno-
 centius head
 of Anti-
 christ.

The Sacra-
 ment in sub-
 stance bread
 in signifi-
 cation the body
 of Christ.

Transub-
 stantiation
 not openly
 taught 1000
 years after
 Christ.

The Sacra-
 ment both
 bread, and
 the body in
 divers re-
 spects.

He speaketh
 of Priests
 here and
 not of pub-
 lick Mini-
 sters, ap-
 pointed in
 the Church.

Vow.

The charge
 of Souls.

Against
 Transub-
 stantiation.

with God by faith, grace and charity, may be converted into God, and be after a manner God; as both *David* and *Saint John* do testifie, and yet be the same person in substance and nature, and in soul and vertue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the fallity of Antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plain sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true Martyrs of Jesus Christ.

Auricular confession and penance.

As touching the Sacrament of Penance; that Chapter *Omnis utriusque sexus*, by which a certain new-found Auricular Confession was ordained, is full of hypocritie, heretic, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy, he saith, and reproveth the same Chapter *verbatim*, and that by the sentences of the same process. Also, that the Penance and pains limited by the Canons be unreasonable and unjust, for the austerity and rigorousness which they contain, more than are taxed by Gods law. He also doth exemplifie, of the solemn and publick denial of penitents to be received into Orders, according to the Decree of the General Council, *Dist. 50. cap. Ex penitentibus*. Also of the seven-fold penitence of a Priest committing fornication, according to the Chapter, *Presbyter, Dist. 82*. And further sheweth another example of the penitence of Priests, according to that Chap. *Qui presbyterium*. &c. Whereas the Decretal of the General Council saith, *That such a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry*. And how *Innocent* the 3d. brought in a new-found confession, whereby the Priests do oppress the simple Lay men. And that many other things they do, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant Priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousness, having such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also that the Decretal of *Innocentius* the third, touching the foresaid auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to intricate and intangle mens consciences with sin, and to draw them down to Hell. And furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the Evangelical liberty, and doth lett men to enquire after, and to retain the wise counsel and Doctrine of such as be good Priests, which know faithfully how to observe his precepts and commandments, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to Heaven. For which abuse all Christian men, and specially all *Englishmen* ought to exclaim against such wicked laws.

The order of Priesthood.

He meaneth of private preaching to their neighbours.

True Ministers may be made without shaving.

Priests, here have a private, not a publick understanding.

As touching the Sacrament of Order, he saith, *That all good Christians are predestinate, and be ordained of God, and made true Priests to offer Christ in themselves, and to Christ themselves; as also to teach and preach the Gospel to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of living*. But the worldly shavelings do more magnifie the naked and bare signs of Priesthood (invented by sinful men) than the true and perfect Priesthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needful to have such shavelings, God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaseth him, Priests (without mans working and sinful signs, that is to say, without either Sacraments or Characters) to be known and discerned of the people by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For so made he the first-made Priests and Elders before the law of *Moses*; and so made he *Moses* a Priest before *Aaron*, and before the ceremonies of the Law, without Mans operation at all, and even so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his Priests. But such as be true Christians receive none such as Priests, unless they follow Christ and his Apostles: neither do they believe that they make the Sacrament of the Altar (which they affirm to be Gods body) when it pleaseth them, lest happily God be not with them, forasmuch as they do this thing for covetousness sake, or else to brag of their own power. And therefore such as be simple men will worship that Sacrament in this doubtfulness, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and have their devotion to the body of Christ in Heaven. Also, that such as be Elders, if they be Gods Priests, be Bishops, Prelates and Curates of their Christian brethren, whom they may lead to Heaven by the

example of their holy conversation, and by preaching of the Gospel, although they make no Sacrifice to that Antichrist of *Rome* for their confirmation; neither be they dedicated to the world by secular divine things, and by consuming the livings of the poor, as be those secular Bishops, Prelates and Curates. Also, that although there were no Pope, according as the custom of the Church is, yet Christ, which is the Head of his Church, doth ordain such a Pope as pleaseth him; and that is, whosoever is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true Priest, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no such proud Bishop above all the rest, as the Church doth use, yet all the Priests might well govern the Church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the Bishops, &c. And admit that no such Priests were according to the accustomed use now of receiving of order and tonsure, by such a Mitred Bishop and his tonsure; yet Christ knoweth both how to make and chuse such as shall well please him both in conversation of life, and sincere preaching of the Gospel, in ministering to his people all necessary Sacraments. And every holy Man which is a Minister of Christ, although he be not shaven, is a true Priest ordained of God, although no Mitred Bishop ever lay his Character upon him. So that the Pope and Prelates do make more estimation of their Characters (as tonsures and crowns by them invented) than of the true and perfect Priesthood ordained of God; whereas all those that are predestinate are true Priests made of him.

KING 4.

What if there were no Pope known? yet the Church could stand.

Tonsure makes not a Priest.

As touching the authority of the Keys and Censures, no Christian Man ought to esteem Satan (whom Men call the Pope) and his unjust censures, more than the hissing of a Serpent, or the blast of *Lucifer*. Also, that no Man ought to trust or put confidence in the false Indulgences of covetous Priests, which Indulgences do draw away the hope, which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinful men, and do rob the poor of such alms as is given to them. Such Priests be manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole Church, and be Satans own stewards to beguile Christian souls by their hypocritie and feigned Pardons. Also, forasmuch as those Prelates and Clergymen lived so execrable a life, contrary to the Gospel of Christ and examples of his Apostles, and teach not truly the Gospel, but only Lies and the Traditions of sinful wicked men; it appeareth most manifestly, that they have not the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather the keys of Hell. And they may be right well assured, that God never gave unto them authority to make and establish so many Ceremonies and Traditions which be contrary to the liberty of the Gospel, and are blocks in Christian mens ways, that they can neither know nor observe the same his Gospel in liberty of Conscience, and so attain a ready way to Heaven.

The Popes censures like the blast of Lucifer.

Popish Priests have not the Keys of Heaven, but rather of Hell.

Also, That all manner of Religious Men, notwithstanding the Chapter *Religiosi*, touching the priviledges in the *Clementines*, may lawfully minister all Sacraments to them that are worthy the same; forasmuch as the same is a work of charity, which only the Will and Ordinance of the Pope in his fautors in this case is to hinder and lett. Item, If the Pope shall interdict this our Realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, because that thereby he should separate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of sustaining off so many thousand shavelings, which with small devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found Song, *Secundum usum Sarum*. So that not whatsoever the Pope in his General Council bindeth on Earth, is bound of God in Heaven, either for that he bindeth unreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himself, or else for that he hath forsaken the judgment of God.

The Popes Curse hurteth not, but profiteth.

As touching the preaching of the Gospel, *Whosoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a Priest, or of a Bishop, and dischargeth not the same by the example of his good conversation and faithful preaching of the Gospel, is a thief, excommunicate of God and of holy Church*. And further, *If the Curates preach not the Word of God, they shall be damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resign their Benefices*. So that those Prelates which preach not the Gospel of Christ (although they could excuse themselves from the doing of any other evil) are dead in themselves, are Antichrists, and Satans, transfigured into Angels of Light, night Thieves, Manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Christ his people.

Con-

[KING]
[144-4]

Conscience
not sufficient
to refuse Ma-
trimony.

Concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony: Notwithstanding any spiritual kindred or Gossoprie, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the Law of God, without any dispensation Papistical. And in the same place he saith, That if our Realm do admit one not born in Matrimony, or illegitimate, to the Imperial Crown, so that he doth well discharge the office of a King, God maketh him a King, and by consequence doth reject another King or heir of the Kingdom, being born in Matrimony and legitimate; so for such spiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Also notwithstanding the *Cap. Si inter de sponsalibus*: If any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tense, by an oath taken, and afterwards shall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the present tense; that then the second contract standeth. Also if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tense, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal copulation upon the same, the first contract maketh the Matrimony good, and not the second. Also if a man before witness assure himself to a woman by a contract made in the present tense, and hath children by the same woman, and afterward the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the present tense before witness, although the first witnesses be dead, or else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the Judge to prove the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the Pope (allowing the second contract) doth compel them to live in adultery against the Commandment of God. Also he condemneth the Decretal of the restitution of things stolen, *Cap. Literas tuas*; which willet that a man and woman having carnal copulation in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and hath no witness hereof; if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remain with him, and to yield her debt. Also in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly having no witness, and with the other openly having witness, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiency of the Law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their own Consciences, than by the Censures to compel them to commit and live in adultery.

Keeping
and making
Vows.

As touching the keeping and making of Vows: that Vow or Oath is beastly, and is without all discretion made, which to perform and keep a man hath no power but by grace given him of God; because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to persevere in the state of chastity and perpetual virginity; and such a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the same. Also that every one making a vow of continency or chastity, when making the same he shall not be accepted of God, doth very undiscernedly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself, without the gift of God to fulfil his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, *Chap. 8. No man hath the gift of continency, unless that God give it unto him.* For otherwise if God help not such a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no Prelate can compel him, unless he do contrary to Gods ordinance; but he ought to commit himself to the Government of Gods holy Spirit, and his own Conscience.

Possessions
of the
Church.

For the possessions of the Church, In another Treatise it is declared, how the King, the Lords, and Commons, may without any charge at all keep fifteen Garrisons, and find 15000 Souldiers (having sufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the Temporalities gotten into the hands of the Clergy, and fained Religious men, which never do that which pertaineth to the office of Curates to do, nor yet to secular Lords. And moreover the King may have every year 20000 pound to come freely into his Cofters, and above. Also he may find or sustain fifteen Colledges more, and 15000 Priests and Clerks with sufficient living, and an hundred Hospitals for the sick, and every house to have one hundred Marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foresaid Temporalities, without any charge to the Realm; whereunto the King, the Lords, and the Commons are to be invited. For otherwise there seemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this Realm, unless the same be put in execution. Also, if the Secular Priests and fained religious, which be Simo-

niacks and Hereticks, which fain themselves to say Mass, and yet say none at all, according to the Canons, which to their purpose they bring and alledge, *1. q. 3. Audivimus*, & *Cap. Pudenda*, & *Cap. Schisma*; by which Chapter such Priests and religious do not make the Sacrament of the Altar, that then all Christians, especially all the Founders of such Abbies, and Endowers of Bishopricks, Priories, and Chanteries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their Predecessors, by taking from them such secular Dominions which are the maintenance of all their sins. And also that Christian Lords and Princes are bound to take away from the Clergy such secular Dominion as nourisheth and nourisheth them in Heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poor life of Christ Jesus and his Apostles.

1. q. 3. 24.
q. 1. Cap.
Pudenda.

And further, that all Christian Princes (if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their Temporalities from that shaven generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in like wise the fat Tythes from Churches appropriate to rich Monks, and other religious, fained by manifest lying, and other unlawful means; likewise ought to debar their gold to the proud Priest of Rome, which doth poyson all Christendom with simony and heresie. Further, that it is a great abomination that Bishops, Monks, and other Prelates, be so great Lords in this world, whereas Christ with his Apostles and Disciples never took upon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them Churches, as these men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good testimony of their Priesthood. And therefore all Christians ought to the uttermost of their power and strength to swear that they will reduce such shavelings to the humility and power of Christ and his Apostles; and whosoever doth not thus, consenteth to their heresie. Also that these two Chapters of the immunity of Churches are to be condemned, that is, *Cap. Non minus*, and *Cap. Adversus*; because they do decree, that Temporal Lords may neither require Tallages nor Tenths of any Ecclesiastical persons.

Belly-cheer
of ill dispo-
sed Prelates
and of Mo-
nasteries,
not to be
nourished
with tem-
poralities
and Appro-
priations.

Now to the correction of the Clergy. By the Law of God, and by reason the King and all other Christians may take revenge of Italy, and of all the false Priests and Clerks within the same, and reduce them unto the humble Ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also that the Law of *Silvester* the Pope, which is declared in *2. q. 5. Cap. Presul*, and *Cap. Nullam*, is contrary to the Law of Christ, and either Testament. And that proud and ambitious *Silvester* by his Law so defended two Cardinals which were not to be defended by the Law of Christ, that by no means they might be convinced; although they were both vicious and evil. And although Christ sustained and suffered the judgment of unjust temporal Judges; our Mitred Prelates in these days so magnifie themselves beyond Christ and his Apostles, that they refuse and will none of such judgments. Also that those Decretals of accusations, *Cap. Quando & Qualiter*; which do prohibit that any Clerks should be brought before a secular Judge to receive judgment, do contain both heresie, blasphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to Antichrists coffers.

Correction
of the Cler-
gy.

2. q. 5. Presul
Nullam.

Furthermore that all Christian Kings and Lords ought to exclaim against the Pope, and those that be his fautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his Gospel, Kings, and other Ministers of Gods justice. Also that Bishops and their favourers, that say it appertaineth not to Kings and secular Lords (but unto them and their Officials) to punish adultery and fornication, do fall into manifest treason against the King, and heresie against the Scripture. Also that it appertaineth to the King to have the Order both of Priests and Bishops, as these Kings *Solomon* and *Josaphat* had.

Punishing of
adultery be-
longeth to
secular Ma-
gistrates ra-
ther than to
Prelates.

Furthermore that Chapter, *Nullus iudicium de foro competenti*, by the which secular Judges are forbidden, without the Bishops commandment, to condemn any Clerk to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, declaring that Kings have power over Clerks and Priests to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also that the Decree of *Boniface de penis in 6. cap. Felicis*, made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of Cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also that by the law of God and reason, a secular Lord may lawfully take a Cardinal and put him in prison for committing the

the crime of open ſimony, adultery, and maniſt blaſphemy. Alſo that the Chapter *Si Papa*, Diſt. 40. which ſaith that the Pope ought to be judged of none, unleſs he be *Deus a fide*, is contrary to the Goſpel, which ſaith, If thy brother ſin againſt thee, correct him. Alſo whereas St. *Gregory* and St. *Auguſtine* called themſelves the ſervants of Gods ſervants, this proud Biſhop of *Rome*, which will not be judged by his ſubjects (which be in very deed his Lords, if they be juſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods law, and all humility, and doth extoll himſelf above God and his Apoſtles. Alſo that Chriſtian Kings ought not only to judge this proud Biſhop of *Rome*, but alſo to depoſe him by the example that *Ceſtrenſis*, Lib. 6. Cap. 8. declareth of *Oſho* the Emperour, which depoſed *John* the twelfth, and did inſtitute *Leo* in his place. And further he maketh an exhortation to the Princes to judge the Church of *Rome*, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrumpet, of whom St. *John* writeth in *Revel.* 17.

Good Kings ought to depoſe wicked Popes.

De conſecratione, id eſt a cap. Seculares.

Laſtly, touching the Laws and determinations of the Church; Chriſtians have reaſonable excuſes and cauſes to repell the ſtatutes of the Pope and of his ſhavelings, which be not expreſly grounded on the holy Scripture, or elſe upon reaſon inevitable. Alſo he ſaith, that that law which is ſet forth of conſecration, *Diſtinctione* 2. cap. *Seculares*, & cap. *Omnis homo*, & cap. *Et ſi non frequentius*. & cap. *In cana Domini*: That ſuch ſecular men as do not receive the Sacrament of the Altar at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*, are not to be counted amongſt the number of Chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as Chriſtians; whereby it followeth that all Clerks and Laymen that obſerve not the ſame, it ſeemeth they go ſtraight to Hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtom and uſe in receiving is contrary to the ſame; then may we bleſs ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to the Pope, and his law; for otherwiſe we ſhould flee to Hell without any ſtay or let. Whereby we may conclude, that all Chriſtians ought well to praſtiſe this School of diſobedience againſt the Pope and all his laws (not founded upon the Scripture) which do let men to climb to Heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the Goſpel. Alſo that Chriſtian men have great cauſe to reſuſe the laws and ſtatutes of theſe worldly Clerks, which the people call the Papal laws, and Biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the covetouſneſs and voluptuouſneſs of them; without the which the Church and congregation of God might ſafely run towards Heaven by the ſweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thouſand years before the ſaid laws were preſcribed and ſent to the Univerſities, and withdrew men from ſtudy of the holy Scripture, for the deſire of Benefices and worldly goods. Alſo that ſimple men do reverently receive the ſentences of the Doctours and other laws, ſo far forth as they be expreſly grounded upon the holy Scripture or good reaſon. Alſo that whereas the Popes laws, and laws of his Miniſters and Clerks be both contrary to themſelves, and have not their foundation either upon the Scripture, or yet upon reaſon, ſimple men ought to bid them farewell. Alſo that when all the Apoſtles ſaith failed them in the time of the Lords Paſſion, ſaith then reſted in the Bleſſed Virgin; much more might that proud Prielt of *Rome* with all his rabble, eaſily err in the faith; and yet is the Chriſtian faith preſerved whole and ſafe in the faithful members of Chriſt, which are his true Church; but the Pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his Church. Alſo that the Pope with all his fautors may as well be deceived by a lying ſpirit, as was *Ahab* and all his Prophets; and that one true Prophet, as was *Micah*, may have the verity ſhewed unto him, *contra Concilium*. Alſo that all good Chriſtians ought to caſt from them the Popes laws, ſaying, Let us break their bands in ſunder, and let us caſt from our necks thoſe heavy yokes of theirs. Alſo that where theſe Prelates do burn one good Book for one error perhaps contained in the ſame, they ought to burn all the Books of the Canon-Law, for the manifold Hereſies contained in them.

The Popes Laws contrary to themſelves.

The Pope and his Cardinals no part of the true Church.

The Canon Law full of hereſie.

¶ And thus much out of a certain old written Book in Parchment, borrowed once of *J.B.* which Book containing divers ancient Records of the Univerſity, ſeemeth to belong ſometime to the Library of the Univerſity, bearing the year of the compiling thereof, 1396. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him, ere that he recanted before *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, at *Salzwood*,

where he was imprifoned. Whereunto I thought good to annex a certain godly and moſt fruitful Sermon of like antiquity, preached at *Pauls-Croſs* much about the ſame time, which was in the year of our Lord 1388, by a certain learned Clerk, as I find in an old Monument, named R. *Wimbeldon*. Albeit among the ancient Registers and Records belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I have an old worn Copy of the ſaid Sermon, written in very old *Engliſh*, and almoſt half conſumed with age, purporting the ſaid Author hereof, bearing alſo the foreſaid name. The true copy of which Sermon, in his own ſpeech wherein it was firſt ſpoken, and preached at the Croſs on the Sunday of *Quinquageſima*, and after exhibited to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (being then as it ſeemeth *William Courtney*) here followeth.

{KING} {Hm. 4.}

A Sermon no leſs godly than learned, preached at Pauls-Croſs on the Sunday of Quinquageſima, Anno 1389, by R. Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem villicationis tue. Lucæ xvi.

MY dere Friends, yee ſhullen underſtand that Chriſt Autor and Doctour of Truth, in his Book of the Goſpel (likening the Kingdom of Heaven to an Houſholder) ſaith on this manner: *Like as the Kingdom of Heaven to an houſholding man; that went out firſt on the morrow to hire workmen into his Vine. Alſo about the third, ſixth, ninth, and eleventh hours he went out, and found men ſtanding idle, and ſaid to them, Go ye into mine Vineyard, and that right is, I will give you. When the day was agoon, he cleped his ſeward, and high to give each man a peny.*

Matth. 20. The Sermon of R. Wimbeldon.

The ſpiritual underſtanding of this houſholder is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that is head of the houſhold of holy Church. And thus clepeth men in diverſe hours of the day, that is in diverſe ages of the world. As in time of law of kind, he cleped by enſpiring *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Noe*, and *Abraham*. In time of the old Law, *Moses*, *David*, *Iſay*, and *Jeremy*: and in time of Grace, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Confessors, and Virgins. Alſo he cleped men in divers ages, ſome on childhode, as *John Baptiſt*; ſome on ſtate of waxing, as *John* the Evangeliſt; ſome in ſtate of manhode, as *Peter* and *Andrew*; and ſome in old age, as *Gamaliel*, and *Joſeph of Arimathea*; and all theſe he clepeth to travaile in his vine, that is the Church, and that in divers manner. For right as yee ſee, that in tilling of the material vine there ben divers labours, for ſome kутten away the void branches, ſome maken forkis and nailes to beren up the vine, and ſome diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben ſo neceſſary to the vine, that if any of them fail, it ſhall harm greatly, other deſtroy the vine. For but if the vine be kut, ſhe ſhall wax wild; but if ſhe be railed, ſhe ſhall be overgo with netles and wedis; but if the rote be fatted with dong, ſhe for ſebleneſs ſhuld wax barraine.

The calling of God is divers.

Right ſo in the Church beth nedeful theſe three offices, Prieltthode, Knythode, and Laborers. To Prielts it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of ſins with the ſwerd of her tong. To Knythode it falleth to letten wrongs and thefts to be done, and to maintaine Gods law, and them that ben teachers thereof, and alſo to kepe the lond from enemies of other londs. And to Laborers it falleth to travaile bodilich, and with their ſore ſwete, geten out of the earth bodilich lifelode for hem, and other parties. And theſe ſtates beth alſo nedeful to the Church, that none may well ben without other: for if Prieltthode lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods law, ſhould wax wild in vices, and deyen gholtly; and if the Knithode lacked, and men to rulen the pople by law and hardineſs, theeves and enemies ſhould ſo encreas, that no man ſhuld live in peace. And if the laborers were nought, both Knights and Prielts muſt become acre men and herdis, and elſe they ſhuld for default of bodily ſuſtenance dey. And therefore ſaith Clerk *Avicenne*, that every unreaſonable beaſt, if he have that that kind hath ordained for him, as kind hath ordained, he is ſuffiſſance to live by himſelf, without any help of other of the ſame kind.

KING kind. As if there were but one horse, other one shepe in
2. 2. the world, yet if he had grasse and come, as kind hath or-
 dained for such beasts, he shuld live well now. But if there
 ne were but O man in the world, though he had all
 that good that is therein, yet for default he shuld dey, or
 his life should be wors than if he were naught; and the
 cause is this, for that thing that kind ordaineth for a mans
 sustenance, without other arraieng than it hath of kind,
 accordeth nought to him. As though a man have come
 as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meat accord-
 ing to him, untill it be by mans craft changed into
 bread: and though he have flesh other fish, yet while it
 is raw, as kind ordained it, till it bee by mans travaile
 sodden, roasted, or baken, it corded not to mans life-
 lode. And right so, wolle that the sheepe beareth, mot
 by mans divers craftis and travailes be changed or it bee
 able to cloth any man; and certis O man, by himself
 shuld never doe all these labours. And therefore, saith
 this Clearke, It is need that some bee acre men, some ba-
 kers, some makers of cloth, and some merchaunts to
 fetch that, that one lond fetcheth from another there it
 is plenty.

And certis this should bee a cause why every state
 should love other. And men of a craft should not despise
 ne hate men of none other craft, sith they bee so nedeful
 everich to other. And oft thelke crafts that been most un-
 honest, might worst been forebore: and O thing I dare
 well say, that he that is neither travailing in this world,
 on studying, on prayers, on preaching, for helpe of the
 people as it falleth to Priests, neither ruling the people,
 maintaining ne defending fro enemies, as it falleth to
 knights, neither travelling on the earth, in divers crafts,
 as it falleth to labourers: When the day of rekening com-
 meth, that is, the end of this life, right as hee lived
 here withouten travaile, so hee shall there lacke the re-
 ward of the peny, that is, the endless joy of Heaven. And
 as hee was here living after none state ne order, so he shall
 bee put then in that place that no order is in, but ever-
 lasting horror and sorrow, that is, in Hell. Herefore,
 everich man see to what state God hath cleped him, and
 dwell hee therein by travaile, according to his degree.

Job 10. Thou that art a labourer or a crafty man, doe this truly. If
2 Cor. 7. thou art a servant or a bondman, be suget, and low in
1 Pet. 2. drede of displeasing of thy Lord. If thou art a merchaunt
1 The. 4. deceive not thy brother in chattering. If thou art a Knight,
 or a Lord, defend the poor man and needy fro hands that
Prov. 8. will harme them. If thou art a Justice or Judge, goe not
2 Tim. 4. on the right hand by favour, neither on the left hand, to
 punish any man for hate. If thou art a Priest, undermine,
 pray, and reprieve, in all manner patience and doctrine.
 Undermine thilke that been negligent, pray for thilke that
 been obedient, reprove tho that been unobedient to God.
 So every man travaile in his degree. For when the even
 is come, that is, the end of this world, then every man
 shall take reward, good or evil, after that he hath travail-
 ed here.

Note. The words that I have taken to make of my Sermon,
 be thus much to say: Yeld reckoning of thy baily. Christ
 autor of pitie, and lover of the salvation of his people, in
 the proceß of this Gospel, enformeth every man what is
 his baily, by manner of a Parable of a baily that he speak-
 eth of, to array him to answer of the goods that God
 hath taken him, when the day of strait reckoning shall
 bee come, that is, the day of doom. And so I at this
 time, through the helpe of God, following him that is
 so great a Master of authority, because that I know no-
 thing that should more draw away mans unreasonable love
 fro the passing joy of this world, than the minde of the
 dreadful reckoning; as much as suffice, I shall shew you
 how yee shall dispose you to avoid the vengeance of God,
 when there shall bee time of so straight doom, that we
 shall geve reckoning of every idle word that we have spo-
 ken. For then it shall be said to us, and we shall not flee
 it: Yeld reckoning of thy baily.

But for further proceße of this first party of this Ser-
 mon, ye shall wete; that there shall bee three bailiffes
 that shall bee cleped to this strait reckoning. Twaine to
 answer for themselves and for other, that been Priests
 that have cure of mens soules, and temporal men that
 have governaile of people; and the third bailiffe shall
 account onely for himselfe, and that is every Christen

man, of that hee hath received of God. And every of
 these shall answer to three questions.

To the first question, How hast thou entred? The se-
 cond, How hast thou ruled? And to the third, How
 hast thou lived? And if thou canst well assoile these
 three questions, was there never none earthly Lord that
 ever so well rewarded his servant without comparison, as
 thy Lord God shall reward thee, that is, with blisse, and
 joy, and life that ever shall last. But on that other side,
 and thou wilt now be recheles of thine own welfare, and
 take none heed of this reckoning: If that day take thee
 suddenly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as
 thou worst never what shall fall thee) all the tongues that
 ever were, or ever shall bee, mow not tell the sorrow
 and woe that thou shalt ever bee in, and suffer. Therefore
 the desire of so great joy, and the dread of so great paine;
 though love ne dread of God were not in thine heart,
 yet should that make thee askeard to sinne, for to thinke
 that thou shalt give reckoning of thy baily. Therefore as
 I say to thee, the first question that shall bee proposed to
 the first baily, that is a Prelat, other a Curate of mens
 soules, is this:

How hast thou entred: *Matth. 22.* Friend, how en-
 tredst thou hether? Who brought thee into this office?
 Truth or Simony? God or the Devil? Grace or mony?
 The flesh or the spirit? Give thou the reckoning if thou
 canst. If thou canst not, I rede that thou tarry for to
 learne. For up hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And
 if thou stand dombe for unknunning, or else for confusiori
 of thy conscience, thou fall into the sentence that anon
 followeth: Binde his hands and his feet, and cast him
 into the utterward of darknes, there shall be weeping
 and gremning of teeth. Therefore I rede thee, that thou
 advise thee how thou shalt answer to this question: How
 hast thou entred? whether by cleping, or by thine own
 procuring? for that thou wouldest travaile in Gods Go-
 spell, other for that thou wouldest bee richly arraid?
 Answer now to thine owne conscience as thou shalt an-
 swer to God, thou that hast take now the order of Priest,
 whether thou bee Curate of none: who stirred thee to
 take upon thee so high an estate? Whether for thou
 wouldest live as a Priest ought to doe, studying of Gods
 law to preach, and most heartily to pray for the people;
 or for to live a delicious life upon other mens travaile, and
 thy self travaile nought. Why also setten men their sonnes,
 either their cousins to schoole? Whereto but for to get
 them great advancements, or to make them the better to
 know how they shulden serve God? This men may see
 openly by the sciences that they set them to. Why I pray
 you put men their sonnes to the Law Civill, or to the
 Kings Court to write Letters and Writs, rather than to
 Philosophy or Divinity, but for the hope that these occu-
 pations should be ever meanes to make them great in the
 world. I hope that there will no man say, that they ne
 should better learne the rule of good living in the Book
 of Gods Law, than in any Bookes of mans worldly wis-
 dome. But certes now it is soothe, that *John Chrysostom*
 saith, Mothers bee loving to the bodies of their children,
 but the soule they despise; they desire them to welfare in
 this world, but they take none heed what they shall suf-
 fer in the tother; some ordainen fees for their children,
 but none ordaine them to Godward; the lust of their
 bodies they woll deere buy, but the health of their
 soule they reke nought of. If they see them poore
 or sicke, they sorrow and sigheth, but though they
 see them sinne they sorrow not. And in this they
 shew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the
 soules.

And if wee take heed truly, what abominations bee
 scattered and spread abroad in holy Church now adaies
 among Priests, we shull well wit, that they come not all
 to the fold of Christ by Christs cleping for to profit, but
 by otherwaies to get them worldly wealth, and this is
 the cause of lesing of soules, that Christ bought so deare,
 and of many errours among the people; and therefore
 it is iwrit in the Book of Mourning, where the Prophet
 speaketh thus to God, *Thren. 1.* The enemy hath put
 his hand to all things desirable to him; for hee hath let
 lawles folke enter into the Sanctuary, of the which thou
 hadst commanded, that they should not enter into the
 Church, This enemy is Satanás, as his name sowneth,
 that

Three Que-
 stions.
 The first,
 Second,
 Third.

Against Si-
 mony.

Question.

Solution.
 Question.

Solution.
 Johan.
 Chrysost.
 Hom. 27.

Note.

The rash
 making of
 Ministers.

that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What sinne I pray you, will the fiend have sown on men, that nis now yused? In what plenty is now pride, envy, wrath, and covetise? when were they so great as they be now? and so of all other sinnes. And why trowest thou? But for there be a lawlesse people entred into thy Sanctuary, that neither keepe in themselves the law of God, ne konne teachen other; and to every such faith God by the Prophet, *Ose 4*. For that thou hast put away cunning, I shall put thee away, that thou shalt use no Priesthood to mee. Lo that God expressly here in Holy Writ forbiddeth men to take the state of Priesthood on them, but they have cunning that needeth them. Thou then that canst neither rule thy selfe, ne other, after the Law of God, beware how thou wilt answer to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he shall say to thee, that which I took to my Thame:

Ose 4.

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou hast entred.

The second Question that every Curate and Prelate of Holy Church shall answer to, is this: How hast thou ruled? That is to say, the soules of thy suggestes, and the goods of poor men: Geve now thine accounts. First, how thou hast governed Gods folke that were take thee to keepe? Whether art thou an herd or an hired man, that dost all for love of bodelich hire? As a father, or as a wolfe that eaten his sheepe, and keepeth them nought? Say, whom hast thou turned from his cursed living by thy devout preaching? Whom hast thou taught the law of God that was earst uncunning? There shall been heard a grievous accusing of fatherles children, and a hard alledging, that Priests have liveden by their wages, and not done away their sinnes. Yeld also reckoning how thou hast ruled, and spended the goods of poore men. Harke what Saint Bernard saith: Dread Clerkes, dread the Ministers of the Church, the which been in the place of Saints, that they doe so wickedly, nought holding them apaid with such wages that were sufficient to them; that overplus that needy men should be sustained by, they bee not ashamed to waste in the house of their pride and lechery, and withholden to themselves wickedly and cursedly that which should bee the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickednes truly they sinne. First, for they reeven other mens goods, and faith, they misuse holy things in their vanities and in their filths. Every such baily therefore beware, for anon to the last farthing hee shall reckon with Christ. Trowest thou not then that thou ne shalt be disallowed of God, of that thou hast mispended in feeding of fat Palfreys, of Hounds, of Hawkes, and if it so bee, that is worst of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is said of such. They had led their daies in wealths: And in a point they ben gone downe into Hell. Think therefore I rede thee, that thou shalt yeld reckening of thy baily.

Bernardus.

The third Question that this baily shall answer to, is this: How hast thou lived? What light of holinesse hast thou shewed in thy living to the people, or what mirror hast thou ben of holinesse to them? Geve now thy reckoning how thou hast lived, as a Priest, or as a leude man, as a man, or as a beast. That is to wonder truly how the life of Priests is chaunged. They bee clothed as Knights, they speake as unhoneestly as carles; other of winning as Merchants; they riden as Princes, and all that is thus spended, is of the goods of poore men, and of Christs heritage. Therefore saith an holy Doctor, The clay of Egypt was tough and stinking, and medled with blood. The slates were hard to be undone, for they were baked with fire of covetise, and with the light of lust. In this travaileth rich man, in this they wake, awaiting poore men. In these travaileth Prelates, that ben too much blent with too much shining of riches, that make them houses like Churches in greatnesse, that with divers paintries coloren their Chambers, that with divers clothings of colors make images gay; but the poore man, for default of clothes, beggeth, and with an empty wombe crieth at the doore. And if I shall thee sooth say, saith this Doctor, oft time poore men bee robbed for to clothe the trees and stones. Of such speaketh the Prophet, How art thou here, or as who art thou?

Esa. 22. Quis in bic aut quasi quid bic.

Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Paul, or of Thomas, or of Martine: But how, as Judas among the Apostles, as Simon Magus among the Disciples, as a candle new queint that stincheth all the house instead of a light lanterne, as a smoke that blindeth mens eien, in place of cleane fire? If thou contrary thus the forme of living that Christ and his Disciples left to Priests, Lo what saith the Prophet Jeremy, They have entred, and they have had, and nought ben obedient. They haven with false title, or with their false and corrupt intencion had poor mens goods to their misusing, and they have not bee obedient to the Law of God in their owne living. Therefore it is writ that the hardest dome shall fall on such. An hard dome, for they have misentred: An harder dome, for they have misruled: And the hardest dome, for they have so cursedly lived. Think therefore I rede, how thou wilt give reckening of thy baily.

KING Hm. 4.

Jer. 31.

Sap. 6.

The second bailiffe that accounteth at this dome for himselfe and also for other, is hee that keeping hath of any communitie, as Kings, Princes, Majors, and Shireves, and Justices. And theise shall also answer to the same three Questions. The first Question, How hast thou entred, that is to say, into thine office? Other for helpe of the people to destroy falsheid and furtheren truth? Other for desire of winning of worldly worship: If thou take such an office, more for thine owne worldly profit than for helpe of the communitie, thou art a Tyrant as the Philosopher seith. For it is to feare lest there been too many that desire such states, that may the rather oppresse thilke that they hateth, and take gifts to spare to punish thilke that haven trespassed, and so maketh them partners of their sinnes. And many such, when they been so high, they recke nought that they beth poore mens brethren, but they wene to passe them in kinde, as they passeth in worldly worship, that is but winde: Of which God saith by the Prophet, *Ose 8*. They have raigned, but nought of mee, they have been Princes, but I know nought. So we reade of *Reboam*, that was the sonne of King Salomon, what time hee was first King, the people of Israel comen to him, and said, Thy father in his last dayes put on us great charge. Wee pray thee some deale make it lighter, and we willen serve thee. And the King tooke counsell of the old wise men, and they counsailden to answer them faire, and that should be for the best. But hee left these old wise mennis counsaile, and did after the counsaile of children that were his playferen, and said to the people when they came againe: My left finger is greater than my fathers riege: My father grieved you somewhat, but I will echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and took them anothor King: and sith, the Kingdom came never whole again: and therefore it is good, that every ruler of Commonalties, that they bee not lad by follies, ne by none other eare rowner, that he ne have an eygh of love to the comonty that hee hath to rule. For wete yee well, bee hee never so high, that he shall come afore higher, to yeld reckoning of his baily.

Kings, Princes, and Magistrates admonished. How hast thou entred

2 Para. 10.

The second Question is, How hast thou ruled the people, and the office that thou hadde to governe? Thou that hast been a Judge in causes of poore men, how hast thou kept this heft of God. Thou shalt not take heed to the person of a poore man, to be to him the harder for his poverty, ne thou shalt not behold a rich mans semblance, to spare or to favour him in his wrong for his riches. O Lord, what abusions is there among officers of both Lawes now adays: If a great man pleadeth with a poore man to have ought that he holdeth, every officer shall be ready to hie all that he may, that the rich man might have such an end as he desired. But if a poore man plead with a rich man, then there shall bee so many delays, that though the poore mans right be open to all the countrie, for pure fault of spending he shall bee glad to cease. Shrieves and Bailiffes willen retorne poore mens Writs, with *tarde venit*, but gif they selen meed in their hands. And yet I here say, men that have seyen both

How hast thou ruled

Deut. 9.

KING both Lawes, and ilke Court that is cleped Christs Court, is much more Cursed. Therefore it is writ, gifts they taken out of Mens bosoms, to overturn the right way of dome. But it is to dread the Word of Christ: In what dome ye deeme, ye should be deemed when ye comen to yield a reckoning of your baily.

How hast thou lived. The third Question is, How hast thou lived, thou that deemest and punishest other men for their trespasses? A great Doctor saith; thee behooveth to flee the wickedness of other men that thou chastiest them for their trespasses. For if thy self do unlawfull in deming other men, thou damnest thy self, syth thou dost that thou damnest.

Rom. 2. And Paul saith, why teachest thou nought thy self, that thou teachest other? Why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steal? S. Gregory saith, he shall not take governail of other, that cannot go before them in good living. And when any man stand before him in dome, he must take heed tofore what judge he shall stand himself, to take his dome after his deeds. But it is to dread, that many fareth as tve false Priests that woulde have damned to death Holy Susan for she wold not assent to their lechery. Of the which it is writ, they turned away their eyen, for they wold not see Heaven, ne have mind of rightfull domes. So it hapeth oft they that were more worthy to be hangd, damne them that be less worthy, as a Clerk telleth of Socrates the Philosopher, saith he, upon a day a man asked of him why he laughed: And he said, for I see great Theeves leading a little Theef to hanging. I pray thee, whether is he a greater Theef that benimmeth a Man his House and his Land from him and from his Heirs for evermore, other he that for making of great need stealeth a Sheep or a Calf? Whether trow we nought, that it happeth such Extortioners to be other while Judges, and demeth men thus: But I read thee that thus deemest other, think on that dome thou shalt come to, to yeld the reckoning of thy baily.

Susan. The Third Bailiffe that shall be cleped to this dreadful account shall be to every Christian Man, that shall geve reckning to his Lord God for goods that he had had of his. And here I will speak but of the first Question, that is this: How entrest thou? And here by the way, ye that have got any worldly good, other take by extortion, by ravine, by usury, other by deceit: Woe shall be to him at this dreadful day, as S. Austen saith. If he be cast into the fire that hath not given of his own good; where trowest thou shall he be castin, that hath revd other mens from them? And he shalle bren with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked where trowest thou shall he bren that hath made him naked that was erst clothed. But as S. Gregory saith, Two things maketh men to live thus by ravaide of other Neighbours, that they desire heyenes and dread poverty, and what vengeance falleth of this sin of covetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, when the Angel said to Propher Zachery, Reare up they eien, and see what is that goeth out.

Socrates. And the Propher said, what is it? Then the Angel said, This is the Pot going out, This is the eize of hem on all the Earth, and there was a weight of leade I bore, and there was a Woman sitting in the middle of this Pot, And the Angel said, This is impety: and he took her and cast her into the middle of this Pot, and he took the gobbet of lead and cast it into the Pots mouth. And the Propher lift up his eye, and he saw two Women coming out, and Spirits in her Wingis like two Kytes other gledes, and they arerid up this Pot between Heaven and the Earth, and then the Propher spake to the Angel, wider wol these bear this Pot? And he said, unto the Lord of Sennar: This Pot is covetise. For right as a Pot hath a wide open mouth, so covetise gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in the Pot profiteth nought to the Pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh thereof: so worldly good oft profiteth not to Churles, but to other that cometh after, as it is written. He that hath Money shall have no Fruit of it: and this covetise is the eie of covetous men, for they ben blind to see how they should see to go to Heaven, but to the winning of worldly things they see many ways, like to Owles and night Crowes, that seen better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, is the sin of obstination. The Woman that sat in the

Valerius Maximus, lib. 7. The third bailly. The third admonition in general to every Christian man. Susan.

Novell. Greg. 8. The third bailly. The third admonition in general to every Christian man. Susan.

Zach. 6. The third bailly. The third admonition in general to every Christian man. Susan.

Expos. The third bailly. The third admonition in general to every Christian man. Susan.

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Pot, is unpity, as the Angel said, that followeth unrighteousness and avarice. For through avarice a man leese the pity that he should have of the mischief of his soul. For oft time men leese the life of their soul by deadly sin, that they do to have the worldly winning, and also they leese the pity that they should have of their body, putting themselves to many great bodily travayls and perils both by Sea and Land, and all maketh covetise. This Pot is stoped with the gobbet of lead, when unpity is thus by sin of obstination closed in covetise, that he may not go out of the chanches hart by penance. For as Job saith; when he is fulfilled, he shall be stoped. The two Women that bare up this Pot, are pride and lust of flesh, that be cleped in holy writ the two daughters of the waite Zerbe, crying, bring, bring. And they had wings, the first wing is grace spiritual, as cunning, wisdom, and counsel, with such other many. For which giftes many men wexe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentry; and many other such; whereof men wexe proud. The wings of the second Woman, that is, fleshy desire, beth gluttony and sloth.

Of gluttony speaketh S. Gregory; when the wamb is fulfilled, the prickles of lechery beth moved. And of sloth S. Augustine saith, Lot the while he dwelled in business among shrewes in Sodome, he was a good man. But when he was in the hill flow, for sykkernes he in his drunkenes lay by his daughtren. And these Women had wings like Kytes, that with a crying voice feecheth their meate, as Bartholomew saith.

And thus fareth covetise of men; witnesing Saint Augustine, what is the greediness of fleshy desire. Inasmuch as the ravenous Falhes have sometime measure; yet when they hunger, they rapine; and when they fulfil they spare: But only covetise of men may not be fulfilled. For ever he taketh, and never hath enough. Neither he dreadeth God, neither shame of men. He ne spareth his Father, ne knoweth his Mother, ne accordeth with his Brethren, neither keepeth truth with his Friend. He overpresseth Widowes and Fatherless Children. Free men he maketh bond, and bringeth forth false witness, and occupieth dead mens things, as he shoulde never dye. What manhood is this, sayth this Doctor, thus to leese life and grace, and get death of soul? Win Gold, and leese Heaven? And herefore saith the Propher, have travalle in the midst, and leave unrighteousness.

Also Innocent speaking of the harmss that come of covetise, saith thus, O how many men have covetise deceived and spilt? when covetise Balaam wold, for gifts that the King proferd him, have Cursed Gods people, his own Als reproved him, and hurt his foot against a wall. Achor was stoned to death: for covetise made him steal gold and clothes, against the commandment of God. Giesy was smit with Melilty, for he sold Naamans heal, that came of Gods grace. Judas for covetise sold Christ, and afterward hong himself. Anany and Zaphira his Wife were dead sodenly, for they forsoken to give Peter their Money that they had. And covetise maketh also that rich men eate the poor, as Beasts done their lefous holding them low. This may we see all day in deed I dread. For if a rich man have a Field and a poor man have in the midst or in the side thereof one Acre, and a rich man have all a Street saveth O House, that some poor Brother of his oweth, he ceaseth never till he get it out of the poor Mans hand, either by prayer, or by bying, or by pursuing of deceit. Thus fared it by King Achab, that through his false Queenes gin flew the poor man Naboth, for that he wold not sell him his Vineyard that was nigh to the Kings Palace.

Upon which procefs, thus sayth Saint Ambrose; How farre will ye Rich men stretch your covetise? Will ye dwell alone upon the Earth, and have no poor Man with you? Why put ye out your fellow by kind, and challenge to your self the possession comen by kind? In commune to all rich and poor the Earth was made. Why will ye rich challenge proper right herein? Kind knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth all men poor. For we be not got with rich Clothes, ne born with Gold ne with Silver. Naked he bringeth them

Against covetise. Gregory. August. de consiliis viri- tatis & viti- orum. Bartho- lomew de proprietati- bus rerum. August. N. 22. Jousa 7. 4 Reg. 5. Acts 5.

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them to this World, needy of meat and of drink and clothing. Naked the Earth taketh us and she naked brought us hither. Shee cannot close with us our possession in the Sepulchre, for kind maketh no difference between poor and rich, in coming hither, ne in going hence. All in o manner she bringeth forth, all in o manner she closeth in grave. Who so will make difference of poor and rich, abyde till they have a little while leyne in the grave. Then open and look among dead bones who was rich, and who was poor; but if it be thus that noe clothes rotteth with the rich than with the poor, and that harmeth to them that beth on live, and profit not to them that been dead; Thus saith the Doctor of such extortion as it is writ. *Job. 24.* Other mens Fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him that the harme oppressed they plucke away the Grapes; they leveh men naked, and taketh away her Clothes that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and listen up this Pot between Heaven and Earth. For covetous men nother haveth charity to their Brethren upon Earth, neither to God in Heaven; and they bare this pot into the Lond of *Sennaar*, that is to say, into the Lond of *Stonche*, that is Hell, for there shall be stench, in stead of sweet smelling, as *Isay* saith. Beware I read, that ye nought have to do with this Pot, ne with the Woman therein, and on all manner that ye be nought Weddid to her, for then ye must be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous Woman: the Kings and Morchauntis of the Earth have done lechery, and of her vertue they have been made rich, whose damnation is written in the Book of Privities in these words, In o day shall come all these vengeance of her death, weeping and hunger and fire shall brenne her, for strong is God that shall venge him on her, and then shulleth weepe and howle uppe on her, the Kings of the Earth, that haveth done lechery with her, and having lived in Delices when they shull see the Smoke of her brennings, standing asferre weeping and weyling and saying; Alas! Alas! thilke great City that was clothed with bys and purple, and brasse, and over gilt with Gold and pretious Stones and Pearle. For in one hour all these great riches shall be destroyed, then shall they sey that shall be damned with her. We have erred fro the way of trowth and rightwisnes, light have not shined to us, and the sunne of understanding have not risen to us: we have be made weery in everich way of wickednes and of lust, and have gone hard ways, but the ways of God we knew not: what hath Pride profited to us, or the boast of riches what hath it brought to us? All this is as a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holines, in our wickednes we be waited away. Think therefore I read, that thou shall yeld reckening of thy bayly. Here endeth the first part of this Sermon, and beginneth the second part.

Mat. 25. **I**N the second part with the help of God I will shew first, who shall clepe us to this reckoning, Afterward, tofore what Judge we shall reckyn, and last what punishing shall be doe to them that been found false servants and wicked, and what reward shall be give to them that be found good and true. For the first, ye shall wetoen that there shall be twey domes. The first dome anone after the departing of body and of soul, and this shall be special. And of this reckoning or dome speaketh the Gospel of *Luke*. The second reckoning or dome shall be anone after the general Resurrection, and shall be universal. And of this is to speken in the Gospel. To the first every man shall be cleped after other, as the world passeth. To the second shall come togedre in the stroke of an eye all mankind. To the first, men shall be cleped with three Sumners, other Sergeauntes: The first is Sicknes, the second is Age, and the third is Death; the first warneth, the second threatneth, and the third taketh. This is a kindly order, but otherwise it faileth, for summe we seeth dieth that never wist what was Sicknes ne Age, as Children that been suddenly slain. And summe, yea the most part that dyeth now adaies, deyeth before her kind agee of deeth. Therefore, I say, that the first that clepeth to this special reckoning is Sicknes, that

3. Sumners.
Sicknes.
Age.
Death.

followeth all mankind, so that every man hath it: and summe is Sicknes that summe men haveth, but nought all. Yet the first Sicknes is double, for summe is within in the mightes of the soul, and summe is without in feebleness of the body that needis mo be storied, when time by himself is cause of corruption as Philosophy saith, and thereby feebleness and sickness. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his heart all manner of worldly and fleshly thoughts, yet unneth shall a man, for ought that he can do, think on God only, the space of o *Pater noster*, but that some other thing that is passing entreth into the soul, and draweth her from contemplation. But, O Lord God, what seeknes is this, an heavy burden on the Sons of *Adam*, that one foule moocke and fenn of the World we many think long ynow. But on that the soul should most delectation have by kind mow we nought think so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the wheate. Of this seekenes speaketh *Paul*, where he saith; I see a Law in my limmes fighting agenes the Law of my Spirit, and taking me into the Law of Sinne. So that if fares by us, as by a man that would look agyens the Sunne, and may nought do it long for nothing. And forsooth, that is for no default that is in the Sunne, for she is most cleere in her self, and so by reason best should be feyn, but it is for feebleness of mans eye. Right so, syth, *Adam* our first fader was put out of Paradise, all his Off-spring have been thus sicke, as the Prophet seyeth. Our faders have eate a bytter Grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The second sickenes, that is commune to all mankind, comith of feebleness of the body, as hunger and thirst, colde and heate, sorrow and weariness, and many other, as *Job 14.* saith. A man that is ybore of a Woman, lyving a little while, is fulfilled with many misefases. Yet there is other sickness that cometh to some men, but not to all, as Lepyr, Palsye, Fever, Droplie, Blindnes, and many other, as it was seyden to the people *Deut.* of *Israel*, in holy writ. But thou keep the Commandments that be writ in this Book, God shall achen the sickness of thee and of thy feed, great sicknesses and long abiding. Yet ye shall understand, that God sendeth otherwhile such sickness to other men, and otherwhile to shrews. To good men, God doth it for two causes, and that is sooth. Of sickness I wol to be understood also, of all manner of Tribulations. The first cause, for they should alway ever know, that they have none perfections of themselves, but of God only, and to echen their meeknes. And thus saith *Paul*, lest the greatness of revelations reere me up into pride, is given a pricke of my flesh, the Angel of *Sathanas* to finite me on the neck, wherefore I have thrice prayed God, that he should go fro me, and he answered me: My grace is sufficient to thee, for vertue is fulfilled in sickness, whereon thus saith the glose. The Fiend, axing *Job* to be tempted, was heard of God, and nought the Apostle axing his temptation to be removed. God heard him that should be damned, and he heard nought him that he should save. For oft the sick man axit many things of the leche, that he wole not geve him, and that is for to make him whole of sickness. Also GOD sendeth saints oft sickness and perfection, to give us sinful wretches example of patience: For if he suffer his saints to have such Tribulation in this World, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis, that God sendeth not the hundred aparty of *Tob. 2.* their sorrow, shulden beare it meekly, sith we have deserved a thousand so much as they haveth. Whereof, *Toby* that one day when he was weary of burying of poor men, the which shulden have ley unburied, and have be etene of houndis, and foules, as Carynes, of other unreasonable Beasts, when for weariness he had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the Swallowes that bredden above on his hous, mayden ordure into his eyen, and he waxet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation forsooth; Therefore, GOD suffered to come to him, that to them that comen after should be given ensample of patience, as by the temptation of Holy *Job*. For sith from his Childhood evermore he dread God, and ever kept his Hestes; was not agreed ayenst GOD that the mischief of blindness fell to him; but un-

RING
Hen. 4.

Job. 14.

Deut.

1. Co. 12.

Tob. 2.

move.

KING moveable dwelled in the dread of G O D, thanking him
Han. 4. all the days of his life. Lo that holy Writ faith expressly,
 That G O D suffered this holy man to have that sick-
 ness, to give them that should come after him ensample
 of patience. Also otherwhile G O D sendeth sickness
 and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes:
 First, for that they should the rather dread God, and
 leave their sin. As it is writ, Their sickness hath been
 multiplied, and after, they have hied to Godward. For
 we see oft men in sickness know their G O D, that ne-
 ver would have turned to him while they had been
 whole. Also God sendeth them sickness oft to agast
 other men, lest they follow their sin. As the sickness
 of King **Antioche**, whom G O D smote with such a
 sickness, that Worms fell out of his body while he lived,
 in so far forth that he stank so foul, that his friends were
 so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at
 the last, when he himself might not suffer his own
 stink, then he began to know himself, and said, *It is
 rightfull to be subject to G O D, and a deadly manne
 not to hold himself only even with God*; and the story
 faith, He asked mercy of G O D, and made a vow to
 God, that he would make the City of *Jerusalem* free,
 and the *Jews* to make them as free as the men of
Athenes; and that he would honour G O D S Temple
 with pretious ary, and multiply the holy Vessels, and
 sin of his own rent and spences pertaining to the Sacri-
 fice. And he would become a *Jew*, and go over all
 the lond to preach Gods might. And yet God gave him
 not such mercy as he desired. And I trow certain that it
 was for good. Inasmuch as G O D knew he would
 not afterward hold his Covenant, or else for he asket it
 too late. What meede was it for him to forsake his
 wickedness? when he was unmighty to do good or
 evil. Nevertheless, I trow he was not damned, in as-
 much as he had such repentance; for repentance in this life
 come never too late if it be true. But by this Vengeance
 that G O D took on this King, should men see, what
 it is to be unobedient to God. And also it is to take
 heed, that when ever sickness cometh, ever it sheweth,
 that he that suffereth this deadly, shall needs die. For
 though he may scape of his sickness, yet he may not
 scape death. And so thou must needs come give reckon-
 ing of thy Bailly. The second Somnor that shall clepe
 thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the
 condition of him is this, though that he tarie with thee,
 he will not leave thee, till he bring thee to the third,
 that is death. But there be many that though they have
 this Somnor with them, they take none heed, though
 they see her hear hore, her back crooked, her breth stink,
 her teeth fail, her yen derk, her visage rively, her crene
 weixt hevy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age
 sumneth to the dome?

The second
 Somnor.
 Properties
 of death.

But what more madhead may be than a man to be
 cleped, and draw to so dreadful a reckening there,
 where but he answereth well, he forgetteth both body and
 soule to damnation for ever? If seeing a little worldly
 mirth on the way, he thinketh so mekil thereon, that he
 forgetteth who draweth him, or whether he draweth:
 So doth he that is smitten with Age and liketh so on the
 false worlds wealth, that he forgetteth whether he is
 away: Herefore faith an holy Doctour, that among all
 abusions of the world most is of an old man that is ob-
 stinate: for he thinketh not on his outgoing of this
 world, ne of passing into the life that is to come: he
 beareth Messengers of death, and he leaveth hem not, and
 the cause is this, for the threefold cord that such an old
 man is bounden with is hard to breke. This cord is
 custome, that is of three plights, that is, of ydle thought,
 dishonest speech, and wicked deed: the which if they
 groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age,
 they maketh a treble cord to bind the old man on custome
 of sinne. Herefore faith *Esay*, breake the bondes of sinne.
 Think herefore whosoever that thou be that art thus
 sumned, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt
 yeld the reckening of thy bailly.

Esay.

The third
 Somnor.
 Diffinible
 morie.

The third former to this reckening, is death. And the
 condition of him is, that when ever he come, first, other
 the second, other the last hour he ne spareth, neyther
 power, ne yough, ne he dreadeth no thretning, ne he
 ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he grunt-

eth no respite, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to
 the dome. Herefore seyth Saint *Austin*: Well ought
 every man drede the day of his death. For in what state
 a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this
 world, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome.
 Herefore seyth the wise man; Sonne thinke on thy last
 daye, and thou shalt never sinne. Therefore I rede that
 thou thinke, that thou shalt geve reckoning of thy bailly.
 I said also, that there shall be another doome, to the
 which all men shall come together, and this shall be uni-
 versal. And right as to the other doome, every man
 shall be cleped with these three sumnours; so to this dome
 all this world shall be cleped with three general clepers.
 And right as the other three Messengers tell a mans end, so
 these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the
 worldly sickness, the second cleper is feebleness, and the
 third is the end. The sickness of the world thou shalt
 know by charity acooling. His elde and feebleness thou
 shalt know by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou shalt
 know by Antichristis pursuing. First I said, thou shalt
 know the worlds sickness by charity acooling. Clerkes
 that treate of kinde sayne; that a body is sick, when
 his bodily heate is too lite, or when his unkindely heate is
 too much. Sythe then all mankind is one body, whose
 kindelie heate is charity (that is, love to G O D and to
 our Neighbours) unkindely heate is lustful love to other
 creatures. When therefore thou seest that the love of men
 to Godward and to their neighbour is little and faint, and
 the love of worldly things and lustes of the flesh is great
 and fervent; then wit thou well, that unkindely heate is
 too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this beac-
 knowlich of this sickness, I may prove by authority of
 Christ. For he himselfe gave them as a sign of the draw-
 ing to the end of the World: For that wickedness shall
 be in plenty, charity shall acoole. Therefore when thou
 seest charity thus little in the world, and wickedness en-
 crease, know well that this world passeth and his wealth,
 and that this summer is come. And thus seyth S. *Paul*,
 Writ ye well, that in the last daies shall come perillous
 times, and there shall be men loving themselves, that is
 to say, their bodies, covetous by pride, unobedient to
 Father and Mother, unkynde felons, withouten affecti-
 on, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, unmilde,
 withouten benignity, traitors, rebels, swelling, lovers of
 lusts more than of God, having a likeness of piety, and
 denying the vertue thereof. And these fles thou. If
 thou seest the people busied with such conditions, wit
 thou well, that the first summer warneth all the world,
 that the day of reckoning draweth toward.

Augustinus

The day of
 Judgment.

To know
 the worlds
 sickness.

Mat. 24

The second summer, that warneth all the world, is
 elde or age of the world and his feebleness, and shewes
 tokens fulfilling. But I know well that we be nought
 sufficient to know the times other the whiles that the Fa-
 ther in Trinity hath put on his own power, to shew cer-
 teinly the day, year, other houre of this dome, sith this
 knowlech was hid fro the privy Apostles of Christ, and
 from Christs manhood as to shew it to us. Nathless, we
 inough by authority of holy Writ, with reasons, and ex-
 positions of Saints well and openly shew, that this day
 of wrath is nigh: But yet lest any man sey in his heart as
 it is written of folliche baylies, that they shall seie, my
 Lord, that is, taryeth to come to the dome, and upon hope
 hereof he taketh to smite servants and hynen of God,
 eate and drinke and make him dronke, I shall shew that
 this day is at the hond; how ny nevertheless can I not
 seie ne wole. For if *Paul* said nowe for a thousand and
 three hundred yere, and passed moe; we ben thilke in-
 to whom the endis of the world ben come, much rather
 may we seie the same that been so much neere the end
 than he was. Also S. *Chrysostome* faith; thou seest over
 all darknes, and thou douteft that the day is goe, first
 on the valeys is darknes whan the day draweth down-
 ward: whan therefore thou seest the valeys yderked
 why douteft thou whether it be nigh even, but if thou see
 the Sun so low that derknes is upon the hills, thou
 wolt seie doubtles that it is night: Right so, if thou see
 first in the Saculars and the lewd Christenmen beginneth
 derkenesses of sinnes, and to have the maistrise, it is
 token that this world endeth. But when thou seest Priests
 that been put on the high top of spiritual Dignities, that
 shulden be as hills aboven the commune people in perfect
 living,

Luke 21

1 Cor. 13

Chrysostome

A proper
 similitude.

living, that derknels of finnes hath taken them, who doubteth that the world nis at the end? And also Abbot *Joachim* in exposition of *Jeremy* seyeth: Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200, all times beth suspected to mee, and wee ben passed on this suspect nigh 200. yeares. Also maiden *Hildegare* in the Book of her prophetic the third parte, the eleventh vision, the seventh Chapter meveth this reason. Right as on seven daies G O D made the world, so in 7000. year the world shall pass. And right as in the sixth day man was made and fourmed; so in 6000. yeare he was brought again and reformed. And as in the seventh day the world was full made, and God left off his working, right so in the 7000. yeare, the number of them that shullen be saved shall be fulfilled, and rest shall be to Seyntes full in bodie and soule. If that it be so as it seemeth to follow of this maydens words, that 7000. in passing of the world accordeth to seven dayes in his making it, see what lacketh that these 7000. yeares ne beth fulfilled. For if we reken the number of yeares fro the Nativity of Christ, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world to Christ, and thou wilt follow *Augustine*, *Bede* and *Orosie*, and most probable Doctors treating of this matter, are passed now almost fixe thousand and fixe hundred, as it is open in the Book that is cleped *Speculum judiciale*. So it suweth that this laste day is more than a halfe agoe, if we shulden give credence to this maydens reason: But if we shull lene to the Gospel, than we shall finde in the Gospel of *Matthew*, that the Disciples axiden of Christ three Questions. First, what time the City of *Jerusalem* should be destroyed. The Second, what token of his coming to the dome. And the Third, what signe of the ending of the world.

And Christ gave them no certaine time of these things when they shulden fall, but he gave them tokens, by which they might know when they drew nigh, and so as to the first Question of the destruction of *Jerusalem* he said; when the *Romanes* come to Beliege that City, then soon after she shall be destroyed.

And as to the second and third; he gave many tokens, that is to say; That Realme shull rise against Realme, and people against people, and pestilences, and earthquakes, the which we have seene in our dayes. But the last token that he gave, was this; When ye seene the abomination of elengnes said of *Daniel* the Prophet, standing on the Sanctuary; then who so readeth, understand. Upon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a Book that he maketh of the end of the world. If the words of *Daniel* haven authority (as G O D sayth that they haven) it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the world, that *Daniel* hath written. Now *Daniel* in the twelfth Chapter, speaking of this abomination, putteth betweene the ceasing of the bulie Sacrifice of the *Jewes*, the which fell, when by *Titus* and *Vespasianus* *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and the people of the *Jewes* were disparted into all the world. And this abomination that Doctours sayne shall be in the great Antichristes dayes, 1290. Now proveth this Doctour, that a day

must be taken for a yeare, both by authority of holy Writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason: So it seemeth to this Clerke, that the great Antichrist should come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Christ, the which number of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelve yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reason put not I as to shew any certaine time of this coming, sith I have not that knowledge; but to shew that he is nye, but how nygh I wot never. But take we heede to the fourth part of the second vision of Saint *John*, put in the Book of *Revelations*, in the which, under the opening of the seven seales, is declared the State of the Church, from the time of Christ into the end of the world. The opening of the foure first seales shew the State of the Church, fro the time of Christ to the time of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales. The opening of the first seale telleth the State of the Church, in the time of the Preaching of Christ and of his Apostles. For the first, that is, the Lyon gave his voice, that betokeneth the Preachers of Christes Resurrection and his Ascension. For then yede out a white Horse, and he that sate upon him had a bow in his hand, and he yede out overcoming to overcome. By this white-horse we understand the cleane life and con-

version that these Preachers haden: and by the bowe, their true teaching, pricking sorrowe in mennes hearts for their finnes withouted flattering. And they wenten out of *Jewry* that they comen of, evercoming some of the *Jewes*, and snaken them to leave the trust that they hadden in the olde Lawe, and to beleve in Jesus Christ and shewen his teaching. And they wenten out to overcome the Paynemes, shewing to them that their Images were no Gods, but mens workes, unmighty to save themselfe or any other, drawing them to the Beliefe of Jesus Christ God and Man. In the opening of the second seale, there cryed the second Beast, that is, a Calfe, that was a Beast wonted to be slaine, and offered to God in the olde Law. This sheweth the State of the Church in the time of Martyrs, that for their stedfast Preaching of Gods true Law shed their blood, that is signified by the red horse that went out at this seale opening; and this estate began at *Nero* the cursed Emperour, and dured unto the time of *Constantine* the great, that endowed the Church. For in this time many of Christs servants, and namely the Leaders of Gods flocke were slaine. For of two and twenty Bishops of *Rome* that were between *Peter* and *Silvester* the first, I reade but of foure but that they weren Martyrs for the Law of Christ. And also in the time of *Dioclesian* the Emperour, the persecution of the Christen men was so great, that in thirty dayes were slaine 22. thousand Men and Women in divers countries for the Law of God.

The opening of the third seale telleth the State of the Church in time of Heretikes that beth figured by the black Horse, for false understanding of holy writ: for then cryed the third Beast that is a man, for at that time was it neede to preache the myserie of Christs incarnation, and his passion ayenst these Erretikis that feliden mis of these pointis; how Christ tooke verreyly mans kinde of our Lady, him being God as he was byfore, and his moder being mayden byfore and after. The opening of the fourth seale, telleth the State of the Church in the time of ypocritis, that beth signified by the pale Horse, that beth signes of penance with outfoorth to blinde the people. And he that sate upon this Horse his name was Death, for they shulle slee ghostly them that thay leden, and teacheth to trust upon other thing than God: and helle followeth him, for helle received thilke that these dissteine. At that time shall it neede, that the fourth Beast that is the Egle make his cry, that flyeth highest of foules to reare up Gods Gospel, and to praise that Law above other, lest mens witte and their traditions over-gone and treden down the Law of God, enforming of these ypocrites, and this is the last state, that is, other shall be in the Church, byfore the coming of the great Antichrist. The opening of the fifth seale telleth the state of the Church that then God shall follow, and desire that lovers of Goddis law shulleth have after the end of this world to be delivered of this woe. The opening of the sixt seale telleth the State of the Church in time of Antichrists time, the which state ye may know to be in the Church whan ye feth fulfilled, that Saint *John* prophelieth to fall in the opening of this, where he saith thus: After that I sawe foure Angels standing upon four corners of the Earth, holding the foure windes of the Earth that they blowen nought upon the Earth, ne upon the Sea, ne upon eny Tree. These foure Angels beth the number of all the Devils Ministers, that on that time shulleth in the pleasure of their Lord Antichrist stoppe the four windis, that bete the foure Gospels to be Preached, and so let the breth of the Grace of the Holy Ghost to fall upon men mourning for sinne, and calling them to amendment, and to other that wolden increase in vertues, other upon perfit men? What is there after this to fall, but that the myserie of the seventh seale be shewed, that he come in his own person. That Jesus Christ shall slee with spirit of his mouth, when the Fiend shall shew the utmost persecution, that he and his servants may doe to Christis limmes, and that shall be the third warning that the world shall have to come to this dreadful dorne.

KING In all this matter have I nought seid of my self, but of other Doctors that beth proved, I seyde also in my second principal part, that it were to wete tofore what Judge we shall reken. Wherefore we shuldest wite that God himselfe shall heare this reckening, he that seeth all our dedes, and all our thoughts fro the beginning of our life to the end, and he shall shew their the hid things of our hert, opening to all the world the rightfulness of his dome. So that with the might of God, every mans dedes to all the world shall be shewed, and so it seemeth by the words of S. *John*, in the Book of Privities, there he seith thus: I sawe dede men, little and great, stonde in the sight of the throne, and bookes weren opened; and another booke was opened that was of life, and dede men weren judged after the things that weren written in the bookes after their worchings. These bookes beth mens consciences that now beth closed. But then they shuldest be opened to all the world to reden therein both dedes and thoughts. But the booke of life is Christs living and doctrine, that is now hid to men that shuldest be damned through their owne malice, that deemeth men to serve the world rather than God: In the first booke shall be write all that we haveth doe, in that other booke shall be write that we shulden have doe, and then shulle dede men be demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the Bookis: For if the dedis that we haveth doe, the which bene written in the bookis, of our conscience, be according to the booke of Christs teaching and his living, the which is the booke of life we shulle be saved, or else we shulle be damned, for the doome shall be given after our workis. Looke therefore now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here: and if thou findest ought contrary to Christs life, other to his teaching, with the knife of penance and repentance scrape it away and write it better, evermore hertly thinking that thou shalt yelde reckening of thy bayly.

Also I said principally that it were to witen, what reward shall be geve on that doome, to wise servants and good, and what to false servants and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lord Jesus Christ shall come to the doome here into this world, in the same body that he tooke of our Ladie, having thereon the woundis that he suffered for our again bieng. And all that ever shullen be saved, taking againe their bodies clyving to their head Christ, shall be ravished metying him in the aire, as *Paul* saith: They that shall be damned lyen upon the earth, as in a tonne of Wine the dreggis dwellen byneth, and the Clere wine hoveth above. Then shall Christ axe reckening of the dedes of mercy, reproving false Christen men for the levying of them, reheryng the dedes of the same and other trutthis by the which his true servants then followed him, that shulle thilke false servants goe with the Devil, whom they have served in the Earth, then swallowing into the endless fire. And rightfull men shullen goe into everlasting life, then shall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of Privities: Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the Earth. Woe to the paynym that gaf that worship to dead Images wrought of mans hands, and to other creatures that he should have gone to God that him wrought: Woe to the Jew that trusteth so much in the olde Lawe, then shall he se *Maries* sonne deeming the world whom he despised and set on the Crofs: Woe to the false Christen man that knew the will of his Lord and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sin of thinking to thee, that thou hast shyt out the meine of God, that is, minde of his passion, holy contemplation of his goodnes, and memory of his benefites, fro the chamber of thine hert; and hast made it a house of Swyn and a den of Theeves, by uncleane thoughtes and delightes. As thou here hast sped God out of thine hert, so he shall spere thee out of Heaven: Thou hast herberwid the meine of the Fiend, and with them in Hell thou shalt ever abide: Woe also for sinne of speech, for thou might nought open thy foule and stinking mouth with the which thou hast spoken unhoneestly, cursing, fraud, deceite, leasings, forswearing, scorning, and backebiting, to praise God in the fellowship of Saints. For loving is not comynlych in mouthes of sinners. For in the which gif thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou

shouldest have songed in fellowship of Angels this blessed song: *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens*; Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Then yeling and weeping thou shalt cry in company of Devils:

Va, Va, Va, quanta sunt tenebrae?

Woe, Woe, Woe, How great beth these darknes? Woe also for sinne of deede. Thou hast bene proud, thy pride shall be drawne to Hell, as *Esay* saith, or thou hast bene brent with envie of the Devil. Envie entred into the world, and they shouldest followen him that ben on his hide, as *Salomon* saith. Or thou hast bestirred with wrath, and everich man that beareth wrath to his brethren is guilty in doome, as Christ in the Gospel saith of *Martew*. Or thou be slow to good dedes, myssawe shall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy poverty as a man armed, as the Book of *Proverbs* saith. Or thou hast haunted lechery, gluttony, or covetise. That forsooth were ye, that everich avouterer, or uncleane man, that is a glutton, other chynch, shall never have Heritage in the Realm of Christ and of God, as *Paul* saith. But Fire, Brimstone, and the Spirit of Tempestes, that is, the Fiend of Hell, shullen be a partie of their paine, as it is written in the *Psalter*, when these Damned men bein this woe, they shullen sing this rueful Song that is ywriten in the Book of Mourning: The joy of our heart is a go: our quiet is turned into woe, the Crowne of our head is fallen us fro. Alas for sinne that we have do. But joy and joy, and joy to them that be saved. Joy in God, joy in himself, joy in other that ben saved. Also joy for their travel is brought to so gracious an end. Joy, for they scape the pain of Hell; Joy, for their blis that they han in the sight of God, *Cui sit honor & gloria, in secula seculorum*, Amen.

And thus much concerning this worthy and fruitful Sermon, which as by the ancientnes of the phrase seemeth to be Preached much about the time of *John Wickliff*; so I thought here, by occasion of *William Thorps* examination, best to place the same, for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially having before our eyes, the publick utility of the Reader, to whom, by the studious reading thereof, might rise plentiful matter of true Christian information, both of the wholesome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of every Christian mans life.

Which I thought good to annex further in our story, after the examination of *William Thorp*, and the Martyrdom of *William Sawtre*, and of *John Badby* thus described (as ye have heard) which was about the year 1409. By the way here is to be considered, at least to be admonished, that all this while the schism in the Church of Rome did yet continue, and so indured till the Council of *Constance*, which was in whole, the space of twenty and nine years. The origine whereof (as was said before) first began at *Urbanus* the Fifth; which *Urbanus* being dead, An. 1389. next followed Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, who fate fourteen years. He in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the Keys of *Peter* (as saith *Platina*) in contempt. After him succeeded *Innocentius* the Seventh, and fate two years: who being dead, the Cardinals consulting together, and seeing the foul enormity and inconvenience growing upon this contentious schism in their Church of Rome (minding to provide some remedy for the same, after the best device they could) in their conclave where they were assembled for a new election for the Pope, took this order, promising among themselves with solemn Vow made to God, to *Mary* the Blessed Virgin, to *Peter* and *Paul*, and to all the blessed company of Saints; That if any of them, within the College or without the College, should be called to the high place of Apostolical Preeminence; he should effectuously renounce the jurisdiction and title of his Popedom, if or whensoever the contrary Pope for the time being would in like manner renounce his place and title, and his Cardinals in the like manner condescend to the other Cardinals of Rome. So that both these two Colleges of Cardinals agreeing together, one chief Bishop might be chose and taken out of them both, to be made the true Pope. Provided moreover, that none should seek any releasment or absolution from the said promise, vow and bond, once passed among them; Unto all which

The Oath
and Vow of
Pope Gregory
by the 12th.

Ex Chron.
D. Albani.

The Pope
falsely per-
jured.
Cardinals
leave the
perjured
Pope.

{Anno}
1409.

things furthermore every one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified upon the same, they proceeded to the Election. In which was chosen Gregorius the Twelfth, who the same day of his election, in the presence of all the Cardinals confirmed the Vow, Sacrament, and Promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in form as followeth, *And I Gregory, this day being the last of November, in the year of our Lord, 1407. chosen and elected for Bishop of Rome, do swear, vow, and promise, and confirm all the premisses above contained, &c.* This being done, shortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80 years. As the time thus passed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the Pope, according to his Oath, would give over, with the other Pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two Popes to be attempted, by Letters from one to another; assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the Cardinals, to see their holy perjured Father so to neglect his Oath and Vow aforesaid. Inasmuch that at length, divers of them did forsake the Pope, as being perjured (as no less he was) sending moreover to Kings and Princes of other Lands, for their counsel and assistance therein, to appease the Schism. Amongst the rest, Cardinal *Bisurienfis* was sent to the King of England; who published divers Propositions and Conclusions (remaining in the Registers of *Thomas Arundel*) disputeth, that the Pope ought to be subject to Laws and Councils. Then King Henry (moved to write to Gregory the Pope) directeth his Letter here under ensuing, which was the year of our Lord, 1409. The contents of the Letter be these.

The Letter of King Henry the Fourth to Pope Gregory the Twelfth.

King Henry
the Fourth
to Pope
Gregory the
Twelfth.
Two hun-
dred thou-
sand slain
by Schism
of Rome.
Thirty
thousand
slain in
Camp fight-
ing for the
Bishoprick
of Leodium.

Most blessed Father, if the discreet Providence of the Apostolical See, would call to mind with what great perils the universal World hath been dammed hitherto under pretence of this present Schism; and especially would consider, what slaughter of Christian people to the number of two hundred thousand (as they say) hath been through the occasion of War raised up in divers quarters of the World; and now of late, to the number of thirty thousand Souldiers, which have been slain through the dissension moved about the Bishoprick of Leodium between two set up, one by the Authority of one Pope, the other by the Authority of the other Pope, fighting in Camp for the Title of that Bishoprick. Certes ye would lament in spirit and be sore grieved in mind for the same. So that with good conscience ye would relinquish rather the honour of the See Apostolick, than suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, under the cloke of dissimulation, following herein the example of the true Mother in the Book of Kings: who pleading before Solomon for the right of her Child, rather would depart from the Child, than the Child should be parted by the Sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new Creation of nine Cardinals, by your last made, contrary to your Oath (as other men do say) that you do but little heed or care for ceasing the Schism; Yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the World, that your circumspect Seat should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of mind; whereby the last error may be worse than the first. Ex Chron. D. Albani, Part the second.

King Henry the Fourth to the Cardinals.

King Henry
the Fourth
to the Car-
dinals.

Councilum
Pisonum.

And to the Cardinals likewise, the said King directeth another Letter with these Contents here following: We desiring to shew what Zeal we have had and have, to the reformation of peace of the Church; by the consent of the States of the Realm, have directed to the Bishop of Rome our Letters after the tenour of the Copy herewith in these presents inclosed to be executed effectually: wherefore we seriously beseech your reverend Colledge, That if it chance the said Gregory to be present at the Council of Pise, and to render up his Popedom, according to your desire, and his own Oath; you then so Ordain for

his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory and also we which entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cause to give you worthily condign thanks for the same. Ibid.

{KING
Hen. 4.

This being done in the year of our Lord, 1409. afterward in the year next following, Anno 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to wit, of Gregorius and Benedictus, by common advice assembled together at the City of Pise, for the reformation of Unity and Peace in the Church. To the which Assembly, a great multitude of Prelates and Bishops being convened, a new Pope was chosen, named Alexander the Fifth. But to this Election, neither Gregorius nor Benedictus did fully agree. Whereby there were three Popes together in the Roman Church (that is to understand) not three Crowns upon one Popes head, but three Heads in one Popish Church together. This Alexander, being newly made Pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple-Crown, but straight giveth out full remission, not of a few, but all manner of sins whatsoever, to all them that conferred any thing to the Monastery of *S. Bartholomew* by *Smithfield*, resorting to the said Church any of these days following; to wit, on *Maundy-Thurs-day*, *Good-Friday*, *Easter even*, the Feast of the *Annunciation*, from the first Even-song to the later. But this Pope, which was so liberal in giving remission of many years to other, was not able to give one year of life to himself, for within the same year he died. In whose stead stepped up Pope John 23.

Ex Chron.
D. Albani.
{Anno}
1410.
Concil. Pi-
san.
Pope Alex-
ander the
Fifth.
Three
Popes toge-
ther.

The vain
remission by
the Popes
Indulgence.

Pope Alex-
ander dead.
Pope John
23.
Ex Joan.

In the time of this Alexander great stir began in the Country of *Bohemia*, by the occasion of the Books of *John Wickliff*, which then coming to the hands of *John Hus*, and of other both men and women, especially of the Lay sort, and Artificers, began there to do much good. Inasmuch, that divers of them not only men, but women also, partly by the reading of their Books translated into their Tongue, partly by the setting forward of *John Hus*, a notable learned man, and a singular Preacher at that time in the University of *Prague*, were in short time so ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move questions, yea and to reason with the Priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

Chelco de
Hystoria
Hystoriarum,
lib. 1.
The Gospel
beginning
to take
root in Bo-
hemia.

By reason whereof, complaint was brought to the said Pope Alexander the Fifth, who caused citations the forenamed *John Hus* to be cited up to Rome. But when he came not at the Popes citation, then the said Pope Alexander addressed his Letters to the Archbishop of *Swincio*. Wherein he straitly charged him to prohibite and forbid, by the Authority Apostolical, all manner of Preachings or Sermons to be made to the people, but only in Cathedral Churches or Colledges, or Parish-Churches, or in Monasteries, or else in their Church-yards. And that the Articles of *Wickliff* should in no case of any person, of what state, condition, or degree soever, be suffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly. Commanding moreover and charging the said Archbishop, that he with four Bachelors of Divinity, and two Doctors of the Canon-Law joyned unto him, would proceed upon the same, and so provide that no person in Churches, Schools, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid Articles. So that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be accounted an Heretick, and unless he shall revoke solemnly and publicly the said Articles, and shall for ever abjure the Books wherein the forenamed Articles were contained, so that they may be utterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithful; the same should be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the help also of the secular Arm being called thereunto; if need shall require, &c. These were the contents of this mighty and fierce Bull of Pope Alexander.

The Letter
of Pope
Alexander
the Fifth to
the Arch-
bishop
Swincio of
Bohemia.

The Popes
cruel Bull
against
John Hus.

Against the which Bull on the other side *John Hus*, justly complaining, excepteth again and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his Book, intituled, *De Ecclesia*, cap. 18. Where he declareth this Mandate of the Pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his Apostles; considering how Christ himself preached to the people, both in the Sea, in the Desert, in Fields, in Houses, in Synagogues, in Villages; And the Apostles also in all places did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreover, the said Mandate or Bull of the Pope to redound unto the great detriment of the Church

John Hus
objecteth
against the
Popes cruel
Bull.

The Popes
Bull con-
trary to
Christ.

KING Church, in binding the Word of God, that it might not have his free passage. Also, the same to be prejudicial unto Chappels newly erected for the Word to be preached in them. Wherefore (saith he) from this Commandment or Mandate of Pope Alexander, I did appeal unto the said Alexander being better informed and advised. And as I was prosecuting my Appeal, the Lord Pope (saith *John Hus*) immediately died.

The notable Judgment of God in striking the Adversaries of the Gospel.

Then the Archbishop of *Swinco* aforesaid, to whom this present Bull was directed, when he saw the Process, Bulls and Mandates of the Bishop of *Rome* to be thus contemned of *John Hus* and his Fellows, neither having any hope of redress in *Winceslaus* the King, which seemed to neglect the matter, went out of his Country into *Hungary*, to complain unto *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, and Brother to the said *Winceslaus*. But this quarrelling Archbishop, whether before (as the *Bohemians* say) or after (as *Silvius* saith) that he had spoken with *Sigismund*; immediately there (by the just Judgment of God) died in *Hungary*, as the story saith, for sorrow. Whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his Gospel, newly beginning to take root among the *Bohemians*. Albeit, this tranquility there did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious days and Reign of *Antichrist*. For after this *Alexander* succeeded Pope *John* the 23. Who, likewise playing his part in this Tragedy, bent all his might and main to disturb the *Bohemians*, as more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in further process of our History, coming to the year of our Lord, 1413.

Thus the poor *Christians* (as ye see) like to the silly *Israelites* under the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, were infested and oppressed in every place, but especially here in *England*, and that so much the more here, because that the King, not like to *Winceslaus*, went full and whole with the Pope and his Prelates against the Gospellers.

By reason whereof the Kingdom of the Pope and his Members here in this Realm began to be so strong, that none durst stir or once mute against them. The Bishops having the King so full on their side, armed moreover with Laws, Statutes, Punishments, Sword, Fire, and Fagot, reigned and ruled as they listed, as Kings and Princes within themselves. So strong were they of Power, that no humane Force was able to stand against them: so exalted in Pride, and puffed up in Glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend Majesties. Whatsoever they set forth or decreed, it must of all men be received and obeyed.

And such was their superstitious blindness and curious vanity, that whatsoever toy came once in their fantasie; it was straightways determined and stablished for a Law of all men to be observed, were it never so frivolous or superstitious; as well appeareth by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other, who having now a little leisure from slaying and killing the innocent people, Martyrs and Confessors of the Lord, and having now brought their Enemies (as they thought) under feet; began to set up themselves, and to invent new custom, as the guise is of the Popes Church, ever to intrude into the Church of God some ceremony or custom of their own making, whereby the Church of Christ hath been hitherto exceedingly pestred. So likewise this *Thomas Arundel*, thinking the Church yet not sufficiently stuffed with Ceremonies and vain Traditions of men, bringeth in a new-found Gaud, commonly called *The tolling of Aves*, in honour of our Lady, with certain *Aves* to be said, and days of pardon to be given for the same. For the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the Kings request, he directed his Mandate to the Bishop of *London*, well stuffed with words of Idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth.

The Gospel seldom times long quiet.

Pope John 23.

The pride and glory of the Clergy of England in those days.

Forty days of pardon given by Thomas Arundel Archbishop.

A Mandate of *Thomas Arundel*, directed to the Bishop of *London*, to warn men to say certain Prayers at the tolling of the *Aves*, or ringing of *Curfew*.

Thomas, &c. To the right reverend Brother, the Lord Robert, by the Grace of God Bishop of *London*, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word that was in the beginning with God, chose to him an holy and immaculate Virgin of the Kingly Stock, in whose womb he took true flesh by inspiral inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the Posterity of Mankind, that was created, had by sin incurred: Amongst other Labours in the Vine of the Lord of Sabbath, we sung to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Christian Religion did extol with voices of praises so worthy a Virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of our Redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us, which gave us hope of Salvation; And although all the same people were drawn to reverence her, which being a happy Virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of Heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all Nations, ministering light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkness of death: We truly as the Servants of her own Inheritance, and such as are written of, to be of her peculiar Dowry, as we are by every mans confession acknowledged to be, we I say ought more watchfully than any others to shew the endeavours of our devotion in praising her. Who being hitherto merciful to us, yea being even Cowards, would that our power, being as it were spread abroad every where through all the coasts of the World, should with a victorious Arm fear all foreign Nations; That our power, being on all sides so defended with the Buckler of her Protection, did subdue unto our victorious Standards, and made subject unto us, Nations both near at hand and far off.

Ringing of Curfew.

If this be not blasphemous and derogatory to Christ, let the Reader judge.

These men make a Belation of our Lady.

False help sought and set up of idolaters.

* The Papists would sack our Ladies papa.

† Will ye stand to this Doctrine ye Catholics? Papists blasphemy fighting against the Grace of Christ. Ringing of Curfew.

Likewise our happy estate (all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives) may be well attributed only to the help of her Medicine; to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in these our times, under the mighty Government of our most Christian King, our deliverance from the ravening Wolves, and the mouths of cruel Beasts, which had prepared against our Banquets a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and bated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompence of the good will that we shewed to them. Wherefore, that she being on high sitting before the Throne of the heavenly Majesty, the Defendress and Patroness of us all, being magnified with all mens praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us the Sons of Adoption the tears of her * Grace, in all those things that we shall have to do; At the request of the special devotion of our Lord the King himself, we command your Brotherhood, straitly enjoying you, that you command the Subjects of your City and Diocese, and of all other Suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary the Mother of God, and our † Patroness and Protectress, evermore in all adversity, with such like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christs faithful people is wont to worship her at the ringing of *Coure le feu*. And when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be every where honoured devoutly by the aforesaid our and your Suffragans, and their Subjects as well religious as secular, in your and their Monasteries and Collegiate-Churches: That we so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly Piety, may mercifully come to the help, the protection and defence of the same our Lord the King, who for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succour from tempestuous Floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes with all his whole desire to watching. We therefore coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, &c. We grant by these presents, to all and every man, &c. that shall say the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel five times at the Morning-Peal with

with a devout mind, toties quoties (how oft soever) forty days pardon by these presents. Given under our Seal in our Manor of Lambeth the tenth day of Febr. Anno nostra translationis. 9. Ex Regist. Thom. Arundel.

Heaping up
Ceremonies
in the
Church.

By this frivolous and barbarous Constitution, with many other of like sort heaped into the Church by the Papists, appeareth the proper natures and condition of this Catholick Generation. Who being themselves not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spiritual matter (as seemeth) take upon them to govern the Spiritual Church of Christ, whereof indeed they have no skill or very little. And therefore according to their unskilful handling, they lead and rule the Church after such outward fights and ceremonies, seemly perhaps to their own gross affection; but not agreeing (nay rather clean contrary) to the right nature and condition of the Spiritual House and Kingdom of the Lord. And like as in their inventions they swerve utterly from the right handling of all Spiritual Government; so in their manners and form of life likewise they do resemble little or no part almost of such as are and ought to be true Pastors and Ministers of the Mystical Body of Christ.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain, in these Roman Prelates to be noted; who so well considering the humble state and lowly spirit which ought to be in Pastoral Leaders of the Church, will compare the same with the usual pomp of these glorious Potestates.

The pomp
of the
Popes
Church
noted.

As for example, what can be more convenient for a true Pastor Ecclesiastical, than humility of heart and spirit, according to the example of the Head-Bishop himself? So what greater shew of Arrogancy and Pride could there be, than in this, whom I have oft named before, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury? who, passing by the high street of London, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the Bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great snuff, and did suspend all such Churches in London (not only with the Steeple and Bells, but also with the Organs) so many as did not receive his coming with the noise of Bells, according as out of his own Registers may appear; the word whereof annexed to his own Somner, I have hereto annexed in his own form, as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certain Churches of London, because they rung not their Bells at the presence of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Churches of
London sus-
pended for
not ringing
at the
coming of
the Arch-
bishop.

Thomas by the permission of God, &c. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our Somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. The comeliness of our holy Church of Canterbury, over which we bear Rule, deserveth and requieth, that while we pass through the Province of the same our Church (having our Cross carried before us) in token of special reverence that they bear to us, to ring their Bells. Which notwithstanding, yea on Tuesday last past, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the Clock before Dinner, passed openly on foot as it were through the midst of the City of London, with our Cross carried before us; divers Churches, whose names are here beneath noted, shewed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our coming) unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our Church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we being willing to revenge this injury, for the honour of our Spouse, as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those Churches under our Inditement, suspending Gods holy Organs and Instruments in the same. Which we also suspend by the tenour of these presents, till the Ministers of the aforesaid Churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful Grace. Given, &c.

On this
rious ce-
monies to
Christ his
humility.

What great reason was in this, why this Archbishop either should thus look for the ringing of the Bells, or why he should be thus displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Be-like his mind in the mean time was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of

Gods fear, with repentance and remembrance of his sins, with zealous care and solicitude, for his Flock, with the earnest meditation of the Passion and Life of our Saviour, who in this World was so despised: or else was set upon some grave study, while he so waited for the ringing of the Bells, which were wont to be so noisome to all Students. And why were not the Trumpeters also silent as well, because they did not found before his Person? But though the Bells did not clatter in the Steeples, and therefore his Thunderbolt should have fallen upon the Steeples which had deserved; why should the body of the Church therefore be suspended? At least, the poor Organs (me thinketh) had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the Quire, because the Bells rang not in the Tower.

Organs sus-
pended in
the Church,
because the
Bells did
not ring.

Of the like matter also we read in the said Registers, falling between the Bishop of Worcester, and the Priory of the same Town, for not ringing at the Bishops coming into the Church. Whereupon much suit and contention was between them, till at length the Archbishop of Canterbury took up the matter, moderating it, as in the said Registers, fol. 441. appeareth to be seen as followeth:

U Niverfis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there hap-
pened variance lately between our reverend Bro-
ther the Lord Bishop of Worcester on the one
party, and the religious and discreet men the Prior and
Convent of the same Church on the other party, for not
ringing of Bells at the coming of our said Brother to his
foresaid Church, at length the parties (considering the
great inconvenience that might come thereof) at our in-
stance and request did agree on this manner, that as often
as it shall happen our reverend Brother to go to his afore-
said Church, either to celebrate Orders, or to visit his
Church in the Head or in the Inferiors, or to make
Cream and Oil in the same Church; Also in the Feast
of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, which is
the chiefest Feast in the Abbey aforesaid; then the Prior
and the Convent, and their Successors for the time being,
shall ring solemnly against his coming, or shall cause to
be rung solemnly without all contradiction, or any re-
claiming hereafter to be made against the same. Which
agreement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you
all understand by these presents, sealed with our Seal.
Given at our Palace of Canterbury, July 12. the tenth
year of our Government.

Ex Regist.
Tho. Arun-
dell.

Variance
between the
Bishop and
Prior of
Worcester
for not
ringing at
the Bishops
coming.

The like stir for Bell-ringing and for Processions, had almost happened between the Archbishop of Canterbury, Successor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chicheley on the one party, and the Abbey of S. Albans on the other party, had not the Abbot, in time submitting himself to the Archbishop, so provided, that the ringing of their Bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their Liberties. Whereunto the Archbishop granted by these his Letters as followeth:

H Enry, &c. to the religious men, the Abbot and Co-
vent of the Monastery of S. Albans in the Diocese of
Lincoln, health, &c. When as of late there happened a mat-
ter of variance between us, and you the Abbot and Convent,
by reason of not giving reverence to us, being due to our
Province of Canterbury; that is, for not ringing the Bells,
and meeting us with Processions when we passed by divers
places of our Province, as well due of common custom, as
of old use, and for the Prerogative of the Church of Can-
terbury, as also being due of every one being within the
compass of this our said Province, when and as often as we
shall pass by their places; at length your Lord Abbot
(coming personally to us) did grant both for you and the
Convent aforesaid, to do and to give of your gentleness all
reverence and honour, with such reverence both to us and
our Church of Canterbury, as often as we pass by your Mo-
nastery, or the places nigh or adjoining thereto, or shall here-
after go by; so that it might not be prejudicial to your ex-
emption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your
privilege; and that it might not be challenged for duty
hereafter. Wherefore we, desiring to keep you from damage,
let you understand by these presents, that it is not our intent
to derogate your exemptions or privilege whatsoever herein;
nor

Ring-
ing in
the Arch-
bishop at
S. Albans.

Ex Regist.
Hen. Chiche-
ley, fol. 365.

[KING] nor by any means to be prejudicial to you by these your reverences or other duties, whatsoever you have or shall grant to us of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your Dominion. In witness whereof, &c. Dated the 28th day of January, 1425. at S. Albans, the twelfth year of our Government.

To expresse moreover and describe the glorious pomp of these Prince-like Prelates in these blind days of Popish Religion reigning then in the Church, I thought to adjoyn hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and enjoyned strait penance by William Courtney Pre-

decessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his Horse, not in Wains as they should do, but in privy sacks, in a secret manner under their Clokes or Coats. For the which so hainous and horrible Trespass, the said Archbishop sitting in his Tribunal-Seat, did call and cite before him the said persons (*pro litera*, i. e. for litter, after his own *Latin*) and after their submission enjoyned them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foresaid Parties, here followeth out of the said Archbishops Registers, both by his own words, and by picture of the persons in the same Registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seen.

Will. Courtney
Archbishop of
Canterbury.

Ex Regist.
W. Courtney.

A description of poor men doing their Penance with their straw on their back.



This bag full of straw I beare on my back, Because my lords horse his litter did lack. If ye be not good to my lords graces horse, ye are like to goe barefoot before the crosse.

The Picture
of them
drawn in
all propor-
tion accord-
ing to the
example
standing in
the Register

Ex Regist.
W. Courtney.

Mark ye
Grammari-
an, there,
for Rhetor.

Erroris mater ignorantia quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forfall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, Tenentes Domini de Wengham taliter obcecavit, quod ante adventum dicti Domini Archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominica in ramis palmarum, Anno Dom. 1390. de cariando & ducendo ad dictum palatium fenum, stramen, sive literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura suorum, quas & quæ tenent de Domino & Ecclesia sua Cantuariæ astringuntur, per balivum Domini ibidem jussi & legitima præmoniti debita servitia more solito impendere designantes, stramen hujusmodi non in carrucis & vebiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt; in vilipendium Domini, ac subractionem jurium Ecclesiæ suæ Cantuar. Unde super hoc evocati coram Domino, die Jovis in hebdomada Paschæ in castro suo de Staterwode pro Tribunalis sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius judicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam & misericordiam pro commissis devote petendo. Et deinde Dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forfall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, de stando mandatu Ecclesiæ, & fideliter peragendo penam eis pro eorum demeritis injungendam, iuratas absolvit in forma juris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpa, pena salutari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente prædicti penitentes nudi capita & pedes, processione apud Ecclesiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet feno & stramine) ita quod stramen & fenum hujusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter & devote.

In English.

Ignorance the mother of Error, so much hath blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forfall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, Tenants of the Lord of Wengham, that against the coming of the foresaid Archbishop to his Palace of Canterbury on Palmes-Sunday even, the year of our Lord, 1390. where they being warned by the Bayliff, to convey and carry Hay, Straw, and other litter to the aforesaid Palace, as they were bound by the tenour of their Lands, which they hold of the See of Canterbury; refusing and disdainng to do their service, as they were accustomed, brought their straw and other litter, not in Carts and Wains openly and sufficiently, but by piece-meal, and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their Lord, and derogation of the Right and Title of the See of Canterbury. Whereupon they being ascited and presented before the Archbishop, sitting in Judgment at his Mannor of Staterwood, yielded and submitted themselves to his Lordships pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their Trespass. Then the aforesaid Archbishop absolved the above named Hugh Pennie, &c. they swearing to obey the Laws and Ordinances of holy Church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts; that is, that they going leisurely before the procession, every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw; so that the said hay and straw should appear hanging out, the mouthes of the Sacks being open.

Ex Regist.
W. Courtney
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Penance for
enjoyned for
bringing
straw to my
Lords horse.

Discommu-
nication
and absolu-
tion abused.

Notes

Notes of certain Parliament matters passed in this Kings days.

Notes of this Kings Parliament.

TO proceed now further in the Reign of this King, and to intreat also something of his Parliaments as we have done of other before. First, we will begin with the Parliament holden in the first year of his coming in.

The Popes Jurisdiction excluded out of this Realm.

Moreover, forasmuch as our Catholick Papists will not believe yet the contrary, but that the Jurisdiction of their Father the Pope hath ever extended throughout all the World, as well here in England, as in other places; Here therefore speaking of the Parliaments holden in this Kings days concerning this matter, I refer them to the Parliament of the said King Henry in his first year holden, and to the 27th Article of the same. Where they may read in the tenth Objection laid against King Richard in plain words, how that, forasmuch as the Crown of this Realm of England, and the Jurisdiction belonging to the same; as also the whole Realm it self, at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and enjoyed such Prerogative, that neither the Pope, nor any other out of the same Kingdom, ought to intrude himself nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the forenamed King Richard the Second, for procuring the Letters Apostolical from the Pope, to the confirming, and corroborating of certain Statutes of his, and that his Censures might be prosecuted against the Breakers thereof. Which seemed then to the Parliament to tend against the Crown and Regal Dignity, as also against the Statutes and Liberties of this the said our Realm of England, *Att. Parl. An. 1. Reg. Hen. 4. Art. 27.*

Ex an. 1. Reg. Henrici, Art. 27.

Furthermore, in the second year of the said King, this was in the Parliament required, that all such Persons as shall be arrested by force of the Statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry the Fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the Sheriffs, or such like Officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The King granted to their advice therein.

An. 8. R. Henr. 4. Art. 116.

In the eighth year moreover of this Kings Reign, it was likewise propounded in the Parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the Court of Rome any Process touching any Benefice, Collation, or Presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the Statute of Provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard the Second, whereunto the King granted, that the Statutes heretofore provided should be observed.

An. 8. R. Henr. 4. Art. 114.

Item, in the said Parliament, there it was put up by Petition, that the King might enjoy half the profits of every Parsons Benefice who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the King answered, That the Ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their Pluralities.

Stat. Art. 37.

Item, in the said Parliament it was required; that none do sue to the Court of Rome for any Benefice, but only to the Kings Courts.

In the next year following, which was the ninth of this King, another Petition of the Commons was put in Parliament against the Court of Rome, which I thought good here to express, as followeth:

Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9 Henr. 4.

The Commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers Provisors of the Benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the Court of Rome, through their singular covetousness now newly imagined to destroy those that have been long time Incumbents in divers their Benefices of holy Church peaceably, some of them by the Title of the King, some by Title ordinary, and by the Title of other true Patrons thereof, by colour of Provisions, Relations, and other Grants made to the same Provisors by the Apostol of the said Benefices, do pursue Processes in the said Court by Citations made beyond the Sea, without any Citations made within the Realm in deed against the same Incumbents; whereby many of the said Incumbents, through such privy and crafty Processes and Sentences of privation and inhabilitation, have lost their Benefices, and others put in the places of the said Incumbents, before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their Benefices through such Processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief; And forasmuch as this mis-

The wickedness of Popes Provisors inclining and depriving beneficed men in England, their citation being not known in the Realm.

chief cannot be helped without any special remedy be had by Parliament: Pleaseth it the King to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his Subjects without their knowledge, through such Citations out of the Realm, and thereupon to ordain by the advice of the Lords of this present Parliament, that none presented be received by any Ordinary unto any Benefice of any such Incumbent for any cause of privation or inhabilitation, whereof the Process is not founded upon Citation made within the Realm, and also that such Incumbents may remain in all their Benefices, until it be proved by due Inquest in the Court of the King, that the Citations, whereupon such privations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the Realm: and that if such Ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they and their Procurators, Fautors, and Counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the Statute made against Provisors in the thirteenth year of the Reign of the late Richard King of England the Second, by Process to be made, as is declared in the Statute made against such Provisors in the 27th year of the Reign of King Edward. Predecessor to our Lord the King that now is, any Royal Licences or Grants in any manner to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other Statutes made against Provisors, and not repealed before this present Parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.

KING Hen. 4.

That the Kings Council have Power by Authority of Parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue: and that the said Council by the advice of the Justices, do right unto the Parties. This to indure until the next Parliament, reserving always unto the King his Prerogative and Liberty.

Item, that no Popes Collector thenceforth should levy any money within the Realm for First-fruits of any Ecclesiastical Dignity, under pain of incurring the Statute of Provisions. *An. 9. R. Henr. 4. Art. 43.*

Besides in the said Parliament holden the eleventh year of this King, is to be noted how the Commons of the land put up a Bill unto the King, to take the Temporal Lands out from Spiritual mens hands or possession. The effect of which Bill was, that the Temporalities disordinately wasted by men of the Church, might suffice to find to the King 15 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Esquires, and a 100 houses of Almshouse, to the relief of the poor people, more than at those days within England. And over all these foresaid charges, the King might put yearly in his Coffers 20000 pound.

Ex Chron. D. Alban. Fabians, & alii.

Provided, that every Earl should have of yearly rent three thousand mark; and every Knight a hundred mark and four plough-lands; every Esquire forty mark by year, with two plough-lands; and every house of Almshouse a hundred mark, with oversight of two true Seculars unto every house, and also with provision, that every Township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living; with condition that if more fell in a Town than the Town might maintain, then the said Almshouse-houses to relieve such Townships.

And to bear these Charges, they alledged by their said Bill, That the Temporalities, being in possession of Spiritual men, amounted to 3 C. and 22 M. mark by year. Whereof they affirmed to be in the See of Canterbury, with the Abbies of Christs Church, of S. Augustines, Shrewsbury, Coggeshale, and S. Osms, 20 M. mark by year. In the See of York and Abbies there 20 M. mark. In the See of Winchester and Abbies there 20 M. mark. In the See of London, with Abbies and other Houses there 20 M. mark. In the See of Lincoln, with the Abbies of Peterborough, Ramsey, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of Norwich, with the Abbies of Bury, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of Ely, Spalding and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of Bath, with the Abbey of Okinborne and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of Worcester, with the Abbies of Evesham, Abingdon, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of Chester, with the Precinct of the same, with the Sees of S. David, of Salisbury, and Exeter, with their precincts, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of Ravens or Revans, of Fountains, of Gernons, and divers other, to the number of five more, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of Leicester, Walsban, Gosborne, Merton, Ticeter, Osney, and other, unto the number of six more, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of Dovers, Batil, Lewis, Coventry, Daventre, and Tournay, 20

A computation of Church-goods, to how much they do amount.

KING 20 M. mark. The Abbies of Northampton, Thorton, Bristol, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchiffor, Fridefwide, Norly, and Grimoisby, 20 M. mark.

The which foresaid Sums amount to the full of 3 C. M. mark. And for the odd of 22 M. mark, they appointed Hardford, Rochester, Huntingdon, Swinshed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Tewkesbury, Dunstable, Whirborn, Taunton, and Biland.

And over this, they alledged by the said Bill, that over and above the said sum of 3 C. and 22 M. mark, divers Houses of Religion in England possessed as many Temporalities as might suffice to find yearly 15 M. Priests and Clerks, every Priest to be allowed for his stipend 7 mark by the year.

To the which Bill no answer was made, but that the King of this matter would take deliberation and advice, and with that answer ended, so that no further labour was made.

Anno 1413. These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the life time of this King, followeth next the thirteenth year of his Reign.

In the which year the said King Henry the Fourth after he had sent a little before a certain company of Captains and Souldiers to aid the Duke of Burgundy in France (among whom was the Lord Cobham) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell grievously sick. From thence he was conveyed to London, where he began to call a Parliament, but tarried not the end. In the mean time, the infirmity of the King more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a Bed in a fair Chamber at Westminster.

The King had a Prophecy, that he should die in Jerusalem. Prophecies deceivable.

And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same Chamber; and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his Prophecy, That he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so disposing himself toward his end in the foresaid Chamber, he died; upon what sickness, whether of Leprosy, or of some other sharp Disease, I have not to affirm. *Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico,*

Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cui inscribitur: That all men called the Prophecy of Pope Sixtus the Second.

cujus initium: That all men called. The like Prophecy we read of Pope Silvester the Second, to whom being inquisitive for the time and place where he should die, it was answered, That he should die in Jerusalem. Who then saying Mass in a Chappel (called likewise Jerusalem) perceived his end there to be near, and died. And thus King Henry the Fourth, Successor to the lawful King Richard the Second, finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury by the Tomb of Thomas Becket, &c. Anno 1413.

King Henry the Fifth.

King Henry the Fifth.

After this Henry the Fourth reigned Henry the Fifth his Son, which was born at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other Vertues, and great Victories gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy Prowess, being sufficiently described in other Writers in this our time, may both content the Reader, and unburden my labour herein; especially seeing these later Troubles and Perturbations of the Church offer me so much, that unneth any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters prophane.

Great tempest at the Coronation of the new King.

After the Coronation then of this new King; which was the ninth day of April, called then Passion-Sunday, which was an exceeding stormy-day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the same, a Parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the Feast of Easter, at Westminster, Anno 1413. At which time Thomas Arundel the Archbishop of Canterbury collected in Pauls Church at London an universal Synod of all the Bishops and Clergy of England. In that Synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined; that the day of Saint George, and also of Saint Dunstan, should be double Feast, called *Duplex Festum*, in holy Kitchin, in holy Church I would say.

A Synod called at London, S. George and S. Dunstan made double Feast.

And because the order and manner of those Pope-holy Feasts either yet is not sufficiently known to some rude and gross capacities, or may peradventure grow out of use, and be strange and unknown to our Posterity hereafter; therefore to give a little memorandum thereof (by the way for erudition of times hereafter to come) touching this myltical Science of the Popes deep and secret

Divinity; here is to be noted, that the Feasts of the holy Mother Catholick-Church be divided into sundry members. Like as a plentiful Root in a fruitful Field riseth up and burgeneth into manifold Arms, and the Arms again do multiply into divers and sundry Branches, out of the which moreover, although no Fruit do come, yet both Leaves and Flowers do bud and blossom in most copious wise, right beautiful to behold; Even so this *Festum*, containing a large matter of great variety of Days and Feasts, groweth in it self and multiplieth, being thus divided; First, into *Festum duplex*, and into *Festum simplex*; that is, into Feast-double, and to Feast-simple. Again, this *Festum duplex* brancheth four-fold-wise, to wit, into *Festum principale duplex*, into *Majus duplex*, into *Minus duplex*, and *Inferius duplex*; that is, in principal double, in greater double, in lesser double, and inferiour or lower double. Unto these several sorts of Feasts what days were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to understand, that as unto the principal double Feast only belongeth eight days in the year; so the *Majus duplex Festum* had given unto him by this Convocation the day of Saint George and of Saint Dunstan, as is afore remembred; albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custom it was not so used. Item, it is to be noted, that these two Feasts, to wit, *Principale duplex*, and *Majus duplex*, did differ and were known from all other by four Notes; by service in the Kitchin, and by service in the Church, which were both double, by ringing in the Steeple, which was with a double peal; by Copes in the Quire, and by thurifying or censing the Altars: For in these two principal and greater double Feasts, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lesson must be read with filken Copes. Also at the said Feasts, in the time of the Lessons, the Altars in the Church must be thurified; that is, smoked with Incense, &c. And likewise the *Minus duplex*, and *Inferius duplex* had also their peculiar service to them belonging.

The Feast of the Popes Church described and divided.

Festum duplex
Principale duplex
Majus duplex
Minus duplex
Inferius duplex
Constitution against Council.
Ex tab. Festorum.

Secondly, The *Simplex Festum*, which is the second Arm springing of this division, is thus divided: Either having a triple inventory, or a double, or else a single inventory. Of the which moreover, some have three Lessons, some have nine, &c.

Simplex Festum
in the Popes Church.

And thus much by occasion for Popish Feasts; not that I do so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest Idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonour of our Lord God, which is only to be honoured.

The Trouble and Persecution of the Lord Cobham.

But to let this by-matter pass, again to return to the foresaid universal Synod assembled by Thomas Arundel at S. Pauls Church in London, as is before remembred: the chief and principal cause of the assembling thereof (as reporteth the Chronicle of Saint Albans) was to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal Favourer, Receiver, and Maintainer of them, whom the Bishop misnamed to be Lollards, especially in the Diocesses of London, Rochester and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the Bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the Constitution Provincial, before remembred, holding also and teaching Opinions of the Sacraments, of Images, of Pilgrimage, of the Keys and Church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish Church, &c.

The trouble of the Lord Cobham.
Ex Chron. Mon. Alban.

In the mean time as these were in talk amongst them concerning the good Lord Cobham; resorted unto them the twelve Inquisitors of Heresies (whom they had appointed at Oxford the year afore, to search out Hereticks, with all Wickliffs Books) who brought 246 Conclusions, which they had collected as Heresies out of the said Books. The Names of the said Inquisitors were these:

Walden in fasciculo x. zaniarum Wicklevi.

1. *John Whitnam*, a Master in the new Colledge.
2. *John Langedon*, Monk of Christs Church in Canterbury.
3. *William Ufford*, Regent of the Carmelites.
4. *Thomas Claxton*, Regent of the Dominicks.
5. *Robert Gilbert*.
6. *Richard Earsbisdale*.
7. *John Lucke*.
8. *Richard Snedisham*.
9. *Richard Fleming*.
10. *Thomas Rotorborne*.
11. *Robert Rombery*.
12. *Richard Crafdale*.

These things thus done, and the Articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their Communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs Coat without seam (meaning thereby their patched Popish Synagogue) unless certain great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chief Maintainers of the said Disciples of Wickliff. Among whom this noble Knight Sir *John Oldcastle*, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the general Proctors to be the chief Principal. Him they accused, first, for a mighty Maintainer of suspected Preachers in the Dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the Ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said Preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of Arms, notwithstanding their synodal Constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Penance, of Pilgrimage, of Image-worshipping, and of the Ecclesiastical Power, than the holy Church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, Process should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious Heretick.

Some of that Fellowship which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before. Considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the King, their counsel was to know first the Kings mind to save all things upright. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the Archbishop *Thomas Arundel*, with his other Bishops, and a great part of the Clergy, went straitways unto the King then remaining at *Kennington*, and there laid forth most grievous Complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The King gently heard those blood-thirsty Prelates, and far otherwise than became his Princely Dignity: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble Stock and Knighthood, they should yet favourably deal with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling reduce him again to the Churches unity. He promised them also, that in case they were committed to take some deliberation, his self would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the King sent for the said Lord Cobham, And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his Mother the holy Church, and as an obedient Child to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the Christian Knight made this answer: *You most worthy Prince, faith he, I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a Christian King, and the appointed Minister of God, bearing the Sword to the punishment of evil Doers, and for safeguard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole Obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have done ever) all that I have, either of Fortune or Nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the Pope and his Spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the Son of Perdition, the open Adversary of God, and the Abomination standing in the holy place.* When the King had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the Archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their devilish Decree, which they called the Laws of holy Church. Then the said Archbishop, by the counsel of his other Bishops and Clergy, appointed to call before him Sir *John Oldcastle*, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear, to answer to such suspect Articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chief Summoner, with a very sharp citation unto the Castle of *Cowling*, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said Summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the Gates of so Noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home again, his Message not done.

Then called the Archbishop one *John Butler* unto him, which was then the Doorkeeper of the Kings Privy-Chamber; and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the Kings Name. Whereupon the said *John Butler* took the Archbishops Summoner with him, and went unto the said Lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the Kings pleasure, that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then said he to them in few words, *That he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the Priests.* As they had informed the Archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by publick Process or open Commandment. And in all the haste possible, upon the *Wednesday* before the Nativity of our Lady, in *September*, he commanded Letters citatory to be set upon the great Gates of the Cathedral-Church of *Rochester* (which was but three *English* miles from thence) charging him to appear personally before him at *Ledis* the eleventh day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those Letters were taken down anon after by such as bare favour unto the Lord Cobham, and so conveyed aside. After that caused the Archbishop new Letters to be set up on the Nativity-day of our Lady, which also were rent down, and utterly consumed.

Then forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at *Ledis* (where he sate in Consistory, as cruel as ever was *Caiphar*, with his Court of Hypocrites about him) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired Spies, and other glosing Glauvers, that the said Lord Cobham had laughed at him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old Opinions, contemned the Churches Power, the Dignity of a Bishop, and the Order of Priesthood (for all these was he then accused of) in his moody madness without just proof did he openly Excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the *Saturday* before the Feast of *S. Matthew* the Apostle, with these cruel Threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himself more strong towards the performance thereof he compelled the Lay-power, by most terrible menacings of Curses and Interdictions, to assist him against that seditious Apostata, Schismatick, and Heretick, the Troubler of the publick Peace, that Enemy of the Realm, and great Adversary of all holy Church; for all these hateful Names did he give him.

This most constant Servant of the Lord, and worthy Knight Sir *John Oldcastle*, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of *Antichrist* thus kindled against him, perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or reckoning of his Faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his own hand. Wherein he also answered to the four chiefest Articles that the Archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the Copy with him, and went therewith to the King, trusting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confession of his, than the common belief or sum of the Churches Faith, called *The Apostles Creed*, of all Christian men then used, with a brief Declaration upon the same, as here ensueth.

The Lord Cobham accused for maintaining the God-head of Christ.

The Lord Cobham accused for his Christ-an belief.

Process against him.

A spiritual practice.

The King speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

The Kings admonishment to the Lord Cobham. The answer of the Lord Cobham to the King. Rom. 13. I Pet. 2. Lord Cobham obedient to the King. A most Christian obedience. 2 Thes. 2. Mat. 24. The Lord Cobham forsaken of the King.

KING. Hm. s. Lord Cobham summoned by the Archbishop.

John Butler playeth the part.

Citationist up against the Lord Cobham.

The citation taken down.

Falsely Accused against Lord Cobham.

Lord Cobham excommunicated. Lord Cobham again cited.

Lord Cobham confesseth his God before men.

The Apostles Faith.

The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, Crucified, Dead and Buried, went down to Hell, the third day rose again from Death, Ascended up to Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal Holy Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of Sins, the uprising of the flesh, and Everlasting Life, Amen.

And for a more large Declaration (saith he) of this my Faith in the Catholick Church, I steadfastly believe, That there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the self same

God Almighty. I believe also, That the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of Man, which was before lost in Adams offence.

Moreover I believe, That the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and Man, is the only head of the whole Christian Church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, be members of this most Holy Church. And this Holy Church I think to be divided into three sorts of companies.

Whereof the first sort be now in Heaven, and they are the Saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy Laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the World, and the flesh with all their concupiscence and evils.

The second sort are in Purgatory (if any such place be in the Scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain.

The third sort are here upon the Earth, and be called the Church Militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the Devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.

This later Congregation by the just Ordinance of God is also severed into three divers estates, that is to say, into Priesthood, Knighthood, and the Commons. Among whom the will of God is, That the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The Priests first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit should they be, than any other sorts of people.

In the Knighthood are all they which bear sword by Law of Office; These should defend Gods Laws, and see that the Gospel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and excluding all false Preachers; yea those ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked Decrees as either blemish the Eternal Testament of God, or yet let the free passage thereof, whereby Heresies and Schisms might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and thieves, and to see the Clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the Law or Office to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinance.

The later fellowship of this Church, are the common people; whose duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the foresaid ministers of God, their Kings, Civil Governours and Priests. The right Office of these, is justly to occupy every Man his faculty, be it Merchandise, Handicraft, or the Tithes of the ground. And so one of

them to be as an helper to another, following always in their sorts the just Commandments of the Lord God.

Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, That the Sacraments of Christs Church are necessary to all Christian believers; this always seen to, that they be truly ministered according to Christs first Institution and Ordinance. And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsely accused of a mis-belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, to the hurtful slander of many; I signifie here unto all Men, that this is my faith concerning that. I believe in that Sacrament to be contained Christs very body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea the same body that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, done on the Cross, died and was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in Heaven. I also believe the universal Law of God to be most true and perfect, and they which do not so follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved. Whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency.

Finally, this is my faith also, that God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed Law. If any Prelates of Church require more, or else any other kind of obedience, than this to be used; he contemneth Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open Antichrist. All the premisses I believe particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his Holy Scripture, that I should believe; instantly desiring you my Liege Lord and most worthy King, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly wise, and learned Men of your Realm. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be so allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned; provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto.

This brief confession of his Faith the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mentioned before) and so took it with him to the Court, offering it with all meekness unto the King to read it over. The King would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his Judges. Then desired he in the Kings presence, that an hundred Knights and Esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all Heresies. Moreover he offered himself, after the Law of Arms, to fight for life or death with any Man living, Christian or Heathen, in the quarrel of his Faith, the King and the Lords of his Council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should after the Laws of God be ministered unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekness obey it. Notwithstanding all this the King suffered him to be summoned personally in his own Privy Chamber. Then said the Lord Cobham to the King, that he had appealed from the Archbishop to the Pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his Judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he shewed it with all reverence to the King. Wherewith the King was then much more displeased than afore, and said angrily unto him, that he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he, or nild he the Archbishop should be his Judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the L. Cobham had lawfully afore required. But forasmuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the Church, and so take what penance the Archbishop would enjoin him; He was arrested again at the Kings Commandment, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keep his day (so was it then spoken) that the Archbishop had appointed him afore in the Kings Chamber.

Then caused he the foresaid Confession of his Faith to be copied again, and the answer also (which he had made to the four Articles propounded against him) to be written in manner of an Indenture in two sheets of Paper: That when he should come to his answer, he might give the one Copy unto the Archbishop, and reserve the other to himself. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23d day of September the Saturday before the Feast

Belief of the Lord Cobham concerning the Sacraments.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Gods Law to be preferred before mans Law.

A Christian desire of the Lord Cobham. This request was lawful. Obedience unto his King.

The Christ: an stomach and manhood of the L. Cobham. No reasonable offer would serve

L. Cobham appealed from the Archbishop to the Pope

Straight handling of the King.

L. Cobham would not obey the beaft.

The confession and answer of the L. Cobham newly copied.

Caiaphas
sitteth in
Consistory.

of S. Matthew; Thomas Arundel the Archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas room in the Chapter-House of Pauls with Richard Clifford Bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook Bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley Knight and Lieutenant of the Tower brought personally before him the said Lord Cobham, and there left him for the time; unto whom the Archbishop said these words.

*The first Examination of the Lord
COBHAM.*

Antichrist
was here in
full power.

SIR John, in the last general Convocation of the Clergy of this our Province, ye were detected of certain Heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon ye were, by form of spiritual Law cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly Excommunicated. Notwithstanding we neither yet shewed our selves unready to have given you Absolution (nor yet do to this hour) would ye have meekly asked it. Unto this the Lord Cobham shewed, as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwise occupied, and so desired no Absolution. But said he would gladly before him and his Brethren make rehearsal of that Faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing intended, concerning the Articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the Archbishop as he had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the Copy.

A sign of
Gods true
servant.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Lords body.

I John Oldcastle Knight, Lord of Cobham, Will that all Christian Men, weet and understand, that I clepe Almighty God into witness, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be mine intent and my will, to believe faithfully and fully all the Sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in Holy Church; and moreover do declare me in these four points, I believe that the most worshipful Sacrament of the Altar is Christs body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the Cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in Heaven.

Penance.

Also as for the Sacrament of Penance I believe, That it is needful to every Man that shall be saved to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin before done, with true Confession, very Contrition, and due satisfaction as Gods Law limiteth and teacheth, and else may not be saved; which penance I desire all Men to do.

Images.

And as of Images, I understand that they be not of believe, but that they were ordained sith they believe was zewe of Christ, by sufferance of the Church, to be Calenders to lewd Men, to represent and bring to mind the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Martyrdom and good living of other Saints: And that whoſo it be, that doth the worship to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in help of them, as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the greatest sin of Maumetry.

Pilgrimage.

Also I suppose this fully, That every Man in this Earth is a Pilgrim toward bliss, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keep the holy Commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on Pilgrimages to all the world, and he die so) he shall be damned: he that knoweth the holy Commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he shall be saved though he never in his life go on Pilgrimage, as Men now use to Canterbury or to Rome, or to any other place.

The answers
examined.

This answer to his Articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the Bishops as is said afore. Then counselled the Archbishop with the other two Bishops and with divers of the Doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion by their assent and information he said thus unto him; Come hither, Sir John: In this your writing are many good things contained, and right Catholick also, we deny it not: but ye must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those Articles, whereof, as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And

Quarrel
picked
where none
was given.

therefore ye must yet declare us your mind more plainly.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm and believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration rightly done by a Priest, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm and believe, that as concerning the Sacrament of Penance (whereas a competent number of Priests are) every Christian Man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sins to a Priest ordained by the Church or not.

After certain other communication, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham, That none otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his Articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the Archbishop again unto him; Sir John, beware what ye do. For if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you (especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose) the Law of the Holy Church is, That compelled once by a judge we may openly proclaim you an Heretick. Unto whom he gave this answer; Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point. Whatsoever he or the other Bishops did ask him after that, he had them resort to his Bill; for thereby would he stand to the very death. Other answer would he not give that day; wherewith the Bishops and Prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully disquieted.

At the last the Archbishop counselled again with his other Bishops and Doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the Holy Church of Rome (following the saying of Saint Augustine, Saint Hierome, Saint Ambrose, and of the Holy Doctors) had determined in these matters, no manner of mention once made of Christ. Which determination (saith he) ought all Christian Men both to believe and to follow.

Then said the Lord Cobham unto him, That he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever Holy Church of Christs institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe to do. But that the Pope of Rome with his Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of that Church had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with his word thoroughly; that would he not (he said) at that time affirm. With this the Archbishop bad him to take good advisement till the Monday next following, (which was the 25th day of September) and then justly to answer, specially unto this point; Whether there remained material bread in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his answer making. And all this was nought else, but to blind the multitude with somewhat. The next day following, according to his promise, the Archbishop sent unto him into the Tower, this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned Clergy.

*The determination of the Archbishop and
Clergy.*

THE Faith and determination of the Holy Church touching the blissful Sacrament of the Altar, is this; That after the Sacramental words be once spoken by a Priest in his Mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body. And the material wine that was before wine is turned into Christs very blood. And so there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the Sacramental words were spoken; How believe ye this Article? Holy Church hath determined that every Christian Man, living here bodily upon the Earth, ought to be shriven to a Priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. How feel ye this Article?

Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his Vicar here in Earth, whose See is the Holy Church of Rome; And he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, which we call now Popes of Rome; by whose power in Churches particular be ordained Prelates, as Archbishops, Bishops, Parsons Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom Christian Men ought to obey after the Laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of Holy Church. How feel ye this Article?

{ KING }
Hen. 5.

The Wolf
was hungry,
he must
needs be fed
with blood.

The Christ
an answer
of the Lord
Cobham un-
to their
quarrelling

Antichrist
where is
that mo-
ther.

His answer
not to still
minds.

Antichrist
secretly men
above God

The Lord
Cobham re-
sisteth un-
to Christ.

What could
be more
reasonably
said if they
had reason
to receive it

A doctrine
of Devils
to blind the
simple

Ex magis
precipio
Thomas
Arundel.
The first
Article.

The second
Article.

The third
Article.

The feed of
the Serpent.

KING
H. 5.
The fourth
Article.

Holy Church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Christian Man, to go on Pilgrimage to holy places: and there specially to worship Holy Reliques and Images of Saints, Apostles, and Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints beside, approved by the Church of Rome. How feel ye this Article?

He seeth
their igno-
rance and
malice.

And as the Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he considered again, That God had given them over, for their unbeliefs sake, into most deep errors and blindness of soul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer. And therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his only spirit to assist him in his next answer. When the said 25th day of September was come (which was also the Munday before Michaelmas) in the said year of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundel the Archbishop of Canterbury commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the Chapter-House of Pauls to the Dominick Friars within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set with Richard Bishop of London, Henry the Bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the Bishop of Bangor; He called in unto him his Council and his Officers, with divers other Doctors and Friars, of whom these are the names here following; Master Henry Ware, the Official of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, Doctor of the Laws; Howel Kiffin, Doctor of the Canon Law; John Kempe, Doctor of the Canon Law; William Carleton, Doctor of the Canon Law; John Whitnam, of the New College in Oxford; John Whithead, Doctor in Oxford also, Robert Wombewel, Vicar of Saint Lawrence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlain, Prior of the Dominicks; Richard Dodington, Prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, Prior of the Carmelites, all Doctors of Divinity. John Stephens also, and James Cole, both Notaries, appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these with a great fort more of Priests, Monks, Canons, Friars, Parish-Clerks, Bell-ringers, Pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning him to be an horrible Heretick, and a Man accursed afore God.

He putteth
his life in
Gods hand.

Ex utroque
exemplari.

The Coun-
sell of Cap-
phar.

The Phar-
isees and
scribes.

A rable of
Antichrists.

Cobham
Malignant
man.

For a false
colour
fear they.

All done to
deceive the
ignorant.

Lord Cob-
ham cometh
again be-
fore them.

Anon the Archbishop called for a Mass Book, and caused all these Prelates and Doctors to swear thereupon, that every Man should faithfully do his Office and duty that day. And that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party nor the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken or done, but according to the truth, as they would answer before God and all the world at the day of Doom. Then were the two foresaid Notaries sworn also to write and to witness the Proces that there should be uttered on both parties, and to say their minds (if they otherwise knew) before they should Register it. And all this dissimulation was but to colour their mischeifs, before the ignorant multitude.

Consider herein (gentle Reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the just fear of God; for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came out before them Sir Robert Morley Knight, and Lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good Lord Cobham, there leaving him among them as a Lamb among Wolves, to his examination and answer.

Another Examination of the Lord COBHAM.

Ex utroque
exemplari.

The curse
of Anti-
christ.

Malac. 2.

THEN said the Archbishop unto him, Lord Cobham ye be advised (I am sure) of the words and Proces which we had unto you upon Saturday last past in the Chapter-house of Pauls; which Proces were now too long to be rehearsed again. I said unto you then, That you were accursed for your contumacy and disobedience to the Holy Church, thinking that ye should with meekness have desired your absolution.

Then spake the Lord Cobham with a chearful countenance, and said, God said by his holy Prophet, *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*, which is as much to say as, *I shall curse where you bless.*

The Archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying, Sir, At that time I gently profered to have assoiled you if you would have asked it. And yet I do the same if ye will humbly desire it in due form and manner as holy Church hath ordained.

A Wolvish
offer of
gentleness.

Then said the Lord Cobham, Nay forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards Heaven, and said; I shrieve me here unto thee my Eternal Living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee (O Lord) most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many Men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins; good Lord, I ask thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he stood up again and said with a mighty voice; Lo, good people, lo; For the breaking of Gods Law and his great commandments, they never yet cursed me: But for their own Laws and Traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other Men. And therefore, both they and their Laws, by the promise of God shall utterly be destroyed.

L. Cobham
confesseth
himself un-
to God.

Mans Law
before Gods
Law prefer-
red.
Jcr. 51.

At this the Archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, he took stomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuse of their tyranny, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Christian belief.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham made this godly answer, I believe (saith he) fully and faithfully in the universal Laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe. Then demanded the Archbishop an answer of that Bill which he and the Clergy had sent him into the Tower the day afore, in manner of a determination of the Church concerning the four Articles whereof he was accused, specially for the Sacrament of the Altar, how he believed therein.

The true
Christian
belief of
the Lord
Cobham.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham said, That with that Bill he had nothing to do. But this was his belief (he said) concerning the Sacrament. That his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last Supper with his most dear Disciples, the night before he should suffer took bread in his hand; And giving thanks to his Eternal Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying, *Take it unto you, and eat thereof all, this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: Do this hereafter in my remembrance.* This do I thoroughly believe (saith he) for this Faith am I taught in the Gospel of Matthew, in Mark, and in Luke, and also in the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians Chap. 11.

Matt. 26.
Mark 14.
Luke 22.
1 Cor. 11
Antichrist
alloweth
not this
faith.

Then asked the Archbishop, If he believed that it were bread after the Consecration or Sacramental words spoken over it.

The Lord Cobham said: I believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, done on the Cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in Heaven.

Then said one of the Doctors of the Law: after the Sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

The Lord Cobham said then to one Master John Whitehead: You said once unto me in the Castle of Cowling, that the sacred Host was not Christs body. But I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the Seculars and Friars could not therein agree, but held each one against the other in that opinion. These were my words then, if ye remember it.

John White-
head went
from his
opinion.
All this
would not
help.

Then shouted a sort of them together and cryed with great noise: We say all, That it is Gods body.

A blasphe-
mous brood

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the Consecration or not?

Quarrel pie-
ker.

Then looked the Lord Cobham earnestly upon the Archbishop, and said; I believe surely that it is Christs body in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?

And the Archbishop said, Yes, many do I.

Then asked him the Doctors, whether it were only Christs body after the Consecration of a Priest, and no bread; or not?

The Sacra-
ment of
Christs body
is both the
body and
bread.

And he said unto them, It is both Christs body and bread; I shall prove it thus: For like as Christs dwelling

H h h 2 here

Neither will Scripture nor reason serve this opinion hath S. Augustine.

Gelasius contra Eutychen.

The Popes divinity.

Material.

John 6.

An Heresie after the Papists making.

1 Cor. 10

The Sacrament is called bread.

The determination of the Church must stand, whatsoever Paul saith. A most Christian answer. The judgment of the Lord Cobham concerning the determination of the Church.

The Doctors confounded in their own question.

The L. Cobham believeth not in the Pope.

here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him: So in the Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body and bread also, as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is thereunder hid, and not seen but in Faith.

And moreover to prove, That it is both Christs body and also bread after the Consecration, it is by plain words expressed by one of your own Doctors writing against Eutyches, which saith, *Like as the self same Sacraments do pass by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keep the property still of their former nature; so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ, &c.*

Then smiled they each one upon another, that the people should judge him taken in a great Heresie. And with a great brag divers of them said: It is a foul Heresie.

Then asked the Archbishop what bread it was? And the Doctors also inquired of him whether it were material or not?

The Lord Cobham said unto them; The Scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my Faith hath nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, that it is Christs body and bread. For Christ said in the sixth of John's Gospel, *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de calo descendi: I which came down from Heaven am the living and not the dead bread.* Therefore I say now again as I said afore, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, and very Man, so in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body and bread.

Then said they all with one voice; It is an Heresie.

One of the Bishops stood up by and by, and said, What? it is an Heresie manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken, but Christs body only.

The Lord Cobham said, S. Paul the Apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians, *The bread that we break, saith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?* Lo he called it bread and not Christs body, but a mean whereby we receive Christs body.

Then said they again, Paul must be otherwise understood. For it is sure an Heresie to say that it is bread after the Consecration, but only Christs body.

The Lord Cobham asked, How they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They answered him thus: For it is against the determination of Holy Church.

Then said the Archbishop unto him: Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed Sacrament, clearly determined by the Church of Rome our Mother, and by the holy Doctors.

Then he said again unto him, I know none holier than is Christ and his Apostles. And as for that determination, I wrote it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the Churches, as ye say it is, it hath been hers only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not afore.

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith: If he believed not in the determination of the Church?

And he said unto them, No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our Creed, this word (*in*) is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, Three Persons and One God. The Birth, the Death, the Burial, the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, hath none (*in*) for belief, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the Sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the later Resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other (*in*) than in the Holy Ghost.

Then said one of the Lawyers, Tush, that was but a word of Office: But what is your belief concerning Holy Church?

The Lord Cobham answered: My belief is (as I said afore) that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All this is grounded upon them I believe throughly. For I know it is Gods pleasure that I should so do. But in your lordly Laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Christs holy Church, as your open deeds do shew: But ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy Law and Will. The Laws that ye have

made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousness.

This, they said, was an exceeding Heresie (and that in a great fume) not to believe the determination of holy Church.

Then the Archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy Church

He said unto him, my belief is, That the Holy Church is the number of them which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this Church one part is in Heaven with Christ, another in Purgatory (you say) and the third is here in Earth. This later part standeth in three degrees, in Knighthood, Priesthood, and the Commonalty, as I said afore plainly in the confession of my belief.

Then said the Archbishop unto him; Can you tell me who is of the Church?

The Lord Cobham answered; Yes, truly can I.

Then said Doctor Walden the Prior of the Carmelites; It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew, *Nolite judicare, presume to judge no man.* If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or Brother, much more the judgment of your superior.

The Lord Cobham made him this answer, Christ saith also in the self same Chapter of Matthew, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, so is a false Prophet by his works, appear they never so glorious: But that ye left behind ye. And in John he hath this Text: *Operibus credite, Believe ye the outward doings.* And in another place of John: *Iustum judicium judicate; when we know the thing to be true, we may so judge it and not offend.* For David said also; *Recte judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly always ye Children of Men.* And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek Ministers, and no proud Superiors.

Then said Doctor Walden unto him, Ye make here no difference of judgments: Ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgments, which he hath commanded us to have. Rath judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So swift Judges always are the learned Scholars of Wickliff.

Unto whom the Lord Cobham thus answered: It is well sophistred of you forsooth. Preposterous are your judgments evermore. For as the Prophet Esay saith, *Ye judge evil good and good evil:* and therefore the same Prophet concludeth, That your ways are not Gods ways, nor Gods ways your ways. And as for the virtuous Man Wickliff, whose judgments ye so highly disdain, I shall say here of my part, both before God and Man, that before I knew that despised Doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise I trust been with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.

Then said Doctor Walden again yet unto him: It were not well with me (so many virtuous Men living, and so many learned Men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of Fathers so plenteous) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the Divel preach. S. Hierome saith, *That he which seeketh such suspected masters shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day Divel.*

The Lord Cobham said, Your Fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christs miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the Divel. And you as their natural Children have still the self same judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be Hereticks, and that must your Doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it. Then said he to them all; to judge you as you be we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all Gods Law, that ye should thus sit in judgment of any Christian Man, or yet give sentence upon any other Man unto death, as ye do here daily? no ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, which fate thus upon Christ, and upon his Apostles after his Ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christs members as ye do, and neither of Peter nor John.

Then said some of the Lawyers: Yes, forsooth, Sir, for Christ judged Judas.

The Lord Cobham said, No, Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang

KING Hen. 5.

An Heresie after the Papists.

Holy Church defined.

Consider him to be then in shewd handling.

Walden contra Wickliff. li. ar. 2. cap. 67. How we may judge or not judge by the Scriptures.

Matt. 7.

John 1. John 7. Deut. 16. Psal. 56.

Diversity of judgments.

A perfect answer. Esay 5. Esay 55.

Walden in prefatione doctrine. 7.

A great advantage.

Hieron. in breviar. in mineri.

Luke 11.

John 10.

Doctors when the Scripture fall, they begin to rail.

The Clergy to sit on life or death, hath no ground in Scriptures. Followers of Caiphas.

KING hang himself: but indeed Christ said, Wo unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the Church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of Gods Law.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venime?

The Lord Cobham said, Your possessions and Lordships, For then cryed an Angel in the Air (as your own Chronicles mention) *Wo, wo, wo, this day is venime shed into the Church of God.* Before that time all the Bishops of Rome were Martyrs in a manner. And since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all Men consider well this, That Christ was meeke, and merciful; the Pope is proud, and a tyrant; Christ was poor and forgave, the Pope is rich and a malicious Man-slayer, as his daily acts do prove him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all the Disciples of him. Of whom, Prelates, Priests, and Monks, are the body, these pil'd Friars are the tail, which covereth his most filthy part.

Then said the Prior of the Friars *Augustines*, Alack, Sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.

And the Lord Cobham said, Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet *Esaia*, long afore my time. *The Prophet*, saith he, *which preacheth lies, is the tail behind.* For as you Friars and Monks be (like Pharisees) divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you with such other, are the very natural members of Antichrist.

Then said he unto them all, Christ saith in his Gospel, *Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye close up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men, neither enter ye in your selves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own Traditions, and therefore are ye the household of Antichrist; ye will not permit Gods verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true Ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reprov'd.* But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

Then said the Archbishop, By our Lady, Sir, there shall none such preach within my Diocess (and God will) nor yet in my jurisdiction (if I may know it) as either make division, or yet dissention among the poor Commons.

The Lord Cobham said, both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable Men. But *Daniel* and Christ Prophecyed, that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the worlds beginning. And this Prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ saith also, *If those days of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any flesh be saved;* therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though Priests and Deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the Sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on Gods Law, yet have these other Sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.

Then a Doctor of Law, called Master *John Kemp*, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the Bill which they had afore sent him into the Tower by the Archbishops Council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. For they were so amazed with his answers (not all unlike to them which disputed with *Stephen*) that they knew not well how to occupy the time, their wits and sophistry (as God would) so failed them that day.

My Lord Cobham (saith this Doctor) we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this; and then he read upon the Bill. The Faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is this, That after the Sacramental words be once spoken of a Priest in his Mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body, and the material wine is turned into Christs blood. And so there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar from thenceforth no material bread

nor material wine, which were there before the Sacramental words were spoken: Sir, believe you not this?

The Lord Cobham said, This is not my belief. But my Faith is (as I said to ye afore) That in the worshipful Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body in form of bread.

Then said the Archbishop, Sir *John*, ye must say otherwise.

The Lord Cobham said, Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side (as I trust he is) but that there is Christs body in form of bread, as the common belief is.

Then read the Doctor again.

The second point is this; Holy Church hath determined, that every Christian Man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shaven of a Priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?

The Lord Cobham answered and said, A diseased or fore wounded Man hath need to have a sure wife Chirurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessary were it therefore to be first shaven unto God, which only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a Priest, if he be a Man of good life and learning; for the Laws of God are to be required of the Priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an Idiot, or a Man of vicious living that is my Curate, I ought rather to fly from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodness towards my souls health.

Then read the Doctor again.

The third point is this; Christ ordained *S. Peter* the Apostle to be his Vicar here in Earth, whose See is the Church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto *Peter* should succeed unto all *Peter's* successors, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whose special power in Churches particular be ordained Prelates and Archbishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christian Men ought to obey after the Laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holy Church. Sir, believe ye not this?

To this he answered and said, He that followeth *Peter* most nighest in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor *Peter* whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of *Silvester*, which for the more part were Martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of *Peter*.

With that, one of the other Doctors asked him; Then what do ye say of the Pope?

The Lord Cobham answered, As I said before, so I say again; That he and you together make whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you Bishops, Priests, Prelates, and Monks, are the body, and the begging Friars are the tail, for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtil Sophistry: neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with *Peter* follow Christ in Conversation.

Then read the Doctor again.

The fourth point is this; Holy Church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Christian Man, to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy Reliques and Images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approved by the Church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?

Whereunto he answered, I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fare from Cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or els to bury them fare in the ground as ye do other aged people which are Gods images.

It is a wonderful thing, that Saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your Shrines and Idols, your fained Absolutions and Pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth and chief pleasures of all Christian Realm.

H h h 3

Why,

26 Bishops of Rome together Martyrs, save only four. A comparison between the Martyrs and the Popes time. A comparison between Christ and the Pope. Rome is Antichrists nest

Elay 9. Priests proved sedition, and yet found no treason.

Matt. 23.

The Religion of Bishops.

Note I pray you how those are counted traitors and sedition, that teach or cause Gods truth to be taught Luke 23. John 19. Prophecy.

Matt. 24. Prophecy. Priests. Deacons.

Mark this working of Satan.

Acts 6. The first Article.

Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

The Lord Cobham believeth in the Sacrament.

The second Article.

Confession of sins to God only. Mal. 2.

The third Article.

Who is next unto Peter.

Succession, not of place but of condition, maketh Peters heir.

Antichrists head, body, and tail.

The fourth Article. Pilgrimage.

What is to be done with images

Saints are become now covetous beggers.

A whelp of
the same
Haire.
Images not
to be wor-
shipped.

Why Sir (said one of the Clerks) will ye not worship good Images?

What worship should I give unto them? said the Lord Cobham.

Then said Frier Palmer unto him, Sir, will ye worship the Crofs of Christ, that he died upon?

Where is it, said the Lord Cobham?

The Frier said, I put you the case, Sir, that it were here even now before you.

The Crofs,
whether it
is to be
worship-
ped.
Galat. 6.

The Lord Cobham answered, This is a great wise Man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing it self is. Yet once again I ask you, What worship I should do unto it.

A Clerk said unto him, Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this; God forbid that I should joy, but only in the Crofs of Jesus Christ.

Then said the Lord Cobham, and spread his arms abroad; This is the very Crofs, yea, and so much better than your Crofs of Wood, in that it was created of God, yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.

The materi-
al Crofs is
not materi-
al to our
Faith.
What it is
to rejoyce
in the Crofs
of Christ.

Then said the Bishop of London, Sir, Ye wot well that he died on a material Crofs.

The Lord Cobham said, Yea, and I wot also, that our salvation came not in by that material Crofs, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wot, That Holy Saint Paul rejoyced in none other Crofs, but in Christs Passion and Death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the self same verity that he hath suffered for afore?

Another Clerk yet asked him, Will ye then do none honour to the Holy Crofs?

He answered him, Yes, if it were mine own, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.

Slandered
with the
truth.
These men
seem to
stand only
upon their
exaltation
amongst the
people.

Then said the Archbishop unto him, Sir John, Ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole Spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here, to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain so far as I can see. Well we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: ye must either submit your self to the Ordinance of Holy Church, or else throw your self (no remedy) into most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late.

The Lord Cobham said, I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in this troubling me before this multitude.

A Wolvish
offer of
gentleness.

Then said the Archbishop again unto him, We once again require you to remember your self well, and to have none other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal Faith and belief of the Holy Church of Rome is. And so like an obedient Child return again to the unity of your Mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas anon it will be too late.

The Lord Cobham said expressly before them all; I will none otherwise believe in these points than that I have told you here afore. Do with me what you will.

Bloody
murthere.

Finally, then the Archbishop said; Well, then I see none other but that we must needs do the Law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for an Heretick.

And with that the Archbishop stood and read there a Bill of his Condemnation, all the Clergy and Laity vailing their Bonets. And this was the tenor thereof.

¶ The Definitive Sentence of his Condemnation.

Suffered of
God as a
plague.

An heretick
for confes-
sing of Christ

IN the name of God; So be it, We Thomas by the sufferance of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all England, and Legate from the Apostolick See of Rome, will this to be known unto all Men. In a certain cause of Heresie and upon divers Articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle Knight, and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused and presented before us in our last Convocation of all our Province of Canterbury, holden in the Cathedral Church of Pauls at London, at the lawful

denouncement and request of our universal Clergy of the said Convocation, we proceeded against him according to the Law (God to witness) with all the favour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might, which willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that he might be converted and live; we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the Churches unity, declaring unto him what the Holy and universal Church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we found him in the Catholick Faith far wide, and so stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof; We yet pitying him of Fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed: but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the Law, and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the Sentence definitive, against him.

{ KING
Hm. 5. }

Ezec. 18.
Ezec. 35.

The Wolf
would ap-
pear chari-
table.

See if they
shew not
themselves.

¶ Then brought he forth another Bill, containing the said Sentence, and that he read also in his beggerly Latine. *Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum prae oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, and so forth.* Which I have also translated into English that Men may understand it.

¶ Christ we take unto witness, that nothing else we seek in this our whole enterprise, but his only glory. Forasmuch as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said Sir John Oldcastle Knight, and Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident Heretick in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other Hereticks against the Faith and Religion of the holy and universal Church of Rome; namely about the two Sacraments (of the Altar, and of penance) besides the Popes power and Pilgrimages; And that he, as the Child of iniquity and darkness, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his Pastor; Neither will he be allured by straight admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: The worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthiness again considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy (we being loth that he which is naught should be worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude) by the sage counsel and assent of the very discreet Fathers, our honourable Brethren and Lords, Bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise Men here, both Doctors of Divinity, and of the Laws Canon and Civil, Seculars and Religious, with divers other expert Men assisting us: we sententially and definitively by this present writing judge, declare and condemn the said Sir John Oldcastle Knight, and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious detestable Heretick, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the Church again, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned Heretick, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we Excommunicate and denounce Accused, not only this Heretick here present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other way maintain him; as very fautors, receivers, defenders counsellors, aiders and maintainers of condemned Hereticks.

Ex magis
propter Thomae Ar-
diti.

That
Church is
a whore.

A true sheep
heareth the
voice of a
true pastor.

A colour of
deceit.

As Cobham
did Christ.

Christ is
condemned
in his faith-
ful mem-
bers.

And that these Premises may be the better known of all faithful Christian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you straight commandment thereupon by this writting also, That ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of Excommunication concerning both this Heretick and his Fautors, to be published throughout all Diocesses, in Cities, Towns and Villages, by your Curates and Parish-Priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the Curate every where go into the Pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this excess in the Mother

How spiri-
tual these
Fathers are!

KING *Mother-Tongue, in an audible and intelligible Voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of this Declaration also the people may fall from their evil Opinions conceived now of late by Seditious preachers. Moreover we Will, That after we have delivered unto each one of you Bishops, which are here present, a Copy hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out again into divers Copies, and to be sent unto the other Bishops and Prelates, of our whole Province, that they may also see the Contents thereof solemnly published within their Dioceses and Cures. Finally, We will that both you and they signify again unto us seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour, in every point performed; the day whereon ye received this Process, the time when it was of us Executed, and after what sort it was done in every condition, according to the Tenor hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same.*

Walden *A Copy of this writing sent Thomas Arundel the Archbishop of Canterbury afterward from Maidstone the tenth day of October, within the same year of our Lord, 1413. unto Richard Clifford the Bishop of London, which thus beginneth, Thomas permissioe divina, &c.*

Richard Clifford *The said Richard Clifford sent another Copy thereof inclosed within his own Letters, unto Robert Maschal a Carmelite Frier, which was then Bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haadham, the 23. of October in the same year, the beginning whereof is as followeth: Reverende in Christo Pater, &c.*

Robert Maschal *This Robert Maschal directed another Copy thereof from London the seven and twentieth day of November in the same year, inclosed in his own Commission also, unto his Archdeacon and Deans in Hereford and Shrewsbury. And this is thereof the beginning, Venerabilibus & discretis viris, &c. In like manner did the other Bishops within their Dioceses.*

Ex utroque exemplari *After that the Archbishop had thus read the Bill of his Condemnation, with most extremity before the whole multitude; the Lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance, Though ye judge my Body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure, that ye can do no harm to my Soul, no more than could Satan unto the Soul of Job. He that Created that, will of his infinite Mercy and Promise save it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these Articles before-rehearsed I will stand to them even to the very death, by the Grace of my Eternal God.*

Mat. 10. Job. 1. *And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a very loud voice, Good Christian people, for Gods Love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindfold into Hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.*

He prayeth for his Enemies. *After this, he fell down there upon his Knees, and thus before them all prayed for his Enemies, holding both his hands and his eyes towards Heaven, and saying, Lord God Eternal, I beseech thee of thy great mercysake to forgive my pursuers, If it be thy blessed will. And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again unto the Tower of London; and thus there was an end of that days work.*

Ex utroque exemplari Londoniensi sum. *While the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily unto his Friends: And they at his request wrote this little Bill here following: causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his Enemies the Bishop's servants and Priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the Letter:*

A testimonial made by his friends. *Forasmuch as Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, and Lord Cobham, is untruly Convicted and Imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his Adversaries, that he should both otherwise think and speak of the Sacraments of the Church, and specially of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, than was written in the Confession of his belief; which was intended and taken to the Clergy, and so set up in divers open places of the City of London: Known be it here to all the World, that*

he (never since) varied in any point thereof, but this is plainly his belief, That all the Sacraments of the Church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true Church hath Ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is verily and truly Christs Body in form of Bread.

After this, the Bishops and Priests were in great discredit both with the Nobility and Commons; partly for that they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham; and partly again, because his Opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the Sacrament. The Prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done before. They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babling Sir John's, that the said Lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto holy Church, utterly changing his Opinion concerning the Sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an Abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his Opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

This is the Abjuration, say they, of Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, sometime the Lord Cobham.

An Abjuration counterfeited of the Bishops.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and convicted of and upon divers Articles favouring both of Heresie and Error, before the reverend Father in Christ and my good Lord, Thomas by the permission of God, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful Judge in that behalf, expressly grant and confess, that as concerning the estate and power of the most holy Father the Pope of Rome, of his Archbishops, his Bishops, and his other Prelates, the degrees of the Church, and the holy Sacraments of the same, specially of the Sacraments of the Altar, of Penance, and other observances besides of our Mother holy Church, as Pilgrimages and Pardons; I affirm (I say) before the said reverend Father Archbishop and elsewhere, that I being evilly seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically perverted, blasphemously answered, and obdutely rebelled; and therefore I am by the said reverend Father, before the reverend Fathers in Christ also, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for an Heretick.

Nevertheless, yet I now remembering my self and coveting by this mean to avoid that Temporal pain which I am worthy to suffer as an Heretick, at the assignation of my most excellent Christian Prince and Liege Lord, King Henry the fifth, now by the Grace of God most worthy King both of England and of France; minding also to prefer the wholsome Determination, Sentence, and Doctrine of the holy universal Church of Rome, before the unwholsome Opinions of my self, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confess, grant, and affirm, That the most holy Fathers in Christ, St. Peter the Apostle, and his successors Bishops of Rome, specially now at this time, my most blessed Lord Pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentieth Pope of that name, which now holdeth Peter's seat (and each of them in their succession) hath full strength and power to be Christs Vicar in Earth, and the Head of the Church Militant. And that by the strength of his office (what though he be a great sinner, and afore-known of God to be damned?) he hath full Authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and assail all other Christian men.

And agreeably still unto this I confess, grant, and affirm all other Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates in their Provinces, Dioceses, and Parishes (appointed by the said Pope of Rome to assist him in his doings or business) by his Decrees, Canons, or vertue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, Authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, accurse and assail the subjects

To stop lying lips. A rehearsal of his belief. In form of Bread, but not without Bread he meaneth. The Clergy in hate of the people.

A practice of false Priests.

These are common facts.

Walden in fessiculo Zizaniorum Wiclevi.

Mark from whence this grace cometh.

Fine workmanship I trow.

Alas good man thou art slandered.

How prove
ye that by
the Scri-
ptures?

or people of their foresaid Provinces, Dioceses, and Parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confess, grant, and affirm, that the said Spiritual Fathers, as our most holy Father the Pope, Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the state, order and governance of their subjects or people, to make Laws, Decrees, Statutes, and Constitutions, yea, and to publish, command, and compel their said subjects and people to the observation of them.

No Scri-
pture have
they to
shew.

Moreover, I confess, grant, and affirm, that all these foresaid Laws, Decrees, Statutes, and Constitutions, made, published, and commanded, according to the form or spiritual Law, all Christian people, and every man in himself is straightly bound to observe, and meekly to obey, according to the diversity of the foresaid Powers, as the Laws, Statutes, Canons and Constitutions of our most holy Father the Pope, Incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Rescripts, Sextiles, and Extravagants over all the World; and as the Provincial Statutes of Archbishops in their Provinces, the Synodal acts of Bishops in their Dioceses, and the commendable Rules and Customs of Prelates in their Colleges, and Curates in their Parishes, all Christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekly to obey. Over and besides all this, I *John Oldcastle* utterly forsaking and renouncing all the foresaid Errors and Heresies, and all other Errors and Heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this Book or holy Evangel of God, and swear, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these foresaid Heresies, nor yet any other like unto them wittingly. Neither shall I give counsel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirm and maintain the same, as God shall help me, and these holy Evangelists.

Intolerable
yokes lay
they.

Never made
he such an
Oath.
And this
maintain
they still.
The Popes
holy Bible
of Papists.

Mark this
handling.

And that I shall from henceforth Faithfully obey and inviolably observe all the holy Laws, Statutes, Canons, and Constitutions, of all the Popes of Rome, Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Rescripts, Sextiles, Summs, Papal Extravagants, Statutes Provincial, Acts Synodal, and other ordinary Regules and Customs constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To these and all such other will I my self with all power possible apply. Besides all this, the Penance which it shall please my said reverend Father the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* hereafter to enjoyn me for my sins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of Heresie or Errors, I shall effectually present, send or cause to be presented unto my said reverend Father Lord Archbishop, or to them which have his Authority, so soon as I can conveniently do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power.

This charge
give they
commonly.

¶ This Abjuration never came to the hands of the Lord *Cobham*, neither was it compiled of them for that purpose, but only therewith to bear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time. After the which like fetch and subtil practice was also devised the recantation of the Archbishop *Thomas Cranmer*, to stop for a time, the peoples mouths. Which subtilty in like manner was also practised, with the false recantation of the Bishop *Hooper*, and divers other, as in their places hereafter (Christ granting) shall be shewed.

For confir-
mation of
this History.

And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of Sir *John Oldcastle* Lord *Cobham*, with all the circumstances of the true time, place, occasion, causes, and order belonging to the same, wherein I trust I have sufficiently satisfied all the parts, requisite to a faithful History, without corruption. For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind also of the wrangling caviller may be satisfied, and to stop the mouth of the Adversary (which I see in all places to be ready to bark) I have therefore of purpose annexed with all my ground and foundation, taken out of the Archives and Registers of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ex Epistola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond.* Whereby may appear the manifest error both of *Polydorus*, and of *Edward Hall*, who, being deceived in the right distinction of the times, assign this Citation and Examination of the Lord *Cobham* to be after the

Ex archiepis
& Reg. St.
Thom.
Arund.
Arch. Cant.
Polydorus.
Edward
Hall de-
ceived.

Council of *Constance*, when as *Thomas Arundel* Arch-
bishop of *Canterbury* at the Council of *Constance* was not
alive. The Copy and Testimony of his own Letter shall
declare the same, being written and sent to the Bishop of
London in form as followeth:

{KING
Hans.}

The Copy of the Epistle of the Archbishop of
Canterbury, written to the Bishop of *London*,
whereon dependeth the ground and certainty
of this foresaid History of the Lord *Cobham*
above premised.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, and Lord, the Lord
Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Hereford,
Richard by the permission of God, Bishop of London, health
and continual increase of sincere love: We have of late
received the Letters of the reverend Father in Christ, and
Lord, the Lord Thomas by the grace of God Archbishop of
Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the
Apostolick See, to this effect: Thomas by the permission of
God, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England,
and Legate of the Apostolick See, to our reverend Brother
the Lord Richard Bishop of London, health and Brotherly
love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us in the
Convocation of Prelates and Clergy of our Province of *Can-
terbury* last Celebrate in our Church of St. Paul, intreating
amongst other things with the said Prelates and Clergy up-
on the Union and Reformation of the Church of England, by
us and the said Prelates and Clergy; that it was almost
impossible to amend the hole of our Lords Coat which was
without seam, unless first of all certain Nobles of the Realm,
which are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and re-
ceivers of these Hereticks called Lollards, were sharply re-
buked, and if need were by the censures of the Church and
the help of the Secular Power, they be revoked from their
errors. And afterward having made diligent inquisition in
the Convocation amongst the Proctors of the Clergy and o-
thers which were there in number out of every Diocese of
our Province; it was found out amongst others, that
Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, was and is the principal recei-
ver, favourer, protector, and defender of them, and that
specially in the Diocese of London, Rochester and Hereford,
he had sent the said Lollards to preach, not being licensed by
the Ordinaries and Bishops of the Diocese or places, contrary
to the Provincial Constitutions in that behalf made, and
hath been present at their wicked Sermons, grievously pu-
nishing with threatnings, terrors, and the power of the Secu-
lar Sword, such as did withstand him: alledging and
affirming amongst others, that we and our fellow Brethren,
Suffragans of our Provinces, had not neither have any pow-
er to make any such Constitutions: Also he hath holden and
doth hold Opinion, and teach as touching the Sacraments of
the Altar, of Penance, of Pilgrimage, and the worshipping
of Saints, and of the Keys, contrary to that which the
universal Church of Rome doth teach and affirm.

A thing
thought
right need-
ful that
the Lord
Cobham
should be
made out
of the way,
or else not
possible for
Papistry to
flourish.

Wherefore, on the behalf of the said Prelates and Clergy,
we were then required that we would vouchsafe to pro-
ceed against the said Sir John Oldcastle upon the premises.
Notwithstanding for the reverence of our Lord the King,
in whose favour the said Sir John at that present was, and
no less also for honour of his Knighthood; we with our
fellow Brethren, and Suffragans then present, with a great
part of the Clergy of our Province, coming personally be-
fore the presence of our Lord the King, being then at his
Manner of Kenington, put up against the said Sir John
a complaint, partly reciting the faults of the said Sir John,
but at the request of our Lord the King, we desiring to re-
duce the said Sir John to Unity of the Church, without
any reproach, we deferred all the execution of the premises
for a great time. But at the last, forasmuch as our said
Lord the King, and his great travels taken about the
conversion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our said
Lord the King vouchsafed to certify us by word and writ-
ting; we immediately decreed to call forth the said Sir John
personally to answer before us at a certain time already
passed, in and upon the Premises, and sent our Messengers
with these our Letters of Citation to the said Sir John,
then being at his Castle at Cowling. Unto the which Mes-
senger we gave commandment, that he should in no case

Sir John
Oldcastle in
favour with
the King.

KING go into the Castle, except he were Licensed. But by the mean of one John Butler, Porter to the Kings Chamber, he should require the said Sir John, that he would either License the said Messenger to come into the Castle, or that he would cite him, or at the least, that he would suffer himself to be cited without his Castle. The which Sir John openly answered unto the said John Butler, declaring the Premises unto him on the behalf of our Lord the King; that he would by no means be Cited, neither in any case suffer his Citation. Then we being certified of the Premises, lawfully proceeded further.

First, Having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by personal Citation, we Decreed to Cite him by an Edict, to be openly set up in the Porches of the Cathedral Church of Rochester next unto him, little more than three English Miles distant from the said Castle of Cowling. As we had thus caused him to be Cited, and our Edict aforesaid to be publickly and openly set upon the Porches of the said Church, that he should personally appear before us the eleventh day of September last past, to answer unto the Premises, and certain other things concerning Heresie: The which day being come, and we sitting in the Tribunal Seat in our great Chappel within the Castle of Leeds of our Diocess, the which we then inhabited, and whereas we then kept residence with our Court, and having taken an Oath, which is requisite in the Premises, and the Information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts whereas the said Sir John dwelleth (fortifying himself in his said Castle) defending his Opinions manifoldly, contemning the Keys of the Church and the Archbishops power; we therefore caused the said Sir John Oldcastle, Cited as is aforesaid, to be openly with a loud voice called by the Crier; and so being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him (as he was no less worthy) obstinate, and for punishing of his said obstinacy we did then and there Excommunicate him. And forasmuch as by the order of the Premises, and other evident tokens of his doings, we understand that the said Sir John for the defence of his errors doth fortify himself (as is aforesaid) against the Keys of the Church, by pretence whereof a vehement suspicion of Heresie and Schism riseth against him; We have Decreed, if he may be apprehended, again personally to Cite him, or else, as before, by an Edict, that he should appear before us the Saturday next after the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist next coming, to shew some reasonable cause, if he can, why he should not proceed against him, to a more grievous punishment, as an open Heretick, Schismatick, and open Enemy of the universal Church. And personally to declare why he should not be pronounced such an one, or that the aid of the Secular Power should not be solemnly required against him. And further to answer, do, and receive as touching the Premises, whatsoever Justice shall require. The which time being come, that is to say, the Saturday next after the Feast of St. Matthew, being the twenty fourth day of September, Sir Robert Morley Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, appeared personally before us, sitting in the Chapter-house of the Church of St. Paul at London, with reverend fellow-brethren and Lords, Richard by the Grace of God Bishop of London, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and brought with him Sir John Oldcastle Knight, and set him before us (for a little before he was taken by the Kings servants, and cast into the Tower:) unto which Sir John Oldcastle so personally present we rehearsed all the order of the Process, as it is contained in the Acts of the day before passed, with good and modest words and gentle means; that is to say, how he the said Sir John was detected and accused in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of our said Province, as is aforesaid, upon the Articles before-rehearsed, and how he was Cited, and for his contumacy Excommunicate. And when we were come to that point we offered our selves ready to Absolve him. Notwithstanding the said Sir John not regarding our offer, said, That he would willingly rehearse before us, and my said fellow Brethren the Faith which he held and affirmed. So he having his desire, and obtaining license, took out of his Bosom a certain Schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the same, and delivered the same Schedule unto us, and the Schedule of the Articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:

The Keys of the Church fully written.

The Lord Cobham Excommunicated.

The Lord Cobham cast into the Tower.

The tears of the Crocodile.

Popish Absolution neglected.

The Catholick Faith and Confession of the Lord Cobham.

I John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord of Cobham, desire to make manifest unto all Christians, and God to be taken to witness, that I never thought otherwise, or would think otherwise (by Gods help) than with a stedfast and undoubted Faith to embrace all those his Sacraments which he had Instituted for the use of his Church.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these 4 points of my Faith; first of all I believe the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body of Christ under the form of Bread, the very same Body which was born of his Mother Mary, Crucified for us, dead and buried, rose again the third day, sitteth on the right hand of his Immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his Eternal Glory. Then as touching the Sacrament of Penance, this is my belief, that I do think the correction of a sinful life to be most necessary for all such as desire to be saved, and that they ought to take upon them such Repentance of their former life, by true confession, unfeigned contrition, and lawful satisfaction as the Word of God doth prescribe unto us; otherwise there will be no hope of Salvation.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Of Penance.

Thirdly, As touching Images, this is my Opinion, That I do judge them no point of Faith, but brought into the World after the Faith of Christ by the sufferance of the Church, and so grown in use, that they might serve for a Kalender for the Lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly Examples and Martyrdom of Christ and other holy men: But if any man do otherwise abuse this representation, and give the reverence unto those Images, which is due unto the holy men whom they represent, or rather unto him to whom the holy men themselves owe all their honour, setting all their trust and hope in them which ought to be referred unto God: or if they be so affected toward the dumb Images, that they be in any behalf addicted unto them, either be more addicted unto one Saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from Idolatry, grievously offending against God the Author of all honour.

Of Images.

Last of all I am thus persuaded, That there be no inhabitants here in Earth, but that we shall pass straight either to life or punishment: for whosoever doth so order his life that he stumbleth at the Commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for Salvation, although he run over all the corners of the World. Contrariwise, he which observeth his Commandments cannot perish, although in all his life time he walked no Pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compostella, or to any other place, whither the common people are accustomed to walk.

This Schedule, with the Articles therein contained, being read (as is aforesaid) by the said Sir John, we with our fellow Brethren aforesaid; and many other Doctors and learned men had conference upon the same, and at the last by the counsel and consent of them, we spake these words following unto the said Sir John there present: Behold Sir John, there are many good and Catholick things contained in this Schedule; But you have at this time to answer unto other matters which favour of Errors and Heresies: Whereunto (by the consent of this Schedule) it is not fully answered, and therefore you must answer thereunto, and more plainly expresse and declare your Faith and Opinions as touching those points in the same Bill; that is to say, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration rightly done, there remaineth material Bread or not.

Of p. grimage.

See whether these men pick quarrels where they need not.

Item, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is necessary in the Sacrament of Penance for a man to confess his sins unto a Priest appointed by the Church.

The which Articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongst many other things he answered plainly, That he would make no other declaration or answer thereunto than was contained in the said Schedule. Whereupon we favouring the said Sir John, with benign and gentle means we spake unto him in this manner: Sir John take heed,

for if you do not plainly answer to these things which are objected against you, within a lawful time now granted you by the Judges, we may declare you to be an Heretick: but the said Sir John persevered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently notwithstanding, we together with our said fellow Brethren, and others of our Counsel, took advice, and by their counsel declared unto the said Sir John Oldcastle, what the said holy Church of Rome in this matter, (following the saying of blessed St. Augustine, Hierom, Ambrose, and other holy men) hath determined, the which determinations every Catholic ought to observe. Whereupon the said Sir John answered, That he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy Church determined, and whatsoever God would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case affirm, that our Lord the Pope, the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops or other Prelates of the Church, have any power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we yet favouring him, under hope of better advisement promised the said Sir John, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in Latin, and for his better understanding translated into English: whereupon we commanded and heartily desired him, that against Monday next following he should give a plain and full answer: the which determination we caused to be translated the same day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner:

Here is no mention made of the Word of God.

Wolves clothed in sheepskins

The sum of the Popish belief.

Confession.

The Popes Supremacy.

Pilgrimage.

Conventum in unum aduersus Domini & Christum ejus. Pal. 2.

The Faith and Determination of the holy Church upon the holy Sacrament of the Altar is this: That after the Consecration done in the Mass by the Priest, the material Bread shall be changed into the material Body of Christ; and the material Wine into the material Blood of Christ; therefore after the Consecration there remaineth no more any substance of Bread and Wine, which was there before. What do you answer to this Article?

And the holy Mother-Church hath determined, that every Christian dwelling upon Earth ought to confess his sins unto a Priest Ordained by the Church if he may come unto him. How think you by this Article?

Christ Ordained St. Peter his Vicar on Earth, whose Seat is in the Church of Rome, giving and granting the same Authority, which he gave unto Peter, also to his successors, which are now called Popes of Rome, in whose power it is to Ordain and Institute Prelates in particular Churches, as Archbishops, Bishops, Curates, and other Ecclesiastical Orders, unto whom the Christian people owe obedience, according to the Tradition of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy Church: What think you by this Article?

Besides this the holy Church hath determined, That it is necessary for every Christian to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy Relicks of the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all Saints whomsoever the Church of Rome hath allowed: What think you of this Article?

Upon which Monday being the five and twentieth day of the said Month of September, before us and our fellow Brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend Brother Benedict, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Bangor, and by our Commandment our Counsellors and Ministers M. Hen. Ware Official of our Court of Canterbury, Philip Morgan Doctor of both Laws, Howel Kiffin Doctor of the Decretals, John Kempe and William Carlson Doctors of Law, John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombwell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlain, Richard Dorington, and Tho. Walden, professors of Divinity; also James Cole, and John Stevens our Notaries appointed on this behalf: They all and every one being Sworn upon the Holy Gospel of God, laying their hands upon the Book, that they should give their Faithful Counsel in and upon the matter aforesaid, and in every such cause, and to the whole World: By and by appeared Sir Robert Morley Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the foresaid Sir John Oldcastle, setting him before us. Unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the Acts of the day before passed. And as before we told him that he both is and was Excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the Church. Un-

to whom the said Sir John then and there plainly answered, That in this behalf he would require no Absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft means we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the Articles which were laid against him. And first of all, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar. To the which Article, besides other things, he answered and said thus: That as Christ being here on Earth had in him both Godhead and Manhood; notwithstanding, the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the very Body and very Bread, Bread which we do see, the Body of Christ hidden under the same, which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the Faith as touching the said Sacrament determined by the Romish Church and holy Doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said Schedule, was the determination of the holy Church. But if it be the determination of the Church, he said that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures, after the Church was endowed, and after that Poyson was poured into the Church, and not afore. Also, as touching the Sacrament of Penance and Confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there, that if any Man were in any grievous sin, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet Priest to take counsel of him: But that he should confess his sin to any proper Priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to Salvation, forasmuch as by only contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged. As concerning the worshipping of the Cross, he said and affirmed, that the only Body of Christ which did hang upon the Cross, is to be worshipped; forasmuch as that Body alone was and is the Cross, which is to be worshipped.

RING. Heb. 5.

The Sacrament both Body and Bread in divers respects.

How confession is to be allowed.

What honour is to be done to the Cross.

The Pope is Antichrist, the Bishops are his members, and the Priests his tail.

The bold talk of the Lord Cobham.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the Image of the Cross, He answered by express words, That he would only do it that honour that he would make it clean and lay it up safe. As touching the Power and Authority of the Keys, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, he said, That the Pope is very Antichrist, that is, the head; that the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates be his members, and that the Priests be his tail. The which Pope, Archbishops, and Bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter which is best and purest in life and manners. Furthermore, the said Sir John, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him: These Men, which judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto Hell; therefore take heed of them. When he had spoken those words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said Sir John, exhorting him with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the Church, to believe and hold that which the Church of Rome doth believe and hold. Who expressly answered, That he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at the last with bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive Sentence in this manner:

In the Name of God, Amen. We Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop and humble Minister of the holy Church of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, in a certain cause or matter of Herefie upon certain Articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle Knight, Lord Cobham, before us in the last Convocation of our Clergy of our Province of Canterbury, holden in the Church of St. Paul in London, after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said Province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole Clergy aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said Convocation, with all favour possible that we might (God we take to witness) lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner; but rather that he should be converted and live; we have endeavoured by all ways and means we might or could to reform him,

They call themselves humble which rule over Kings, and exercise the tyranny of the World.

Following Christs footsteps: a clean contrary.

KING him, and rather reduce him to the Unity of the Church, declaring unto him what the holy universal Church of Rome doth teach, hold, and determin in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandering astray from the Catholick Faith, and so stubborn and stiff-necked, that he would not confess his Error, or clear himself thereof, to detest the same; notwithstanding we favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himself; and, if he would, to repent and reform himself. And last of all, forsomuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the Law are required in this behalf, with great sorrow and bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the Definitive Sentence in this wise.

The Name of Christ being called upon, setting him only before our eyes. Forasmuch as by act enacted, signs exhibited, evidences and divers tokens, besides sundry kind of proofs, we find the said Sir John to be and have been an Heretick, and a follower of Hereticks in the Faith, and observation of the Sacred universal Church of Rome, and specially as touching the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Penance; and that as the son of iniquity and darkness he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of the Shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said Sir John, his defects and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacy; Not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect other with his contagion, by the counsel and consent of the reverend Men of profound wisdom and discretion, our Brethren the Lords Richard Bishop of London, Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Benedict Bishop of Bangor, and also of many other Doctors of Divinity, the Decretals and Civil Law, and of many other Religious and Learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sententially, and definitively condemned the said Sir John Oldcastle Knight, Lord Cobham, being convict in, and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the Church, and in those things which the Sacred universal Church of Rome doth hold, teach, determin, and shew forth. And especially as one erring in the Articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as an Heretick unto the Secular judgment.

Moreover, we have Excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and Excommunicate him as an Heretick, and all other which from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsel, or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of Hereticks. And to the intent that these Premises may be known unto all faithful Christians, we charge and command you, that by your sentence definitive you do cause the Curates which are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their Churches, when as most people is present, in their Mother-Tongue, through all your Cities and Dioceses to publish and declare the said Sir John Oldcastle, as is before said, to be by us condemned as an Heretick, Schismatick, and one erring in the Articles aforesaid; and all other which from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be Excommunicate as receivers, favourers, and defenders of Hereticks; as is more effectually contained in the Process. That by such means the erroneous Opinions of the people (which peradventure hath otherwise conceived the matter) by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing also we will and command to be written and signified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow Brethren, that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all their Cities and Dioceses, the manner and form of this our Process, and also the Sentence by us given, and all other singular the contents in the same. And likewise cause it to be published by their Curates which are under them, as touching the day of receipt of these Presents, and what you have done in the Premises, how you and they have executed this our Commandment. We will that you and they duly and distinctly certify us the business being done, by your and their Letters Patents, according to this Tenor. Dated in our Mannor of Maidstone, the 10th of October, An. 1413, and in the 18th year of our translation.

Thus have you here the judicial Process of the Bishops against this most noble Christian Knight, described by their own Letters and style. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the Lord Cobham was sent away, Sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower, where after he had remained a certain space, in the night season, (it is not known by what means) he escaped out and fled into Wales, where he continued by the space of four years.

A defence of the Lord Cobham, against Nicholas Harpsfield, set out under the name of Alanus Copus.

AS I was entering into this story of the Lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former Histories hitherto passed, having next to set upon this present matter, luckily, and as God would, in such opportunity of season, as God may seem to work himself for defence of his Saints, cometh to my hands a certain Book of new-found Dialogues, compiled in Latin by Nicholas Harpsfield, set out by Alanus Copus, an English-man, a person to me unknown, and obscure hitherto unto the World, but now to purchase himself a name with Erostratus, or with the Sons of Enachim, cometh out not with his five Eggs, but with his six railing Dialogues. In the which Dialogues the said Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he under the armour of other, or other under title of his name, I know not, nor pass not) uncorrectedly behaving himself, intemperately abusing his Time, Study, and Pen, forgetting himself, neglecting all respect of honesty, and mild modesty, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor passing for shame, neither favouring the living, nor sparing the dead, who being alive as they never offended him, so now cannot answer for themselves being gone; thus provoking both God and man against him, after an unseemly sort, and with a foul mouth and stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead mens ashes, taking now the spoil of their good name, after their Bodies lie slain in the field; his Gall and Choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remain upon Earth. Inasmuch that for the hatred of them he spurneth also against me, and flieth in my face, for that in my Acts and Monuments, describing the History of the Church, I would say any thing in the favour of them, whom the Romish Catholicks have so unmercifully put to death. The answer to whose Book although it would require a several tractation by it self (as if Christ grant space and leisure hereafter it shall not be forgotten) yet because such opportunity of the Book is offered to me at this present coming now to the matter of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Aston and other, with whom he first beginneth to quarrel, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatsoever he be, so much as truth shall give me for their defence to say something. And here to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and dishonest rebukes, which I leave to scolds and men of his profession against they list to brawle, let us briefly and quietly consider the matter for discussing of the truth. Wherein first I shall desire the Reader with equality and indifferency to hear both the parties to speak, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and slain could say for themselves, if they were present, as also what this man here doth object against them now being gone. And so according to the same to judge both upon them as they deserve, and of me as they shall please.

Now to the scope of Master Cope's matter, which is this: whether this foreaid Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham (first to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a Martyr, or to be reproved for a Traitor? And whether that I in writing of him, and of Sir Roger Aston, with other moe in my former Edition, have dealt fraudulently, and corruptly, in commending them in these Acts and Monuments, or no? Touching the discussion whereof, first I trust the gentle M. Cope, my friend, neither will nor well can deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the story of the Lord Cobham, hath been premised; who yet all this while was neither Traitor to his Country, nor Rebel to his Prince, as by the course of his History hitherto the Reader may well understand. First, in the time of King Henry the fourth, he was sent over to France to the Duke of

Sir Robert Morley. The Lord Cobham returned again to the Tower.

Alanus Copus Anglus with his six Dialogues. Erostratus to get him a name set Dianus Temple on fire: Alanus Copus Anglus intemperately abusing his Pen.

Copus a barker against dead men.

Answer to Alanus Copus.

Indifferency of the Reader craved.

Whether the Lord Cobham be to be judged a Traitor or a Martyr.

Orleans?

The Lord Cobham true and obedient to King Henry the fourth. The Lord Cobham in the beginning favoured of King Henry the 5. The Kings displeasure procured against the Lord Cobham by Popish Prelates. The Lord Cobham obedient to the King. The Lord Cobham constant in his Faith to the sentence of death.

Orleans; he did obey. Afterward, King Henry the fifth coming to the Crown, he was of him likewise well liked and favoured, until the time that *Thomas Arundel* with his Clergy, complaining to the King, made bate between them. Then the Lord Cobham being Cited by the Archbishop, at his Citation would not appear. But sent for by the King, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly subjection he shewed there to the King, the story declareth. After he yielded an obedient confession of his Faith; it would not be received. Then did he appeal to the Bishop of Rome, for the which the King took great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the King to the Archbishop, and committed to the Tower; which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his Examination once or twice: there like a constant Martyr, and witness of the truth, he stood to his Confession, and that unto the very Sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let *Alanus Copus* say what he will, or what he can: This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said *Alanus Copus Anglus*, put to the like trial himself, would venture so narrow a point of Martyrdom for his Religion, as this Christian Knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed, after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said Lord Cobham was then returned again unto the Tower; which he with patience and meekness did also obey; from the which Tower if he afterward by the Lords Providence did escape, whether hath *Alanus Copus* herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the Man for taking that which was offered? What Catholick in all *Loven*, having his House over his head on fire, will not be glad to have, if he might, the door set open to fly the peril? or else why did *Alanus Copus* fly his Country, having so little need, if this man bleeding almost under the Butchers Axe, might not enjoy so great an offer of so lucky deliverance?

Thus hitherto, I trust, the cause of the Lord Cobham standeth firm and strong against all danger of just reprehension. Who being, as ye have heard, so faithful and obedient to God; so submissive to his King; so found in his Doctrine; so constant in his cause; so afflicted for the truth; so ready and prepared to death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertain and doubtful Chronicles, but out of the true Originals and Instruments remaining in ancient Records: What lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he declaring himself such a Martyr, that is, a witness to the verity, (for the which also at last he suffered the fire) may therefore worthily be adorned with the title of Martyr, which is in *Greek* as much as a witness-bearer?

The Lord Cobham worthy the name of a Martyr. The name of a Martyr what it signifies.

Calumnia.

But here now steppeth in Dame *Calumnia*, with her cousin scold *Alethea*, &c. who neither learning to hold her Tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs find her a knot in a Rush, and beginning now to quarrel, inferreth thus: But after (saith he) that the Lord Cobham was escaped out of the Tower, his fellows and confederates, convented themselves together seditiously against the King, and against their Country. A great crime no doubt, M. Cope, if it be true; so if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto your self, so to enter this Action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellows of the L. Cobham were these you mean of? Sir Roger Aston ye say, Master Brown, and John Beverly, with thirty six other, hanged and burned in the said Field of St. Giles. A marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of twenty Thousand, specified in story, should rise against the King, and yet but three persons only known and named. And then to proceed further, I would ask of Master Cope what was the end of this Conspiracy, to rebel against the King, to destroy their Country, and to subvert the Christian Faith, for so purporteth the story? As like true the one as the other. For even as it is like that they being *Turks* went about to destroy the Faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their Country wherein they were bred; even so like it is that they went about to destroy the King, whom God and their Conscience taught to obey.

Sir Roger Aston Knight, Master John Brown, Esq; Jo. Beverly preacher.

Yet further proceeds this furnish promoter in his accusation, and saith moreover, That these foresaid fellows and adherents of the Lord Cobham were in the Field assembled, and there incamped in a great number against the King; and how is this proved? By Robert Fabian. Which ap-

peareth to be as true as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth, that John Cledon and Richard Turmin were burnt in the same year, being 1413, when indeed by the true Registers they were not burnt before the year of our Lord 1415. But what will Master Cope say, if the Original Copy of the Indictment of these pretended Conspirators do testify that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretendeth? But they purposed (you will say) and intended to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to judge, whereas no fact appeareth. But give their intent was so to come, yet might they not come to those Thickets near to the Field of St. Giles, having *Beverly* their preacher, with them (as ye say your self) as well to pray and to preach in that worthy place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the Church of Christ in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate Woods and secret Thickets, from the fight of Enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the Word of God? In Queen Mary's time was not the same colour of Treason objected against *George Eggle*, and other moe, for frequenting and using into backlides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltless? Did not *Adam Damlip* die in like case of Treason, for having a French Crown given him at his departure out of Rome by Cardinal Pool? What cannot cankred *Calumnia* invent, when she is disposed to cavil? It was not the Cardinals Crown that made him a Traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

In France what assemblies have there been in late years, of good and innocent Christians congregating together in back fields and coverts in great routs, to hear the preaching of Gods Holy Word, and to pray; yea, and not without their weapon also, for their own safeguard, and yet never intended nor minded any Rebellion against their King. Wherefore in cases of Religion it may and doth happen many times that such Congregations may meet without intent of any Treason meant. But howsoever the intent and purpose was of these foresaid Confederates of the Lord Cobham, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plain by Records, as is afore said, that they were not yet come unto the place) how will M. Cope now justify his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the Field of St. Giles against the King? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle Reader, how unlikely and untidely the points of this tale are tied and hanged together (I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie;) wherein these accusers in this matter seem to me to lack some part of *Sinons* art, in conveying their Narration so unartificially. First, say they, The King was come first, with his Garison, unto the Field of St. Giles, and then after the King was there incamped, consequently the fellows of the Lord Cobham, the Captain being away, came and were assembled in the same Field where the King was, against the King, and yet not knowing of the King, to the number of twenty Thousand, and yet never a stroke in that Field given. And furthermore, of all this 20000 afore said, never a mans name known but only three, to wit, Sir Roger Aston, Sir John Brown, and John Beverly a preacher. How this year is clamped together let the Reader judge, and believe as he seeth cause.

But give all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proved, yet by the Popes dispensation, which in this Earth is almost Omnipotent, be it granted; that after the King had taken the Field of St. Giles before, the Companions of the Lord Cobham afterward coming and assembling in the Thickets near the said Field, to fight seditiously against the King, their Country, and against the Faith of Christ, to the number of Twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the Prisons of London were full, and yet never a mans name known of all this multitude, but only three; all this I say being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of M. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here present, with his company in the Field, or not? Not in person (saith Cope) but with his mind and with his counsel he was present, and addeth this reason, saying, And therefore he being brought again after his escape, was convicted both of Treason and Heresie, and therefore sustaining a double

KING Hen. 5. Rob. Fabian proved with an untruth.

An untruth in M. Cope.

Praying and preaching in back coverts a common thing in time of persecution. Ill will taketh all things to worst meaning.

Another untruth in M. Cope.

An unlikely tale.

The Lord Cobham no Traitor. M. Cope pag. 83. lib. 11.

KING double punishment, was both hanged and burnt for the same, &c. And how is all this proved? By Robert Fabian he saith. Whereunto briefly I answer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the Lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsel. His words be these, *That certain adherents of Sir John Oldcastle assembled in the field near to St. Giles, in great number, of whom was Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Brown, and John Beverly. The which with thirty six more in number were after convicted of Heresie and Treason, and for the same were hanged and burnt within the said field of S. Gyles, &c.* Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion and condemnation of these men; but that the Lord Cobham was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsel, as *Alanus Copus Anglus* pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberal cornucopia, whereof he is so copious and plentiful, that he may keep an open Shop of such unwritten untruths, which he may afford very good cheap, I think, being such a plentiful Artificer.

Alan, Copus taken with another untruth.

Ex Stat. Reg. Hen. 5. cap. 7.

The former edition of Acts and Monuments pag. 175.

But here will be objected against me the words of the Statute made the second year of King Henry the 5th. whereupon this adversary triumphing with no little glory, *ὁπότερ πειθαρχήσῃ ἀνελούθῳ* thinketh himself to have double vantage against me; first in proving these foresaid Complices and Adherents of the Lord Cobham to have made Insurrection against the King, and so to be Traitors. Secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where in my former Book of *Acts and Monuments* I do report, how that after the death of Sir Roger Acton, of Brown and Beverly, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, where a Statute was made to this effect; *That all and singular such as were of Wickliffs learning, if they would not give over (as in case of felony and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the King) should suffer death in two manner of kinds, that is, they should first be hanged for Treason against the King, and then be burned for Heresie against God.*

Whereupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and answering the same, that I purge both them of Treason, and my self of untruth, so far as truth and fidelity in Gods cause shall assist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my History of Ecclesiastical matters, wherein I have nothing to do with debatement of causes judicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed; I never suspected that ever any would be so capacious with me, or so nice nosed, as to press me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing every cause and matter so exactly, and straining, as ye would say, the bowels of the Statute law so rigorously against me; yet forso much as I am thereunto constrained now by this adversary, I will first lay open all the whole Statute made the 2d year of this foresaid Henry the Fifth, after the death of the foresaid Sir Roger Acton and his fellows, at the Parliament holden at Leicester, Anno 1415. That done, I will note upon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appear, what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocency, or for the accusation of this adversary. The tenor and purport of the Statute hereunder ensueth.

The Words and Contents of the Statute made Anno 2. Henrici quinti, cap. 7.

(A) The Preface or Preamble of the Statute.

(B) (C) (D) (E)

Forsomuch as great (A) Rumors, Congregations and Insurrections here in England, by divers the King His Majesties liege People, have been made here of late, as well by those which were of the Sect of Heresie called Lollardy, as by other of their confederations, excitations and abatement, to the intent (B) to adul and subvert the Christian Faith and the Law of God within the same Realm, as also to (C) destroy our Sovereign Lord the King himself, and (D) all manner of Estates of the same his Realm, as well Spiritual as temporal (E) and also all manner policy and the Lawes of the Land; Finally, the same our Lord the King, to the honour of God, in conservation and fortification of the Christian Faith, and also in salvation of his royal estate, and of the estate of all his Realm, willing to provide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such Hereticks and Lollards, than hath been had or used in that case heretofore, so that for

the fear of the same Laws and punishments, such Heresies and Lollardies may the rather cease in time to come.

By the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said Commons, hath ordained and established, that especially the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Justice of the one Bench and of the other, Justices of Assise, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs of Cities and Towns, and all other Officers, having the government of people either now present, or which for the time shall be, do make an Oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole pain and diligence to put out, to do to put out, cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices from time to time, with all their power; and that they assist, favour and maintain the Ordinaries and their Commissaries, so often as they or any of them shall be thereunto required by the said Ordinaries or their Commissaries; So that when the said Officers and Ministers travel or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the (F) instance and request of the Ordinaries or their Commissaries, by virtue of this Statute, the same Ordinaries and Commissaries (G) do pay for their cost reasonably. And that the services of the King (unto whom the Officers be first sworn) be preferred before all other Statutes for the liberty of holy Church and the Ministers of the same, and especially for the punishment of Hereticks and Lollards, made before these days, and not repealed, but being in force; and also that all persons convicted of Heresie, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they be, by the said Ordinaries or their Commissaries left unto the secular power, according to the laws of holy Church, shall lease and forfeit all their Lands and Tenements which they have in fee simple, in manner and form as followeth; that is to say, That the King shall have all the Lands and Tenements which the said Convicts have in fee simple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other Lords, of whom the Lands and Tenements of such Convicts be holden immediately, after that the King is thereof seised and answered of the (H) year, day and waft, shall have livery thereof out of the hands of the King, of the Lands and Tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath been used in case of Attainder of Felonies, except the Lands and Tenements, which be holden of the Ordinaries or their Commissaries, before whom any such impeached of Heresie be convicted, (I) which Lands and Tenements shall wholly remain to the King as forfeit. And moreover, that all the Goods and Cattels of such convicted be forfeit to our right Sovereign Lord the King, so that no person convicted of Heresie, and left unto the secular power (according to the laws of holy Church) do forfeit his Lands before that he be dead. And if any such person so convicted be infeoffed, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents or services, in fee or otherwise in whatsoever manner, or have any other possessions or chattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the use of any other than only to the use of such convicted; that the same lands, tenements, rents or services, or other such possessions, or chattels, shall not be forfeit unto our Sovereign Lord the King in any manner wise.

Here it appeareth at whole suit and supplication this Statute was set forward as also the cause why.

Assistants reges & pharisei.

(F)

(G)

(H)

(I)

(K)

And moreover, that the Justices of the Kings Bench, the Justices of Peace, and Justices of Assise, have full power to enquire of all such which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who be their maintainers, receivers, fautors and sustainers, common writers of such Books, as well of their Sermons, as Schools, Conventicles, Congregations, and Confederacies, and that this clause be put in the Commissions of the Justices of Peace. And if any persons be indicted of any points above said, that the said Justices have power to award against them a Capias, and that the Sheriff be bound to arrest the person or persons so indicted, as soon as he can find them, either by himself or by his officers. And for so much as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or Lollardies, appertaineth to the Judges of holy Church, and not unto the Secular Judges; that such persons indicted (K) be delivered unto the Ordinaries of the places, or to their Commissaries, by Indentures between them to be made, within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it may be done, to be thereof acquitted, or convicted by the Laws of holy Church, in case such persons be not indicted of any other thing, the cogni-

sance whereof appertaineth to the Judges and secular Officers; in which case after they shall be acquitted, or delivered before the secular Judges of such things as appertain to the secular Judges, they shall be safely sent unto the said Ordinaries or their Commissaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures, as is aforesaid, to be acquitted or convicted of the same Heresies, Errors and Lollardies, as is aforesaid, according to the Laws of holy Church, and that within the term aforesaid; provided, that the said Indictments be not taken in evidence, (L) but only for information before the Judges spiritual, against such persons indicted; but that the Ordinaries begin their process against such persons indicted, in the same manner as though no such judgment were, having no regard to such Indictment. And if any be indicted of Heresie, Error or Lollardy, and taken by the Sheriff, or any other Officer of the King, he may be let to mainprise within the said ten days, by good surety, for whom the said Sheriffs or other Officers will answer, so that the person so indicted be ready to be delivered unto the said Ordinaries, or to their Commissaries, before the end of the tenth day above here recited, if he may by any means for sickness. And that every Ordinary have sufficient Commissaries or Commissary abiding in every County in place notable, so that if any such person indicted be taken, the said Commissaries or Commissary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Sheriff or any of his Officers, to come unto the Kings Gaol within the said County, there to receive the same person so indicted, by indenture, as is aforesaid; And that in the Inquests in this case taken, the Sheriffs and other Officers unto whom it appertaineth, do impanel good and sufficient persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to say, such as have at the least, every one of them that shall be so impanelled in such inquests, within the Realm, an hundred shillings by the year, in lands, tenements, or rent, upon pain to leese to the Kings use twenty pounds. And that those which shall be impanelled upon such Inquests or Sessions and Goals, have every one of them to the value of forty shillings by the year. And if any such person arrested, whether it be by the Ordinaries, or the Officers of the King, (M) either escape or break Prison before he be thereof acquit before the Ordinary; that then all his Goods and Chattels, which he had at the day of such arrest, shall be forfeit to the King; And his Lands and Tenements which he had the same day be seized also into the Kings hands, and that the King have the profits thereof from the same day until he render himself unto the said Prison from whence he escaped. And that the aforesaid Justices have full power to enquire of all such escapes and breaking of Prisons, and also of the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, of such persons indicted. Provided, that if any such person indicted do not return unto the said Prison, and die (not being convicted) that then it shall be lawful for his heirs to enter into the Lands and Tenements of his or their ancestors, without any other sute made unto the King for their cause. And that all those which have Liberties or Franchises Royal in England, as the County of Chester, the County and Liberty of Durham, and other like; And also the Lords which have Jurisdictions and Franchises Royal in Wales, where the Kings Writs do not run, have like power to execute and put in execution in all points, these Articles by them or by their Officers in like manner, as do the Justices and other the Kings Officers above declared.

¶ Notes touching the Statute prefixed.

Notes upon
the Statute
aforesaid.

Thus having recited the words of the Statute, now let us consider the reasons and objections of this adversary, who, grounding peradventure upon the Preface or Preamble of this forelaide Statute, will prove thereby the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton, with the rest of their abettors, to have been Traitors to their King and their Country. Whereunto I answer, first in general, that although the face or Preface prefixed before the Statute, may shew and declare the cause and occasion original why the Statute was made, yet the making of the Statute importeth no necessary probation of the Preface always to be true that goeth before, which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no force material thereunto, nor is any necessary part of the body of the said Statute; but only adhereth as a Declaration of the circumstance thereof,

Prefaces
before Sta-
tutes not to
be regarded
in trial
of truth.

and sometime is clean omitted, and differeth much from the substance of the same. For as Statutes in Civil Policy most commonly do tend to a publick end, and are general; so Prefaces before Statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning thereof, are private; and do stand only but upon particular facts; which either of ill will or displeasure may be suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for fear may be believed, at least suspected, as many suspicions do oft times rise in Princes heads through false surmises, and malicious complaints of certain evil disposed about them, whereby many cruel Laws, rising upon a false ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent blood. Example whereof we have not only in this present Statute, *Anno secundo Regis Henrici 5.* but also in the like Statute, commonly called the Statute *Ex officio vel de comburendo*, made by this Kings Father and Predecessor, *Anno secundo Henrici quarti, cap. 5.* In the Preface of which bloody Statute is contained another like complaint of the Prelates and Clergy, not only as heinous, but also as shamefully false and untrue, against the poor Lollards, as by the words of the complaint may appear, beginning, *Excellentissimo & Gratosissimo Principi, &c.* Wherein most falsely they slander and misreport the true servants of Christ to be Lollards, Hereticks, Subverters of the Commonwealth, destroyers of the Christian Faith, enemies to all good Laws, and to the Church of Christ. The words of which Statute, proceeding much after the like course as doth this present Statute, may easily bewray the untruth and false surmise thereof, if thou please (gentle Reader to mark and confer the words according as they are there to be read and seen, as followeth; *Conventiculas & confederationes faciunt, scholas tenent & exercent, libros conscribunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt & informant, & ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, & magnas dissensiones in populo faciunt, & alia diversa enormia audiri horrenda indies perpetrant, in Fidei Catholica, & Ecclesie subversionem, divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status, jurium, & libertatum dicte Ecclesie Anglicane.* And after a few words, *Ad omnem juris & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus destruendum, &c.* He that is or shall be acquainted with old Histories, and with the usual practices of Satan the old enemy of Christ, from the first beginning of the Primitive Church, unto this present time, shall see this to be no news, but a common, and as one would say, a Quotidian Fever among Christs children, to be vexed with false accusations and cruel slanders.

{KING}
Hen. 5.

St. an. 2. H. 5.
cap. 19.

The Preface
before the
Statute de
comburendo.

Ex vetustis
instrumentis

False accu-
sation no
news in
Christs
Church.

Nemesion the Egyptian, and true Martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a Felon? And when that could not be proved, he was condemned at the same judgment for a Christian; and therefore being cast into bands, was scourged, by the commandment of the Prefident, double to the other Felons, and at length was burned with the Thieves, although he never was found Thief nor Felon.

Example of
Nemesion,
Martyr.

Against Cyprian in like sort it was slanderously objected by Galenus Maximus Proconsul, *Quod diu sacrilegia mente vixerit, & nefaria sibi conspirationis homines adjunxerit*, That he had long continued with a mind full of Sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conspiracy.

Example of
Cyprian.

So Justinus Martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens? Cornelius Bishop of Rome and Martyr, was accused of Decius, *Quod ad Cyprianum litteras daret contra remp. i.e.* That he wrote Letters unto Cyprian against the Commonwealth.

Example of
Justinus the
Martyr.
Example of
Cornelius
Bishop of
Rome.

To consider the Laws and Statutes made by Tyrants and Emperors in the first Persecution of the Primitive Church, against the innocent servants of Christ, and to compare the same with the Laws and Statutes in this later Persecution under Antichrist; a man shall find, that as they agree all in like cruelty, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretended causes and crimes devised. For as then the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for Insurrections and Rebellions against the Emperors and Empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of Infants, for worshipping the Sun (because they prayed toward the East) for worshipping alio the Head of an As, &c. upon the rumors whereof divers and sundry Laws and Statutes were enacted, some ingraven in

Laws and
Statutes
grounded
upon false
causes a-
gainst the
Christians.

The perse-
cuting Sta-
tutes in the
Primitive
Church and
of the later
Church
compared.

KING in brass, some otherwise wrote against them; so in this forefaid Statute, Anno 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7. Also Anno 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. and in such other Statutes or Indictments made and conceived against the *Lollards*, the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making thereof did rise rather upon malice and hatred against their Religion conceived, than upon any just cause ministered of their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of *Domitianus*, for fear of *David's* stock, all the Nephews of *Jude* the Lords Brother in the flesh were accused to the Emperor. And also the like fear and hatred stirred up other Emperors, and the Senate of *Rome*, to proceed with persecuting Laws against the Christian flock of Christ; *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21.* whereupon rose up those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongful accusations against the Christians; so that what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed against them.

Fear and hatred causes of persecution.

Not unlike also it may seem, that the Pope with his Prelates, fearing and misdoubting lest the proceeding of the Gospel preached by these persons, should overthrow the state of their Majesty, did therefore by sinister accusations inflame the hearts of Princes against them, and under some coloured covert, to shadow their cloaked hatred, devised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serve their purpose.

The matter debated by Records, whether the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Aston were Traitors or not.

This hitherto have I said as in a general sum, answering to the Preamble of the forefaid Statute, for the defence of Sir *John Oldcastle* and Sir *Roger Aston*, and other, as not defining precisely what was, or was not (for here I may say with *Hall*, that as I was not present at the deed doing, so with him, I may also leave the same at large:) But as one by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all conjectures hunting out in this matter what is most like, would but only say my mind *sine strepitu* (as Lawyers say) & *sine figura iudicii*.

Now consequently it followeth that we descend to the special points and particulars of the forefaid Preamble; to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarily is to be judged, either for proof or disproof of this forefaid Sir *John Oldcastle* and his fellows.

(A) Rumors, Congregations, Insurrections.

(A) And first, where the poem of this Statute be-
ginneth with *Rumors, Congregations and Insurrections*, &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forcible Entries or Rebellion against the King, they would have made any rumors thereof before the deed done; so is it more credibly to be supposed, all these flourishes of words to be but words of course, or of office, and to favour rather of the rankness of the inditers Pen, who disposed either *per amplificationem rhetoricam*, to shew his Copy, or else *per maliciam papisticam*, to aggravate the crime, and to make mountains of molehills, first of Rumors maketh Congregations, and from Congregations riseth up to Insurrections; whereas in all these Rumors, Congregations and Insurrections, yet never a blow was given, never a stroke was stricken, no blood spilt, no furniture nor instruments of war, no sign of Battel, yea no express signification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact described, neither in Records, nor yet in any Chronicle. Again, if these Rumors were words spoken against the King, as calling him a Tyrant, an Usurper of the Crown, the Prince of Priests, &c. why then be none of these words expressed in their Indictments, or left in Records? doth Mr. *Cope* think for a man to be called a Traitor, to be enough to make him a Traitor, unless some plain and evident proof be brought for him to be so indeed, as he is called? Rumors (saith he) *Congregations and Insurrections were made*. Rumors are uncertain; Congregations have been, and may be among Christian men in dangerous times for good purposes, and no Treason against their Princes meant. The term of Insurrections may be added *in re et actu* by practice, or surmise of the Prelates and Pen-men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the King, might add this rather of their own gentleness, than of the others deserving. Certain it is, and undoubted, that the Prelates in those days, being so mightily inflamed against these *Lollards*, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kind of practice among the *Papish* Clergy have not lacked neither before nor since. Moreover, if these men had made such a rebellious Insurrection against the King, as is pretended in the Preamble before this Statute, which were a matter of High Treason; how chanceth then, that the whole body of the Statute, following after the said Preface or Preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches thereof, both in matter of arrest, of indictment, information, request, allowance of Officers, cognisance of Ordinaries, of the forefact, &c. upon cases of Heresie and not of Treason, as by particular tractation shall be (Christ willing) declared.

And forsomuch as these men be so grievously accused of *Alanus Copus*, for congregating and rising against their King, and the whole Realm, if I had so much leisure to defend, as he hath pleasure to diffame; here might be demanded of him, to keep him some further play (touching this mighty Insurrection, whereas they came in number twenty thousand against the King) in what order of Battel-ray they marched, what Captains, under-Captains, and petty Captains they had to guide the Wings, and to lead the Army? whether they were Horsemen or Footmen? If they were Horsemen (as is pretended) what meant they then to resort to the Thickets near to *St. Giles's* Field, which was no meet place for Horses to stir? If they were Footmen, how standeth that with the Author, which reporteth them to be Horsemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what Ensigns or Flags, what Shot, what Powder, what Armour, Weapons, and other furniture of War, also what Treasure of Mony to wage so many, to the number of 20000, what Trumpets, Drums, and other noise necessary for the purpose they had? All these preparations for such an enterprise requisite and necessary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that instead of Arms and Weapons, they were coming only with their Books, and with *Beverly* their Preacher into those Thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact (as is before said) so have I neither certainty to define upon their case, nor yet Master *Cope*, to exclaim against them, unless peradventure, that he, taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them; that because it was the hot Month of *January*, the second day after the *Epiphany*, therefore it is like, that Sir *John Oldcastle*, with twenty thousand *Lollards*, camped together in the Fields in all the heat of the Weather, to destroy the King and all the Nobles, and to make himself Regent of *England*; and why not as well the King, as Regent of *England*, seeing all the Nobles should have been destroyed, and he only left alone to reign by himself?

Insurrections of the Lollards against the King not likely.

It followeth more in the Preamble of the forefaid Statute, (B) to *adul. destroy and subvert the Christian Faith, and the Law of God, and Holy Church*, &c. He that was the forger and inventor of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the Prelates, seemeth no cunning *Dædalus*, nor half his Craftmaster in lying for the Whetstone. Better he might have learned of *Simon* in *Virgil*, more artificially to have framed and conveyed his narration. Which although in no case could sound like any truth; yet some colour of probability should have been set upon it, to give it some countenance of a like tale. As if he had first declared the Lord *Cobham* to have been before in secret confederacy with the great *Turk*; or if he had made him some *Termagant* or *Mabound* out of *Babylonia*, or some *Herod* of *Judea*, or some *Antichrist* out of *Rome*, or some *Grand-pancht* Epicure of this World, and had shewed, that he had received Letters from the great *Soldan*, to fight against the Faith of Christ, and Law of God; then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said Sir *John Oldcastle*, with his Sect of Heresie, went about to *adul. destroy and subvert the Christian Faith and Law of God, within the Realm of England*, &c.

(B) A slander of the Lord Cobham, that he intended to destroy Christian Faith.

But now, where will either he or Mr. *Cope*, find men so mad to believe, or so ingenious, that can imagine this to be true, that the Lord *Cobham*, being a Christian, and so faithful a Christian, would or did ever cogitate in his mind to destroy and adul. the Faith of Christ in the Realm of *England*? Whatsoever the report of this pursuant or Preface saith, I report me unto the indifferent Reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? That he which before, through the reading of *Wickliff's* Works, had

Cyprian
Epist.

been so earnestly converted to the law of God, who had also approved himself such a faithful servant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ he being examined and tried before the Prelates, not only ventured his life, but stood constant unto the sentence of death destined against him; being a condemned and a dead man by law, *Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet & timorem, passus sit quicquid pati potuit*, who had, as much as to devotion and fear appertained, suffered already what he might or could suffer, as Cyprian said by Cornelius; That he, I say, which a little before, in the Month of September, stood so constant in defence of Christs faith, would now in the Month of January rise to destroy, adnule, and subvert Christs faith, and the Law of God, and holy Church within the Realm of England?

How can it be, not likely only, but possible to be true, that he which never in all the time of his life denied the faith; which ever confessed the faith so constantly; which was for the same faith condemned; yea, and at last also, burned for the faith, would ever fight against the faith and law of God, to adnule and subvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and see when he should have so destroyed and adnulled the christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he, or did he intend to bring into the Realm of England? the Turks faith? or the Jews faith? or the Popes faith? or what faith else I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Christ, and will shew himself a friend to no other faith besides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C)
The Lord
Cobham fal-
ly slander-
ed for in-
tending to
destroy the
King.

(C) And therefore, even as it is true, that Sir John Oldcastle with his Confederates and Abettors were up in Arms to subvert and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in the Realm of England, so by the like truth it may be esteemed, that the same persons rose also to destroy their sovereign Lord the King and his brethren. First, thanks be to God, that neither the King nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, faith the Preface, was to destroy their sovereign Lord the King. Whereunto I answer with this interrogatory, whether was his intent privily to have destroyed him, or by open force of Arms? If privily, what needed then such a great Army of 20000 Men, to achieve that secret feat? rather I would think that he needed more the help of such as were near about the King; as some of the Kings privy Chamber, or some of his secret Council; whereof neither Chronicle nor Record doth insinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the King; you must understand, Mr. Cope, that to withstand a King in his own Realm, many things are required, long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance, and aid of Kindred, Money, Horse, Men, Armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

How unlike
it is that
the Lord
Cobham did
rise against
the King.Examples
what an
hard matter
it is to rise
against the
King.

Earl Goodwin of Westsax, who had married Canutus daughter, being a Man both ambitious, and as false a Traitor, for all his six Sons, and great Alliance, yet durst not set upon King Edward to invade him in his Realm, although he fought many occasions so to do, yet never durst he enterprise openly that which his ambition so greatly presumed unto.

The Nobles
against King
Henry 3d.

In the time of King Henry the 3d. Simon Montfort Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert Clare Earl of Leicester, Humphrey Rone Earl of Ference, with a great number of Lords and Barons, thought themselves to have great right on their sides; yet durst they not, for all their power, openly assail the King in his Realm, before great debatement and talk first had between.

The Nobles
against King
Edward 2d.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was in the Realm against King Edward, the second, among the Peers and Nobles, and also Prelates (only Walter Bishop of Coventry except) first for Gavestone, then for the Spencers, at what time Tho. Earl of Lancaster, Guido Earl of Warwick, with the most part of all other Earls and Barons, concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gavestone, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly, nor without great fear, durst stir up War in the Land, or disquiet or vex the King, but first by all means of moderate counsel, and humble Petition, thought rather to perswade, than to invade the King.

The Nobles
against King
Richard 2d.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the Reign of King Richard the Second, Tho. Woodstock Duke

of Gloucester, the Kings Uncle, with the Earls of Arundel, of Warwick, and Darby, with the power almost of the whole Commons, stood up in Arms against the King; and yet notwithstanding, all their power joynd together being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy, straightways to fly upon the King, but by way of Parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceived, and so did, without any War striking against the King.

The Nobles
against King
Henry 4th.

After King Richard the Second was deposed, and was in Prison yet living, divers Noblemen were greatly inflamed against King Henry the fourth, as Sir John Holland Earl of Huntington, Thomas Spencer Earl of Gloucester, the Earls likewise of Kent and of Salisbury, with Sir John Cheiney, and other more, whereof divers had been Dukes before, and now deposed by King Henry the 4th. although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice against the said King Henry, yet had they neither heart nor power openly with mans force to assail the King, but secretly were compelled to achieve their conceived intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish. *Ex bift. D. Alban.*

Thus you may see, Master Cope, or else Master Harpsfield, or whatsoever ye be, to gainstand a King, and with open force to encounter with him in his own Land, and in his own Chamber of London, where he is so sure and strong, what a matter, and of how great chievance it is, wherein so many and so great difficulties do ly, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so uncertain, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any Kings days heretofore any Peers or Nobles of the Realm, were they never so strongly assisted with power, wit or counsel, yet either were able, or else well durst ever to enterprise upon a case so dangerous, notwithstanding they were of themselves, never so far from all fear of God, and true obedience. And shall we then think, or can we imagine (Mr. Cope) that Sir John Oldcastle, a Man so well instructed in the knowledge of Gods Word, being but a poor Knight by his degree, having none of all the Peers and Nobles in all the World to joyn with him, being Prisoner in the Tower of London a little before in the Month of December, could now in the Month of January, so suddenly, in such an hot season of the year, start up an Army of 20 thousand fighting Men to invade the King, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to adnule Christian Faith, to destroy Gods Law, and to subvert holy Church? And why doth not he add moreover, to set also all London on fire, and to turn all England into a Fish-pool? Belike these Men, which give out these figments of Sir John Oldcastle, did think him to be one of Deucalions stock, who by casting of stones over his shoulder, could by and by make Men at his pleasure, or else that he had Cadmus Teeth to sow, to make so many Harvest men to start up at once.

A rebellion
to be of
20000, and
yet no
Country to
be known
from
whence
they came,
it is not
like.

But let us consider yet further of these 20 thousand Soldiers, so suddenly without wages, without victual, or other provision congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what Quarter, Country or Countrys they came. In other Kings days, whensoever any Rebellion was against the King, moved by the Commons; as when Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler of Kent, and Essex rose in the time of King Richard the 2d. When William Mandevill of Abington, Jack Cade of Kent, in the time of King Henry the 6th. In the time of King Henry the eighth, when the commotion was of Rebels in Lincolnshire, then in Yorkshire. When in King Edward the 6th time, Humphrey Arundel in Devonshire, Captain Kette in Northfolk made stir against the King, the Country and parts from whence these Rebels did spring, were both noted and also defamed. In this so traitorous commotion therefore, let us now learn what these men were, and from what Country or Countrys in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chronicles declare what Countrys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Eutopia, where, belike, this figment war first forged and invented. Wherefore seeing neither the Countrys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these 20000 do appear what they were, either in Chronicle or in Record, but remain altogether unknown, I leave it (gentle Reader) to thy judgment, to think thereupon, as thy wisdom shall lead thee.

Never was
any Rebelli-
on of Com-
mons in
England,
but the spe-
cial Coun-
try from
whence they
came was
noted and
known.

(D) It

KING

Hen. 5.

Another
false report
of Sir John
Oldcastle,
that he in-
tended to
kill all man-
ner of
Estates in
the Realm.

(D) It followeth more in the foresaid Preface; And to destroy all other manner of estates of the same Realm of England, as well Spiritual as temporal, &c. By the course of this Preamble it appeareth, that the said Sir John Oldcastle was a wonderful cruel Tyrant and Murderer, who being not yet satisfied with the blood of the King, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would also make havock and sweep-stake of all manner of Estates in the Realm of England. What and leave no manner of Estate alive? No, neither Lord Spiritual nor Temporal, but all together shall be destroyed. And what had all these Estates done, thus so miserably to be destroyed? Although percase, the mood of this man might have been incensed and kindled against the King, and the Lords Spiritual, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforesaid; yet why should all other manner of other Estates both spiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the Estates in England, neither Duke, Earl, Baron, Lord, Knight, or other Gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he having all the Estates, Peers, Nobles and Gentlemen of the Realm against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the Land, he being but only Gentleman only, with Sir Roger Aston, and Mr. Brown left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred Knights should have been spared out of this bloody slaughter, whom he offered to reduce unto the King, before, for his purgation. And finally, if this was his purpose, that all these Estates both spiritual and temporal should have been cut down, what needed then that he should have made himself a Regent, when as he might as well have made himself a King, or what else he would, being left then Prince alone?

(E)
An hard
matter to
destroy all
policy and
laws of a
Land.

(E) The Preamble as it began with untruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one untruth upon another; so now endeth with another misreport as untrue as the rest, shewing and declaring that the intent of Sir John Oldcastle was also, To destroy all manner of policy, and finally, the Laws of the Land, &c. We read of William the Conqueror, otherwise named William Bastard, who being a puissant Duke in his Country, when that the Crown of England was allotted to him, and he coming over with all his Peers, Nobles and Barons of his whole Land, into this Realm, and had with great difficulty obtained Victory against King Harold; yet to alter and destroy the policy and the Laws of the Land, it passeth his power. Inasmuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded so far as he did, unless he had first sworn to the Nobles of this Land, to retain still the laws of King Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forswore himself, breaking his Oath in altering and changing many of the foresaid Laws, yet wild he, mild he, he could not so destroy them all (for the which much war and great commotions endured long after in the Realm) but that he was constrained, and also contented to allow and admit a great part of the said Laws of King Edward. And if he, being King and Conqueror, with all his strength of Normans and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all manner of policy and Laws of this Land which he had conquered; how much less then is it to be supposed that Sir John Oldcastle being but a private subject, and a poor Knight, and a condemned Prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all Lords, Earls and Barons, who to save his own life had more to do than he could well compass, would either take in hand, or conceive in his head any such exploit, after the subversion of Christian Faith, and Law of God, after the slaughter of the King and all manner of Estates, as well spiritual as temporal, in the Realm of England, after the desolation of holy Church, to destroy also all manner of policy, and finally, the Laws of the Land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seem to Mr. Cope, or to some other late Chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell; certainly to me, and as I think, to all indifferent Readers, it appeareth as true as is the Verse of the Satyr, wherewith it may well be compared;

Nil intra est oleum, nil extra est in nucis duri.

But here will it be said again perhaps, that the matter of such Preambles and Prefaces being but pursuants of Statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggravate and to give a shew of a thing which they would have to seem more odious to the people, is not so precisely to be scanned, or exquisitely to be stood upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of truth.

Objection.

This is it (Mr. Cope) that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lined with a *non sequitur*, containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course, and rather monsters out of course, and many times rising upon false information, are not always in themselves material, or necessary probations in all points to be followed, as appeareth both by this Statute, and also by the Statute of this Kings Father, Anno 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. beginning *Excellentissimo, &c.* And yet notwithstanding, out of these same preambles, and forefronts of Statutes, and other Indictments, which, commonly rising upon matter of information, run only upon words of course, of office, and not upon simple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, having no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but only following bare rumors, or else such words as they see in such fabling Prefaces or Indictments expressed. Whereby it cometh so to pass, that the younger Chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of error. And you also, Mr. Cope, following the steps of the same, do seem likewise to err together with them for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this Statute hitherto sufficiently.

Ex orig. Hen. 4. c. 15.

The reason and cause how Chroniclers oftentimes be deceived.

Alan. Cope deceived by his Chroniclers.

Now let us consider and discuss in like manner first the coherence, then the particular contents of the said Statute. As touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall find almost a Chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the Statute well agree with themselves. Wherein he that was the drawer, or first informer thereof, seemeth to have forgot his Verse and Art poetical.

*Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet.
Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo.*

Hor. sat. poet.

For whereas the Preface of the Statute standeth only upon matter of Treason, conceived by false suggestion and wrong information; the body of the said Statute, which should follow upon the same, runneth only upon matter of Heresie pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appear.

(F) For first, Where he saith, *At the instance and request of the Ordinaries or their Commissaries, &c.* Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of Treason nor Felony. For that every man of duty is bound, and by the Laws of the Realm may arrest and apprehend a Traitor, or a Felon, if he can; where otherwise by this Statute, an Officer is not bound to arrest him which offendeth in case of this Statute, without request made by the Ordinaries or their Commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be Treason nor Felony.

The body of the Statute, an. 2. Reg. Hen. 5. ca. 7. examined.

(G) Secondly, Where it followeth, that *the same Ordinaries and Commissaries do pay for their costs, &c.* This allowance of the Officers charges in this sort proveth this offence neither Treason nor Felony.

(G)

(H) Thirdly, Where the Statute willet the King to be answered of the year, day and waste, &c. By this also is proved the offence not to be Treason; for else in cases of Treason, the whole inheritance, I trow, Mr. Cope (speaking as no great skillful Lawyer) is forfeit to the Prince.

(H)

(I) The Fourth Argument I take out of these words of the Statute, *Whereas such Lands and Tenements which are holden of the Ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the King, as forfeit, &c.* Whereby it is manifest, that the Prelates (for their matter of Lollardy only) were the occasioners and procurers of this Statute; and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit rising thereby, as good reason was they should. And thus it is notorious, that the Preface running specially and principally upon Treason, and the Statute running altogether upon points of Heresie, do not well cohere nor joyn together.

(I)

(K) Fifthly, In that such persons indicted shall be delivered unto the Ordinaries of the places, &c. it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of Treason, forasmuch as Ordinaries cannot be Judges in cases of Treason or Felony, by the laws of our Realm, *Bract. in fine 1. lib.*

(L) Sixthly, By the Indictments provided not to be taken in evidence, but only for information, before the Judges Spiritual, &c. It is likewise to be noted, to what end these Indictments were taken; to wit, only to inform the Ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of Treason.

(M) Lastly, Where it followeth toward the end of the Statute, touching escape or breaking of Prison, &c. By this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this Statute driveth, that is, to the special escape of the Lord Cobham out of the Tower, to this end, to have his Lands and Possessions forfeit unto the King. And yet the same escape of the Lord Cobham, in this Statute considered, is taken by Mr. Justice Stanford, in libro primo, of the Pleas of the Crown, cap. 33. to be an escape of one arrested for Heresie, where he speaketh of the case of the Lord Cobham.

John Stanf.
of the Pleas
of the
Crown lib.
1. cap. 33.

Moreover, as touching the parts of this foresaid Statute, how will you joyn these two branches together, whereas in the former part is said, *That the Lands of such persons convicted shall be forfeit to the King, not before they be dead;* and afterward it followeth, *That their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest to the King?* But herein standeth no such great doubt, nor matter to be weighed; This is without all doubt, and notoriously, evidently, and most manifestly may appear, by all the arguments and whole purport of the Statute; That as well the Preamble and Preface thereof, as the whole body of the said Statute, was made, framed and procured only by and through the instigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates and the Popish Clergy, not so much for any Treason committed against the King; but only for fear and hatred of Lollardy, tending against their Law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any Treason against the Prince. And then to set the King and all the States against them, whereby the more readily to work their dispatch, they thought it best, and none so compendious a policy, as prettily to joyn Treason together with their Lollardy; wherein the poor men once intangled, could no ways escape destruction. *Papae consilium callidum.*

The first
procure
of this Sta-
tute.

Practice of
Prelates to
couple trea-
son with
heresie.

This, Master Cope, have I said, and say again, not as one absolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof, as I was not present my self, so with your own Hall I may and do leave it at large, but as one leading the Readers by all conjectures and arguments of probability and of due circumstance, to consider with themselves what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practices and proceedings of these Prelates. Protecting moreover (Master Cope) in this matter to you, that those Chronicles which you so much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witnesses sufficient, nor as judges competent. Who as they were not themselves present at the deed done no more than I, but only following uncertain rumors, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themselves, and also deceive you and other which depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this Statute enough. Out of which Statute you see (Mr. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great advantage, to prove any Treason in the Lord Cobham, or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premisses.

Alan Cope
106. 833. 1. 4.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your sixth Dialogue, with your Author Edward Hall, do alledge the Records, *Es publica iudicii Acta*, to defame these men for Traitors (although what Records they be you bring forth never a word) I therefore in their defence do answer for them, which cannot now answer for themselves. And because you, to accuse them, do mention a certain Record, and yet do not shew us what Record it is, and peradventure cannot, if ye would: I have taken the pains therefore, for the love of them whom you so hate, to search out such Records, whereby any occasion can be

raised against them. And first I will declare the Commission granted, then the Indictment commenced against them.

The which Commission and Indictment, albeit in countenance of words will seem to minister much suspicion against them, to the simple Reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtil dealings and practices of Prelates; yet trusting upon the goodness of the cause, which I see here so falsely and slightly to be handled, I nothing fear nor doubt to produce the same out of the Records in Latin as they stand; to the intent that when the crafty handling of the adversaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicity of the innocent, to the true hearted Reader, may the more better appear. The words first of the Commission here follow under written; which when thou shalt hear, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle Reader, I beseech thee, before thou understand further, what packing and subtle conveyance lieth covered and hid under the same

KING
Hen. 5.

In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

R. Dilectis & fidelibus suis Willielmo Roas. de Ham-
lack, Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croismere Ma-
jori Civitatis sue London. Hugoni Huls, Joanni Preston,
& Joanni Martin salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos plenius
(A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeste dignoscatur, quod
quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgaris nuncupati, ac
alii mortem nostram contra ligeancie sue debitum proditorie
imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholice,
quam status dominorum & magnatum regni nostri Angli.
tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt,
ac diversas congregationes, & alia conventicula illicita pro
nefando proposito suo in hac parte perimplenda fecerunt
in nostri exheredationem ac Regni nostri destructionem
manifestam: Nos hujusmodi Lollardos ac alios pradiatos
juxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigari & puniri volentes,
ac de fidelitate & circumspetione vestra plenius confidentes,
assignavimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres vestrum,
quorum vos prefati Major & Hugo, duos esse volumus
Justic. nostros ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de civitate pradiata
& suburbiis ejusdem, ac de Comitatu Middlesexie, tam
infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius
sciri poterit de omnibus & singulis prodicionibus & insurre-
ctionibus per hujusmodi Lollardos in civitate, suburbiis,
& comitat. pradiatis, factis & perpetratis. necnon de omni-
modo prodicionibus & insurrectionibus, rebellionibus & felon-
iis in civitate, suburbiis, & com. pradiatis, per quoscunque
& qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, & ad easd. pro-
dicion. insurrect. rebell. & felonias aud. & termin. secund.
legem & consuetudinem Regni nostri Angli. Et ideo vobis
mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c.
ad hoc provideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones,
& pramissa omnia & singula audiat & terminetis
in forma pradiata facturi, &c. Salvis, &c. Mandavimus
enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. & Midd. quod ad
certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ejus scire fac. venire
facientes coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot. &c. de Balli-
va sua, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos, &c. &
inquiri. In cuius, &c. T.R. apud Westm. (B) x. die Jan.
Per ipsum Regem.

The words
of the Com-
mission a-
gainst the
L. Cobham.
(A)

(B)

By these high and tragical words in this Commission sent down against the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Aston and their fellows; it may peradventure seem to the ignorant and simple Reader, some heinous crime of Treason to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the Church, the King and their Country. But what cannot the fetching practice of the Romish Prelates bring about, where they have once conceived a malice? Wherefore marvel not (good Reader) at this, nor judge thou according to the words which thou hearest, but suspend thy judgment a while till the matter be more opened unto thee. Exam-
ples of like handling be not so rare, but thou mayst soon judge by other times the like also of these. George Eggle, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of Queen Mary, and yet Commission was directed against him, as in case of raising up a commotion against the Queen. Adam Damlip in Calis did but preach, and the receiving of one poor Crown two years before at Rome, was enough to make him a Traitor. In time of King

Example
of divers
falsely accus-
ed for
Treason.

KING King Henry the Eighth, one Cingleton, Chaplain to Queen Anne, the Queens Majesties Mother that now is, did but preach the Gospel, moved by zeal (as I have credible witness of his own Scholar that heard him speak it, being with him) and yet by virtue of a Commission it was objected to him, for railing up commotion against the King, yea, and also for killing of Pakington, and suffered for the same as a Traitor. So here, what matter or marvel is it, if the King incensed, or rather circumvented by the wrong information of the Prelates, whom he believed, gave out his Commission, against things never wrought nor thought?

Wherefore I exhort thee, Christian Reader, as I said before, judge not by and by the truth by the words of the Commission, but judge rather the words of the Commission by the truth. Neither measure thou the line by the stone, but the stone rather by the line. At least, yet defer thy sentence till both the Commission and the Indictment being laid together, thou mayst afterward see and perceive more what is to be judged in the case.

(A) In the mean season mark well these words of the King in this Commission, **(A)** *Cum nos plenius informemur, &c.* By the which words it is easie to be understood, that the King himself had no certain knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of Bishops no doubt and Prelates) and thereupon gave forth his Commission aforesaid. And then how will this stand with our Chronicles, and other Epitomes and Summaries, whom Master Cope doth alledge? for if it be certain that Robert Fabian saith, That the King himself being in the Field took certain of them, as Sir Roger Acton, Master Brown, and John Beverley; and your own Edward Hall also, and your Epitome agreeth to the same; and saith moreover, that they were brought before the Kings presence: Thomas Cooper also, whom you alledge, addeth further, and saith, that the King there by strength did take them.

I pray you (Master Cope) what needed the King to write this by information, when as he himself was both present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witness of the deed? The which if it be true that the King heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your Chronicles and your Epitomes? But herein I will neither greatly stick with you, nor contend with them; desiring the Reader only to bear in mind the date of this present Commission when it was given, **(B)** which soundeth to be the 10th day of January, and afterward to compare the same with the date of the Indictment hereunder following, which I will (the Lord willing) also hereunto annex, leaving nothing out; yea rather, ministering to the adversary all manner of helps, whatsoever they can seek or require for their most advantage in this matter, to be desired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, not fearing whatsoever blind malice can cavil against them.

The Indictment of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton and others, with Notes following upon the same.

PARLIAMENTA coram Domino Rege apud Westm. de termino Sancti Hilarii, anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti, post conquestum primo, Rot. 7. inter Parliamentaria Regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Ham-lak, Henrico le Scrope, Gulielmo Crommere Majore Civitatis London. Hugone Huls & sociis Justic. Domini Regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de Civitate Domini Regis London. & Suburbis ejusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & singulis prodicionibus & insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos Domini Regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in Civitate, Suburbis, & Com. predictis, factis & perpetratis, necnon de omnibus prodicionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonis in Civitate, Suburbis & Com. predictis, per quoscunque & qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, & ad easdem prodiciones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiscend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni Domini Regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius Domini Regis patentes, assign. apud Westm. die Mercurii **(A)**

proximo post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo, **(B)** per sacram. xii. Jur. extitit, presentatum; quod Jo. Oldcastle de Couling. in Com. Kanc. chr. & alii Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diversas opiniones hereticas, & alios errores manifestos legi catholice repugnantes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones & errores predictos manutenere, ac in facto minime perimplere valentes, quamdiu regia potestas & tam status regal. Domini nostri Regis, quam status & officium Prelaticæ dignitatis infra Regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso & proditorie machinando, tam statum Regni, quam statum & officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum Regnum Angl. penitus annullare. Ac Dominum nostrum Regem, fratres suos, prælatos, & alios magnates ejusdem Regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, relicti. cult. divinis & religiosis observantiis ad occupationes mundanas provocare, & tam Ecclesias Cathedralis, quam alias Ecclesias & domos Religiosas de reliquiis & aliis bonis Ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, & dictum Johannem Oldcastle **(C)** Regentem ejusdem Regni constituere, & quamplura regimina secundum eorum voluntatem infra Regnum prædictum **(D)** quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei Catholice & cleri, quam status & majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem Regnum ordinare, falso & proditorie ordinarerunt & proposuerunt, quod ipso insimul cum quampluribus rebellibus Domini Regis **(E)** ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diversis partibus Regni Angl. modo guerrino arrivati **(F)** privatim insurgent. & die Mercurii proximo **(G)** post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini Anno Regni Regis prædicti prædicto apud Villam & Parochiam Sancti Egidii **(H)** extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimiter convenirent & insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in præmissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud Villam & Parochiam prædictas prædicti Johannes Oldcastle & alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorio perseverantes, præd. dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. **(H)** Tho. ducem Clarencie, Joan. de Lanc. & Humfred. de Lancast. necnon Prelatos & magnates præd. interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum regem, & heredes suos de regno suo prædicto exheredare, & præmissa omnia & singula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falso & proditorie proposuerunt & imaginaverunt **(I)** & ibidem versus campum præd. modo guerrino arrivati proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeantibus suis equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem inditamentum Dominus Rex nunc, certus de causis, coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit Vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet prædictum Johannem Oldcastle, si, &c. & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram Domino Rege apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurii proximo post octavas sancti Hilarii isto eodem termino ad respondendum Domino Regi de præmissis, &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram Domino Rege Vic. return. quod prædictus Joan. Oldcastle non fuit inventus in balliva sua, &c. Per quod preceptum fuit Vic. quod exigi faceret eum de Com. in Com. quousque utlagetur si non, &c. Et si, &c. tunc eum caperet, & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberent corpus ejus coram Domino Rege in octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ ex tunc proximum sequen. ubicunque, &c. ad respondendum Domino Regi de prodicionibus & felonis superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octavas sancti Joannis Baptistæ, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo, Joannes Sutton, & Joannes Michel, Vic. Midd. coram Domino Rege returnaverunt quod ad Com. Midd. centum apud Braynsford die Jovis proximo ante Festum Sancti Barnabæ Apostoli, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor Com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes prædictus Joannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem Com. prædict. ulagatus fuit, per quod inquiretur de terra & catallis suis.

Notes

Notes and Considerations upon the Indictment and Commission above prefixed.

(A) *Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniae, &c.*

(A) The first Note concerning the date and day both of the Commission, and of the verdict of Jurors concurring on one day.

First, here is to be noted and considered (good Reader) the day and date of giving out the Commission, and then of the verdict presented by the Jurors which was both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the *Epiphany*, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, which was the tenth day of the month of *January* (as the date of the Commission saith) *Anno 1413*, after the use of *England*, or after the *Romish* use, *Anno 1414*, so that after the use ever we count whether it be *Anno 1413*, or else *Anno 1414*, the Dominical Letter beginning at the first day of *January* to change, must needs be *G*. for the year, and so necessarily make Wednesday next after the *Epiphany* to be the tenth day of the said month of *January*. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the month, being well noted and borne in mind, on the which day both the Commission was directed, and also the verdict presented, let us now proceed further in the foresaid Indictment. It followeth.

(B) The second Note of the names of the Jurors left out.

(B) *Per Sacramentum xii. Juratorum extitit presentatum, &c.*

¶ If there had been true dealing in this, the Jurors should have been named. But it is not like that there was ever any such Indictment found by any Jurors, and therefore they did best not to name the Jurors, lest they would have denied this Indictment to be their act. It followeth more in process of the Indictment.

(C) The third argument, by making a Regent, the King being not yet gone over.

(C) *Et dictum Joan. Oldcastle, Regentem ejusdem regni constituere, &c.*

¶ If there were no other argument this were sufficient to prove the manifest untruth of this surmised Indictment, when as the King was not yet gone to *France*, nor determined to go, how could they conspire then to make a Regent? For the King went in *July* following, viz. the second year of his reign, leaving behind him the Queen his Mother-in-law for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was untruly entred and stollen into the records with an antedate, or else at the least there appeareth manifest untruth, that they should conspire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought upon, unless it were already run into the heads of the Clergy, who shortly after fearing their Temporalities, as *Caxton* saith, persuaded the King to make Wars in *France*. This word Regent therefore proceedeth of the secret spirit of the Clergy, and maketh the whole matter very suspicious to be grounded altogether upon the malice of the Clergy, and their untrue surmises. It followeth moreover.

(D) The fifth argument by contrariety.

(D) *Quasi gens sine capite in finalem destructionem, &c.*

¶ How doth this stand with that which goeth before, that they conspired to make a Regent, except you will say, that to make a Regent is to be a people without an head? It followeth.

(E) The sixth argument by the persons unknown.

(E) *Cum quamplurimis rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum, &c.* ¶ A strange matter, that they should know of the conspiracy of twenty thousand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels but the Lord *Cobham* only, or one or two mo, and all the rest were *ignoti*.

(F) The seventh argument by the unskillful penning.

(F) *Privatim insurgentes, &c.* ¶ This smelleth of the Clergies own penning, without any great advice of learned Counsel; for otherwise such as had been herein skillful would never have put in *privatim insurgentes*.

(G) The eighth argument by the date and time.

(G) *Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiph. D. An. R. R. predict. &c.* ¶ This Wednesday next after the *Epiphany* was the tenth day of the month of *January*, and the same day when both the conspiracy was put in execution, and the same day when the Commission was given out to enquire, also when the fact was by inquiry presented. Whereby it may seem a strange thing that so great a conspiracy known before hand, was not suppressed nor inquired of by any Commission, but only by a Commission bearing date of the same day, upon which day, by the purport of the Indictment, the conspiracy should have been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforesaid.

(H) *Prædict. D. nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. Ducem Clarentia, Jo. de Lancastre, & Humfr. de Lancastre, &c.* ¶ If the Kings learned Counsel had dealt in this Indictment, as in case of Treason they should have done, if it had been a matter of truth they would never have handled it so slenderly, and wrongly, as to name the Dukes of *Bedford* and of *Glocester*, *Job. of Lancaster*, and *Humfr. of Lancaster*, who were made Dukes in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth their Father, as appeareth by *Caxtons Chronicle*.

(I) *Et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie, modo insurrectiones, contra ligeantias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum D. nostrum regem, &c.*

¶ This is falsified by plain evidence of Histories, and *Cope* himself confesseth no less. For so he saith and confesseth, pag. 833. lin. 12. That Sir *John Oldcastle* was not there in person, but only that his consent and good will was there.

Again, seeing this equitation or riding toward *St. Giles* field was upon the Wednesday next after the Feast of *Epiphany*, as in this Indictment and process of Outlawry is above testified, which was the tenth day of *January*, and Commission also the same day was charged, and the Jury also impanelled the same day, and yet no Juror named; *Item*, the verdict the same day presented; how all these can concur together, and all in one day, let the Reader after he have well considered the matter, use his judgment therein, not only whether it be like, but also whether it be possible.

Over and beside all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duly handled, as touching the Treason, then had it not been needful to have brought Sir *Jo. Oldcastle* into the Parliament-House before the Lords to be judged; for by his Outlawry (if it had been true) he was attainted, and without any more ado should have had judgment in the *Kings-Bench* as a Traytor. But the chief Justice knowing the handling of the matter, durst not belike enterprise so far. Wherefore it was devised that he should certify the record into the Parliament, which he did, together with the Bishops sentence filed to the record, which was very strange.

And thereupon the Lords gave such a judgment as was not due for a Traytor. For that they gave no judgment, that he should be drawn, hanged, and let down alive, and then Bowelled and Quartered, which is the judgment of a Traytor. And albeit the Parliament might have attainted him without any more ado, and by the same Act of Attainder have ordained a special judgment, as they should think good; yet when he was before attainted by the Outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common judgment of Treason. At least how could or should the judgment of Sir *Roger Aston*, *Master Brown*, and *John Beverly*, who were judged in the Guildhall before, and without the Parliament, vary from the said common judgment of Traytors, if they had truly committed and been convicted of such High Treason?

Add this moreover to the foresaid notes; that if Sir *John Oldcastle* after his escape out of prison, had been culpable, and so attainted of that High Treason, whereby his lands had been immediately forfeit unto the King by the process of his Outlawry; what needed the King then in the second year of his reign, in the Parliament after holden at *Leicester*, have made that proviso to have his land forfeit to him by virtue of Parliament, upon his escape on the day of his arrest, when as the lands and cattel of his had been forfeit before, by the process of the Outlawry, as is before specified?

Thus you see, *M. Cope*, how little vantage you can wrest out of this Commission and Indictment against the *L. Cobham* and his fellows, to prove them Traytors. And admit the said *L. Cobham* was attainted of Treason by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons assented to the Act; yet it bindeth not in such sort, as if indeed he were no Traytor, that any may not by search of the truth utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true cause of his death.

Thus then having sufficiently cleared the *L. Cobham* and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and statutes; let us now come to your *English Chronicles* wherewith you seem to press me, and to oppress them, whom

KING.
Hen. 5.(H)
The ninth
argument,
by error
and wrong
naming the
Dukes.(I)
The tenth
note or ar-
gument by
the absence
of the par-
ty.The 11th
note or ar-
gument.The twelfth
note or ar-
gument.
The L. Cob-
ham, Sir Ro-
ger Aston, &c.
proved no
Treason.The 13th
note or ar-
gument.Answer to
the Allega-
tions of
Fah. Pa. Fr-
gil, and
Hail, &c.

KING whom ye name to be *Rob. Fabian, Ed. Hall, Pol. Virgil,* yet in none of these whom you have produced doth appear. **Hm. 5.** *Tho. Cooper, Rich. Grafion,* with other brief Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which Authors, as I have nothing to say, but to their commendations, in this place: so if that you had avouched the same to the commendation rather than to the reproof of other, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cause. But now like a spider-catcher sucking out of every one what is the worst, to make up your leysfall, you heap up a dung-hill of dirty Dialogues, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent slanders, manifest untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemy, able almost to corrupt and infect the air. Such is the malady and cacothies of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write. Which of yours nevertheless I do not here reproach or condemn, as neither do I greatly fear the same. God of his mercy keep the sword out of the Papists hand, it is not the pen of the Papists I greatly pass upon, though twenty Copes and so many Surpleffes were set against the Book of Monuments, were I so disposed (*M. Cope*) to dally, or as the *Greeks* do say, *αἰνέειν*, and to repay again as I am provoked. But in despitel railing, and in this satyricall sort of barking I give you over, and suffer you therein to pass not only your self, but also *Cerberus* himself, if ye will, the great bandog of *Pluto*. Mildness and humanity rather becoms and is the grace of the *Latin* phrase. If ye could hit upon the vain thereof, it would win you much more honesty with all honest men. But the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beseech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

Modestly commended in Writers.

Two things to be observed in Story Writers.

The ground of Histories to be considered.

All things not true that be found in Stories.

Words without probation, are not sufficient in Story matters.

In the mean time seeing this your prating pen must needs be walking, yet this you might have learned of these your own Authors whom you alledg, more civilly to have tempered your fume in exclaiming against them whose cause is to you not perfectly known. And now briefly to answer to these your forefald writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in Chronicle-writers to be considered; first the grounds which they follow: secondly, in what place they serve.

As touching the order and ground of writing among these Chroniclers, ye must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed was present at the deed, nor witness of the fact, so have they nothing of themselves herein certainly to affirm, but either must follow publick rumor and hear-say for their Author, or else one of them must borrow of another. Whereof neither seemeth to me sufficient. For as publick rumor is never certain; so one Author may soon deceive another.

By reason whereof it cometh oft to pass, that as these story-writers hit many times the truth, so again all is not in the Gospel that they do write: wherefore great respect is here to be had, either not to credit rashly every one that writeth Stories, or else to see what grounds they have whom we do follow.

Now to demand (*M. Cope*) of you, what authority or foundation hath your *R. Fabian*, hath *Polyd. Virgil, Ed. Hall*, and other of your Authors, to prove these men to be Traytors? What authority do they avouch? what Acts, what Registers, what Records, or out of what Court do they shew, or what demonstration do they make? And do you think it sufficient, because these men do only affirm it, without further probation, with your *αὐτοὶ ἴπαι*, therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not so *M. Cope*, that I do here diminish any thing, or derogate from the credit of those writers you alledg, whose labours have deserved well, and serve to great utility: but coming now to trial of a matter lying in controversie between us, we are now forced to seek out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to say, so it is, but the cause is to be shewed why it is so affirmed. And what though *Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall* should altogether (as they do not) agree in the Treason of *Sir John Oldcastle*, and of the rest? yet neither is this any sufficient surety to prove them Traytors; considering that Writers of Stories for the most part following either blind report, or else one taking of another, use commonly all to sound together after one tune, *tanquam Dodonæi lebetes*, so that as one faith, all say, and if one err, all do err. Wherefore you see Master *Cope*, how it is not sufficient nor sure to stick only to the names and authorities of Chronographers, unless the ground be found substantial whereupon they stand themselves. Which

yet in none of these whom you have produced doth appear.

Secondly, In alledging and writing of Chronicles, it is to be considered to what place and effect they serve. If ye would shew out of them the order and course of times, what years were of dearth and of plenty, where Kings kept their Christmases, what Conduits were made, what Mayors and Sheriffs were in *London*, what Battels were fought, what Triumphs and great Feasts were holden, when Kings began their reign, and when they ended, &c. In such vulgar and popular affairs the narration of the Chronicler serveth to good purpose, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to believe them. But whereas a thing is denied, and in cases of judgment, and in controversies doubtful, which are to be decided and bouted out by evidence of just demonstration: I take them neither for Judges of the Bench, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselves sufficient necessarily to be sticked unto: albeit I deny not but Histories are taken many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquity, &c. yet not such witnesses as whose testimony beareth always a necessary truth, and bindeth belief.

Chroniclers how far, and to what effect they serve.

Histories not rashly to be believed.

The Two witnesses which came against *Susanna* being Senators, both of ancient years, bare a great countenance of a most evident testimony, whereby they almost both deceived the people, and oppressed the innocent, had not young *Daniel* by the holy spirit of God, taken them aside, and severally examining them one from the other, found them to be false lyers both; leaving to us thereby a lesson of wholesome circumspection, not rashly to believe all that cometh, and also teaching us how to try them out. Wherefore (*M. Cope*) following here the like example of *Daniel* in trying these your records which ye infer against these men, we will in like manner examine them severally one from another, and see how their testimony agreeth: first beginning with your *R. Fabian*. Which *R. Fab.* being neither in the same age, nor at the deed doing, can of himself give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

The testimony of *R. Fabian* against the Lord Cobham examined.

How then doth *R. Fabian* prove this matter of Treason to be true? what probation doth he bring? what authority doth he alledg? And doth *R. Fabian* think if he were not disposed to conceive of the *L. Cobham*, and those men, a better opinion but to be Traytors, that men are bound to believe him only at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so do, but only because he so faith, and it pleased him so to write? And if ye think (*M. Cope*) the word only of this witness sufficient to make authority, speaking against the *L. Cobham*, and proving nothing which followed so many years after him; why may not I as well and much rather take the word and testimony of *Richard Belward* a *Norfolk* man of the Town of *Crisam*, who living both in his time, and possibly knowing the party, and punished also for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded also in the Registers of the Church of *Norwich*, to give this testimony among other his articles, for the forefald *L. Cobham*, viz. that *Sir John Oldcastle* was a true Catholick man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c. *Ex regist. Norwic.*

The testimony of *Richard Belward* against the Lord Cobham.

Ex Regist. Episc. Norw.

Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one Heretick will hold with another; why may not I with the like exception reply to you again, and say as well, one *Papist* will hold with another, and both conjure together, to make and say the worst against a true Protestant?

Further, yet to examine this forefald *Fabian*, witness against *Sir J. Oldcastle*, as *Daniel* examined the witnesses against *Susanna*: I will not here ask under what Tree these Adherents of *Sir J. Oldcastle* conspired against the King, and subversion of the Land, but in what time, in what year and month this Conspiracy was wrought? *Fabian* witnesseth, that it was in the Month of *January*. Contrariwise, *Ed. Hall*, and other our abridgmenters following him, do affirm that they were condemned in the *Guild-Hall* the 12th of *December*, and that their execution upon the same was in *January* following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the Month of *December*, or else before, and so *Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, ut cum Daniele dicam*, or if it were in the Month of *January*, as *Fabian* faith, then is *Hall* and his followers deceived, testifying the fact to be done in the Month of *December*.

Witnesses against the Lord Cobham agree not together.

And

*Fabian con-
vict of a
manifest un-
truth in his
story of the
L. Cobham.
Fab. part. 7.
in vita Hen.
pag. 390.*

*Ex Regist.
Archiep.
Cant.*

*The testi-
mony of Po-
lydore exa-
mined.*

*Five un-
truths of
Polydore no-
ted in our
story.
First un-
truth.*

2. Untruth.

3. 4. Untruth

*Cope pag.
833. lin. 11.*

5. Untruth.

*Another un-
truth in Po-
lydore noted*

And yet to object moreover against the said *Fabian*, for-
somuch as he is such a rash witness against these burned
persons, whom he called Traytors: it would be deman-
ded further of him, or in his absence of Mr. *Cope*, in what
year this Treason was conspired? If it were in the same
year (as he confesseth himself) in which year *John Cleidon*
the Skinner, and *Rich. Tarmine* Baker were burned, then
was it neither in the month of *January*, nor in the first year
of King *Henry* the Fifth; for in the Register of *Canterbury*
it appeareth plain, that *John Cleidon* was condemned nei-
ther in the time of *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop, nor yet
in the first nor second year of King *Henry* the Fifth, but
was condemned in the second year of the Translation of
Henry Chichester, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the 17 day
of *August*, which was the year of our Lord 1415. So that
if this conspiracy was in the same year (after the witness of
Fabian) in which year *John Cleidon* was burned, then doth
the testimony of *Fabian* neither accord with other witness-
es, nor with himself, nor yet with truth. And thus much
concerning the witness of *R. Fabian*.

Let us next proceed to *Polydore Virgil*, whose partial
and untrue handling of our History, in other places of his
Books, doth offer to us sufficient exception not to admit
his credit in this: And yet because we will rather examine
him, than exclude him, let us hear a little what he saith,
and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbring
the same upon my five fingers.

First, ending with the life of King *Henry* the Fourth,
he saith that he reigned fourteen years and six months, and
two days, *Angliae Historiae, Lib. 21.* which is an untruth
worthy to be punished with a whole years banishment (to
speak after the manner of *Apuleius*) when as truth is, he
reigned by the testimony of the story of *St. Albanes*, of *Fa-
bian*, of *Hall*, of our old *English Chronicle*, and of *Scala
Mundi*, but thirteen and six months, lacking, as some
say, five days; *Hall* saith he reigned but twelve
years.

The second untruth of *Polydore* is this, whereas he,
speaking of this sedition of *Sir John Oldcastle* and his ad-
herents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of
John Hus, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, which was (saith he)
Anno 1415, in which year (saith he) *Thomas Arundel*
died. His words be these, *In eodem concilio damnata est
Johan. Wicliff. Hæresis, ac Johan. Hus, & Hieronimus
Pragensis in ea urbe combusti sunt. Quod ubi reliquis con-
sociis, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam
furis agitati primum conjurationes in omnes sacerdotes,
deinde in regem, &c.* In which words he not only er-
reth, falsely assigning the cause and occasion of this sedition
to the death of *John Hus*, and of *Hierome*, but also mis-
seth as much in the order and computation of the years.
For neither was *Sir Roger Aston* with his foresaid fellows
alive at the time of the Council; neither doth he agree
therein with any of our *English* writers, except only with
Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he
addeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the
King, the said *Sir John Oldcastle*, being there present him-
self, was taken and prisoned in the Tower, and afterward
escaped out of the said Tower by night; wherein is con-
tained a double untruth. For neither was *Sir John Oldca-
stle* there present himself, if we believe *Fabian* and *Cope*,
Dial. 6. pag. 833. lin. 11. neither yet did he ever escape out
of the Tower after that conspiracy, if ever any such con-
spiracy was.

His fifth, but not the last untruth in *Polydore*, is this, that
he saith, *Tho. Arundel* to have died in the same year, no-
ting the year to be *Anno 1415*, whereas by the true Regi-
sters he died *Anno 1414*.

To this untruth another may be joyned, where he err-
ing in the computation of the years of the said *Thomas
Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, reporteth him to sit
twenty two years. Who was there Archbishop but
only eighteen years, as is to be seen in the Records of
Canterbury. The words of *Polydore* be these, *Thomas
Arundelius Cantuariensis antistes annum jam tunc sedens
tertium & vigesimum e vita excessit, lib. 22. Aug. Hist.*
Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with *Polydore*, and
peradventure the adversary will find some easie shift for this
matter.

But let us now pass from *Polydore*, not (as they say) out

of the Hall into the Kitchen, but out of the Kitchen into
the Hall, examining and perpending what saith *Edward
Hall* another witness in this matter; upon whom Mr. *Cope*
bindeth so fast, that he supposeth his knot is never able to
be loosed. And moreover he so treadeth me down under
his feet in the dirt (as a man would think him some dirt-
daubers son) so that the spots thereof, he saith, will never
be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer.
Notwithstanding I trust, Master *Cope*, that your dirty
pen with your cockish brags hath not so debauched and be-
spotted me, nor yet convicted me to be such a depraver of
Histories. But I hope to sponge it out. At least way, with
a little *asperges* of the Popes holy water, I trust to come to
a *Dealbabor* well enough.

But certes Mr. *Cope*, your Masterhip must first under-
stand, that if ye think so to deprecise and disprove me of
untruth in my History, you must go more groundly to
work, and bring against me other Authors than *Edward
Hall*. You must consider Mr. *Cope*, if you be a controller
of story-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a rail-
ing spirit, or a mind disposed to carp and cavil where any
matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great
searching out of Books and Authors, not only of our time,
but of all ages. And especially where matters of Religion
are touched pertaining to the Church, it is not sufficient to
see what *Fabian* or what *Hall* saith; but the Records must
be sought, the Registers must be turned over, Letters also
and ancient Instruments ought to be perused, and Authors
with the same compared; finally, the Writers amongst
themselves one to be conferred with another. And so with
judgment matters are to be weighed, with diligence to be
laboured, and with simplicity pure from all addition and
partiality to be uttered.

Thus did *Aventinus*, thus did *Sleidanus*, write. These
helps also the eldest and best Historicians seemed to have,
both *Titus Livius*, *Salustius*, *Quintus Curtius*, and such
like, as by their Letters and Records inserted may well ap-
pear. The same helps likewise both in your *Fabian* and
in your *Edward Hall* were to be required, but especially
in you (Mr. *Cope*) your self, which take upon you so cockish-
ly (rather than wisely) to be a controller and master Mode-
rator of other mens matters. In which matters (to say the
truth) you have no great skill, and less experience, neither
have you such plenty of Authors meet for that purpose, nor
yet ever travelled to search out the origines and grounds of
that whereof ye write. But only contented with such as
cometh next to hand, or peradventure, receiving such
Alms as some of your poor friends bestow upon you, you
think it sufficient if you can alledge *Fabian* and *Hall* for
your purpose.

Now what purpose and affection herein doth lead you, or
rather doth drive you to the carping and barking against
the History of these good men, that be hence gone and had
their punishment, all men may see it to be no simple sin-
cerity of a mind indifferent, but the zeal only of your Sect
of *Poperie*, or rather of fury, which setteth your railing spi-
rit on fire. But now out of the fiery Kitchen to come to the
Hall again, let us see what matter lieth in the testimony
of *Edward Hall*, to prove these men to be Traitors. And
here forsomuch (Mr. *Cope*) as you seem neither sufficiently ac-
quainted with this your own Master and Author Master
Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of Hi-
stories, I will take a little pains for you, in this behalf, to
certifie you, concerning the story of this Author, whereof per-
case you your self are ignorant.

The truth whereof is this, that as the said *Edward Hall*,
your great Master and *Testis*, was about the compiling of
his story, certain there were which resorted to him, of
whom some were drawers of his Pedigree and Vineat, some
were Gravers, the names of whom were *John Betts*, and
Tyral, which be now both dead. And other there were of
the same sodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the
house of *Richard Grafton* both the Printer of the said Book,
and also (as is thought) a great helper of the penning of
the same. It so befel, that as *Hall* was entering into the
story of *Sir John Oldcastle*, of *Sir Roger Aston* and
their fellows, the Book of *John Bale*, touching the
story of the Lord *Cobham*, was the same time newly come
over. Which Book was privily conveyed by one of his
servants into the Study of *Hall*, so that in turning over
his Books it must needs come to his hands. At the sight
where-

*KING
Hen. 5.*

*The testi-
mony of
Hall against
the L. Cob.
examined.*

*Cope a car-
per of sto-
ries & here-
of he hath
no skill.*

*Answer to
Ed. Hall.*

KING whereof, when he saw the ground and reasons in that Book contained, he turned to the Authors in the foresaid Book alledged, whereupon within two nights after, moved by what cause, I know not, but so it was, that he taking his pen, raced and cancelled all that he had written before against Sir *John Oldcastle* and his fellows; and was now ready to go to the print, containing near to the quantity of three Pages. And lest (*M. Cope*) you, or any other should think me to speak beside my Book, be it therefore known both to you, and to all other, by these presents, that the very self same first Copy of *Hall*, raced and crossed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be shewed and seen, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out, came to this effect. Wherein he following the Narration of *Polydore*, began with like words to declare how the Sacramentaries here in *England*, after the death of *Jo. Husse*, and *Hierome of Prague*, being pricked, as he saith, with a Demoniack sting, first conspired against the Priests, and after against the King, having to their Captains Sir *John Oldcastle* the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, with many more words to the like purpose and effect, as *Polydore*, and other such like Chroniclers do write against him. All which matter notwithstanding the said *Hall* with his pen at the sight of *John Bales* Book, did utterly extinguish and abolish; adding in the place thereof the words of Master *Bales* Book, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said Lord *Cobham* before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, taken out of the Letter of the said Archbishop, as is in his own Story to be seen: *In vita Hen. 5. Pag. 2. lin. 30.*

And thus *Ed. Hall* your Author, revoking and calling back all that he had devised before against the L. *Cobham* (whereof I have his own hand to shew, and witness substantial upon the same) in his printed Book recordeth of him no more, but only sheweth the process between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and him for matters of Religion. And so ending with Sir *John Oldcastle*, he proceedeth further to the assembly of Sir *Roger Acton* (whom he falsely calleth *Robert Acton*) *Jo. Browne*, and *Beverly*, the Narration whereof he handleth in such sort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth it self. For where he excludeth the L. *Cobham* out of that assembly, he discordeth therein from *Polydore* and other; and where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracy to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of *December*; that is manifestly false, if the records before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this assembly to be after the burning of *John Husse*, and of *Ferome of Prague*, therein he accordeth with *Polydore*, but not with the truth. Moreover so doubtful he is and ambiguous, in declaration of his story, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himself that he saw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large. And as concerning the causes of their death, he leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth *M. Cope*) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but only recite the surmises and minds of divers men diversly, some thinking it was of conveying the L. *Cobham* out of the Tower, some that it was for Treason and Heresie; and here cometh in the mention only of a record, but what record it is neither doth he utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwise again affirming (as he saith) that it was for fained causes furnished by the Spirituality, more of displeasure than truth. And thus your Author *Hall*, having recited the variety of mens opinions, determineth himself no certain thing thereof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the witnesses of all men, referreth the whole judgment of the matter free unto the Reader. And so concluding his Narration, forso much as he was neither a witness of the fact, nor present at the deed, he overpasseth the story thereof.

And what witness then will you, or can you (*Master Cope*) take of *Edw. Hall*, which denieth himself to be a witness? Will you compel him to say that he saw not? and to witness that he cannot? Wherefore like as *Susanna* in the story of *Daniel*, was quit by right judgment in the case of adultery, because her accusers and Testes being examined asunder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; so why may not in like case of Treason, Sir *Roger Acton*, Sir *John Oldcastle*,

Brown with the rest, claim the same priviledg? seeing among the Testes and witnesses produced against them such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, year, day, nor month.

1. For first, where *Fabian* and his fellows say, that they were assembled together in a great company in the field near to Saint *Giles*, the forged Indictment above alledged, saith, they were but riding toward the field.

2. Secondly, where the foresaid Indictment and *Polydore* give the L. *Cobham* to be present personally in that assembly, *Hall*, and *Alanus Copus Anglus*, do exclude his personal presence from thence; and so doth *Fabian* also seem to agree, speaking only of the adherents of Sir *John Oldcastle*.

3. Where *Hall* and *Polydore* report this assembly to be after the burning of *John Hus*, and of *Ferome* at the Council of *Constance*, which was *Ann. 1415*, that cannot be, but if there were any such conspiracy in the first year of *Hen. V.* it must needs be in *Ann. 1413*. And here by the way, why do certain of your Epitom-writers, speaking of the L. *Cobham*, committed first to the Tower for Heresie, refer the said imprisonment to the year 1412, whereas by their own count reckoning the year from the Annunciation, it must needs be *Ann. 1413*, being done in harvest time.

4. Fourthly, where *Hall* with his followers affirm that Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown* and *Beverly* were condemned the twelfth day of *December*, the record is evident against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of *January*.

5. Fifthly, whereas the foresaid Record of the Indictment giveth the Wednesday next after the *Epiphany*, which was the tenth day of *January* that present year, both the fact to be committed the same day, the Commission also to be granted and delivered to the Commissioners the same day, the said Commissioners to sit in Commission the same day, the Sheriffs of *Middlesex* to return a Jury out of the body of *Middlesex* the same day, and the Jurors to find the Indictment of the same day, and yet no Juror in the Indictment named the same day.

Item, the Lord *Cobham* the same day to be found conspiring to make himself Regent, when as the King, that day and year was not yet passed into *France*; how all these can concur and hang together, and all in one day; I suppose it will cost you two days before you with all your learned Council will study it out. And when you in your unlawful assemblies have conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I think) three days, before you honestly dispatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye think that ye have impressed in me such a foul note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world standeth, yet shall the posterity to come judg between you and me, whether shall appear more honest and true, my defence for that worthy Lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, moved with no other cause but only with the peevish spirit of Popery, which can abide nothing but that savoureth of your own Sect. For else how many loud lying Legends, yea what Legions of lyes are daily used and received in the Popish Church? What doltish dreams? what fained miracles? what blasphemous tales and Frierly fables, and idle inventions, fighting against the sincere Religion, Doctrine and Cross of Christ? And could you hold your pen from all these and find nothing else to set your idleness on work, but only to write against the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, *Onley*, *Cowbridge*, with a few other, whom with much ado at length you have sought out, not so much for any true zeal to rebuke iniquity, as craftily seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the Book of Acts and Monuments? Which seemeth belike to make you scratch there where it itcheth not. And if I should after the like dealing take in hand your Popish portues, and with the like diligence excuse every Popish Martyr and Saint there Canonized; think you *Master Cope*, I could not make you out half a dozen as rank Traytors and Rebels to their Kings and Princes, as ever were any of these of your picking out? What Pope almost hath there been these last five hundred years, which hath not been a Traytor to his Emperour and Prince, and to his Country? Either openly rebelling against them, or privily conspiring their destruction, or proudly

1 Repugnance in the place.

2 Repugnance in the person. *Alanus Copus Anglus*, p. 833. lin. 121.

3 Repugnance in the year.

4 Repugnance in the month.

5 Repugnance in the day.

Papists cannot see great beams in their own eyes, which spie small moles in other.

Popes Traytors to their Emperors and Princes

Hall raceth out his own story written against the Lord Cobham.

Hall in vita Hen. 5. pag. 2. lin. 30.

Hall in the story of the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other stories. Untruth in Hall noted.

Hall doubtful in the story of Sir R. Acton, &c.

Hall no witness in Sir Roger Actons case.

Repugnance noted in the witness against the L. Cobham, and Sir R. Acton.

proudly setting their feet upon their necks, or spurning their Crowns off from their heads, or making the Son to fight against the Father? how many have they deposed, and set up other in their seats? how many Emperors and Kings have they wrongfully cursed? What Consuls of Rome have they resisted, deposed and put to death? What Wars have they raised up against their own Country of Rome? Yea, the continual holding of the City of Rome from his lawful Emperor, what is it but a continual point of Treason?

What will you answer me (Mr. Cope) to the Pope, which conspired to let fall down a stone upon the Emperors head, kneeling at his prayers?

The Popes
Saints and
Confessors
many were
Traitors.

And though this Treachery, being as big as a Millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eye, that it could not be espied; yet what will ye say by the Monk of Swinestead, that poisoned King John, who was both absolved by his Abbot before his Treason committed, and after his Treason, had a perpetual Mass sung for him, to help him out of Purgatory? And what think ye in your Conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more than became him, to set the French King, and the King of England together by the ears? Of Anselm likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the Realm to complain of their Princes and Sovereigns? The like may be said also of Jo. Peckham, John Stratford Archbishop of the same See, notoriously resisted the Kings commandment, being sent for by King Edward the Third, to come to the Parliament at York; through the default of whose coming, the present opportunity of getting of Scotland was the same time lost.

Rich. Scrope
Archbishop
of York,
Traitor,
and yet
counted a
holy man.

Popes com-
monly Trai-
tors.

Richard Scrope Archbishop of York was openly in Arms to rebel and fight against King Henry the Fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death: and yet notwithstanding, Communion was sent down from the Pope shortly after, to excommunicate them which put him to death, his Treason notwithstanding. Read the story sincerely of Pope Benedict the 12th. and of Pope Clement the 6th. And see how the traitorous Rebellion of these two Popes against Ludovicus their rightful Emperor can be defended; which Emperor at last was also poisoned, and not without the practice of Pope Clement, as doth Hieronimus Marius credibly witness.

Tho. Lanca-
ster a Trai-
tor, and yet
made a
Saint by the
Pope.

In the Reign of King Edward the Second, mention was made before of Thomas Earl of Lancaster. Who, with a great number of other Nobles and Barons of the Realm, rose in armour against their Prince, and therefore at length were put to death as Traitors. And yet notwithstanding this Treason committed (Master Cope) if you be so ignorant in our stories that you know it not, set your setters on to search, and you shall find it true, that certain Noblemen went up to Rome, for the Canonizing of the said Thomas of Lancaster, to be made a Saint, and obtained the same. Inasmuch that in a certain old Kalendar, the name of the said St. Thomas of Lancaster, is yet extant to be seen.

Edmund
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury rebelled
against his
Prince,
and yet
made a
Saint by the
Pope.

In the former Book of the *Acts and Monuments* above, about the page 353, or 354. mention was made of Edmund Abbenen Archbishop of Canterbury, whom although I do not disprove, but rather commend in my History, for his bold and sage counsel given unto King Henry the 3d. and also for offering the censure of Excommunication against the King in so necessary a cause; yet notwithstanding the same Edmund afterward, about his later end, went up with a rebellious mind to complain of his King unto the Pope, and in his journey died, before his return; who afterward for the same was Canonized by the Pope, and now shineth among the Saints in the Popes Kalendar.

Tho. Arundel
a rank Trai-
tor against
his King,
and yet a
great pillar
counted in
the Popes
Church.

Let us come more near to these days and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the King, and afterward coming in with Henry Bolinbrook, Duke of Hereford, in open Arms, and with main force, rose against his natural and lawful King. Think you, Mr. Cope, this is not as great a point of Treason, as that which was done in Thicket's Fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous Saints, yet I think nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly stick to say, *Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.*

All these things well considered, tell me (Mr. Cope) KING
Hen. 5.

I pray you, is Treason such a strange and uncouth thing in your Pope-Catholick Church, that your burning zeal of obedience to Kings and Princes cannot read the story of the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Aston, but your Pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many Traitors in your own Kalendar neither seen, nor once spoken of? And if the Traiterous Conspiracy and Rebellion of so many your Kalendar Saints, committed against Emperors, Kings and Princes, cannot stir your zeal, nor move your Pen; nor if the Treason of Pope Gregory the Ninth, raising War against his own City of Rome, and causing thirty thousand Citizens in one Battel to be slain, deserveth not to be espied, and accused as much as this Treason of the Lord Cobham; yet what will you, or can you answer to me (Master Cope) as touching the horrible Treason of Pope Gregory the Seventh, committed not against Emperor nor King, nor any mortal man, but against the Lord himself, even against your God of your own making, being therein as you say, no substance of bread, but the very personal body, flesh, blood, and bone of Christ himself; which body notwithstanding the foresaid Pope Gregory the 7th. took and cast with his own hands into the burning fire, because he would not answer him to a certain doubt or demand? Ben Card. Southly, if Sir John Oldcastle had taken the body of King Henry the Fifth, and thrown him into the fire, the fact being so notoriously certain as this is, I would never have bestowed any word in his defence. And could this and so many other heinous Treasons pass through your fingers, Mr. Cope, and no other to stick in your Pen but the Lord Cobham?

Pope Greg.
7. a Traitor
against the
Lords own
body.
Vide supra.

Finally and simply to conclude with you (Master Cope) and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions and practices of your Religion, or hath been almost these five hundred years, but a certain perpetual kind of Treason, to thrust down your Princes and Magistrates, to derogate from their Right and Jurisdiction, and to advance your own Majesties and Dominations, as hath been sufficiently above proved, and laid before your faces in a Parliament holden in France by the Lord Peter de Cugneris? Wherefore if the assembly of these forenamed persons, either with-in or without Saint Giles's Field, be such a great Mote of Treason in your eyes, first look upon the great Blocks and Millstones of your own Traitors at home, and when you have well discussed the same, then after pour out your Wallet of your trifling Dialogues, or Trialogues, if ye list against us, and spare us not. Not that I so think this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the Treason of these Men, if your Popish Kalendar and Legends be found full of Traitors. *Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium*: but this, I think, That the same cause which made them to suffer as Traitors, hath made you also to rail against them for Traitors, that is, meer hatred only against their Religion, rather than any true affection you have to your Princes and Governors. Who, if they had been as fervent in your Popery, and had suffered so much for the holy Father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy Mother Church of Rome, I doubt not but they, as holy Children of Rome, had been rung into your Romish Kalendar with a *Festum duplex*, or at least with *Festum simplex*, of nine Lessons, also with a Vigil peradventure before them.

Religion
commonly
maketh
Treason
among the
Papists.

Now because they were of the contrary profession, and enemies to you *Magna Diana Ephefiorum*, you play with them as the Ephefian Carvers did with Saint Paul, and worse. Ye thrust them out as seditious Rebels, not only out of life and body, but also, cannot abide them to have any poor harbinger in their own friends houses, among our *Acts and Monuments* to be remembered. In the which *Acts and Monuments*, if gentle Master Ireneus, with his fellow Crisobulus in your Clerkly Dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbered for Martyrs; yet speak a good word for them (Master Cope) they may stand for *Testes* or Witness-bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Now

KING
HENRY

Answer to
the second
part of Cope's
accusation
concerning
his untrue
charging of
the Book of
Acts and
Monuments.

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein this *Alanus Copus Anglicus* in his *ἐξαπλόα* or six fold Dialogues contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to prove me in my History to be a liar, forger, impudent, a misreporter of truth, a depraver of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else not? Whose virulent words and contumelious terms, how well they become his Popish person, I know not. Certes for my part I never deserved this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. M. Cope is a man whom yet I never saw, and less offended, nor ever heard of him before. And if he had not in the front of his Book intituled himself to be an *Englishman*, by his writing I would have judged him rather some wild *Irish* man, lately crept out of Saint *Patrick's* purgatory, so wildly he writeth, so foolishly he saith.

But I cease here, and temper my self, considering not what M. Cope deserveth to be said unto, nor how far the pen here could run if it had his scope, but considering what the tractation rather of such a serious cause requireth. And therefore seriously to say unto you (M. Cope) in this matter, where you charge my History of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and fained fables; briefly and in one word to answer you, not as the *Lacones* answered to the Letters of their adversary, with *fi*, but with *o fi*; would God (M. Cope) that in all the whole Book of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the later end of the same, were never a true story, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables. Would God the cruelty of your Catholics had suffered all them to live, of whose death ye say now that I do lie. Although I deny not but in that Book of Acts and Monuments, containing such diversity of matter, something might overscape; yet I have bestowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

If you M. Cope, or any other can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely and truly, with all my heart I shall rejoyce with you and the Common-wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexterity, fineness, or other induments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you nor any other. I grant that is a laboured Story, such as you seem to require, containing such infinite variety of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: But such time, as I had, that I did bestow, if not so laboriously as others could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I hear what you will say; I should have taken more leisure and done it better. I grant and confess my fault, such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day (M. Cope) fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing my self all the day at *Glaſs of Cicero*, yet not withstanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinks I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at Master *Copes* hand. Who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other mens labours (which is an easie thing to do) it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himself upon the matter, and so should have proved what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do utterly excuse my self, yea rather am ready to accuse my self, but yet notwithstanding think my self ungently dealt withal at Masters *Copes* hand. Who being mine own Country-man, an *Englishman* as he saith, also of the same University, yea, College and School that I was of; knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of *Germany*, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had; and the same edition afterward translated out of Latin into English by others, whilst I in the mean time was occupied about other Registers; and now the said Cope hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new Edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed; if he had known any fault needful to be corrected, he might gently by letters have admonished me thereof; gentleness would so have required it, time would well have suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but he might sooner have written a Letter to me, than a Book against me. Neither was I so

ingrateful and inhuman, but I would have thanked him for his monition; neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, I would have corrected willingly where any fault had been committed.

But herein your nature (Master Cope) doth right well appear. First in the said Book of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things be contained, not unfruitful nor unprofitable peradventure for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deserved your thanks, all that you dissemble and pass over, only excepting those matters which make for cavillation. Thus the black Spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh his poison. And what Book is so pleasant and fruitful, though it were the Popes own Portues, yea, his own Decretals, yea, his own very *Mafs* Book, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to cavi, as you bring to the reading of my History, but I could find out twice as many *mendacia*, *maculas*, *impudentias*, *dolos malos*, *fabulas*, *fucos*, as you have done in these Acts and Monuments? And yet you have done pretily well.

Besides all this, yet better to mark the goodness of your gentle nature: Be it so that I had been in some piece of my Story deceived, as I do not justify my self in all points therein, yet you, understanding that I was about the correction of my Book again, might either have taken the best, and left the worst, or else have gently taken the pains to have advertised me of such Notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at least might have deferred your Dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my Book, to see first what would in the later Edition be altered. But belike your Gall was full, your haste could not tarry, your venom must needs burst out.

Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and disposition of your nature so far from all humanity, dealing with me so extremly, if I thus provoked with your extremity again, should now after this your curish nature shape you a name accordingly, and in stead of Cope, Godfather you to be a perpetual sycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your sycophantical Book well deserve it? Or think you I could not repay you again with like extremity as you bring, and dress your drowlie or rather loose Dialogues in their right colors, if I were so disposed? But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you; God make you a good man. Peradventure he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, than to sting you. Leaving therefore the consideration of your ingrateful doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your Book, answering briefly unto the same. Briefly, I say, because the greatness of this Volume, and abundance of other more fruitful matter, giveth me little leisure at this present to stand about brawling words.

First he seemeth to be highly grieved with me for my Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments. Wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himself. As touching which Calendar I have sufficiently and expressly declared before so much, as might quickly satistie this scruple of M. Cope, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had leisure to read the words contained in the Latin Preface before the Book prefixed, which are thus, *Quonquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad privatum lectoris serviret usum, &c.* In which words preventing before the cavilling objection of the adversary, I forewarned the Reader aforehand touching the Calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed, for no other purpose, but to serve the use only of the Reader, instead of a Table, shewing the year and month of every Martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt I pray you is in this Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments, more than in the Table of M. *Copes* Book; set after his Dialogues? But M. Cope had no leisure to pursue this place; it made not for his humor.

Ungentleness noted in Cope.

The nature of the spider.

The Book of Acts and Monuments too true if it had pleased God otherwise.

Copus Sycophant.

The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments, defended.

Ex prodigio ad lectorem.

Objection
for Martyrs
in the Ca-
lendar.

But this grieveth him in the Calendar, and that very fore: for that I place in this Calendar, Sir John Oldcastle, Sir Roger Aston, Brown, Beverly, and other for Martyrs, and displace for them other Holy, ancient Martyrs and Saints, as Anatholius, Sober, Dorothea, Clarus, Lucianus, Severinus, &c. Answer. If M. Cope cannot abide the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Aston, Brown, and Beverly, which were hanged (as he saith for Treason) to have the name of Martyrs, then let them bear the name of witnesses bearers, or Testes of the truth, because they were also burned for the Testimony of their faith. Seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me, by which they are called.

Untruth no-
ted in Al.
Cope.

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldring out the old and ancient holy Saints aforementioned out of this Calendar, and placing other newcome Saints in their rooms: this is not the first untruth that M. Cope hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the least. Unto whom I might therefore fitly answer again with his own familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which he doth so much affectate: *Quod nimirum hic ipse Alan. Copus Anglus unde me mendacii coarguit, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac indelebilem turpissimam mendaciam ac singularis impudentiam notam innotat.* For why have not I as just cause to say this to him, as he to me? Forasmuch as in the first beginning and Preface of the said Book of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressly do warn all men before, first that I make here no Calendar purposely of any Saints, but a Table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to shew the day and month of their suffering. My words be extant and evident, which are these: *Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in Calendarium, &c.* And declaring afterward how the said Calendar doth stand but instead of a Table, my words do follow thus: *Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, Lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat, &c.*

In prefat.
diff. lib. II.
Acts and
Monu-
ments.

Again, neither did I receive these men into that Calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sober, Dorothea, with other ancient Holy Saints should be removed out, as you do falsely and untruly affirm, but because the course of that story, reaching but 500. years, did but comprehend those former times of such ancient Martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these later days, therefore requilite it was that in the Table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the whole Book did then principally and only intreat, to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their Martyrdom. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new Calendar, which were never inserted in the same before, but only because both together could not there have standing, necessity so there required these in no case to be omitted, and yet no injury meant to the other to be excluded out of their own Calendars; whereto properly they did pertain. As for this Calendar or this Table, because they were not pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessary they should be included. And yet neither did I (M. Cope) without due and solemn protestation omit the same in my foresaid Catalogue to prevent and stop all cavilling mouths; As by special words in the said proem of my Book unto the Reader doth appear, following in this wise: *Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui vere sanctus sit) causam ludo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, mimineret, non in templis a me collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari, &c.* And where is now (Master Cope) this your rejecting, expelling, removing, expelling, exempting, deturbating and thrusting out of Anatholius, Sober, Dorothea, and other holy Saints out of Catalogues, Fasts, and Calendars? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, *Qui veros Christi Martyres e celo ad tartara deturbat?* That is, Which tumbleth down true Martyrs from Heaven into Hell? Which if ye mean by me, In one word I answer, ye falsely bely me, Master Copus, I had almost called you Master Capus, so like a Capon you speak. Neither have you nor any other ever heard me so say. Neither have I ever heard of any so mad to play to the Giants with their Mountains to climb the Heavens, to tumble down Gods true and Holy Martyrs out of Heaven into Hell, unless it were your self (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and such other of

Copus p. 161
lin. penult.
ma.

Copus al-
most called
Copus.

your gilden and Popish fraternity, which make of Gods true Saints stinking dunghills, (for so ye term them in your Books) and not only thrust into Heaven your *Pseudosantos*, Saints of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow; but also depulse down from Heaven, and make dunghills of Gods welbeloved servants, his faithful people, and blessed Martyrs, which have died for the word of God. And what marvel then, if in your blasphemous Books ye cast down from Heaven to Hell the poor Saints of Christ, when in effect you deject also the Blood and Crofs of the Son of God, Christ Jesus himself, setting up in his office and place, *tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.* Say, Master Cope your conscience indifferently; set all Popish partiality apart, whereas the Scripture teacheth us simply, *Quod citra sanguinem nulla fit remissio. i.* Without blood there is no remission; whether ye think, by this blood of the New Testament is meant the Blood of Christ alone, or the Blood of other moe besides? If the Blood of one must stand alone, why do ye then with the Giants build up your Mountains, and make a ladder of Becketts Popish Blood, for men to scale the Heavens? Or in so doing, how can you, but either with the Protestants wipe out of your Calendar *Thomæ Sanguinem*, or else demolish from Heaven *Sanguinem Christi*, with the Papists?

KING
The Papists
would thrust down
Gods true
Saints out
of Heaven
to Hell.

Becketts
blood set
up, to the
injury of
Christ's
Blood.

And here by the way, I cannot but muse, why you are so devout in setting up the Crofs of Christ in your Church, which are such enemies to the true Crofs of Christ to stand in Heaven. Look upon this (M. Cope) and tell me, *utra pars verius veros Christi martyres e celo in tartara detrudat?* And therefore as you falsely belie me in this, for detruding and tumbling out of Heaven, Anatholius, Julianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea, and other against whom I never yet spake any reproaching word, but rather in this my Volume have set forth their commendation: so it is untrue likewise, where you affirm, that in this my Calendar I make an *ænotheosis*, or Canonization of false Martyrs. I told you before when ye were in England, I tell you again, being now in your transmigration, in words as plain as I could: *Hanc ego Apoteofin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus.* Were not these words of my protestation manifest enough? Were they not sufficient to satisfie a reasonable Mornus? And to make the matter more plain, did I not adde moreover as followeth? *Porro neque eo spectat hoc calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam Ecclesiæ, &c.* And not contented with this, foreseeing before such wrangling Spirits to come, as now I see in you; I shewed also the cause why I needed not so to do. My words were these: *Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo, &c.* And yet further because no cavillar should take hold here of any injury done to the holy Saints, either old or new in the Church: therefore in expresse words I removed away all suspicion of any injury, preventing the objection of the adversary in these words: *Habeat & Ecclesiæ suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim idem ne odorentur, modo quam sint vetusti, tam etiam vere sancti sint, &c.*

Papists do
vout to set
up Christ's
Crofs in
Earth: but
enemies to
Christ's
Crofs in
Heaven.
A double
untruth in
Copus.

Copus mi-
nus Copus
820.

These places of my Book, if ye did see; why do you dissemble them? If ye had not so much leasure to read them; how had you so much leasure to write against any mans Book, not knowing what is in the Book contained? And how stands it then with truth, that so like a Mornus ye cry out so in your Book against these new made Martyrs, *qui non possunt nisi per aliorum injuriam crescere, &c.* And again, where you exclaim against me, and say that I thrust out the ancient Martyrs from their seat and possession, and place new in their rooms, &c.

Untruth in
Cope.

Copus p. 820
lin. 25.

Also where you continuing yet still in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digress) do charge me further, that I do appoint out holy days and working days by colours of red and black, in my foresaid Calendar to be observed; these lewd notes of yours, if they had been picked out of my Calendar by you, without mine own special declaration before made to the contrary, they might seem to have some blush of credit. Now what will the Reader say, or what may he judge, considering and conferring this your cavilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether set to play the perpetual Syc. I had almost called you by your right

No
why
Pop
Saints
shou
put
Cal

KING right name Master Cope. But God make you (as I said) a good man. Reading further in your Book, I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud lying *Hyperbolism*; where you comparing my making of Saints with the Popes making, can find (as ye say) in the Pope no such impudent arrogancy in presuming as ye find in me, &c. If the Pope had not abused his arrogant jurisdiction in canonizing and deifying his Sanits, more than I have done; the year should not be cumberd with so many idle holy days, nor the Calendars with so many Raskal Saints, some of them as good, as ever were they that put Christ to death.

Copus 2. 819
Bk. 7.

Double abomin-
ation in
the Popes
Calendar.

The great
Saint-maker
of Rome,
and who he his
Saints

But where will you find (Master Cope) any man to believe this your Hyperbolical comparison to be true, which seeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeasurable excess of the Popes arrogancy, not only in shinning such a rabble of blind Saints of his own creating; but also in prescribing the same to be received universally in the whole world; and not to be received only, but also to be invocated for gifts and graces; also to be worshipped for advocates and mediators? Wherein riseth a double abomination of the Pope, the one for his Idolatrous making and worshipping of Saints; the other for his Blasphemous injury and derogation to Christ in repelling him out of his office of mediation, and placing other Mediators of his own making. And now to consider what Saints these were, or what were the causes of their Sanctings: what Saint almost among all the Popes Saints shall you find (Master Cope) made within these five hundred years, but commonly he was either some Pope, or some rich Bishop and Prelate, or some fat Abbot, or some blind Frier, some Monk, or Nun, some superstitious regular, or some builder of Monasteries, or some Giver and Benefactor to the Popish Clergy, or maintainer agonising for the Dignities and Liberties of the Popish Church? What poor Lay-man or Lay-woman, were their lives never so Christian, their Faith and Confession never so pure, their death never so agonising for the witness of Christ, and truth of his word, shall find any place of favour in all the Popes *novena*, that is, in the Popes Calendar, either in red colour, or else in black?

The great
God-maker
of Rome.

But here (Master Cope) if ye had the wit, so much to defend as ye have to overthrow, you might take me with the manner, and reply again for the defence of your great Saint-maker, or rather God-maker of Rome; that he maketh no Martyrs and Saints of these foresaid poor Lay-men, and Lay-women, than ever he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, imprisoneth and famisheth them, and so maketh truer Martyrs of Christ, than any other of his new shinned Saints, whom he hath so dignified in his Calendar. For the one he doth Rubricate only with his red Letters; the other doth he Rubricate with their own Blood. And therefore to answer you (M. Cope) to your comparison made between the Pope and me, for making of holy Martyrs and Saints: Briefly I say and report me to all the world, that therein is no comparison. For if ye speak of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? If ye speak of false Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? And furthermore to compare together the causes of these Martyred Saints in my Calendar with them which shine shinned in the Popes Calendar (taking the same proportion of time as I do, within these last 500. years) why may not I have as good cause to celebrate these in my Calendar, which lost their lives and were slain, principally for the cause of Christ and of his word, as the Pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted Saints in his Calendar; who in their doings, doctrine and life, as they seemed rather to serve the Pope, than Christ the Lord; so in their death appeared no such cause, why they should be sanctified in the Church beyond all other? Let not the Church of Christ (M. Cope) be deluded with Hypocritical names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceived your self, but let us resort sincerely to the Word of God. What was in S. Francis (look upon his superstitious life, and presumptuous Testament, wrought no doubt by Satan to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ) why he should be made a Saint, and not an Enemy rather of Christ.

What was likewise in Frier Dominick, who before Francis ten years together persecuted the poor Waldenses to death and destruction? Why should he stand a Saint

and a Pillar of the Church? I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the Popish Church? What in *Aldelmus*, and in *Anselmus*, but only that they chased away married Priests from the Churches, and planted in idle Monks in their stead? The like also did *Dunstanus*, who was rubricated with a *duplex festum*. Elizabeth who was the Wife of the *Margraves of Thuring*, when she had with much persuasions got out her Husband to fight against the *Turks*, and was there slain, she afterward encloysterd her self, and was made a Nun. And do ye think these causes to be sufficient why they should be made Saints, worshipped in Churches, and set in Calendars? Long it were to make rehearsal of all this rissaff, and almost infinite. One example may suffice for many. S. Gilbert of *Sempringham* was the Son of *Jocelin* a Knight, who for his deformity of his body was set to learning, and afterward made Canon, and was Author of the *Gilbertines* in the time of King John.

The Becker.
Aldelmus.
Anselmus.

Dunstanus.
S. Elizabeth.

The canon-
ization of S.
Gilbert of
Sempring-
ham.

This Gilbert after he had erected thirteen Monasteries of his Order of *Sempringham*, was afterward laboured for unto the Pope to be made made a Saint. Who hearing of his Miracles, wrote his Letters to *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the behalf of the foresaid Gilbert, willing and commanding per *Apostolica scripta*, that the Feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnized through all the province of *Canterb.* *Ut meritis nimirum ejus & precibus apud misericordissimum judicem misericordiam consequamur, &c.*

Whereupon *Hubert* the Archbishop directeth down his writings to all the Bishops within his Province, the Contents of which his writings do follow, *Hubertus Dei gratia Canterb. Archiepiscopus. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo frat. Episcop. per provinciam Canterb. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, sicut ex literis ipsius manifeste perpenditur, de conversatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per testes & testimonia sufficienter instructus, de concilio fratrum Cardin. ipsum mag. Catalogo sanctorum decrevit ascribi, solennitatem ejus constituit & mandavit per Canterb. provinciam solenniter celebrari, Insuper & corpus ejus cum requisitis fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam elevari. Vestra igitur Universitas huic mandato cum devotione congaudeat, & secundum formam in ipso mandato præscriptam, prædicti confessoris domini depositionem annuam faciat cum reverentia & solenniter observari; ut apud dominum & ab illo vestra debeat & possit devotio commendari, necnon & ipsius sancti supplicis intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valere.*

Ex lib. de vi-
ta Gilberti
confessorii.

The Popes
letter and
the Archb-
shops for
the canoniz-
ing of
St. Gilbert.

The sum of the which writing of the Archbishop tendeth to this effect: That forso much as the Pope hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, Master of the Order of *Sempringham*, by sufficient witness and testimonies, hath in his Letters commanded him by the advice of his Cardinals, that the said Gilbert, should be Canonized and ascribed in the Catalogue of Saints, and that his solemnity should be celebrated solemnly throughout all the Province of *Canterbury*: And also his body to be taken up and shinned to the Honour and Glory of God: He therefore; at the Popes commandment writing unto them, willeth all the Suffragans within his Province of *Canterbury*, yearly to solemnize and cause to be solemnized reverently the despolition of the said S. Gilbert Confessor; to the intent that their devotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And also that the humble intercession of the said Saint, may profit them to their salvation.

Is this good
doctrine M.
Cope in the
Popes canon-
ization?

Furthermore, for the more full Canonizing (canvising I had almost said) of this new made Saint, the Saint Pope *Innocent* writing to *Hubert* aforesaid, adjoyneth withal a Collect of his own making, which is this, *Plenam in nobis æterne salvator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, ut qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramur, ipsius adjuti suffragiis a cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur: Qui vivis & regnat, &c.* That is, Work in us O eternal Saviour full redemy of thy virtue, that we which worship the worthy merits of blessed Gilbert thy Confessor, being succoured by his Suffrages, may be delivered from all languors and diseases of our souls; who livest and reignest, &c.

The blas-
phemous
collect of
the Popes
making for
S. Gilbert.

The consecration of this one Saint (who perhaps was not the worst) I thought here to commemorate to the in-

Copus 2. 819
Bk. 7.

kkk z

tent

No cause
why the
Popes new
Saints
should be
put in the
Calendar.

tent that the Reader, measuring by this one the Canonisation of all the rest, may judge the better upon this comparison of Master Cope, whether of us, doth vindicate more impudent authority, the Pope in his Calendar, or I in mine: or to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent, the Pope in his Calendar, or else Master Cope in his Dialogues more doltish.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you; to Canonise or to Authorise any Saints, for Man it is presumptuous; to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is Idolatrous; to set up any Mediators but Christ only, it is blasphemous. And whatsoever the Pope doth or hath done in his Calendar, my purpose in my Calendar, was neither to deface any old Saint, or to Solemnize any new. In my Book of Acts and Mounments entreating of matters passed in the Church, these later five hundred years, I did regulate out a Calendar, not for any Canon to constitute Saints, but only for a Table of them which within the same time did suffer for the Testimony of the word, whom I did, and do take to be good and godly Men. If any have other judgment of them, I bind no man to my opinion, as the Pope doth to his. The day will come which shall Judge both them and you. In the mean season it shall be best for you (Master Cope) in my judgment to keep a good Tongue in your Head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to judge before the Lord. Mans judgment may fail and is uncertain, the judgment of God is always sure. Best it is therefore either to be sure by the word and judgment of God before, what you do say, or else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intemperate railing can come no good; neither to them whom ye rail upon; nor to your self which raileth; nor to the Church of God that heareth you rail. For them you cannot hurt, they are gone. To your self though your matters be true, yet little honesty it will bring to be counted a railer; and if it be uncertain, your state is dangerous, and if it be false most miserable: And as to the Church what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I do not greatly see. And if the zeal of the Bishops of Romes Church have so much swallowed you up, that you cannot but stamp and stare at Traitors when ye see them put in Calendars: first (Master Cope) be ye sure that they be Traitors (wisdom would) whom you call Traitors. And if ye can so prove them (as ye have not yet) then let your *Irenaus*, or *Crisobulus*, tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeal of yours as hot as Purgatory burn out, and flame as well against your own Traitors, having so many in your own Calendar and Church at home?

And if there be such a Catholick zeal in you, that hath set your gentle brest on such a pelting chafe, why then is not this your Catholick zeal equally indifferent? Why take ye on so fell on the one side against Sir *John Oldcastle*, Sir *Roger Aston*, *M. Brown*, &c. A man would think you played *Hercules furens in Orchestra*. On the one side again, ye are *Oleo tranquillior*. What difference (Master Cope) call you this? Or what zeal make you this to be? Albeit, your zeal I judge not, as I know it not. Swift judgment shall not become me, which go about to correct the same in you. But this I exhort you to beware (Master Cope) that by your own fruits and doings evident, ye do not bewray this zeal in you to be *Non secundum scientiam*, nor such a zeal as tighteth *Pro domo Dei*, sed *pro domo Pontificis*. As I said, I judge you not. You have your judge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsel is that you do not so zeal the Bishop of Rome, that for his sake ye lose your own soul. Ye remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good *Ludere cum sanctis*; worse it is *Illudere*; worst of all it is *Debacchari in immerentes*; Because that *Deus ipse ultionum Dominus* many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written. *Opprobria opprobantium tibi ceciderunt in me, i.e.* The rebukes of thy rebukers fell upon me. And seldom have I seen any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of Gods Saints and Servants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselves.

And admit this (as granted unto you Master Cope) that these men had been Traitors, which ye are not able to prove: Well, they had their punishment therefore, the world can go no further, and what would you have more? who if they repented, why may they not

have as good part in Christs Kingdom as your self? ^{KING Hen. 5.} Now forsomuch as the said persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I saw it pertain to the profit of the Church, why might I not insert it with other Church stories in my Book? Let the Church take that which belongeth to the Church. Let the world take that which to the world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye think it much, that I would exemplifie these whom ye call Traitors in the Book of Martyrs; First, ye must understand, that I wrote no such Book bearing the Title of the Book of Martyrs; I wrote a Book called the Acts and Monuments of things passed in the Church, &c. Wherein many other matters be contained beside the Martyrs of Christ. But this peradventure moveth your choler, that in the Calendar I name them for Martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendar call them by the name of Martyrs, which were faithful witnesses of Christs truth and Testament, for the which they were also chiefly brought unto that end? Or why may I not call them Holy Saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed Blood? And what if I should, also call the thief and murderer, hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a Holy Saint and Confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord, what can Master Cope say against it?

And as for colouring the names of certain Martyrs in the said Calendar in red or scarlet Letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great Saint-maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more than ever did I? For he did red and die them with their own Blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red Letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

* Proceeding now out of the Calendar unto the Book wherein he chargeth me with so many lies, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and untruths, it remaineth likewise I clear my self, answering first to those lies and untruths, which to the Story of Sir *Roger Aston*, and Sir *John Oldcastle* do appertain. And after to other particulars, as in order of my Book do follow. And first, where he layeth against me whole heaps, and Cartloads, I cannot tell how many lies and falsities; I here briefly answer Master Cope again (or what English *Harpesfield* else soever lyeth covered under this English Cope) that if a lie be (after the definition of S. *Austine*) whatsoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceive another; then I protest to you Master Cope, and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my Book. What the intent and custom is of the Papists to do, I cannot tell: for mine own part I will say, although many other vices I have, yet from this one I have always of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceive any Man or Child, so near as I could, much less the Church of God, whom I with all my heart do reverence, and with fear obey. And therefore among divers causes, that have withdrawn my mind from the Papists faction, almost there is none greater than this, because I see them so little given to truth, so far from all serious feeling and care of sincere Religion, so full of false pretended hypocrisie and dissimulation, so little regarding the Church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much have in their mouths, so as under the title thereof they may hold up their own estate. Otherwise so little reverence they yield to the true and honourable Church of Jesus the Son of God, that what unworthy and rascal Ministers they take into it they pass not, what fictions, what lies and Fables, what false Miracles and absurd forgeries they invent to delude it, they care not. I speak not of all.

Some there be of that Sect unfained in conscience, and more religious, and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceived. But such commonly have been and be the chief guides and leaders of the Papists Church, that little true care and small zeal hath appeared in them toward the Church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therein, so that their

The name of Martyrs in the Calendar defended. What is a Martyr.

Holy Saints of Christ.

Martyrs in the Calendar coloured with red.

The Painter coloureth with red. The Pope coloureth with blood.

The author cleareth himself of lies and untruths laid against him.

Cope counselled to cease his railing.

No good cometh of railing.

The zeal of M. Cope expended.

Commodity

King's
The lies and
fictions in-
numerable
in the Popes
Church.

Commodity might not decrease. Thus out of this Fountain have gushed out so many Prodigious lies in Church Legends, in Saints lives, in Monkish fictions, in fabulous Miracles, in false and forged Reliques, as in pieces of the Holy Cross, in the Blood of Hales, in our Ladies milk, in the Nails of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind Errors, corrupt Doctrines, absurd Inventions, repugnant to the truth of the word. Item, In their Ballard Books, forged Epistles, their Apocrypha, and Pseudopigrapha. Here come in their forged Canons, their foisting and coggling in ancient Councils and Decrees, as in *deus et eius neres*, in Canons of the Apostles (if those Canons were the Apostles) Excepta Romana sede, foisted into the decrees by Gratianus, also the coggling in a false Canon to the Council of Nice for the maintenance of the See of Rome, as appeareth in the sixth Synod of Carthage.

Untruth in
the Popish
Epistle De
cretal.

Untruth in
the Popish
Liturgies.

Here come in also the Epistles of Clement, and other sundry Epistles Decretal, which as they are no doubt falsly inserted by other, so are they the well-head of many superstitious Traditions, oppressing this day the Church of Christ. To speak moreover of the Liturgies of Saint James, of Chrysostome and other, of the first Mass said by Saint Peter at Rome, and that Saint Peter fate 25. years Bishop of Rome. To speak also of the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, and Gregory, what Doctor or famous writer hath there been in the Church, under whose name some counterfeited Books have not falsly been fathered, and yet stand still authorized under their patronage, to the great detriment of the Church? What should I speak of Abdias, Amphilocheus, Dionysius Areopagita: The Dialogues of Gregory, which falsly to this day have been ascribed to Gregory the First, where indeed they were first written in Greek by Gregory the Third, and afterward Translated out of Greek into Latin by Pope Zacharie, vide supra. Likewise that worthy and Imperial Sermon intituled, Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Convantum Sanctorum, hath to this day wrongfully born the name of Eusebius. Whereas in very truth it was made by the good Emperor Constantinus himself, in his own Heroical style in Latin, and afterward Translated out of Latin into Greek by Eusebius, as he himself confesseth in his work. De vita Constant, lib. 4. But as touching this Sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitful it is that it mattereth not much under whose name it be read, yet worthy to be read under the name of none so much as of the Emperor Constantine himself, who was the true Author and owner thereof.

Untruth in
Books
counterfeit.

Gregory's
Dialogues.

Some ad
sententiam
sanctorum
in his
Eusebii,
made by
Constantine
the Empe-
ror.

Untruth in
the Popes
doctrine.

Briefly, except it be the Books only of the New Testament, and of the Old; what is almost in the Popes Church, but either it is mingled or depraved, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and gelded, or by some glofs adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? So that in their Doctrines standeth little truth; In their Legends, Portues, and Mass Book, less truth; In their Miracles and Reliques least truth of all. Neither yet do their Sacraments remain clear and void of manifest lies and corruption. And specially here cometh in the master Bee, which bringeth in much sweet Honey into Popes Hives, the Master lie I mean of all lies, where the Pope leaveth not one crum of Bread, nor drop of Wine in the reverend Communion; untruly and idolatrously taketh away all substance of Bread from it, turning the whole substance of Bread, into the substance of Christs own Body; which substance of Bread if the Pope take from the Sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it; for breaking and the Body of Christ can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proved by the Word of God to be a manifest lie; so think not much (good Reader hereat) as though I passed the bounds of modesty in calling it the arch lie, or master lie of all lies. Because upon this one an infinite number of other lies and errors in the Popes Church, as Handmaids do waite and depend.

Untruth in
the Popes
Legend and
Mass Books.
Untruth in
the Popes
miracles
and re-
liques.
Untruth in
the Popes
Sacraments.

Answer to

But forsomuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend myself, ceasing therefore, or rather deservng for a time to stir this stinking puddle of these wilful and intended lies and untruths, which in the Popes Religion and in Papists Books be innumerable, I will

now return to those untruths and impudent lies which Master Cope hath hunted out in my History of Acts and Mounments, first beginning with those untruths which he carpeth in the Story of the foresaid Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Aston, Brown and the rest.

And first where he layeth to my charge, that I call them Martyrs, which were Traitors and seditious Rebels against the King, and their Country; to this I have answered sufficiently before.

Now here then must the Reader needs stay a little, at M. Copes request, to see my vanity and impudence yet more fully and amply repressed in refuting a certain place in my Latin Story, concerning the Kings Statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alledged, be these, Pag. 107. Quocirca Rex inditio Leicestria concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edito immanem denunciat panam his quicunque deinceps hoc doctrina genus sectarentur, usque adeo in eos severus, ut non modo hereticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul & incendio, afficiendos statueret, &c. Et mox, Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendeat omnes adversus Wicklevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectarent, &c.

Upon these words out of my foresaid Latin Book alledged, Master Cope perswadeth himself to have great advantage against me, to prove me a notorious liar, in three sundry points. First, in that whereas I say, that the King did hold his Parliament at Leicester, adding this by the way of parenthesis (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum, &c.) Here he concludeth thereby, simpliciter and precisely, that the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Aston with his Fellows, were Traitors, &c. Whereby a man may soon shape a caviller, by the shadow of Master Cope. For whereas my Dialysis out of the text speaketh doubtfully and uncertainly, by this word (fortassis) meaning indeed the King to be in fear of the Gospellers, that he durst not hold his Parliament at London, but went to Leicester; he argueth precisely therefore, that the Lord Cobham, Sir Richard Aston, and his fellows went about to kill the King. Secondly, Where I affirm that the King in that Parliament made a grievous Law against all such as did hold the Doctrine of Wickliff, that they should be taken hereafter, not for Hereticks, but also for Felons, or Rebels, or Traitors, and therefore should sustain a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned, &c. Here cometh in Master Momus, with his Cope on his back, and proving me to be a liar, denieth plainly that the King made any such Statute; vide Pag. 853. line 6. where his words be these: Atqui quod heretici pro perduellionibus, & deinceps geminatas panas suspendiis & incendiis luerant, ut nungatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur, &c.

3. Points.
1. Objection.

Cope cavil-
lith with-
out cause.

Stat. an. 2.
Hen. 5. cap. 7.
3. Objection.

Copes p. 853.
line 6.

3. Objection.

First, Here would be asked of Master Cope, what he calleth Patria Hostes, & proditores? If he call these Traytors, then let us see whether they that followed the Sect of Wickliff were made Traytors and Hereticks by the Kings Law, or not. And first let us hear what faith Polydore Virgil, his own witness in this behalf, whose words in his twenty second Book, pag. 441. be these, Quare publice edixit, ut si uspiam deinceps reperientur qui eam sequerentur Sectam, patria hostes haberentur, quo sine omni lenitate severius ac ocus de illis supplicium sumeretur, &c. That is, wherefore it was by publick Statute decreed, That whoever were found hereafter to follow the Sect of Wickliff, should be accounted for Traytors, whereby, without all lenity they should be punished more severely and quickly, &c.

The Sect of
Wickliff
made He re-
fuge and
Treason by
King Henry
the fifth.
Polyd. Virg.
lib. 22.

Thus have you (Master Cope) the plain testimony of Polydore with me. And because ye shall further see your self more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of Histories, you shall understand moreover and hear, what Thomas Walden one of your own Catholick brotherhood, and who was also himself alive, and a doer in the same Parliament, being the Provincial of the Carmelites, saith in this matter, writing to Pope Martin, whose very words in Latin here follow, written in his Prologue to the said Martin, in this wise, Nec mora longa processit, quin Statutum publicum per omne Regni concilium in publico emanavit edito, quod omnes Wicklevistae, sicut Dei pro-

T. Walden.
in tomo pri.
mo, Doctrina
li ad Mart.
Papam in
prologo.

proditores essent, sic proditores Regis, proscriptis bonis, conferentur & Regni, duplici pena dandi, incendio propter Deum, suspendio propter Regem, &c. That is, And it was not long after, but a publick Law and Statute came out, by the common assent of the general Parliament of the whole Realm; That all Wicklevists, as they are Traytors to God, so also should be counted Traytors to the King and to the Realm, having their Goods lost and confiscate to the King. And therefore should suffer double punishment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the King, &c. And thus have you (M. Cope) not only my Sentence, but also the very words of my story confirmed by this Author; because ye shall not think me to speak so lightly or impudently without my Book. And moreover to confirm the Sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the foresaid Author, Tom. 1.

Walden.
Tome 1. De
Doctrinali
Ecclesiæ,
c. 46. lib. 2.

lib. 2. De Doctrinali fidei Ecclesiæ Cathol. cap. 46. where he writeth in these words, Et tamen jam cum regnare cepisset illustris Rex Henricus 5. qui adhuc agit in seipris, & de eorum perfidia per Catholicos bene doctos legem Statui fecit, ut ubique per Regnum Wicklevista probatus, ut reus puniretur de crimine læsæ Majestatis, &c. That is, and yet when the Noble King Henry the Fifth, who as yet doth live and reign, began first to reign, he began to set forth a Law, by his learned Catholics which were about him, against the falseness of these men, so that whosoever was proved to be a Wicklevist, through the whole Realm, should be punished for a Traytor, &c. What words can you have Master Cope, more plain than these? or what Authority can you require of more credit, which lived in the same time, and both did see and hear of the same things done? Who also writing to Pope Martin, was by the said Pope Martin allowed, approved and solemnly commended, as appeareth by the Popes Epistle to him, wherein the Pope declareth, how he caused his Books, Per solennes viros videri, & examinari; That is, by solemn persons to be seen and examined, &c. So that you must needs grant either this to be true that Walden writeth, or else that the Pope (tanquam Papa) in allowing his writings, may err and be deceived. Choose ye (Master Cope) of these two Opinions whether you will take.

Either Wal-
den writeth
true, or else
the Pope
erreth.

And if ye think this my assertion yet not sufficiently rescued with these Authorities aforesaid, I will also hereunto adjoyn the testimony of another Writer named Roger Wall, who writing De Gestis Henric. 5. and speaking of the said Statute of this Parliament something more plainly than the rest, hath these words, In hoc etiam Parlamento nobilitas Regia hostes Christi sibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque cujusvis fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Christianæ fidei amulator existeret; statuit & decrevit, ut quotquot ipsius Sectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, invenirentur amuli & Fautores, eo facto rei proditoris criminis in Majestatem Regiam haberentur, &c. In English, Also in this Parliament the noble King reputing Christ Enemies to be Traytors to himself, to the intent that all men should know without all doubt that so long as he lived, he would be a true and perfect Follower of Christian Faith; did enact and decree, that whosoever should be found Followers and Maintainers of this Sect, which is called The Lollards Sect, Ipso facto, should be counted and reputed guilty of Treason against the Kings Majesty, &c.

Rog. Wallus
lib. de gestis
Hen. 5. f. 10.

By these hitherto alleged, if M. Cope will not be satisfied, yet let the Reader indifferently judge; Utrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur. And yet moreover to make the matter more certain, mark the clamation of the said Roger Wall added to the end of those words above recited, whereby we have to understand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the King in the said Parliament, and also what was the blind affection of Monks and Priests at that time toward their King and Prince (which was then called Princeps Sacerdotum) in condemning and destroying the poor Lollards. The words of the Monk be these, O verus amicus, qui amico illatam injuriam sibi inferri consimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat esse suum, & ad ejus onera conferenda, auxiliorum humeros supponere non veretur, &c. That is, O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that injury no less done to himself, which is

King Henry
the Fifth
called Prin-
ceps Sacer-
dotum.
Rog. Wallus
ibid.

done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended against him, reputeth to be as his own; and to bear together the burthens of his friend, sticketh not to lay to his own shoulders, for the easing and helping of him, &c.

KING
Hen. 5.

How can it now be denied (Master Cope) in reading these Authors, and seeing their Testimonies, but that Lollardy in the Parliament was made both Treason and Heresie, and had therefore a double judgment of punishment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other, according as in my former Latin story I recorded, and yet I trifled not?

2. But you will say again (as ye do) that there is no mention made for Heresie to be made Treason, nor of any double punishment to be inflicted for the same. In the body of the Statute (I grant) there is no express mention in words of Heresie to be made Treason, expressly signified in rigour of words; but inclusively it is so inferred, that it cannot be denied. For first, where Lands, Goods and Cattel of the said Lollards were lost and forfeit to the King, what doth this import else, but Treason or Felony?

Copus, pag.
835. line 2.
Objection.

Answer.

Stat. An. 2.
Hen. 5. cap. 7.

And where the Lord Cobham (for whose cause specially this Statute seemed to be made) did sustain afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the same Statute, what is here contained, but a double penalty? Again, where in the beginning of the Statute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after upon the same followeth the services of the King, whereunto the Officers be first sworn should be first preferred for Liberty of Holy Church, and punishment of Hereticks, made before these days and now repealed, ut supra. What meaneth this; but to make these Congregations of the Lollards to be forceable entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful assemblies, affraiers of the people, armor, riots, and insurrections, and so fendeth them to the former Statutes not repealed, that is, to the Statute, Anno 13. Hen. 4. Chap. 7. where the punishment is left to the discretion of the King. Or else to the Statute, Anno 15. Rich. 2. Chap. 2. where the penalty is made fine and ranfome. Or else to the Statute, Anno 5. Rich. 2. Chap. 6. where such assemblies be made plain Treason, in fine statuti.

Vid. Stat.
An. 13 Hen. 4.
cap. 7.
Vid. Stat.
An. 15 Ric. 2.
cap. 2.
Vid. Stat.
An. 5 Ric. 2.
cap. 6.

And as here is matter of Treason sufficiently contained, so for Heresie likewise the same Statute referreth them to the Ordinaries, and to the Laws properly to Heresie appertaining, and to the Statute, Anno 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. where the penalty is burning. Also to the Statute, Anno 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.

Vid. Stat.
An. 2 Hen. 4.
cap. 15.
Vid. Stat.
An. 5 Ric. 2.
cap. 5.

So that in this present Statute here mention is contained, as ye see, although not in express words, yet inclusively (by referring to other Statutes not repealed) both Lollardy which is punished with burning, and forcible Entries which are punished at the Kings pleasure. And thus much concerning the second untruth, which Master Cope untruly noted in me.

3. The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I say, there was no other cause of deviling this sharp Law and punishment against these men, but only for having the Scripture-Books. And therefore here is to be noted in the margent Foxi d. l. l. malus, but let Master Cope take heed he deceive not himself and other. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latin story where I so say. Only my words be these, added in the later end of the place above recited, Wickleviani vero dicebantur quicunque id temporis Scripturas Dei sua lingua legerent, &c. That is, They were called Wicklevists, who soever at that time read the Scripture in English, or vulgar Tongue, &c. I say not, that for the Scriptures being read in the English-Tongue, therefore the Law was enacted, but so is Master Cope disposed to construe it. What Law and Statutes were made against writing or reading of any Book in English, or any other Tongue contrary to the Catholick (that is, the Romish-Faith) or to the determination of the holy Church (that is, of Rome) read I beseech thee the bloody Statute made Anno 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. above specified. Also read the Constitution Provincial of Thomas Arundel above mentioned: Where it was decreed, That the Text of holy Scripture should not be had, or read in the vulgar-Tongue, from the time of Master John Wicklick for ever after, unless

Third Ob-
jection.

Answer

Reading of
Scripture-
Books con-
trary to the
Romish faith
made Here-
sie. Stat. An.
1 Hen. 4. c. 14.
Vid. sup.
The Text
of the
Scripture
not to be
translated
into the
Vulgar
Tongue un-
der pain of
Heresie.
Const. pro-
vinc. Tho.
Arund.
Vide supra

the

KING the said translation be approved first by the Ordinary, or by Provincial Council, under pain and punishment of Heretic. Now let the Reader judge whether the reading of Scripture-Books in the *English*-Tongue, by the making or translating of *Wickliff*, or from the time of *Wickliff* downward, be counted Heretic, or not. As for the approving of the Ordinary, or of the Provincial Council added in the end of the said Constitution, it maketh more for a shew, or pretence, than for any just exception, or any true intention. For what man, having those Scriptures translated in *English*, would either present them to their Ordinaries being so set against the reading of such Books? Or what Ordinary would or did ever yet since *Arundels* time approve any such translation, presented unto them? Or else why did the good Martyrs of *Amerham* suffer death, in the beginning of King *Henry* the Eighth, for having and reading certain Books of Scripture, which were (as is said) only four Epistles of Saint *Paul*, with certain other Prayers? And the other which heard them but only read, did bear Faggots; and the same time, the Children were compelled to set Faggots unto their Fathers; at which time *Longland* being then Bishop of *Lincoln*, and preaching to them at the stake, said, *That whatsoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those Chapters were damned for ever; as when we come to that time, by the Grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amply and notoriously appear. And where then is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined against me, for crafty dealing in my story?*

Children of *Amerham* caused to set Faggots to their Fathers.

cap. p. 833. line 10.

Moreover, where Master *Cope* proceeding farther in this matter, asketh me, *How was the Lord Cobham obedient to the King, when as for the fear of him the King durst not then keep his Parliament at London?* To whom I answer again, asking likewise of Master *Cope*, *How was the King then afraid to hold his Parliament at London for the Lord Cobham, when the Lord Cobham at that time was in Wales?* And here Master *Cope* thinking to have me at a narrow strait, and to hold me fast, biddeth me tell him how it could be otherwise, but the Lord *Cobham* must needs have Fautors? And who should these Fautors be (saith he) but Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, and their Fellows? The which mighty question of Master *Cope* I answer again; *How could Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their Fellows be then Fautors of the Lord Cobham, for whom the King durst not hold the Parliament at London, when as the said Roger Acton, Brown, and the rest were put to death, a whole year almost before the Parliament at Leicester began?*

cap. p. 836 line 13.

And now as I have hitherto briefly, and truly answered your askings (Master *Cope*) let me be so bold with you again, to propound to you likewise another question, forso much as you have put me to the searching of the Statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now out of the same Statutes riseth a double scruple, or question, worthy to be solved. The case is this, That forasmuch as so many good Martyrs and Saints of God hitherto, in this Realm of *England*, haven been burned from the time of King *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, *Henry* the Sixth, *Henry* the Eighth, to the time, and in the time of Queen *Mary*; my question is, That you with all your learned Council about you will tell me, by what Law or Statute of the Realm were these men brent? I know the ancient custom hath been, that Hereticks convicted by a Provincial Council were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will ye prove me, these Hereticks were either convict by such Provincial Council, or that these secular men ought to be your Butchers in burning them, whom ye have committed to them? If ye alledge the six Articles made in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, those Articles neither did serve before the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, neither yet were they revived after his time. If ye alledge the Statute made Anno 5. *Rich. 2. cap. 5.* In that Statute (I answer) is contained no matter of burning, but only of arrest to be done at the Certifications of the Prelates, without any further punishment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye alledge the Statute made Anno 2. *Hen. 4. cap. 15.* and revived in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, mentioned before. To that Statute I answer, that although the pretended Statute appeareth in form of words in the printed Book to give unto the Temporal Officers authority to bring them to

Statute of the six Articles in the time of King *Hen. 8.* Stat. An. 5. Ric. 2. cap. 5. Stat. de combustionibus, An. 2. H. 4. c. 15. Vide sup. Hen. 4. de combustionibus, proved not sufficient to burn any man.

the Stake, and to burn them whom the Bishop delivereth, yet is it not to be proved, either by you or any other, that Statute to be Law, or warrant sufficient to burn any person or persons committed to the secular power by the Clergy. And that I prove thus; for although the same Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth in the Books printed appear to have Law and Authority sufficient, by the full assent both of the King, of the Lords, and of the Commons; yet being occasioned by Master *Cope* to search further in the Statutes, I have found that in the Rolls and first Originals of that Parliament, there is no such mention either of any Petition, or else of any assent of the Commons annexed, or contained in that Statute, according as in the printed Books usual in the Lawyers hands too craftily and falsely is foisted in, as by the plain words thereof may well appear.

For where the said Statute, Anno 2. *Hen. 4. cap. 15.* being thus intituled in the Rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra hereticos*, and assented unto in this form, hath these words.

Stat. Anno 2. *Hen. 4. cap. 15.* Intituled in the Roll thus, *Petitio Cleri contra hereticos*; and assented unto in this form.

QUAS quidem petitiones prelatorum & cleri superius expressatas do. noster Rex, de consensu magnatum & aliorum procerum Regni sui, in presenti Parlamento existentium concessit, & in omnibus & singulis juxta formam & effectum eorundem Ordinavit & Statuit de cetero firmiter observari, and so forth, according to the Petition: and more words are there not in the Statute-Roll. Wherefore, whereas the Statute-Book printed hath thus: *Super quibus quidem novitatibus & excessibus superius recitatis (videlicet, in the Petition of the Prelates and Clergy) Prælati & Clerus supradicti ac etiam Communitates dicti Regni in eodem Parlamento existent. dict. Domino Regi supplicarunt, &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex, &c. ex assensu magnatum & aliorum procerum ejusdem Regni, &c. concessit, ordinavit, &c.* These words, &c. *Etiā Communitates dicti Regni, &c.* are put in further than the Roll doth warrant, and seemeth to be the practice of the Clergy, to make that as an Act of Parliament, and to seem to have the force of a Law, which was never assented unto by Commons.

The printed Statute, An. 2. H. 4. c. 15. falsely corrupted.

And thus you see how this foresaid Statute, printed both in *English* and in *Latin* among the Provincial Councils of *Oxford* (by the vertue whereof so many good men have been burned so long in *England*) doth utterly overthrow it self, for that it swarveth from the Record both in form and in matter, and lacketh the assent of the Commons. Which doubt I thought at this present to propound unto you (Master *Cope*) for that you have so urged me to the searching out of the Statutes, by your declaiming against the Lord *Cobham*.

Ex constitutionibus provincialibus Oxoniæ celebratis. Jo. an. Antho.

Moreover unto this Statute foresaid, joyn also withall another Memorandum of like practice done Anno 5. *Rich. 2.* In the which year, whereas a Statute was concluded in the Parliament, Anno 5. *Rich. 2. cap. 5.* against certain Preachers specified in the same Statute, which going about in certain habits from place to place, did draw the people to Sermons; and Commissions were made and directed in the said Parliament to the Sheriffs, to arrest all such Preachers, and to imprison the same, at the Certifications of the Prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the same Statute, Anno 5. *Rich. 2. cap. 5.* was revoked by the King in the Parliament, Anno 6. *Rich. 2.* upon the words of the Commons being these, *videl.* Forasmuch as the same Statute was never assented, ne granted by the Commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their assent, and now ought to be undone, for that it was never their meaning to be justified, and to bind themselves and their Successors to the Prelates no more, than their Ancestors had done before them. *Ex Rotul.* And yet this foresaid revocation notwithstanding, in Queen *Maries* time, they inquired upon that Statute.

Vide Stat. An. 5. Ric. 2. cap. 5.

Ex Rot. Parl.

In

The Persecutors in burning Gods people have done against the Law.

In searching of these Statutes, as you have occasioned me to find out these scruples; so being found out, I thought here not to dissemble them, forasmuch as I see and hear many now adays so boldly to bear themselves upon this Statute, and thinking so to excuse themselves, do say, that they have done nothing but the Law, the Law; to the intent that these men seeing now how inexcusable they be both before God and man, having no Law to bear them out, may the sooner repent their bloody and unlawful tyranny, exercised so long against Gods true Servants, yet in time before that the just Law of God shall find out their unjust dealings, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will do hereafter,

A necessary Admonition to the Commons of England.

In the mean time, this my Petition I put up to the Commons, and to all other which shall hereafter put up any Petition to the Parliament: that they, being admonished by this abuse, will shew themselves hereafter more wise and circumspect, both what they agree unto in Parliaments, and also what cometh out in their name. And as these good Commons in this time of King Henry the Fourth, would not consent nor agree to this bloody Statute, nor to any other like; For so we read that the Commons in that bloody time of King Henry the Fourth, when another like cruel Bill was put up by the Prelates in Anno 8. Henry the Fourth against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also overthrew the other: so in like manner it is to be wished, that the Commons in this our time, or such other that shall have to do in Parliaments hereafter, following the steps of these former times, will take vigilant heed to such cruel Bills of the Popes Prelacy, being put up, that neither their consent do pass rashly, nor that their names in any condition be so abused; Considering with themselves that a thing once being passed in the Parliament cannot afterward be called back; And a little inconvenience once admitted, may grow afterward to mischiefs that cannot be stopped. And sometime it may so happen, that through rash consent of Voices, the end of things being not well advised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that afterward many days may cause the whole Realm to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with such black Parliaments, to beware of After-claps. The Lord Jesus only Protector of his Church, stop all crafty devices of subtil Enemies, and with his Wisdom direct our Parliaments, as may be most to the advantage of his Word, and comfort of his people. Amen.

And thus much having said for the defence of the Lord Cobham, of Sir Roger Aston Knight, John Brown Esquire, John Beverley Preacher, and of other their Fellows against Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an end with this present Interim, till further leisure serve me hereafter (Christ willing) to pay him the whole interest which I owe unto him. Adding this in the mean time, and by the way; that if Master Cope had been a *Momus* any thing reasonable, he had no great cause so to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did com-

mend the Lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his valiant standing by the truth of his Doctrine before Thomas Arundel the Archbishop; so touching the matter of this Conspiracy, I did not affirm or define any thing thereof in my former History so precisely, that he could well take any vantage thereof against me, who in writing of this Conspiracy laid against Sir Roger Aston, and Sir John Oldcastle, do but disjunctively or doubtfully speak thereof, not concluding certainly this Conspiracy either to be true, or not true, but only proving the same not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall in their Histories do affirm; which say, that this Conspiracy began after the burning of John Hus and Hierome of Prague, which could not be. And thereto tendeth my Assertion. My words are plain, and are these; *Wherefore it is evident that there was either no Conspiracy at all against the King, or else that it was at some other time, or done by some other Captains, &c.*

These be my words with other more: In the which Proposition disjunctive, if either part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to rebel both; which he hath not done. But only standing fast upon the one part dissimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that time he shall come from Rome (whither he is now gone, as I hear say) I trust he will return a better *Logician* home again in *suam Angliam*.

But to the truth of the matter; as I said before, so I say again, whatsoever this worthy, noble, vertuous Knight, Sir Roger Aston was otherwise; this is certain, that he was always of contrary mind and opinion to the Bishop of Rome, and to that kind of people, for the which cause he had great envy and hatred at their hands, and could as little bear it: neither do I greatly dissent from them, which do suspect or judge that the Lord Cobham, by his friendly help escaped out of the Tower, and that per-adventure was the cause why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other causes also there might be, that these good men percase did frequent among themselves some Conventicles, (which Conventicles were made Treason by the Statute aforesaid) either in those Thickets, or in some place else, for the hearing of Gods Word, and for publick Prayer; and therefore had they this Beverley their Preacher with them.

But to conclude, whatsoever this Sir Roger Aston was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Acts and things done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned, and put to death or Martyrdom three years and more before the Lord Cobham died. Likewise Master John Brown, and John Beverley the Preacher, suffered with him the same kind of death (as some say) in the Field of Saint Giles, with other more, to the number of 36, if the story be true. Which was in the month of January, Anno 1413. after the computation of our English stories, counting the year from the Annunciation, but after the Latin Writers, counting from Christs Nativity, Anno 1414. according as in this Picture is specified.

KING
Hm. 5.

Proposition
disjunctive.

Lib. 22. c.
Hm. 174.

Sir Roger
Aston con-
trary to the
Bishop of
Rome.

Causes con-
jectural
why Sir Ro-
ger Aston
with the
Lord Cobham
put to
death for
Treason
and Loll-
ards.

KING
1414.



Divers Persons counted for Lollards. hanged and burned in the first year of the Reign of King Henry the V.

These men, as is said, suffered before the Lord Cobham about three years, of whose death divers do write diversly. Some say they were hanged and burnt in S. Giles Field; of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be which say, that some of them were hanged and burnt. Polydorus speaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. Another certain English Chronicle I have in my hands borrowed of one M. Bowyer, who somewhat differing from the rest, recordeth thus of Sir Roger Aston, that his Judgment before the Justice was thus, to be drawn through London to Tyburne, and there to be hanged, and so he was naked, save certain parts of him covered with a Cloth, &c. And when certain days were past (saith the Author) a Trumpeter of the Kings called Thomas Cliff, got Grant of the King to take him down, and to bury him, and so he did, &c. And thus have you the story of Sir Roger Aston, and his fellow Brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or else by error mistaken of the King, or by the fetch of the Bishops furnished, I refer it to the judgment of him which shall Judge both the quick and the dead, & seculum per ignem. To whom also I commit you M. Cope; God speed your Journey well to Rome, whither I hear say you are going, and make you a good man.

After the decease or martyrdom of these above mentioned, who were executed in the month of January, Anno 1414. in the next month following, and in the same year, the twentieth day of February, God took away the great Enemy of his Word, and Rebel to his King, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury: Whose death following after the execution of these good men above recited, by the marvelous stroke of God so suddenly, may seem somewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to live, striking him with death incontinently upon the same. But as I did the other before, so this also I do refer to the secret Judgment of the Lord, who once shall Judge all secrets openly.

In the mean time this may seem strange, that the same Thomas Arundel, who a little before late in Judgment against the Lord Cobham, and pronounced Sentence of death upon him, did himself feel the stroke of death, and the Sentence of God executed upon him before the other. Who would have thought but that the Lord Cobham, being so cast and condemned definitively by the Archbishops Sentence, should have died long before the Archbishop? But such be the works of Gods Almighty Hand, who so

turned the wheel, that this condemned Lord survived his Condemner three or four years.

In the death of this Archbishop, first Polydore Virgil is deceived, who in his twenty second Book, page 441. affirmed his death to be Anno 1415. in the second year of King Henry the Fifth, also after the beginning of the Council of Constance, who indeed never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever saw the second year of that King (unless ye count the first day for a year) but died before, Anno 1414. February 20. Ex Hist. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore, concerning the death of this Arundel, and the manner thereof, who had been so heavy a Troubler of Christs Saints in his time, because the thing seemeth worthy of noting, to behold the punishment of God upon his Enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alledged out of Thomas Gascoin in Dictionario Theologico, Whose plain words be these, Anno 1414. Tho. Arundel. Cant. Archiepiscopus. sic lingua percussus erat, ut nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem suam posuerit, divitis epulonis exemplo, & sic tandem obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligasset, ne suo tempore predicaretur. That is, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury was so stricken in his Tongue, that he could neither swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death, much like after the example of the rich Glutton, and so died upon the same. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he so bound the Word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his days, &c. Which if it be true, as it doth well here appear, these and such other horrible Examples of Gods wrath may be terrible Spectacles for such as occupy their Tongues and Brains so busily to stop the course of Gods Word, striving but against the stream, against the force whereof, neither are they able to resist, and many times in resisting are overturned themselves, and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundel, who continued Archbishop in the See of Canterbury the space of 18 years.

After this Arundel, succeeded next in the said See of Canterbury Henry Chicheley, made Archbishop Anno 1414. and late five and twenty year. This Henry following likewise the steps of his Predecessor, shewed himself no small Adversary against the Favourers of the Truth. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction in the Church. For as the preaching and teaching of the Word did multiply and spread abroad daily more and more, so on the contrary side, more vigilant care and

Polydore Virgil deceived.

Thomas Gascoin in Dictionario Theologico. An example of Gods working hand against the enemies of his word.

The marvelous hand of God upon Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury.

It is in vain to gainstand Gods word.

Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury.

strait

strait Inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason whereof divers did suffer, and were burned; some for fear fled the Country: many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abjure. Of whom hereafter Christ willing particularly in order of their times we will intreat.

As true Piety and sincere preaching of Christs Word began at this time to decay; So idle Monkry and vain Superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same year the King began the foundation of two Monasteries, one of the one side of *Thames*, of Friars Observants, the other on the other side of *Thames* called *Shene* and *Zion*, dedicated to Charter-house-Monks, with certain *Bridgit*-Nuns or Recluses, to the number of sixty, dwelling within the same Precincts; so that the whole number of these with Priests, Monks, Deacons, and Nuns, should equal the number of twelve Apostles, and seventy two Disciples. The Order of these was according to the description of *S. Paul* the Apostle, *Col. 1. Eat not, taste not, touch not, &c.* to eat no Flesh, to wear no Linnen, to touch no Money, &c.

About *Michaelmas*, the same year the King began his Parliament at *Leicester*, above mentioned. In the which Parliament the Commons put up their Bill again, which they had put up before, *Anno 11. Hen. 4.* that Temporalties, disorderly wasted by men of the Church, might be converted and imployed to the use of the King, of his Earls and Knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as is before recited. In fear of which Bill, lest the King would give thereunto any comfortable audience (as testifieth *Robert Fabian* and other Writers) certain of the Prelates and other head-men of the Church put the King in mind to claim his Right in *France*. Whereupon *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a long and solemn Oration before the King to persuade him to the same, offering to the King in the behalf of the Clergy great and noble sums. By reason whereof (saith *Fabian*) the Bill was again put off, and the King set his mind for the recovery of the same; so that soon after he sent his Letters and Messengers to the *French* King concerning that matter, and received from him again answer of derision, with a Pipe of *Tennus-Balls* (as some record) sent from the *Dolphin*, for him to play with at home. Whereby the Kings mind was incensed the more toward that Voyage. Who when furnishing himself with Strength and Armor, with Powder and Shot, and Gun-stones to play with in *France*, and with other Artillery for that purpose convenient, so set over into *France*, where he got *Hareflew* with divers other Towns and Castles in *Normandy* and *Picardy*, and at *Agencourt* had a great Victory over the *French* Army, they being counted but seven thousand, by pricking sharp stakes before them, &c. After that he wan *Came*, *Towke*, *Rowan*, with other Towns more, as *Meldune*, or *Melione*, and married with *Katharine* the *French* Kings Daughter. And yet notwithstanding the third time he made his Voyage again into *France*, where at length at *Bloyes* he fell sick and died: concerning all which Voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in *Fabian*, *Hall*, and other Chronographers, referring therefore the Reader unto them, I will return my story to other matters of the Church more effectual.

The entry of the Story of the Bohemians.

I Declared a little before how by the occasion of *Queen Anne*, which was a *Bohemian*, and married to King *Richard* the Second, the *Bohemians* coming thereby to the knowledge of *Wickliff's* Books here in *England*, began first to taste and savour Christs Gospel, till at length by the preaching of *John Hus* they increased more and more in knowledge. Infomuch that *Pope Alexander* the Fifth hearing thereof, began at last to stir coals, and directeth his Bull to the Archbishop of *Swinco*, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in Churches, Schools, or other places, should maintain that Doctrine, citing also *John Hus* to appear before him. To whom the said *John* answering again, declared that Mandate or Bull of the *Pope* utterly to repugne against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his Apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the Gospel, in binding the Word of God not to have free recourse. And therefore

from this Mandate of the *Pope* he appealed to the same *Pope* better advised. But while he was prosecuting his Appeal, *Pope Alexander* died, as is aforesaid. *Ex Cochlaeo in hist. Hussit.*

After whom succeeded *Pope John* the Three and twentieth, who also, playing his part here in this matter like a *Pope*, sought by all means possible how to repress and keep under the *Bohemians*, first beginning to work his malice upon the foresaid *John Hus* their Preacher, who at the same time preaching at *Prague* in the Temple of *Bethlehem*, because he seemed rather willing to teach the Gospel of Christ, than the Traditions of Bishops, was therefore accused of certain to the forenamed *Pope John* the Three and twentieth for an Heretick. The Bishop committed the whole matter unto *Cardinal de Columna*; who when he had heard the Accusation, he appointed a day to *John Hus*, that he should appear in the Court of *Rome*: which thing once done, *Wenceslaus* King of the *Romans*, and of *Bobeme*, at the request specially of his wife *Sophia*, and of the whole Nobility of *Bobeme*, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the Town and University of *Prague*, sent his Ambassadors to *Rome*, to desire the Bishop to quit and clearly deliver *John Hus* from that Sentence and Judgment: and that if the Bishop did suspect the Kingdom of *Bobeme* to be infected with any heretical or false Doctrine, he should send his Embassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them. And that all this should be done at the only cost and charges of the King of *Bobeme*; and to promise in his name that he would aid and assist the Bishops Legates with all his Power and Authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous Doctrine. In the mean season also *John Hus*, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meek Procurators unto the Court of *Rome*, and with most firm and strong Reasons did prove his Innocency; whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should have easily obtained that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger to appear the day appointed. But when as the *Cardinal de Columna*, (unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed) would not admit any defence or excuse, *John Hus* his Procurators appealed unto the high Bishop: yet notwithstanding this last refuge did not so much prevail with *Cardinal de Columna*, but that he would openly excommunicate *John Hus* as an obstinate Heretick, because he came not at his day appointed unto *Rome*.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as his Procurators had appealed unto the high Bishop, they had other Judges appointed unto them, as *Cardinal Aquileianus* and *Cardinal Venetus*, with certain others. The which Judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the space of one year and a half, at last they return'd to the Sentence and Judgment of *Cardinal de Columna*, and confirming the same, commanded *John Hus* his Procurators that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Whereupon when his Procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished, the other leaving their business undone, returned into *Bobeme*.

The *Bohemians* notwithstanding little cared for all this, but continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the *Pope*, complaining daily against him and the Archbishop for stopping the Word of God, and the Gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, That by their Indulgences and other practices of the Court of *Rome*, and of the Bishops Consistory, they sought their own profit, and not the Glory of Jesus Christ; that they plucked from the Sheep of Christ the Wool and Milk, and did not feed them, either with the Word of God, or with good examples. Teaching moreover and affirming, that the Commandments of the *Pope* and Prelates are not to be obeyed, but so far as they follow the Doctrine and life of Christ and of his Apostles; and that Lay-men ought to judge the works of Prelates, as *Paul* judged the works of *Peter* in correcting him, *Gal. 2.* Furthermore, they had amongst them certain Notes and Observations, whereby they might discern how far and wherein they might obey their Prelates; they derided also and scorned the *Popes* Jurisdiction, because of the Schism that was then in the Church, when there were three *Popes* together, one striving against another for the Papacy.

Over

Shene and
Zion
builded.

Vide supra.

Fabian with
other.

A crafty
practice of
the Pre-
lates.
The King
stirred up to
wars by the
Bishops.

Vide supra.

The Bohemians
receiving the
Gospel.
The Pope
against the
Bohemians.
John Hus
cited of the
Pope.

KING
Hen. 5.

John Hus
appealeth
from the
Pope to the
Pope.
Pope John
23.

John Hus
accused to
Pope John.

John Hus
excommuni-
cated by
Cardinal de
Columna.

The Bohemians
against the
Pope and
his doings.
Ex Cochlaeo
in hist. Hussit.
lib. 1.

KING
Three
doubts of
John Hus
propound-
ed.

Over and besides this, at the same time *John Hus* did propound publicly, and by the Notaries caused to be written three doubtful questions, the tenour whereof followeth here word for word, and is this: *Forasmuch*, faith he, *as it is good for men being in doubts to ask counsel, whereby all dubitation is removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the Truth; three doubts arise here to be resolved: The first doubt is, Whether we ought to believe in the Pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, which confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal Priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the Doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaohs Host being drowned in the Red-Sea, and of the Sodomites being subverted, be saved?*

Crede in
Deum.
Crede Deo.
Crede De-
um.
Pet. Lomb.
lib. 4. dist. 17.
cap. 11.
Against ava-
rice confes-
sion.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively, alledging the saying of *Bede* upon this place of the Apostle (*To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness*, Rom. 4.) Upon this place faith *Bede*, *Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c.* The second doubt faith he, the Master of the Sentences doth answer, lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11. in these words, *What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assailing of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart, &c.* For the third doubt he brought in the words of *S. Hier.* upon the Prophet *Nabum*, speaking of the Egyptians destroyed in the Sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the Desert. *Know you* (faith *Hierome*) *that God therefore punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, and therefore because they were here punished, they should not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lye, which is not to be granted.* These three questions be like *John Hus* did bring in to declare how the Doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the Church of *Rome*, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

Counsel of
the Prelates
of Prague
against the
Gosnellers.

It followeth moreover after the death of the Archbishop *Swinco* above mentioned, that one named *Conradus* was placed by the Pope there to be chief General, which *Conradus* conferring with the Divines and Doctors of the University of *Prague*, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissention and discords between the Clergy and the people. Whereupon a certain Council was devised to be holden after this sort and manner as followeth:

1. First, That all Doctors and Masters of the University of *Prague* should be assembled in the Court of the Archbishop, and in his presence, that every Doctor and Master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff* before condemned.

2. Item, Concerning the seven Sacraments of the Church, the Keys and Censures of the Church, the Manners, Rites, Ceremonies, Customs, and Liberties of the Church, concerning also the worshipping of Reliques and Indulgences, the Orders and Religions of the Church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the Church of *Rome*, and no otherwise, of the which Church of *Rome* the Pope is the Head, and the College of Cardinals is the Body: who are the true and manifest Successors of blessed Saint *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, and of the College of the other Apostles of Christ.

3. Item, That every one shall swear, that in every Catholick matter, belonging to the Church, he will stand to the determination of the Apostolical See, and that he will obey the Prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden; or that which is meet ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both. Which mean or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or evil.

4. Item, That every one shall swear and confess by his Oath, that the Opinions of *Wickliff* and others, touching the seven Sacraments of the Church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said Church of *Rome*, be false.

5. Item, That an Oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintain any of the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff* aforesaid, or in any other matter

Catholick, and especially of the seven Sacraments and other Articles above specified, but only as doth the Church of *Rome*, and no otherwise.

6. Item, That every Ordinary in his Diocess shall cause the said Premises, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth Articles aforesaid, to be published in his Synods, and by his Preachers to be declared to the people in the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

7. Item, If any Clerk, Student, or Lay-man shall withstand any of the premises, that the Ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old Laws and Canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means; for none but the Ordinary hath Power to correct such a man, because the Archbishop is Chancellor both of the Kingdom and University of *Prague*.

8. Item, That the Songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others fame, be not sung either in Streets, Taverns, or any other place.

9. Item, That Master *John Hus* shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the Court, neither shall hinder the preaching in *Prague* by his presence; that by this, his Obedience to the Apostolical See may be known.

10. Item, That this Council doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissention that is in the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

11. Item, If Master *John Hus* with his complices will perform this, which is contained in the four former Articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of Faith: otherwise if they will not so do, we in giving this testimony, should lye greatly unto our Lord the King and the whole World. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the Court of *Rome*, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved. This counsel and devise being considered amongst the Heads of the University of *Prague*, the foresaid Administrator named *Conradus*, presented unto the King and to the Barons of the Realm, and also to the Senate of *Prague*. Whereof as soon as word came to *John Hus* and his Adherents, they likewise drew out other Articles in manner and form of a Council as followeth:

For the honour of God and the true preaching of his Gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and of the Marquiship of *Moravia*, and of the City and University of *Prague*, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the Clergy and the Scholars of the University.

1. First, Let the right and just decreement of the Princes, and of the Kings Council, be holden and stand in force, which between the Lord Archbishop *Swinco* on the one party, and between the Rector and Master *John Hus* on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed in the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King.

2. Item, That the Kingdom of *Boheme* remain in his former Rites, Liberties, and common Customs, so as other Kingdoms and Lands do enjoy; that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy Mother universal Church.

3. Item, That Master *John Hus* (against whom the foresaid Lord *Swinco* could object no Crime before the Council) may be present in the Congregation of the Clergy, and there whosoever will object to him either Heresie or Error, let him object, binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

4. Item, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the Commandment be made by our Sovereign Lord the King through all his Cities, and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all Villages and Towns, That Master *John Hus* is ready to render account of his Faith, and therefore if any will object unto him any Heresie or Error, let him write his name in the Chancery of the Lord Archbishop, and bring forth his Probations openly before both the Parties.

5. Item, If none such shall be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be noised and rumored in the Popes Court, that in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, in the City of *Prague*, and in the

Forum bo-
num,
Forum ma-
lum,
Medium.

the Marquissdom of *Moravia*, many there be whose hearts be infected with Heresie and Error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

6. *Item*, That commandment be directed to Doctors of Divinity and of the Canon-Law, and to the Chapter of Cathedral-Churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be an Heretick or Erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them make recognition thereof, before the publick Notary, confirming the same with their Seals.

7. *Item*, These things thus done and premised, then that our Sovereign Lord the King, and also that the Archbishop will give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another Heretick or Erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that Heresie or Error, as it becometh him.

8. *Item*, After these things obtained, that our Sovereign Lord the King, with the consent of his Barons, will then levy a Subsidy, or collect of the Clergy, and direct an honest Ambassy to the Popes Court, with the which Ambassadors let them also go upon their own proper charges or expences for their purgation, which have caused this Kingdom fallly and grievously to be infamed in the Apostolick Court.

9. *Item*, In the mean season for the presence of Master *John Hus*, no Interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy Mother-Church, &c.

The Pope
maketh
war.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parts, the one objecting, the other answering in Articles as is aforesaid: In the mean time it happened by the occasion of *Ladislavus* King of *Naples*, who had besieged the Popes Towns and Territories, that Pope *John* raising up War against the said *Ladislavus*, gave full remission of sins to all them which would War of his side to defend the Church. When this Bull of the Popes Indulgence was come to *Prague*, and there published, the King *Wenceslaus*, who then favoured that Pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said Popes Indulgences. But *Hus* with his Followers, not able to abide the impiety of those Pardons, began manifestly to speak against them; of the which company were three certain Artificers; who hearing the Priest preaching of these Indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the Pope *Antichrist*, which would set up the Crofs to fight against his evenchristened. Wherefore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to Ward. But the people joyning themselves together in Arms, came to the Magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The Magistrates with gentle words and fair promises satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his own house, the tumult was asswaged. But the Captains being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were *John*, *Martine*, and *Stafcon*. The death and Martyrdom of these three being known unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the Church of *Bethlem*. At whose Funeral divers Priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise: *These be the Saints which for the Testament of God gave their Bodies, &c.* And so their Bodies were sumptuously interred in the Church of *Bethlem*, *John Hus* preaching at the same Funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had hid the way of his verity so from the prudent of this World, and had revealed it to the simple Lay-people and inferior Priests, which chose rather to please God than men.

John, *Martine*, *Stafcon*,
Martyrs.

Steven Paletx,
being a great
Enemy to
John Hus.

John Hus
banished
out of
Prague.

Thus the City of *Prague* was divided. The Prelates with the greatest part of the Clergy, and most of the Barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the Pope, especially *Steven Paletx*, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part the Commons with part of the Clergy and Students of the University, went with *John Hus*. *Wenceslaus* the King, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the Doctors and Prelates and Council of his Barons, thought best to remove *John Hus* out of the City, who had been excommunicated before by the Pope. And further to cease this dissension risen in the Church, he committed the matter to

the disposition of the Doctors and the Clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did set forth a Decree, ratified and confirmed by the Sentence of the King, containing the sum of 18 Articles for the maintenance of the Pope and of the See of *Rome*, against the Doctrine of *Wickliff* and *John Hus*. The names of the Doctors of Divinity were these, *Steven Paletx*, *Stanislaus de Znoyma*, *Petrus de Ikoyma*, *Joannes Helia*, *Andreas Broda*, *Jobannes Hildesen*, *Mattheus Monachus*, *Hermanus Heremita*, *Georgius Bota*, *Simon Wenda*, &c. *John Hus*, thus departing out of *Prague*, went to his Country, where he, being protected by the Lord of the soil, continued there preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people, neither yet was he so expelled out of *Prague*, but that sometimes he resorted to his Church at *Bethlem*, and there also preached unto the people.

Moreover, against the said Decree of the Doctors, *John Hus* with his company replied again, and answered to their Articles, with contrary Articles again as followeth.

The Objections of John Hus and of his part against the Decree of the Doctors.

First, The foundation of the Doctors whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Bobeme* is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth fallly of the Sacraments.

2. The Doctors hereby do defame the Kingdom of *Bobeme*, and do raise up new Discords.

3. Let them shew therefore those persons of the Clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verifie their report, binding themselves to suffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

4. False it is that they say the Pope and his Cardinals to be the true and manifest Successors of *Peter* and of the Apostles, and that no other Successors of *Peter* and of the Apostles, can be found upon the Earth besides them. When as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour. And all Bishops and Priests be Successors of *Peter* and of the Apostles.

5. Not the Pope, but Christ only is the Head; and not the Cardinals, but all Christs faithful people be the Body of the Catholick Church, as all holy Scripture and Decrees of the holy Fathers do testifie and affirm.

6. And as touching the Pope, if he be a Reprobate, it is plain that he is no Head, no nor Member also of the holy Church of God, but of the Devil, and of his Synagogue.

7. The Clergy of the Gospellers agreeing with the saying of Saint *Austin* which they alledge, and according to the Sanctions of the Fathers, and determinations of the holy Mother-Church, do say and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45 Articles is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done: and that not only because the Doctors, but also all Bishops and Archbishops, in such great Causes, namely touching Faith (as these Articles do) have no authority at all, as appeareth. *De baptismo & ejus effectu cap. Majores. Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. Hinc sedi, &c.*

8. The second cause of the discord which they alledge also is most false; seeing the Faith of whole *Christendom*, concerning the Church of *Rome*, is divided in three parts by reason of three Popes, which now together do Reign: and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the Pope, and of the Cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the *Old* and *New Testament*, from whence the Sanctions of the Fathers did first spring, as is evident. *De accusationibus cap. Qualiter, &c.*

9. In the fourth Article they braft out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themselves. By reason that they doltishly have reprehended the Gospellers, who in all their doings receive the holy Scripture (which is the Law of God, the way of truth and life) for their judge and measure: and afterward they themselves do alledge the Scripture, *Deut. 17.* where all Judges both Popes and Cardinals are taught to judge and discern between Leper and Leper, and in every Ecclesiastical Cause, only after the

KING the rule of Gods Law. And so are they contrary unto their second Article, wherein they say, That in every Catholick matter we must run to the Pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the Articles aforesaid.

10. Consequently, like Idiots they do most falsely alledge for their purpose the Canon, under the name and authority of *Hierome*, written 24. q. 1. *Hec est fides Papae, &c.* where they do apply the words of *Hierome* most impertinently to the Pope of *Rome*, which he writeth to *S. Austin*, calling him a most blessed Pope.

11. By the which place of *Hierome* it is manifest that the first Article of those Doctors is false. Forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the Bishop of *Rome* and his Cardinals are called blessed Popes, holding the Faith and seat of *Peter*, and are successors of the Apostles, as was *Austin* and other Holy Bishops moe.

12. Whereof it followeth moreover, That the Church of *Rome* is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principal See of his whole Church. For Christ, which was the head Priest of all, did first sit in *Jerusalem*, and *Peter* did sit first in *Antioch*, and afterward in *Rome*. Also other Popes did sit some in *Bonony*, some at *Perusinum*, some at *Avinion*.

13. Item, the foresaid Prelates are falsifiers of the Holy Scriptures and Canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished: Which affirm and say, That we must obey the Pope in all things. For why, it is known that many Popes have erred, and one Pope was also a Woman. To whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to Communicate with them. As all Ruricks, and infinite Canons do declare.

14. Item, Their, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions. And therefore are to be rejected and detested like the other before: Seeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to dissention and falsity.

15. It is manifest also to the Laity, that this dissention among the Clergy riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the Gospel, which reprehendeth such *Simoniacks*, and such Hereticks in the Church of God, as namely haunt the Court of *Rome* spreading out their branches abroad into all the World. Who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the Clergy Gospellers, but also of the Secular Power. And so these three vices, to wit, Symony, Luxury, and Avarice (which is Idol-worship) be the causes of all this Dissention among the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not the other, which they falsely ascribe to the Gospellers of *Prague*. These three vices being removed, Peace and Unity would soon be restored in the Clergy.

16. Moreover, their last Article is too gross, and not only is without all Law, but also without all colour of Law: whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus, That the Processes made against Mr. *John Hus* ought to be obeyed, because forsooth the common sort of the Clergy of *Prague*, hath received them. By the same reason they may argue also, That we must obey the Devil, for our first Parents *Adam* and *Eve* obeyed him. Also our fore-ancestors before us were *Pagans*, wherefore we must obey them, and play also the *Pagans*.

17. But let this frivolous Opinion go, this is certain truth, That the said Processes, made against Mr. *John Hus*, by Law are none. Forasmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the Commission of the Pope, against the determination of the holy Mother-Church, as appeareth *Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom.* and a Thousand other Laws besides.

18. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately do defend and execute (the said Process made) or consenteth unto them, are all to be counted as Blasphemers, Excommunicate, and Hereticks, as hath been afore written and exhibited to the Lord General Bishop *Olomucense*. And more shall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the Doctors. *Ex Anna Sylvi. & Cochlaeo.*

¶ Unto these Objections of *John Hus* and his part, the Catholick Doctors again did answer in a long tedious Process; The scope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the Pope, and to maintain his obedience

above all other Potentates in the World; affirming and contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in Purgatory, and which are labouring in the Church Militant, and which are resting in Heaven, yet this letteth not, but the Pope is Head of the Church here Militant, that is, of all the faithful, which here in this World live under his office. Like as Christ is King of all kings, and yet *Charles* may be King of *France*: so say they, Christ may be the Universal Head, and yet the Pope may be Head under Him of the whole Church; And thus concluded they that the Pope is the Head, and that the College of Cardinals is the Body of the *Romish* Church, which Church of *Rome* is placed in the Ecclesiastical Office here over the Earth, to know and define upon every Ecclesiastical and Catholick matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all such Universal matters, and care upon all Universal Churches, and upon the Universal flock of faithful Christians. Forasmuch as in the Regiment of the Church through the Universal World, there must needs remain in such Office always some such manifest and true successors of *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles and of the College of the other Apostles of Christ; neither can there be found or given upon Earth any other successors, but only the Pope which is the Head, and the College of Cardinals, which is the body of the foresaid Church of *Rome*. And although the whole Universal multitude of the faithful do make the Body of Christ, yet the same Body of Christ is not placed here in Office to exercise such Authority upon Earth. Because that Universal multitude was never yet, nor ever can be congregate together.

And therefore necessary it is, That some such true and manifest Successors and Judges be appointed, to whom recourse must be had in all such Catholick and Ecclesiastical matters determinable. For like as in Earthly Regiments every cause of discord is brought before his Judge, and hath his place assigned where to be decided: so like reason would require, that in principal matters and controversies of Faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to have such doubts resolved. And this being granted, then the Doctors proceed, and here must needs conclude (say they) that there cannot be given in all the World any other place, but only the Church of *Rome*; the Head whereof is the Pope, and the Body is the College of Cardinals. For like as Christ, departing out of this World in his Corporal presence, left his Body here with us under the Sacrament in an other form, whereby he remaineth with us (according to his Promise, *Mar. ult.*) unto the consummation of the World: even so Christ walkt here on Earth in his Bodily presence, he was Pope himself and Chief Bishop, and so Head of the Church here Militant in Earth, corporally conjoynd with the same, as the Head is to his Body. But after that he departed out of the World, because his Body which is the Church Militant upon the Earth, should not be headless, therefore he left *Peter* and his Successors to his Church, for an Head in his place, unto the consummation of the World, saying to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, &c. Matth. 16.* And again he saith, *Feed my sheep*, *Joan. ult.* That is to say, Be thou *Peter* the Head over thy Brethren.

Tedious it were, to recite all the bible babble of these Doctors in this their long responsal. Who so listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the History of *Silvius*, or else to *Matter Cochleus*, in his first Book, *De Hist. Hussi.*

Thus then Master *John Hus* being driven out of *Prague* (as is afore touched) by the motion of these Doctors, and moreover being so Excommunicate, that no Mass nor other must be said there where he was present: the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the Prelates and other Popish Priests, which were the workers thereof, accusing them to be *Simoniacks*, Covetous, Whoremasters, Adulterers, Proud, sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignomy and shame: And much craving Reformation to be had of the Clergy.

The King seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the Clergy, under pretence to reform the Church, began to require greater exactions upon such Priests and Men of the Clergy, as were known and accused to be wicked livers. Where-

As *Charles* may be King of *France*; so also we grant, the Pope may be Bishop of *Italy*, and so it is a good consequence. He may so be if God had so appointed him, but where doth he so appoint?

Ex *Cochlaeo* in *Hist. Hussi.* Catholick, that is, Universal.

If ye go to human policy, who ever saw any private case of *England*, brought to the Emperors Court to be decided? If ye go to Gods policy, then shew Gods Word for it.

The promise of Christ Doctorly applied.

O deep Divinity of these Doctors.

Vide *Anna Sylvi. & Cochleum. De Hist. Hussi. lib. 2.*

The Priests
of Bohemia
displayed
and taxed
for their
ill life.

upon they on the other part that favoured *John Hus*, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the Catholick Faction, or enemies to *John Hus*. By reason whereof the Priests of the Popish Clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear. Inasmuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means *M. Hus* began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his Church at *Bethlehem*, and none did control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the King much gain and Money by that reason.

The Popish
Doctors and
Priests o-
verthrown
in their
own reason.

And thus the Popish Clergy, while they went about to persecute *John Hus*, were inwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of Laymen, as of learned Men of the Clergy. Inasmuch that Women also and Children were against them. And by the same reason, wherewith they thought to intangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the Doctors which before condemned this Doctrine in *John Hus* for intolerable Heresie, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that Temporal Lords might take away Temporal Livings from the Clergy sinning *habitualliter*, that is, Lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now when the King and the Lords Temporal began to mearse them and bereave them of their Temporalities for their transgressions, the said Doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word. Again, where the foresaid Doctors before could not abide in *John Hus*, that Tithes were to be counted for pure Alms, now coming to the *Guid-Hall*, they were fain to intreat for their Temporal Goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same Temporalities to be meer Alms and Devotion of good Men, given unto the Church. *Ex Cochleae.*

Stephen Pa-
letz, An-
drew Broda,
wrote against
John Hus.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more that the Popes Clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to *John Hus*, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for the which cause *Stephen Paletz*, and *Andreas de Broda*, being the chief Champions of that Faction, though they would not remedy the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel Letters to Master *Hus*. And to help the matter forward, the People also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his Letters to *Wenceslaus King of Bohemia*, which was Brother to *Sigismund Emperor*, for the suppressing of *John Hus* and of his Doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last year of his Popedom, Anno. 1414. The tenor of whose Letters to King *Wenceslaus* in this wise proceedeth.

The Letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus.

The Letter
of Pope
John to
King Wen-
ceslaus.

JOHN Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his wel-beloved Son in Christ, *Wenceslaus, King of Romans and of Bohemia*, greeting and Apostolical Benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, represent the room of Christ here in Earth: this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and concord (by which concord Kingdoms do increase, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honour and our wel-beloved Son in the Lord, *Sigismund your Brother Germain and Cousin*, for the noble King of the Romans, &c. And furthermore it followeth in these words; And as we have cause to joy at the premises; so likewise again the heavy rumors which are here, do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under our dominion, there be certain which do follow and lean to the errors of that Arch-Heretic *Wickliff*, whose Books have been long since condemned in the general Roman Council, to be Erroneous, Heretical, and swerving from the Catholick Faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons cleaving to the opinions of the Hereticks (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excess, to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the Apostolical Seat) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the Keys and Ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of

the Apostolical Dignity, setting at naught the Decrees of the Holy Fathers and Canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will (so effectually) to shew forth your Regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the Catholick Faith (which you go about to defend) and for the conservation of your Kingly Name, state and honour, for the prosperous and safe government of your Kingdom and Dominions, as it becometh a Catholick Prince; whereby this blot of Heresie (which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal Men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the Congregation of the pure and Catholick Faith and Truth) may be rooted out, &c.

Given at *Bononia* in the Ides of June, in the fifth year of our Popedom, &c.

In this Epistle of Pope *John* above prefixed, soformuch as mention is made of a certain Council before holden at *Rome* (which was four years before) against the Articles and Books of *John Wickliff*, it shall not be impertinent nor out of purpose to repeat a certain merry History and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by *Nicholas Clemangis* of a certain Spirit, which ruled the Popish Councils; his words are these.

The same Pope called a Council at *Rome* about four years before, at the earnest sute of diverse men. And a Mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said Council, (according to the accustomed manner) the Council being set, and the said *John* sitting highest in a Chair prepared for him for that purpose: Behold, an ugly and dreadful Owl, or as the common Proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro, with her evil favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the Church, cast her staring eyes upon the Pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel, to see the Night-Crow, which is wont to abide no light, how he should in the mid-day come in the face of such a multitude, and judged (not without cause) that it was an illfavoured token. For behold, said they (whispering one in anothers ear) The Spirit appeareth in the shape of an Owl. And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the Pope, scarcely could they keep their countenance from laughter. *John* himself, upon whom the Owl stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat and to fret and fume with himself, and not finding by what other means he might save the matter, being so confused, dissolving the Council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another Session: In the which Owl again, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking stedfastly upon the Bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before (and justly) saying, he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with bates and shoutings: But she being afraid neither with their noise, neither with any thing else, would not away, until that with the strokes of the sticks, which were thrown down at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful Friend, who at the same time came to *Rome*: the which thing I scarcely crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his Oath, that it was most certain and true: adding moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that Council called for such a purpose, and by little and little the Council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith. Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual Doves have been present with Popes and their Councils, and governed them; yet their evil Doctime declareth no less. Read gentle Reader, the Book of *Clemangis*, and thou shalt not think thy labor evil bestowed. For he hath both learnedly, trule, freely, and godly bewrayed the filthiness of Antichrist, and his Ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the Church, &c. And thus much for Pope *John*.

The story
of an Owl
appearing
at the
Council of
Pope John,
Ex Nic. Cle-
mangis.

The

{KING}
{Hus.}

The description of the Popes Councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monstrous Owle, to the utter defacing of the Pope, and all his clergie.



The Council of Constance.

The Council of Constance.

HERE by the way is to be noted and understood, that during all this time of Pope John, there were three Popes reigning together, neither was yet the Schism ceased, which so long time had continued, the space (as I said) of 29 years. By reason whereof a general Council was ordained and holden at Constance in the same year, Anno. 1414. being called by Sigismund the Emperor, and Pope John the three and twentieth, for the pacifying of the foresaid Schism, which was then between three Popes, striving for the Popedom. The first whereof was John, whom the Italians set up. The second was Gregory, whom the French-men set up. The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this Schismatical ambitious conflict, every one defended his Pope, to the great disturbance of Christian Nations. This Council endureth four years long, wherein all their matters were decided most by four Nations, to say, the English, German, French, and Italian Nation. Out of which four Nations were appointed and chosen four Presidents to judge and determine the matters of the Council. The names of which Presidents were these; John the Patriarch of Antioch for France, Anthony Archbishop of Rigen for Italy, Nicholas Archbishop of Genesensis for Germany, and Nicholas Bishop of Bath for England; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publick profit, might have been concluded, if the rotten flesh of Churchmen could have bidden the salt of the Gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But as Gregorius Nazianzenus writeth, there lightly come few general Councils, but they end more with disturbance, than tranquillity: so it happened in this Council. For whereas John the 23th. in the first Session exhorteth them by these words taken out of the eighth of Zachary, *Veritatem diligite*, that is to say, *Love the truth*, further monishing them, and specially the Divines, every Man to do his endeavour for the unity of the Church, and to speak their mind freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the Prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appear hereafter in the process of this story. First this John did resign his Papacy; the Emperor giving him thanks kissed his feet.

Afterward the said John repenting him that he had so done; sought means to flee, whereunto Frederick Duke

of Austria did assist him; for he changing his Garments fled by night with a small company. And when he was now come unto Schaff-House to go into Italy, the Emperor pursuing, took him, and proclaimed Frederick Traitor, and for that cause took away certain Cities from him. At the last the matter was appeased under this condition, that Frederick should require grace of the Emperor, and resign all his possessions unto him. Whereupon the Emperor received him again into favor, and restored him to his Dukedom: This Pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the County Palatine, and by him carried to the Castle of Manheim, where he was kept prisoner by the space of three years. Afterward he was again by Pope Martin admitted to the number of Cardinals.

Duke Frederick of Austria proclaimed a Traitor.

Pope John taken and cast into prison.

This Pope John was deposed by the decree of the Council, more than three and forty most grievous and hainous crimes being objected and proved against him; as that he had hired Marculus Permenis a Phylitian to poison Alexander his predecessor. Further, that he was an Heretick, a Simoniak, a Liar, an Hypocrite, a Murtherer, an Inchanter, a Dice-player, an Adulterer, and a Sodomite, and finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

Mark the good qualities of Pope John.

And now to return unto the Council, first we will declare the order of their Sessions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will (Christ willing) adjoyn the special tractation of such matters, as pertain to the story of the Bobemians, and John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, who in the same ungodly Council were condemned and burned.

This Council therefore of Constance, which was summoned by the Emperor Sigismund, and Pope John the 23d. about the Nativity of our Lord Jesus, An. 1414. began the same year to be assembled about the later end of the year. Which first beginning, as the manner is, with a Mass of the Holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custom their Hymn, *Veni sancte spiritus*, there was at the same time a certain Bill set up in the Church by some well disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following; *Aliis rebus occupati nunc adesse vobis non possumus*, that is to say, *We are otherwise occupied at this time, we cannot intend to come to you*. Here is also to be remembered the worthy saying of the Emperor Sigismund, when talk was ministred as touching the reformation of spirituality, and some said, *quod oporteat incipere a Minoritis*, that is, the reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites; the Emperor answering again,

A writing set up how the Holy Ghost had no leisure to come to the Council of Constance. The worthy answer of the Emperor touching the order of reformation.

Non a Minoritis, sed a Majoritis; that is, *Not with the Minorities*, saith he, *but with the Majorities*: Meaning the Reformation ought first to begin with the Pope, Cardinals and Bishops, and other superior states of the Church; and so to descend after to the inferiours. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the Sessions as we promised. The which Council continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of four years, and had in it five and forty Sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as the depolition of three several Popes, which were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain Legates. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the Sessions orderly ensuing.

1. In the first Session chiefly was concluded, First, That this Council was lawfully Congregate.

2. 2d. Item, That the going away of the Pope should be no let or stay, but the Council might proceed.

Note by this example, the authority of Councils preferred before the Pope.

¶ Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the General Council is above the Pope, contrary to their own Doctrine.

3d. Item, This Council should not be dissolved before the Church were reformed, as well in the superiors as inferiours.

3. In the 4th. Session amongst other things, this was first concluded; That a Synod Congregate in the Holy Ghost, making a General Council, representing the whole Catholick Church here Militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea, being the Pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the Church, as well in the heads, as in the subjects.

{ Anno }
1415.

Item, The said Pope should not translate the Court of Rome, and the Officers of the same Court, from the City of Constance. And that all his censures, doings and workings after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprize to do to the prejudice of this Council, should be no effect.

5. In the 5th. Session the same Articles were repeated and concluded again.

6. In the 6th. Session procurator and citation was sent out against the Pope.

Commissioners appointed to hear John Hus.

Item, Commissioners were appointed out of the four Nations for the hearing of John Hus, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following.

Item, The memory of John Wickliff was condemned, and the sentence, given in the Council holden at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's Books, was there confirmed.

Citation granted against Hierome of Prague.

Item, In the same Session, Citation was sent out against Hierome of Prague, the tenor whereof followeth after in the story of the said Hierome.

Item, In this Session was Decreed against Libels of infamy.

7. In the 7th. Session, nothing was handled, but that tenor of the Citation against Pope John was recited.

8. In the 8th. Session, the Sentence and Condemnation of John Wickliff, and his 45. Articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the History of John Wickliff before passed.

9. In the 9th. Session, the matter and cause of Pope John was again intreated, and Commissioners appointed to enquire upon his cause, and Judges for the same.

10. In the 10th. Session, suspension was given out and read against the said Pope.

11, 12. In the 11th. and 12th. Sessions, Notaries were assigned and definitive sentence given against the said Pope: where also it was decreed that none of them, that intended before for the Papacy, should be chosen Pope.

13. In the 13th. Session was Decreed, *Quod nullus Presbyter sub pana Excommunicationis Communicet populo sub utraque specie panis & vini*; That is, *That no Priest under pain of Excommunication shall Communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.*

The people of Christ Excommunicated from the Communion of the Holy Cup.

14. In the 14th. Session came in the resignation of Pope Gregory the 12th. which was one of the three before mentioned, striving for the Papacy, with certain other Articles concerning the Election of the Bishop of Rome, and

the ratification of their resigning, which gave other the Papacy. { KING }
Hen. 5.

15. Then ensueth the 15th. Session, in the which silence was commanded on all parts under pain of Excommunication and the great curse, that no person or persons high or low, of what estate or degree soever he were, Emperor, King, Cardinal or other, should disturb the said Session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Hus was read and published, which after in the story of John Hus followeth to be seen more at large.

16. In the 16th. Session, Ambassadors were assigned by the Council to go into Arragon to Benedictus the 13th. to treat with him for the resignation of his Papacy, as the other two had done before.

Item, Power was given to Judges to cite under pain of deprivation, all such as privily departed away from the Council; in the which Session also the sentence against John Hus was confirmed and ratified.

17. The Emperor's journey into Arragon.

In the 17th. Session, the Emperor took upon him a journey to the King of Arragon, to treat with Pope Benedictus. An Excommunication denounced against all such as should go about to impeach the Emperor's journey, about that matter, &c.

Item, Prayers and Processions were determined to be made by the Council every Sunday for the same cause, with an hundred days of pardon given to them that would be present thereat; and that all Prelates should be present at every of these said Masses and Processions in their Pontificalibus. Granting besides to every Priest that said one Mass, for the same a hundred days of pardon: And to all other that once a day should say one *Pater noster*, and one *Ave*, for the safety of the Emperor, forty days of pardon.

Pardons were here dog cheap.

18. In the 18th. Session certain Judges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the Council had no leisure to hear.

It was there also decreed, That such Letters and Bulls, as were written in the name of that Council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the Bulls proceeding from the See Apostolical, and that the falsifiers of the same should incur no less penalty, than the falsifiers of the other. Legates also and Ambassadors were sent into Italy.

19. In the 19th. Session, which was the same year in the month of September, Hierome of Prague, who was cited as is before said, was accused of Heresie, and cast into prison by the said Council, and constrained to abjure. The which his abjuration hereafter followeth to be seen in his History.

Item, It was decreed, *Quod non obstantibus salvis conductibus Imperatoris, Regum, &c. possit per judicem competentem de heretica pravitate inquiri, &c.* That is, Notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the Emperor and Kings, &c. Inquiry may be made against any Man for Heresie by a sufficient Judge, and Process to be made according to the Law.

Constitution Judicium

The causes of Heresies were committed to certain Judges and Deputies.

Item, The Chart called *Carolina*, and divers other Charts and constitutions concerning the Liberties of the Church of Rome, being brought forth were approved and confirmed.

And how chanceth it that the Chart of Constantine his donation, is not here mentioned?

20. In the 20th. Session, Letters and Instruments were made and set upon Church doors, to require and admonish Duke Frederick to restore again unto George Bishop of Austria, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of Interditement, Suspending and Excommunicating.

Provide that the Churchmen lose nothing in no case.

During the time of this Session, the Ambassadors returned out of Arragon from Pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; whereas certain Articles and conditions between the Pope and the Council were brought forth and agreed upon to the number of twelve.

21. Ann. 1416.

In the year of our Lord 1416. was the 21st. Session, beginning after their manner with a Mass of the Holy Ghost, with Procession and such other Rites, in the time of which Mass, James Bishop of Lundy made a Sermon, taking for his Theam these words; *Exprobravit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam*: That is, *The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardness*; &c. This Sermon being ended,

KING
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Jerome of
Prague re-
pelled again
the Sermon
of the Bi-
shop of
Londy.

ended, *Jerom* of *Prague* which had Abjured as is said the year before, being present thereat, stood up upon a certain bench or form, replying against the foresaid *Janes* and his Sermon, alleding and preaching divers and sundry things, whereupon the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, one of the Commissioners proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which he had in writing against the said *Jerom*; which sentence being read and approved by the Council (the tenor whereof ensueth in his History) the said *Jerom* was delivered unto the Secular Power, and burned.

22, 23. The 22d and 23d Sessions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the Ambassadors of *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*, and granting them voices in the Council.

24. In the 24th Session, Citation was given out against *Benedict*, keeping with *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*.

25. The 25th Session containeth nothing but a certain *Com-mendam* given to the Church of *Olemucensis*.

26. In the 26th Session there was nothing else handled, but the Uniting and Incorporating of the Ambassadors of the King of *Navar* into the Council, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

27, 28. After this followed the 27th and 28th Sessions, which were in the year 1417. Wherein was treated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt Duke *Frederick* and the Bishop of *Trident*, and Proceſs given out against the said Duke, accusing him of Sacrilege; and also Excommunicating him for not obeying the Admonition of the Council; concerning the usurpation and detaining of the City of *Trident*, and other Possessions from Bishop *George*, as is before specified.

29, 30. In the 29th and 30th Sessions, Protectors and Notaries were given out in the cause against Pope *Benedict*, and Order Decreed upon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the King of *Arragon* from the same Pope was recited, and approved by the Council.

31. In the 31st Session, certain Instruments and special Letters Monitory were directed from the Council to a certain Earl of *Italy*, named *Comes Virtutum*, for laying violent hands upon *Albert* Bishop of *Asce*, and for bringing him to Prison; requiring the said Earl, under pain of Interdiction and Excommunication, to set the said Bishop at liberty. Also another Decree was set forth for restoring again the liberties of the Church of *Baron*.

32, 33. In the 32d and 33d Sessions, the accusation of Pope *Benedict* was renewed, and his obstinacy accused, and witness brought in; at which thing doing the Emperor *Sigismund* was present.

34. In the 34th Session, the cause of the foresaid Pope was heard, and Proceſs given out against him.

35. In the 35th Session, the Ambassadors of the King of *Castile* were brought in, and united to the Council, and Instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the Oaths made to the foresaid Pope, Men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

36. In the 36th Session, a certain Citation was made and read against the Pope, containing his deprivation, and the sentence against him, and Instruments made upon the same. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his Curses, Deprivations and Excommunications against them; the said Synod did adnihilate all his doings.

37. The 37th Session did renew again the accusation of the foresaid Pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

38. In the 38th Session certain Decrees were made touching the adnihilating of the penalties of the Ambassadors of King *Henry*, Son of *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*. Also, another Decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the Ambassadors of the King of *Arragon*.

Thus Pope *Benedict* being Deposed and Excommunicated, as is aforeſaid, in the next Sessions following they addressed themselves to the Election of a new Pope, beginning first in the 39th Session, to give out Decrees concerning General Councils, and provision for the avoiding of such like Schisms hereafter. Decreeing every tenth year to have a General Council, after the two Councils that should follow immediately after this; of the which, the one should be kept within five years then next following, and the second within seven years after that.

Item, In the same Session was drawn out a form touching such things as the Pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his Election, of the which Form the Order and Tenor is this:

J. N. Elected for Pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whose Church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to blessed *St. Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy Catholick Faith after the traditions of the Apostles, of General Councils, and of other holy Fathers, and namely of the eight General Councils: *Nicene* the first, the second of *Constantinople*, *Ephesine* the third, *Chalcedon* the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in *Constantinople*, the seventh of *Nice*, the eighth of *Constantinople*. And also of the General Councils of *Lateran*, *Lions*, and *Vienna*, willing to observe the same Faith unviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood; and also by all means possible to prosecute and observe the Rite of the Sacraments Canonically delivered to the Catholick Church. And this my Profession and Confession, by my commandment being written out by the Notary of the Arches of the holy Church of *Rome*, I have subscribed with mine own hand, and sincerely with a pure mind and devout conscience I offer it unto the Almighty God upon such an Altar, &c. In the presence of such witnesses, &c. *Seven*, &c.

It was also Decided in this Session, That no Prelates should be translated against their wills.

The third of the same month and the same year, followed the 40th Session, wherein certain Decrees were constitute and read, as touching Reformatiōs to be made through the whole Church by the Pope that next should be, with the Council, before this Synod should break up.

Item, That they should so proceed to the Election of the Bishop of *Rome*, notwithstanding the absence of those Cardinals which were with Pope *Benedict* in *Spain*. This done, the order and manner was Decreed for the Election of the Pope.

After these things thus Decreed; in the next Session, which was 41, the Constitution of *Clement* the sixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the Cardinals being then in the Conclave about the chusing of the Pope; and upon the same, Oaths were Ministered unto the Cardinals and other Electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the Election.

First, That they should enter into the Conclave within ten days after the fortieth Session, which was this present day after sun-set.

Secondly, That every Cardinal should have but two servants attending upon him at the most, either of the Laity or Clergy, as they would themselves.

Thirdly, That they should remain together in the said Conclave, without any Wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save only bare Curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

Fourthly, That the Conclave should so be shut up, and the entry to the Privy-Chamber be kept so straightly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any Man to come to them, except by the consent of them all certain should be called about matters concerning the Election.

Fifthly, That no Man should send to them either Messenger or Writings.

Sixthly, That a competent Window should be assigned unto them to receive in their Victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

Seventhly, That no day after their first ingress into the Conclave, beside Bread, Wine, and Water, they should have any more Dishes but one of one only kind, either of Flesh or Fish, Eggs, Portage, made of Fish or Flesh, not after the daintiest sort, beside Sallets, Cheese, Fruit, and Conſerves, whereof there shall be no principal Meſs made but for sauce and taste.

Eighthly, That not one should be compelled to go into the Conclave; but if they did all refuse to go in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

The Profession which the Pope is bound to.

40:

41:

The order and manner of the Conclave in chusing the Pope.

Nimbly, That such as would go out, might; but if they would all go out before the Pope were Elect, they should be compelled to go in again, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmity, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenibly, That such as went out by reason of infirmity, to be absent, and return before the Election be determined, may be admitted again into the Conclave in the same state wherein they shall find the Election to stand.

Further and besides, the Keepers of the Conclave should also be Sworn to see all these Premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the Cardinals and other Electors above the order here taken.

And if the King be there himself, sitting in his Throne of Estate, he should receive the same Oath of the Cardinals.

Upon this, such as should be Electors, beside the Cardinals were chosen.

These were wise Cardinals, they would not go into the Conclave, but they would be sure to have their Goods safe and unspoiled.

Furthermore, forasmuch as the Goods and substance of such as were Elect, were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them: whereupon under the pretence of the same, many did invade the Goods of the Cardinals, and others which were in the Conclave, falsely faining them to be Elects which were not to be Elects. To stop the greedy ravening of such, a Decree also was published in the same Session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the Cardinals and other Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors, with other Electors, entering into the Conclave upon Monday, on Thursday after they had hatched out a Pope, being *St. Martins* even, whereupon they named him *Martin*. This *Martin* thus being Elect, was straightway brought in by the Emperor and the Council into the Church of *Constance*, and there inthronized for Pope, not without great Solemnity and Triumph. The twenty first day of the said Month, this foresaid *Martin*, according to their accustomed Pomp, was honourably brought in to be Crowned with sumptuous Procession from the high Church of *Constance*, unto the Monastery of *St. Austin*: the Emperor on Foot leading his Horse by the Bridle on the right hand, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg* Prince Elector likewise leading his Horse on the left hand, the Pope himself riding in the midst upon his Palfrey.

And thus being brought into the Monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about again from thence to the high Church of *Constance*, he was there Crowned with all Magnificence.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this Council, more great than wise, did not end thus: for in the next Session, which was the forty second, came out a Decree in the name of the Pope and the Council, discharging the bond of the Emperor and the County Palatine, touching the safe custody of Pope *John*, who was by Bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

43. Apparel of the Clergy.

In the 43d Session, certain other Decrees and Statutes were made by Pope *Martin* in the said Synod, annullating and reprovng all the Acts and proceedings of the other Popes before, during the time of the Schism from the time of *Gregory* the eleventh. As in matters concerning Exemptions, Unions, Fruits and Profits of the Church, Benefices, Symony, Dispensations, Tithes, and other burthens of the Church. Also concerning the Apparel of the Clergy, and such other things.

44.

In the 44th Session, the sage Fathers of this Council were occupied about the determining what place the next Council should be kept in. The forty fifth Session brake up and dissolved this Synod.

45.

Now to finish our tedious rehearsal of this Synod, The Cardinal *Umbald*, by the commandment of the Pope and the Council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words: *Domini ite in pace*; which is, Lords depart in peace; whereunto the standers by answered, *Amen*.

Thus the Council being dissolved, Frier *John* Bishop of *Casthan*, by the consent and commandment of the Pope and the Council, went up into the Pulpit to make a Sermon, taking for his Theme, *Vos autem tristitiam*

habetis; iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrum, You are now in sadness, I will see you again, and then your hearts shall rejoyce. The which Collation being ended, another Cardinal named *Anthony*, was sent up by the Pope and the Council, with his Proclamation; First, to dismiss the Synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Also to declare the Popes Indulgence unto them, who by the Authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that Council, full Absolution once in their life: so that every one, within two months after the hearing of this Indulgence, should procure the same in form of writing. Also, another Indulgence was granted in like manner of Plenary remission at the hour of death, and that was understood as well of the Household, as of the Masters themselves. But under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole year every Friday, for the Absolution in their life time: And for the Absolution at the hour of death, to fast the same Friday another year, except they had some lawful impediment to the contrary, so that after the second year, they should fast unto their lives end, or else do some other good work. The which being in this manner proclaimed, the Synod brake up, and every man departed home.

The number of the Foreigners resorting to this Council, both Spiritual and Temporal, was 60500, whereof the number of Archbishops and Bishops, was 346.

Abbots and Doctors, 564.

Secular Men { Princes, Dukes, Earls, Knights, Esquires, } 16000.

Besides common Women belonging to the same Council, 450.

Barbars, 600. Minstrels, Cooks, and Jesters 320.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the Town of *Constance*, between *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, were numbred to be 60500 strangers and foreigners at that Council.

Here is to be noted that in this Council of *Constance* nothing was Decreed or Enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the Popes Authority is under the Council, and that the Council ought to judge the Pope.

And as touching the Communion in both kinds, although the Council did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding by the same Council it was Decreed to the contrary.

Hitherto we have comprehended the Order and Discourse of this Council, with the Acts and Sessions concerning the same; which Council, although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the Schism between the three Popes, yet notwithstanding a great part thereof was for the cause of the *Bohemians*, and especially for *John Hus*, as appeared by their preparation before the Council. For before the Council began, the Emperor *Sigismund* aforesaid sent certain Gentlemen *Bohemians* which were of his own Household, giving them in charge to bring *John Hus* Bachelor of Divinity, unto the said Council, and that under his safe conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, That *John Hus* should purge and clear himself of the blame which they had laid against him: and for the more better assurance, the Emperor did not only promise him safe conduct, that he might come freely unto *Constance*, but also that he should return again into *Bohemia*, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole Empire. For the same only cause the Emperor sent him afterwards the said safe conducts double written, both in *Latin* and *Almain*; the form whereof doth hereafter ensue.

¶ *Sigismund by the Grace of God King of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, &c. To all Princes as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls, Barons, Captains, Borough-masters, Judges, and Governors, Officers of Towns, Burghesses and Villages, and unto all Rulers of the Commonalty, and generally to all the Subjects of our Empire, to whom these Letters shall come, grace and all goodnes.*

{ KING } { H. 5. }

Small here Reader, this made well for the Popes party.

Ex Paralipomenis Ab. b. 1. 1. 1.

The number of Prelates in the Council of Constance.

Common Women in the Council of Constance. 60500 strangers at the Council of Constance. The general Council about the Pope. Communion in both kinds denied by this Council.

THE KING
The late
conduct of
the John
Hus.

We charge and command you all, That you have respect unto John Hus, the which is departed out of Bohemia, to come unto the General Council; the which shall be celebrate and bolden very shortly at the Town of Constance. The which John Hus we have received under our protection and safeguard of the whole Empire, desiring you that you will cheerfully receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, shewing him favour and good will, and shew him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardness, ease, and assurance of his journey, as well by Land as by Water.

Moreover, we Will, That he and all his company, with his carriage and necessities, shall pass throughout all Places, Passages, Ports, Bridges, Lands, Governances, Lordships, Liberties, Cities, Towns, Bourgages, Castles and Villages, and all other your Dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or Dane-money, Peage, Tribute, or any other manner of Toll whatsoever it be. We Will also, That you suffer to pass, rest, tarry, and to sojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him without, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our Imperial Majesty. Given at Spire the 18th of October, in the year of our Lord God 1414.

By this it may appear, That this safe conduct was granted not in the time of the Council by the Bishop, but before the Council by the Emperor: who was or ought to be the Principal Ordainer and Director of the Council under God. Now whether the Bishops did well in breaking and annulling this promise of the Emperor, against the Emperors mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth *Ad materiam juris, non facti*, being a matter rather of Law than of Story, I will defer to reason this case with Mr. Cope, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Notwithstanding briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said Cope, how frivolous and false they be, and easie to be refuted. What (saith he) if he preached by the way coming up? First, That it is false, *vide infra*. What (saith he) if he stood obstinate in his Heresie? What if he sought to escape away after his coming up? To this the Lords of Bohemia do answer, That this safe conduct was broken, and he Imprisoned not only before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for an Heretick, but also before he was heard of the Council what he was. *Vide infra*.

Further, where Cope saith, that the General Council was above the Emperor, and hath power in case of Heresie to break publick Leagues and Grants; To that I say, That this safe conduct stood not only upon the Emperor, but also upon the consent of the Pope himself. *Vide infra*.

And admit that to be true, That the Council had power to make this Decree, to break promise with Hereticks; yet this cannot be denied; but that John Hus was condemned and judged before that Decree in the nineteenth Session was made. Finally when Cope hath proved by what Scripture the Councils have power to defeat the Authority of their Emperors in such Secular Causes touching safe conducts, and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose again of the story.

John Hus seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the Emperor had given unto him, sent answer unto the Emperor, that he would come unto the Council. But before he departed out of the Realm of Bohemia, and specially out of the Town of Prague; he did write certain Bills long enough afore, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian Language, and *Almain*, and caused them to be set and fastned upon the Gates of the Cathedral Churches and Parish Churches, Cloisters and Abbies, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the General Council at Constance, wherefore if any man have any suspicion of his Doctrine, that he should declare it before the Lord Conrad, or Bishop of Prague, or if he had rather, at the General Council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his Faith. The example of his Letters and Intimations set up, were these; the Copy whereof here followeth:

The Letters of John Hus set up in common places of the City of Prague.

After John Hus, Bachelor of Divinity, will appear before the most reverend Father the Lord Conrad, Archbishop of Prague, and Legate of the Apostolick Seat, in their next Convocation of all their Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of Bohemia, being ready always to satisfy all Men which shall require him to give a reason of his Faith and Hope that he holdeth, and to bear and see all such as will lay unto his charge, either any stubbornness of Error or Heresie, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by Gods Law and Mans. And if so be that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornness of Error or Heresie against him, that then they should suffer the like punishment that he should have had; unto whom all together he will answer the next General Council at Constance, before the Archbishop and the Prelates, and according to the Decrees and Canons of the Holy Fathers, shew forth his innocency in the Name of Christ. Dated the Sunday next after the Feast of St. Bartholomew.

Letters of
John Hus
set up.

The intimations following, were drawn out of the Bohemian Tongue.

I Master John Husnerz do signify unto all Men, That I am ready to come and stand before the face of my Lord the Archbishop, and to answer to all things whereof I am falsly accused in the next Convocation of Bachelors; and chiefly to this point, That in many places they do report me to be an Heretick, not having respect unto Justice or Law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore since that you, which do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the Lord Archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and shew forth what false Doctrine or other things ye have heard me teach, contrary to the Catholick Faith; and if that I shall be found faulty in never so small a matter, contrary or against the Faith of Christ, or in any false Doctrine, and that I do chuse that or other things contrary to the Faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as an Heretick. And if there be no Man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once again I say unto you, That I am ready to appear at Constance in the famous Congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the Divines, even before the face of the Pope. Therefore whosoever knoweth any false Doctrine contrary to the Faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and shew it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay against me, and for my part I will not be slack, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good Men therefore which love the truth, say now whether by these my words I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the Law of God or Man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifest unto all men, that it hapneth not through my fault the same day.

Another intimation of
John Hus,
set up for
his going to
Constance.

The offer
of John Hus
to his Enemies.
miles.

This Epistle which followeth was set upon the Gates of the Kings Palace, Translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian Tongue.

Unto the Kings Majesty, the Queen, and to all such as are of his Council, and to all other Rulers and Magistrates, which now are in the Kings Court, I John Hus do signify and publish, That I have understood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be Letters brought from the Pope to the Kings Majesty; the Contents whereof is this: That the Kings Majesty should bring to pass, that the Hereticks which were now lately sprung up in his Kingdom and Dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forso much as without any desert, as I trust by Gods Grace the same or noise is sprung and blown abroad; it shall be

A writing
of John Hus
at the Kings
Gates.

Al. Cope.

Answer to
Al. Cope.

John Hus
taketh the
Emperors
safe con-
duct.

our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the Kings Majesty, neither the noble Kingdom of Bohemia, should be driven to bear or suffer any reproach or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my Letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up to this intent, that I might thereby cause the Archbishop to be careful and diligent about the matter, signifying openly, that if there were any Man in all Bohemia, which did know me to be a follower of any false or corrupt Doctrine, he should profess his name in the Archbishops Court, and there shew forth and declare what he thought. And forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuse me, the Archbishop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the Kings Majesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the Queen and their Counsellors, and all other Rulers and Magistrates, that they would give me a faithful Testimonial of this matter: forasmuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no Man hath either accused me or troubled me. I do it moreover to be known unto all Bohemia, and to all Nations, That I will be present even at the first time before the Council of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the Pope, the Pope being President; and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the Faith of Christ, let him come hither also, let him declare there before or in the presence of the Pope, and all the Doctors of Divinity, what erroneous and false Doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. More, if he shall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the Christian Faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for an Heretick. But I hope and trust even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving Men, the which do willingly kick and spurn against the truth.

The same time John Hus sent his procurers to the Lord Bishop of Nazareth, Ordained by the Apostolick See, Inquisitor of Heresie of the City and Diocess of Prague, requiring him, That if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said Bishop before the said procurer, and the publick Notary, with many other credible Witnesses, answered, That he had often talked with John Hus, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a goodly and faithful Man; and this his Testimony of John Hus, he approved by his Letters, the Copy whereof is here under written.

¶ The Bishop of Nazareth his Testimonial.

The Testimony of the good Bishop of Nazareth.

The Bishop of Nazareth witnesseth with John Hus.

WE Nicholas by the Grace of God Bishop of Nazareth, and Inquisitor, specially deputed by the Apostolick Seat, for Heresies both of the City and Diocess of Prague, by these Presents do it to be known unto all Men, that we in times past have often commanded and talked with that honourable Man Master John Hus, Bachelor of Divinity, of the famous University of Prague, and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters, and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a Faithful and a Catholick Man, finding no manner of evil, sinister, or by any means erroneous doings in him unto this present. We do witness and protest moreover, how the said John Hus, of late, in the Cathedral Church of Prague, and in other both Collegiate and Parish-Churches, and in the Colleges of the University of Prague, and in the Gates and Porches of the most Noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenceslaus King of Romans and of Bohemia; also in the Gates of the reverend Father the Lord Conrad Archbishop of Prague, Legate of the Apostolick See, and Chancellor of the University of Prague, and of other Princes and Barons, then being in the City of Prague, hath set up his Letters written both in Latin, and in the Bohemian Tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the foresaid Master John Hus would appear before the reverend Father the Lord Conrad, the fore-

said Archbishop of Prague, and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of Bohemia, that shall be congregated and called together by the said Archbishop, at the day appointed in the said City of Prague, ready always to satisfy every Man that shall desire and require him to shew a reason of his Faith and Hope that he holdeth, and to see and hear all and every one which could prove any obstinacy of Error or Heresie lawfully against him, under the pain to receive the like punishment: unto whom all together he would, by Gods help, answer in the Council of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said Lord Archbishop and us, with all other Prelates, and there in Christs Name, according to the Decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, to declare and shew forth his Innocency. After the which Letters, as is aforesaid by the said Master John Hus openly set up, there did no Man appear before us, the which would accuse the said Master John Hus of any Error, either of any Heresie. For the evident witness of all which things we have commanded these present Letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our Seal. Dated in Prague the thirtieth of August, Anno 1414.

Upon which matter also, a publick Instrument was drawn, testified with the Hand and Seal of the publick Notary, named Michael Pruthatietz. The Copy of which Instrument here under followeth:

¶ An Instrument of Recognition, or Protestation of the Lord Inquisitor of Heresies.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the year of his Nativity, one thousand four hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of August, in the fifth year of the Bishoprick of the most holy Father in Christ, John by the Grace of God Pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost Parlor of the House of the most famous Man the Lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Zuirglits, Master of the Mint of the most famous Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenceslaus, King of the Romans and of Bohemia, in the greater City of Prague, about the Abbey of St. James the Apostle, in the presence of me the publick Notary here under written, and certain witnesses here within written, specially called for that purpose.

There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, Master of Art, procurer in the name of the Honourable Man, Master John Hus, Bachelor, formed in Divinity of the University of Prague. He most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Nicholas Bishop of Nazareth, Inquisitor of Heresies for the City and Diocess of Prague, specially appointed by the Apostolick See, being there also present, saying, Reverend Father, do you know any Heresie or Error in Master John Husnetz, otherwise called Hus? The which said Lord Nicholas, not compelled or constrained, but of his own will and accord freely and openly did there Recognise, saying these or the like words, in the Bohemian Tongue.

I have often and many times been conversant with Master John Hus, and have eaten and drunk with him: also I have been often present at his Sermons, and diver of his Collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any Error or Heresie, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a Catholick Man, neither have I found any thing that doth savour of any Error or Heresie.

Again, the said Master John his procurer in the behalf as above, required and asked the said Lord Nicholas, Bishop and Inquisitor, whether any Man have accused the said Master John Hus of any Heresie before him, being Inquisitor for Heresie, and hath convicted him of Heresie. He answered, That since the time he knew John Hus, and that he was made Inquisitor for Heresie in the City and Diocess of Prague (as is aforesaid) never any Man accused, either convinced the said Master John Hus of any Heresie before him unto this present time. Adding moreover, That he the said Master John Hus did openly set up his Letters Patents this present year aforesaid, in the said Month of August, upon the Porches of the Cathedral Church

KING Church of Prague, and other Collegiate and Parish-Churches of the City of Prague, and upon the Gates of our said Lord, our Lord the King, and the Archbishop of Prague, containing in them this effect: how that he would appear before Conrade Archbishop of Prague, and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which should be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfy all Men as touching the Faith and Hope which he held, and to see and hear all or singular that would lay any obstinacy of error and heresie unto him, that they should determine themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of Gods Law and Mans Law, unto whom altogether he would answer in his own right before the said Archbishop of Prague, and the said Lord Nicholas, Bishop and Inquisitor aforesaid, and the Prelates even in the next General Council of Constance, and there according unto the Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and shew forth his uprightness and innocency, upon all and singular: of which proceedings, Master John de Jelenitz procurer, and in the procurers name or behalf as afore, required and desired that he might have one or many publick Instruments made unto him by me the publick Notary here under-written. These things were done the Tear, Indiction, Day, Month, Hour, Place, and Bishoprick, as is aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous Men, the Lord William de Zwingleitz, Baron of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Peter his Son, the Lord Hlawaczion, de Renow likewise Baron Wencellaus de Lunarx, Vassone de Miekonitz, Burgrave of the Castle of Lichtenburg, Cziborius de Bodanetz Esquire, and William de Dupoer, Knight of the said Diocess of Prague, with many other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required unto the Premises. And I Michael, sometimes of the Son of Nicholas de Prachatitz of the Diocess of Prague, and by the Imperial Authority, publick Notary, was present with the witnesses fore-named, at the affairs aforesaid, at the request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within written, and did see and hear all these things to be done in the foresaid manner and form. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to be faithfully drawn and written, and subscribing the same with mine own hand, have published and reduced it into this form, and have signed it with my Seal and name accustomed, being called and required to bear witness of all and singular the Premises.

After this, as all the Barons of Bohemia were assembled in the Abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the Realm, whereas the Archbishop of Prague was also present: There the said John Hus presented supplications, by the which he most humbly desired the Barons, that they would shew him that favour towards the said Archbishop, that if the said Archbishop did suspect him of any Error or Heresie, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto Constance. The said Archbishop confessed openly before all the Assembly of Barons, That he knew not that the said John Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counsel; that the said John Hus should purge himself of the Excommunication he had incurred. This report, which the Archbishop had given of John Hus, doth appear by the Letters which the Barons of Bohemia sent unto the Emperor Sigismund by the said Hus, in the Town of Constance.

Finally, all the Prelates and Clergy assembled together in the Town of Prague, in the Archbishop his Court, where appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jelenitz, Doctor of Decretals and Procurer, in the name and behalf of the honourable Man Master John Hus, requiring that either the said Master John Hus, or that he in the name and behalf of him might be suffered to come into the Archbishops Court, to the presence of the Archbishop, and the Prelates which were there congregated together, forasmuch as Master John Hus is ready to satisfy all Men which shall require him to shew any reason of his Faith or Hope which he holdeth, and to see and hear all

and singular which were there gathered together, that is to say, the Lord Archbishop and Prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresie unto him, that they should there write in their names, and according both unto Gods Law and Mans, and the Canon Law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresie against him: unto whom altogether he would, by Gods help, answer before the said Archbishop and the Prelates in the next General Council holden at Constance, and stand unto the Law, and according to the Canons and Decretals of the holy Fathers, shew forth and declare his innocency in the Name of Christ. Unto the which, Master John of Jelenitz Doctor, one called *Ulricus Swabe* of Swabienitz, Marthal of the said Archbishop, coming forth of the said Court, did utterly deny unto the said Master Doctor and his party, all manner of ingress and entrance into the Court, and to the presence of the Archbishop aforesaid, and of the Prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the Archbishop, with the Prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the Kings Affairs, requiring the said Master Doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said Court, that when the Archbishop, and the Prelates had finished the Kings Affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the Court there. The said Master John Hus, and the Doctor of Law tarried a while, intreating to be admitted into the Archbishops Court: but seeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both he, and also Master John Hus and his part, could not be suffered to come into the Archbishops Court, to the presence of the Archbishop and the Prelates. Requiring of the foresaid Notary publick Instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

And these were the things which were done before John Hus took his journey to the General Council of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

About the Ides of October, 1414. John Hus being accompanied with two Noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, Wancelat of Duba, and John of Clum, he parted from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his Letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every good Town or City of Name, the Tenor whereof ensueth:

John Hus taketh his journey to Constance.

The Copy of the Letters which John Hus set up in the common places of the Cities which he passed through, going to the Council.

M After John Hus goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his Faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by Gods help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore even as he hath manifested throughout all the Kingdom of Bohemia by his Letters and Intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his Faith unto every Man, which should object or lay any thing against him in the General Convocation holden in the Archbishop of Pragues Court: So likewise he doth manifest and signifie, that if there be any Man in this Noble and Imperial City, the which will impute or lay any error or heresie unto him, that he should prepare himself to come unto the Council, forasmuch as the said Master John Hus is ready to satisfy every man at the said Council, which shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his Faith.

The Letters which John Hus set up in Cities as he passed to Constance.

In all Cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia, and entred into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his Hosts through all the Towns of Germany, and especially of the Citizens and Burgeses, and oftentimes of the Curates. Informuch that the said Hus did confess in a certain Epistle, that he found in no place so great Enemies as in Bohemia: And if it hapned that there were any brute or noise before

How John Hus was received by the way going up to the Council.

Conrade the Archbishop cleareth John Hus.

John Hus requireth to give testimony of his Faith, and could not be admitted.

of his coming, the streets were always full of people which were desirous to see *John Hus* and gratifie him; and amongst all other, especially at *Noremberg*, whereas certain Merchants, which went before, certified the Citizens of his coming. In the same City there were many Curates which came unto him, desiring him that they might talk with him secretly apart: unto whom he answered, That he loved much rather to pronounce and shew forth his Mind and Opinion openly before all Men, than in hugger mugger, for he would keep nothing close nor hidden. So after dinner, until it was night he spake before the Priests and Senators, and divers other Citizens, inasmuch that they all had him in great estimation and reverence, one only Doctor except, which was a *Charter-houfe* Monk, and the Curate of *St. Sebauld*, which did improve all that he had said.

A Charter-houfe Monk against *John Hus*.

John Hus hostels named *Faith*.

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the Town of *Prague*, which was the third day of *November*, he came unto *Constance*, and lodged at an honest Matrons House; being a Widow named *Faith*, in *St. Gallen-street*.

The morrow after, the Gentleman Master *John de Clum*, and Master *Henry Latzemboge*, went to speak with the Pope, and certified him that *John Hus* was come, whom they had brought to *Constance* to the General Council, under the Emperor his safe conduct; desiring him also that he on his part would grant the said *John Hus* liberty to remain in *Constance*, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the Pope answered, That albeit that *John Hus* had killed his Brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the Town of *Constance*.

The Pope consenteth to the safe conduct of *John Hus*.

Stanislaus Znoma, *Hus*'s enemy, going to *Constance*, died by the way.

Steven Paletz and *Michael de Causis*, chief enemies to *Hus*. A Bull against *Ladislaus* King of *Apulia*.

In this mean time, the greatest adversary that *John Hus* had, named Master *Steven Paletz*, the which was also a *Bohemian* born, was come unto *Constance*. But his companion Master *Stanislaus Znoma* was not yet passed the Borders of *Bohemia* when he was stricken with an Impostume, whereof he died. As soon as the said *Palez* was come to *Constance*, he did associate unto him one *Michael de Causis*, the which had before falsely accused and blamed the same *John Hus*. And this may not be forgotten, that the said *Palez* had been familiarly conversant and acquainted with the said *John Hus* from his youth upward; but after that there was a Bull brought unto *Prague*, from Pope *John* the 23d, against the King of *Apulia*, named *Ladislaus*, the said *John Hus* withstood it openly, forso much as he saw that it was wicked and naught.

And as touching the said *Palez*, albeit that he had confessed at a certain Banquet in the presence of the said *John Hus*, that the said Bull was contrary to all equity and right; yet notwithstanding forso much as he was obliged and bound unto the Pope, by means of certain Benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the said Bull against *John Hus*. And this was the cause of the discord and falling out between them. As for *Michael de Causis*, the companion of Master *Palez*, he was sometime the Curate of *New Prague*; but he not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it, for he made a semblance that he had found out a new invention or mean, whereby the Mines of Gold in *Gilory*, which were perished and lost, might be renewed and set on work again. By this means he did so much with the King *Winceslaus*, that he did put a great sum of money into his hands, to do that withal which he had promised.

Michael de Causis.

The wicked life of *Michael de Causis*, *Hus*'s enemy described.

The enemies of *Hus* practice against him.

This honest man, after he had laboured and travelled certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to pass, and that by that means he was utterly in despair of his purpose, he conveyed himself privily out of the Realm of *Bohemia* with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself, as a worthy Bird for such a Nest, into the Court of *Rome*. Such a Man of such conditions was easily corrupt with money, and that by the adversaries of the said *Hus*, and promised them to do what he could for them, the which he did shortly after. These two jolly roisters, *Steven Paletz* and *Michael de Causis*, drew out certain Articles against the said *Hus*, saying, That they had gathered them out of his own writings, and specially out of his Treatise which he had written of the Church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great

pains to shew the said Articles unto the said Cardinals, Bishops, and Monks, and such other of that sort, doing them also to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said *John Hus* had committed and done against the holy Constitutions, and other Ordinances of the Pope and the Church; which if need were, they said they would propound before the Council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the Cardinals, and all the Priests, that all they with one mind and consent thought to cause the good Man to be taken and laid hands on.

KING Hen. 5.

The 26th day after the said *Hus* was come to *Constance*, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his Friends; the Cardinals, through the instigation and motion of *Palez* and *Michael de Causis*, sent two Bishops; to wit, the Bishop of *Augusta*, and of *Trident*, and with them the Burrough-master of the Town of *Constance*, and a certain Knight, to the place where *John Hus* lodged, about dinner-time, which should make report unto him that they were sent by the Pope and his Cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge or witness of his Doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

Unto whom *John Hus* answered, I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the Pope and his Cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole Assembly of the Council, and there answer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding, said he, forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they evil intreat or handle me; yet nevertheless I trust in my Lord Jesus, that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for his Glory sake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his Holy Scriptures. Wherefore it came to pass, that the Bishops being instant upon him, and not shewing any outward semblance that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid Garisons both in the House where they were Assembled, and also in other Houses; *John Hus* took his Horse which he had at his lodging, and went unto the Court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

John Hus desired to plead his cause before the whole Council.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the Cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort: We have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true, are in no case to be suffered: For Men say, That you have taught great and manifest Errors, and contrary and against the Doctrine of the True Church; and that you have sowed your Errors abroad through all the Realm of *Bohemia*, by a long space or time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that we might understand and know how the matter standeth.

John Hus is come before the Pope and the Cardinals. The words of the Pope and the Cardinals to *John Hus*.

Unto whom *John Hus* answered in few words, Reverend Fathers, you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I should rather chuse to die, than I should be found culpable of one only error, much less of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come unto the General Council, which is here appointed to shew my self ready even with all my heart to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me. The Cardinals answered him again, That his sayings pleased them very well, and upon that they went away, leaving the said *John Hus*, with Master *John de Clum*, under the guard and keeping of the Armed Men.

The answer of *John Hus* to the Pope and the Cardinals.

In the mean season, they did suborn and furnish out a certain Divine, a Frier Franciscan, a subtil and crafty Man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question with the said *John Hus*, which was compassed round about with Armed Men. This Man drawing near in his Monkish gesture, said, Reverend Master, I a simple and rude Idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many strange and contrary things against the Catholick Faith to be ascribed unto you, the which do diversly move my mind being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do desire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly Men, that you would teach me most simple and miserable Man, some certainty and truth. And first, Men say, That you hold opinion that after the Consecration and Pro-

Detus malis Cardinalium.

A Frier Minor putteth two questions to *John Hus*.

KING
HENRY 5.A Friery
Judas.Master John
de Clum
speareth for
John Hus.A Wolf in
a Lamb
skin.Didace a
crafty Friar.Many a man
beguiled
under a
cloak of
simplicity.John Hus
accuses
triumph
over him
when he was
taken.The Pope
breaketh
promise.

Pronunciation of the words in the Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth only material Bread. *John Hus* answered, That it was falsly attributed and imputed unto him. Then said he, I pray you, Is not this your Opinion? No verily, said *John Hus*, I do not so think of it. When the Monk asked this question the third time, Master *J. de Clum* being moved somewhat with him, said, Why art thou so importunate upon him? Verily, if any Man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou albeit he hath shewed thee his mind so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him. Then said the Monk, Gentle Master, I pray you pardon me a poor Ideot and simple Friar; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn. This Friar put forth another question unto him, protesting his simplicity and ignorance, What manner of Unity of the Godhead and Manhood was in the Person of Christ? When *John Hus* had heard this question, he turning himself unto Master *John de Clum*, in the *Bohemian* Language said, Truly this Friar is not simple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard question. And afterward turning himself to the Friar, he said unto him, Brother, you say that you are simple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not simple. It is not so verily, said the Friar. Well said *John Hus*, I will cause you well to understand that it is so. For as touching the simplicity of a Man it is required in things that concern civility and manners; that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words and the mouth should agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an Idiot and simple, but your deeds shew plainly and evidently a great subtilty and craft in you, with a great quickness and liveliness of wit, in that you have proponed unto me so hard and difficult a question.

Notwithstanding, I will not fear to shew you my mind in this question. And when he had made an end, the Monk gave him great thanks for his gentleness, and so departed. After that, the Popes Garison which were about the said *John Hus*, told him, That this Friar was called Master *Didace*, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtil Divine in all *Lumbardy*. Oh, said *John Hus*, that I had known that afore, I would have handled him after another sort and fashion; but I would to God they were all such; then through the help and aid of the Holy Scriptures I would fear none of them. In this manner the said *Hus*, and Master *John de Clum*, were left under the keeping of these Men of Arms, until four of the Clock at Afternoon. After which time the Cardinals assembled again in the Popes Court, to devise and take counsel what they should do with *John Hus*. Then *Stephen Palerz*, and *Michael de Causis*, with divers other of their adherents, made earnest suit that he should not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the Judges on their part, they brag'd up and down in a manner, as they had been mad Men, and mocked the said *John Hus*, saying, Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art under our power and jurisdiction, and shalt not depart until such time as thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

A little afore night, they sent the Provost of the *Roman* Court unto Master *John de Clum*, to shew him that he might return to his Lodging; but as for *John Hus*, they had otherwise provided for him. When Master *John de Clum* heard these news, he was wonderfully displeased, forsomuch as through their crafts, subtilties, and glossing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares, whereupon he went unto the Pope, declaring unto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and Master *Henry Latzembog*, and that he would not so lightly falsify and break his Faith and Promise. The Pope answered, That all these things were done without his consent or commandment, and said further to Master *Clum* apart, What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I my self am in the hands of these Cardinals and Bishops?

In mine Opinion, forasmuch as Pope *John* feared that which indeed did after follow, that he should be deprived

of his Dignity, he thought to win the favour of these *Herodian* Cardinals and Bishops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the said Master *Clum* returned very pen-siveful forry; he complained very sore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the Pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this, the said *John Hus* was led by the Officers to the Chapter-house of the great Church of *Constance*, where he was kept Prisoner by the space of Eight days; from thence he was carried unto the *Jacobines*, hard by the River of *Rhine*, and was shut up in the Prison of the Abby, the which was hard by the *Bogards*.

After he had been inclosed there a certain time he fell fore sick of an *Ague*, by means of the stench of the place, and became so weak, that they despaired of his life. And for fear lest this good man should die in Prison, as others are wont to do, the Pope sent unto him certain of his Physitians to cure and help him. In the midst of his sickness his accusers made importunate suit to the principals of the Council, that the said *John Hus* might be condemned, and presented unto the Pope these Articles here under-written:

Articles presented against John Hus.

First, He doth err about the Sacraments of the Church, and specially about the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, forsomuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be Ministered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, the Body and Blood. This Article is evident, forsomuch as his Disciples at this instant in *Prague* do Minister the same in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the Schools and in the Church, or at the least that he doth hold this Opinion, that after the words of Consecration pronounced upon the Altar, there remaineth still material Bread in the Sacrament. This Article shall be known by his Examination.

Secondly, He doth err as touching the Ministers of the Church, forsomuch as he saith, That they cannot Consecrate or Minister the Sacraments when they are in mortal sin. This Article shall likewise be known by his Examination. Notwithstanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered by his writings *De Ecclesia*; the which if he deny, let there then be some Divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said writings of the Church. Moreover he saith, That other men beside Priests may Minister the Sacrament. This Article is evident forsomuch as his Disciples do the same at *Prague*, the which of themselves do violently take the Sacrament out of the Treasury, and Communicate among themselves, when the Holy Communion is denied unto them. By this and other things also it is sufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal sin, hath the power of Orders or Priesthood, forsomuch as such only as have taken Orders ought to Minister the Sacrament unto themselves. And because he proceedeth from small matters unto great and weightier, it doth consequently appear and follow, that those which be in the state of Grace can bind and loose.

Thirdly, He doth err as touching the Church, and specially for that he doth not allow and admit that the Church signifieth the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, and the Clergy underneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawn out from the School-men, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This Article is manifest by his said Treatise upon the Church.

Moreover, he doth err concerning the Church, in that he saith, That the Church ought not to have any Temporal Possessions. And that the Temporal Lords may take them away from the Church and the Clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forsomuch as through his Doctrine and Inticements many Churches in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and in the City of *Prague*, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their Temporalities and goods. He saith also, that *Constantinus* and other Secular Princes erred by enriching and indowing Churches and Monasteries. This Article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

Fourthly,

The Pope
to please
the Council
was against
John Hus.The impris-
onment and
sickness of
John Hus.Articles
against
John Hus.The Supper
of the
Lord.Of the Ad-
ministration
of the Sa-
craments.Of the
Church.Ecclesiasti-
cal Reve-
news.

The Bishops
power.

Fourthly, He erreth as touching the Church, in that he saith, That all Priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth, that the reservations of the Popes casualties, the ordering of Bishops, and the Consecration of the Priests, were invented only for covetousness. This Article doth somewhat appear by those aforegoing, but by his Examination shall be more evident.

The power
of the Keys
of the
Church.

Fifthly, He erreth concerning the Church, in that he saith, That the Church being in sin, hath no power of the Keys, when as the Pope, Cardinals, and all other of the Priests and Clergy are in deadly sin; the which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appear in his Treatise upon the Church in his first error as touching the Ministers of the Church.

Excommu-
nication.

Sixthly, He erreth touching the Church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear Excommunication. This doth notoriously appear by his own doings, that he did condemn and despise the Apostolick and Ordinary censure, and in all the Apostolick Excommunications and Injunctions he hath born himself upon the Divine Commandments, and in contempt of the Keys, to the setting out of his Hypocritie, he hath said Mass all the ways between this and the City of *Prague*, and thereby hath profaned the Process and Authority of the Church.

Investitures

Seventhly, He erreth again as touching the Church, because he keepeth not the Institutions and Investitures thereof, but holdeth Opinion that every man hath Authority to invest and appoint any man to the cure of Souls. This is evident by his own doings, forasmuch as many in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into Parish-Churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the Apostolick See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the City of *Prague*.

The Office
of preach-
ing.

Eighthly, He erreth as touching the Church, in that he holdeth Opinion, That a man, being once Ordained a Priest or Deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the Office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching; neither by the Apostolick See, neither yet by the Archbishop of *Prague*.

Lupus ag-
num accu-
sat quod
vorabit
ovem.

And to the intent that the said *John Hus*, who is clothed in Sheeps clothing, and inwardly a ravening Wolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you most reverend Fathers; I say, that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such Errors and Heresies, the which afterward he did indeed, he understanding and perceiving himself to be withstood and gainsayed by the *Germans*, which were in the University of *Prague*, forasmuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three Voices, and he on his part had but one only Voice: he went about and brought to pass, and that by the Secular Power, that the *Germans* should have but one Voice, and he and his parts three Voices: the which thing when the *Germans* once perceived, rather than they would lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in Voices, or be in danger in their persons, the which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly with one consent agreed together to depart out of *Prague*; and by this means this solemn and famous University of *Prague* was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers Sciences. Behold this his first fruits which divided that so famous University, forasmuch as Grapes are not gathered of Thorns, neither figs of Brambles.

The depart-
ure of the
Germans
from the
University
of Prague.

The 45 Ar-
ticles of
Wickliff.

Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the Divines of the University of *Prague* upon the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff*, and that they had called a Convocation, and all the Divines of *Bohemia*, (for the *Germans* were already departed) they concluded that every one of those Articles were either Heretical, Seditious, or Erroneous. He alone held the contrary Opinion, that none of those Articles were either Heretical, Seditious, or Erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common Schools of *Prague*, whereby it is evidently enough fore-seen, that he doth affirm those Articles of *Wickliff*, the which are not only condemned in *England*, but also by the whole Church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

Moreover, he being complained of to the Archbishop of *Prague*, that he preached and set forth certain Articles

which were Heretical, False, and Seditious, he was forbidden by the said Archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the Canonical Sanctions, the which process is confirmed by the Apostolick See, and published as well in the Court of *Rome*, as without; the which *John Hus* and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated and profanated. And whosoever did speak against him, they were deprived of their Benefices, and others placed in, which have ruled and yet do rule the said Churches, and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of the Souls committed unto them, neither by the Apostolick See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the place.

KING
Hus.

The Office
of preach-
ing forbid-
den by the
Archbishop.

Insurrec-
tions feared
in Bohemia
against the
Clergy.

Also as many, as well Priests as Lay-men in the City of *Prague* and Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which have spoken against the Doctrine of *Hus*, and the profanation of the Process afore said, or at the least not allowed the same, have suffered most mortal hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day do suffer. But that at this present it is dissimulated until the end of the Process against *John Hus*. Wherefore if he be now let go again, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in Body and Goods and throughout all the Realm of *Bohemia*, House shall be against House, and this mischief will creep, yea suddenly spring up throughout all *Germany*, and innumerable Souls shall be infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the Clergy and Faithful, as hath not been since the time of the Emperor *Constantine* to this present day; for he ceaseth not to move and stir up the Laity against the Clergy and faithful Christians. And when any of the Clergy would draw him away, or call him from his Heresie, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he doth not teach any Heresies: then saith he, and teacheth, that the Clergy doth that of envy and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to say, their Symony, and Pride, and Covetousness.

Moreover, he stirreth up the Secular Princes against the Prelates of Churches, Monasteries, and Universities, and generally against the whole Clergy. Going about by this means, he preacheth and teacheth that Prelates and other Men of the Church ought not to have any Temporal Goods or Possessions, but only to live upon Alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoyed divers and many Prelates, Clerks, and Churches in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and City of *Prague*, forasmuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their Possessions. Yea, he teacheth also that it is Lawful for the Lay people without sin to withhold and keep back the Tithes and Oblations, or to give the Church Goods to any other Minister; all the Secular Princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but specially the Laity, who follow every Man his own will.

He hath generally to lay for himself all those Hereticks which do but very finally regard the Ecclesiastical censures, and hate the Authority of the *Roman* Church, yea do utterly detest and abhor the same; the which thing will more and more encrease, except it be effectually and manfully withstood; and if he do by any means escape from the Council, he and his favourers will say that his Doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the Authority of the universal Sacred Council, and that all his adversaries are wicked and naughty men, so that he would do more mischief, than ever any Heretick did since the time of *Constantinus Magnus*.

Cyprian
prophetic.

Wherefore most holy Fathers, provide and take heed to your selves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the Holy Ghost hath placed you, to rule the Church of Christ, the which he hath purchased with his own Blood; and whilst the Disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, as well touching him which doth so infect and trouble the Church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which he hath presumed, and might do the same, because the Prelates do abuse the Ecclesiastical censures, and as well the Prelates as those that are under them, do not keep and observe the Order of the Church which is appointed them by God, whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they themselves do walk the broken and unknown Paths, their flock falleth headlong into the Ditch.

Master Poi-
nteth, that
the Holy
Ghost
had no let-
sure to
come to
that Coun-
cil.

Wherefore

KING Wherefore let our Sovereign Lord the Pope, and this most sacred Council ordain and depute Commissioners, the which may examine the said *John Hus* upon all aforewritten, and other things in the presence of them which know the matter. Let there be also certain Doctors and Masters appointed to read over and peruse his Books which he hath written, whereof some are here present, that the Church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.

John Hus
sick of an
Ague in
Prison.

Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three Commissioners or Judges, that is to say, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Bishop of *Castile*, and the Bishop of *Lybuß*. The which Prelates being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babbling Priests of *Prague*, confirmed by their Oaths, and afterward recited the said accusation unto the said *Hus* in the Prison, at such time as his Ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

Hus de-
barred of
his advo-
cate.

Upon this, *John Hus* required to have an Advocate to answer for him; the which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reasons that the Masters and Commissioners brought against it was this, that the plain Canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of his, which is suspect of any kind of Heresie. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no distinct confutation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise Reader could not have read without great tediousness. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

Afterward, when *John Hus* had recovered a little strength or health, by the commandment of the three Commissioners, there were presented unto him certain Articles, many in number, which they said, they had gathered out of his Book which be made of the Church; of which Articles some were forged and invented by Master *Palerz*, and other some were gathered only by halves, as shall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to speak of the judgment pronounced and given against the said *Hus*.

The Books
which *John*
Hus wrote
in Prison.

Thus *John Hus* remained in the Prison of the Covent of the *Franciscans*, until the Wednesday before *Palm Sunday*, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean season to imploy and spend his time withal, he wrote certain Books, that is to say, of the Ten Commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penance, of the three enemies of Mankind, of the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

Pope *John*
fled out of
Constance.

The same day Pope *John* the 23d, changed his Apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of *Constance*, fearing the judgment by the which afterward he was deprived of his Papal Dignity, by means of most execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cause that *John Hus* was transported and carried unto another Prison: for the Popes servants, which had the charge and keeping of *John Hus*, understanding that their Master was fled and gone, delivered up the Keyes of the Prison unto the Emperor *Sigismund*, and to the Cardinals, and followed their Master the Pope. Then by the whole consent of the Council, the said *John Hus* was put into the hands of the Bishop of *Constance*, who sent him to a Castle on the other side of the River of *Rhine*, not very far from *Constance*, where he was shut up in a Tower with Fetters on his Legs, that he could scarce walk in the day time, and at night he was fastened up to a Rack against the Wall hard by his Bed.

Noblemen
of *Boheme*
labour for
J. Hus.

In the mean season, certain Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Pole* and *Boheme* did all their endeavour to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the Realm, the which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certain naughty persons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they which were in the Town of *Constance*, that seemed to bear any favour unto *John Hus*, were made as mocking stocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the slaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing unto the whole Council, or at the least unto the four Nations of *Almain*, *Italy*, *France* and *England*; this request was presented the 14th day of May, Anno 1415 the tenor here ensueth.

C The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of *Boheme* delivered up to the Council for the deliverance of *John Hus*, the fourteenth day of May, Anno 1415.

MOST Reverend Fathers and Lords, the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* and *Pole* here present, by this their present writing do shew and declare unto your Fatherly Reverences, how that the most noble King and Lord, the Lord *Sigismund*, King of the *Romans*, always *Augustus*, King of *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, &c. hearing of the great dissention that was in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, as Heir, King and Lord Successor, willing to foresee and provide for his own honour, sent these Noblemen, Master *Wenceslate de Duba*, and *John de Clum* here present, that they would bring and assure Master *John Hus* under the King his name and safe conduct. So that he would come to the sacred general Council of *Constance*, under the safe conduct of the said King, and the protection of the sacred Empire, openly given and granted unto the said Master *John Hus*, that he might purge himself and the Kingdom of *Boheme*, from the slander that was raised upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his Faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge. The which the said Nobles, with the fornamed Master *John Hus*, have performed and done, according to the Kings Commandment.

The safe
conduct of
the Empe-
ror chal-
lenged.

When as the said Master *John Hus* was freely of his own accord come unto *Constance*, under the said safe conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with Fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past at the Council holden at *Payson*, 1410. In the year of our Lord, the Hereticks which were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithstanding this, Master *John Hus*, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, when as neither King nor any Prince Elector, neither any Embassador of any University was yet come or present. And albeit the Lord the King, together with the Nobles and Lords here present, most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe conduct they would foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that the said Master *John Hus* might be openly heard, forso much as he would render and shew a reason of his Faith; and if he were found and convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain any thing against the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the Council; yet could he never obtain this. But the said Master *John Hus*, notwithstanding all this, is most grievously oppressed with Fetters and Irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, lest that, his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

The extra-
mities *John*
Hus suffered
in prison.

And although the Lords of *Boheme* here present are greatly slandered, because they seeing the said Master *John Hus* so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the Kings safe conduct, have not by their Letters put the King in mind of his said safe conduct, that the said Lord and King should not any more suffer any such matters, forso much as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, which from the first original and beginning, since it received the Catholic Faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy Church of *Rome*; yet notwithstanding they have suffered and born all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any means, occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred Council might arise or spring thereof.

Wherefore most Reverend Fathers and Lords, the Nobles and Lords before named, do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your Reverences here present, that both for the honour of the safe conduct of our said Lord the King, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown, both of the foresaid Kingdom of *Boheme*, and your own also, you will make a short

M m m end

end about the affairs of Master *John Hus*; forasmuch as by the means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your Fatherly Reverences. But forasmuch as, most Reverend Fathers and Lords, it is now come to the knowledge and understanding of the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* here present, how that certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous Kingdom of *Boheme* aforesaid, have declared and told unto your Reverences, how that the Sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through *Boheme* in Vessels not consecrate or hallowed, and that Coblers do now hear Confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord unto others. The Nobles therefore of *Boheme* here present, require and desire you, that you will give no credit unto false promoters and tale tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that Kingdom aforesaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring also your Reverences, that such slanderous persons of the Kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the Lord the King, together with your Reverences, shall well perceive and see that the Lords of *Boheme* will go about in such manner to refuse and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appear hereafter before the Lord the King and your Reverences.

The confusion of certain slanders.

The Bishop of Luthonis.

As soon as this their supplication was read, the Bishop of *Luthonis* rising up, said, *Most Reverend Fathers, I well perceive and understand, that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars and friends, as though the Kingdom of Boheme were slandered by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge my self from this crime that is laid against me.* The Principal of the Council appointed him the 17th day of *May*, at the which day the Lords of *Boheme* should be present again, to hear both the answer of the Council, and also the excuse of the Bishop of *Luthonis*; the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the seventeenth day of *May*, which was the fourth day before *Whitsontide*, they met there again; where first of all a certain Bishop, in the name of the whole Council, answered by word to the Nobles of *Boheme*; the contents of whose answer may easily be known by the second supplication, which the *Bohemians* put up to the Council. But first I shall here in these few words following, shew how the Bishop of *Luthonis* defended himself against that which is before written.

¶ *The Answer of the Bishop of Luthonis, to the last part of the supplication, which the Nobles of Boheme presented unto the Council.*

The answer and accusation of the Bishop of Luthonis against John Hus.

Most Reverend Fathers and Noble Lords, as *Peter de Mladonewitz*, Bachelor of Art, in the name of certain of the Nobles of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, in his writings, amongst other things did propound how that certain slanderers and backbiters of the said Kingdom, have brought to the ears of your Reverences, that the most precious blood of Christ is carried up and down in *Boheme* in Bottles, and that Coblers do hear Confessions, and minister the Body of Christ unto others; whereupon most Reverend Fathers and Lords, albeit that I together with the other Prelates, Doctors, Masters, and other innumerable Catholics of the said Kingdom, the which do desire as much as in them lieth, to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable Sect of *Wickliffs*, which now (alas for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said Kingdom, as it is well known: Notwithstanding, here in this my Oration, not for any shame or reproof, but for the honour of the Kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new Sect, which is now lately sprung up in the said Kingdom, the followers whereof do minister and communicate the Sacraments in many Cities, Towns and Places of the said Kingdom, under both kinds both of Bread and Wine, and do constantly teach the common people, both Men and Women, that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the Clergy which do repugn or say nay unto it, are to

be counted Church robbers, as by the writings of their assertions, being directed and presented hither shall openly appear.

KING
Hm. 5.

Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the Writings which were sent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the Blood of Christ is carried about in Vessels not consecrated, approving the foresaid erroneous assertion of the *Wickliffs*, that affirm it necessary for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of Bread and Wine; and that it is necessary, as the Body of Christ is carried in the Pix or Box, so the Blood of Christ should be carried in Bottles, or other necessary Vessels from place to place, and especially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of my self, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain Woman a follower of that Sect, the which taking by violence the Body of Christ out of a Priests hands, did communicate unto her self, and affirmed that all men ought to do so, if the Priests should deny them the Communion. And the same Woman amongst many other errors, of the which she was convicted, did affirm that a good Lay-woman might better consecrate and give Absolution, than an evil Priest; affirming that an evil Priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my assistants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that Coblers in the said Kingdom do hear Confession, or minister the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, as is alledged by the said *Peter*, in the behalf of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recount or stop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore most Reverend Fathers, lest that the Kingdom might be defamed any more by such pestiferous Sects, and that the Christian Faith might happen to be endangered; with all Reverence and Charity I do desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred Council would provide some speedy remedy for this Kingdom, as touching the premises.

Moreover, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, the which do let the errors aforesaid, and many others more, which are sown by the *Wickliffs* in the said Kingdom, and also elsewhere, which also both do labour and have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of those errors out of the Kingdom aforesaid, and as Catholick Men, for the zeal of their Faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as do maintain and defend the teachers of those errors; this answer I have here presented before your Reverences, always wholly submitting my self and assistance unto your judgment, and to the definition of this most sacred Council of *Constance*.

¶ *The Answer of the Nobles of Boheme.*

The day before *Whitsontide*, the Nobles of *Boheme* did confute this their answer made two days before in the Council to their former writing, as here followeth: Most Reverend Fathers and Lords, forasmuch as upon *Thursday* it was answered in the behalf of your Reverences, to the requests of the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme*, that the said Lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said Bill: therefore the foresaid Lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your Reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your Fatherly wisdoms and circumspections, but that your Reverences (their desires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectually and distinctly discern and judge as touching this matter.

The Bishop of Luthonis answer confuted.

And first of all, whereas the Lords alledged and said, how that Master *John Hus* was come hither unto *Constance*, freely of his own good will, under the safe conduct of the Lord the King, and the procession of the sacred Empire; it is answered on the behalf of your Reverences, how that the said Lords are misinformed as touching the safe conduct, and that you have understood by such as are worthy credit,

The Bishop do quarrel about the safe conduct of J. Hus.

KING credit, that the friends and favourers of the said Master *John Hus*, did first procure and get his safe conduct, fifteen days after his imprisonment.

The safe conduct of *J. Hus* obtained and shewed, before the imprisonment of *J. Hus*.

The Lords of *Boheme*, and especially the Lord *John de Clum* here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answer, that not only the fifteenth day after, but even the very same day that *John Hus* was apprehended and taken, when as our reverend Father the Pope, in the presence of all his Cardinals, demanded of Master *John de Clum*, whether Master *John Hus* had any safe conduct from the King his Son: he answered, *Most holy father and Cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe conduct*; and when he was asked the question again the second time, he answered in like manner.

Yet notwithstanding none of them required to have the safe conduct shewed unto them: and again, the third day following, the Lord *John de Clum* complained unto our Lord the Pope; how notwithstanding the safe conduct of our Sovereign Lord the King, he detained and kept Mr. *John Hus* as Prisoner, shewing the safe conduct unto many. And for the further truth herein, he referreth himself unto the testimonies and witnesses of divers Earls, Bishops, Knights, Gentlemen, and famous Citizens of the City of *Constance*, the which all together at this present did see the said safe conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said *John de Clum* is ready to bind himself under what penalty shall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promised, whosoever say to the contrary.

Moreover, the Lords of *Boheme* refer themselves unto the knowledge of certain Princes Electors, and other Princes, Bishops, and many other Noblemen, which were present before the Kings Majesty, where and when as the said safe conduct was granted and given out by the special commandment of our said Lord the King.

The Bishops of the Council fully informed touching the safe conduct of *John Hus*.

Hereby your Fatherly Reverences may understand and perceive that the said Lords of *Boheme* are not evil informed as touching the said safe conduct; but rather they which by such reports have falsely and untruly informed your Reverences. And first of all, they have offended against the Lord our King and his Chancellors. Secondly, against the Lords and Nobles of *Boheme*, as though we had privily and by stealth, purchased the said safe conduct. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid, most humbly require and desire your Reverences, that you will not so lightly believe such as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and discuss that the truth may the more evidently appear.

John Hus imprisoned before he was either condemned or heard.

Secondly, Whereas the Lords aforesaid, alledging how Master *John Hus* coming unto *Constance* of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your Reverences have made answers thereunto, that he the said Mr. *John Hus* in the time of *Alexander* the 5th, was infamed and slandered upon certain Heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appear in the Court of *Rome*, and there was heard by his procurers.

And forso much as he refused obstinately to appear, he was excommunicated, in the which Excommunication he continued (as you affirm) by the space of five years, for the which he was judged, and counted not only a simple and plain Heretick, but an Heresiarch, that is to say, an inventor and sower of new and strange Heresies, and that he, coming toward *Constance*, did preach by the way openly. To this the Lords aforesaid do answer, that as touching his slander and citation, they can affirm nothing, but by report. But as touching that he did not personally appear, that say they have heard both himself and divers other credible persons say, yea even the most famous Prince *Wenceslaus* King of *Boheme*, and almost all the whole Nobility is witness, that he would willingly have appeared at *Rome*, or elsewhere, if he might safely have come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted; and moreover, his procurers which he sent unto the Court of *Rome*, alledging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into Prison, and others were evil intreated.

Alexander the fifth. The answer touching the citation of *J. Hus* to the Court of *Rome*.

J. Hus his procurers evil intreated at *Rome*.

As for the Excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they have heard him often say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacy, or stubbornness, but under evident appellation; and thereupon referreth himself unto the acts of his causes which were pleaded in the Court of *Rome*, wherein all this is more largely contained,

the which your Reverences may evidently perceive and see in this our present publick transumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Master *John Hus* did preach openly in the City of *Constance*; the Lords aforesaid, and especially the Lord *John de Clum* here present, do answer, that he hath continually lodged with the said Master *John Hus* here in *Constance*; and that whosoever they be, that have been so bold, or dare be so bold to say and affirm that Master *John Hus* had preached (as is premised) or that which is less, since the time of his coming unto this City, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and imprisonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said Lord *John de Clum* will and is content to bind himself, with any such as shall affirm the same, under what penalty soever it be, of money or otherwise, that that which he hath falsely reported unto your Reverences, he shall never be able justly and truly to affirm and prove.

J. Hus fully reported to preach openly at *Constance*.

J. Hus fully charged to preach coming to the Council.

Thirdly, Whereas your Reverences do say, that you do not understand or know, what the Lords do mean, by the Hereticks condemned at the Council holden at *Pisa*, whether the mocking or deriding of the Pope, whose Embassadors came thither for unity or concord, the which were suffered, and gently treated, as their Lords were most inclined unto unity and peace; or else that they did understand or mean the particular Hereticks, which were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that the Hereticks also coming unto the Council under the pretence of that unity, should be gently handled and entreated, &c. Reverend Fathers and Lords, whether they be counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the Lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said Master *John Hus* may use such liberty as they used, forso much as he came willingly unto this most sacred Council, not for any other purpose, but only publickly to recognise his faith. And in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the Word of God, and the union of the holy Mother the Church, in that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto, and not only himself, but also his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the Kingdom of *Boheme*. Also he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble Kingdom of *Boheme* from the sinister and evil slander which was raised upon it.

J. Hus had many well-willers in *Bohemia*.

Last of all most reverend Fathers and Lords, forso much as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal request made by the Lords aforesaid, that the Process of Master *John Hus*, through Gods help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleness; the Lords aforesaid do render most hearty thanks unto your Reverences, and whensoever their desire by Gods help shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only here, but also before the whole Kingdom of *Boheme*, and in all other places wheresoever they come, render most immortal thanks unto your Reverences for ever.

¶ This Declaration of the Nobles of *Boheme* above prefixed, may serve not only to the confutation of the Bishop *Luthonis* this *Bohemian*, but also against the cavillations of *Alanus Copus Anglus*, Dial. 6. page 929. touching the safe conduct of *John Hus*, whereof sufficiently before hath been said.

When as the Noblemen of *Boheme* by long time could receive no answer of those supplications which they had already put up, they determined the last day of *May* following, by another supplication being put up unto the principals of the Council, to intreat that *John Hus* might be delivered out of Prison, and defend his own cause openly: they also put up the testimonial of the Bishop of *Nazareth*, as touching *John Hus*. The Copy whereof is expressed in the beginning of this History, word by word.

Vide supra

Another supplication of the Nobles of *Boheme*.

Most Reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, of late there was a supplication put up unto your Reverences on the behalf of the Lords and Nobles of *Boheme*, and the Nation of *Pole*, wherein they most humbly desired

Another supplication of the Nobles of *Bohemia* for *J. Hus*.

The Lords
could have
no answer
of their sup-
plication.

your Reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your Reverences, by the enemies of Master John Hus, were insufficient; and with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue, as in the safe conduct granted by the Kings Majesty, and also in other Articles, as more plainly appeareth in the Schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon the which said Schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid, most humbly require your Fatherly Reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the Lords aforesaid thereupon, and specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the said Master John Hus, the which may be understood and known by the Schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefs and evils, so far different from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may please your Fatherly Reverences to understand that it is notified and known unto the Barons, Nobles and Citizens, Clergy and Laity of the Kingdom of Boheme, that Master John Hus in all his acts and doings, as well Scholastical as Ecclesiastical, and especially in all his publick and open Sermons, hath made and hath accustomed to make these manner of protestations, and which without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them strong and firm, as by this his protestation here following, which he made about the determination of a certain question, it may most evidently and plainly appear unto every man which would behold and look upon the same; the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is such.

¶ The Protestation of John Hus.

The Prote-
station of
J. Hus.

Forasmuch as above all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy Church, and that I my self may be a faithful member of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Head and Husband of the holy Church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even so now again, I make this Protestation, That I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly desire to hold the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereto, I would rather choose by the hope and help of the Lord to suffer extreame punishment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready to offer this my miserable life unto death for the Law of Christ, the which I do believe every part and parcel thereof, to be given and promulgate for the salvation of Mankind, by the counsel and determination of the most holy Trinity and the Saints of God, &c.

Vid. in prim.
edit. p. 207.

By the which his Protestation, and also other Protestations by the said Master John Hus, being well observed and noted, it may be easily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will have spoken or written any thing in his Books, Treatises, Doctrines or publick Sermons; or else to have affirmed any Articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did understand or know to be erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear; albeit that these and such like things are falsely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent and purpose, and so is, that every Point, Conclusion or Article contained in his Books or Articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Gospel, the holy Doctors and Writers upon the holy Scriptures, and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his Protestations; and if in any point he should be found to vary or go astray, or that he were not well understood of others, by like information to be informed, understood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no means sustain or defend any manner of Article against the holy Church of Rome, or the Catholick Faith.

Wherefore, most Reverend Fathers, the premisses notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreame hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by peicemeal, certain Articles out of the Books of Master John Hus,

rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reasons, neither having any relation unto the distinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certain false and feigned Articles against him to this end, that all charity and love being set apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe conduct upon good and just occasion openly assigned, and given unto the said Master John Hus, by the most noble Prince the Lord Sigismund, King of the Romans and of Hungary, for his just defence against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Hus, but also of the famous Kingdom of Boheme, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumors rising and springing in the said Kingdom of Boheme, or elsewhere; the avoiding of which most perilous uprores, the said King of Romans, doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor of the said Kingdom.

KING
Hus.

Whereupon the Barons and Nobles aforesaid, most humbly desire and require, the premisses being considered, and respect had unto the great infamy and slander which may happen by the premisses unto the said Kingdom and Inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take some order and mean, that Master John Hus may be directly heard by some famous men, Divines already deputed, or otherwise to be appointed, upon all and singular such Articles as shall be laid unto him, to declare his own mind and intent, and also the mind of the Doctors alledged for this purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations; in the which the drawers out of the most part of his Articles have also made equivocations, that so according unto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserably detained Prisoner, that he should not be condemned unheard. Forasmuch as by the said declarations, your Fatherly Reverences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himself is ready always to submit himself under the determination of this most sacred Council. For your Reverences, by the crafty and feigned persuasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Master John Hus hath been incurably obstinate by a long time, in most perilous Articles, the which your Reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence hereinto to be shewed, there is presented unto your Reverences an instrument of publick recognition of the most Reverend Father in Christ the Lord Nicholas Bishop of Nazareth, an Inquisitor of Heresies, especially appointed by the Apostolick See in the Diocese of Prague, the which by your Reverences is more diligently to be hearkned unto.

Articles
folded out
of Hus's
Books by
his enemies.

The Coun-
cil evil in-
formed a-
gainst John
Hus.

Wherefore it may please your Fatherly Reverences to command the said Master John Hus, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in the which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some Reverend Lord Bishops, or Commissioners, appointed or to be appointed by this present Council; that the said Master John Hus may somewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the Commissioners. And for the more assurance, the Barons and Nobles aforesaid of the Kingdom of Boheme, will provide most sure and good sureties, the which will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the World. Which also shall promise in this behalf, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, until such time as the matter be fully determined by the said Commissioners. In the execution of the which premisses, we have determined to provide and foresee unto the fame and honour of the said Kingdom of Boheme, and also to the safe conduct of the most worthy Prince, the King of Romans, lest that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the Kingdom aforesaid, might not a little slander and reprove the said Lords, pretending and shewing forth hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawful requests; for the withstanding of which mischief, we require your Fatherly Reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawn out again by your Notary, and reduced into a publick form and order.

The Nobles
required
that J. Hus
not being
convicted
should be
delivered
out of Pri-
son.

A petition
for M^r. John
Hus's deli-
verance out
of Prison.

After

KING
Hus. 4.
The answer
of the
Council to
the suppli-
cation.

After this supplication was read before the Deputies of the four Nations, the Patriarch of *Antioch* answered in the name of them all unto every Article of the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

Hus in no
case must be
halled.

First, as touching the protestation of *John Hus*, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the process of his cause. Moreover, whereas they say that the adversaries of *John Hus* have perversly drawn certain things out of his Books, that also the matter itself shall declare in the end. Whereas if it shall be found and decreed that *John Hus* is unjustly and untruly accused, that then it shall come to pass that his adversaries shall incur perpetual ignominy and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the Deputies of the Council with a safe conscience may receive, or take them in this mans cause, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of *June* next. *John Hus* shall be brought again unto *Constance*, and there have free liberty to speak his mind before the Council, and he promised that they would lovingly and gently hear him; but the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promise.

No credit
to be kept
with an He-
retick.

The same day the said Barons and Lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the Emperor:

Supplika-
tion to the
Emperor
Sigismund.

Unto the most high and mighty Prince, the Lord Sigismund King of the Romans, always Augustus, King of Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia, our most gracious Lord, faithful and true service in all things, and at all times. Most noble Prince, and gracious Lord, we signify unto your worthiness, that we all together with one mind, consent and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend Fathers and Lords, the Deputies of the four Nations, and to the whole sacred Council of *Constance*, this our supplication hereunder written, as reasonable, just, and worthy of consideration, the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.

¶ The Copy of the supplication, which was presented unto the Deputies of the Council, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

The Barons
supplika-
tion to the
King for
John Hus.

W Herefore we most humbly require and desire your Princely Majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous Kingdom of Boheme, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly, the true Lord, Heir and Successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe conduct, that you will with your favourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications, which we have put up to the Lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reverend Fathers and Lords, that they will effectually bear us, in this our most just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid; lest that the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous Kingdom of Boheme, and such be our slanderers also, hereafter may detract and slander us, that we should make unreasonable and unlawful requests unto the said reverend Fathers and Lords: and therefore we require and desired of them, that it would please them to decree by setting to their publick Hand and Seal, to authorize our said publication. Likewise, we do most heartily require your Highness, that you would vouchsafe in like manner, to give us your testimony of the premisses.

The King
forced by
the impor-
tunity of
the Cardi-
nals to
break pro-
mise.

But what answer the Emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good Emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the Cardinals and Bishops, to break and falsifie his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe conduct, or by any other mean unto him, which was suspected or judged to be an Heretick. But by the Epistles and Letters of *John Hus*, a man may easily judge what the Kings mind was. Now we will proceed in the History.

The mis-
chievous
counsel of
the Popish
band.

The fifth day of June, the Cardinals, Bishops, and the rest of the Priests, all that were almost in *Constance*, assembled at a great number, at the Covent of the *Franciscans*

in *Constance*, and there it was commanded, that before *J. Hus* should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the Witnesses and Articles which they had slanderously gathered out of his Books: the which Articles, with *John Hus*'s answer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then present a certain Notary, named *Mladoniewitz*, the which bare great love and amity unto the said *Hus*, who as soon as he perceived that the Bishops and Cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the said Articles in the absence of *John Hus*, he went with all speed unto Master *Wencelate de Duba*, and *John of Clum*, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the Emperor. Who understanding their intent, sent *Lewis* the County Palatine of *Heydelburgh*, and the Lord *Frederick*, Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, to signify unto them which ruled the Council, that nothing should be resolved or done in the the case of *John Hus*, before that it were first heard with equity, and that they should send him all such Articles as were laid against the said *Hus*, which were either false or heretical, and he would do so much, that the said Articles should be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the Emperors will, the judgment of the principals of the Council was suspended, until such time as *John Hus* were present.

The crafty
counsel of
the Papists
stopped by
the Empe-
ror.

In the mean season, these Gentlemen, Master of *Duba* and of *Clum*, did give unto the two Princes, which the Emperor had sent, certain small Treatises which the said *John Hus* had made, out of the which they had drawn certain Articles to present unto them which rule the Council, under this condition, that they would render them again, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these Barons was, that by this means the adversaries of *John Hus* might the more easily be reproved, the which of a naughty and corrupt conscience had picked out corrupt sentences out of the said Books of *John Hus*. The Books were delivered unto the Cardinals and Bishops; and that done *John Hus* was brought forth, and the Princes which were sent by the Emperor, departed back again. After they shewed the Books unto *John Hus*, and he confessed openly before the whole Assembly that he had made them, and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend Fathers, for here happened a strange and shameful matter. With much ado they had scarcely read one Article, and brought forth a few Witnesses upon the same against him, but as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad Herd or Flock began so to cry out upon him, that he had not leisure to speak one only word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a brute or noise of wild Beasts, and not of Men; much less was it to be judged a congregation of Men gathered together, to judge and determine so grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and cry did never so little cease, that he might answer any thing at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Ecclesiastical Doctors, by and by he should hear these goodly replies upon him, that maketh nothing to the purpose.

J. Hus for-
ced to keep
silence by
outrage of
the Bishops
and Priests.

The like
practice in
these later
days was
used at Ox-
ford against
the godly
fathers.

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and othersome spitefully mocked him; so that he seeing himself overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speak, he determined finally with himself to hold his peace and keep silence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adversaries thought that they had won the Battel of him, and cried out all together, *Now he is dumb, now he is dumb: This is a certain sign and token, that he doth consent and agree unto these his errors.* Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the Prelates and others departed from the Council for that present, and appointed to meet there again the morrow after to proceed in judgment.

An out-
ragious
Council.

The next day, which was the seventh of June, on which day the Sun was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after, about seven of the Clock, this same Flock assembled again in the Cloyster of the Friars Minors, and by their appointment *John Hus* was brought before them, accom-

A great
Eclipse of
the Sun.

M m m 3 companied

They went forth with swords and staves as it had been to take a thief.

Peter and John follow Christ into the Bishop's house.

companied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the Emperour, whom the Gentlemen, Master of *Duba*, and *Clum*, and the Notary named *Peter*, which were great friends of the said *Hus*, did follow to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accusation of *Michael de Causis*, they read these words following: *John Hus* hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the Chappel of *Bethleem*, and also in many other places of the City of *Prague*, of the which errors some of them he hath drawn out of *Wickliff's* Books, and the rest he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the same very obstinately and stiffly.

Matter made against John Hus.

False witness against John Hus.

The answer of J. Hus.

Naming of bread forbidden by the Archbishops.

The Cardinal opposeth with J. Hus.

The disputation of the Englishmen.

An Englishman.

J. Hus agreeth with that blind time in the Sacrament.

First, that after the consecration and pronounciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material Bread; and this is proved by the witness of *John Protinwaie*, Parish Priest of Saint *Clements* in *Prague*, *John Pecklow* Preacher at St. *Giles* in *Prague*, *Benise* Preacher in the Castle of *Prague*, *Andrew Brode*, Canon of *Prague*, and divers other Priests. Unto this *John Hus* taking a solemn Oath, answered that he never spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the Archbishop of *Prague* forbade him to use any more that term or word Bread, he could not allow the Bishops commandment; forasmuch as Christ in the sixth Chapter of *John* doth oftentimes name himself the bread of Angels, which came down from Heaven, to give life unto the whole world. But as touching material bread, he never spake any thing at all. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* taking a certain bill in his hand, which he said he received the day before, said unto *John Hus*, Will you put any Universalities a parte rei, i.e. as touching the thing? When *John Hus* answered, that he would, because St. *Anselm* and divers others had so done, the Cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

It followeth then, said he, that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: That the consecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remain the common substance of material bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remain, then is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then it doth follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the universal ceaseth any more to be: *John Hus* answered, Truly it ceaseth to be in this singular material Bread, by means of this Transubstantiation, when as it is changed and Transubstantiated into the Body of Christ; but notwithstanding in other singularities it is made subject.

Then a certain Englishman by that argument would prove out of the first Position, that there remained material Bread. Then said *John Hus*, that is a childish argument, which every Boy in Schools knoweth, and thereupon gave a solution. Then another Englishman would prove, that there remained material Bread in the Sacrament, because the Bread after the consecration was not annihilate. Unto whom *John Hus* answered, Although said he, that the Bread be not annihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to be by means of the alteration of his substance into the Body of Christ. Here another Englishman stepping forth, said, *John Hus* seemeth unto me to use the same kind of crafty speech which *Wickliff* used, for he granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perswaded that material Bread remained in the Sacrament after the consecration. The which when *John Hus* had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but only sincerely and uprightly, according to his conscience; the Englishman proceeded to demand of him again, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, Verily, I do think that the body of Christ is really and totally in the Sacrament of the Altar, even that body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, suffered, died, and rose again, and sitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty. When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching universalities, the Englishman which before would prove that material bread remained in the Sacrament, because that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, said, to what purpose is this Disputation upon universalities, the which maketh nothing to the pur-

pose, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then another Englishman, named *Stokes*, said I have seen at *Prague* (saith he) a certain Treatise, the which was ascribed unto this man *John Hus*, wherein it was plainly set forth, that after the Consecration there remained material bread in the Sacrament. Verily, said *John Hus*, saving your reverence, that is not true.

Then they returned again unto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a little before, who every man for himself affirmed with an Oath that which he had said. Amongst whom *John Protinwaie*, Parish Priest of St. *Clements* in *Prague*, when he should come to confirm his testimony added more, that *John Hus* should say, that St. *Gregory* was but a rimer, when he did alledge his authority against him. Unto whom *John Hus* answered, that in this point they did him great injury, forasmuch as he always esteemed and reputed St. *Gregory* for a most holy Doctor of the Church.

These contentions and Disputations being somewhat appeased, the Cardinal of *Florence* turned himself toward *John Hus*, and said, Master, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all witness is firm and stable; and here you see now almost twenty witnesses against you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongst the which some have heard you teach these things themselves, the other by report and common brute or voice do testify of your Doctrine, and all together generally bring firm reasons and proofs of their witness, unto the which we are forced and constrained to give credit; and for my part, I see not how you can maintain and defend your cause against so many notable and well learned men. Unto whom *John Hus* answered in this manner, I take God and my Conscience to witness, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fancy to teach in such sort or manner, as these men here have not feared to witness against me that which they never heard. And albeit, they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more esteem, yea and without comparison, regard the witness of my Lord God, before the witness and judgment of all mine adversaries upon whom I do in no point stay my self. Then said the Cardinal again unto him, it is not lawful for us to judge according to your conscience; for we cannot choose, but that we must needs stay our selves upon the firm and evident witness of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred, that these men do witness this against you (as you do alledge:) for they alledge and bring forth such reasons of their witness, that there is no man that can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can in any case be in doubt thereof. And as touching Master *Stephen Palerz*, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain Points or Articles, out of your Books to betray them afterward; it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath used and shewed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your Articles much more than they are in your own Books. I understand also that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and specially you have said, that you do suspect M. Chancellor of *Paris*, than whom there is no more excellent and Christian man in all the whole world.

Then was there read a certain Article of accusation, in the which it was alledged, That *John Hus* had taught, and obstinately defended certain erroneous Articles of *Wickliff's* in *Boheme*. Whereunto *Hus* answered, that he never taught any errors of *John Wicliff's*, or of any other mans. Wherefore if it be so that *Wickliff* hath sowed any errors in *England*, let the Englishmen look to that themselves. But to confirm their Article, there was alledged, that *John Hus* did withstand the condemnation of *Wickliff's* Articles, the which were first condemned at *Rome*; and afterward also, when the Archbishop of *Swimco*, with other learned men, held a Convocation at *Prague* for the same matter, when as they would have there been condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholick Faith or Doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous or offensive: he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending his conscience, and

KING's
Hus's

Stokes an
Englishman.

False wit-
ness.

John Hus
fully accu-
sed, for call-
ing St. Grego-
ry a rimer.

The Cardi-
nal of Flo-
rence.

Twenty
witnesses
prevailed a-
gainst J.
Hus, but the
testimony
of all Bo-
heme could
not serve on
his part.

The Cardi-
nal of Cam-
bray.

He meaneth
Gerson.

Another ac-
cusation
for defend-
ing of Wick-
liff's Arti-
cles.

KING
Hen. 5.
Certain Ar-
ticles of
Wickliff
that J. Hus
stood in.

and especially for these Articles, that *Silvester* the Pope and *Constantine* did err in bestowing those great gifts and rewards upon the Church. Also, that the Pope or Priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptise. This Article, said he, I have thus determined, as if I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptise, when as he is in deadly sin, and that he is an unworthy Minister of the Sacraments of God. Here his accusers with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the Article of *Wickliff* was written by the very same words of the Treatise which *John Hus* made against *Stephen Paley*. Verily said *John Hus*, I fear not to submit my self, even under the danger of death, if you shall not find it so as I have said. When the Book was brought forth, they found it written as *John Hus* had said. He added also moreover, that he durst not agree unto them which had condemned *Wickliff's* Articles, for this Article, *The tenths were pure alms*.

A Treatise
against Ste-
phen Paley.

Whether
tenths be
pure alms.

Here the Cardinal of *Florence* objected unto him this Argument, astouching the Alms: *It is required that it should be given freely without bond or duty. But Tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore they are no alms.* *John Hus* denying the Major of this Syllogisme brought this reason against him. Forasmuch as rich men are bounden under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the six works or mercy, which *Christ* repeateth in the 23rd Chapter of *Matthew*, and these works are pure alms: *Ergo*, alms is also given by bond and duty. Then an Archbishop of *England*, stepping up, said, if we all be bound unto those six works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, which have nothing at all to give, should be damned. I answer, said *Hus*, unto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those which had wherewithal to do those works: They, I say, were bound to give alms under pain of damnation.

Alms stand
of duty.

He answered moreover, unto the Minor of the first Argument, *That Tenths were at first given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty*; and when as he would have declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. He declared also divers other causes why he could not with safe Conscience consent unto the condemnation of *Wickliff's* Articles. But howsoever the matter went, he did affirm and say, that he did never obstinately confirm any Articles of *Wickliff's*, but only that he did not allow and consent that *Wickliff's* Articles should be condemned before that sufficient reasons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation; and of the same mind, said *John Hus*, are a great many other Doctors and Masters of the University of *Prague*. For when as *Swinco* the Archbishop commanded all *Wickliff's* Books to be gathered together in the whole City of *Prague*, and to be brought unto him, I my self brought also certain Books of *Wickliff's*, which I gave unto the Archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or Heresie in them, he would note and mark them, and I my self would publish them openly. But the Archbishop, albeit that he shewed me no error nor Heresie in them, burned my Books, together with those that were brought unto him, notwithstanding that he had no such commandment from Pope *Alexander* the fifth of that name. But notwithstanding by a certain policy, he obtained a Bull from the said Pope by means of *Jaroslav* Bishop of *Savere*, of the Order of *Franciscans*, that all *Wickliff's* Books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there was none named), should be taken out of all mens hands.

J. Hus his
mind touch-
ing the con-
demnation
of
Wickliff's
Articles.

Wickliff's
Books burn-
ed in Prague
by the Arch-
bishop
Swinco.

A narration
touching
Wickliff's
Books.

The Archbishop, using the authority of this Bull, thought he should bring to pass, that the King of *Boheme* and the Nobles should consent to the condemnation of *Wickliff's* Books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheless, he calling together certain Divines, gave them in Commission to sit upon *Wickliff's* Books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the Canon Law. These Men, by a general sentence, judged all those Books worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctors, Masters and Scholars of the University heard report of, they all together, with one consent and accord (none excepted but only they, which before were chosen by the Archbishop to sit in judgment) determined to make supplication unto the King to stay the matter. The King granting their request, sent by and by certain unto the Archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing,

The Univer-
sity of
Prague
maketh sup-
plication to
the King for
saying of
Wickliff's
Books.

as touching *Wickliff's* Books, contrary unto the Kings will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the King, the matter was passed over.

In the mean time Pope *Alexander* the 5th being dead, the Archbishop, fearing lest the Bull which he had received of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the Gates of his Court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed soldiers, consumed and burned all *Wickliff's* Books. Besides this great injury, the Archbishop by means of his Bull aforesaid, committed another no less tolerable. For he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of Excommunication, should teach any more in Chappels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the Pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor *John 23^d*. Before whom when as, by the space of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocate to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high Judge *Christ*. When *John Hus* had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether he had received Absolution of the Pope or no? He answered, No. Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto *Christ* or no? Whereunto *John Hus* answered, Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more just or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto *Christ*, forasmuch as the Law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cause of grief or wrong done by an inferiour Judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is then an higher Judge than *Christ*? Who, I say, can know or judge the matter more justly, or with more equity? when as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or, who can better help the miserable and oppressed than he? While *John Hus* with a devout and sober countenance, was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole Council.

Wickliff's
Books burn-
ed in
Prague a-
gainst the
Kings will.

A decree
that no
man should
teach any
more in
Chappels.
J. Hus ap-
pealed to
the Pope,
and from
the Pope to
Christ.

A question
of the coun-
cil, whether
it be lawful
to appeal to
Christ or no.

The Popish
Church de-
rideth
Christ.

Then was there rehearsed another Article of his accusation in this manner; That *John Hus* to confirm the Heresie which he had taught the common and simple people out of *Wickliff's* Books, said openly these words, That at what time a great number of Monks and Friars, and other learned men were gathered together in *England*, in a certain Church, to dispute against *John Wickliff*, and could by no means vanquish him, or give him the foil, suddenly the Church-door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado *Wickliff's* enemies hardly escaped without hurt. He added moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where *John Wickliff's* soul was. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, that a dozen years before that any Books of Divinity of *John Wickliff's* were in *Boheme*, he did see certain Works of Philosophy of his, the which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of the said *Wickliff*, he spake these words, *I trust, said he, that Wickliff is saved; and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish, that my soul were in the same place where John Wickliff is.* Then again did all the company jest and laugh at him.

Hus accused
for trusting
that Wick-
liff's soul is
saved.

It is also in his accusation, that *John Hus* did counsel the people, according to the example of *Moses*, to resist with the sword against all such as did gain say his Doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly in divers places certain intimations, that every man, being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly proceed, and that Brother should not spare Brother, neither one neighbour another. *John Hus* answered, that all these things were falsely laid unto his charge by his adversaries; for he at all times when he preached, did diligently admonish and warn the people, that they should all arm themselves to defend the truth of the Gospel, according to the saying of the Apostle, *with the helmet and sword of Salvation*; and that he never spake of any material sword, but of that which is the Word of God. And as touching intimations, or *Moses* sword, he never had any thing to do withal.

Seditious
laid to his
charge.

It is moreover affirmed in his accusation and witness, that many offences are sprung up by the Doctrine of *Hus*. For first of all, he sowed discord between the Ecclesiastical and the Politick state: whereupon followed the per-secution

Hus accus-
ed for mo-
ving certain
tumults a-
gainst the
Clergy, and
division in
the Univer-
sity of
Prague.

secution, spoiling and robbery of the Clergy and Bishops. And moreover, that he through his dissention dissolved the University of Prague. Hereunto *John Hus* briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his means or default. For the first dissention that was between the Ecclesiastical and Politick state, sprang and grew upon this cause, that Pope Gregory the Twelfth of that name, promised at his Election, that at all times at the will and pleasure of the Cardinals he would depart from, and give over his seat again; for under that condition he was elected and chosen. This man, contrary and against *Winceslaus* King of *Bobeme*, who was then also King of the Romans, made *Leues* Duke of *Bavaria* Emperor.

A few years after it happened when as Pope Gregory would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the request of the Cardinals, that the whole College of Cardinals sent Letters to the King of *Bobeme*, requiring him, that together with them he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto Pope Gregory, and so it should come to pass, that by the authority of a new Bishop he should recover again his Imperial Dignity. For this cause the King consented to the will of the Cardinals as touching a Neutrality; that is to say, that he would neither take part with Pope Gregory, neither yet with *Benedict* the Twelfth, Bishop of *Avinion*, which was then named Pope, as it doth appear by Chronicles. In this cause then, forso much as the Archbishop *Swincio* with the Clergy were against the King, and abstaining from the Divine service, many of them departed out of the City, and the Archbishop himself breaking down the Tomb of the Lord *Wincelate*, contrary and against the Kings will, did also take *Wickliff's* Books and burned them: Thereupon the King without any gain-saying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, which of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled, because they should not consent or accord with the Bishop. Whereupon it is easie to be understood and known that *John Hus* was falsely accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one *Naso*, rising up, said, The Clergy (said he) did not abstain from the Divine service, because they would not swear to consent unto the King, but because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance. And the Cardinal of *Cambray*, who was one of the Judges said, Here I must say somewhat which is come into my mind.

When as I came from *Rome*, the same year that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certain Prelates of *Bobeme*. Whom when I demanded what news they had brought out of *Bobeme*, they answered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact: for all the Clergy were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill intreated and handled. Then *John Hus* alledging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying also that it hapned through his fault, that the Germans departed from the University of Prague. But when as the King of *Bobeme*, according to the foundation of *Charles* the Fourth his Father, granted three voices unto the *Bobemes*, and the fourth unto the Germans; whereat the Germans grudging that they should be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great Oath, and under a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should return again unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confess, that I did approve and allow the doings of the King, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my Country. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth. Here is present *Albert Warren Trappius*, which was Deacon of the Faculties, who had sworn to depart with the rest of the Germans; he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily clear me of this suspicion.

But when as *Albert* would have spoken, he could not be heard. But the foresaid *Naso*, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to speak, said, This matter do I understand well enough, for I was in the Kings Court when these things were done in *Bobeme*, when as I saw the Masters of the three Nations, of the Germans, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Silesians*, amongst whom the *Polonians* were also numbred, most humbly come unto the King, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the King promised

them that he would foresee and provide for their requests. But *John Hus* and *Jerome* of Prague, with divers others, perswaded the King that he should not so do. Whereat the King at the first being not a little moved, gave him a fore check, that he and *Jerome* of Prague did so much intermeddle themselves, and moved such open controversies, in so much that he threatened them, that except they would foresee and take heed, he would bring it to pass that the matter should be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore most reverend Fathers, you shall understand that the King of *Bobeme* did never favour with his heart these men, whose unthamefastness is such, that they feared not even of late to intreat me evil, being so much in the Kings favour and credit. After him stepped forth *Paletz*, saying, Verily most reverend Fathers, not only the learned men of other Nations, but also of *Bobeme* it self, are through the counsel of *John Hus* and his adherents banished out of *Bobeme*; of the which number some remain yet in exile in *Moravia*. Hereunto *John Hus* answered: How can this be true, said he, sithence I was not at Prague at that time, when as these men you speak of departed and went away from thence? These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching *John Hus*.

This done, the said *John Hus* was committed to the custody of the Bishop of *Reigen*, under whom *Jerome* of Prague was also prisoner. But before that he was led away the Cardinal of *Cambray* calling him back again in the presence of the Emperor, said, *John Hus*, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto *Constance*, neither the Emperor himself, neither the King of *Bobeme* could have compelled you to do it. Unto whom *John Hus* answered, Under your license most reverend Father, I never used any such kind of talk or words. But this I did say, That there was in *Bobeme* a great number of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come into this Town of *Constance*, neither at the will of the Emperor, neither of the King of *Bobeme*. With that the Cardinal of *Cambray*, even for very anger began to change his colour, and despitously said, Do you not see the unthamefastness of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the Lord *John de Clum*, ratifying and confirming that which *John Hus* had spoken, said, That *John Hus* had spoken very well; for on my part, said he, which in comparison of a great many others am but of small force in the Realm of *Bobeme*, yet always if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty Kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puissance than I am? And have stronger Castles and places than I have? After that the Lord *de Clum* had spoken, the Cardinal of *Cambray* said, Let us leave this talk. And I tell you, *John Hus*, and counsel you, that you submit your self unto the sentence and mind of the Council, as you did promise in the Prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour.

And the Emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying, Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our Letters of safe-conduct: Notwithstanding, I can well prove by the witness of many Princes and Noblemen, that the said safe conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my Lord *de Dube* and *de Clum*, before you were parted out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the Council, and to answer as touching your Faith and Doctrine: and as you see, my Lords the Cardinals and Bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you, for the which we have great cause to thank them. And forso much as divers have told us, that we may not or ought not of right to defend any man which is an Heretick, or suspect of Heresie; therefore now we give you even the same counsel which the Cardinal of *Cambray* hath given you already, that you be not obdurate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit your self under such obedience

A Story of
Popes.

The cause
why *Swincio*
and other
of the Clergy
did fly
out of
Prague.

This Doctor
Naso was
Counsellor
to King
Winceslaus.

A declaration
how
the Germans
departed
from the
University
of Prague.

The penalty
of money
was a 100
silver shock.

The slander
of the un-
thamefast
Sycophant.

KING;
Hus.

Paletz speaks
keth against
John Hus.

Hus committed to
custody.
Jerome of
Prague.

The Cardinal
of *Cambray*.

John de
Clum.

The Emperor
tells
on to *John*
Hus.

KING {Hus. 5.} ence as you owe unto the authority of the holy Council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses. The which thing if you do according to our counsel, we will give order that for the love of us, of our Brother, and the whole Realm of *Boheme*, the Council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easie and tolerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you contrariwise refuse to do, the Presidents of the Council shall have sufficient wherewithal to proceed against you. And for our part be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and used. Wherefore our advice and counsel is, that you submit your self wholly unto the judgment of the Council. Unto whom *John Hus* answered in this sort, O most noble Emperor, I render unto your Highness most immortal thanks for your Letters of safe conduct. Upon this Lord *John de Clum* did break him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did in no point excuse himself of the blame of obstinacy.

The answer
of John Hus
unto the
Emperor.

Then said *John Hus*, O most gentle Lord, I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obstinately, and that for this same intent and purpose I did come hither of mine own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy Doctrine than mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with Serjeants.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of *June*, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now again at the Convent of the *Franciscans*. And in this assembly were also *John Hus* his Friends, Lord *de Dubez*, and Lord *de Clum*, and *Peter* the Notary. Thither was *John Hus* also brought: and in his presence there were read about Thirty nine Articles, the which they said, were drawn out of his Books. *Hus* acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfeited and forged by his adversaries, and specially by *Stephen Palez*, the principal Author of this mischief: for they could find no such thing in the Books, out of the which they said they had drawn and gathered them; or at the least, if they were, they were corrupted by slanders, as a man may easily perceive by the number of Articles.

These be the same Articles in a manner which were shewed before in the prison to *John Hus*, and are rehearsed here in another order. Howbeit there were more Articles added unto them, and other some corrected and enlarged. But now we will shew them one with another, and declare what the said *Hus* did answer both openly before them all, as also in the prison, for he left his answers in the prison briefly written with his own hand in these words.

I *John Hus*, unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, Master of Art, and Bachelor of Divinity, do confess that I have written a certain small Treatise, intituled, *Of the Church*; the copy whereof was shewed me by the Notaries of the three Presidents of the Council, that is to say, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Bishop of *Castile*, and the Bishop of *Libusse*; the which Deputies or Presidents, in reproof of the said Treatise, delivered unto me certain Articles, saying, that they were drawn out of the said Treatise, and were written in the same.

The first Article: There is but one holy universal or Catholick Church, which is the universal company of all the Predestinate. I do confess that this Proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying of *S. Augustine* upon *S. John*.

The second Article: *St. Paul* was never any member of the Devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant Church. And likewise *St. Peter* which fell into an horrible sin of perjury and denial of his Master, it was by the permission of God, that he might the more firmly and stedfastly rise again and be confirmed. I answer according to *St. Augustine*, that it is expedient that the Elect and Predestinate should sin and offend.

St. Paul was
never any
member of
the Devil.

Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of separations from the holy Church. The first is, not to perdition,

as all the Elect are divided from the Church. The second is to perdition, by the which certain Hereticks are through their deadly sin divided from the Church. Yet notwithstanding by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himself, saying, *I have other sheep which are not of this fold*, Joh. 20.

Two man-
ner of sepa-
rations from
the Church.

The third Article: No part or member of the Church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forso-much as the charity of Predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall. This Proposition is thus placed in my Book: As the reprobate of the Church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same; forso-much as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away, because that the charity of Predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away. This is proved by the thirteenth Chapter of the first to the *Corinthians*, and to the *Romans*, the eighth Chapter: *All things turn to good to them which love God. Also I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God, as it is more at large in the Book.*

The mem-
bers of the
Church ne-
ver fall fi-
nally away.

The fourth Article: The predestinate, although he be not in the state of Grace according to present justice, yet is he always a member of the universal Church. This is an error, if it be understood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the Book, about the beginning of the fifth Chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and sorts of being in the Church; for there are some in the Church, according to the mishapen faith, and other some according to predestination, as Christians predestinate now in sin, but shall return again unto grace.

The prede-
stinate is al-
ways a
member of
the univer-
sal Church,
although
not in pre-
sent justice.

The fifth Article: There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any humane election, or any sensible sign, that can make any man a member of the universal Church. I answer, this article is after this manner in my Book. And such subtilties are understood and known by considering what it is to be in the Church, and what it is to be a part or member of the Church; and that predestination doth make a man a member of the universal Church, the which is a preparation of grace for the present, and of glory to come: and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any sensible sign. For the Traytor *Judas Iscariot* notwithstanding Christs election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of Apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true Apostle of Jesus Christ, yet was he no true Disciple, but a wolf covered in a sheeps skin, as *St. Augustine* saith.

To be in the
Church, and
a member of
the Church.

Predestina-
tion.

The sixth Article: A reprobate man is never a member of the holy Church. I answer, it is in my Book with sufficient long probation out of the 26th Psalm, and out of the fifth Chapter to the *Ephesians*, and also by *St. Bernard* saying, The Church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death. I have also written in the fifth Chapter of my Book, that the holy Church is the Barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predestinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain, and the evil as the chaff: and thereunto is added the Exposition of Saint *Augustine*.

Both good
and bad in
the Church.

The seventh Article: *Judas* was never a true Disciple of Jesus Christ. I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed before, and by *St. Augustine* in his Book of penance, where he doth expound the meaning of *St. John*, in the first Epistle and second Chapter, where he said, *They came out from amongst us; but they were none of us*. He knew from the beginning all them which should believe, and him also which should betray him, and said, *And therefore I say unto you, that none cometh unto me except it be given him of my father*. From that time many of the Disciples parted from him; and were not those also called Disciples, according to the words of the Gospel? And yet notwithstanding they were true Disciples, because they did not remain and continue in the Word of the Son of God, according as it is said, *If you remain in my word, you be my disciples*. Forso-much then as they did not continue with Christ as his true Disciples, so likewise are they not the true Sons of God: although they seem so, unto him they are not so, unto whom it is known what they shall be, that is to say, of good, evil. Thus much writeth *St.*

St. Augustine: It is also evident that Judas could not be the true Disciple of Christ, by means of his covetousness: for Christ himself said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple. Forasmuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lords will, and follow him, he was a Thief, as it is said John the twelfth, and a Diver, John the sixth, whereby it is evident by the Word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true but fained Disciple. Whereupon St. Augustine writing upon John, declaring how the sheep hear the voice of Christ, saith, What manner of hearers, think we, his sheep were? Truly Judas heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the shepherd; but being clothed in a sheeps skin, he lay in wait for the shepherd.

8. The eighth Article of the Congregation of the Predestinate, whether they be in the state of Grace or no, according unto present justice, is the holy universal Church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same Church which hath neither wrinkle, neither spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Son of God doth call his own. The answer, The words of the Book out of the which this article was drawn are these: Thirdly, The Church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithful, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present justice or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which St. Paul maketh mention in the fifth Chapter to the Ephesians: Christ so loved his Church, that he delivered and offered himself for the same, &c. I pray you then, is there any faithful man the which doth doubt that the Church doth not signify all the Elect and Predestinate, the which we ought to believe to be the universal Church, the glorious Spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our Creed, I believe the Holy Catholick Church: and of this Church doth St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, and divers others make mention.

9. The ninth Article. Peter never was, neither is the Head of the holy universal Church. The answer: This article was drawn out of these words of my Book. All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the Rock of the Church (which is Christ) humility, poverty, steadfastness of faith, and consequently blessedness. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Upon this Rock I will build my Church, that he would build every militant Church upon the person of Peter, for Christ should build his Church upon the Rock which is Christ himself, from whence Peter received his steadfastness of faith, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only Head and foundation of every Church, and not Peter.

10. The tenth Article: If he that is called the Vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true Vicar. But if so be, he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St. Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the Vicar of Judas Iscariot. I answer, The words of my Book are these: If he which is called the Vicar of St. Peter, walk in the ways of Christian virtues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true Vicar, and true Bishop of the Church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, contrary both to St. Peter, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore Saint Bernard in his fourth Book did write in this sort unto Pope Eugenie: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy; being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed, what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of Devils than of sheep. St. Peter and St. Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not St. Peter. These be the very words of St. Bernard. It followeth after in my Book, that if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to that which St. Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the Vicar of Judas Iscariot, which loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ. As soon as they had read the same, those which ruled and governed the Council, beheld one another, making mocks and mowes, they nodded their heads at him.

The eleventh Article: All such as do use simony, and Priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven Sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the Keys or Censures, Rites and Ceremonies, neither of the Divine service of the Church, or of veneration or worshipping of Relicks, neither of the Orders constituted and ordained in the Church, neither yet of Indulgences or Pardons. I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my Book. This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandize of holy Orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making Fairs and Markets of the holy Sacraments, and living in all kind of voluptuousness and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villainous kind of living: They do pollute and defile the holy Ecclesiastical state. And albeit that they profess in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God: But as unbelieving bastards they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven Sacraments of the Church. And this appeareth most evidently, forasmuch as all such do utterly contemn and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi, the first Chapter, Unto you, O Priests, be it spoken, which do despise and contemn my name.

The twelfth Article: The Papal dignity hath his original from the Emperors of Rome. I answer; and mark well what my words are: The preheminance and institution of the Pope is sprung and come of the Emperors power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety sixth Distinction: for Constantine granted this priviledge unto the Bishop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus for the outward and temporal goods bestowed upon the Church, is counted always the most high King above all others; so the Bishop of Rome should be called the principal Father above all other Bishops. This notwithstanding the Papal dignity hath his original immediately from Christ, as touching his spiritual administration and office to rule the Church. Then the Cardinal of Cambray said, In the time of Constantine, there was a General Council holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the highest room and place in the Church was given to the Bishop of Rome, for honours cause, it is ascribed unto the Emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and say, that the Papal dignity took his original rather from that Council, than by the Emperors authority and power?

The thirteenth Article: No man would reasonably affirm (without relation) either of himself or of any other, that he is the head of any particular Church. I answer, I confess it to be written in my Book, and it followeth straight after, Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy universal Church, the Spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher, No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deserved grace and favour, or hatred. And Luk. 17. When ye have done all that ye can, say that you are unprofitable servants.

The fourteenth Article: It ought not to be believed that the Pope, whatsoever he be, may be the head of any particular Church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God. I answer, that I do acknowledge this Proposition to be mine, and this is easie to prove forasmuch as it is necessary that the Christian Faith should be depraved, forasmuch as the Church was deceived by N. as it appeareth by St. Augustine.

The fifteenth Article: The Popes power as Vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and address his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St. Peter. I answer, that it is thus in my Book, That it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained Vicar, should address and frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And John Hus said moreover before the whole Council: I understand that the power and authority in such a Pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward, which he should obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office. Then certain others standing by, asked of him, saying, Where is that gloss in your Book? John Hus answered, You shall find it in my

The Church is taken sometime for the congregation of the Elect and faithful, and so is the article taken in the Creed.

Peter never was head of the whole universal Church.

The Church builded upon Peter, how.

The Vicar of Christ, how he is to be taken.

Bern. ad Eugen. lib. 4.

11. KING. H. 5.

Prelates making merchandize of holy Orders

12. The Pope taketh his original from the Emperors 96. Dist.

13. The Pope is not the head of any particular Church.

14.

15. The Popes power vain

Distinction of merit and of office.

KING my Treatise against Mr. Palerz, whereat all the assistants (looking one upon another) began for to smile and laugh.

16. The sixteenth Article: The Pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the room and place of Saint Peter, but because he hath great revenues. I answer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written, He is not most holy, because he is called the Vicar of St. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, labour and travel, and in perfect love and charity.

17. The seventeenth Article: The Cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other Apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the Apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus, I answer, that it is thus written in my Book, and it proveth it self sufficiently: For if they enter in by another way than by the door which is the Lord Jesus, they be murderers and thieves.

Then said the Cardinal of *Cambray*, Behold both this and all other Articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his Book than are presented in his Articles. Truly *John Hus* thou hast kept no order in thy Sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to have applied your Sermons according to your audience? For to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you before the people to preach against the Cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had been meet for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the Laity. Then answered *John Hus*, Reverend Father, forso much as I did see many Priests and other learned men, present at my Sermons, for their sakes I spake those words. Then said the Cardinal, thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talk thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the Church.

18. The eighteenth Article: An Heretick ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the Ecclesiastical censure. These are my words, That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, specially forso much as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judge such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death. As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in the twelfth Chapter of St. *Luke*. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the eighth Chapter of St. *John*. And it is said in the eighteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthew*. If thy brother have offended thee, &c. Mark therefore what I do say, That an heretick whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures, and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same, as St. *Augustine* and others have done, disputing against the Hereticks. But if there were any which after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leave off their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment.

As soon as *John Hus* had spoken those things, the Judges read in his Book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them which delivered an Heretick unto the secular power, not being convicted or convicted of heresie, and compared them unto the High Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, which said unto *Pilate*, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death, and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christ's own witness, they were greater murderers than *Pilate*. For he, said Christ, which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then the Cardinals and Bishops made a great noise, and demanded of *John Hus*, saying, Who are they that thou dost compare or assimile unto the Pharisees? Then he said, all those which delivered up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the Scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto *Pilate*. No, no, said they again; for all that, you spake here of Doctors. And the Cardinal of *Cambray*, according to his accustomed manner, said, Truly they which have made and gathered these Articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable & horrible.

19. The nineteenth Article: The Nobles of the world ought to constrain and compel the Ministers of the Church to observe and keep the Law of Jesus Christ. I answer, that it

standeth thus word for word in my Book. Those which be on our part do preach and affirm that the Church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and consisteth in these parts: That is to say, Ministers of the Church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the Nobles of the world that should compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ, and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.

The twentieth Article: The Ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience, which the Priests and Monks have invented without any express authority of the Holy Scriptures. I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my Book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, Spiritual, Secular, and Ecclesiastical. The Spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the Law and Ordinance of God, under the which the Apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The Secular obedience is that which is due according to the Civil Laws and Ordinances. The Ecclesiastical obedience is such as the Priests have invented, without any express authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in *Deut. 24*. Thou shalt do all that which the Priests of the kindred of *Levi* shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.

The twenty first Article: He that is Excommunicated by the Pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the Pope, and the General Council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the Excommunications and Curses of the Pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answer, that I do not acknowledg this Proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my Book, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me great wrong, and that they refuse to hear me in the Popes Court. For after the death of one Pope, I did appeal to his Successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the Pope to the Council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And therefore last of all I have appealed to the Head of the Church my Lord Jesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better than any Pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forso much as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause, neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the Cardinal of *Cambray* unto him, and said, Wilt thou presume above St. *Paul*, who appealed unto the Emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ? *John Hus* answered, Forso much then as I am the first that do it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an Heretick? And yet notwithstanding St. *Paul* did not appeal unto the Emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake unto him by revelation, and said, Be firm and constant, for thou must go unto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his Appeal again, they mocked him.

¶ Forso much as mention here is made of the Appeal of the said *Hus*, it seemeth good here to shew the manner and form thereof.

The Copy and tenor of the Appeal of J. Hus.

¶ Oras much as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last, and uttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those which honour and fear him; defending and keeping all those that love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stiff-necked and unpenitent sinner, and that the Lord Jesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, wicked Judges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them which should come after him, to the intent they should com-

The Church militant standeth in three parts. 1. Ministers, 2. Nobles, 3. Commons

Three kinds of obedience: 1. Spiritual, 2. Secular, 3. Ecclesiastical.

True obedience ruled by Gods commandment. *Deut. 24*.

Appealing unto Christ forbidden by the Cardinal of *Cambray*.

The Appeal of *John Hus* from Pope *John 23* unto Christ.

The betraying and condemning of innocents. And how could this Bishop of *Cambray* understand the Books of *John Hus* being written in Bohemian speech, which he understood not?

The fervent
complaint
and prayer
of Christ
against vic-
ked Judges.

After the
example of
Christ he
maketh his
prayer to
God.

A godly
prayer of
John Hus.

Chrysolome,
Andrew of
Prague,
Robert Bi-
shop of Lin-
coln appeal-
ed from
men to
Christ.

John Hus
complain-
eth of Mi-
chael de
Causis his
great ene-
my.

The Procu-
rator of
John Hus
said in pri-
son at Rome

mit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this manner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himself against me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord, thou hast given me understanding, and I have acknowledged thee, thou hast opened unto me all their enterprises; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto sacrifice, and have not resisted against them. They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying, Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hosts, which judgest justly, and seest the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause unto thee, for so much as the number of those which trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not separate thyself far from me, for so much as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will succour me. My God, my God, look down upon me, wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about, for they have spoken against me with deceitful tongues, and have compassed me in with words full of despite, and have enforced me without cause. Instead of love towards me they have slandered me, and have recompensed me with evil for good, and in place of charity they have conceived hatred against me.

Wherefore behold, I staying my self upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the Excommunication determined by the Bishops, Scribes, Pharisees, and Judges, which sit in Moses seat, and resign my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy Patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysolome, appealed twice from the Council of the Bishops and Clergy; and Andrew Bishop of Prague, and Robert Bishop of Lincoln, appealed unto the sovereign and most just Judge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the Princes, Barons, Knights, Esquires, and all other which inhabit our Country of Boheme, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, which am so grievously oppressed by the Excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the Canons of the Cathedral Church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter of Saint Angels, Dean of the Church of Rome, and Cardinal, and also ordained Judge by Pope John XXIII, who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my Advocates and Procurators, which they ought not to deny, (no not to a Jew or Pagan, or to any heretick whatsoever he were) neither yet would he receive any reasonable excuse, for that I did not appear personally, neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole University of Prague with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn Notaries, and such as were called unto witness. By this all men may evidently perceive that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or disobedience, for so much as that I did not appear in the Court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

And moreover, for so much as they had laid ambushments for me on every side by ways where I should pass, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumspect and advised: And for so much as my procurers were willing and contented to bind themselves even to abide the punishment of the fire to answer to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the Court of Rome; as also because they did imprison my lawful procurator in the said Court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. For so much then as the order and disposition of all ancient Laws as well Divine of the Old and New Testament, as also of the Canon Laws, is this, that the Judges should resort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to enquire of all such

crimes as shall be objected and laid against him which is accused or slandered, and that of such men as by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the evil willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered; but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrel-pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the Law of God;) and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or peril, resort or come, and that the Judge and witnesses should not be enemies unto him that is accused. And also for so much as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I John Hus do present and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jesus Christ, my just Judge, who knoweth and defendeth, and justly judgeth every mans just and true cause.

The twenty second Article. A vicious and naughty man liveth viciously and naughtily; but a virtuous and godly man liveth virtuously and godly. I answer, My words are these, That the division of all humane works is in two parties, that is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; for so much as it doth appear, that if any man be virtuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then virtuously and godly. And contrariwise if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby understand deadly sin, doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise virtue and godliness doth quicken all the acts and doings of the virtuous and godly man; in so much that he being in the state of grace is said to pray and do good works even sleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in the sixth Chapter of Luke, If thine eye, that is to say, the mind or intention be simple, not depraved with the perverseness of any sin or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings shall be clear and shining, that is, acceptable and grateful unto God. But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened. And in the second to the Corinthians, tenth Chapter, All things that you do, do them to the glory of God. And likewise in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. ult. and last Chapter, it is said, Let all your doings be done with charity. Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity, is virtuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This saying may well be proved out of the 23 Chapter of Deuteronomy, where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his Commandments is blessed in the house and in the field, out-going and in-coming, sleeping and waking, but he that doth not keep his commandments is accursed in the house, and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by St. Augustine upon the Psalm where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, That the sleep of Saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and consequently be virtuous and good? And contrariwise it is understood of him which is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the Law, that whatsoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean.

To this end doth that also appertain which is before repeated out of the first of Malachi. And Gregory in the first Book and first Question saith, We do defile the Bread, which is the Body of Christ, when as we come unworthily to the Table, and when we being defiled, do drink his Blood. And St. Augustine upon the 146th Psalm saith, If thou dost exceed the due measure of nature, and dost not abstain from gluttony, but gorge thyself up with drunkenness, whatsoever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same. When he had made an end of this article, the Cardinal of Cambray said, The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And again, if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and so we should always live in deadly sin. John Hus answered, The Scripture speaketh in that place of venial sins, the which do not utterly expell or put away the habit of virtue from a man, but do associate themselves together.

KING
Hus.
The Pope
proved to
do against
his own
Canon-law.

22.
A knot
found in a
ruft.

The tree
that is good
bringeth
forth good
fruit.

2 Cor. 10

Deut. 23.

Cardinal of
Cambray ob-
jecteth.

John Hus
answereth.

KING together. And a certain Englishman whose name was **Hus** said, But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good. *John Hus* alledged again *S. Augustines* place upon *146 Psal.* the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, What makes this to the purpose?

23.
Forbidding
to Preach,
whether it
ought to be
obeyed.

The twenty third Article. The Minister of Christ living according to his Law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edifie the people, ought to preach; notwithstanding the pretended Excommunication of the Pope. And moreover, if the Pope, or any other Ruler, do forbid any Priest or Minister so disposed to Preach, that he ought not to obey him. I Answer, that these are my words; That albeit the Excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the Commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of Saint Peter, and the other Apostles, *That we ought rather to obey God than man.* Whereupon it followeth, that the Minister of Christ living according unto his Law, &c. ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended Excommunication. For it is evident, That it is commanded unto the Ministers of the Church to Preach the Word of God, *Acts 5.* God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people, as by divers other places of the Scripture, and the holy Fathers rehearsed in my Treatise, it doth appear more at large. The second part of this Article followeth in my Treatise in this manner.

Acts. 5.

Preaching
and Alms-
giving be
not works
indifferent,
but duties
and com-
mandments.
To forbid a
Minister to
Preach, and
to forbid a
rich man to
give Alms,
is both one.

By this it appeareth, that for a Minister to Preach, and a rich Man to give Alms, are not indifferent Works, but Duties and Commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the Pope, or any other Ruler of the Church, do command any Minister disposed to Preach, not to Preach, or a rich Man disposed to give Alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreover, to the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended Excommunication, the which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the Law and Gods Commandments. For the which, the meet Minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from Preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.

Then they objected unto him, that he had said, that such kind of Excommunications were rather Blessings. Verily, said *John Hus*, even so I do now say again, that every Excommunication, by the which a man is unjustly Excommunicate, is unto him a Blessing before God; according to that saying of the Prophet, *I will curse where as you bless:* and contrariwise, they shalt curse, but thou, O Lord, shalt bless. Then the Cardinal of Florence, which had always a Notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said, The Law is, that every Excommunication, be it never so unjust, ought to be feared. It is true, said *John Hus*; for I do remember eight Causes, for the which Excommunication ought to be feared. Then said the Cardinal: Are there no more but eight? It may be, said *John Hus*, that there be more.

How the
Popes Cur-
sings are
Blessings.

The Cardi-
nal of Flo-
rence with
his Notary.
Eight causes
why Ex-
communi-
cation
ought to be
feared.

24.

The twenty fourth Article. Every man which is admitted unto the Ministry of the Church, receiveth also by special commandment the Office of a Preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that Commandment, notwithstanding any Excommunication pretended to the contrary. The Answer: My words are these. Forasmuch as it doth appear by that which is aforesaid, That whosoever cometh, or is admitted unto the Ministry, receiveth also by especial Commandment the Office of Preaching, he ought to fulfil that Commandment, any Excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also no Christian ought to doubt, but that a man sufficiently instructed in Learning, is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignorant, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that do him Injury, than to do any other works of mercy. Forasmuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bound under the pain of damnation, to minister and give corporal and bodily Alms, as appeareth in the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew*, How much more is he bound to do Spiritual Alms?

A Minister
once admit-
ted, is more
bound to
Preach, than
to do any
other work
of mercy,
the Popes
prohibition
notwith-
standing.

The twenty fifth Article. The Ecclesiastical Censures are Antichristian, such as the Clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people. Whereby if the Laity be not obedient unto the Clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousness, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for Antichrist. Whereby it is an evident sign and token, that such Censures proceed from Antichrist; the which Censures in their Processes they do call Fulminations or Lightnings, whereby the Clergy doth chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickedness of Antichrist, which thrust themselves into the Office of the Clergy. These things are contained in the last Chapter of his Treatise of the Church. I Answer, and I deny that it was in that form. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23d Chapter. And in the Examination of the Audience, they have gathered certain Clauses most contrary thereunto. The which when they had read, the Cardinal of *Cambray* renewed his old Song, saying; Truly these are much more grievous and offensive, than the Articles which are gathered.

25.

Censures of
the Popes
Church
multiply
the Popes
covetous-
ness.

The twenty sixth Article. There ought no interdiction to be appointed unto the People, forasmuch as Christ the high Bishop, neither for *John Baptist*, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdiction. My words are these: When as I complained, that for one Ministers sake, an Interdiction was given out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ the high Bishop, notwithstanding that the Prophet was taken and kept in Prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the Children of Men, did not give out any Curse or Interdiction, no not when as *Herod* beheaded him; neither when as he himself was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the Souldiers, Scribes and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his Disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in the fifth Chapter of *S. Matthew*: And Christs first Vicar following the same Doctrine and Learning, saith in his first Epistle of Saint Peter, and the second Chapter, *Hereunto are ye called: for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse again.* And Saint Paul following the same order and way in the twelfth Chapter of the *Romans*, saith, *Bless them that persecute you.* There were besides these, many other places of Scripture recited in that Book; but they being omitted, these were only rehearsed, which did help or prevail to stir up or move the Judges minds.

Christ inter-
dicted none,
but prayed
for all.

1 Pet. 2.

Rom. 12.

And these are the Articles which are alledged out of *John Hus* his Book, entituled, *Of the Church*.

Other Articles moreover out of his other Books were collected, and forced against him: First, out of his Treatise written against *Steven Paletz*, to the number of seven Articles. Also six other Articles strained out of his Treatise against *Stanislaus Znoyma*. Whereunto his Answers likewise be adjoyaned, not unfruitful to be read.

Here followeth seven Articles, which are said to be drawn out of his Treatise which he wrote against *Stephen Paletz*.

The first Article. If the Pope, Bishop, or Prelate, be in deadly sin, he is then no Pope, Bishop, nor Prelate. The Answer: I grant thereunto, and I send you unto Saint *Augustine*, *Jerome*, *Chrysostome*, *Gregory*, *Cyprian*, and *Bernard*; the which do say moreover, That whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian, how much less then is he Pope, or Bishop? Of whom it is spoken by the Prophet *Amos*, in his eighth Chapter, *They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became Princes, and I knew them not, &c.* But afterward I do grant, that a wicked Pope, Bishop, or Priest, is an unworthy Minister of the Sacrament, by whom God doth Baptize, Consecrate, or otherwise work to the profit of his Church; and this is largely handled in the Text of the Book by the Authority of the holy Doctors, for even he which is in deadly sin, is not worthily a King before God,

1.

Articles
drawn out
of the
Treatise
written
against
Steven Paletz.

as appeareth in the first Book of Kings, the fifteenth Chapter; Whereas God saith unto Saul by the Prophet Samuel, saying, *Forasmuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more King.* Whilst these things were thus intreating, the Emperor looking out of a certain Window of the Cloyster, accompanied with the County Palatine, and the Burgrave of Norenberg, conferring and talking much of *John Hus*, at length he said, That there

The Emperors judgment of *John Hus*.

was never a worse or more pernicious Heretick than he. In the mean while, when *John Hus* had spoken these Words as touching the unworthy King, by and by the Emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat those words again; which after that he had done, his duty therein being considered, the Emperor answered: No man, saith he, doth live without fault. Then the

The Cardinal of Cambray.

Cardinal of *Cambray* being in a great fury, said, Is it not enough for thee that thou dost contemn and despise the Ecclesiastical State, and goest about by thy Writings and Doctrine to perturb and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw Kings out of their State and Dignity? Then *Paletz* began to alledge the Laws, whereby he would prove that *Saul* was King, even when those words were spoken by *Samuel*, and therefore that *David* did forbid that *Saul* should not be slain, not for the holiness of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holiness of his Anointing. And when as *John Hus* repeated out of *S. Cyprian*, that he did take upon him the name of Christianity in vain, which did not follow Christ in his living: *Paletz* answered, Behold and see what a folly is in this Man, which alledgeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true Christian, is he not therefore true Pope, Bishop, or King? When as these are names of Office, and to be a Christian, is a name of merit and desert; and so may any man be a true Pope, Bishop, or King, although he be no true Christian. Then said *John Hus*, If Pope *John* the three and twentieth were a true Pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his Office? The Emperor answered, The Lords of the Council have now lately agreed thereupon, that he was true Pope; but for his notorious and manifest evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the Church of God, and did spoil and bring to ruine the power thereof, he is rejected and cast out of his Office.

2. The second Article. The grace of Predestination is the Bond whereby the body of the Church, and every part and member thereof is firmly knit and joyned unto the Head. The answer: I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and it is proved in the Text out of the eighth Chapter of the *Romans*, *Who shall separate us from the charity and love of Christ, &c?* and in the tenth Chapter of *John*, *My sheep hear my voice; and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternal life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands.* This is the knot of the Body of the Church, and of our Spiritual Head Christ, understanding the Church to be the congregation of the Predestinate.

3. The third Article. If the Pope be a wicked man, and specially a Reprobate, then even as *Judas* the Apostle, he is a Devil, a Thief, and the Son of perdition, and not the Head of the holy Militant Church, forasmuch as he is no part or member thereof. The Answer: My words are thus, If the Pope be an evil or wicked man, and specially if he be a Reprobate; then even as *Judas*, so is he a Devil, a Thief, and the Son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy Militant Church? Whereas he is not truly any Member, or part thereof; for if he were a Member of the holy Church, then should he be also a Member of Christ, and if he were a Member of Christ, then should he cleave and stick unto Christ by the grace of predestination and present justice, and should be one Spirit with God, as the Apostle saith in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, the sixth Chapter, *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?*

4. The fourth Article. An evil Pope or Prelate, or Reprobate is no true Pastor, but a Thief and a Robber. The Answer. The Text of my Book is thus: If he be evil or wicked, then is he a Hireling, of whom Christ speaketh, He is no Shepherd, neither are the Sheep his own. Therefore when he seeth the Wolf coming, he runneth away

and forsaketh the sheep: and so finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every such Reprobate, or wicked Pope or Prelate, is no true Pastor; but a very Thief and a Robber, as is more at large proved in my Book. Then said *John Hus*, I do so limit all things, that such as touching their desert, are not truly and worthily Popes and Shepherds before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are Popes, Pastors, and Priests.

{ KING }
{ HEN. 5. }

Then a certain Man rising up behind *John Hus*, clothed all in Silk, said, My Lords, take heed lest that *John Hus* deceive both you and himself with these his Glosses, and look whether these things be in his Book or not; for of late, I had disputation with him upon these Articles, in the which I said, that a wicked Pope, &c. was no Pope, as touching merit and desert, but as touching his Office he was truly Pope. Whereupon he used these Glosses which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his Book. Then *John Hus* turning himself unto him, said, Did you not hear that it was so read out of my Book? and this did easily appear in *John* the twenty third, whether he were true Pope, or a very Thief and Robber. Then the Bishops and Cardinals looking one upon another, said, That he was a true Pope, and laughed *John Hus* to scorn.

The fifth Article. The Pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his Office, *Most Holy*; for then the King ought also to be called *Most Holy*, according to his Office. Also the Tormentors, Lictors, and Devils ought also to be called Holy. The Answer. My words are otherwise placed, in this manner; So ought a feigner say, that if any man be a most holy Father, then he doth most holily observe and keep his Fatherliness: and if he be a naughty and wicked Father, then doth he most wickedly keep the same. Likewise, if the Bishop be most holy, then is he also most good; and when as he saith, that he is Pope, it is the name of his Office.

Whereupon it followeth, That the man which is Pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a most holy man; and consequently by that his Office he is most good. And forasmuch as no man can be good by his Office, except he do exercise and use the same his Office very well; it followeth, that if the Pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or use his Office his well. Forasmuch as he cannot use the Office well, except he be morally good, *Matthew 12. How can you speak good things, when you your selves are evil?* And immediately after it followeth, If the Pope by reason of his Office be called, *Most Holy*, wherefore should not the King of *Romans* be called *Most Holy*, by reason of his Office and Dignity? When as the King, according to *S. Augustines* mind, representeth the Deity and Godhead of Christ, and the Priest representeth only his Humanity. Wherefore also should not Judges, yea, even Tormentors be called Holy, forasmuch as they have their Office by ministering unto the Church of Christ? These things are more at large discoursed in my Book; but I cannot find or know, saith *John Hus*, any Foundation whereby I should call the Pope most Holy, when as this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy: Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the Pope most Holy?

The sixth Article. If the Pope live contrary unto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elect and chosen, according to humane election, yet doth he ascend and come another way than by Christ. The Answer. The Text is thus: If the Pope live contrary unto Christ in pride and avarice, how then doth he not ascend and come in another way into the Sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door our Lord Jesus Christ? But admit, as you say, that he did ascend by lawful Election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according unto the common and vulgar constitution and ordinances of men; yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved, that he should ascend and come in another way; for *Judas Iscariot* was truly and lawfully chosen of the Lord Jesus Christ unto his Bishoprick, as Christ saith in the sixth of *John*, *And yet he came in another way into the sheepfold, and was a thief, and a devil, and the son of perdition.* Did he not come in another way? when as our Saviour spake thus of him, *He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me.*

6.

The

KING
Hus.

The same also is proved by S. Bernard unto Pope Eugenius. Then said Paletz, Behold the fury and madness of this Man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be, than to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascend another way, and not by Christ? John Hus answered, verily both parts are true, that he was elect and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend, and came in another way, for he was a Thief, a Devil, and the son of Perdition. Then said Paletz, Cannot a man be truly and lawfully chosen Pope, or Bishop, and afterward live contrary unto Christ? And that notwithstanding, he doth not ascend any other ways. But I, said John Hus, do say, that whosoever doth enter into any Bishoprick, or like Office by Simony, not to the intent to labor and travel in the Church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuously and unrighteously, and to the intent to advance himself with all kind of Pride, every such man ascendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the Gospel, he is a thief and a robber.

The seventh Article. The condemnation of the forty five Articles of John Wickliff made by the Doctors, is unreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alledged is feigned and untrue; that is to say, That none of those Articles are Catholick, but that every of them be either Heretical, Erroneous or Offensive. The Answer: I have written it thus in my Treatise; The forty and five Articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those forty and five is a Catholick Article, but each of them is either Heretical, Erroneous or Offensive.

O Mr. Doctor, where is your proof? you feign a cause which you do not prove, &c. as it appeareth more at large in my Treatise. Then said the Cardinal of Cambray, John Hus, thou didst say that thou wouldst not defend any Error of John Wickliff. And now it appeareth in your Books, that you have openly defended his Articles. John Hus answered, Reverend Father, even as I said before, so do I now say again, that I will not defend any Errors of John Wickliff, neither of any other mans: but forso much as it seemed unto me to be against Conscience, simply to consent unto the condemnation of them, no Scripture being alledged or brought contrary and against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree unto the condemnation of them: And forasmuch as the reason which is copulative cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof.

The Cardinal
of Cambray.Articles
drawn out
of his Treatise
written
against Stanislaus
de Znoyma.

Now there remain six Articles of thirty nine. These are said to be drawn out of another Treatise which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

The first Article. No man is lawfully elect or chosen, in that the Electors, or the greater part of them, have consented with a lively voice, according to the custom of men to elect and chuse any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successor of Christ, or Vicar of Peter in the Ecclesiastical Office, but in that that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. The Answer: These things which follow are also written in my Book. It standeth in the power and hands of wicked Electors, to chuse a Woman into the Ecclesiastical office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called John, who held and occupied the Popes place and dignity, by the space of two years and more.

It may also be, that they do chuse a Thief, a Murderer or a Devil, and consequently they may also elect and chuse Antichrist.

It may also be that for love, covetousness, or hatred, they do chuse some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen; Inasmuch as the Electors, or the greater part of them, have consented and agreed together according to the custom of men, upon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest Successor or Vicar of Peter the Apostle, or any other in the Ecclesiastical Office.

Therefore, they which most accordingly unto the Scripture do elect and chuse, revelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason upon him they do elect and chuse; whereupon, whether the Electors do so chuse good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is chosen; for in

that point that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon saith Christ, in John 10. Give credit unto works.

The second Article. The Pope being a Reprobate, is not the Head of the holy Church of God. The Answer, I wrote it thus in my Treatise, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reason of the Doctor, how this question is contrary to the Faith, to say, That if the Pope be a Reprobate, how is he the Head of the Holy Church? Behold, the Truth cannot decay or fail in Disputation, for did Christ dispute against the Faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Pharisees, Matthew 12. Ye stock and off-spring of vipers, how can ye speak good things, when you your selves are wicked and evil? And behold, I demand of the Scribes, if the Pope be a Reprobate, and the stock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy Church of God, that the Scribes and Pharisees, which were in the Council-house of Prague, may make answer hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speak good things, forso much as he may be in state of Grace according unto present Justice, than to be the Head of the holy Church of God.

Also in the fifth of John, our Saviour complaineth of the Jews, saying, How can you believe which do seek for glory amongst your selves, and do not seek for the glory that cometh only of God? And I likewise do complain, how that if the Pope be a Reprobate; can he be the Head of the Church of God, which receiveth his glory of the World, and seeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more possible, that the Pope being a Reprobate should believe, than that he should be the Head of the Church of God; forso much as he taketh his glory of the World.

The third Article. There is no spark of apparance, that there ought to be one Head in the Spirituality, to rule the Church, the which should be always conversant with the Militant Church. The Answer, I do grant it. For what a consequence is this. The King of Boheme is head of the Kingdom of Boheme: Ergo, The Pope is Head of the whole Militant Church? Christ is the Head of the Spirituality, ruling and governing the Militant Church by much more and greater necessity than Caesar ought to rule the Temporality. Forso much as Christ, which sitteth on the right Hand of God the Father, doth necessarily rule the Militant Church as Head. And there is no spark of appearance that there should be one Head in the Spirituality ruling the Church, that should always be conversant with the Militant Church, except some Infidel would heretically affirm, that the Militant Church should have here a permanent and continual City or dwelling place, and not enquire and seek after that which is to come. It is also farther evident in my Book, how unconsentient the proportion of the similitude is, for a reprobate Pope to be Head of the Militant Church, and a reprobate King to be Head of the Kingdom of Boheme.

The fourth Article. Christ would better rule his Church by his true Apostles, dispersed throughout the whole World, without such monstrous Heads. I Answer, That it is in my Book as here followeth, that albeit that the Doctor doth say, that the body of the Militant Church is oftentimes without a Head; yet notwithstanding, we do verily believe that Christ Jesus is the Head over every Church, ruling the same without lack or default, pouring upon the same a continual motion and sense, even unto the later day: Neither can the Doctor give a reason why the Church, in the time of Agnes, by the space of two years and five months, lived according to many Members of Christ in grace and favor, but that by the same reason the Church might be without a Head, by the space of many years. Forso much as Christ should better rule his Church by his true Disciples dispersed throughout the whole World, without such monstrous Heads. Then said they all together, Behold, now he prophesieth. And John Hus again further prosecuting his former talk, said, But I say that the Church in the time of the Apostles, was far better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth let and hinder, that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true Disciples, without such monstrous Heads as have been now a late? For behold, even at this present we have no such

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head,

head, and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his Church. When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

5. The fifth Article. Peter was no Universal Pastor or Shepherd of the Sheep of Christ, much less is the Bishop of Rome. The Answer, Those words are not in my Book, but these which do follow. Secondly, It appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit unto Peter for his Jurisdiction the whole World, no not one only Province. So likewise, neither unto any other of the Apostles. Notwithstanding, certain of them walked through many Regions; and other some fewer, preaching and teaching the Kingdom of God, as Paul, which labored and travelled more than all the rest, did corporally visit and convert most Provinces, whereby it is lawful for any Apostle or his Vicar to convert and confirm as much people, or as many Provinces in the Faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their Liberty or Jurisdiction, but only by disability or insufficiency.

6. The sixth Article. The Apostles, and other faithful Priests of the Lord, have stoutly ruled the Church in all things necessary unto salvation, before the Office of the Pope was brought into the Church, and so would they very possibly do still, if there were no Pope even unto the later day. Then they all cried out again and said, Behold the Prophet. But John Hus said, Verily it is true that the Apostles did rule the Church stoutly, before the Office of the Pope was brought into the Church. And certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithful Men which do follow their steps do the same; for as now we have no Pope, and so peradventure it may continue and endure a year or more. Besides this, were brought against him other nineteen Articles, objected unto him being in Prison, which with his Answers to the same here likewise follow. Of the which Articles the first is this.

The first Article. Paul, according unto present Justice, was a Blasphemer and none of the Church, and therewithal was in Grace, according unto Predestination of life everlasting. The Answer: This proposition is not in the Book, but this which followeth; Whereby it doth seem probable, that as Paul was both a Blasphemer, according to present Justice, and therewithal also was a faithful Child of our holy Mother the Church, and in Grace according to Predestination of Life everlasting: So Iscariot was both in Grace, according unto present Justice, and was never of our holy Mother the Church, according to the Predestination of Life everlasting, forso much as he lacked that Predestination. And so Iscariot, albeit he was an Apostle, and a Bishop of Christ, which is the name of his Office, yet was he never any part of the Universal Church.

The second Article. Christ doth more love a Predestinate Man being sinful, than any Reprobate in what grace possible soever he be. The Answer: My words are in the fourth Chapter of my Book intituled of the Church; and it is evident, that God doth more love any predestinate being sinful, than any reprobate in what grace soever he be for the time: forasmuch as he will, that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his Creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate, because he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto present Justice. And the third Article of those Articles before, foundeth much near unto this, That the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.

The third Article. All the sinful, according unto present Justice, are not faithful, but do swerve from the true Catholick Faith, forso much as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sin but in that point, that he doth swerve from the Faith. The Answer: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did think upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the Divine Knowledge and Understanding, &c. then undoubtedly they would not so offend and sin. This pro-

position is verified by the saying of the Prophet Isaiah, *Thy rulers are unfaithful, mis-believers, fellows and companions of thieves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards.* Behold, the Prophet calleth the Rulers of the Church Infidels for their offences; for all such as do not keep their Faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful servants, and they also are unfaithful children which keep not their obedience, fear, and love unto God their Father.

Item, This proposition is verified by the saying of the Apostle, the first Chapter to Titus. *They do confess that they know God, but by their works they do deny him.* And forasmuch as they which are sinful, do swerve away from the meritorious work of Blessedness, therefore they do swerve from the true Faith grounded upon Charity, forso much as Faith without Works is dead. To this end doth also appertain that which the Lord speaketh, *Matth. 23.* of the faithful and unfaithful servant.

The fourth Article. These words of John in his two and twentieth Chapter, *Receive the holy Ghost, and, Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, &c. and Matthew the sixteenth and eighteenth Chapter, for lack of understanding shall terrifie many Christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulness of their Power and Authority.* The Answer: This Sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is first of all to be supposed, that the Saying of our Saviour is necessary, as touching the vertue of the Word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a Priest to bind and loose, except that binding and loosing be in Heaven. But for the lack of the true understanding of those words, many simple Christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves, that whether they be just or unjust, the Priests may at their pleasures, whensoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant Priests do also presume and take upon them to have power to bind and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant Priests do say, that they have power and authority to absolve every man confessing himself, of what sin or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an Hypocrite do confess himself, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin, whereof proof hath oftentimes been found and it is evident, forso much as the letter doth kill, but the Spirit doth quicken.

The fifth Article. The binding and loosing of God, is simply and plainly the chief and principal. The Answer: This is evident, forso much as it were blasphemous presumption to affirm, That a man may remit and forgive an evil Fact or Offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himself not approving or allowing the same. For by the Universal Power of the Lord, it is necessary that he do first absolve and forgive, before that his Vicar do the same; neither is there one Article of our Faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it should be impossible for any man of the militant Church to absolve or bind, except in such case as it be conformable to the head of the Church, Jesus Christ. Wherefore every faithful Christian ought to take heed of that saying, If the Pope, or any other, pretend by any manner of sign to bind or loose, that he is thereby bound or loosed; for he that doth grant or confess that, must also consequently grant and confess that the Pope is without sin, and so that he is a God, for otherwise he must needs err and do contrary unto the Keys of Christ. This saying proveth the fact of the Pope, who always in his Absolution presupposeth Contrition and Confession. Yea moreover, if any letter of Absolution be given unto any Offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the Offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of Absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby evident, that many Priests do not absolve those which are confessed, because that either through shamefastness they do cloak or hide greater Offences, or else that they have not due Contrition or Repentance; for unto true Absolution there is first required Contrition. Secondly, A purpose and intent to sin no more. Thirdly, True Confession. And fourthly, steadfast hope of forgiveness. The first appeareth by *Ezekiel*, If the wicked

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The fourth Article.
The words of Christ for binding and loosing, unless they be well understood, minister too much fear or presumption.

The fifth Article.
Binding and loosing chiefly and principally belong to Christ.

To true Absolution four things are required.

KING wicked do repent him, &c. The second, in the fifth and eighth of *John*, *Do thou not sin anymore*. The third part by this place of *Luke*, *Shew your selves unto the Priests*. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ, *My son, believe, and thy sins are forgiven thee*. I also added many other probations in my Treatise out of the Holy Fathers, *Augustine*, *Jerome*, and the master of the Sentences.

The sixth Article.

In Gregory.

Priests more given to their own lucre and belly, than to the service of Christ.

The sixth Article. The Priests do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures those things which serve for the belly, but such as appertain to the true imitation and following of Christ, that they reject, and refuse as impertinent unto salvation. The Answer: This St. *Gregory* doth sufficiently prove in his seventeenth Homily, alledging the saying of Christ, *The harvest is great, the workmen are few*; speaking also that which we cannot say without grief or sorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly hear good things, yet there lack such as should declare the same unto them; for behold, the World is full of Priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcity of Workmen in the Harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly Priesthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of Priesthood. And immediately after he saith, We are fallen unto outward affairs and business, for we take upon us one Office for honor sake, and we do exhibit and give another to ease our selves of labor. We leave Preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called Bishops to our pain, which do retain the name of Honor, but not the Verity.

And immediately after he saith, We take no care for our Flock, we daily call upon for our stipend and wages, we cover and desire Earthly things with a greedy mind, we gape after Worldly glory, we leave the Cause of God undone, and make haste about our Worldly affairs and business; we take upon us the place of Sanctity and Holiness, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles, &c. This writeth Saint *Gregory*, with many other things more in the same place. Also in his Pastoral, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also Saint *Bernard*, as in many other places, so likewise in his 33. Sermon upon the *Canticles*, he saith, All friends, and all enemies, all kinsfolks and adversaries, all of one household, and no peace-makers; they are the Ministers of Christ, and serve Antichrist; they go honorably honored with the Goods of the Lord, and yet they do honor, &c.

The seventh Article.

The Popes power doing ungodly is not to be feared.

The seventh Article. The power of the Pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared. The Answer: It is not in my Treatise, but contrariwise, that the subjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the virtuous and good Rulers, and also those which are wicked and evil. But notwithstanding, if the Pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the Lords the Cardinals, as I suppose, did not fear the power of *Gregory* the twelfth before his deposition, when as they refuted him, saying, That he did abuse his Power contrary unto his own Oath.

The eighth Article.

The Pope doing contrary to Christ, is not the Vicar of Christ, but Antichrist.

The eighth Article. An evil and a wicked Pope is not the successor of *Peter*, but of *Judas*. The Answer: I wrote this in my Treatise, If the Pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honors and lucre of the World; if he be a Shepherd, taking his name by the feeding of the Flock of God (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying, *Feed my Sheep*) if he feed the Sheep with the Word, and with virtuous Example, and that he become even like his Flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labor and travel for the Church, then is he without doubt the true Vicar of Christ. But if we walk contrary unto these Virtues, for so much as there is no society between Christ and Belial, and Christ himself saith, *He that is not with me, is against me*: how is he then the true Vicar of Christ or *Peter*, and not rather the Vicar of Antichrist? Christ called *Peter* himself, *Satanas*, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had chosen his Vicar, and specially appointed over his Church. Why should not any other then, being more contrary unto Christ, be truly called *Satanas*, and consequently Antichrist, or at least the chief and principal Minister or Vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in Saint *Augustine*, S. *Jerome*, *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Bernard*, *Gregory*, *Remigius*, and *Ambrase*, &c.

The ninth Article. The Pope is the same Beast of whom it is spoken in the *Apocalips*, *Power is given unto him to make war upon the Saints*. The Answer: I deny this Article to be in my Book.

The tenth Article. It is lawful to preach notwithstanding the Popes Inhibition. The Answer: The Article is evident, for so much as the Apostles did preach contrary to the commandment of the Bishops of *Jerusalem*. And Saint *Hilary* did the like, contrary to the commandment of the Pope which was an *Arrian*. It is also manifest by the example of Cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandment of Pope *Gregory* the twelfth, sent throughout all Realms such as should preach against him. It is also lawful to preach under Appeal, contrary unto the Popes Commandment. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

The eleventh Article. If the Popes commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the Doctrine of the Gospel or the Apostles, it is not to be obeyed. The Answer: I have thus written in my Book, The faithful disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider, whether the Popes commandment be expressly and plainly the commandment of Christ or any of his Apostles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their Doctrine or no; and that being once known or understood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certainly know that the Popes commandment is contrary and against the holy Scripture, and hurtful unto the Church; then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto. This I have handled at large in my Treatise, and have confirmed it by the authorities of Saint *Augustine*, *Hierome*, *Gregory*, *Chrysostome*, *Bernard*, and *Bede*, and with the holy Scripture and Canons, the which for brevities cause I do here pass over. I will only rehearse the saying of Saint *Isidore*, who writeth thus, He which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrary and besides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honored as a false witness of God, and a Church-robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no Prelate, but in such case as he do command or take counsel of the counsels and commandments of Christ.

Likewise Saint *Augustine* upon this saying, upon the chair of *Moses*, &c. saith, secondly. *They teach in the chair of Moses the law of God: Ergo, God teacheth by them*: but if they will teach you any of their own Inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ, *He that heareth you, heareth me*, all lawful and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christ's saying, *It is not you which do speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you*. Let therefore my adversaries and slanderers learn, that there be not only twelve Counsels in the Gospel, in the which subjects ought to obey Christ and his appointed Ministers, but that there are so many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawful & honest things joyned with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto under the pain of deadly sin; for every such thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their Minister.

The twelfth Article. It is lawful for the Clergy and Laity, by their Power and Jurisdiction to judge and determine of all things pertaining unto Salvation, and also of the works of the Prelates. The Answer: I have thus written in my Book, That it is lawful for the Clergy and Laity to judge and determine of the works of their Heads and Rulers. It appeareth by this, that the judgment of the secret Counsels of God, in the Court of Conscience is one thing, and the judgment of the Authority and Power in the Church is another. Wherefore Subjects first ought principally to judge and examine themselves, 1 *Corinthians* the eleventh Chapter. Secondly, They ought to examine all things which pertain unto their salvation, for a Spiritual Man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alledged as touching the first Judgment, and not the second, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I do say, that the Lay-man ought to judge and examine the works of his

The ninth Article. John Hus need not prove this Article, the Pope will prove it himself. The tenth Article. To preach against the Popes commandment.

The eleventh Article.

How far Prelates are to be obeyed.

Isidore.

Councils precepts.

The twelfth Article.

The Clergy and Laity may judge of the works of their Prelates.

Judgment double.

Secret in
the Court
of Confes-
sion. Open
in the Court
of Autho-
rity.

The thir-
teenth Arti-
cle.
To God-
ward all
wicked Mi-
nisters be
suspended.

The four-
teenth Arti-
cle.
The lay-
people sup-
planted by
the Clergy.

The fif-
teenth Arti-
cle.
The disho-
nesty of
such as ge-
thered false
accusations
against Job.
Hus.

his Prelate, like as *Paul* doth judge the doings of *Peter* in blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them according to this saying, *Beware of false Prophets, &c.* Thirdly, to rule over the Ministry: For the subject ought by reason to judge and examine the works of the Prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and rejoyce: But if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying, *If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.*

The thirteenth Article. God doth suspend of himself every wicked Prelate from his Ministry, while he is actually in Sin, for by that means that he is in deadly sin, he doth offend and sin whatsoever he do, and consequently is forbidden so to do; therefore also is he suspended from his Ministry. The answer, This is proved as touching suspension from Dignity, by *Hosea* the fourth Chapter, and *Isaiah*, and *Malachy* the first. And *Paul* in the first to the *Corinthians*, the eleventh Chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinful, or in any grievous Crime or Offence, from the eating of the Body of the Lord, and the drinking of his Blood, and consequently suspendeth all sinful Prelates from the ministrations of the reverend Sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinful from the declaration of his righteousness, *Psalms* 49. Forasmuch then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibit the Ministry, or any other good thing for the offence sake; or as the new Laws do determine or call it, to interdict, forbid: It is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinful, being in sin, to exercise or use their Ministry or Office, which by Gods commandment ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by *Isaiah* the Prophet, *Ye that carry the vessels of the Lord, be ye cleansed and made clean.* And to the *Corinthians* it is said, *Let all things be done with love and charity, &c.* The same thing also is commanded by divers and sundry Canons, the which I have alledged in my Treatise.

The fourteenth Article. The answer which he made to the five and twentieth Article in Prison, sufficeth for this, that is to say, That the Clergy for their own preferment and exaltation, do supplant and undermine the lay-people, do increase and multiply their covetousness, cloak and defend their malice and wickedness, and prepare a way for Antichrist.

The first part he proveth by experience, by the example of *Peter de Luna*, which named himself *Benedict*, by the example of *Angelus Coriarius*, which named himself *Gregory* the Twelfth; and also by the Example of *John* the Three and twentieth; likewise by the thirteenth and twenty fourth of *Ezekiel*, and out of *Gregory*, which saith, *What shall become of the Flock, when the Shepherds themselves are become Wolves, &c.* Also out of *Hosea*, *Michah*, and other of the Prophets, and many places of *S. Bernard*.

The second part is proved by the eighth Chapter of *Jeremiah*, *Gregory* in his seventeenth Homily, and *S. Bernard* upon the *Canticles*.

The third part of this Article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedness of any Schism but only the Clergy, alledging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therefore? Who excuseth Symony, but only the Clergy? likewise Covetousness, in heaping together many Benefices, Luxuriousness and Fornication? For how many of the Clergy are there now a days which do say, it is no deadly sin, alledging (albeit disorderly) the saying of *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply?*

Hereby also is the fourth part of the Article easily verified. For the way of Antichrist is wickedness and sin, of the which the Apostle speaketh to the *Thessalonians*: *Gregory* in his Register, Pastoral and Morals; also *S. Bernard* upon the *Canticles* plainly saith, Wicked and evil Priests prepare the way for Antichrist.

The fifteenth Article. *John Hus* doth openly teach and affirm, that these Conclusions afore said are true. The answer is manifest by that which I have afore written. For some of these Propositions I did write and publish, otherwise mine enemy did feign, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole Proposition unto me, the which thing the Commissioners themselves did confess before me. Whom I de-

fired, for the false invention and feigning of those Articles, that they would punish those whom they themselves knew and confessed to be mine Enemies.

The sixteenth Article. Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the Article following; that is to say, That all the afore said Conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as do weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the Church, invented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Church. But if there be any such, I am ready most humbly to revoke and recant the same.

The seventeenth Article. There was also an objection made against me as touching the Treatises which I wrote against *Palatz* and *Stanislaus de Znoyma*. The which I desired for Gods sake they might be openly read in the audience of the whole Council, and said, that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit my self to the judgment of the whole Council.

The eighteenth Article. There was also another Article objected against me in this form. *Item, John Hus* said and preached, that he should go to *Constance*, and if so be that for any manner of cause he should be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithstanding he never purposed to do it with his mind; forasmuch as whatsoever he had before taught, was pure and true, and the sound Doctrine of Christ. The Answer; This Article is full of lies, to the Inventer whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus, All the day long thou hast imagined mischief and wickedness, and with thy tongue, as with a sharp razor, thou hast wrought deceit: thou hast delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedness and mischief, than of equity and justice. Verily I do grant, that I left behind me a certain Epistle to be read unto the people, the which did contain, that all such as did weigh and consider my careful Labors and Travels, should pray for me, and steadfastly preserve and continue in the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing for a certainty, that I never taught them any such Errors as mine enemies do impute or ascribe unto me; and if it should happen that I were overcome by false Witnesses, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but steadfastly continue in the Truth.

The nineteenth Article. Last it was objected against me, That after I was come into *Constance*, I did write unto the Kingdom of *Boheme*, that the Pope and the Emperor received me honorably, and sent unto me two Bishops to make agreement between me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirm and establish me and my hearers in the Errors which I had Preached and Taught in *Boheme*. This Article is falsely alledged, even from the beginning. For how manifestly false should I have written, that the Pope and the Emperor did honor me, when as otherwise I had written before, that as yet we knew not where the Emperor was? And before the Emperor himself came unto *Constance*, I was by the space of three Weeks in Prison. And to write that I was honored by my Imprisonment, the People of the Kingdom of *Boheme* would repute the honor as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in derision say unto me, That according to their wills and pleasures I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this Article is wholly throughout false and untrue.

Unto these Articles above prefixed, were other Articles also to be annexed, which the *Parisians* had drawn out against Mr. *John Hus*, to the number of nineteen. The chief Author whereof, was *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, a great setter on of the Pope against good men. Of these Articles *John Hus* doth often complain in his Epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answer unto them. Which Articles being falsely collected and wrongfully depraved, although *J. Hus* had no time to answer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to set them down for the Reader to see and judge.

Articles formerly contained or picked out of the Treatise of *John Hus* of Prague, which he intituled of the Church, following in this part or behalf the errors, as they term them, of *John Wickliffe*.

The first Article. No reprobate is true Pope, Lord, or Prelate. The Error is in the faith, and behavior, and manners

KING
Hus.

The six-
teenth Ar-
ticle.

The seven-
teenth Ar-
ticle.

The eight-
teenth Ar-
ticle.

The nine-
teenth Ar-
ticle.

Nineteen
Articles
drawn out
by the Pa-
risians
against John
Hus.
John Gerson
Chancellor
of Paris.

KING manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well against the poor men of *Lions*, as also against the *Waldenses* and *Pikards*. The affirmation of which Error is temerarious, seditious, offensive and pernicious, and tending to the subversion of all humane Policy and Governance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unstable, if it should be founded upon Predestination and Charity: neither should the commandment of *Peter* have been good, which willeth all servants to be obedient unto their Masters and Lords, although they be wicked.

2. The second Article. That no man being in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the Devil, is true Pope, Prelate, Lord. The Error of this is like unto the first.

3. The third Article. No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the Apostolick Seat of *Peter*, neither hath any Apostolical power over the Christian people. This Error is also like unto the first.

4. The fourth Article. No reprobates are of the Church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ. This Error is against the common understanding of the Doctors, concerning the Church.

5. The fifth Article. They only are of the Church, and sit in *Peters* Seat, and have Apostolick power which follow Christ and his Apostles in their life and living. The Error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first Article, but containing more arrogance and rashness.

6. The sixth Article. That every man which liveth uprightly, according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea, although he forbidden or excommunicated by any Prelate or Bishop, even as he might and ought to give Alms; for his good life in living together with his Learning, doth sufficiently send him.

This is a rash and temerarious Error, offensive, and tending to the confusion of the whole Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

7. The seventh Article. That the Pope of *Rome* being contrary unto Christ, is not the universal Bishop, neither hath the Church of *Rome* any Supremacy over other Churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of *Cesar*, and not of Christ. An Error lately and plainly reprov'd.

8. The eighth Article. That the Pope ought not to be called most Holy, neither that his Feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed. This Error is temerarious, unreverently and offensively published.

9. The ninth Article. That according unto the Doctrine of Christ, Hereticks, be they never so obstinate or stubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated. This is the Error of the Donatists, temerariouly, and not without great offence affirmed against the Laws of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, as *St. Augustine* doth prove.

10. The tenth Article. That subjects and the common people, may and ought publicly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their Superiors and Rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and example of *S. Paul* so to do. This Error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all Rebellion, Disobedience and Sedition, and the curse and malediction of *Cham*.

11. The eleventh Article. That Christ only is head of the Church, and not the Pope. It is an Error according unto the common understanding of the Doctors, if all the reason of the Supremacy, and of being head, be secluded and taken away from the Pope.

12. The twelfth Article. That the only Church, which comprehendeth the predestinate and good Livers, is the Universal Church, whereunto Subjects do owe obedience. And this is consequent unto the former Article. The Error is contained as in the former Articles.

13. The thirteenth Article. That Tithes and Oblations given to the Church, are publick and common Alms. This Error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 9.*

14. The fourteenth Article. That the Clergy living wickedly, ought to be reprov'd and corrected by the Laypeople, by the taking away of their Tithes and other Temporal Profits. A most pernicious Error and offensive, in-

ducing the Secular people to perpetrate Sacrilege, subverting the Ecclesiastical Liberty.

The fifteenth Article. That the Blessings of such as are reprobate or evil livers of the Clergy, are maledictions and curfings before God, according to the saying, *I will curse your blessings*. This Error was lately reprov'd of *S. Augustine*, against *S. Cyprian* and his followers, neither is the Master of the Sentences allowed of the Masters in that point that he seemeth to favor this Article.

The sixteenth Article. That in these days, and in long time before, there hath been no true Pope, no true Church or Faith, which is called the *Romish* Church, whereunto a Man ought to obey, but that it both was, and is the Synagogue of Antichrist and Satan. The Error in this Article is in this Point, That it is derived, and taketh his foundation upon the former Articles.

The seventeenth Article. That all gift of money given unto the Ministers of the Church, for the ministrations of any Spiritual matter, doth make such Ministers in that case users of Simony. This Error is seditious and temerarious, forasmuch as something may be given unto the Clergy, under the Title of sustentation or maintaining the Minister, without the selling or buying of any Spiritual thing.

The eighteenth Article. That whosoever is Excommunicate of the Pope, if he appeal to Christ, he is preserved that he need not fear the Excommunication, but may utterly condemn and despise the same. This Error is temerarious and full of arrogancy.

The nineteenth Article. That every deed done without Charity, is sin. This Error was reprov'd and revoked before this time at *Paris*, specially if it be understood of deadly Sin; for it is not necessary that he which lacketh Grace, should continually sin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in sin.

This following, the Masters of Paris, by their whole voice and consent, did add and adjoyn unto these nineteen Articles, for their reason and determination.

WE affirm, That these Articles aforesaid are notoriously Heretical, and that they are Judically condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious Doctrines, lest they do infect other. For albeit they seem to have a Zeal against the Vices of the Prelates and the Clergy, the which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto Learning; for a sober and discreet Zeal, suffereth and lamenteth those sins and offences, which he seeth in the House of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for Vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other Vices and Errors, forasmuch as Devils are not cast out through *Beelzebub*, but by the power of God; which is the Holy Ghost, who willeth, that in Correction the measure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the saying, Mark who, what, where and why; by what means and when, Prelates and Bishops are bound, under grievous and expresse penalties of the Law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the foresaid Errors, and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be understood and noted, that the Error which is not refuted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or society of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

These things are intermeddled by the way under correction, as by way of Doctrine.

John Gerson Chancellor of *Paris*, unworthily.

These things thus declared, a man may easily understand, that *John Hus* was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our Faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the Kingdom of Antichrist for the glory of Christ, and the restoring of the Church.

Now to return unto the Story: when as the first thirty nine Articles, which I have before rehearsed, were all read over together with their Testimonies, the Cardinal of *Cambray* calling unto *John Hus*, said, Thou hast

The words of the Cardinal of Cambray unto John Hus after his accusation.

heard

heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what number of them they are; and now it is thy part to devise with thy self what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and set before thee of the Council, whereof the one of them thou must of force and necessity enter into.

A double inconvenience for John Hus to fall into.

First, That thou do humbly and meekly submit thy self unto the judgment and sentence of the Council, that whatsoever shall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear, and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part, both for the honor of the most gentle Emperor here present, and also for the honor of his Brother the King of Boheme, and for thy own safeguard and preservation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanity, love and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those Articles which we have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and license thereunto: But this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having so firm and strong reasons and arguments against thy Articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril, if thou shouldst any longer will or desire to defend the same.

This I do speak and say unto thee, to counsel and admonish thee, and not as in manner of a Judge.

John Hus answereth.

This Oration of the Cardinals many others prosecuting, every man for himself did exhort and perswade John Hus to the like; unto whom, with a lowly countenance he answered, Most reverend Fathers, I have often said, that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof, except I shall alledge most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit my self (as you require) unto your information.

Then there start up one which with a loud voice said, Behold, how craftily this man speaketh: He tearmeth it information, and not correction or determination. Verily said John Hus, even as you will tearm it, information, correction or determination: for I take God to my witnesses, that I speak nothing but with my heart and mind.

The Cardinal of Cambray appointeth John Hus certain conditions whereby he may be delivered.

Then said the Cardinal of Cambray; forasmuch then as thou dost submit thy self unto the information and grace of this Council, this is decreed by almost threescore Doctors, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose room and place the Parisians are succeeded; and also it is approved by the whole Council, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto.

First of all, That thou shalt humbly and meekly confess thy self to have erred in these Articles which are alledged and brought against thee.

Moreover, That thou shalt promise by an Oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold or maintain any of these Articles. And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these Articles.

The answer of John Hus.

Upon the which Sentence, when as many others had spoken their minds, at the length John Hus said, I once again do say, that I am ready to submit my self to the Information of the Council; but this I most humbly require and desire you all, even for his sake, which is the God of us all, That I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my Conscience doth repugn or strive against, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal Damnation, that is, that I should make revocation by Oath to all the Articles which are alledged against me. For I remember, that I have read in the Book of Universalities, That to abjure, is to renounce an Error which a man hath before holden. And forasmuch as many of these Articles are said to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an Oath? But as touching those Articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwise unto them, I will willingly perform that which you desire.

The Emperor exhorteth John Hus to recant.

Then said the Emperor, Why mayest not thou without danger also renounce all those Articles which thou

sayest are falsly alledged against thee by the Witnesses? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all Errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have professed any Error. To whom John Hus answered: Most noble Emperor, this word to abjure, doth signify much otherwise than your Majesty doth here use it. Then said the Cardinal of Florence, John Hus, you shall have a form of Abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with your self, whether you will do it or no: Then the Emperor, repeating again the words of the Cardinal of Cambray, said, Thou hast heard that there are two ways laid before thee: First, That thou shouldst openly renounce those thy Errors, which are now condemned, and subscribe unto the judgment of the Council, whereby thou shouldst try and find their grace and favor. But if thou proceed to defend thy Opinions, the Council shall have sufficient, whereby according to their Laws and Ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee. To whom John Hus answered, I refuse nothing (most noble Emperor) whatsoever the Council shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I have professed those Errors which was never in my mind or thought to profess. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are objected against me, and specially concerning Ecclesiastical Offices, and the state of the Ministry.

KING, Hus.

The Emperor rehearseth the Cardinal of Cambrays words.

But when as other men began to speak, the Emperor himself began to sing the same Song which he had sung before. Thou art of lawful age, said the Emperor, thou mightest easily have understood what I said unto thee yesterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto these Witnesses which are worthy of credit, forasmuch as the Scripture saith, *That in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth is tried*: how much more then, by so many witnesses of such worthy men?

The force of false witness. The Emperor to John Hus.

Wherefore if thou be wise, receive penance at the hands of the Council with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifest Errors, and promise by an Oath, that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refusest to do, there are Laws and Ordinances whereby thou shalt be judged of the Council.

An old Bishop of Pole.

Here a certain very old Bishop of Pole put to his verdict. He said, the Laws are evident as touching Hereticks, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But John Hus constantly answered as before, inasmuch that they said he was obstinate and stubborn. Then a certain well fed Priest, and gaily apparelled, cryed out unto the Presidents of the Council, saying, he ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his Friends, That although he do swear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unsworn without Oath; wherefore he is not to be trusted. Unto this slander John Hus answered, as is said in the last Article, affirming that he was not guilty of any Error.

Objection of a Priest better fed than taught.

Then said Paletz, to what end is this Protestation, forasmuch as thou sayest that thou wilt defend no Error, neither yet Wickliffe, and yet dost defend him? When he had spoken these words, he brought forth for witness nine Articles of John Wickliffe, and read them openly, and afterward he said, When as I and Mr. Stanislaus, in the presence of Ernestus of Austrich, Duke of Prague, preached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his Sermons, but also by his Books which he set forth. The which, except you do here exhibit, we will cause them to be exhibited. So said the Emperor also. Unto whom John Hus answered, I am very well contented that not only those, but also all other my Books, be brought forth and shewed.

Palez against John Hus.

A new heap of slanders.

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the Council a certain Article, wherein John Hus was accused, that he had slanderously interpreted a certain Sentence of the Popes: the which he denied that he did, saying, That he never saw it but in Prison, when as the Article was shewed him by the Commissioners. And when he was demanded who was the Author thereof; he answered, that he knew not, but that he heard say that Mr. Jessenitz was the Author thereof.

What

KING
[Her. 5.]
John Hus
vixeth
faint and
weary.

What (said they) then do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof? Then answered *John Hus*, what should I say thereunto, when as I said I never saw it, but as I have heard of it of you. Thus they were all so grievous and troublesome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had passed all the night before without sleep, through the pain of his Teeth.

Another
quarrel
against John
Hus, touch-
ing these
three men
beheaded at
Prague.
Vide supra.

Then was there another Article read, in the which was contained, That three men were beheaded at *Prague*, because that through *Wickliff's* Doctrine and Teaching they were contumelious and slanderous against the Popes Letters: and that they were by the same *Hus*, with the whole pomp of the Scholars, and with a publick Convocation or Congregation carried out to be buried, and by a publick Sermon placed among the number of Saints. And the same *Dr. Naso*, of whom you have heard certain testimonies already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himself was present, when as the King of *Bohemia* commanded those Blasphemers so to be punished.

John Hus
lied.

Then said *John Hus*, both those parts are false, that the King did command any such punishment to be done, and that the Coarces were by me conveyed with any such pomp unto their Sepulture or Burial: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the King. Then *Paletz* confirmed the affirmation of *Dr. Naso* his Fellow, with this argument (for they both labored to one end and purpose) That it was provided by the Kings commandment, that no man should once speak against the Popes Bulls: And these three spake against the Popes Bulls: Ergo, by virtue of the Kings commandment they were beheaded. And what *John Hus* his opinion and mind was as touching these men, it is evident enough by his Book entituled, *Of the Church*, wherein he writeth thus: I believe they have read *Daniel* the Prophet, where, as is said, *And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captivity*, and many shall fraudulently and craftily associate themselves unto them. And afterward he saith, how this is fulfilled in these two Lay-men, who not consenting, but speaking against the feigned lies of Antichrist, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to do the same, and many were fraudulently associate unto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichrist, are fled, and have turned their backs, &c.

Ex parte of
firmatiss
non confis
argum. in 2.
figura.

When these things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous strange study, they held their peace for a certain space. For this *Paletz*, and the foresaid Doctor *Naso* had also added, that *John Hus* in an open Sermon had inflamed and stirred up the people against the Magistrates, inasmuch that a great number of the Citizens did openly set themselves against the Magistrates; and by that means was it, that he said, Those three were ready to suffer death for the Truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit or help that the King could do. Then the English-men exhibited the Copy of a certain Epistle, which they said was falsely conveyed unto *Prague*, under the title of the University of *Oxford*, and that *John Hus* did read the same out of the Pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praise *John Wickliff* unto the Citizens of *Prague*. When they had read the same before the Council, the English-men demanded of *John Hus*, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two Scholars under the Seal of the University; they also inquired of him, what Scholars they were. He answered, this my Friend (meaning *Stephen Paletz*) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Another
quarrel
picked by
Englishmen
against John
Hus.

The testi-
monial of
Oxford for
Wickliff
brought to
Prague.

Then they first enquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. *John Hus* answered, I heard say (said he) that in his return into England he died by the way. As touching the first, *Paletz* said, That he was a *Bohemian* and no English-man, and that he brought out of England a certain small piece of the Stone of *Wickliff's* Sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his Doctrine at this present, do reverence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that *John Hus* was the Author of them all.

A piece of
the stone of
Wickliff's
sepulchre
brought for
a Relick to
Prague.

Then the English-men exhibited another Epistle, contrary to the first, under the Seal of the University, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the

University, not without great sorrow and grief, hath experimented and found, That the Errors of *Wickliff* are scattered and spread out of that University throughout all England. And to the intent that through their help and labor means may be found to remedy this mischief, they have appointed for that purpose twelve Doctors, Men of singular Learning, and other Masters, which should sit in judgment upon the Books of *Wickliff*.

These Men have noted out above the number of two hundred Articles, the which the whole University have judged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the said Sacred Council, the said University hath sent them unto *Constance*, referring and remitting the whole Authority of the Judgment unto this Council.

Here was great silence kept for a while. Then *Paletz* rising up, as though he had finished now his Accusation, said, I take God to my witness before the Emperors Majesty here present, and the most reverend Fathers, Cardinals and Bishops, that in this accusation of *John Hus*, I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfy the Oath which I took when I was made Doctor, that I would be a most cruel and sharp Enemy of all manner of Errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy Catholick Church. *Michael de Causis* did also the like. And I, said *John Hus*, do commit all these things unto the Heavenly Judge, which shall justly judge the cause or quarrels of both Parties. Then said the Cardinal of *Cambray*, I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of Mr. *Paletz*, which he hath used in drawing out the Articles against Mr. *John Hus*. For as we have heard, there are many things contained in his Book much worse and more detestable.

The Oath
of Paletz.

The Oath
of Michael
de Causis.
John Hus
witnesseth
the Lord.

When he had spoken these words, the Bishop of *Rygen*, unto whom *John Hus* was committed, commanded, that the said *John Hus* should be carried again safely unto Prison. Then *John de Clum* following him, did not a little incourage and comfort him. No tongue can express what courage and stomach he received by the short talk which he had with him; when as in so great a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself in a manner forsaken of all men. After that *John Hus* was carried away, the Emperor began to exhort the Presidents of the Council in this manner, saying,

John de
Clum doth
comfort
John Hus.

You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against *John Hus*, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of the which, every one of them by my judgment and advice, have deserved and are worthy of death. Therefore except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with Fire. And albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithstanding I do counsel you, that he be forbid the office of Preaching and Teaching, and also that he return no more into the Kingdom of *Boheme*: For if he be admitted again to Teach and Preach, and specially in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded, but, hoping upon the favour and good will of such as be his adherents and factors there, he will return again unto his former purpose and intent, and then, besides these Errors, he will also sow new Errors amongst the People, so the last Error shall be worse than the first.

The Empe-
rors Oration
on to the
Presidents
of the
Council.

Moreover, I judge and think it good, that his Articles which are condemned, should be sent unto my Brother the King of *Boheme*, and afterward into Pole and other Provinces; whereas mens minds are replenished with his Doctrine, with this commandment, That whosoever do proceed to hold or keep the same, they should by the common aid both of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power, be punished. So at the length shall remedy be found for this mischief, if the boughs, together with the root, be utterly rooted and pulled up: and if the Bishops and other Prelates, which here in this place have labored and travelled for the extirpating of this Heresie, be commended by the whole voices of the Council unto the King and Princes, under whose Dominion they are. Last of all, if there be any found here at *Constance*, which are Familiars unto *John Hus*, they also ought to be punished with such severity and punishment as is due unto them, and specially his Scholar *Jerome of Prague*. Then said the rest, when the Master is once punished, we hope we shall find the Scholar much more tractable and gentle.

That which
God plant-
eth, man
shall never
root up.

Jerome of
Prague men-
tioned and
promoted
by the Em-
peror.

After

Four Bi-
shops sent
to John
Hus.

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the Cloyster, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his Condemnation, which was the sixth of July, the Emperor Sigismund sent unto him four Bishops, accompanied with Mr. Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When as he was brought out of Prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying,

The pitiful
and loving
Oration of
John de
Clum unto
John Hus.

The mar-
vellous con-
fession of
John Hus.

That is no
right mo-
desty that
more re-
gardeth to
obey man,
than mani-
fest verity.
John Hus
answered.

After J. Hus, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know your self guilty of any of those Errors, which are objected and laid against you before the Council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the Council; if contrariwise, I will be no Author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary, or against your Conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be the Truth. Unto whom John Hus turning himself, with lamentable Tears said; Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the most High God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the Council can instruct or teach me any better by the Holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the Bishops which sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own Mind or Opinion before the judgment of the whole Council. To whom John Hus answered, neither do I otherwise mind or intend. For if he which is the meanest or least in all this Council can convict me of Error, I will with an humble heart and mind perform, and do whatsoever the Council shall require of me. Mark, said the Bishops, how obstinately he doth persevere in his Errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the Keepers to carry him again to Prison, and so they returned again unto the Emperor with their Commission.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of July, there was a General Session holden of the Princes and Lords, both of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Estates, in the head Church of the City of Constance, the Emperor Sigismund being President in his Imperial Robes and Habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high Place, being square about like a Table, and hard by it there was a Desk of wood, upon the which the Garments and Vestments pertaining unto Priesthood were laid for this cause, that before John Hus should be delivered over unto the Civil Power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his Priestly Ornaments. When John Hus was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before the same high Place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the Bishop of Londy went up into the Pulpit, and made this Sermon following.

The Sermon of the Bishop of Londy, before the Sentence was given upon John Hus.

The Sermon
before the
Sentence.

The Theme

His Theme
confirmed
by Aristo-
tle.

IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting by humble Invocation upon the Divine help and aid, most noble Prince, and most Christian Emperor, and you most excellent Fathers, and reverend Lords, Bishops and Prelates, also most excellent Doctors and Masters, famous and noble Dukes, and high Counts, honorable Nobles and Barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose of my mind may the more plainly and evidently appear unto this most Sacred Congregation: I am first of all determined to intreat or speak of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixth Chapter to the Romans; That is to say, *Let the body of sin be destroyed, &c.*

It appeareth by the Authority of Aristotle, in his Book entituled, *De celo & mundo*, how wicked, dangerous and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand perverse and wicked beginnings. For he saith, That a small Error in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy Doctor S. Jerome, in his Book upon

the Exposition of the Catholick Faith, teacheth how necessary a thing it is that Hereticks and Heresies should be suppressed, even at the first beginning of them, saying thus; The rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, lest that the whole body do perish and putrify. For a scabbed Sheep is to be put out of the Fold, lest that the whole Flock be infected. And a little Fire is to be quenched, lest the whole House be consumed and burned. Arius was first a spark in Alexandria, who because he was not at the first quenched, he presumed, and went about with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and phantastical inventions, to spot and defile the Catholick Faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many Martyrs, & illuminate and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must be refuted; such Hereticks of necessity must be suppressed and condemned.

Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the punishment of every such obstinate Heretick, that the body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered according to the holy Traditions of the Fathers, that some sins are adverse and contrary unto another. Other some are annexed or conjoined together; other some are, as it were, branches and members of others; and some are, as it were, the roots and heads of others. Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detestable, out of which the most and worst have their original and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sins and offences are to be abhorred of us; yet those are specially to be eschewed, which are the head and root of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection ought they to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and remedies. Forasmuch then as amongst all sins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable Schism, therefore have I right well propounded, That the body of sin should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this Schism, great and most cruel destruction is sprung up amongst the Faithful, and hath long continued; abominable Divisions of Heresies are grown; Threatnings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole Clergy is grown thereupon, and the Opprobries and Slanders of the Christian people, are abundantly sprung up and increased: And truly it is no marvel, forasmuch as that most detestable and execrable Schism, is, as it were, a body and heap of dissolution of the true Faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, whereas such a pestiferous Schism hath reigned so long a time? For as Saint Bernard saith, Like as in the unity and concord of the Faithful, there is the Habitation and Dwelling of the Lord; so likewise in the Schism and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the Devil. Is not Schism and division the original of all subversion, the den of Heresies, and the nourisher of all Offences? For the knot of Unity and Peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Covetousness is uttered in others for lucre sake; Lust and Will is set at liberty, and all means opened unto slaughter. All Right and Equity is banished, the Ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this Schism bringeth in all kind of Bondage, sword and violence doth Rule, the Laity have the dominion, Concord and Unity are banished, and all prescript Rules of Religion utterly contemned and set at naught.

Consider, most gentle Lords, during this most pestiferous Schism, how many Heresies have appeared and shewed themselves, how many Hereticks have escaped unpunished, how many Churches have been spoiled and pulled down, how many Cities have been oppressed, and Regions brought to ruine, what confusion hath there hapned in the Clergy? What and how great destruction hath been amongst the Christian people? I pray you mark how the Church of GOD, the Spouse of Christ, and the Mother of all Faithful, is contemned and despised. For who doth reverence the Keys of the Church, who feareth the Censures or Laws, or who is it that doth defend the Liberties thereof?

But

KING
HEN. 5.

They can-
not abide
the Laity to
rule in any
case.

All the Poi-
ntes Religi-
ous both
in Lands,
Lordships,
and Liveli-
hoods.

KING
1. Hen. 5.

Note here
the Pope's
Divinity,
how the
blood of
Christ serv-
eth to pur-
chase their
patrimony.

But rather who is it that doth not offend the same, or who doth not invade it, or else what is he that dare not violently lay hands upon the Patrimony or Heritage of Jesus Christ? The Goods of the Clergy, and of the poor, and the relief of Pilgrims and Strangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many Martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold, the abomination of desolation brought upon the Church of GOD, the destruction of the Faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruine of the Lords Flock or Fold, and all the whole company of our most holy Saviour and Redeemer. This loss is more great or grievous than any which could happen unto the Martyrs of Christ, and this Persecution much more cruel, than the Persecution of any Tyrant; for they did but only punish the Bodies, but in the Schism and Division the Souls are tormented. There the blood of Men was only shed, but in this case the true Faith is subverted and overthrown. That Persecution was salvation unto many; but this Schism is destruction unto all men. When the Tyrants raged, then the Faith did increase; but by this Division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madness, the Primitive Church increased; but through this Schism it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend, but in this Schism many do wittingly and willingly even of obstinacy offend. There came in Hereticks, users of Simony, and Hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the Church; under those Tyrants, the merits of the Just were increased.

But during this Schism, mischief and wickedness are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable Division, Truth is made an enemy to all Christians, Faith is not regarded, Love and Charity hated, Hope is lost, Justice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiancy, but only unto mischief: Modesty and Temperance cloyed, Wisdom turned into deceit, Humility feigned, Equity and Truth falsified, Patience utterly fled, Conscience small, all Wickedness intended, Devotion counted folly, Gentleness abject and cast away, Religion despised, Obedience not regarded, and all manner of Life reproachful and abominable. With how great and grievous sorrows is the Church of God replenished and filled, whilst that Tyrants do oppress it, Hereticks invade it, users of Simony do spoil and rob it, and Schismatics go about utterly to subvert it? O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now by the space of forty years, with such indurate and continual Schism, they have tormented, and almost brought to ruine! O the little Bark and Ship of Christ, which hath so long time wandred and strayed now in the midst of the Whirl-pools, and by and by sticketh fast in the Rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous Storms! O miserable and wretched Boat of Peter, if the most Holy Father would suffer thee to sink or drown, into what dangers and perils have the Wicked Pirats brought thee? Amongst what Rocks have they placed thee? O most Godly and loving Christians, what faithful devout Man is there, which beholding and seeing the great ruine and decay of the Church, would not be provoked unto Tears? What good Conscience is there that can refrain Weeping? because that Contention and Strife is poured upon the Ecclesiastical Rulers, which have made us to err in the way, because they have not found, or rather would not find the way of Unity and Concord: Whereupon so many Heresies, and so great Confusion is sprung up, and grown in the Flock of Peter, and the Fold of the Lord.

Many Princes, Kings and Prelates, have greatly labored and travelled for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to pass, or finish that most wholesome and necessary Work. Wherefore most Christian King, this most glorious and triumphant Victory hath tarried only for thee, the Crown and Glory thereof shall be thine for ever, and this most happy Victory shall be continually celebrate to thy great Honor and Praise, that thou hast restored again the Church which was so spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate and overgrown Schisms and Divisions, thou hast trod-

den down users of Simony, and rooted out all Hereticks. Dost thou not behold and see how great, perpetual and famous Renown and Glory it will be unto thee? For what can be more Just, what more Holy, what Better, what more to be Desired; or finally, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this wicked and abominable Schism, to restore the Church again unto her Ancient Liberty, to extinguish and put away all Simony, and to condemn and destroy all Errors and Heresies from amongst the Flock of the Faithful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole World; and finally, nothing more acceptable unto God. For the performance of which most Holy and Godly Work, thou wast elect and chosen of God, thou wast first deputed and chosen in Heaven, before thou wast elect and chosen upon Earth. Thou wast first appointed by the Celestial and Heavenly Prince, before the Electors of the Empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the Imperial Force and Power, thou shouldst condemn and destroy those Errors and Heresies, which we have presently in hand to be condemned and subverted. To the performance of this most holy Work, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding of his Divine Truth and Verity, power of Princely Majesty, and the just judgment of Equity and Righteousness, as the Highest himself doth say: I have given thee Understanding and Wisdom, to speak and utter my words, and have set thee to rule over Nations and Kingdoms, that thou shouldst help the People, pluck down and destroy Iniquity, and by exercising of Justice thou shouldst, I say, destroy all Errors and Heresies, and specially this obstinate Heretick here present, through whose Wickedness and Mischief, many places of the World are infected with most pestilent and heretical Poyson, and by this means and occasion almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and Godly labor, O most noble Prince, was reserved only for thee, upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and ministration of Justice is given. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown, even by the mouths of Infants and sucking Babes, for thy praises shall be celebrated for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and overthrown such and so great enemies of the Faith. The which that thou mayest prosperously and happily perform and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

Loripidem
rebus deri-
dest, et bio-
ptm albus.

Note the
vile flattery
of these Pa-
pists, when
they would
have any
thing of the
Emperor for
their pur-
pose.

* When this Sermon was thus ended, the Proctor of the Council rising up, named *Henricus de Piro*, required, that the Process of the Cause against *John Hus* might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive Sentence. Then a certain Bishop, which was appointed one of the Judges, declared the Process of the Cause, which was pleaded long since in the Court of Rome, and elsewhere, between *John Hus* and the Prelates of Prague.

The Proctor
of the Coun-
cil calleth
for the Sen-
tence.

At the last he repeated those Articles which we have before remembered; amongst the which he rehearsed also one Article, That *John Hus* should Teach the two Natures of the Godhead and Manhood to be one Christ. *John Hus* went about briefly with a word or two to answer every of them; but as often as he was about to speak, the Cardinal of *Cambray* commanded him to hold his peace, saying, Hereafter you shall answer all together, if you will. Then said *John Hus*, How can I at once answer all these things which are alledged against me, when as I cannot remember them all? Then said the Cardinal of *Florence*, We have heard thee sufficiently. But when as *John Hus* for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the Officers which should force him thereunto. Then began he to intreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would hear him, that such as were present might not credit or believe those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, for at their hands he believed easily to obtain that which he desired.

The Card-
inal of Cam-
bray com-
manded
John Hus
to keep si-
lence.

John Hus
could not
be heard in
the Council.

John Hus
commiteth
his cause to
the Lord
Christ.

When the Articles abovesaid were ended, last of all there was added a notable Blasphemy, which they all imputed

This Schism
continued
40 years.

He stirreth
up the Em-
peror Sigis-
mund.

Mark the
unflame-
fastness of
them to
feign what
they list.
John Hus
again slan-
dered.

imputed to *John Hus*, that is, That he said there should be a fourth Person in Divinity, and that a certain Doctor did hear him speak of the same. When *John Hus* delirred that the Doctor might be named, the Bishop that alleadged the Article, said, That it was not needful to name him. Then said *John Hus*, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear such a blasphemy and slander.

23.
The Council
doth call it
Heretical to
appeal to
Christ.

Afterward the Article was repeated, how he appealed unto Christ, and that by name was called Heretical. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this Council, unto thee again I do appeal; which when thou wast evil intreated of thine enemies, diddest appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just Judge, that by thy Example, we also being oppressed with manifest Wrongs and Injuries, should flee unto thee. Last of all the Article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the Excommunication by *John Hus*. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was excused by his Advocates in the Court of *Rome*, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the Acts, that the Excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might clear himself of obstinacy, he was for that cause come unto *Constance*, under the Emperors safe Conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them which was appointed Judge, read the definitive Sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

Contempt
of the Popes
excommuni-
cation laid
to
John Hus

The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of Constance against John Hus.

The sen-
tence a-
gainst
John Hus

The most Holy and Sacred General Council of *Constance*, being congregate and gathered together, representing the Catholick Church, for a perpetual Memory of the thing, as the Verity and Truth did witness, An evil Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of most damnable memory, *John Wickliff*, through his pestiferous Doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the Gospel; as the Holy Fathers in times past have begotten faithful Children, but contrary unto the wholesome Faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked Children, whom he hath left behind him, Successors and Followers of his perverse and wicked Doctrine, against whom this Sacred Synod of *Constance* is forced to rise up, as against bastards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the sharp knife of the Ecclesiastical Authority, to cut up their Errors out of the Lords field, as most hurtful Brambles and Bryers, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forasmuch then as in the holy General Council, lately celebrated and holden at *Rome*, it was Decreed, That the Doctrine of *John Wickliff*, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his Books which contained the same Doctrine, should be burned as Heretical, and this Decree was approved and confirmed by the Sacred Authority of the whole Council; nevertheless, one *John Hus* here personally present in this Sacred Council, not the Disciple of Christ, but of *John Wickliff*, an Arch-heretick, after, and contrary or against the Condemnation and Decree hath Taught, Preached and affirmed the Articles of *Wickliff*, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times past by certain most Reverend Fathers in Christ, Lords, Archbishops, and Bishops, of divers Kingdoms and Realms, Masters of Divinity of divers Universities; especially resisting in his open Sermons, and also with his Adherents and Complices in the Schools, the condemnation of the said Articles of *Wickliff*, oftentimes published in the said University of *Prague*, and hath declared him the said *Wickliff*, for the favor and commendation of his Doctrine, before the whole multitude of the Clergy and People, to be a Catholick Man, and a true Evangelical Doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certain and many of his Articles, worthily condemned to be Catholick, the which are notoriously contained in the Books of the said *John Hus*.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the Reverend

Fathers and Lords in Christ of the holy Church of *Rome*, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most Sacred and holy Council of *Constance*, declareth and determineth the Articles abovesaid (the which after due conference had, are found in his Books written with his own hand, the which also the said *John Hus* in open audience, before this holy Council, hath confessed to be in his Books) not to be Catholick, neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are Erroneous, some of them wicked, other some offensive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously Heretical, and even now of late by the holy Fathers and general Councils reprov'd and condemned. And forasmuch as the said Articles are expressly contained in the Books of the said *John Hus*, therefore this said Sacred Council doth condemn and reprove all those Books which he wrote, in what form or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others, and doth determine and decree, That they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the Clergy and People of the City of *Constance*, and elsewhere; adding moreover for the premises, That all his Doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And to the intent this most pernicious and wicked Doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the Church, this sacred Synod doth straitly command, that diligent Inquisition be made by the Ordinaries of the places by the Ecclesiastical censure, for such Treatises and Works, and that such as are found be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemn or despise this Sentence or Decree, this sacred Synod Ordaineth and decreeth, That the Ordinaries of the places, and the Inquisitors of Heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspect of Heresie.

KING
Men. 6.
They shall
bring you
before their
Councils,
they shall
persecute
you, and
cast you in
Prison, and
bring you
before
Kings and
Princes for
my name
sake.
Luke 12.

* The said
concilium
malignum
tium.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said *John Hus*, and full information had by the Commissaries and Doctors of both Laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the said *John Hus*, and before the Fathers and Prelates of this sacred Council (by the which Allegations of the witnesses, it appeareth, that the said *John Hus* hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious and perillous Heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time) this most sacred and holy Synod, lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, the name of Christ being invoke and called upon, by this their Sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that *J. Hus* was and is a true and manifest Heretick, and that he hath Preached openly Errors and Heresies lately condemned by the Church of God, and many seditious, temerarious and offensive things to no small offence of the Divine Majesty, and of the Universal Church, and detriment of the Catholick Faith and Church, neglecting and despising the Keys of the Church, and Ecclesiastical Censures. In the which his Error, he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, when as he made his Appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the most High Judge, omitting and leaving all Ecclesiastical means. In the which his Appeal he alledgeth many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the Apostolick See, and the Ecclesiastical Censures and Keys.

Many shall
come in my
name, and
shall de-
ceive many.
Mark 13.

The Appeal
to Christ is
derogatory
to the
Popes Ho-
line.

Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said Synod pronounceth *John Hus* to be an Heretick, and judgeth him by these Presents to be condemned and judged as an Heretick; and reproveth the said Appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and judgeth the said *Hus* not only to have seduced the Christian people by his Writings and Preachings, and specially in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, neither to have been a true Preacher of the Gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy Doctors; but also to have been a Seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such an one as doth not desire to return

Verity con-
demned for
Heretic.

KING } return again to the lap of our Holy Mother the Church, neither to abjure the Errors and Heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred Council Decreeh and declareth, that the said *John Hus* shall be famously deposed and degraded from his priestly Orders and Dignity, &c.

John Hus cleareth himself of obstinacy.

They condemn the Books written in the Bohemian-Tongue which they never read.

¶ Whilest these things were thus read, *John Hus*, albeit he were forbidden to speak, notwithstanding did often interrupt them, and specially when he was reprov'd of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice: I was never obstinate, but as always heretofore, even so now again I desire to be taught by the Holy Scriptures, and I do profess my self to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word subvert the Errors of all Hereticks, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or danger soever it were. When his Books were condemned, he said, *Wherefore have you condemned those Books, when as you have not proved by any one Article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or Articles of Faith? And moreover what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these Books written in the Bohemian-Tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read? And oftentimes looking up unto Heaven he prayed.*

Hus prayeth for his enemies.

When the sentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said, *Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine Enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused, and that they have used false witnesses and slanders against me; forgive them I say, for thy great mercies sake.* This his Prayer and Oration the greater part, and specially the chief of the Priests, did deride and mock.

John Hus commanded to put on the Priests garments.

At the last, the seven Bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his Priesthood commanded him to put on the Garments pertaining unto Priesthood, which thing when he had done, until he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembrance the white Vesture which *Herod* put on *Jesus Christ* to mock him withal. So likewise in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of *Christ*. When he had now put on all his Priestly Vestures, the Bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and provide for his honour and safeguard, Then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is) going up to the top of the Scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort.

John Hus his oration unto the people.

These Lords and Bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; the which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of Man only, they might peradventure easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the Heavens? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, indued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure Doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile Carcase appointed unto death, than their health and salvation. At this most godly word he was forced again to bear, by the consent of the Bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

The degrading of *John Hus*.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven Bishops afore rehearsed, first took away the Chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying, *O cursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the council and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the Jews? We take away from thee this Chalice of thy salvation.* But *John Hus* received this Curse in this manner: But I trust unto God the

Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that he will not take away the Chalice of his redemption, but have a steadfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his Kingdom. Then followed the other Bishops in order, which every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their Curse. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, *That he did willingly embrace and bear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* At the last they came to the rasing of his shaven Crown. But before the Bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what Instrument it should be done, with a Razor or with a pair of Shears.

In the mean season, *John Hus* turning himself toward the Emperor, said, *I marvel that forsomuch as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty.* Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut off the skin of the Crown of his Head with a pair of Shears. And when they had done that, they added these words, *Now hath the Church taken away all her ornaments and priviledges from him.* Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be delivered over unto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach. For they caused to be made a certain Crown of Paper, almost a Cubit deep, in the which were Painted three Devils of wonderful ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, *Herefiarcha.* The

The words of *John Hus* unto the Emperor.

The Crown of *John Hus* pared away with shears.

The marvelous constancy and courage of the blessed Martyr.

The paper with the inscription set upon *Hus*'s head.

which when he saw, he said, *My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake did wear a Crown of Thorns; why should not I then for his sake again wear this light Crown, be it never so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly.* When it was set upon his Head, The Bishop said, *Now we commit thy Soul unto the Devil.* But I, said *John Hus* (lifting his eyes up towards the Heavens) *do commend my Spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ, unto thee I commend my Spirit which thou hast redeemed.* These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the Bishops turning themselves towards the Emperor, said, *This most sacred Synod of Constance leaveth now John Hus, which hath no more any Office, or to do in the Church of God, unto the civil judgment and power.* Then the Emperor commanded *Ludovicus Duke of Bavaria*, which stood before him in his Robes, holding the golden Apple with the Cross in his Hand, that he should receive *John Hus* of the Bishops, and deliver him unto them which should do the execution. By whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the Church doors he saw his Books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that passed by he exhorted, not to think that he should die for any Error or Heresie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his adversaries, which had charged him with most false and unjust Crimes. All the whole City in manner being in Armor, followed him.

The protestation of *John Hus* as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gate *Goslebian*, between the Gardens and Gates of the Suburbs. When as *John Hus* was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto Heaven, he prayed, and said certain Psalms, and specially the 31. and 50 Psalms. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his Prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord I commend my spirit, &c.* Which thing when the Lay-people beheld which stood next unto him, they said, *What hath he done afore, we know not, but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly.* Other some wished that he had a Confessor. There was a certain Priest by, sitting on Horseback, in a green Gown, drawn, about with red silk, which said, *He ought not to be heard, because he is an Heretick.* Yet notwithstanding, whilest he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain Doctor, a Monk, as *Hus* himself doth witness in a certain Epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison. Thus *Christ* Reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midst of his Enemies. In the mean time whilest he prayed, as he bowed his neck backward to look upward unto Heaven, the Crown of Paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the Souldiers taking it up again, said, let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his Masters the Devils, whom he hath served.

The prayers of *John Hus* well liked of the people.

As *John Hus* the paper with Devils fell from his head. At the prayer of *John Hus* the paper with the Devils fell down.

John Hus
fastened to
the Stake.
John Hus
turned to-
ward the
West.

When as by the commandment of the Tormentors he was risen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said, *Lord Jesus Christ assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the Preaching of thy most Holy Gospel and Word.* Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the mean season the Hang-man stripped him of his Garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto the Stake with Ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the East, certain cried out that he should not look towards the East, for he was an Heretick: So he was turned towards the West. Then was his Neck tied with a Chain unto the Stake, the which Chain when he beheld, smiling he said, *That he would willingly receive the same Chain for Jesus Christs sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse Chain.* Under his feet they

set two Fagots, admixing straw withal, and so likewise from the Feet up to the Chin he was inclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Lodowicus Duke of Bavaria, with another Gentleman with him, which was the Son of Clement, came and exhorted John Hus, that he would yet be mindful of his Safeguard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, *What error should I renounce, when as I know my self guilty of none? For as for those things which are falsely alledged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less Preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my Doctrine, that I might teach all Men penance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the Holy Doctors: wherefore with a cheerful mind and courage I am here ready to suffer death.* When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, they departed.

KING,
Hus.

Pardon
offered a-
gain to
John Hus.

The last
confession
of John Hus.

The description of the burning of John Hus, contrary to the safe conduct granted unto him.



The Martyr-
dom of blef-
sed John
Hus.

Precious in
the sight of
Lord is the
death of his
Saints.

The Heart
of John Hus
beaten with
Staves, and
consumed
with fire.
The ashes of
John Hus
cast into the
River of
Rhene.

The Author
and witness
of this
Story.

Then was the Fire kindled, and John Hus began to sing with a loud voice, *Jesus Christ the Son of the living God have mercy upon me.* And when he began to say the same the third time, the Wind drove the flame so upon his Face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moved a while after, by the space that a Man might almost say three times the Lords Prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the Body was left hanging in the Chain, the which they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the Head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto Ashes. The Heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with Staves and Clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp Stick, and Roasted at a Fire apart until it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the Ashes together, they cast them into the River of Rhene, that the least remnant of the Ashes of that Man should not be left upon the Earth, whose memory notwithstanding cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by Fire, neither by Water, neither by any kind of Torment.

¶ I know very well that these things are very slenderly written of me as touching the labours of this most Holy Martyr John Hus, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few Monsters; but this our Hercules with a most stout and valiant courage, hath subdued

even the world it self, the Mother of all Monsters and cruel Beasts. This Story were worthy some other kind of more curious handling; but forasmuch as I cannot otherwise perform it my self, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same unto all godly minds: neither have I heard it reported by others, but I my self was present at the doing of all these things, and as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howsoever it were, I might preserve the memory of this holy Man and excellent Doctor of the Evangelical truth.

What was the name of this Author which wrote this Story it is not here expressed. Cocleau in his second Book contra Hussitas, supposeth his name to be Johannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of John Hus at Prague, at last is thought to relent to the Papists.

This godly Servant and Martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruel Council, and burned at Constance, Anno 1415, about the month of July.

How grievously this death of John Hus was taken among the Nobles of Boheme and of Moravia, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear by their Letters which they sent unto the Council, and by the Letters of Sigismund the King of Romans, written unto them. Wherein he labourerth, all that can, to purge and excuse himself of Husses death. Albeit he was not altogether

M. John Pizibram is thought to be his name. Ex Cocleau lib. 2. de Hussitis.

KING together free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood: yet notwithstanding he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody Prelates of that Council; as the words of the King do purport in form as followeth.

The Emperor excuseth himself of the death of J. Hus. *Interea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, pervenit ad Constantiam, &c. i. In the mean time as we were about the coasts of Rhene, John Hus went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you unknown. Who, if he had first resorted unto us, and had gone with us up to the Council, perhaps it had been otherwise with him. And God knoweth what grief and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can bear us witness, seeing and beholding how careful and solicitous we were in labouring for him: Inasmuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the Council; and not only out of the Council, but also went out of the City of Constance taking his part, unto such time as the Rulers of the Council sending unto us, said; That if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the Council, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with our selves, that there was nothing else for us more to do, nor yet to speak in this case, forasmuch as the whole Council otherwise had been dissolved. Where is to be noted moreover, that in Constance the same time there was not one Clerk, or two, but there were Ambassadors from all Kings and Princes in Christendom, especially, since the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all those Kings and Princes which took his part, came to us; so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present Council, &c. Ex Regist. Imp Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.*

By this it may appear that the Emperor, as partly ashamed and sorry of that which was, would gladly have cleared himself thereof, and have washed his hands with Pilate; yet he could not so clear himself, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension, as may appear by his last words spoken in the Council to John Hus, whereof John Hus in his Epistles complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in Boheme in his 33d Epistle, as by his words here following may appear.

Epist. J. Hus. 33.

The Emperor uncourteously to John Hus.

I Desire you yet again for the love of God, that the Lords of Boheme joyning together will desire the King for a final audience to be given to me. Forasmuch as he alone said to me in the Council, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for my self briefly in writing: it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not perform that which he hath spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure, as the other was concerning my safe conduct granted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his safe conduct. And other said, he will surely give you to your Enemies. And the Mikelt Dwaky told me before M. Jessenitz, saying, Master, know it for certain you shall be condemned. And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the King. I hope well that he had been well affected toward the Law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me before mine enemies did. Who if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, which said: I find no cause in this man: or at least if he had said but thus, Behold, I have given him his safe conduct safely to return: And if he will not abide the decision of the Council, I will send him home to the King of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, that he with his Clergy may judge him. But now I hear by the relation of Henry Letty, and of other, that he will ordain for me sufficient audience: And if I will not submit my self to the judgment of the Council, he will send me safe the contrary way, &c.

Pilate more moderate to Christ, than this Emperor to John Hus.

This John Hus being in prison, wrote divers Treatises, as of the Commandments, of the Lords Prayer, of mortal Sin, of Matrimony, of the knowledge and love of God, of three Enemies of mankind, the world, and flesh,

and the Devil, of Penance, of the Sacrament of the Body and blood of the Lord, of the sufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also divers Epistles and Letters to the Lords, and to his Friends of Boheme; And in his writings did foreshew many things before to come, touching the reformation of the Church; and seemeth in the prison to have had divers propheticall revelations shewed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions, I thought here underneath to insert, in such fort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the Volume too much; nor yet in reciting of none will I be so brief, but that the Reader may have some taste, and take some profit of the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man; First beginning with the letter of the Lord Clum, concerning the safe conduct of John Hus.

A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the safe conduct of John Hus.

TO all and singular that shall see and hear these presents, I John de Clum do it to understand, how Master John Hus Bachelor of Divinity, under the safe conduct and protection of the renowned Prince and Lord Sigismund of Romans, semper Augustus, and King of Hungary, &c. My gracious Lord, and under the protection, defence, and safeguard of the holy Empire of Rome, having the Letters Patent of the said my Lord King of Romans, &c. Came unto Constance to render a full count of his faith in publick audience to all that would require the same. This the said Master John Hus, in this Imperial City of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said my Lord King of Romans, hath been and yet is detained. And although the Pope with the Cardinals have been seriously required by solemn Ambassadors of the said my Lord King of Romans, &c. In the Kings Name and behalf, that the said Master John Hus should be set at liberty, and be restored unto me, yet notwithstanding, they have and yet do refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe conduct of the King, and of the safeguard and protection of the Empire, or Imperial Majesty. Wherefore I John de Clum, in the name of the King, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending and detaining of the said Master John Hus was done wholly against the will of the forenamed King of Romans my Lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the Empire, because that the said my Lord was then absent far from Constance, and if he had been there present, would never have permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of this safe conduct done to him and to the Empire, will grievously be molested for the same.

Given at Constance, in the day of the Nativity of the Lord, 1414.

In this Instrument above prefixed note (gentle Reader) three things.

First, The goodness of this gentle Lord John de Clum, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of John Hus, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, The safe conduct granted unto the said John Hus, under the faith and protection of the Emperor, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, Here is to be seen the contempt and rebellion of these proud Prelates, in disobeying the authority of their high Magistrate, who contrary to his safe conduct given, and the mind of the Emperor, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the coming of the said Emperor, and before that John Hus was heard. Let us now, as we have promised, adjoyn some of the Epistles of this godly Man.

An Epistle of John Hus, unto the people of Prague, in his own vulgar Speech.

GRace and Peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, that you being delivered from sin may walk in his grace, and may grow in all modesty and vertue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

Dearly beloved, I beseech you which walk after the Law of God, that you cast not away the care of the salvation of your souls, when as you hearing the Word of God

A Letter of John Hus to the people of Prague.

are premonished wisely to understand that you be not deceived by false Apostles; which do not reprehend the sins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminish them; which flatter the Priests, and do not shew to the people their offences; which magnifie themselves, boast their own works, and marvelously extol their own worthiness, but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the Cross and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premonish us before, saying; *False Christs and false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.* And when he had forewarned his welbeloved Disciples, he said unto them, *Beware and take heed of false Prophets, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits.* And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themselves. For as our Saviour himself doth say, The elect also, if it were possible, shall be brought into error. Wherefore my welbeloved, be circumspect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the Devil. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that Antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judgment is near at hand: death shall swallow up many, but to the elect children of God the Kingdom of God draweth near, because for them he gave his own Body. Fear not death, love together one another, persevere in understanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of Judgment be always before your eyes, that you sin not; and also the joy of eternal life, whereunto you must endeavour. Furthermore, let the passion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, whatsoever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider well in your minds his cross and afflictions, nothing shall be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to tribulations, curfings, rebukes, stripes, and prisonment, and shall not doubt to give to your lives moreover for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, welbeloved, that Antichrist being stirred up against you, deviseth divers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can testify, although he hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers to make intercession for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, sufferance, patience and constancy, that I never swerve from his divine verity. He hath brought me now to *Constance*. In all my journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of God. In no place I kept my self secret, nor used any dissimulation. But never did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest Enemies than at *Constance*. Which Enemies neither should I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own *Bohemians*, Hypocrites and Deceivers, who for benefits received, and stirred up with covetousness, with boasting and bragging have perswaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way: But I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God unto the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his Office, I only as an outcast am neglected, &c. I commend you to the merciful Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin *Mary* which hath redeemed us by his most bitter death, without all merits, from eternal pains, from the Thralldom of the Devil, and from sin.

From Constance the Year of our Lord, 1415.

Another Letter of John Hus to his Benefactors.

Another
Letter of
John Hus.

MY gracious Benefactors and Defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that now ye setting aside the vanities of this present world, will give your service to the Eternal King, Christ the Lord. Trust not in Princes, nor in the Sons of men, in whom there is no health. For the Sons of Men are dissemblers and deceitful. To day they are, to morrow they perish, but God remaineth for ever. Who hath his servants, not for any need he hath of them, but for their own profit: unto whom he performeth that which he promiseth, and fulfilleth that which he purposeth to give. He casteth off

no faithful servant from him; for he saith; Where I am, there also shall my servant be. And the Lord maketh every servant of his to be the Lord of all his possession, giving himself unto him, and with himself, all things; that without all tediousness, fear, and without all defect he may possess all things, rejoycing with all Saints in joy infinite. O happy is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, he shall find watching. Happy is the servant which shall receive that King of Glory with joy. Wherefore welbeloved Lords and Benefactors, serve you that King in fear; which shall bring you, as I trust, now to *Bobeme* at this present by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the last Letter that I shall write to you; who to morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Jesus Christ, through bitter death for my sins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. *Sigismund* hath done all things with me deceitfully, God forgive him, and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have no suspicion of faithful *Vitus*.

Another Letter to the Lord John de Clum.

Most gracious Benefactor in Christ Jesus, dearly beloved, yet I rejoyce not a little, that by the grace of God I may write unto your honour. By your Letter, which I received Yesterday; I understand, First how the iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the Malignant Congregation (whereof mention is made in the *Apocalyps*) is detected, and shall be more detected. With the which strumpet the Kings of the Earth do commit Fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ, and as is there said, sliding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of Antichrist, through his seduction and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceived by your Letter how the Enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the settled constancy of your charity, wherewith you profess the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful service of this present world, and to serve the Lord Jesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serve is to Reign, as *Gregory* saith, *Whom he that served faithfully, hath Jesus Christ himself in the Kingdom of Heaven to minister unto him*, as he himself saith, *Blessed is that servant, whom when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he rising shall gird himself, and shall minister to him.* This do not the Kings of the world to their servants; whom only they do love so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities, &c.

Another
Letter of
John Hus.

Another Epistle of John Hus, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himself and other.

THe Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, welbeloved in God my dear Friends, which moved me to think that those Letters were the last, which before I sent unto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now understanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort unto me, that I have some leisure more to talk with you by Letters. And therefore I write again to you, to declare and testify at least my gratitude and mindful duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my welbeloved Brother Master *Jerom*, who I trust will die holily and without blame; and do know also that he doth, and suffereth now more valiantly, than I my self a wretched sinner. God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our sins the better, and repent for the same more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grievous sins, and bring the more consolation. He hath given us time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful King and Lord Jesus, and should ponder his cruel death, and so more patiently might learn to bear our afflictions. And moreover that we might keep in remembrance, how that the joyes of the life to come are not

KING not given after the joyes of this world immediately, but through many tribulations the Saints have entred into the Kingdom of Heaven. For some of them have been cut and chopt all to pieces, some their eyes bored through, some sod, some roasted, some slain alive, some buried quick, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt millstones, drawn and hailed hither and thither unto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite all the torments and sufferings of the holy Saints, which they suffered under the *Old and New Testament* for the verity of God; namely, those which have at any time rebuked the malice of the Priests, or have Preached against their wickedness? And it will be a marvel if any man now also shall escape unpunished, whosoever dare boldly resist the wickedness and perversity, especially of those Priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to read my Books, in the which their malice is somewhat described; and I know they have read the same more exactly and willingly, than the Holy Gospel, seeking therein to find out errors. Given at *Constance* upon *Thursday*, the 28th day of *June*, Anno 1415.

The rebukes of the Martyrs under the *Old and New Testament*.

Another Letter of John Hus wherein he rehearseth what injuries he received of the Council, and of the Deputies.

He meaneth belike that he should move the King in these matters contained in this Epistle.

IF my Letter be not yet sent to *Bobeme*, keep it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

Item, If the King do ask, who ought to be my Judge, since that the Council neither did call me, nor did cite me, neither was I ever accused before the Council, and yet the Council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their Proctor against me.

Item, I desire you, right noble and gracious Lord *John*, if audience shall be given me, that the King will be there present himself, and that I may have a place appointed near unto him, that he may hear me well, and understand what I say; and that you also with the Lord *Henry*, and with Lord *Wenceslaus* and other mo, if you may, will be present, and hear what the Lord *Jesus Christ*, my procurator and advocate, and most gracious Judge, will put in my mouth to speak, that whether I live or die, you may be true and upright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shall say hereafter that I swarved away from the truth which I have Preached.

Item, Know you that before witnesses and notaries in prison, I desire the Commissioners that they would depute unto me a Proctor and an Advocate, who promised so to do, and afterward would not perform it. Wherefore I have committed my self to the Lord *Jesus Christ*, that he will be my Procurator and Advocate and Judge of my Cause.

Item, Know you, that they have as I suppose no other quarrel against me, but only this, that I stood against the Popes Bull, which Pope *John* sent down to *Bobeme*, to sanctifie war with the sign of the Cross and full remission of sins to all them which would take the holy Cross, to fight for the Patrimony of the *Romish Church* against *Ladislaus King of Naples*, and they have mine own writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, They have also against me, that I have continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take upon me to minister in the Church and say Mass. Thirdly, They have against me, because I did appeal from the Pope to Christ. For they read my appeal before me, the which with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, Because I left a certain Letter behind me, which was read in the Church of *Bethleem*, the which Letter my adversaries have very evil favouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out with a safe conduct. Whereunto you your selves can say and bear me record, that I in my going out had no safe conduct of the Pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me when I wrote that Letter.

Item, If audience may be given to me, and that after the same audience the King would suffer me not to be returned again into prison, but that I may have your Counsels and others my Friends; and if it may please God that I

may say something to my sovereign Lord the King, for the behalf of Christianity, and for his own profit, &c.

Another Letter of John Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickedness of that Council.

Another Letter of John Hus.

Iohn Hus, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful in *Bobeme*, which love the Lord, greeting through the grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you, that be the faithful and beloved of the Lord, how that the Council of *Constance* being full of pride,avarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my Books written in the *Bobeme-Tongue* for Heretical, which Books they never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had heard them, yet they could not understand the same, being some *Italians*, some *Frenchmen*, some *Britains*, some *Spaniards*, *Germanians*, with other people of other Nations; unless peradventure *John Bishop of Litomish* understood them, which was present in that Council, and certain other *Bohemians*, and Priests which are against me, and labour all they may how to deprave both the verity of God, and the honesty of our Country of *Bobeme*. Which

The Council condemn Books which they understand not.

Praise of Bobemia.

I judge in the hope of God, to be a godly Land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth so greatly desire the Word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at *Constance*, ye should see the grievous abomination of this Council, which they call so holy, and such as cannot erre. Of the which Council I have heard it by the *Swechers* reported, that the City of *Constance* is not able in thirty years to be purged of those abominations in that Council committed. And all be offended almost with that Council, being sore grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrate in the same.

The abomination of the Council of Constance described.

When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly unto them, that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better order and discipline in that Council. Then the chief Cardinal answered, sayest thou so? But in the Tower thou spakest more modestly. To whom said I, In the Tower no man

John Hus seemeth here to prophesy of the Council, as it came to pass. The Council afraid to be tried by the Scriptures.

cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me. My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my Books. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light Butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as Spider-webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ; but they could not overcome the virtue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scripture against me, as divers honourable Lords can witness with me, which being ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, took my part stoutly; namely Lord *Wenceslaus de Duba*, and Lord *John de Clum*: for they were let in by King *Sigismund* into the Council. And when I said, that I was delirious to be instructed if I did in any thing erre;—then they heard the chief Cardinal answer again; Because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first revoke thy Doctrine according to the determination of Fifty Bachelors of Divinity appointed. O high instruction!

This Cardinal was Cardinal Cambresis.

After like manner *S. Katherine* also should have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fifty Masters likewise did withstand her: which notwithstanding, that good Virgin would never do, standing in her faith unto death: But she did win those her Masters unto Christ, when as I cannot win these my Masters by any means. These things I thought good to write unto you, that you might know how they have overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any reason: but only did assay with terrors and deceits to persuade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, whose Law I have magnified, was and is with me, and I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace unto death. Written at *Constance* after the Feast of *John Baptist*, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; although for the secret Judgments of God, I dare not say whether this be my last Epistle: for now also Almighty God is able to deliver me.

S. Katherine disputed with fifty Doctors, converted them; but John Hus could not convert his fifty Doctors.

See John. 7. 48.

* Another Letter of John Hus, wherein he comforteth his Friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his Books: and also declareth the wickedness of the Clergy.

After John Hus, in hope the Servant of God, to all the Faithful which love him and his Statutes, witheth the Truth and Grace of God.

Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you should not fear or be discouraged, because the Adversaries have decreed that my Books shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the Prophet Jeremy, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same Prophecie again, and that larger, which was also done. For Jeremy sitting in prison spake, and Baruch which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty fifth or forty fifth Chapter of the Vision of Jeremy. It is also written in the Books of the Machabees, That the wicked did burn the Law of GOD, and killed them that had the same. Again, under the New Testament, they burned the Saints, with the Books of the Law of GOD. The Cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of Saint Gregories Books, and had burnt them all if they had not been preserved of GOD by the means of Peter Gregories Minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest through fear you omit to read my Books, and deliver them to the Adversaries to be burnt.

Remember the sayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, Matth. 24. There shall be (saith he) before the day of Judgment, great Tribulation, such as was not from the beginning, until this day, neither shall be afterwards: So that even the Elect of God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those days shall be shortened. When you remember these things (beloved) be not afraid, for I trust in GOD that that School of Antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither shall the Council of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I think, that many of them which are of the Council, shall die before they shall get from you my Books. And they shall depart from the Council and be scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the World, like Storks, and then they shall know when Winter cometh, what they did in Summer. Consider that they have judged their Head the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible Facts that he hath done. Go to now; Answer to this you Preachers, which Preach that the Pope is the god of the Earth, that he may, as the Lawyers say, make sale of the holy things; that he is the Head of the whole holy Church, in verity well governing the same; that he is the heart of the Church in quickning the same spiritually: that he is the Well-spring from which floweth all vertue and goodness: that he is the Sun of the holy Church: that he is the safe Refuge to which every Christian man ought to fly for Succour. Behold now that Head is cut off with the Sword, now the god of the Earth is bound, now his Sins are declared openly, now that Well-spring is dried up, that Sun darked, that Heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest that any man should seek succour thereat. The Council hath condemned that Head, and that for this offence, because he took money for Indulgences, Bishopricks, and other such like. But they condemned him by Order of Judgment which were themselves the Buyers and Sellers of the same Merchandise. There was present John Bishop of Lytomissla, who went twice about to buy the Bishoprick of Prague, but others prevented him. O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beam of their own eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the Seller, but they themselves which were the Buyers and Consenters to the Bargain, are without danger. What shall I say, that they do use this manner of buying and selling at home in their own Countries? For at Constance there is one Bishop that bought, and another which sold, and the Pope for allowing of both their Facts took Bribes on both sides. It came so to pass in

Bohemia also as you know. I would that in that Council God had said, He that amongst you is without sin let him give the Sentence against Pope John; Then surely they had gone all out of the Council-house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always, before this his fall, kiss his Feet, and call him The most holy Father, seeing they saw apparently before, that he was an Heretick, that he was a Killer, that he was a wicked Sinner, all which things now they have found in him? Why did the Chardinals choose him to be Pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy Father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the Office of the Popedom? for to this end they are his Counsellors, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselves as guilty of these faults as he? seeing that they accounted these things Vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay ought to his charge, before he had fled from Constance, but as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they conspired all together that he should not live any longer? Surely, even at this day is the malice, the abomination and filthiness of Antichrist revealed in the Pope and others of this Council.

Now the faithful Servants of GOD may understand what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying, When you shall see the abomination of desolation; which is spoken of by Daniel, &c. who so can understand it, &c. Surely, these be great Abominations, pride, covetousness, simony, sitting in a solitary place; that is to say, in a Dignity void of goodness, of humility, and other virtues; as we do now clearly see in those that are constituted in any Office and Dignity. O how acceptable a thing should it be (if time would suffer me) to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparent, that the faithful Servants of God might know them? I trust in God that he will send after me those that shall be more valiant; and there are alive at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of Antichrist, and shall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall give both to you and me the joys of life everlasting. This Epistle was written upon S. John Baptists-day in prison and in cold Irons, I having this meditation with my self, that John was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.

Another Letter of John Hus.

John Hus in hope the Servant of GOD, to all the faithful at Boheme, which love the Lord, witheth to stand and die in the Grace of God, and at last to attain unto eternal life.

Ye that bear Rule over other and be rich, and ye also that be poor, welbeloved and faithful in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient unto God, make much of his Word, and gladly hearing the same, will humbly perform that which ye hear. I beseech you stick fast to the verity of Gods Word, which I have written and preached unto you out of his Law, and the Sermons of his Saints. Also I desire you if any man either in publick Sermon, or in private talk heard of me any thing, or have read any thing written by me which is against the verity of God, that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not find my conscience guilty that I ever have spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you moreover if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same; but pray to GOD for me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray you that ye will love your Priests and Ministers, which be of honest behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; namely, such Priests as travel in the Word of God. I pray you take heed to your selves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and especially of these wicked Priests of whom our Saviour doth speak, That they are under sheeps clothing, and inwardly are ravening Wolves. I pray such as be Rulers and Superiors, to behave themselves gently towards their poor Inferiors, and to Rule them justly. I beseech the Citizens that they will walk every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conscience. The Artificers also I beseech, that they will

Good books of good men have been burned of old time.

Good men with their books to be burned no more.

John Hus foretold to prophesie of the Council of Constance

The blasphemous opinion of Lawyers and Papists touching the Sovereignty of the Pope.

One Simonist condemneth another.

The Bishops of the Council noted of Simony.

KING
Hm.5.

Pope John made a Pope, being known to be a murderer.

Antichrist, now first becometh to be revealed in the Pope.

A Prophecie of John Hus

execi-

KING exercise their Occupations diligently, and use them with the fear of GOD. I beseech the Servants, that they will serve their Masters faithfully. And likewise the School-Masters I beseech, that they living honestly will bring up their Scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learn to fear God; then for the glory of God and the publick utility of the Commonwealth, and their own health, and not for avarice or for worldly honour, to employ their minds to honest Arts. I beseech the Students of the University and all Schools, in all honest things to obey their Masters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the Glory of God, and to the Souls health, as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty thanks to the right honourable Lords, the Lord Wenceslaus de Duba, Lord John de Clum, Lord Henry Lumlovie, Lord Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicholas, and other Lords of Boheme, of Moravia and Polonie; that their diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; because that they, like valiant Champions of Gods truth, have oftentimes set themselves against the whole Council for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power; but especially Lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and Lord John de Clum. Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto them; for they were in the Council when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that Council cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you also that ye will pray for the King of Romans, and for your King, and for his Wife your Queen, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. Amen.

A note for all noble men to mark and to follow.

This Epistle I have written to you out of prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof for the sentence of the Council upon my death; having a full trust that he will not leave me, neither suffer me to deny his truth, and to revoke the errors, which false Witnesses maliciously have devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marvelous temptations, ye shall know when as hereafter by the help of Christ we shall all meet together in the joy of the World to come. As concerning Master Hierome my dearly beloved Brother and Fellow, I hear no other but that he is remaining in strait bonds, looking for death as I do; and that for the Faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruel enemies of Boheme have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for them.

Moreover, I beseech you, namely you of Prague, that ye will love the Temple of Bethlehem, and provide so long as God shall permit, that the Word of God may be preached in the same. For, because of that place, the Devil is angry, and against the same place he hath stirred up Priests and Canons, perceiving that in that place his Kingdom should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keep that holy Church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall give greater increase of his Word by other, than he hath done by me a weak Vessel. I beseech you also, that ye will love one another, and withholding no man from the hearing of Gods Word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the year of our Lord, 1415.

Another right godly Letter of John Hus to a certain Priest, admonishing him of his Office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all Ministers.

A worthy Lesson for all Ministers and Prelates.

The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. My dear Brother be diligent in preaching the Gospel, and do the work of a good Evangelist; neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed Soldier of Christ. First, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to other in well-doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings; correct Vice and set forth Ver-

tie. To evil Livers threaten eternal punishment; but to those that be faithful and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitful, prudently understanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain those things that be uncertain and doubtful, lest that your Adversaries take hold upon you, which rejoyce in depraving their Brethren, whereby they may bring the Ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their Faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the Body and Blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy Communion. And I warn you that you enter into no Taverns with Guests, and be not a common Company-keeper. For the more a Preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, wheresoever you may profit other. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that ever you can; For that is the raging Beast, which devoureth men, for whom the Flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore my heartily beloved, I beseech you to fly Fornication; for whereas a man would most profit and do good, there this Vice useth most to lurk. In any case fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; For S. Austin saith, The more devout she is, the more proclive to wantonness, and under the pretence of Religion the snare and venom of Fornication lurketh. And this know my welbeloved, that the Conversation with them subverteth many, whom the Conversation of this World could never blemish nor beguile. Admit no Women into your house, for what cause soever it be, and have not much talk with them otherwise, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, fear God and keep his Precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and shall not perish; so shall you subdue the Flesh, condemn the World, and overcome the Devil; so shall you put on God, find life, and confirm other, and shall crown your self with the Crown of Glory, the which the just Judge shall give you. Amen.

S. Augustin 1
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sons.

This Letter of John Hus containeth a confession of the infirmity of mans flesh, how weak it is, and repugnant against the spirit. Wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.

Health be to you from Jesus Christ, &c. My dear friend, I know that Palerz came to me to perswade me that I should not fear the shame of abjuration, but to consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, That the shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure; and why should I fear then that shame? But I pray you tell me plainly your mind: Presuppofe that such Articles were laid to you, which you knew your self not to be true; what would you do in that case? would you abjure? Who answered, The case is sore, and began to weep. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis was sometimes before in the prison with the Deputies. And when I was with the Deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the Keepers, We by the Grace of God will burn this Heretick shortly, for whose cause I have spent many Florens. But yet understand that I write not this to the intent to revenge me of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

This Palerz was the chiefest enemy of John Hus, and procurer of his death.

Michael de Causis another bitter enemy of John Hus, whom Hus prayed for his enemies.

Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our Letters. For Michael hath taken such order, that none shall be suffered to come into the prison; no nor yet the Keepers wives are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth Antichrist extend his power and cruelty? But I trust that his Power shall be shortned, and his Iniquity shall be detected more and more amongst the faithful people.

A Prophecie of J. Hus.

Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his Faithful, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receive the eternal Crown of Glory. And let Antichrist rage so much as he will, yet he shall not prevail against Christ, which shall destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the Apostle saith; and then shall the Creature be delivered out of servitude of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the Sons of God, as faith the Apostle in the words following. We also wishin

our

our selves do groan, waiting for the Adoption of the Sons of God, the redemption of our Body.

I am greatly comforted in those words of our Saviour, Happy be you when men shall hate you, and shall separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the Son of man: Rejoyce and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in Heaven, Luke 6. O worthy, yea O most worthy Consolation, which not to understand, but to practise in time of Tribulation, is a hard Lesson.

The example of Christ

This rule Saint James, with the other Apostles, did well understand, which faith, Count it exceeding joy my Brethren, when ye shall fall into divers temptations, knowing that the probation of your Faith worketh Patience; let Patience have her perfect work. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to rejoyce in trouble, and to take it for joy to be in divers temptations. A light matter it is to speak it and to expound it; but a great matter to fulfil it. For why? our most patient and most valiant Champion himself, knowing that he should arise again the third day, overcoming his Enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his Elect after his last Supper, was troubled in Spirit, and said, My Soul is heavy unto death. Of whom also the Gospel saith, That he began to fear to be sad and heavy. Who being then in an Agony, was confirmed of the Angel, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his Disciples, Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear the cruelty of them that persecute you, for you shall have me with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of your Persecutors. Whereupon those his Souldiers, looking upon the Prince and King of Glory, sustained great Conflicts. They passed thorow fire and water, and were saved, and received the Crown of the Lord God, of the which Saint James in his Canonical Epistle, saith, Blessed is the man suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proved, he shall receive the Crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love. Of this Crown I trust stedfastly the Lord will make me a partaker also with you, which be the fervent Sealers of the Truth, and with all them which stedfastly and constantly do love the Lord Jesus Christ, which suffered for us, leaving to us example that we should follow his steps. It behoved him to suffer, as he saith, and us also it behoved to suffer, that the Members may suffer together with the Head. For he saith, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me.

The Prayer of John Hus to Christ.

O most merciful Christ, draw us weak Creatures after thee, for except thou should draw us, we are not able to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready, and although the Flesh be feeble, yet let thy Grace go before us, go with us, and follow us; for without thee we can do nothing, and much less enter into the cruel death for thy sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm hope and perfect charity, that we may give our lives patiently and joyfully for thy Names sake, Amen. Written in prison in bonds in the Vigil of S. John the Baptist, who being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickedness, was beheaded.

Among divers other Letters of John Hus, which he wrote to the great Consolation of others; I thought also here to intermix another certain godly Letter written out of England, by a faithful Scholar of Wickliffe, as appeareth unto John Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not unworthy to be read.

A Letter to John Hus, and to the Bohemians from London.

A zealous Letter to John Hus from London.

Greeting, and whatsoever can be devised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Jesus. My dearly beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that have the Knowledge of the Truth; which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the Grace of God for evermore. I rejoyced above measure, when our beloved Brethren came and gave testimony unto us of your truth, and how you walked

in the truth; I have heard Brethren how sharply Antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithful Servants of Christ with divers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no marvel, if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world over) the Law of Christ be too too grievously impugned, and that red Dragon having so many heads (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse) have now vomited out of his mouth that great Flood, by which he goeth about to swallow up the Woman; but the most gracious God will deliver for ever his only and most faithful Spouse. Let us therefore comfort our selves in the Lord our God, and in his unmeasurable goodness, hoping strongly in him, which will not suffer those that love him to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpose, if we according to our duty shall love him with all our heart; for adversity should by no means prevail over us, if there were no iniquity reigning in us. Let therefore no tribulation or sorrow for Christs cause discourage us, knowing this for a surety, that whomsoever the Lord vouchsafeth to receive to be his Children, those he scourgeth; for so the merciful Father will have them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwards he may spare them. For the gold that this high Artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his pure treasury. For we see that the time we shall abide here is short and transitory; the life which we hope for after this is blessed and everlasting. Therefore whilst we have time, let us take pain that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this brittle life, than sorrow, heaviness and sadness, and that which is most grievous of all to the Faithful, too much abusing and contempt of the Law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour our selves, as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternal and abiding, despising in our minds all transitory and frail things. Let us consider the holy fellowship of our Fathers that have gone before us. Let us consider the Saints of the Old and New Testament. Did they not pass through this Sea of Tribulation and Persecution? were not some of them cut in pieces, other some stoned, and other of them killed with the Sword? some others of them went about in Pelts and Goats skins, as the Apostle to the Hebrews witnesseth. Surely they all walked straitways, following the steps of Christ, which said, He that minisreth unto me, let him follow me wheresoever I go, &c. Therefore let us also, which have so noble Examples given us of the Saints that went before us, laying away, as much as in us lieth, the heavy burden and the yoke of sin which compasseth us about, run forward through patience, to the battel that is set before us, fixing our eyes upon the Author of Faith, and Jesus the Finisher of the same; who, seeing the joy that was set before him, suffered the pains of the Cross, despising death. Let us call upon him, which suffered such reproach against himself of Sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartily pray for help of the Lord, and may fight against his Adversary Antichrist; that we may love his Law, and not be deceitful Labourers, but that we may deal faithfully in all things, according to that which God hath vouchsafed to give us, and that we may labour diligently in the Lords Cause, under hope of an everlasting Reward. Behold therefore Brother Hus, most dearly beloved in Christ, although in face unknown to me, yet not in faith and love (for distance of places cannot separate those whom the love of Christ doth effectually knit together) be comforted in the grace which is given unto thee, labour like a good Souldier of Christ Jesus, preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst to the way of truth; for the truth of the Gospel is not to be kept in silence, because of the frivolous Censures and Thunderbolts of Antichrist. And therefore to the uttermost of thy power, strengthen thou and confirm the Members of Christ, which are weakened by the Devil; and if the Lord will vouchsafe it, Antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly rejoyce, that in your Realm and in other places God hath stirred up the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer, for the Word of God, Imprisonment, Banishment and Death.

Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you, but I confess that I could wish to pour out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the Law of the Lord. Also I salute from the bottom of my heart all the faithful

KING
Hus.

Examples of
the old
Martyrs.

KING { faithful Lovers of the Law of the Lord, and specially *Jacobellus* your Coadjutor in the Gospel, requiring that he will pray unto the Lord for me in the universal Church of Jesus Christ. And the God of peace which hath raised from the dead the Shepherd of the sheep, the mighty Lord Jesus Christ, make you apt in all goodness, to do his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your Friends salute you which have heard of your constancy, I would desire also to see your Letters written back to us, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort us.

At London by your Servant, desiring to be Fellow with you in your Labours Ricus Wichewitz, Priest unworthy.

Another Letter of John Hus to his Friends of Boheme.

THe Lord God be with you. I love the counsel of the Lord above gold and precious stone. Wherefore I trust in the mercy of Jesus Christ, that he will give me his Spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, *For the spirit is ready, and the flesh is weak.* The Lord Almighty be the eternal reward unto my Lords, which constantly, firmly and faithfully do stand for righteousness; to whom the Lord God shall give in the Kingdom of Boheme, to know the truth. For the following of which truth, necessary it is that they return again into Boheme, setting apart all vain-glory, and following not a mortal and miserable King, but the King of Glory which giveth eternal life.

O how comfortable was the giving of the hand of Lord *John de Clum* unto me, which was not ashamed to reach forth his hand to me a Wretch, and such an abject Heretick, lying in fetters of Iron, and cried out upon all men! Now peradventure I shall not speak much hereafter with you: Therefore salute in time as you shall see them all the faithful of Boheme.

Paleiz came to me into prison. His salutation in my vehement infirmity was this before the Commissaries, that there hath not risen a more perilous Heretick since Christ was born, than was *Wickliff* and I. Also he said, *That all such as came to hear my talk were infected with this Heresie, so think that the substance of bread remained in the Sacrament of the Altar.* To whom I answered and said, O Master what a grievous Salutation have you given me, and how greatly do you sin? Behold I shall die, or peradventure to morrow shall be burnt: And what reward shall be recompensed to you in Boheme for your labour.

This thing peradventure I should not have written, lest I might seem to hate him. I have always had this in my heart, *Trust not in Princes, &c.* And again, *Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arm.* For God sake be you circumspect how you stand and how you return. Carry no Letters with you. Direct your Books not all by one, but diversly by divers Friends.

Know this for certain, that I have had great conflicts by dreams, in such sort as I had much ado to refrain from crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes escape before he went. And after the Lord *John* had told me thereof, immediately in the night it was told me, That the Pope should return to you again. And afterward also I dreamed of the apprehending of Master *Ferome*, although not in full manner as it was done. All the imprisonments, whether and how I am carried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the same form and circumstance. Many Serpents oftentimes appeared unto me, having heads also in their tail; but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

These things I write, not esteeming my self as a Prophet, or that I extol my self, but only to signify unto you what temptations I had in body and also in mind, and what great fear I had, lest I should transgress the Commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now I remember with my self the words of Master *Ferome*, which said, *That if I should come to the Council, he thought I should never return home again.* In like manner there was a good and godly man, a Taylor, which taking his leave of me at Prague, spake to me in these words, *God be with you* (said he) *for I think verily, my dear and good Master*

John, that you shall not return again to us with your life. The King, not of Hungary, but of Heaven, reward you with all goodness, for the faithful Doctrine which I at your hands received, &c.

¶ And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also unto them another Prophetical Vision of his to be expounded touching the reformation of the Church, written in his forty fourth Epistle, the Contents whereof be these.

Another Letter of John Hus, sent to the Lord John de Clum.

I Pray you expound to me the dream of this night, I saw how that in my Church of Bethlehem they came to race and put out all the Images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after I arose and saw many Painters, which painted and made more fairer Images, and many more than I had done before, which Images I was very glad and joyful to behold. And the Painters, with much people about them, said, Let the Bishops and Priests come now, and put us out these Pictures. Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethlehem to rejoyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith felt my self to laugh, &c.

¶ This Vision Lord *John de Clum*, and *John Hus* Prophecia, himself in his Book of Epistles in the forty fifth Epistle seemeth to expound, and applieth the Images of Christ unto the preaching of Christ and of his life. The which preaching and Doctrine of Christ, though the Pope and his Cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he foresee and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same Doctrine should be revived again by others, so plenteously, that the Pope with all his Power should not be able to prevail against it. Thus much as concerning this Vision of *J. Hus*. Whereunto doth well accord the Prophecie of *Ferome* of Prague, printed in the Coin called *Moneta Husi*; of the which Coin I have my self one of the Plates having this Supercription following printed about it; *Centum revoluit annis Deo respondebitis & mihi*, that is, after an hundred years come and gone, you shall give account to God and to me. Whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Furthermore, in the 48th Epistle the said *J. Hus* seeming to speak with the like Spirit of Prophecie, hath these words following, *Sed spero, quod quæ dixi sub testis, prædicabuntur super testis*: That is, but I trust that those things which I have spoken within the house, hereafter shall be preached upon the top of the house.

And because we are here in hand with the Prophecies of *John Hus*, it shall serve well in place, here moreover to record his words in a certain Treatise by him written, *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium abominatione*; wherein the said *John Hus*, speaking prophetically of the Reformation of the Church, hath these words following, *Ex istis ulterius adverte incidentaliter, quod Dei Ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci, &c.*

That is in English.

Moreover, hereupon note and mark by the way, that the Church of God cannot be reduced to his former Dignity, or be reformed, before all things first be made new; The truth whereof is plain by the Temple of *Solomon*. Like as the Clergy and Priests, so also the people and laity; Or else unless all such as now be addict to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and reclaimed, as well the people as Clergy and Priests. Albeit as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new Clerks and Priests shall come, and be taken; which all shall hate covetousness, and the glory of this life, hastening to an heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to pass, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will do for his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and patience, giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lien in their sins, to amend, and fly from the face of the Lords fury, while that in like manner the carnal people, and carnal Priests successively and in time shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth, &c.

Another

The visions of John Hus by dreams.

A Prophecie of Master Hierome of Prague.

This Taylor name was Andrew a Poleman.

Another Letter of John Hus.

M After Martin my dear Brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord that you fear God, keep his Commandments, and flee the company of women, and beware of bearing their confession, lest by the hypocrisie of women Satan deceive you; trust not their devotion. You know how I have detested the avarice and the inordinate life of the Clergy: wherefore through the Grace of God I suffer now Persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me, neither do I fear to have my heart poured out for the Name of Christ Jesus; I desire you heartily be not greedy in seeking after Benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any Cure in the Country, let the Honour of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the travel thereof move you thereunto, and not the having of the Living or the Commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such Benefice, beware you have no young Woman for your Cook or Servant, lest you edifie and increase more your House than your Soul. See that you be a builder of your spiritual House, being gentle to the Poor and humble of mind, and waste not your Goods in great fare. I fear also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous Apparel, lest you shall be grievously chastised, as I also wretched man shall be punished, which have used the like, being seduced by custom of evil men and worldly glory, whereby I have been wounded against God with the Spirit of Pride. And because you have notably known both my preaching and outward Conversation even from my Youth, I have no need to write many things unto you, but to desire you for the mercy of Jesus Christ, that you do not follow me in any such levity and lightness, which you have seen in me. You knew how before my Priesthood (which grieveth me now) I have delighted to play oftentimes at Chess, and have neglected my time, and have unhappily provoked both my self and other to anger many times by that play. Wherefore besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to invoke the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and so direct my life, that having overcome the wickedness of this present Life, the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, I may find place in the heavenly Countrey, at the least in the day of Judgment. Fare ye well in Christ Jesus, with all of them which keep his Law. My grey Coat, if you will, keep to your self for my remembrance, but I think you are ashamed to wear that grey colour; therefore you may give it to whom you shall think good. My white Coat you shall give the Minister N. my Scholar. To George or else to Zuzikon sixty Groats, or else my grey Coat, for he hath faithfully served me.

Note that then Priests were not married, and therefore he willeth them to avoid the company of Women.

He repenteth his gay Garments.

He repenteth his playing at the Chess.

John Hus from his gay Garments cometh to his white Coat.

C The Superscription.

I pray you that you do not open this Letter, before you be sure and certain of my death.

The Consolation of Master Jerome to Master Hus.

M Y Master, in those things which you have both written hitherto, and also preached after the Law of God against the pride, avarice, and other inordinate Vices of the Priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of mine own accord I will follow after to help you, as much as I can.

John Hus condemned for no erroneous Doctrine wherein he was culpable.

B Y the Life, Acts and Letters of John Hus hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plain, that he was condemned not for any error of Doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their Popish Transubstantiation, neither spake against the authority of the Church of Rome, if it were well governed, nor yet the seven Sacraments, and also said Mass himself, and almost in all their Popish opinions was a Papist with them; but only of evil will was accused of his malicious Adversaries, because he spake against the Pomp, Pride and Avarice, and other wicked Enormities of the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates of the Church, and because he could not abide the high Dignities and Livings of the Church, and thought the doings of the Pope to be Antichrist-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false Witnesses, against him. Who straining and picking

matter out of his Books and Writings, having no one just Article of Doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him an Heretick, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charity of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charity (good Reader) may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story; I beseech thee then, what cause had John Cochleus to write his twelve Books against J. Hus and Hussites? In which Books how bitterly and intemperately he misuseth his Pen, by these few words in his second Book thou mayst take a little taste: which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all Englishmen may judge thereby, with what spirit and truth these Catholicks be carried. His words be these, *Lib. 2. Hist. Dico igitur Joan. Hus neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius, &c.* That is, I say therefore John Hus is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; inasmuch that in the day of Judgment, it shall be more easie, not only with the infidel Pagans, Turks, Tartarians and Jews, but also with the most sinful Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, which most filthily do lie with their Daughters, Sisters, or Mother, yea and also with most impious Cain, Killer of his own Brother, with Thieffes, Killer of his own Mother, and the Lestrygones and other Anthropophagi, which devour mans flesh; yea more easie with those infamous Murderers of Infants, Pharaoh and Herod, than with him, &c. These be the words of Cochleus. Whose railing Books although they deserve neither to be read, nor answered, yet if it please God, it were to be wished, that the Lord would stir up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this J. Hus, which cannot now answer for himself. In the mean time, something to satisfy or stay the Readers mind against this immoderate Hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Hus to speak and to clear himself against this slander: whose words in his Book *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum abominatione desolationis*, pag. 84. &c. I beseech the Reader to note, *Nam & ista scribens Fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Jesu Crucifixi, &c.* That is, For in writing these things, I confess nothing else to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jesus crucified, whose prints and stripes (according to the measure of my weakness and vileness) I covet to bear in my self, beseeching him so to give me Grace, that I never seek to glory in my self, or in any thing else, but only in his Cross, and in the inestimable ignominy of his Passion which he suffered for me. And therefore I write and speak these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as unfainedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary will mislike not a little all such as be of Antichrist. Also again, I confess before the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unless he by his inward unction had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name. For as S. Augustine and Hierome do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and Writings of the Apostles, Evangelists and Prophets, and to the Canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulness of the Spirit of Jesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholesome utility, &c. And here place also would require something to say to Aeneas Sylvius, to Antoninus, and to Lazius, which falsely impute Articles to him, which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of Master Jerome of Prague.

KING Hen. 5.

Cochleus railleth against J. Hus without cause.

En Cochleus lib. 2. hist. Hussitum, pag. 88.

* The tragical and lamentable History of the famous learned man and godly Martyr of Christ, Master Jerome of Prague, burned at Constance for like cause and quarrel as Master John Hus was, 1416.

T Hese things hitherto being discoursed, touching the life, acts and constant martyrdom of Master John Hus, with part also of his Letters adjoined to the same, whose death was on the sixth of July, Anno 1416. now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Christian Companion and Fellow in bands

The story of Jerome of Prague.

[KING]
[Hus]
Jerome
cometh to
Constance.

bands Master Jerome of Prague. Who grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his Country of Boheme, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done unto that man of worthy memory, Master John Hus; freely and of his own accord came unto Constance the fourth day of April, 1415. Who there perceiving that John Hus was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every side, he departed to Iberling a City of the Empire, until the next day; the which City was a mile off from Constance, and from thence he wrote his Letters by me unto Sigismund King of Hungary and his Barons, and also unto the Council, most earnestly requiring that the King and the Council would give him a safe Conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open Audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the Council that would lay any Crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

The safe
conduct
was requi-
red, but in
vain, of the
Emperour.

When as the said King of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the Lord Cardinal of Cambray, he denied to give Master Jerome any safe conduct, excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe conduct of John Hus before, and alledging also certain other causes. The Deputies also of the four Nations of the Council being moved thereunto by the Lords of the Kingdom of Boheme, answered, We (say they) will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart. Whole answers, when they were reported unto Master Jerome, he the next day after wrote certain intimations according to the tenor under-written, which he sent unto Constance to be set upon the Gates of the City, and upon the Gates of the Churches and Monasteries, and of the houses of the Cardinals, and other Nobles and Prelates. The tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner.

The intima-
tion of Je-
rome of
Prague, set
up in diverse
places of
the Town
of Constance

Unto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund, by the Grace of God King of the Romans, always Augustus, and of Hungary, &c. I Jerome of Prague, Master of Art of the general Universities of Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg and Prague, by these my present Letters do notifie unto the King, together with the whole reverend Council, and as much as in me lieth, do all men to understand, and know, that because of the crafty Slanderers, Backbiters and Accusers, I am ready freely and of mine will, to come unto Constance, there to declare openly before the Council, the purity and sincerity of my true Faith, and mine Innocency, and not secretly in Corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore if there be any of my Slanderers, of what Nation or Estate soever they be, which will object against me any Crime of Error or Heresie; let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole Council, and in their own names object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publickly before the whole Council, of mine Innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true Faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in Error or Heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or an Heretick.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech my Lord the King, and the whole sacred Council, That I may have to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I offering such Equity and Right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole World, that this general Council doth not proceed according to Equity and Justice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and strait Justice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy Council of wise men.

Safe con-
duct denied
to Jerome.

Jerome re-
turneth to-
ward Bo-
heme, with
the testimo-
nies of the
Lords of
Boheme.

When as yet he through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latin, and German-Tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe Conduct, then the Nobles, Lords, and Knights specially of the Bohemian Nation, present in Constance, gave unto Master Jerome their Letters Patents, confirmed with their Seals for a Testimony and Witness of the premises. With the which Letters the said Master Jerome returned again unto

Boheme; but by the Treason and Conspiracy of his Enemies he was taken in Hirsaw by the Officers of Duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought back again to the presence of the Duke. In the mean time such as were the Setters forward of the Council against Master John Hus, and Master Jerome; that is to say, Michael de Causis and Master Palex, and other their Accomplices, required that the said Master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations, and certain days after the citation here under-written was set upon the Gates and Porches of the City and Churches, which followeth here in this manner:

Jerome ap-
prehended
in the way
by Duke
John.
Michael de
Causis, and
Palex ene-
mies to
Jerome.

¶ This most sacred and holy Synod and General Council of Constance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal Militant-Church, unto Jerome of Prague, which writeth himself to be a Master of Art of so many Universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto Sobriety and Modesty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain Writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, the which was set up as it were by thine own person upon the Gates of the Churches and City of Constance, upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the Church of God, Quasi modo geniti. Wherein thou dost affirm, That thou wilt openly answer unto thy Accusers and Slanderers which shall object any Crime, Error or Heresie against thee, whereof thou art marvelously inflamed and accused before us, and specially touching the Doctrine of Wickliff, and other Doctrines contrary unto the Catholick Faith, so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe conduct to come. But so much as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty Foxes which go about to destroy the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenour of these presents, thy person manifestly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold Errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third; We do ordain and appoint by Canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the publick Sessions of the sacred Council, if there be any holden in the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when as any Session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things, which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy Faith, and to receive and have as Justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as Catholick Faith shall require; We offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe conduct from all violence (Justice always being saved;) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, Process shall go forward against thee by the said Sacred Council, or by their Commissary or Commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept, thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding. Given in the sixth Session of the General Council, the seventeenth day of April, under the Seal of the Presidents of the four Nations.

¶ Grumpert Faber, Notary of the Germans.

After that Sigismund King of Hungary, with the rest of the Council, understood by the foresaid Duke John, that Master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master Jerome should be brought before them unto the Council. The which Duke John, after he had received Letters of the King and the Council, brought Master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his Brother Duke Ludovicus led thorow the City to the Cloyster of the Friars Minors in Constance, whereas the chief Priests and Elders of the people, Scribes and Pharisees, were gathered together; attending and waiting for his coming. He the said Master Jerome carried a great handbolt of Iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great ratling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after Duke Ludovicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him, with

This Duke
John in
histories is
commonly
called the
Son of Cle-
ment.
Jerome is
brought
bound unto
Constance
by Duke
John.

with the which chain they also kept him bound in the Cloyster. When he was brought into the Cloyster, they read before him the Letter of Duke John, which was sent with the said Master Jerome unto the Council, containing in effect, how that the said Duke John had sent Master Jerome unto the Council, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the Heresies of Wickliff; that the Council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did err and stray from the truth, besides many other flattering Tales which were written in the said Letter for the praise of the Council. After this they read the Citation which was given out by the Council against Master Jerome, whereof we have spoken before. Then certain of the Bishops said unto him, *Jerome, why didst thou fly and run away, and didst not appear when thou wast cited?* He answered, *Because I could not have any safe conduct, neither from you, neither from the King, as it appeareth by these Letters Patents of the Barons, which you have, neither by mine open Intimations could I obtain any safe conduct.*

The Council neither would give him liberty safely to come, nor freely to go

M. Jerome was accused by Mr. Gerson, with commendation of his Eloquence. Gerson renewed matters.

The Master of the University of Cullen. This man would accuse, but he lacked matter.

The Master of the University of Heidelberg.

Crucified, crucified him.

Jerome is comforted by the Nary.

Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy Friends to be here present in the Council, would not myself be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any understanding of this Citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Boheme, I would have returned again. Then all the whole Rabble rising up, alleged divers and sundry Accusations and Testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake Master Gerson the Chancellor of Paris, *Jerome, when thou wast at Paris thou thoughtest thyself by means of thy Eloquence to be an Angel, and didst trouble the whole University, alleging openly in the Schools many erroneous Conclusions with their corollaria, and especially in the question de universaliis & de Idæis, with many other very offensive questions.* Unto whom Master Jerome said, *I answer to you Master Gerson; Those matters which I did put forth there in the Schools at Paris, in the which also I answered to the Arguments of the Masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a Philosopher, and Master of the University; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same.*

Whiles he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the Master of the University of Cullen upon the River of Rheine) rising up, said, *When thou wast also at Cullen, in thy position which thou didst there determine, thou didst propound many erroneous matters.* Then said Master Jerome unto him, *Shew me first one Error which I propounded.* Wherewithall he being in a manner astonished, said, *I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you.*

And by and by the third man rising up, said, *When that you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain Shield or Scutcheon, comparing the Trinity of Persons in divinity unto Water, Snow and Ice, and such like.* Unto whom Master Jerome answered, *Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speak, write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant the same.*

Then certain cried out, *Let him be burned, let him be burned.* Unto whom he answered, *If my death do delight or please you, In the Name of God let it be so.*

Then said the Archbishop of Salisburg; *Not so Master Jerome, forasmuch as it is written, I will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* When these and many other Tumults and Cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outrageously witness against him, they delivered the said Master Jerome, being bound, unto the Officers of the said City of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to their Lodgings.

In the mean time, one of the Friends of Master John Hus, looking out at a window of the Cloyster, said unto him, Master Jerome. Then said he, *You are welcome my dear Brother.* Then said Peter unto him, *Be constant and fear not to suffer death for the Truth sake, of the which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much goodness.* Unto whom Jerome answered,

Truly Brother I do not fear death, and forasmuch as we know that we have spoken much thereof in times past; let us now see what may be known or done in effect. By and by his Keepers coming to the window, threatening him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the Cloyster.

Then came there one Vitus unto Master Jerome, and said, *Master, how do you do?* Unto whom he answered, *Truly Brother, I do very well.* Then his Keepers coming about him laid hold of the said Vitus, saying, *This is also one of the number, and kept him.* When it drew towards evening, the Archbishop of Rigen sent certain of his Servants which led away Master Jerome, being strongly bound with chains, both by the Hands and by the Neck, and kept him so for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain Tower of the City in Saint Pauls Church-yard, where they tying him fast unto a great Block, and his Feet in the Stocks, his Hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; whereas the block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereupon, but that his Head must hang downward. They carried also the said Vitus unto the Archbishop of Rigen, who demanded of him, *Why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man being a Reprobate of all men, and an Heretick;* and when as he could find no cause of Imprisonment in him, and that he said he was Master John de Clums Friend (taking an Oath and Promise of him, that he should not go about to endamage the Council by reason of that Imprisonment and Captivity) so dismissed him and sent him away.

Master Jerome, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the said Tower two days and two nights, relieved only with Bread and Water. Then one of his Keepers, coming unto Master Peter, declared unto him how that Master Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master Peter desired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, because he would procure the same unto him. The Keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, he hanging by the heels, he used so small repast, that he fell fore sick even unto the death. When as he living then in that captivity and prison, desired to have a Confessor, they of the Council denied that he should have any, until such time as by great importunity he obtained to have one; his Friends being then there present in the same Prison and Tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.

After they had put John Hus to death, then about the Feast of the Nativity of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth Master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chains, unto the Church of S. Paul; and threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent unto the death of Master John Hus, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make Abjuration, and that in the Cathedral-Church and open Session, the draught whereof penned to him by the Papists, here ensueth.

☞ The Abjuration of Master Hierome of Prague.

I Hierome of Prague, Master of Art, acknowledging the Catholick Church, and the Apostolick Faith, do accurse and renounce all Heresies, and specially that whereof I have hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past John Hus and John Wickliff have bolden and taught in their Works, Treatises and Sermons, made unto the people and Clergy; for the which cause the said Wickliff and Hus, together with the said Doctrines and Errors, are condemned by this Synod of Constance as Hereticks, and all the said Doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certain Articles expressed in the Sentences and Judgments given against them by this sacred Council.

Also I do accord and agree unto the holy Church of Rome, the Apostolick Seat in this sacred Council, and with my mouth and heart do profess in all things, and touching

KING, Hen. 5.

As to de illis 22. Luc. 22. Vitus the Companion of John de Clums.

Jerome straitly bound hand and foot.

Vitus had to the Archbishop of Rigen.

Vitus bound by Oath.

Jerome hanging in the stocks was fed with bread and water. Peter brought meat to Jerome.

Jerome in great sickness called for a Confessor.

Master Jerome was kept in prison for the space of one year.

The forced Abjuration of Hierome

KING touching all things, and specially as touching the Keys, Sacraments, Orders, and Offices, and Ecclesiastical Censures, of Pardons, Reliques of Saints, Ecclesiastical liberty, also Ceremonies, and all other things pertaining unto Christian Religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apostolick See, and this Sacred Council do profess: and specially that many of the said Articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reproved by the holy Fathers, some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous: some offensive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were counted the Articles lately condemned by the Sacred Council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular Catholick men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain any of the said Articles, under pain of being accursed.

And I the said Hierome, forsomuch as I have laboured by Scholastical arts to perswade the opinion, de Universalibus realibus, and that one substance of the common kind should signifie many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as Saint Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, do affirm, and likewise others: for the teaching hereof by a plain example I described as it were a certain Triangle, form or figure, the which I called the shield of faith.

Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which peradventure some men may gather thereby, I do say, affirm, and declare that I never made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith to that intent or purpose, that I would extoll or prefer the opinion of Universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the Catholick Faith could not be defended or maintained, when as I my self would not obstinately stick thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of the Triangle or form, that one Divine essence consisted in three subjects or persons in themselves distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Article of the which Trinity is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the Catholick truth.

Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and favour sometime John Hus; I signifie unto all men by these presents, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his Sermons, and also in the Schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainsay the Traditions of our Holy Mother the Church, or holy Doctors: insomuch as when I was lately in this City, and the Articles which I affirmed were shewed unto me, which were also condemned by the Sacred Council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his, at the least not in that form. But when as I had further understood by certain famous Doctors and Masters of Divinity that they were his Articles, I required for my further information and satisfaction, to have the Books of his own hand-writing shewed unto me, wherein it was said those Articles were contained. The which Books when they were shewed unto me written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all, and every one of those Articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judge and think him and his Doctrine, with his adherents to be condemned and reproved by the Sacred Council, as heretical and without reason. All which the premises with a pure mind and conscience, I do here pronounce and speak, being now fully and sufficiently informed of the foresaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred Council against the Doctrines of the said John Wickliffe, and John Hus, and against their own persons: unto the which judgment as a devout Catholick in all things, I do most humbly consent and agree.

Also I the foresaid Hierome, which before the reverend Fathers the Lords Cardinals, and reverend Lords, Prelates and Doctors, and other worshipful persons of this sacred Council in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpose amongst other things speaking of the Church, did divide the same into three parts: And as I did perceive afterward, it was understood by some that I would affirm, that in the Triumphant Church there was faith. Whereas I do firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all dark understanding and knowledge. And

now also I say, affirm and declare that it was never my intent and purpose to prove that there should be faith, speaking of faith, as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge far exceeding faith. And generally whatsoever I said, either there, or at any time before, I do refer, and most humbly submit my self unto the determination of this sacred Council of Constance.

Moreover, I do swear both by the Holy Trinity, and also by the most Holy Gospel, that I will for evermore remain and persevere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholick Church. And all such as by their Doctrine and teaching shall impugn this faith, I judge them worthy together with their Doctrines of eternal curse. And if I my self at any time (which God forbid I should) do presume to preach or teach contrary thereunto, I will submit my self unto the severity of the Canons, and be bound unto eternal pain and punishment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confession and tenor of my Profession willingly before this sacred General Council, and have subscribed and written all these things with mine own hand.

After all this they caused him to be carried again unto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before: notwithstanding kept every day with Soldiers and armed men. And when as afterward his enemies which were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Palerz, with other their companions in these affairs, understood and knew by the words and talk of Master Hierome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same Abjuration and Recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to scape their hands, they together with certain Friars of Prague, of the Order of Carmelites, then coming in, put up new accusations against the said Master Hierome, and drew the same into Articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forsomuch as his Judges, and certain Cardinals, as the Cardinal of Cambray, the Cardinal de Ursinis, the Cardinal of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of Master Hierome, did see the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole Council for his delivery.

It happened upon a certain day, as they were labouring in the Council for the delivery of the said Master Hierome, that the Germans and Bohemians his enemies with all force and power resisted against it, crying out that he should in no case be dismissed. Then start up one called Doctor Naso, which said unto the Cardinals, We marvel much of you most reverend Fathers, that your Reverencies will make intercession for such a wicked Heretick, for whose sake we in Boheme with the whole Clergy have suffered much trouble and mischief, and peradventure your Fatherhoods shall suffer: and I greatly fear, lest that you have received some rewards either of the King of Boheme, or of these Hereticks. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of Master Hieromes cause and matter.

Then his enemies afore said obtained to have other Judges appointed, as the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a German Doctor, forsomuch as they did know that the Patriarch was a grievous enemy unto Master Hierome, because he being before appointed Judge by the Council, had condemned John Hus unto death.

But Mr. Hierome would not answer them in prison, requiring to have open audience, because he would there finally declare unto them his mind, neither would he by any means consent unto those private Judges. Whereupon the Prelidents of the Council thinking that the said Master Hierome would renew his Recantation before the said Audience, and confirm the same, did grant him open audience.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the 25th day of May, which was the Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, the said Master Hierome was brought unto open Audience before the whole Council, to the great Cathedral Church of Constance, where by the Commissioners of the Council, in the behalf of his foresaid enemies, there were laid against him of new a hundred and seven Articles, to the intent that he should not scape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him: insomuch as the Judges had before

P p p declared

Jerome after his Abjuration returned into prison.

Jerome accused anew by Causis, Palerz, and the Carmelites. The Cardinal of Cambray, with certain other Cardinals laboured for the delivery of Jerome.

Si dimissus hunc non es amicis Causis.

The Patriarch of Constantinople gave sentence of death both against Mr. Hus, and Mr. Hierome of Prague.

Ann. 1416 Jerome brought again before the Council.

Hierome is made here to say not his own mind, but what pleaseth them.

declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning until noon, he answered unto more than forty Articles, most subtilly objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such Articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same Session they had not yet proceeded unto death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer unto the Articles. Wherefore for lack of time sufficient to answer unto the residue of the Articles, there was another time appointed. Which was the third day after the foresaid Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time again early in the morning he was brought unto the said Cathedral Church to answer unto all the residue of the Articles.

The dexterity of Hierome in confuting his adversaries.

In all which Articles, as well those which he had answered unto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly, refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselves astonished at his Oration, and refutation of their testimonies brought against him, and with shame enough were put to silence: As when one of them had demanded of him what he thought by the Sacrament of the Altar, he answered, Before consecration (said he) it is Bread and Wine; after the consecration it is the true Body and Blood of Christ; adding withal moe words according to their Catholick Faith. Then another rising up, Hierome, said he, there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou shouldest hold Bread to remain upon the Altar. To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, That he believed Bread to be at the Bakers. At which words being spoken one of the Dominick Friars furnisshly took on, and said, What, dost thou deny, that which no man doubteth of? Whose peevish sauciness Hierome with these words did well repress, Hold thy peace (said he) thou Monk, thou hypocrite: And thus the Monk being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After whom started up another, who with a loud voice cried out, I swear (said he) by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny. To whom said Hierome again, speaking in Latin, *Heus, inquit, sic jurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est.* That is, thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive. Another there was, a spiteful and a bitter enemy of his whom he called by no other name than dog, or ass. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.

False witnesses.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who coming in presence gave testimony unto the Articles before produced. By reason whereof the innocent cause of Hierome was oppressed, and began in the Council to be concluded. Then Hierome rising up began to speak: Forso-much (said he) as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you should also now hear me to speak for my self. Whereupon with much difficulty at last audience was given in the Council for him to say his mind. Which being granted, he from morning to noon continuing, intreated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And so entering into his Oration.

The Oration of Hierome had before the Council.

Secretly.

I Know, said he, Reverend Lords, that there have been many excellent men, which have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments. And so beginning with *Socrates*, he declared how he was unjustly condemned of his Countrymen, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which seem most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of *Plato*, the banishment of *Anaxagoras*, and the torments of *Zeno*. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of *Rupilius*, reciting also the unworthy death of *Boetius* and of others, whom *Boetius* himself doth write of.

Plato, Anaxagoras, Zeno, Rupilius, Boetius.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrews, and first began with *Moses* the deliverer of the people, and the Law-giver, how he was oftentimes slandered of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. *Joseph* also, said he, for envy was sold of his Brethren, and for false suspicion of whoredom was cast into bands. Besides these, he reciteth *Esaias*, *Daniel*, and almost all the Prophets, who as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of *Susanna*, and of divers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly cast away with wrongful sentence. At the length he came to *John Baptist*, and so in long process he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and *John Baptist* were condemned. Moreover, how *Stephen* was slain by the College of the Priests, and how all the Apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemners of the gods, and evil doers. It is unjust, said he, unjustly to be condemned one Priest of another, and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that Council of Priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

KING Hen. 5.

Moses.

Joseph.

Esaias.

Daniel.

The Prophets.

Susanna.

John Baptist.

Christ.

The Apostles.

And forasmuch as all the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expressly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was given to their testimonies, save only for the cause and quarrel wherein they stood touching the Popes Doctrine. All mens minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he of his own accord came up to the Council, and to purge himself he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of vertue and godliness. This was (said he) the old manner of ancient and learned men, and most holy Elders, that in matters of Faith, they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the Faith, but to find out the verity. So did *Augustine* and *Jerome* dissent, not only being divers; but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspicion of heresie.

The false Witnesses of Hierome refuted.

All this while the Popes holy Council did wait still, when he would begin to excuse himself, and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon of the Council. But he persisting still in his constant Oration, did acknowledg no error, nor gave any signification of retraction.

At last entering into the praise and commendation of Master *John Hus*, he affirmed that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer. Whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a just and true Preacher of the holy Gospel; and whatsoever things Master *John Hus* and *Wickliff* had holden or written, specially against the abuse and pomp of the Clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and blessed men, and that in all points of the Catholick Faith he doth believe as the holy Catholick Church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all such Articles as *John Wickliff* and *John Hus* had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp and disorder of the Prelates, he would firmly and stedfastly, without recantation hold and defend even unto the death. And last of all he added, that all the sins that ever he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that only sin, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when as in his recantation he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his Doctrine, and specially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death: And moreover, that whatsoever thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lyed upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

Hierome commended the life, and bewaileth the death of John Hus.

Hierome repenteth his speaking against John Hus.

And

KING And at the hearing hereof the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death than life. And persisting in the praise of *John Hus*, he added moreover, that he never maintained any Doctrine against the state of the Church, but only spake against the abuses of the Clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the Prelates. Forasmuch as the Patrimonies of the Churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches; it was a grief to that good man (said he) to see the same mispent and cast away upon Harlots, great feasting, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things unbeseeming Christian Religion. And herein he shewed himself marvellous eloquent; yea never more.

And when his Oration was interrupted many times by divers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which escaped unblancked, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak, and after began again, proceeding in his Oration, and desiring them to give him leave a while to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more, neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

And this was marvellous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison three hundred forty days, having neither Book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirable his memory served him: Declaring how all those pains of his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their unkind humanity towards him.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of *John Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, they which sat in the Council whispered together, saying, By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself. Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms and feet, with great chains and fetters of Iron.

The *Saturday* next before the *Ascension-day*, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the Cathedral Church before the open Congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid touching the praise and commendation of Master *John Wickliff*, and Master *John Hus*, confirming and establishing their Doctrine, he would yet recant the same: But he marvellous stoutly without all fear spake against them, and amongst other things said unto them, I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the Articles of the Faith, as the holy Catholick Church doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain Articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life. Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, inasmuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant.

Then a certain Bishop, named the Bishop of *Londy*, made a certain Sermon exhortative against Master *Hierome*, persuading to his condemnation.

After the Bishop had ended the said Sermon, Master *Hierome* said again unto them, You shall condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But I after my death will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts: *Et cito vos omnes, ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo & iustissimo Iudice post centum annos.* That is, And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years.

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and Philosophically had spoken in the said Audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly

and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no means he might be persuaded to recant the premises, immediately even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Christ our God, and our Saviour being the true Vine, whose Father is the Husbandman, taught his Disciples, and all other faithful men, saying, *If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry, &c.* The Doctrine and precepts of which most excellent Doctor and Master this most Sacred Synod of *Constance* executing and following in the cause of inquisition against Hereticks, being moved by this said Sacred Synod, through report, publick fame, and open infamation, proceeding against *Hierome of Prague*, Master of Art, Lay-man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master *Hierome* hath holden, maintained, and taught divers Articles heretical and erroneous, lately reprov'd and condemned by the holy Fathers, some being very blasphemous, other some offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious, which have been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory, *John Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, the which are also written in divers of their Works and Books. Which Articles of Doctrine and Books of the said *John Hus*, and *John Wickliff*, together with their memory, and the person of the said *John Hus*, were by the said sacred Synod condemned of Heresie. The which sentence of condemnation this *Hierome* afterward during the time of Inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred Synod, and approved the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith, thereunto consenting, accursing all Heresie, specially that whereof he was infamed, and confessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past *John Hus* and *John Wickliff* maintained and taught in their Works, Sermons, and Books, for the which the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, together with their Doctrine and Errors, were by the said sacred Synod as heretical condemned. The condemnation of all which the premises he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith. And if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession written with his own hand, he delivered up unto the holy Council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poyson which had long lurked and lyen hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Council. The which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said and professed before the whole Synod, being publickly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, and that he had most shamefully lyed in approving and allowing the said sentence, neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lyed; yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresie in the Books and Treatises of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their Books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master *Hierome* did profess as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Transubstantiation of the Bread into the Body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the Church doth hold and believe, saying also that he doth give more credit unto Saint *Augustine*, and the other Doctors of the Church, than unto *Wickliff* and *Hus*. It appeareth moreover by the premises, that the said *Hierome* is an adherent and maintainer of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, and their Errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synod determineth the said Master *Hierome* as a rotten and withered branch,

branch, not growing upon the Vine, to be cut off and cast out. The said Synod also pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an Heretick and drowned in all kind of Heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leaving him unto the arbitrement and judgment of the secular Judg, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence; the sacred Synod notwithstanding intreating that the said Judg would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death.

M. Hierome given to the secular power.

A paper with red Devils put upon the head of M. Hierome by Devilish Papists.

The which sentence so given before his face, and ended, a great and long Miter of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red Devils, the which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his Hood upon the ground amongst the Prelates, he took the Miter and put it upon his head, saying, Our Lord Jesus Christ, when as he should suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did wear a Crown of Thorn upon his head; and I for his sake instead of that

Crown, will willingly wear this Miter and Cap. Afterward he was laid hold of by the secular power.

After that he was led out of the said Church to the place of execution; when he was going out of the Church, with a cheerful countenance and a loud voice lifting his eyes up unto Heaven, he began to sing, *Credo in unum Deum*, as it is accustomed to be sung in the Church. Afterward as he passed along, he did sing some Canticles of the Church, the which being ended, in the entering out of the Gate of the City, as men go unto *Gothlebem*, he did sing this Hymn, *Felix namque*. And that Respond being ended, after he came to the place of Execution where Master *John Hus* before had suffered death innocently, kneeling down before an Image which was like unto the Picture of Master *John Hus*, which was there prepared to burn Master *Jerome*, he made a certain devout prayer.

KING Hen. 5.

M. Hierome committed to the secular power.

M. Hierome went singing unto his Martyrdom.

M. Hierome prayeth.

The burning of master Ierome of Prage.



M. Hierome tryed to an Image like to J. Hus.

M. Hierome singeth at his Burning.

The words of Hierome to the people.

M. Hierome giveth testimony of John Hus.

The last words of M. Hierome.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loyns with a linnen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chains of Iron, to the said Image which was made fast unto the earth; and so standing upon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he sung *Salve festa dies*. And when the Hymn was ended, he sung again with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, unto the end. That being ended, he said unto the people in the German Tongue in effect as followeth. Dearly beloved children, even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and none otherwise. And this Creed is my whole Faith, notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the Council, and with them affirm and hold that Master *John Hus* was by them holily and justly condemned; for I did know well enough that he was a true Preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

After that he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they cast all his garments upon the wood also, and with a fire-brand they set it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*. When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he said in the vulgar *Bohemian* Tongue, O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth. Then his voice by the vehemency of the fire was choaked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himself.

When as in a manner his whole Body with his Beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his Body certain great Bladders as big as an Egg, yet he continually very strongly and stoutly moved, and shook his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, whilst one might easily have gone from *St. Clements* over the Bridge unto our Lady-Church; he was of such a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his Bedding, his Straw-bed, his Boots, his Hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a Cart, and cast them into the river of *Rheine*, which ran hard by the City.

The cruelty of his death.

The ashes of M. Hierome cast into the river of Rheine.

The witness of the Writer.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which testified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Master *Jerome*, and sent the same unto us to *Prague* in writing, doth thus conclude. All these things (said he) I did behold, see, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all those things which happened unto him when he came toward *Constance*, and also at his first coming unto *Constance* of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto *Constance*, as is aforesaid, I my self did see and perfectly behold, and for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the same unto you, not lying or falsifying any point thereof, as he which is the searcher of all mens hearts can bear

KING bear me witness, willing rather to sustain the note of ignorance and rudeness of stile, to bear witness unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled by tickling, or flattering the ears of the hearers with fained and cloaked speech, to swarve or go aside from the truth.

Thus end the Tragical Histories of Master John Hus, and Master Jerome of Prague, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a present witness and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latin, and so sent by the said Bohemian into his Country of Boheme, and again translated out of the Latin with like fidelity into our English Tongue.

In the mean time while Master Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Council, the Nobles and Lords of Boheme and of Moravia (but not a little agrieved thereat) directed their Letters unto this barbarous Council of Popish murderers, in tenor and form of words as followeth.

The Letter of the Fifty four Nobles of Moravia, written unto the Council of Constance in the defence of Master John Hus and Hierome of Prague.

To the right reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, the Lords Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primate, Archbishops, Bishops, Ambassadors, Doctors and Masters, and to the whole Council of Constance, We the Nobles, Lords, Knights and Esquires, of the famous Marquesdom of Moravia, with the desire of all goodness, and the observation of the Commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ,

Forsomuch as every man both by the Law of Nature, and also by Gods Law, is commanded to do that unto another man, which he would have done unto himself, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another, which he would not have done unto himself, as our Saviour saith, All things whatsoever you will that men should do unto you, the same do you unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets; yea, the Law is fulfilled in this one point, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self: We therefore (God being our Author) having respect as much as in us lyeth unto the said Law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did send our Letters unto Constance for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Master John Hus, Bachelor of Divinity, and Preacher of the Gospel. Whom of late in the Council of Constance (we know not with what spirit being led) you have condemned as an obstinate Heretick; neither having confessed any thing, neither being lawfully convicted as were expedient; having no errors or heresies declared or laid against him, but only at the sinister, false and importune accusations, suggestions and instigations of his mortal enemies, and the Traytors of our Kingdom and Marquesdom of Moravia. And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have slain him with most shameful and cruel death, to the perpetual shame and infamy of our most Christian Kingdom of Boheme, and the famous Marquesdom of Moravia (as we have written unto Constance, unto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund King of Romans, and of Hungary, the heir and successor of our Kingdom) the which was also read and published in your Congregations, which we will here also have enrolled; and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.

Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our Letters Patents to your Reverences now present in the behalf of Master John Hus, openly professing and protesting both with heart and mouth, that he the said Master John Hus was a just, good, and Catholick man, and a long season worthily commended and allowed in our Kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the Law of the Gospel, and of the holy Prophets, and the Books of the Old and New Testament, according to the Exposition of the holy Doctors approved by the Church, and left many Monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continually admonishing both us and all faithful Christians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travel, unto quiet-

ness and concord; so that using all the diligence that we might, we never heard or could understand, that Master John Hus had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or heresie in his Sermons, or that by any manner of means he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed, but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to observe and keep the Law of the Gospel, and the institutions of the holy Fathers, after the preaching of our Holy Mother the Church, and to the edifying of mens souls. Neither did these premisses which you had so perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our Kingdom and Marquesdom, suffice and content you, but that also without all mercy and pity you have apprehended, imprisoned and condemned, and even now peradventure, like as you did Master John Hus, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipful man Master Jerome of Prague, a man abounding in eloquence, Master of the Seven Liberal Arts, and a famous Philosopher, not being seen, heard, examined, neither convicted, but only at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and understanding (which we do not without great grief rebearse) as we may also evidently gather by your writings, how that certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy envious and betrayers, have wickedly and grievously, albeit falsely and trayterously, accused us, our Kingdom and Marquesdom aforesaid, before you in your Council, that in the said Kingdom of Boheme, and Marquesdom of Moravia, divers errors are sprung up, which have grievously and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithful men; insomuch that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the said Kingdom and Marquesdom, together with the faithful Christians therein, should incur an irrecoverable loss and ruin of their souls.

These cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us, and to our said Kingdom and Marquesdom, albeit most falsely and slanderously, how may we suffer? Forsomuch as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other Kingdoms of the World have oftentimes wavered, making Schismes and Antipopes) our most gracious Kingdom of Boheme, and most noble Marquesdom of Moravia, since the time they did receive the Catholick Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a most perfect * Quadrant have always without reproof stuck upon the Church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges, and great travel, with what worship and due reverence they have revered the Holy Mother the Church and her Pastors, by their Princes and faithful Subjects, it is more manifest than the day-light unto the whole world; and your selves, if you will confess the truth, can witness the same also.

Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the Apostle, may procure honest and good things, not only before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renown of the Kingdom and Marquesdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbours; having a steadfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certain true faith in Christ Jesus our Lord, by the tenour of these we signifie and declare unto your Fatherhoods, and to all faithful Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoever man, of what estate, prebeminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion soever he be, which hath said, or affirmed, either doth say or affirm, that in the said Kingdom of Boheme, and Marquesdom of Moravia, heresies have sprung up which have infected us and other faithful Christians, as is aforesaid (the only person of our most noble Prince and Lord, Sigismund King of Romans, and of Hungary, &c. our Lord and heir successor, being set apart, whom we trust and believe, not to be guilty in the premisses) all and every such man (as is aforesaid) doth lye falsely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty Traytor and betrayer of the said Kingdom and Marquesdom, and most trayterous unto us, and most pernicious heretick, the son of all malice and wickedness, yea, and of the Devil himself, who is a lyar, and the father of all lyes.

Notwithstanding, we for this present committing the foresaid injuries unto God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquity, will prosecute them more amply before him, whom God

All that will live godly in Christ.
2 Tim. 3.

Defence of
Mr. Jerome
of Prague.

He meaneth the long schism spoken of before, where three Popes were striving one against another.
* A Quadrant being foursquare, proverbially signifieth a man that is constant and immutable.

Joh. 8.

Deut. 38.
Psal. 30.

The cause of John Hus cleared by the testimony of the Nobles of Bohemia.

These Noblemen offered their obedience to the Pope, no further than was lawful, honest and agreeable to reason and the law of God. Mark this, and learn, you Noblemen.

shall appoint in the Apostolick See, to govern his holy Church, as the only and undoubted Pastor. Unto whom, God willing, we exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in those things which are lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the Law of God will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said Kingdom and Marquesdom upon the premisses, according to the Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Institutions of the holy Fathers. The premisses notwithstanding, we setting apart all fear and mens Ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintain and defend the Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the devout, humble and constant Preachers thereof, even to the shedding of our Blood.

Dated at Sternberg, in the year of our Lord 1415. upon St. Wenceslaus day, Martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Round about the said Letters there were fifty four Seals hanging, and their Names subscribed, whose Seals they were. The Names of which Noblemen I thought it good here to annex withal, partly for the more credit of that which hath been said, partly also for examples sake, to the intent that our Noblemen and Gentlemen in this our Realm of England, now living in this clear light of the Gospel, may by their example understand, that if they joyn themselves with the Gospel of Jesus, zealously, and as they should do, yet are they neither the first, nor the most that so have done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remain in the story to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthy Gentlemen, within the small Kingdom of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so dark days, and among so many enemies two hundred years ago, to take part with Christ; and yet our Gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeal to them to be compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these Nobles, whose Names they may see and read here following:

1. Allokabat de Wiscowitz.
2. Ultricus de Lbota.
3. Joan. de Ksimicz.
4. Jofsko de Sczitoiwicz.
5. Pardus Zwirowicz.
6. Joan. de Ziwla.
7. Joan. de Reychenberg.
8. Wildo Skitzyny.
9. Diliko de Bies.
10. Kos de Doloylatz.
11. Joan. de Simufin.
12. Dobessimus de Tiffa.
13. Drazko de Aradeck.
14. Steph. de Hmdorkat.
15. Joan. Dorn de Gabonecz.
16. Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.
17. Joan. Hmrsdorfar.
18. Psateska de Wilklek.
19. Petrus Mog de Sczitoiwicz.
20. N. Studenica.
21. N. Brischell.
22. N. de Cromassona.
23. Arannissick Donant de Polonia.
24. Joan. Donant de Polonia.
25. Joan. de Cziczow.
26. Wenceslaus de N.
27. N. de N.
28. N. N.
29. Jofseck de N.
30. Henricus de N.
31. Waczlas de kuck.

This Nobleman did accompany John Hus,

and with certain Horsemen conduct him to Constance.

32. Henr. de Zrenowicz.
33. Baczko de Conwald.
34. Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.
35. Czenko de Mossnow.
36. N.
37. Zibilutz de Clexam.
38. Joannes de Paterwald.
39. Parsifal de Namyescz.
40. Zodon de Zwietzick.
41. Raczeck Zawskalp.
42. Jon de Tossawicz.
43. Diwa de Spissnia.
44. Steffko de Draczdw.
45. Isko de Draczdw.
46. Odich. de Hlud.
47. Wosart de Paulowicz.
48. Pirebbor de Tyrezenicz.
49. Rynard de Tyrczewicz.
50. Bobunko de Wratifdow.
51. Ultricus de Racdraw.
52. Dessaw de Nali.
53. Bonesb de Frabrenicz.
54. Eybl de Roissowan.

After these things thus declared and discoursed, concerning the History of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, the order of place and Country next would require, consequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after, and upon the death of these Men in the Country of Boheme: but the order of time calleth me back, first to other matters here of our own Country, which passed in the mean time with us in England. Which things being taken by the way, and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward return to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside, pertaining to the later end of the Council of Constance, and choosing of Pope Martin, as the order of years and time shall require.

Ye heard before, how after the death of Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichelesley, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fourteen, and fate twenty five years. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burned, divers were driven to Exile. Whereof partly now to intreat, as we find them in Registers and Histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon Coriar, of London, and Richard Turning, whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirm to be burned in the year wherein Sir Roger Aston and Master Brown suffered, who indeed suffered not before the second year of Henry Chichelesley being Archbishop of Canterbury, which was in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and thirteen. The History of which John Claydon in the Registers is thus declared.

The Story of John Claydon Coriar, and of Richard Turning Baker.

THE seventeenth of August one thousand four hundred and fifteen, did personally appear John Claydon Coriar of London (arrested by the Mayor of the said City for the suspicion of Heresie) before Henry Archbishop of Canterbury, in Saint Paul's Church; which John (it being objected to him by the Archbishop, that in the City of London, and other places of the Province of Canterbury, he was suspected by divers godly and learned Men for Heresie, and to be contrary to the Catholick Faith, and Determination of the Church) did openly confess, and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected both about the City of London, and also in the Province of Canterbury, and especially of the common sort, for Lollardy and Heresie, and to be contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the Church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

Insomuch, that in the time of Master Robert Braybrooke Bishop of London deceased, he was for the space of two years, committed to the Prison of Comwey for the foresaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in Prison in the Fleet for three years. Out of which Prison he (in the Reign of King Henry the fourth) was brought before the Lord John Scarle then Chancellor to the King, and there did abjure all heresie and error. And the said John Claydon being asked of the said Archbishop whether he did abjure the Heresie of which he was suspect before any other? did confess, that in a Convocation at London in Paul's Church before Thomas Arundel late Archbishop deceased, he did abjure all such Doctrine, which they called Heresie and Error, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the Church, and that he had not only left such Articles and Opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such Opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

And moreover, the said John was asked by the said Archbishop, whether ever he had in his house since his Abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in English. Whereunto he confessed, that he would not deny, but that he had in his house, and in his keeping many English books; for he was arrested by the Mayor of the City of London for such books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the Mayors keeping. Upon the which the Mayor did

KING
Hen. 5.

Vide supra.
Henry Chichelesley Arch-
bishop of Canterbury.

The History
of J. Clay-
don Coriar
of London,
and Richard
Turning
Baker.
See Regist.
Cant.
J. Claydon
examined.

J. Claydon
first impris-
oned by
Robert Bray-
brooke Bishop
of London.

J. Claydon
before ab-
jured.

English
Books.

KING
The judgment of the Mayor of London.

did openly confels, that he had such Books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst, and the most perverse that ever he did read or see, and one Book that was well bound in red Leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand; and among the other Books found with the said John Claydon, the Mayor gave up the said Book before the Archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked of the Archbishop if he knew that Book, did openly confels that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written of his own costs and charges, for he spent much money thereupon since his Abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it. He did answer, one called John Grime.

Claydon bestowed much money upon English books.

And further, being required what the said John Grime was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same Book, he did confels, that he could not read; but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one John Fullar. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that Book to be Catholic, profitable, good and true? He answered, that many things which he had heard in the same Book, were both profitable, good and healthful to his soul; and as he said, he had great affection to the said Book, for a Sermon preached at Horseldorne, that was written in the said Book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said Abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the City aforesaid; he did answer, yea: for the said Richard Baker did come often unto his house to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of Heretie, he did answer again, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many Men and Women in the City of London, as one whom they thought to be an Heretick.

J. Claydon could not read.

Richard Turnering Baker.

This Turnering belike was then in Prison.

Will. Lindwood Doctor of both Laws.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said Books to be delivered to Master Robert Gilbert, Doctor of Divinity, to William Lindwood Doctor of both Laws, and other Clerks to be examined, and in the mean time, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balsazar Mero, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to Master John Escourt General Examiner of Canterbury. This done, the Archbishop continued his Session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the 20th of the said Month, the said Master Escourt openly and publicly exhibited the witnesses, being openly read before the Archbishop, and other Bishops; which being read, then after that were read divers tractations, found in the house of the said John Claydon: out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for Heresies and Errors, and especially out of the Book aforesaid, which Book the said John Claydon confessed by his own costs to be written and bound, which Book was intituled, *The Lamborn of Light*. In the which, and in the other examined, were these Articles under written contained:

An English Book, intituled, *The Lamborn of Light*.

1. First, Upon the Text of the Gospel, how the enemy did sow the Tares, there is said thus; That wicked Antichrist the Pope hath sowed among the Laws of Christ his Popish and corrupt Decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor value.

2. That the Archbishops and Bishops, speaking indifferently, are the Seats of the Beast Antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of Errors and Heresies.

3. That the Bishops Licence, for a Man to preach the Word of God, is the true Character of the Beast, i. Antichrist, and therefore simple and faithful Priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without Licence.

The head and tail of Antichrist.

4. That the Court of Rome is the chief Head of Antichrist, and the Bishops be the body; and the new Sects, that is, the Monks, Canons and Friars, brought in not by Christ, but damnably by the Pope, be the venomous and pestiferous Tail of Antichrist.

This is true, speaking of the invisible Church.

5. That no Reprobate is a Member of the Church, but only such as be elected and predestinate to Salvation; seeing the Church is no other thing but the Congregation of faithful souls, which do and will keep their Faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Christ did never plant private Religions in the Church, but whilst he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth that private Religions be unprofitable branches in the Church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the material Churches should not be decked with Gold, Silver and Precious Stones sumptuously, but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the Churches be now adays.

8. That there be two chief causes of the Persecution of the Christians: one is, the Priests unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the unsatiable begging of the Friars, with their high buildings.

Two causes of persecution noted.

9. That Alms is not given vertuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these four conditions: first, unless it be given to the honour of God: secondly, unless it be given of goods justly gotten: thirdly, unless it be given to such a person as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charity: and fourthly, unless it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

Four conditions in giving Alms.

10. That the often singing in the Church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for Priests to occupy themselves with singing in the Church, but with the study of the Law of Christ, and preaching his Word.

11. That Judas did receive the Body of Christ in Bread, and his Blood in Wine. In the which it doth plainly appear, that after Consecration of Bread and Wine made, the same Bread and Wine that was before, doth truly remain on the Altar.

That Bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

12. That all Ecclesiastical Suffrages do profit all vertuous and godly persons indifferently.

13. That the Popes and the Bishops Indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

14. That the Laity is not bound to obey the Prelates, whatsoever they command, unless the Prelates do watch to give God a just account of the souls of them.

15. That Images are not to be sought to by Pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their Knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of Reverence.

For the which Articles, the Archbishop with other Bishops, and divers learned communing together, first condemned the Books as heretical, and burned them in fire: and then because they thought the said John Claydon to be forsworn and fallen into Heresie, the Archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said John, personally appearing before him in judgment (his Confessions being read and deposed against him) after this manner:

The books of J. Claydon burned.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We Henry by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, in a certain cause of heretical pravity, and of relapse into the same, whereupon John Claydon Layman of the Province of Canterbury, was detected, accused and denounced, and in the said our Province of Canterbury publicly defamed (as by publick fame and common report notoriously to us hath been known) first, sitting in Judgment-seat, and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Christ being invocated and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former Heresie, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren Richard Bishop of London, John Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Stephen Bishop of Saint Davids, and of other Doctors, as well of Divinity as of both Laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce and declare the said John

The sentence and condemnation of J. Claydon.

John Claydon to be relapsed again into his Heresie, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents.

J. Claydon committed to the secular power. The Law de comburendo, insufficient.

The death and Martyrdom of J. Claydon.

Thus John Claydon, receiving his Judgment and Condemnation of the Archbishop, was committed to the Secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal Magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burn any such man for Religion condemned of the Prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, *Quo jure, quaque injuria*, John Claydon notwithstanding, by the temporal Magistrates not long after, was had to Smithfield, where meekly he was made a Burnt Offering unto the Lord, Anno 1415.

Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which follow him, add also that Richard Turming Baker, of whom mention is made before in the Examination of John Claydon, was likewise the same time burned with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the Register I find no sentence of Condemnation given against the said Turming, neither yet in the Story of Saint Albans, is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of John Claydon aforesaid; wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the Reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming this is certain, that he was accused to the Bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and bands. What afterward was done with him, I refer it unto the Authors.

KING Hen. 5.

J. Claydon, Ric. Turming Mar. tyrs.

The Burning of John Claidon and Richard Turming.



{Ann. 1416}

The next year after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of John Hus, being burnt at Constance, which was Anno 1416. the Prelates of England seeing the daily encrease of the Gospel, and fearing the ruine of their Papal Kingdom, were busily occupied with all their counsel and diligence to maintain the same. Wherefore to make their state and Kingdom sure, by Statutes, Laws, Constitutions, and terrour of punishment, as Thomas Arundel, and other Prelates had done before, so the forenamed Henry Chichelesley Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Convocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough been made before) against the poor Lollards; the Copy and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the Bishop of London, and to other his Suffragans, by them to be put in straight execution, containing in words as followeth:

Ex Regist. Chichelesley 217.

Henry by the Grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Legate of the chief Seat; To our Reverend Brother in the Lord, Richard, by the Grace of God, Bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately in our last Convocation in S. Paul's Church in London, being kept by you and other our Brethren and Clergy of our Province, we do remember to have made this Order underwritten, by your consents: When as among many other our cares, this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those Hereticks, which like Foxes, lurk and hide themselves in the Lords Vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet, and from the feet of our fellow brethren; in this the said Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy, we have ordained, that our fellow

You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your dusty

Brethren, our Suffragans and Archdeacons of our Province of Canterbury, by themselves, their Officials or Commissaries in their Jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their Country, twice every year at the least, do diligently inquire of such persons as are suspect of Heresie; and that in every such their Archdeaconries in every Parish, wherein is reported any Hereticks to inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men, and best reported of, to take their Oath upon the holy Evangelist, that if they shall know or understand any frequenting either in privy Conventicles, or else differing in life or manners, from the common conversation of other Catholick Men, or else that hold any either Heresies or Errors, or else that have any suspected Books in the English Tongue, or that do receive any such persons suspect of Heresies and Errors into their Houses, or that be favourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make Certificates of those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspect, unto the said our Suffragans or Archdeacons, or to their Commissaries, so soon, and with as much speed as possibly they can; And that the said Archdeacon, and every of their Commissaries aforesaid, do declare the Names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the Dioceses and places, and secretly under their Seals do send over unto us the same: and that the same Dioceses effectually direct forth lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discern, define and execute the same.

Twice every year to enquire for Lollards.

Against privy Conventicles.

To differ from the common sort in life and manners, against the Popes law. Against English Books.

And

KING?
Ann. 5.

And if perhaps, they leave not such persons convicted unto the Secular Court, yet notwithstanding let them commit them unto the perpetual or temporal Prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, until the next Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of our Province of *Canterbury*, there personally to remain; and that in the same Prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth: And that of all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convicted they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and especially of the Abjurations, if in the mean time they shall chance to abjure any Heresies, that then in the next Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and apertly to be certified to us and our successors; And that they deliver effectually to the Official of our Court, the same process to remain with them, or else in the Register of our Court of *Canterbury*, so that every one, to whom such things appertain, for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse unto the same Official with all effect.

We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought unto your City and Diocesan, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published, and that in all points you both observe the same your selves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: commanding furthermore, all and singular our fellow Brethren and Suffragans, that they in like wise cause the same to be published throughout all their Cities and Dioceses, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and what thing forever you shall do in the premises, that you certify us betwixt this and the Feast of *St. Peter ad vincula* next coming, that you duly certify us of these things, by your Letters Patents, containing the same effect, sealed with your Seals. Dated at our House in *London*, the first day of *July*, Anno 1416.

During the time of this Convocation in the year aforesaid, two Priests were presented and brought before the Bishops, noted and defamed for Hereticks, one named *John Barton*, unto whom it was objected by *Philip* Bishop of *Lincoln*, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon Articles concerning Religion, and yet neither would appear, being cited, nor would seek to be reconciled again to the Church. Which things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of the foresaid *Philip* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and so to be holden in Prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

The other was *Robert Chapel*, otherwise named *Holbeck*, Chaplain sometimes to the Lord *Cobham*; unto whom likewise it was objected, that he being under the sentence of Excommunication about three or four years, yet notwithstanding, to the contempt of the Keyes, did continue saying Mass, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; *Chapel* denying that he did know any such Excommunication given out against him. Then was the Copy of his Excommunication first made by the Bishop of *Roff*, afterward denounced by the Bishop of *London* at *Pauls-Cross*, brought and read before him; and so that done, that Session brake up for that time, which was about the later end of *May*, Anno 1416.

The 12th day of the Month of *July* next following, the said *Chapel* appeared again before the Archbishop and the Prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the Bishops Licence in divers places, as at *Cobham*, at *Cowling*, and at *Shorn*; at length, he confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet at the last the Bishop of *Roff*, putting in his hands the Decree of the Canon Law; 1. 9. 7. Cap. *Quoties*, &c. and causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former Articles and Opinions as Heretical and Schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the foresaid Canon. Whereupon the said *Robert*, being absolved by the authority of the Archbishop (save only that he should not intermeddle with saying Mass before he had been dispensed from the Pope himself for irregularity)

was enjoined by the Archbishop himself for his Penance, standing at *Pauls* to publish these Articles following unto the people, instead of his confession given him to be read.

Imprimis, I confesse that Bishops, Priests and other Ecclesiastical persons, having no other possession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain Lands and Possessions temporal, to dispense and dispose the same and the Rents thereof, to the behoof of themselves, or of their Church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

2. *Item*, I confesse, That it were very unlawful, yea rather, unjust, that temporal men upon any occasion, whatsoever it be, should take away temporal Lands and Possessions from the Church, either universal or particular, to which they are given, the consideration of the abuse of mortal Prelates, Priests, or other Ministers in the Church conversant (which are mixt together good with bad) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. *Item*, I confesse, That Peregrinations to the Relicks of Saints, and to holy places, are not prohibited; nor to be contemned of any Catholick, but are available to remission of sins, and approved of holy Fathers, and worthy to be commended.

4. *Item*, I confesse, That to worship the Images of Christ or of any other Saints, being set up in the Church, or in any other place, is not forbidden; neither is any cause inductive of Idolatry, being so used as the holy Fathers do will them to be worshipped; but rather such Images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put us in remembrance of the merits of those Saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth move and stir up the people to prayers and devotion.

5. *Item*, I confesse, That Auricular Confession used in the Church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done of such a Priest, as is ordained by the Church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoin him Penance for the same; without which confession (if it may be had) there is no remission of sins to him that is in sin mortal.

6. *Item*, I confesse and firmly do hold, that although the Priest be in mortal sin, yet may he make the Body of Christ, and minister other Sacraments and Sacramentals; which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the Church.

7. *Item*, I confesse, That Bishops in their own Dioceses may forbid, decree, or ordain upon reasonable causes, that Priests should not preach, without their special Licence, the Word of God, and that those that do against the same, should suffer the Ecclesiastical censures.

8. *Item*, I confesse, That private Religions, as well of Monks, Canons and other, as also of the Begging Friars, being allowed by the Church of *Rome*, are profitable to the Universal Church, and in no means contrary to Gods Law, but rather founded and authorized thereon.

9. *Item*, I promise and swear upon these holy Evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, nor by any means teach any thing contrary unto the premises either openly or privately.

After the setting out of the Constitution aforesaid, in the days of the abovenamed *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, great Inquisition hereupon followed in *England*, and many good men, whose hearts began to be won to the Gospel, were brought to much vexation, and caused outwardly to abjure.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men; yet the Catholick Antichrist would needs possess their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, besides the other aforesaid, was also *John Taylor* of the Parish of *St. Michaels* at *Quern*: *William James*, Master of Art and Physician, who had long remained in Prison, and at length, after Abjuration, was licensed with his Keeper to practise his Physick.

Also *John Dwarf*, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the Duke of *Bedford* to the foresaid *Chicheley*, and

Articles obtruded to R. Chapel to confesse.

Mark well this Catholick Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning remission of sins. Mark how this Doctrine joyntly with Gods Commandment; and with his Word.

Ergo, by this Doctrine the just man liveth not by his faith, but by his Confession Auricular.

How can these Priests be servants of Christ, which be makers of Christ.

Private religions profitable, if ye could tell wherefore.

Strait inquisition in England.

Christ had the hearts of men, they had their bodies. A brief sum of such as abjured, under Henry Chicheley. J. Taylor. W. James.

J. Dwarf.

The trouble of John Barton and Robert Chapel in cause of religion.

This Philip seemeth to be Philip Rypington afore mentioned in the story of Wickliffe.

R. Chapel abjureth.

and other Bishops, to be examined before them or the Convocation; there he at length revolting from his Doctrine, recanted and did penance.

J. Fourdelay. In like manner *John Fourdelay* of *Lincolnshire*, well commended in the Registers for his learning, accused by the Priests of *Lincoln* for a certain Book, which he contrary to the former Decree of the Bishops, did conceal, and did not exhibit unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure. After whom was brought likewise before the Bishops, one *Katharine Dertford*, a Spinster, who being accused and examined upon these 3 Articles concerning the Sacrament of the Popes Altar, Adoration of Images, and of Pilgrimage, answered, that she was not able, being unlearned, to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but only her Creed and Ten Commandments; and so was she committed to the Vicar-General of the Bishop of *Wint.* (for that she was of the same Diocese) to be kept, and further to be examined of the same. *Ex Regist. H. Chichelesley.*

At the same sitting was also brought before the said Archbishop and his fellow Bishops, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Parson of *Heggeley* in *Lincolnshire*, named *Mr. Rob.* who being long kept in the Tower, at length, by the Kings Writ, was brought and examined the same time upon the like Articles, to wit, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, Peregrination, Adoration of Images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal Lordships, &c. To the which Articles he answered (faith the Register) doubly and mockingly, save only in the Sacrament he seemed something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore, being committed to the custody and examination of *Richard* Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

The same likewise did *W. Henry* of *Tenderden*, being suspected and arrested for company keeping with them whom the Bishops called *Lollards*, and for having suspected Books.

Besides these, divers other there were also which in the same Convocation were convicted, and revoked their Opinions, as *J. Galle* a Priest of *London*, for having a Book in *English*, intituled, *A Book of the new Law.* Item, *Richard Monk*, Vicar of *Chesham* in *Lincolnshire*, who submitted himself likewise. In this race and number followed moreover, *Bartholomew Cornmenger*, *Nic. Hoper* servant to the Lord *Cobham*, *Thomas Granter* with othermore, mentioned in the forefaid Register.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their Faith, was one *Radulph Mungin* Priest, who for the same Doctrine was arrested and sent by the Lord Chancellor of *England*, to the forefaid Archbishop, and by him committed to *David Price*, Vicar-General to the Bishop of *London*: Where after he had endured four Months in Prison, he was by the said *David* presented to the Convocation, against whom divers Articles were objected.

But for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this Convocation Provincial, Pope *Martin* had sent down to the Clergy of *England*, for a Subsidy to be gathered of the Church, to maintain the Popes War against the *Lollards* (so the *Papists* did term them) of *Bohemia*. Also another Subsidy was demanded to persecute one *Peter Clerk* Master of Art of *Oxford*, who flying out of *England*, was at the Council of *Basil*; disputing on the *Bohemians* side. And thirdly, another Subsidy was also required to persecute *William Russell*, Warden of the *Gray Friars* in *London*, who the same time was fled from *England* to *Rome*, to maintain his opinion before the Pope, and there escaped out of Prison, &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreat. In the mean time mark here the pretty shifts of the Pope to hook in the *English* money, by all manner of pretences possible.

Thus *Ralph Mungin*, the forefaid Examinee, appearing before the Bishops in the Convocation, it was articulated against him, first that he should affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make War against the Hereticks of *Bohemia*.

Item, It was to him objected, that he did hold and say, that it was not lawful for any man to have propriety of Goods, but the same to be common; which he expressly denied that ever he so said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe, how the crafty malice of these adversaries

useth falsely to collect and surmise of men, what they never spake, whereby to oppress them wrongfully whom by plain truth they cannot expugn.

Moreover, they objected against him, that he should keep company with Master *Clerk* aforefaid, and also that he dispersed in the City of *London* certain Books of *John Wickliff* and of *Peter Clerk*, namely the Book *Triologus*, and the Gospels of *John Wickliff*, &c. He was charged moreover, to have spoken against the Popes Indulgences, affirming that the Pope had no more power to give Indulgences than he had.

Upon these and other such Articles objected, the said *Mungin*, being asked if he would revoke, answered, that it seemed to him not just or meet so to do, which did not know himself guilty of any Heresie. Thus he being respited for the time, was committed to Prison till the next sitting; who then being called divers and sundry times afterward before the Bishops, after long Inquisition and strait Examination made, also Depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, he notwithstanding still denied, as before, to recant. Wherefore the forefaid *Henry* the Archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitive, condemned him to perpetual Prison.

After whose condemnation, the Sunday next following the Recantation of *Thomas Granter*, and of *Richard Monk* Priests above mentioned, were openly read at *Pauls Cross*; the Bishop of *Rochester* the same time preached at the said Cross. The tenor of whose Recantation, with his Articles in the same expressed, hereunder followeth:

IN the Name of God. Before you my Lord of Canterbury, and all you my Lords here being present, and afore you all here gathered at this time, I *Thomas Granter*, Priest unworthy, dwelling in the City of *London*, feeling and understanding that afore this time, I affirmed open Errors and Heresies, saying, believing and affirming within this City, that he that Christian men callen Pope, is not very Pope, nor Gods Vicary in earth, but I said he was Antichrist. Also I said, believed and affirmed, that after the Sacramental words said by a Priest in the Mass, there remaineth material Bread and Wine, and is not turned into Christs Body and his Bloud. Also I said and affirmed, that it was not to do in no wise, to go on Pilgrimage, but it was better, I said, to abide at home, and beat the stools with their heels; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they soughten. Also I said and affirmed, that I held no Scripture Catholick nor holy, but only that is contained in the Bible. For the Legends and lives of Saints, I held hem nought, and the Miracles written of hem I held untrue. Because of which Errors and Heresies I was tofore Mr. *Dave Price* Vicar-general of my Lord of *London*, and since tofore you my Lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your Council Provincial, and by you fully informed, which so said, mine affirming, believing and teaching been open Errors and Heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the Church of *Rome*. Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the Doctrine of Holy Church, and depart fro all manner Errors and Heresies, and turn with good will and heart to the one Head of the Church, considering that holy Church shitteth ner clostib not hor bosom to him that will turn again, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather he ben turned and live: with a pure heart I confesse, detest, and despise my said Errors and Heresies, and the said Opinions I confesse, as Heresies and Errours to the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, and to all universally holy Churchrepugnant. And therefore these said Opinions in special, and all other Errors and Heresies, Doctrines and Opinions, ayen the Faith of the Church, and the Determinations of the Church of *Rome*, I abjure and forswear heretofore you all, and swear by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, ne preach Error, ne Errors, Heresie, ne Heresies, nor false Doctrine against the Faith of holy Church, and determination of the Church of *Rome*, ne none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such manner things by me or any other person, openly or privily I shall defend, I shall never after this time be receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defender of Hereticks, or of any person suspect of Heresie, ne I shall trow to him, ne wittingly fellowship with him, ne yeve him counsel, favour, yifts,

{ KING
H. 5. }

Triologus.
The Gospels
translated
by J. Wickliff.

Ralph Mungin
condemned to perpetual
Prison.

Thomas Granter,
Richard Monk,

The Recantation of
Thomas Granter.
Note the
Doctrine
and Opinions
in those
days, where
the Gospel
took place.

One Head,
that is, the
unity of the
Church.

Men tied to
the Church
of Rome.

W. Henry of
Tenderden
examined.

A book of
the new
law.
J. Galle.
Rob. Monk.
Bart. Cornmenger.
N. Hoper.
Thomas Granter,
troubled
for their
Doctrine.

A Subsidy
gathered by
the Pope to
fight a-
gainst the
faithful of
Bohemia.

Romish
shifts to
get the
English mo-
ney.

Articles ob-
jected a-
gainst Ralph
Mungin.

KING ne comfort. And if I know any Hereticks, or of Heresie, or of such false Opinions any person suspect, or any man or woman making or holding privy Conventicles, or Assemblies, or any divers or singular Opinions from the common Doctrine of the Church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors or defenders, or any that have suspect books or quiers of such Errors and Heresies; I shall let you my Lord of Canterbury, or your Officers in your absence, or the Diocesans and Ordinaries of such men, have soon and ready knowing, So help me God and holy deme, and these holy Evangelists by me bodily touched.

chesley against the said persons, and in the Certificate of Burbash his Official, wherein are named the persons following:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. W. White Priest. | 9. W. Chiveling. |
| 2. Th. Grensted Priest. | 10. John Tame. |
| 3. Bartho. Cornmonger. | 11. John Fowlin. |
| 4. John Wadnon. | 12. William Somer. |
| 5. Joan his Wife. | 13. Marian his Wife. |
| 6. Tho. Everden. | 14. John Abraham. |
| 7. William Everden. | 15. Robert Munden. |
| 8. Stephen Robin. | 16. Laurence Coke. |

Persons persecuted in Kent.

After this Recantation at the Cross thus published, and his submission made, the said Granter then was by the advice of the Prelates put to seven years imprisonment, under the custody and charge of the Bishop of London.

After this followed in like manner the Recantation of Richard Monk. Also of Edmund Frith who was before Butler to Sir John Oldcastle.

Besides these above remembered, many and divers there be in the said Register recorded, who likewise for their Faith and Religion were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the Diocess of Kent, in the Towns of Romney, Tenterden, Woodchurch, Crambrock, Stophelberst, Beninden, Halden, Rolvenyden, and others, whereas whole Houholds, both Man and Wife, were driven to forsake their Houses and Towns for danger of Persecution; as sufficiently appeareth in the proces of the Archbishop Chib-

These being cited up together by the Bishop, would not appear. Whereupon great Inquisition being made for them by his Officers, they were constrained to fly their Houses and Towns, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When Burbash and other Officers had sent to the Archbishop, that they could not be found, then he directed down order that Citations should be set up for them on every Church-door, through all Towns where they did inhabite, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But notwithstanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the Archbishop, sitting in his Tribunal Seat, proceedeth to the sentence of Excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them in the Register doth not appear; but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

The description of the cruell martyr dome of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.



The second apprehension of the Lord Cobham. Concerning Sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and of his first Apprehension with his whole Story and Life, sufficiently hath been expressed before, how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned falsely of Heresie, escaped afterward out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the space of four years. In the which mean time, a great sum of mony was proclaimed by the King, to him that could take the said Sir John Oldcastle, either quick or dead. About the end of which four years being expired, the Lord Powis, whether for love or greediness of the mony, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere Doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloody purpose, and brought the Lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the year of our Lord 1417. and about the Month of December. At which time there was a Parliament assembled in London, for the relief of Mony the same time to be sent to the King, whom the Bishops had sent

out (as ye heard before) to fight in France. The Records of which Parliament do thus say: That on Tuesday the fourteenth day of December, and the nine and twentieth day of the said Parliament, Sir John Oldcastle of Cowling, in the County of Kent, Knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the Kings-Bench, and Excommunicated before by the Archbishop of Canterbury for Heresie, was brought before the Lords, and having heard his said Convictions, answered not thereto in his Excuse. Upon which Record and Proces it was adjudged, that he should be taken as a Traitor to the King and the Realm; that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence down through London, unto the new Gallows in Saint Giles without Temple-Bar, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

As touching the pretended Treason of this Lord Cobham, Treason falsely ascribed unto him in his Indictment, rising upon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by rigour

Vide supra.

rigour of words, rather than upon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath been discoursed before in my defence of the said Lord Cobham, against *Alanus Copus*. Where again, it is to be noted, as I said before, and by this it appeareth, that the Lord Cobham was never executed by force of the Indictment or Outlawry, because if he had, he should then have been brought to the Bar in the Kings-Bench, and there the Judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not shewing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the Judges should have awarded and given the Judgment of Treason; which being not so, it is clear he was not executed upon the Indictment. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the Indictment and the Outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, because it was neither an execution of a Traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the Judge, as by due order of Law was requisite.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeat again, that albeit the said Lord Cobham was attainted of Treason by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons assented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in such sort (as if indeed he were no Traitor) that any man may not by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true and certain cause whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth by all circumstance and firm arguments, to rise principally of his Religion, which first brought him in hatred of the Bishops; the Bishops brought him in hatred of the King; the hatred of the King brought him to his Death and Martyrdom. And thus much for the Death and Execution of this worthy Servant of Christ the Lord Cobham.

Judas seeketh for his reward.

Moreover, in the Records above mentioned, it followeth, how in the said Parliament, after the Martyrdom of this valiant Knight, motion then was made, that the Lord Powis might be thanked and rewarded, according to the Proclamation made for his great travel taken in the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle Knight, Heretick. Thus stand the words of the Record. Where two things are to be noted: First, how Sir John here in the Record is called not Traitor, but Heretick only. Secondly, mark how this Brother of Judas here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent blood. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and *quid vultis mihi dare* in this world, will have an heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unless he repented, &c.

An. 5. Hen. 5. Act 17.

Furthermore, in the said Parliament, Act 17. it was Enacted, *That the Church and all Estates should enjoy all their Liberties, which were not repealed, or repealable by the common Law*; meaning belike, the excluding of the Jurisdiction of the Popes foreign power, which hath always, by the common Law been excluded out of this Realm.

An. 5. Hen. 5. Act 17.

In the same Parliament also, a grievous complaint was made (by the Bishops no doubt) against Insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, Hereticks and Traitors, with a request that Commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, that the Statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the Clergy, *Tanquam leones rugientes*, ceased not to roar after Christian blood; and whosoever was else, still the Clergy cried, *Crucifige Christe, and deliver us Barabbas*: for then all horrible facts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor Lollards.

All the blame laid to the Lollards.

And now from our English matters, to return again to the story of the Bohemians, from whence we have a little digressed: When as the News of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against John Hus and Jerome of Prague, were noised in Boheme, the Nobles and Gentlemen of Moravia and Boheme, such as favoured the cause of John Hus, gathering themselves together in the zeal of Christ; first sent their Letter unto the Council; expostulating with them for the injury done to those godly Men, as is before expressed. For the which Letter they were all cited up to the Council. Unto this Letter Sigismund the Emperor maketh answer again in the name of the whole Council; first, excusing himself of John Hus his death, which, he said, was against his safe conduct, and against his will: Inasmuch that he rose in anger from the Council, and departed out of Constance, as is before remem-

bred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably unto the order of the Catholick Church of Rome, &c.

KING, Hen. 5.

Also the Council hearing or fearing some stir to rise among the Bohemians, did make Laws and Articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of 14.

First, That the King of Bohemia shall be sworn to give obedience, and to defend the liberties of the Church of Rome.

Articles decreed in the Council of Constance against the Bohemians.

That all Masters, Doctors and Priests shall be sworn to abjure the Doctrine of Wickliff and Hus, in that Council condemned.

That all they which being cited would not appear, should also be sworn to abjure; and they which would not appear, condemning the censure of the Keys, should have process against them, and be punished.

That all such Lay-men as had defended the causes of John Wickliff and John Hus, should swear to defend them no more, and to approve the doings of that Council, and the condemnation of John Hus.

That all such secular men as had spoiled the Clergy, should be sworn to restitution.

That Priests being expelled from their Benefices, should be restored again.

That all prophaners of Churches should be punished after the Canonical Sanctions.

That such as had been promoters in the Council against John Hus, should be permitted safely to return into Boheme again, and to enjoy their Benefices.

That the relics and treasure taken out of the Church of Prague, should be restored fully again.

That the University of Prague should be restored again and reformed, and that they which had been the disturbers thereof should be really punished.

That the principal Hereticks and Doctors of that Sect should be sent up to the See Apostolick, namely, *Johannes Jessenetz*, *Jacobellus de Misna*, *Simon de Tysna*, *Simon de Rochinzano*, *Christianus de Brachatz*, *Joannes Cardinalis*, *Zdenko de Loben*, The Provost of *Alballows*, *Zajslaus de Suertitz*, and *Michael de Czasko*.

The favourers of John Hus in Bohemia.

That all secular men, which communicated under both kinds, should abjure that Heresie, and swear to stop the same hereafter.

That they which were ordained Priests by the Suffragan of the Archbishop of Prague, taken by the Lord Zenco, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the See Apostolick.

This Suffragan was a good man, and held with Hus.

That the Treatises of John Wickliff, translated into the Bohemian Tongue by John Hus and Jacobellus, should be brought to the Ordinary.

Wickliff's Books, translated by John Hus and Jacobellus into the Bohemian Speech.

That the Treatises of John Hus, condemned in the Council, should also be brought to the Ordinary.

That all the Tractations of Jacobellus *De utraque specie de Antichristo* (wherein he calleth the Pope Antichrist) *Et de remanentia panis post consecrationem*, should likewise be brought and burned.

That all Songs and Ballads made to the prejudice of the Council, and of the Catholick persons of both States, should be forbid to be sung in Cities, Towns and Villages, under great and extream punishment.

That none should preach the Word without the Licence of the Ordinary, or of the Parson of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, having Jurisdiction, should not be stopped in their Jurisdiction, by the secular power, under pain of Excommunication.

That all and singular persons shall be commanded to obedience, under pain of Excommunication; and that whosoever knoweth any person to favour any Wickliffist, or their Doctrine, or that keepeth company with suspect persons, he shall present the same to his Diocesans or his Officials.

That the confederacy of the Seculars made between themselves, or any of the Spirituality, to the prejudice of the foresaid Council, and of the Apostolick See and Church of Rome, in the favour of John Hus, Jerome of Prague, and other in the said Council condemned, shall be dissolved.

That the Rites and Ceremonies of Christian Religion, touching Gods service, Images, and worshipping of Relicks shall be observed, and transgressors of the same be punished.

Concilium malignans.

That

{KING}
Hus.

That all and singular, either spiritual or secular that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintain the opinions and articles of *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hierom*, in this Council condemned, and convicted of the same, shall be holden for Hereticks, and falling in relapse shall be burned.

That all secular Persons being monished and charged by the Ordinaries, shall be bound to give their aid and furtherance unto them touching the premisses.

The *Bohemians*, notwithstanding these cruel Articles, contemning the vain devices of these Prelates and Fathers of the Council, ceased not to proceed in their league and purpose begun, joyning themselves more strongly together.

Deposing of
Pope John
23.
Ex hist. Al-
bani.

In this mean time it happened, that during this Council of *Constance*, after the deposing of Pope *John*, and spoiling of his goods, which came to 75 thousand pounds of Gold and Silver, as is reported in the Story of Saint *Albanus*, Pope *Martine* upon the day of Saint *Martine*, was elected. Concerning whose election great preparation was made before of the Council, so that beside the Cardinals, five other Bishops of every Nation should enter into the Conclave, who there together should be kept with thin Diet, till they had founded a Pope. At last, when they

The election
of Pope
Martine.
The Empe-
ror kisseth
the Popes
feet.

were together, they agreed upon this Man, and not tarrying for opening the door, like mad men, for haste they braist open an hole in the wall, crying out, *Habemus Papam Martinum*. We have a *Martine* Pope. The Emperor hearing thereof, with the like haste came apace, and falling down kisseth the new Popes feet. Then went they all to the Church together, and sung *Te Deum*.

Pope Mar-
tine.

The next day following, this *Martine* was made Priest (which before was but a Cardinal Deacon) and the next after was consecrate Bishop, and sang his first Mass, whereat was present 140. mitred Bishops. After this the next morrow, the new holy Pope ordained a general procession, where a certain Clerk was appointed to stand with Flax, and fire; who setting the Flax on fire, thus said, *Ecce Pater sancte, sic transis gloria mundi. i.* Behold holy Father, thus vadeth the Transitory glory of this World. Which done, the same day the holy Father was brought up unto an high Scaffold (saith the Story) I will not say to an high Mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the World, &c. there to be crowned for a triple King. This done, the same day after Dinner, the new crowned Pope was with great Triumph brought through the midst of the City of *Constance*, where all the Bishops and Abbots followed with their Miters. The Popes Horse was all Trapt with red Skarlet down to the ground. The Cardinals Horses were all in white Silk; the Emperor on the right side, and Prince Elector on the left, (playing both the Popes Footmen) went on foot, leading the Popes Horse by the Bridle.

The Coro-
nation of
Pope Mar-
tine.
Martinus
cyprianus su-
per baptismum.
Apocalyp.

The Pope
as Heretick,
the Emperor on
foot.

Why then
doth the
Pope keep
still the old
Jew cere-
monies, if
all things be
made new?
{Anno
1417.}

As this Pageant thus with the great Giant proceeded, and came to the Market place, there the *Jews* (according to the manner) offered to him their Law and Ceremonies. Which the Pope receiving, cast behind him saying, *Recedant vetera, nova sunt omnia. i.* Let old things pass, all things be made new, &c. *Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Ursperg.* This was Anno, 1417.

Thus the Pope, being now confirmed in his Kingdom, first beginneth to write his Letters to the *Bohemians*, wherein partly he moveth them to Catholick Obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, faining that if it were not for the Emperors request, he would enter process against them. Thirdly and finally he threatneth to attempt the uttermost against them, and with all force to invade them, as well with the Apostolick, as also with the secular Arm, if they did still persist, as they began.

Albeit, these new threats of the new Bishop did nothing move the constant hearts of the *Bohemians*, whom the inward zeal of Christs Word had before inflamed.

And although it had been to be wished, such bloodshed and wars not to have followed; yet to say the truth, how could these *Rabines* greatly blame them herein, whom their bloody Tyranny had before provoked so unjustly, if now with their glowing Letters they could not so easily appease them again?

Wherefore these foresaid *Bohemians*, partly for the love of *John Hus* and *Jerome* their Country-men, partly for

the hatred of their magignant papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemn Memorial of the death of *John Hus* and *Jerome*, decreeing the same to be holden and celebrated yearly. And afterward, by means of their Friends they obtained certain Churches of the King, wherein they might freely Preach and Minister the Sacraments unto the Congregation. This done, they suppressed divers Monasteries, Pharisaical Temples, and Idolatrous Fanes, beginning first with the great Monastery of the Black-Friers, eight Miles from *Prague*, driving away the wicked and vicious Priests and Monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better Order. And thus their number more and more increasing under the safe conduct of a certain Noble Man named *Nicholas*, they went again unto the King, requiring to have more and ampler Churches granted unto them. The King seemed at the first willingly and gently to give ear unto the said *Nicholas* intreating for the people, and commanded them to come again the next day.

A yearly
memorial of
J. Hus and
Jerome kept
among the
Bohemians.

When the people were departed, the King turning himself to the Noble Man *Nicholas*, which tarried still behind, said; *Thou hast begun a Web to put me out of my Kingdom, but I will make a Rope of it, wherewithal I will hang thee.* Whereupon he immediately departed out of the Kings presence, and the King himself went into the Castle of *Vissegrade*: within a while after, into a new Castle, which he himself had builded five stones casts from thence, sending Embassadors to his Brother to require aid.

K. Wenceslaus
is threat-
ned with
Nicholas.

These Protestants being Assembled in the Town of *Prague*, holding their Conventions, the King sent forth his Chamberlain with three hundred Horsemen to run upon them; but he having respect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the King, all that were about him being amazed, utterly detested the fact: but the Kings Cupbearer standing by, said, *I knew before that these things would thus come to pass.* Whom the King in a rage taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with his Dagger would have slain him; but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the King being taken with a Palsie fell sick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death, incessantly calling for aid of his Brother, and other his Friends, he departed this life before the Princes which he had sent unto, were come with aid, when he had Reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of seven and fifty years.

The death
of King
Wenceslaus.

The marve-
lous work of
Gods judg-
ment to be
noted, in de-
fending his
people.

The Story of Zisca.

Immediately after the death of *Wenceslaus*, there was a certain Nobleman named *Zisca*, born at *Trosnowia*, which from his youth upward was brought up in the Kings Court, and had lost one of his eyes in a Battel, whereas he had valiantly born himself. This man being sore grieved for the death of *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, minding to revenge the injuries which the Council had done, greatly to the dishonor of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, upon their complices and adherents; he gathered together a number of Men of War, and subverted the Monasteries and Idolatrous Temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the Images and Idols, driving away the Priests and Monks, which he said were kept in their Cloysters, like Swine in their sties to be fatted. After this his Army being increased, having gathered together about Forty thousand Men, he attempted to take the Castle of *Vissegrade*, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said *Zisca*, under the conduct of *Coranda*, went speedily unto *Pelzina*, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the Town into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and thole which tarried behind, took the Castle of *Vissegrade*.

Out of Envy
as Strains.

Zisca get-
teth Pelzina.

Then the Queen *Sophia*, being very careful, sent Letters and Messengers unto the Emperor *Sigismund*, and other Nobles adjoynd unto her, requiring aid and help: But the Emperor made preparation against the *Turk*, which had then lately won certain Castles of him. Whereupon the Queen seeing all aid so far off, together with *Zenko Warterberge*, gathered an Host with the Kings treasure, and fortified the Castle of *Prague*, and the lesser City

The Queen
sendeth for
Sigismund
the Empe-
ror.

which joyneth unto the Castle, making Gates and Towers of wood upon the Bridge, over the River *Multain*, to stop that the Protestants should have no passage that way. Then it happened that at the Isle of *S. Benedict* one *Peter Steremberge* fought an equal or indifferent battel with them.

In the mean time, the number of the Protestants being increased in *Prague*, they fought for the Bridge. In which battel many were slain on both parts, but at the length the *Hussites* won the Bridge and the nether part of lesser *Prague*, the *Queens* part flying into the upper part thereof: where they turning again fiercely renewed the battel, and fought continually day and night by the space of five days. Many were slain on both parts, and goodly buildings were rased, and the Council House, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

The Emperors Ambassadors agree with the Citizens of Prague.

During the time of this troublous estate, the Embassadors of the Emperor *Sigismund* were come: which taking upon them the rule and governance of the Realm, made a Truce or League with the City of *Prague* under this condition, that the Castle of *Vissegrade* being rendred, it should be lawful for them to send Embassadors to the Emperor *Sigismund* to intreat as touching their Estate, and that *Zisca* should render *Pilzina* and *Piestra* with the other Forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign Protestants departed out of the City, and the Senate of the City, began to govern again according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the Papists which were gone out of the Town, durst not return again, but still looked for the Emperor, by whose presence they thought they should have been safe. But this their hope was frustrate by means of certain Letters which were sent from the Emperor, wherein it was written, that he would shortly come and Rule the Kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his Father *Charles* had done before him. Whereupon the Protestants understood that their Sect and Religion should be utterly banished, which was not begun during the Reign of the said *Charles*.

About *Christmas* the Emperor *Sigismund* came to *Brunna*, a City of *Moravia*, and there he pardoned the Citizens of *Prague*, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the City, and receive his Rulers and Magistrates. Whereunto the whole City obeyed, and the Magistrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto Heaven, rejoiced at the coming of the new King. But the Emperor turned another way, and went unto *Uratislavia*, the head City of *Slesia*, where a little before the Communalty of the City had slain, in an insurrection, the Magistrates, which his Brother *Wenceslaus* had set in authority; the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof when they were reported at *Prague*, the Citizens being feared by the example of the *Uratislavians*, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and having obtained *Cencho*, on their part, which had the government of the Castle of *Prague*, they sent Letters into all the Realm, that no man should suffer the Emperor to enter, which was an enemy unto *Bobeme*, and fought nothing else but to destroy the Kingdom: which also bound the ancient City of the *Prutenians* under order by pledges, and put the Marquess of *Brandenburge*, from the *Bohemian* Crown: and had not only suffered *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague* to be burned at the Council of *Constance*, but also procured the same, and with all his endeavour did impugn the Doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whilest these things were thus done *Zisca* having given over *Pelzina* by composition, was twice assaulted by his Enemies; but through policy he was always Victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his Enemies were on Horseback, and his Souldiers on Foot, neither could there be any battel fought but on foot. Whereupon when his Enemies were allighted from their Horses, *Zisca* commanded the Women which customably followed the Host, to cast their kerchiefs upon the ground, wherein the Horsemen being intangled by their Spurs, were slain before they could unloose their feet.

The City of Prague fell from the Emperor.

The complaint of the City of Prague against Sigismund.

The policy of Zisca.

After this, he went unto *Ausca*, a Town situate upon the River *Lucinitius*, out of which Town, *Procopius* and *Ulricius*, two Brethren Papists, had cast out many Protestants. This Town *Zisca* took by force of Arms the first

night of *Lent*, rased it, and set it on fire. He also took the Castle of *Litius*, which was a Mile off, whither *Ulricius* was fled, and put *Ulricius* and all his Family to the Sword saving one only.

KING
Hen. 5.

Then forasmuch as he had no walled or fenced Town to inhabite, he chose out a certain place upon the same River, which was fenced by nature, about eight Miles from the City of *Ausca*. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded every man to build them Houses, where they had pitched their Tents, and named this City *Thabor*, and the Inhabitants his Companions *Thaborites*, because their City by all like, was builded upon the top of some Hill or Mount. This City, albeit it was fenced with high Rocks and Cleaves, yet was it compassed with a wall and vaumure, and the River of *Lucinitius* fenceth a great part of the Town; the rest is compassed in with a great Brook, the which running straight into the River *Lucinitius*, is stopped by a great Rock, and drivn back towards the right hand all the length of the City, and at the further end it joyneth with the great River. The way unto it by land is scarce thirty foot broad, for it is almost an Island. In this place there was a deep ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thickness, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of Towers and Forts set in their convenient and meet places. *Zisca* was the first that builded the Castle, and those that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the *Thaborites* had no Horsemen amongst them, until such time as *Nicholas*, Master of the Mint (whom the Emperor had sent into *Bobemia* with a thousand Horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the *Thaborites*, lodging all night in a Village named *Vogize*) was surprised by *Zisca* coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his Horse and Armour, and setting fire upon the Village. Then *Zisca* taught his Souldiers to mount on Horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast a ring, so that after this he never led Army without his wings of Horsemen.

The City of Thabor builded.

In this mean time *Sigismundus* the Emperor gathering together the Nobles of *Slesia*, entred into *Bobeme*, and went into *Grecium*, and from thence with a great Army unto *Cuthna*, alluring *Cencho* with many great and large promises to render up the Castle of *Prague* unto him, and there placed him to annoy the Town. This *Cencho*, infamed with double Treason, returned home. The Citizens of *Prague* sent for *Zisca*, who speeding himself thither with the *Thaborites*, received the City under his governance. In the *Bohemians* Host there were but only two Barons, *Hilco*, *Crusina* of *Lituburge*, and *Hilco Waldestene*, with a few other Nobles. All the residue were of the Common-people. They went about first to subdue the Castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with Famine: Whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no Victuals should be carried in. But the Emperor opened the passages by dint of Sword, and when he had given unto them which were besieged all things necessary, having sent for aid out of the Empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the City. There were in the Emperors Camp the Dukes of *Saxon*, the Marquess of *Brandenburge*, and his Son in Law of *Albert* of *Austrich*. The City was assaulted by the space of six weeks. The Emperor *Sigismund* was Crowned in the Metropolitan House in the Castle, *Comradus* the Archbishop solemnising the ceremonies of the Coronation. The City was straitly besieged. In the mean time the Captains *Rosenses* and *Chragery*, which had taken the Tents of the *Thaborites*, being overcome in battel by *Nicholas Hus*, whom *Zisca* had sent with part of his power, for that purpose, were driven out of their Tents, and *Grecium* the *Queens* City was also taken.

Zisca getteth the City of Prague.

Prague besieged by Sigismund.

There is also above the Town of *Prague* a high Hill, which is called *Videchon*. On this Hill had *Zisca* strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possess it, with whom the Marquess of *Misnia* skirmishing, lost a great part of his Souldiers. For when as the *Misnians* had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner, which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon, when as they could no longer withstand the violent force of their Enemies, some of them were slain, and

The Marquess of Misnia overcome in the skirmish.

KING and some falling headlong from the Hill, were destroyed. Whereupon the Emperor *Sigismund* raising his siege, departed into *Cutbna*, and *Zisca* with his company departed unto *Thabor*, and subdued many places; amongst which he subverted a Town pertaining to the Captain of *Visgrade*. During this time the Castle of *Visgrade* was strongly besieged, where, when other Victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse flesh. Last of all, except the Emperor did aid them by a certain day, they promised to yield it up, but under this condition, that if the Emperor did come, they within the Castle should be no more molested.

The Emperor was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entering into a strait underneath the Castle, was suddenly set upon by the Soldiers of *Prague*, where he had a great overthrow, and so leaving his purpose unperformed, returned back again. There were slain in that conflict fourteen Noblemen of the *Moravians*, and of the *Hungarians*, and other a great number. The Castle was delivered up unto them. Whilst these things were in doing, *Zisca* took *Boslaus* a Captain, which was surnamed *Cigneus*, by force, in a very strong Town of his, and brought him unto his Religion. Who a few years after, leading the Protestants host in *Austria*, was wounded before *Rhetium*, and died. There were in the Territory of *Pelzina* many Monasteries, of the which *Zisca* subverted and burned five. And forasmuch as the Monastery of *Saint Clare* was the strongest, there he pitched himself.

Thither also came the Emperor with his Army: But when *Zisca* brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed and left *Boheme*. Then *Zisca* went with his Army unto *Pelzina*; But forasmuch as he saw the City so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to *Commistavia* a famous City, the which he took by force, burning all the Priests therein.

Afterward, when as he lay before the Town of *Raby*, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, having but that one before to see withall. From thence he was carried to *Prague* by Physicians, where he being cured of his wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight, and for all that he would not forsake his Army, but still took the charge of them.

After this the Garrisons of *Prague* went unto *Varona*, where there was a great Garrison of the Emperors, and took it by force, many being slain of either part. They also took the Town of *Broda* in *Germany*, and slew the Garrison, and afterward took *Cutbna* and many other Cities by composition. Further, when as they led their Army unto a Town called *Pons*, which is inhabited of the *Misnians*, the Saxons meeting them by the way, because they durst not joyn battel, they returned back. After all this, the Emperor appointed the Princes Electors a day, that at *Bartholomewstide* they should with their Army invade the West part of *Boheme*, and he with an Host of *Hungarians* would enter into the East part. There came unto his aid the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the County Palatine of *Rhein*, the Dukes of *Saxon*, the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, and many other Bishops out of *Almaine*; all the rest sent their aids. They encamped before the Town of *Sozious*, a strong and well fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The Country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued until the feast of *S. Galle*. Then it was broken up, because the Emperor was not come at his day appointed: but he having gathered together a great Army of the *Hungarians*, and *West Moravians*, about *Christmas* entered into *Boheme*; and took certain Towns by force, and *Cutbna* was yielded unto him. But when *Zisca* (although he was blind) came towards him, and set upon him, he being afraid, and many of his Nobles slain, fled. But first he burned *Cutbna*, which the *Thaborites*, by means of the Silver-Mines, called *The Power of Antichrist*. *Zisca* pursuing the Emperor a days journey, got great and rich spoil, and taking the Town of *Broda* by force, set it on fire: the which afterward almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The Emperor passed by a Bridge over the River of *Iglaria*. And *Piso* a *Florentine*, which had brought fifteen thousand Horsemen out of *Hungary* to these Wars, passed over the Ice; the which

by the multitude and number of his Horsemen being broke, devoured and destroyed a great number. *Zisca* having obtained this Victory, would not suffer any Image or Idol to be in the Churches, neither thought it to be born withal, that Priests should minister with Copes or Vestments: for the which cause he was much the more envied amongst the States of *Boheme*. And the Consuls of *Prague*, being aggrieved at the insolency of *John Premostratensis*, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction into the Council House, as though they would confer with them as touching the Common-wealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own house, thinking the City had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their servants being not circumspect enough, washing down the Court or Yard, washed out also the Blood of those that were slain, throw the Sinks or Channels; the which being once seen, the people understood what was done. By and by there was a tumult; the Council-house was straightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal Citizens, which were thought to be the Authors thereof, were slain, and divers houses spoiled.

About the same time the Castle of *Purgel*, wherein the Emperor had left a small Garrison (whither also many Papists with their Wives and Children were fled) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire went unto *Pelzina*. After this divers of the *Bohemian* Captains, and the Senate of *Prague*, sent Ambassadors to *Vitold* Duke of *Lituania*, and made him their King. This did *Zisca* and his adherents gainsay. This *Vitold* sent *Sigismund Coributus* with two thousand Horsemen into *Boheme*, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of *Prague*. At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a Castle situate upon a Hill, which was called *Charles Stone*.

Here *Sigismundus* had left for a Garrison four Centurions of Soldiers. The Tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six Months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great Slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two thousand Vessels, Tubs, or Baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in amongst those which were besieged: which thing did so infect them with stench, that their Teeth did either fall out, or were all loose. Notwithstanding they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of *Prague*, to fasten their Teeth again.

In the mean time *Frederick* the Elder, Prince of *Brandenburg*, entering into *Boheme* with a great Power, caused them of *Prague* to raise the Siege. And *Vitoldus* at the request of *Uladislaus* King of *Pole*, which had talked with the Emperor in the Borders of *Hungary*, called *Coributus* his Uncle, with his whole Army, out of *Boheme*. Whereupon the Emperor supposed that the Protestants being destitute of foreign Aid, would the sooner do his Commandment: but he was far deceived therein; for they leading their Armies out of *Boheme*, subdued the Borders thereupon adjoining. It is also reported that *Zisca* went into *Austria*, and when as the Husbandmen of the Country had carried away a great number of their Cattel by water into an Isle of the River called *Danubius*, and by chance had left certain Calves and Swine in their Villages behind them: *Zisca* drave them unto the River side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roar out and cry, untill that the Cattel feeding in the Island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the Cattel on the other side the water, for the desire of their like did swim over the River; by the means whereof he got and drave away a great booty.

About the same time the Emperor *Sigismundus* gave unto his Son in law *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, the Country of *Moravia*, because it should not want a Ruler. At the same time also *Ericus* King of *Denmark*, and *Peter Infant*, Brother to the King of *Portugal* and Father of *James*, Cardinal of *Saint Eustachius*, came unto the Emperor, being both very expert men in the affairs of War, which did augment the Emperors Host with their Aid and Power. Whereupon they straightway pitched their Camp before *Lutemperge*, a Town of *Moravia*,

Zisca destroyed Images and Idols in Churches.

John Premostratensis. The Martyrdom of certain godly *Bohemians* faithfully circumcised and killed with the sword. Privy murder at length come out.

Stench very hurtful for the Teeth.

Another War-like policy of *Zisca* & *Brandenburg*.

and continued the siege by the space of three Months. There was at that time a certain Knight at Prague surnamed *Aqua*, which was very Rich and of great Authority. This man, forso much as he had no Child of his own, adopted unto him his Sisters Son, named *Procopius*; whom when he was of mean nature and age, he carried with him into *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, and unto *Jerusalem*, and at his return caused him to be made Priest. This man when the Gospel began to flourish in *Boheme*, took part with *Zisca*; and forso much as he was strong and valiant, and also painful, he was greatly esteemed.

Procopius Magnus.

This *Procopius* for his valiant Acts was afterward called *Procopius Magnus*, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the Province of *Moravia*, and the defence of the *Lutemperges*, who receiving a great power by force (mauger all the whole power which lay in the siege) carried Victuals into the Town which was besieged, and so did frustrate the Emperors siege: The Emperor before this, had delivered unto the Marqueses of *Misnia* the Bridge and Town of *Afca*, upon the River of *Albis*, that they should fortifie them with their Garrisons. Whereupon *Zisca* besieged *Afca*; and *Frederick* the Marques of *Misnia*, with his Brother the *Lantzgrave* of *Turing*, gathering together a great Army out of *Saxonia*, *Turing*, *Misnia*, and both the *Lusaces*, determined to rescue and aid those which were besieged.

The valiant courage of *Procopius*.

There was a great battel fought before the City, and the Victory depended long uncertain; but at last it fell on the Protestants part. There were slain in the battel the *Burgaves* of *Misnia* or *Chyrpogenses*, the Barons of *Glychen* and many other Nobles, besides nine thousand common Souldiers, and the Town of *Afca* was taken and utterly rased.

The victory of Protestants.

At the last, dissention rising between *Zisca* and them of *Prague*, they of *Prague* prepared an Army against him, wherewith he perceiving himself overmatched, fled unto the River of *Albis*, and was almost taken, but that he had passage thorow the Town of *Poggiebras*; but they of *Prague*, pursuing the tail of the battel, slew many of his *Thaborites*. At the length they came unto certain Hills, where *Zisca* going into the valley, knowing the straits of the place, that his Enemies could not spread their Army, he commanded his Standard to stand still, and exhorting and encouraging his Souldiers he gave them battel.

The battel between the City of Prague and *Zisca*.

This battel was very fierce and cruel; but *Zisca* having the upper hand, slew three Thousand of them of *Prague*, and put the rest to flight, and straightways took the City of *Carbna* by force (which they of *Prague* had repaired) and set it on fire: then with all speed he went with his Army to besiege *Prague*, and incamped within a bow shot of the Town. There were many both in the City, and also in his Host, which grudged sore at that siege; some accusing *Zisca*, other some them of *Prague*. There were great tumults in the Camp, the Souldiers saying that it was not reasonable, that the City should be suppressed, which was both the head of the Kingdom, and did not dissent from them in opinion, saying, that the *Bohemians* power would soon decay, if their enemies should know that they were divided within themselves; also that they had sufficient wars against the Emperor, and that it was but a foolish device to move wars amongst themselves. This talk came unto the ear of *Zisca*, who calling together his Army, standing upon a place to be heard spake in these words.

The noble victory of *Zisca*.

Zisca besiegeth Prague. A notable Oration of *Zisca* to his Souldiers.

Brethren, be ye not aggrieved against me, neither accuse him which hath sought your health and safeguard. The victories which ye have obtained under my conduct are yet fresh in memory, neither have I brought you at any time unto any place, from whence you have not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your sake have lost my sight, and dwell in darkness. Nothing have I gotten by all these fortunate battels, but only a vain name. For you have I fought, and for you have I vanquished; neither do I repent me of my Travels, neither is my blindness grievous unto me, but only that I cannot provide for you according to my accustomed manner: neither do I persecute them of *Prague* for mine own cause, for it is your blood that they thirst and seek for, and not for mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, being

now an old man and blind, it is your valiantness and stout stomachs which they fear. Either must you or they perish; who whilest they seem to lie in waite for me, do seek after your lives. You must rather fear civil Wars than foreign, and civil sedition ought first to be avoided. We will subdue Prague, and banish the seditious Citizens before the Emperor shall have any news of this sedition. And then having but a few of his faction left, we may with the less fear look for it, better than if these doubtful Citizens of Prague were still in our Camp. But because ye shall accuse me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If it please you to suffer them of Prague to live in quietness, I will not be against it, so that there be no Treason wrought. If you determine to have War, I am also ready. Look which part you will incline unto, *Zisca* will be your aid and helper.

(KING) Hm.s.

When he had spoken these words, the Souldiers minds were changed, and wholly determined to make Wars, so that they ran by and by to take up their Armor and Weapons, to run unto the Walls, to provoke their Enemies to fight for the Gates of the City. *Zisca* in the mean time prepared all things ready for the assault. There is a little from *Pelzina* a certain Village named *Rochezana*. In this place there was a Child born of poor and base Parentage, whose name was *John*; he came unto Prague, and got his living there by begging, and learned Grammar and Logick. When he came to Mans state, he became the Schoolmaster of a Noble Mans Child; and forso much as he was of an excellent Wit and ready Tongue, he was received into the College of the Poor: and last of all, being made Priest, he began to Preach the Word of God to the Citizens of Prague, and was named *Joannes de Rochezana*, by the name of the Town where he was born. This Man grew to be of great name and authority in the Town of Prague. Whereupon when as *Zisca* besieged Prague, he by the content of the Citizens went out into the Camp, and reconciled *Zisca* again unto the City.

The hearts of the Souldiers altered by the Oration of *Zisca*.

Peace between *Zisca* and Prague, by the means of *John de Rochezana*.

When as the Emperor perceived that all things came to pass according unto *Zisca* his will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole State of *Boheme* did depend, he sought privy means to reconcile and get *Zisca* into his favour, promising him the Governance of the whole Kingdom, the guiding of all his Hosts and Armies, and great yearly renewes if he would proclaim him King, and cause the Cities to be sworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when as *Zisca* for the performance of the covenants went unto the Emperor, being in his journey at the Castle of *Priscovia*, he was stricken with sickness and died.

The Emperor glad to be reconciled with *Zisca*.

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being sick, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the skin to be pulled off from his Carcase, and the flesh to be cast unto the Fowls and Beasts, and that a Drum should be made of his skin, which they should use in their battels; affirming, that as soon as their enemies should hear the sound of that Drum, they would not abide but take their flight. The *Thaborites* despising all other Images, yet set up the Picture of *Zisca* over the Gates of the City.

The death of *Zisca*. The words of *Zisca* at his death.

The Epitaph of John Zisca, the valiant Captain of the Bohemians.

John *Zisca*, not inferiour to an Emperor, or Captain in warlike policy, a severe punisher of the pride and avarice of the Clergy, and a defender of my Country, do lie here. That which *Appian Claudius* by giving good Counsel, and *M. Furius Camillus* by valiantness did for the Romans; the same I being blind have done for my *Bohemians*. I never slackened opportunity of battel, neither did fortune at any time fail me. I being blind did foresee all opportunity of well ordering or doing my business. Eleven times in joyning battel I went Victor out of the field. I seemed to have worthily defended the cause of the miserable and hungry against the delicate, fat, and gluttonous Priests, and for that cause to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not let it, without doubt I had deserved to be numbred amongst the most famous men. Notwithstanding my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in despite of the Pope.

The Epitaph of *Zisca*.

Zisca eleven times victor in the field.

[KING
Hus]

IOHANNES SISKAS ὁ Βοημῶν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας
ἱσχυρὸς ὄντων, ἀλλὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἡλός.

John Ziska a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and
covetous Priests, but with a godly zeal.

And thus have you the acts and doings of this worthy
Ziska, and other Bohemians, which for the more credit
we have drawn out of *Aneas Sylvius*, only his railing
terms excepted which we have here suppressed.

All this while the Emperor with the whole power of the
Germans, were not so busie on the one side, but *Martin*
the Pope was as much occupied on the other side: who
about the same time directed down a terrible Bull, full of
all Poison, to all Bishops and Archbishops, against all such
as took any part or side with *Wickliff*, *John Hus*, *Jerom*,
or with their doctrine and opinions. The copy of which
Bull, which I found in an old written Monument, I with
the Reader thorowly, to peruse, wherein he shall see the
Pope to pour out at once all his Poison.

*The Bull of Pope Martin directed forth against the
Followers of John Wickliff of England, of
John Hus of Boheme, and Jerom of Prague.*

Pope Mar-
tin's bloody
Bull to all
Bishops and
Archbi-
shops.

Martin, Bishop, the servant of Gods Servants, to
our Reverend Brethren the Archbishops of *Salze-
burgen*, *Gueznen*, and *Pragen*, and to the Bishops of
Olumzen, *Luthomuslen*, *Bambergen*, *Misnen*, *Patawien*,
Uratisslawien, *Ratisponen*, *Cracovian*, *Poznamen*, and *Ni-
trien*, and also to our beloved Children the Inquisitors ap-
pointed of the Prelates above recited, or where else soever,
unto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting,
and Apostolical Benediction. Amongst all other pastoral
cares wherewith we are oppressed, this chiefly and speci-
ally doth inforce us, that Hereticks with their false Do-
ctrine and Errors, being utterly expelled from amongst
the company of Christian men, and rooted out (so far
forth as God will make us able to do) the Right and Ca-
tholick Faith may remain found and undefiled; and that
all Christian people, immovable and inviolate, may
stand and abide in the sincerity of the same Faith, the whole
veil of obscurity being removed. But lately in divers
places of the World, but especially in *Bohemia*, and the
Dukedom of *Moravia*, and in the Straits adjoining there-
unto, certain Arch-hereticks have risen and sprung up, not
against one only, but against divers and sundry Documents
of the Catholick Faith, being Land-lopers, Schismatics,
and seditious Persons, fraught with devilish Pride, and
wolvish Madnes, deceived by the subtilty of *Satan*, and
from one evil Vanity brought to a worse. Who although
they rose up and sprang in divers parts of the World, yet
agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit
together, to wit, *John Wickliff of England*, *John Hus*
of *Bohemia*, and *Jerom of Prague* of damnable memory,
who drew with them no small number to miserable ruine
and infidelity. For when as those and such like pestiferous
Persons did in the beginning of their poisoned Doctrine
obstinately sow and spread abroad perverse and false opi-
nions, the Prelates who had the regiment and execution
of the judicial Power, like dumb Dogs not able to Bark,
neither yet revenging speedily with the Apostile all such dis-
obedience, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the
Lords house (as they were enjoined by the Canons) those
subtil and pestilent Arch-hereticks, and their wolvish fury
and cruelty, with all expedition, but suffering their false
and pernicious Doctrine negligently, by their over-long
delays, to grow and wax strong; a great multitude of
people instead of true Doctrine received those things,
which they did long, falsly, perniciously and damnable
low among them, and giving credit unto them, fell from
the right Faith, and are intangled (the more pity) in the
foul Errors of *Paganism*.

Infomuch, that these Arch-hereticks, and such as spring
of them, have infected the Catholick flock of Christ in
divers climates of the World, and parts bordering upon
the same, and have caused them to partise in the filthy
Dunghil of their lies. Wherefore the general Synod of
Constance was compelled with Saint *Augustine* to exclaim
against so great and ruinous a Plague of faithful Men, and
of the sound and true Faith it self, saying; What shall the

soveraign Medicine of the Church do, with motherly love
seeking the health of her Sheep, chafing as it were, amongst
a company of Men frantick, and having the disease of the
Lethargy? What shall the desist and leave off her good
purpose? No, not so. But rather let her, if there be no
remedy, be sharp to both these sorts, which are the grie-
vous Enemies of her womb. For the Physitian is sharp
unto the man distraught and raging in his frenzie, and yet
he is a Father to his own rude and unmannerly Son, in
binding the one, in beating the other, by shewing therein his
great love unto them both. But if they be negligent, and
suffer them to perish (saith Saint *Augustine*) this Manue-
tude is rather to be supposed false cruelty.

And therefore the foresaid Synod, to the glory of Al-
mighty God, and preservation of his Catholick Faith, and
augmenting of Christian Religion, and for the salvation of
Mens souls, hath corporally rejected and cast forth of the
household of God, the foresaid *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*,
and *Jerom*; who amongst other things did believe, preach,
teach, and maintain of the Sacrament of the Altar, and
other Sacraments of the Church, and Articles of the Faith,
contrary to that the Holy Church of *Rome* believeth,
holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, and have presumed ob-
stinately to preach, teach, hold and believe many other
moe, to the damnation of themselves and of others; and
the said Synod hath separated the same, as obstinate and
malapert Hereticks from the Communion of the faithful
people, and hath declared them to be spiritually thrown
forth. And many other things both wholesome and
profitable hath the same Council, as touching the pre-
misses, Stablished and Decreed, whereby they, which by
the means of those Arch-hereticks, and by their false Do-
ctrine, have spiritually departed from the Lords House,
may by the Canonical Rules be reduced to the straight path
of truth and verity.

And moreover (as we to our great grief do hear) not
only in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and Dukedom of *Mo-
ravia*, and other places above recited, but also in certain
parts and provinces near adjoining and bordering upon
the same, there be many other of the sectaries and follow-
ers of the foresaid Arch-hereticks and Heretical opinions;
casting behind their backs as well the fear of God, as the
shame of the world, neither receiving Fruit of conver-
sion and repentance by the miserable destruction of the
foresaid *John Hus* and *Jerom*, but as men drowned in the
Dungeon of their sins, cease not to blaspheme the Lord
God, taking his name in vain (whose minds the Fathers
of lies hath damnably blinded) and do read and Study
the foresaid Books or Works, containing Heresies and
Errors, being lately by the foresaid Synod condemned to
be burned; also to the peril of themselves and many other
simple men, and against the Statutes, Decrees, and Ordina-
nces in the Synod aforesaid, and the Canonical Sancti-
ons, do presume to preach and teach the same, to the great
peril of souls, and derogation of the Catholick Faith, and
slander of many other besides: We therefore considering,
that Error, where it is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed
and liked; and having a desire to resist such evil and per-
nicious Errors, and utterly root them out from amongst
the company of faithful Christians, especially from the afore-
recited places of *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and other Straits and
Ilands joyning and bordering upon the same, lest they
should stretch out and enlarge their limits; we will and
command your discretions by our Letters Apostolical, the
holy Council of *Constance* approving and allowing the
same, that you that are Archbishops, Bishops, and other
of the Clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any
other or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiri-
tual jurisdiction, do see that all and singular persons, of
what Dignity, Office, Preeminence, State, or Condition
soever they be, and by what name soever they are known,
which shall presume otherwise to teach, preach, or observe,
touching the most high and excellent, the most wholesome
and superadmirable Sacrament of the Bloud of our Lord
Jesus Christ, or else of the Sacrament of Baptism, Confession
of sins, Penance for sins, and extreame Unction, or else
of any other Sacraments of the Church, and the Articles
of the Faith, than that which the right Holy and Uni-
versal Church of *Rome* doth hold, teach, preach, and ob-
serve; or else that shall presume obstinately by any ways
or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and
teach

A great dif-
ference be-
tween a
loving Mo-
ther, and the
frantick
Where of
Babylon.

We fools
thought
their life to
be immortel;
and their
end without
honour.
Sapient. 9.

Et si quis
serui in Le-
uit. 2.
And his
mouth is
like the
mouth of a
Lion.
Apoc. 19.

All these
Errors and
Heresies be,
for that
they speak
against the
pride of
Prelates and
their excec-
sive digni-
ties.

All the Pa-
gans, with
the Pope,
that like
not his so-
perstitious
and idolat-
rous tradi-
tions.

teach the Articles, Books, or Doctrine of the foresaid Arch-hereticks, *John Wickliff, John Hus, and Jerom of Prague*, being by the foresaid Synod of *Constance* with their Authors (as is said) damned and condemned, or dare presume publicly or privily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said Arch-hereticks, or of any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or supportation of the foresaid Errors, as also their believers and adherents; that then as before, you see and cause them, and every of them to be most severely punished, and that you judge and give sentence upon them as Hereticks, and that as arrant Hereticks you leave them to the secular Court or power. Let the receivers also and favourers and defenders of such most pestiferous Persons, notwithstanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their Errors, but haply shall receive or entertain such pestiferous Persons because of carnal affection, or friendly love, besides the punishment due unto them by both Laws, over and above the same punishment by competent Judges, be so afflicted, and for so heinous Acts of theirs, with so severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other in like case offending an example of terror; that at the least, those whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from such evil doing, yet the severity of this our discipline may force and constrain.

As touching the third sort, which shall be any manner of ways infected with this damnable Sect, and shall after competent admonition repent and amend themselves of such Errors and Sects aforesaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy Mother the Church, and fully acknowledge and confess the Catholick Faith towards them let the severity of justice, as the quality of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

And furthermore we will and command, that by this our authority Apostolical ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the Catholick Faith, as Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Knights, and other Magistrates, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls, Shires, Countries, and Universities of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages, their Lands and other places, and all other executing Temporal Jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the Law, that they expel out of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages and Lands, and other places, all and all manner of such Hereticks, according to the effect and tenour of the Council of *Lateran*, beginning, *Sicut ait Ecclesia*, &c. that those whom publicly and manifestly by the evidence of their deeds shall be known to be such as like sick and scabbed Sheep infect the Lords Flock, they expel and banish till such time as from us, or you, or else other Ecclesiastical Judges or Inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of *Rome*, they shall receive other Order and countermand; and that they suffer no such within their Shires and Circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, either yet to use any handy-craft or occupations, or other trades of Merchandise, or else to solace themselves any ways, or frequent the company of Christian men.

And furthermore, if such publick and known Hereticks shall chance to die, (although not so denounced by the Church) yet in this so great a Crime let him and them want Christian burial, and let no Offerings or Oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance also from the time of his death, according to the canonical Sanctions being confiscate, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the Ecclesiastical Judges, having power and authority in this behalf, Sentence upon that his or their crime of Heresie be declared, and promulgate; and let such Owners as be found suspect or noted with any such suspicion of Heresie, before a competent and Ecclesiastical Judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a Judge, shew and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, as becometh in that behalf. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his Oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him be condemned as an Heretick. But such as through

negligence or through slothfulness shall omit to shew their said Innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be Excommunicate, and so long put out from the company of Christian men, till that they shall make condign satisfaction; so that if by the space of one whole year they shall remain in such Excommunication, then let them as Hereticks be condemned.

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the foresaid pestiferous Doctrine of the Arch-hereticks aforesaid, or in any Article thereof, whether it be by the report of the Seditious, or else well-disposed; let them yet be punished according to the Canons. If only through infamy and suspicion of the foresaid Articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspect, and in his purgation canonical for this thing being interdicted, shall fail; let him be accounted as a man convict, and as a convict person by the Canons let him be punished.

And furthermore, we invoking and putting in execution the Canon of our Predecessor of happy Memory, Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, which beginneth thus, *Ut inquisitionis negotium*, &c. In exhorting-wise require, and also command all Temporal Potentates, Lords and Judges afore recited, by whatsoever Dignities, Offices and Names they are known, that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the Faithful members and children of the Church, and do rejoyce in the name of Christ, so in likewise for defence of the same Faith, they will obey, intend, give their aid and favourable help to you that are Archbishops, Bishops, and Ecclesiastical men, Inquisitors of all heretical pravity, and other Judges and Ecclesiastical Persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy Mother the Church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid Hereticks, their Believers, their Favourers, their Receivers, and their Defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

And that they bring and cause to be brought (all delay set apart) the foresaid pestiferous persons so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe keeping and prisons, as by you the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy and Inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed or else unto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their Dominions, Governments and Rectories, where they by Catholick men; that is, by you the Archbishops, Bishops, the Clergy and Inquisitors, or any other that shall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of Iron under most straight custody for escaping away, till such time as all that business, which belongeth unto them, be by the judgment of the Church finished and determined, and that of such Heresie, by a competent Ecclesiastical Judge (which firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the foresaid holy Church of *Rome*) they be condemned.

The residue let the foresaid Temporal Lords, Rectors, Judges, or other their Officers and Pursevents take amongst them with condign deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing lest to the prejudice and slander of the foresaid Catholick Faith and Religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumvented, or that any subtil and crafty men should under the veil of frivolous excuse cloke and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the convincing or apprehending of the foresaid Hereticks, their Receivers and Defenders, Favourers, Believers, and Adherents; and also of such as are suspect of Heresie, and with such like perverse Doctrine in any wise spotted, we might give more perfect instruction; Therefore as well to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and parts near adjoining to the same, as all other where this superstitious Doctrine began to spread, we have thought it good to send the Articles hereunder written concerning the Sect of those Arch-Hereticks, for the better direction of the foresaid Catholick Faith.

Touching which Articles, by vertue of holy Obedience, we charge and command you and all other Archbishops and Bishops, all manner of Commissaries and Inquisitors, that every of them within the Diocesis and Limits of their Jurisdiction; and also in the foresaid Kingdom, and Dukedom, and places near adjoining, although the same places be beyond the same their Jurisdiction, in the favour of the Catholick

*Dragon
den sanguine
serpente.
The Pope
Religion
hath left all
sense of hu-
manity.*

*Et vidi bellu-
m & reges
terra & ex-
ercitum
pugnantes
cum illo qui
sedebat in
equo, & en-
erctus ejus.
Apoc. 13.
Et data est
illi potestas
in omnem
tribum, &
populum, &
linguam, &
gentem, i. e.
And power
is given him
over all
Tribes, and
People, and
Tongues,
and Nati-
ons, &c.
Apoc. 13.*

*{ KING
HEN. 5. }*

*Note the
tenderness
of this
loving Mo-
ther the
Church of
Rome.*

*Refused
summe publi-
city, & mag-
nity, & divi-
nity, & pau-
perity, & ser-
vice, accipere
charitatem
in manus sua
dextra.
i. e. And he
shall make
both little
and great,
rich and
poor, free
and bond
to take his
charity in
their right
hand, &c.
Apoc. 13.*

*Satan re-
sisteth his
chains.*

KING {*Hen. 5.*} Catholick Faith, do give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those Errors, Arch-heresies, and most pestiferous Sect afore said; and also that they compel all defamed persons and suspect of so pestiferous a Contagion, whether it be under the penalty of the Crime confessed, or of Excommunication, suspension or interdict, or any other formidable pain canonical or legal, when and wheresoever it shall seem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an Oath corporally taken, either upon the holy *Evangelists*, or upon the Reliques of Saints, or upon the Image of the Crucifix, according to the observances of certain places, and according to the Interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every Article therein written. For we intend against all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Ecclesiastical Persons, or Inquisitors, which shall shew themselves negligent and remiss in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and purging their Territories, Dioceses, and places to them appointed, of such evil and wicked men, to proceed and cause to be proceeded unto the deprivation and deposition of their Pontifical Dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the said heretical pravity, and proceed to further pains against such by the Laws limited, and to other yet more grievous (if need require) we our selves will proceed and cause to be proceeded, according as the party his Fact, and filthiness of his Crime committed, shall deserve. The tenor of those Articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writing are in words as follow.

The old manner of the Popish Oath.

¶ The Articles of John Hus to be enquired upon.

1. **T**Here is one only universal Church, which is the Universality of the Predestinate, as shall after be declared.

2. The universal Church is only one; as there is one Universality of those that are Predestinate.

3. *Paul* was never a member of the Devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the Church Malignant.

Speaking of the invisible Church, the Article is true.

4. The Reprobate are not parts of the Church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her, because that the charity of Predestination, which bindeth the same Church together, never faileth.

5. The two Natures (that is) the Divinity and the Humanity, be one Christ.

This Article seemeth to be wrested out of the words of *Jerome* of *Prague*.

6. The Reprobate, although he be sometime in grace according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the holy Church; and the Predestinate is ever a member of the Church, although sometime he fall from grace *adventitia*, but not from grace of Predestination; ever taking the Church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice. And after this sort the Church is an Article of our belief.

7. *Peter* is not, nor ever was the head of the holy Catholick Church.

8. Priests living viciously do defile the authority of Priesthood, and so, as unfaithful Children, do unfaithfully believe of the seven Sacraments, of the Keys of the Church, of Offices, of Censures, of Ceremonies, of the worshipping of Reliques, Indulgences, Orders, and other holy things of the Church.

The Papal Dignity touched.

9. The Papal Dignity came and grew from the Emperor; and his Government and Institution sprang from the Emperors Government.

10. No man can reasonably affirm either of himself or other, that he is the Head of any particular Church, or that the Bishop of *Rome* is the Head of the Church of *Rome*.

11. A man ought not to believe, that he which is Bishop of *Rome* is the head of every particular Church, unless God have predestinate him.

12. None is the Vicar of Christ, or else of *Peter*, unless he follow him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this Power procuratory. For unto the Office of a Vicegerent of Christ is required the conformity of Manners, and the authority of the Instructor.

13. The Pope is not the manifest and true Successor of *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, if he live in manners

contrary to *Peter*; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the Vicar of *Judas Iscariot*. And likewise, the Cardinals be not the true and manifest Successors of the College of the other Apostles of Christ, unless they live according to the manner of the Apostles, keeping the Commandments and Councils of our Lord Jesus Christ.

14. The Doctors alledging that a man, which will not be amended by the Ecclesiastical Censures, is to be delivered to the Secular Powers, do follow in this point the Bishops, Scribes and Pharisees, that delivered Christ to the Secular Power (saying, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man*) because he would not obey them in all things; and that such be greater Homicides than *Pilate*.

15. The Ecclesiastical Obedience is such an Obedience as the Priests of the Church have found out, besides the express authority of the Scripture. The immediate division of humane works, is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; And if a man be vicious, and doth any thing, then doth he it vitiously, and if he be virtuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it virtuously. For like as Vice, which is called a great offence or mortal sin, doth stain all the doings of a vicious man; so Vertue doth quicken all the doings of a virtuous man.

16. A Priest of God living after his Law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any Excommunication pretended of the Pope. And further, if the Pope, or any other Magistrate doth forbid a Priest so disposed to preach, he ought not to be obedient unto him. For every one that taketh upon him the Order of Priesthood, receiveth in charge the Office of a Preacher; and of that burden ought he well to discharge himself, any Excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

17. By the Censures Ecclesiastical, as of Excommunication, suspending and interdict, the Clergy to their own advancement cause the Lay-people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to *Antichrist*. And it is an evident sign that such Censures proceed from *Antichrist*, which in their Process they call *Fulminations*; that is, their Thunderbolts wherewith the Clergy principally proceedeth against those that declare the wickedness of *Antichrist*, who so greatly for his own commodity hath abused them.

18. If the Pope be evil, especially if he be a Reprobate, then is he with *Judas* a very Devil, a Thief, and the Son of Perdition, and is not the head of the holy Church Militant, nor any member of the same.

19. The grace of Predestination is the band wherewith the body of the Church and every member of the same is indissolubly joyned to their head Christ.

20. The Pope or Prelate, that is evil and a Reprobate, is a Pastor in name, and not in deed, yea he is a Thief and a Robber in very deed.

21. The Pope ought not to be called the most holy one for his Office sake, for then ought a King to be called by his Office the most holy One; and the Hangman, with other such Officers also, were to be called holy; yea, the Devil himself ought to be called holy, for as much as he is Gods Officer. *John Hus expoundeth this Article with this distinction. Non ratione meriti, sed ratione officii*

22. If the Pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climb up by the right and lawful Election, according to the common custom of men; yet notwithstanding should he otherwise climb than by Christ; yea, though we admit that he should enter by the Election principally made by God. For *Judas Iscariot* was lawfully elect of God Christ Jesus to his Bishoprick, and yet came not he the same way he ought to do unto the Sheepfold. *John Hus declareth his mind touching this Article sufficiently before.*

23. The condemnation of forty five Articles of *John Wickliff* by the Doctors made is unreasonable, wicked and naught, and the cause by them alledged is fained; that is, that none of them are Catholick, but every one of them heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

24. Not for that the Electors or the most part of them have consented together with lively voice, according to the custom of men upon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifest Successor and Vicar of *Peter* the Apostle, or of *of* *Election maketh not the Successor of Peter, but imitation.*

of any other the Apostles in the Ecclesiastical Office. Wherefore, whether the Electors have either well or evil made their Election, it behoveth us to believe the same by the works of him that is elected. For in that that every one worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the Church, he hath so much the more greater authority from God.

One head of the universal Church, beside Christ, hath no foundation in all Scripture.

25. There is not so much as one spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the Church in Spiritual Causes, which should always be conversant in the Church Militant; for Christ without any such monstrous heads, by his true Disciples sparged through the whole world, could better a great deal Rule his Church.

26. The Apostles and faithful Priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation; governed the Church before the Popes Office took place, and so might they do again, by like possibility until Christ came to Judgment, if the Office should fail.

Let every one that is suspected in the foresaid Articles, or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and form as followeth.

The form and manner of the Popes Inquisition.

Imprimis, Whether he knew *John Wickliff* of England, *John Hus* of Bohemia, and *Jerome* of Prague, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them; whether that during the lives of them, or any of them, they had either been conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands?

2. *Item*, Whether he knowing them, or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them; esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sin?

Heretic to pray for John Wickliff or John Hus, &c.

3. *Item*, Whether that after their deaths, he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or privily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either Saints, or else to be saved?

4. *Item*, Whether he thought them, or any of them to be Saints, or whether that ever he spake such words, and whether ever he did exhibite any worship unto them as unto Saints?

5. *Item*, Whether he believe, hold and affirm, that every general Council, as also the Council of *Constance*, doth represent the universal Church?

Heretic not to believe the Council of Constance

6. *Item*, Whether he doth believe, that that which the holy Council of *Constance*, representing the universal Church, hath and doth allow in the favour of the Faith, and salvation of Souls, is to be approved and allowed of all the faithful Christians; and that whatsoever the same Council hath condemned, and doth condemn to be contrary both to Faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not?

7. *Item*, Whether he believeth that the condemnations of *John Hus*, *John Wickliff*, and *Jerome* of Prague, made as well upon their persons, as their Books and Doctrine, by the holy general Council of *Constance*, be rightly and justly made, and of every good Catholick man are so to be holden and affirmed, or not?

8. *Item*, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that *John Wickliff* of England, *John Hus* of Bohemia, and *Jerome* of Prague, were Hereticks or not, and for Hereticks to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their Books and Doctrines were and be perverse or not; for the which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy sacred Council of *Constance* for Hereticks?

9. *Item*, Whether he have in his custody any Treatises, small Works, Epistles, or other writings in what Language or Tongue soever, set forth and translated by any of these Hereticks, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome*, or any other of their false Disciples and Followers, that he may deliver them to the Ordinaries of that place, or his Commissary, or to the Inquisitors upon his Oath. And if he say that he hath no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you swear him to bring the same before his Ordinary, or other aforementioned, within a certain time to him prefixed?

10. *Item*, Whether he knoweth any that hath the Treatises, Works, Epistles, or any other writings of the afore said

John Wickliff, *John Hus*, and *Jerome*, in whatsoever Tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect and manifest the same, for the purgation of their Faith and execution of Justice.

11. *Item*, Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believeth that the Sentence of the holy Council of *Constance* upon the forty five Articles of *John Wickliff*, and the thirty Articles of *John Hus* be not Catholick; which faith that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, othersome blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly ears?

12. *Item*, Whether he believeth and affirmeth that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear?

13. *Item*, Whether he believeth, that at the Commandment of a Judge or any other it is lawful to take an Oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not?

14. *Item*, Whether he believeth that Perjury wittingly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other mans life, (yea although it be in the cause and defence of the Faith) be a sin or not?

15. *Item*, Whether a man contemning purposely the Rites of the Church, and the Ceremonies of Exorcism, of Catechism, and the consecration of the water of Baptism be in deadly sin or not?

16. *Item*, Whether he believe, that after the consecration of the Priest, in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the figure of Bread and Wine be no material Bread and Wine; but in all points the same very Christ which was crucified upon the Cross, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father?

17. *Item*, Whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the Priest, under the only form of Bread, and besides the form of Wine, be the very Flesh of Christ and his Blood, his Soul and his Deity, and so whole Christ as he is; and in like wise, under the form of Wine, without the form of Bread, be the very Flesh of Christ and his very Blood, his Soul and Deity, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds singularly?

18. *Item*, Whether he doth believe, that the custom of houseling of the Lay-people under the form of Bread only, observed of the universal Church, and allowed by the only Council of *Constance*, be to be used, and not without the Authority of the Church at mens pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirm the contrary to this are to be punished as Hereticks, or not?

Heretic to administer in both kinds.

19. *Item*, Whether he believe that those which condemn the receiving of the Sacraments of confirmation, or extrem Unction; or else the solemnization of Matrimony, commit deadly sin or not?

20. *Item*, Whether he believe that a Christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a convenient Priest, is bound to confess himself only to a Priest, and not to any Lay-man, be he never so devout or good, upon the necessity of Salvation?

21. *Item*, Whether he believe, that in the cases before put, a Priest may absolve a Sinner confessing himself, and being contrite, from all sins, and enjoyn him penance for the same?

22. *Item*, Whether he believe, that an evil Priest, with due manner and form, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other Sacraments even as the Church doth?

23. *Item*, Whether he believe that *S. Peter* was the Vicar of Christ, having power to bind and to loose upon the Earth?

24. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expressly be the Successor of *Peter* or not, having supreme Authority in the Church of God?

25. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Authority or Jurisdiction of the Pope, an Archbishop or a Bishop, in binding or loosing, be more than the authority of a simple Priest or not, although he have charge of Souls?

26. *Item*, Whether he believe, that the Pope may upon a just and good cause give Indulgences and remission of Sins to all Christian men, being verily contrite and

Heretic to deny the Popes Indulgences.

con-

KING confessed, especially to those that go on Pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds?

27. *Item*, Whether he believe, that by such grant the Pilgrims that visit those Churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remission of sins or not?

28. *Item*, Whether he believe that all Bishops may grant unto their Subjects, according as the holy Canons do limit, such Indulgences, or not?

Heretic not to worship Images.

29. *Item*, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship Images and the Reliques of Saints, or not?

30. *Item*, Whether he believe that those Religions, which the Church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy Fathers, or not?

31. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope, or any other Prelate for the time being, or their Vicars, may excommunicate their subject Ecclesiastical or Secular for disobedience or contumacy; so that such an one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate, or not?

32. *Item*, Whether he believe, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicate, increasing, the Prelates or their Vicars in spiritual things have power to aggravate and to regravate, to put upon men the interdict, and to call for the Secular Arm; and that the same Secular Arm or Power ought to be obedient to the Censures, by their Inferiors called for?

33. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope and other Prelates, or else their Vicars, have power in spiritual things to excommunicate Priests, and Lay-men that are stubborn and disobedient, from their Office, Benefice, or entrance into the Church, and from the Administration of the Sacraments of the Church, also to suspend them?

These Popes will be sure to lose nothing.

34. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful for Ecclesiastical Persons, without committing sin, to have any Possessions and Temporal goods; and whether he believe that it is not lawful for Lay-men to take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away and incroachers upon Ecclesiastical goods are to be punished as Committers of Sacrilege, yea, although such Ecclesiastical Persons live naughtily that have such goods?

Wealthy wickedness maintained.

35. *Item*, Whether any such taking away or incroaching upon any Priest rashly or violently made, although the Priest be an evil Liver, be Sacrilege, or not?

36. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful for Lay-men of whether Sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the Word of God, or not?

The Pope neither preacheth himself, nor yet will suffer other good Priests to preach.

37. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all Priests freely to preach the Word of God wheresoever, whensoever, and to whomsoever it shall please them, although they be not sent at all?

38. *Item*, Whether he believe that all mortal sins, and especially such as be manifest and publick, are to be corrected and to be extirpate, or not?

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, That if any by secret information, by you or any other to be received, shall be found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous Sect, Heresie, and Doctrine of the most pestilent men, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague*, the Arch-hereticks aforesaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the foresaid damned men whilst they lived on the Earth, their false Followers and Disciples, or any that believeth their Errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of Catholick men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the Saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other ways, wherein they deserve to be suspected; that then they by you or some of you may be cited personally to appear before you or some of you, without either Proctor or Doctor to answer for them, an Oath being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plain and meer verity of the Articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you or any of you shall see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise Canonically, as you shall think good.

Also that you do publish solemnly, and cause to be pub-

lished these present Letters, omitting the Articles and Interrogatories herein contained, in the Cities and other places of your Dioceses, where conveniently you may; under our Authority, and there to denounce and cause to be denounced all and singular such Hereticks, with their Abettors and Favourers of their Heresies and Errors; of what sex or kind soever, that do hold and defend the said Errors, or do participate any manner of way with Hereticks, privily or apertly; of what state, dignity, or condition soever he or they be, Patriarch, Archbishop, King, Queen, Duke, or of what other dignity either Ecclesiastical or Secular he be; also with their Advocates and Procurators whosoever, which are Believers, Followers, Favourers, Defenders, or Receivers of such Hereticks, or suspected to be Believers, Followers, Fautors, Defenders, or Receivers of them, to be excommunicate every Sunday and Festival day, in the presence of the people.

Papa spiritus minas & cadet.

Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be enquired, by the said our authority, upon all and singular such persons both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach such Errors, or that be Favourers, Receivers and Defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, state, preheminance, degree, order, or condition soever. And such as you shall find in the said your Inquisition, either by their own confession; or by any other mean to be defamed, or otherwise infected with the spot of such Heresie or Error, you through the sentence of Excommunication, Suspension, Interdict, and privation of their Dignities, Parsonages, Offices, or other Benefices of the Church, and Fees which they hold of any Church, Monastery, and other Ecclesiastical Places, also of Honors and secular Dignities and degrees of Sciences, or other faculties, as also by other pains and censures of the Church, or by ways and means whatsoever else shall seem to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their Bodies, and other corporal Punishments wherewith Hereticks are punished, or are wont, and are commanded by Canonical Sanctions to be used; and if they be Clerks, by degradation, do correct and punish, and cause them to be corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise up stoutly and courageously against such Hereticks, and the goods as well of them, as of the Lay-men, according to the Canonical Sanction made against Hereticks and their Followers; under the which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the Heresies or Errors aforesaid, or any of the premisses, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitrement: but the other, which either by Witneses, or by their own confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the foresaid Heresies or Articles, or of any the premisses, they shall be compelled to revoke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said Articles and Errors, and to suffer condign penance and punishment, yea even to perpetual imprisonment (if need be) for the same.

See here the Dragon casting out whole floods to swallow up the Saints.

And to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of Heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce other either in word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly to believe the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient Surety. Who, if it so chance that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their Articles and Errors, and take at your hands condign Penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal punishment according to your discretion; neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these Errors and Heresies, neither will induce other by word or deed privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour to believe the same, that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you see it so expedient, as against Hereticks, and as infected with Heresie, by our authority, according to the Canonical Sanctions summarily, and simply and plainly, *Sine strepitu & figura judicii*, and of Office, all Appellation or Appellations whatsoever ceasing, and that you punish the same, according to the Sanctions and Traditions Canonical, yea if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against such as be Superiors or learned Doctors, laying the Censures of Ecclesiastical Excommunication, all Appellation set aside, also invoking, if need shall require, aid of the secular arm; The Constitution as well of our Predecessor

Pope Martin
the Fifth
contrary to
Pope Boni-
face the
Eighth.

Pope Martin
undoeth the
Acts and
Edicts of all
other Popes

Predecessor Pope Boniface the Eighth of blessed memory, wherein is decreed that no man without his City or Diocels (except in certain cases) or in places being one days journey distant from thence where he inhabiteth, shall be called into judgment, and that no man do presume to depute Judges from the See Apostolick, without the City and Diocels where they are deputed to proceed against any; and do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one days journey from out his Diocels where he dwelleth, or at most two days journey, if it be in a general Council; as also all other Constitutions of any Bishop of Rome, touching as well Judges delegate, as persons not be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or else any other Edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption general or special, granted from the Apostolick See, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compasses of certain limits, or else whatsoever thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means to the contrary notwithstanding. Dat. Constant. the first year of our Popedom.

¶ This bloody and abominable Commission of Pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old Monument, remaining in the hands of Master Hackluyt, Student in the Temple, seemeth to be directed and given out to the publick destruction of all faithful Christian men, about the later end and breaking up of the Council of Constance. Anno 1418. By the which the prudent Reader hath this to note and consider, what labour, what policy, what counsel, and what Laws have been set, what ways have been taken, what severity hath been shewed, how mens power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner of means to subvert and supplant the Word and Way of the Lord; and yet notwithstanding man hath not prevailed, but all his force and devised policies hath been overthrown, dispatched, and with the counsel of Achitophel and Ammon, have been brought to naught, and contrary to the fury of the World the Gospel of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this will the Pope cease to spurn and rebel still against the Kingdom of Christ and his Gospel, against which neither he, nor yet the Gates of Hell shall ever prevail. The Lord of Hosts be merciful to his poor persecuted Flock. Amen.

Against this pestilent Bull and Inquisition of Pope Martin the great Antichrist, I thought good here to adjoyn and annex another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Comradus, and other Captains of the Bohemians; which seemeth not long after the death of Zisca to be written against the pestiferous See of Rome, the tenour whereof here followeth.

A fruitful and Christian Exhortation of the Bohemians to Kings and Princes, to stir them up to the zeal of the Gospel.

An exhortation
of the Bohemians.

THE Almighty God the Father, by his wellbeloved Son Jesus Christ, may in his holy Spirit open the understanding both of you and of all Christians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his Doctrine of Righteousness, and may make you to continue therein surely established to the end. This we desire of you for your salvation, all ye honourable, wise, and honest Noblemen, and all the Commualty, yea Rich and Poor, hear and consider with diligent heed the words of this present Letter, which is sent unto you from the Country of the Bohemians. It is manifest and well known to you and many other Cities, Kings, Princes, and Lords, that now a certain number of years there hath been great discord betwixt us and you; and there have been some which have moved you by Letters, and provoked you to make War against us, and to destroy us. And as well on your part as ours many men, as well noble as unnoble, have foolishly lost their lives. Yet never hitherto have ye in any part understood our Faith by our own confession, neither whether we be able to prove the same out of the Scriptures, yea or no; and yet in the mean time Kings, Princes, Lords and Cities have sustained great damage. And herof we greatly marvel that

The Pope
and Prelates
by their
Letters stirred them to
fight.

you do so much trust and believe the Pope and his Priests, which give you drink full of poison, and such comfort as no man can understand, in that they say that they will give you forgiveness of all your sins, and great grace and pardon, to this end that you should War upon us and destroy us; whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great Lyes, and a great seducing of the Body and Soul of all them that believe them, and put their trust in them.

This we would prove unto them, and overcome them by the holy Scripture; and we would suffer, that whosoever is desirous to hear, the same should hear it. For the Pope and all his Priests herein deal with you as the Devil would have done with our Lord Jesus Christ. Of whom Luke writeth in his fourth Chapter, That he brought him upon an high hill, and shewed unto him in the twinkling of an eye, all the Kingdoms that are in the compasses of the earth, and said unto him, *I will give thee, &c.* So the Devil deceiveth the Pope, and all the Priests with the riches of the World, and worldly power; And they think they can give grace and pardon when they will; and they themselves shall never find favour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiving of Christendom. And how can they give that to others, which they themselves have not? So did the Devil, who was rich in promising, and poor in giving. And like as the Devil is not ashamed to tell a lye, so all they are not ashamed to speak that which shall never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures, because for no cause they stir up Kings, Princes, Lords, and Citizens to make War against us, not to the end that the Christian Faith should thereby be defended, but because they fear that their secret Vices and Heresies shall be disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, and a godly love to the Christian Faith, they would then take the Books of the holy Scripture, and would come unto us, and overcome us with the Weapons of Gods Word, and that is our chief desire. For so did the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to the Pagans and Jews, and brought them from their Infidelity to the true Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and this they did in the Spirit of meekness, as the Apostle Paul writeth in the sixth Chapter of the Galatians, Gal. 6.

Brethren, if any man be grieved, &c. So ought they also to do, if they perceived that they were just and we unjust. And if we would not abide Instruction, then they might take to them Kings, Princes, Lords, and Imperial Cities, and resist us according to the Commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtil defence of all the Bishops and Priests, that they say that Master Hus and Hierome, which were burnt at Constance, were overcome of the holy Father the Pope, and of the whole Council. For ye must understand that they were not overcome by the Holy Ghost, but unjustly, with wrongful violence, which God may yet hereafter grievously punish in all them that gave their counsel and aid thereto. And they say it ought not to be suffered, that we should be heard in confessing our Faith. How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the Devil, as it is written in the fourth Chapter of Matthew? And they are not better than Christ, nor we worse than the Devil. If they be just and have the truth with them (as they say they have) and we be unrighteous, why do they fear, since the truth ought not be afraid of falsehood, as Esdras writeth in his second Book, the third Chapter? Zorobabel declared that truth is of all things the most mighty, and overcometh all things. For Christ is the truth, *Joh. 14. I am the way, the truth, &c.* And the Devil is the Father of lyes, *Joh. 8. He is a Lyar from the beginning, and never abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him.* Therefore, if the Pope and his Priests have the truth, let them overcome us with the Word of God. But if they have lyes, then they cannot long abide in their presumption. Wherefore, we exhort and beseech all the Imperial Cities, all Kings, Princes, Noblemen, Rich and Poor, for Gods sake, and for his righteousness, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there may be some means made, how we may commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place as shall be fit both for you and us, and bring with you your Bishops and Teachers, and let them and our Teachers fight together with the Word of God, and let us hear them, and let not the one overcome the other by violence or false subtilty, but only by the Word

{KING}
{Hrn. 5.}

Fair words
do make
Fools fain.

The Pope
seduceth
the World
with vain
promises of
things
which he
cannot give.

The Devil
and the
Pope rich
in promi-
sing, and
poor in
giving.

False pre-
tences of
the Papists.
M. Hus and
Hierome by
wrongful
violence put
to death.

Christ heard
the Devil,
but the
Pope will
not hear
men confess
their Faith.

2 Esd. 3.
Joh. 14.
Joh. 8.

A just and
godly re-
quest of the
Bohemians.
cf

KING of God. And if your Bishops and Teachers have better proofs of their Faith out of the holy Scripture, than we, and our Faith be found untrue, we will receive penance and satisfaction, according to the Gospel. But if your Bishops and Teachers be overcome of ours by the holy Scripture, then do ye repent and hearken to us, and hold with us. And if your Bishops and Teachers will cease from their Spiritual Pride, and repent and make satisfaction; then we will help you according to our power, and will compel them, either to joyn with us, or else we will expel them out of *Christendom*. And if your Bishops and Teachers will say, that it is not lawful for Lay-men to hear such reasoning, or to be present at it; that may you understand to tend to no other end, but that they fear they should be overcome and put to shame in the sight of you. For if they knew that they should overcome therein, out of doubt they would desire that every man should hear it, and thereby their glory should become the greater, and their fame and praises should be encreased upon the earth. And if your Bishops and Teachers counsel you to come to no hearing with us, then do it whether they will or no, and suffer not your selves at any time to be so foolishly seduced with their foolish Pardons, but tarry at home in your houses with your Wives and Children. And let the Pope of *Rome* come to us with all his Cardinals and Bishops, and with all his Priests, with his own person and power, to war with us, and let themselves deserve the absolution of Sins, Grace and Pardon, which they preach to you (for they have great need of forgiveness of Sins, Grace and Pardon,) and by the Grace of God we will give them Pardon enough as they shall need. But their subtil excuse is this, they say that it belongeth not to Priests to fight with bodily Weapons: and true it is that belongeth not to them; but it belongeth as little to them to stir up, to counsel, and to fortifie others thereto. For *Paul* saith in the first to the *Romans*, and in the fifth to the *Galatians*, *That all that do such things are worthy of everlasting death.*

Wherefore the Popes Clergy will abide no Conference with the Lety.

The Popes pretended excuse detected. Rom. 1.

Experience of Gods blessing where the Pope hath cursed. Objection.

Answer.

The Popes false Accusation answered.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing than to fight against us, then will we take the Lord to our help and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the Excommunication or Curse of the Pope, or his Cardinals, or of the Bishops, because we know that the Pope is not God, as he maketh himself, that he can curse and excommunicate when he will, or bless when he will; who hath now these many years cursed and excommunicated us, and yet notwithstanding God and his gracious blessing hath been our help. But peradventure ye will say, that though we see that Bishops and Priests be evil and wicked, yet we cannot lack them; for who should baptize our Children, who should hear Confessions, and minister the holy Sacraments? and then also we should be within the Excommunication of the Pope, and of his Bishops. Wellbeloved, ye need to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the Pope hurteth you nothing. Fear ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will provide for those things well enough. If ye would banish evil Bishops and Priests, ye should have good Priests which should baptize your Children, hear Confessions, and minister the holy Mysteries, because when the Devil is banished, then place is made for the Holy Ghost: So when ill Bishops and Priests shall be banished, then place shall be made for good Priests and Bishops. Also, your Bishops and Priests say, That we are Miscreants and Hereticks, and that we believe not on Purgatory, upon the Virgin *Mary*, nor upon the Saints; wherein they say ill, for we will prove by the holy Scripture, that we know better by Gods Grace how we ought to believe upon Purgatory, and upon *Mary* the Mother of our Lord, and upon his wellbeloved Saints, than they can tell us. Also they say, That we will not be obedient unto the Pope. Truly when he shall become holy and just, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in all things, and not before. They say also, That we destroy Gods holy Service, in that we destroy Monasteries, banishing thence the wicked Monks and Nuns. Truly we did it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reverend Service of God, but after that we well perceived and considered their life and works, then we perceived that they were false lowly Hypocrites, and wicked Builders on high, and Sellers of Pardons and Masses for the dead, and such as devoured in themselves the sins of the people. And

whereas they said that they rise at midnight when other men sleep, and pray for the sins of the people: forasmuch as their selling of their Prayers and Masses for the dead for Gifts, is no better than Hypocrisie and Heresie; therefore if we do speak against them and destroy their Monasteries, we do not therein destroy the Service of God, but rather the Service of the Devil, and the Schools of Hereticks. And if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently destroy them as we do. For Christ our Lord did not ordain any such Order, and therefore it must needs come to pass that shortly it shall be destroyed, as our Lord saith in the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 15. *Every plant which my Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* We desire you also that ye would diligently consider the Articles here written, wherein your Bishops and Priests are guilty.

Mat. 15.

The first Article is, That when your Bishops will ordain Priests, they do it not except he that is to be made Priest have sufficient living, either Inheritance left him of his Parents, or of Benefices: whereas notwithstanding, Christ would that Priests should be poor, forasmuch as it is enough for the Scholar to be as his Master is, and for the Servant to be as his Lord is; and the Bishops will that they should be rich upon Earth, which is unjust before the Lord.

The abuse of Popish Religion in making Priests, Cardinals, &c.

The second Article is, That Bishops take money of such as are to be ordained; but Saint *Peter* did therefore sharply rebuke *Simon Magus*, when he would have given him money, as it is written in the eighth of the *Acts*.

Acts 8.

The third Article is, That they that come to be Priests enter into their Priesthood, not for Gods Service-sake, because they mean to preach and increase it among the Christian people, so as the people may be edified and made better, but rather for an idle life, and that they may eat well and drink well, and that they may be honoured and revered upon Earth. For every one waiteth upon his Priest as a Thief and a Robber, as *John* writeth in his tenth Chapter.

The abuse of Popish Religion in taking Orders.

The fourth Article is, Of Excommunication, which the Pope and all his Priests take to themselves, and therewith fetter and bind all Christian people as they will, and they think that whosoever they Excommunicate or Curse, he is accursed and excommunicate before God. And we will prove by the holy Scripture, that they themselves are excommunicate and accursed before God, because they keep not the Commandment of the love of God, whereof the Apostle writeth in the first to the *Corinthians*, the sixteenth Chapter. If any man loveth not our Lord Jesus Christ, he is excommunicate in the day of the coming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are ready bound and excommunicate before God and his Saints; and therefore why fear ye their Excommunication?

Popish Excommunication abused. 1 Cor. 16

The fifth Article is, That they take Gifts to pray for the dead, and to say Mass for their Souls. This is a wickedness and Heresie before the Lord, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby Priests become Merchants of Prayers and of Masses; and herewith is all the Church of *Rome* poisoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead, and say Mass for their Souls, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, forasmuch as they ought to take no Gifts, neither little nor great. And every one that taketh Rewards to this end, to redeem Souls out of Purgatory, do therewithall cast their own Souls down into Hell. And they that give any thing to that end, do altogether lose that which they give: And with such devilish subtilty the Pope with all his Priests have deceived, spoiled, and disinherited Kings, Princes, Lords and Knights, and good Householders and many other, of their lawful Inheritances, because their Ancestors and Progenitors gave it to Colleges, Monasteries, and Churches, that they might make Memorials of them, and to sing or say Prayers or Masses for their Souls, that they might be redeemed out of Purgatory. And with such goods, Bishops, Canons, and Monasteries have made themselves so rich, that now they fall at variance with Cities and Princes: and whereas they should procure peace betwixt Cities and Rulers, there they are the first that begin War; and as long as they have such goods, they will never cease to be at strife with

The Popes Church poisoned with buying and selling their praying and singing, and all their doing for money.

Fear of Purgatory hath robbed almost all the whole World.

So long as Priests be rich, they will never be true Teachers.

Lords

Lords and Cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they do as a Dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, so long he holdeth his peace, and cannot bark; Even so, as long as they have this bone of pleasant riches, it will never be well in the World. Wherefore all Kings, Princes, and Imperial Cities should do a great Work of godliness and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the Dog is when the bone is taken from him.

The subtilty of the Devil in making the Church rich

And therefore ye noble Men, Kings, Princes, Lords, Imperial Cities, and all the Communalty, both rich and poor, if ye have been asleep, yet now awaken and open your eyes, and behold the subtilty of the Devil, how he hath blinded the Church of Rome, and take again that which is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memorial for your Souls, then do as the *Wiseman* saith,

Ecdl. 19. Eccles. 19. Lay up Alms, &c.

Popish Priests with their long and sumptuous Gownsmore like to the Pharisees than Christ.

The sixth Article is, that they are full of pride and of high mind, which is manifestly known by their long, costly, and superfluous Garments, wherein they walk very unlike to Christ our Lord, who had a Garment without a seam, and to the welbeloved *John Baptist*, who had a Garment of Camels hair; and they will be honoured and worshipped, and they preach and say, That Priesthood ought to be honoured, and so it ought indeed to be; but there are none that do so much slander and abase it, as they themselves, with their evil Works, gay Apparel, and with their evil words, wherein they pass all other men. Saint *Paul* saith in the first to *Timothy*, the third Chapter, *Let the Elders that govern well be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labour in the Word and Doctrine of the Lord.* Consider, that he saith, *They that govern well.*

Honour in well governing.

The Popes Church poisoned with covetousness.

1 Tim. 1.

The seventh Article is, That they are covetous from the highest to the lowest, and for covetousness they preach many foolish deeds and manifest lies, and sell the holy Sacraments, which is a great Heresie; for God commanded that they should give freely. Saint *Paul* writeth in the first to *Timothy*, *Covetousness is the root of all mischief, whereunto many have been given, and therefore they are separated from the Faith, and have denied the Truth.*

The Popes Church poisoned much with whoredom.

The eighth Article is, That they commonly are called *Notorious Whoremongers*. This is manifestly seen in their Concubines and Children, which walk openly in all mens sight, and make many mens Wives Whores, or corrupt their Daughters being Virgins, and make them Priests Harlots and Ribalds.

The Popes Church and Monasteries commonly poisoned with devilish envy.

The ninth Article is, That they are full of devilish envy, and especially in all Monasteries they have great envy and hatred amongst themselves, because when any thing is given or disposed to one Monastery or College, then there are others that hate it, and envy at it, and would more gladly have it themselves; Like as among Dogs, when any thing is given to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing envieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather devour all himself, than give any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sin of Envy, giving nothing unto them; And it were better that their Possessions were taken from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to his Disciples, saying, *Go ye and preach the Gospel to all men.*

The Popes Church poisoned with idleness and belly-cheat.

The tenth Article is, That they are idle, and chiefly the Bishops, Canons, and other Prelates, which will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of *Christendom*, whereto they have bound themselves, and they eat the bread thereof in idleness, because when other men watch and labour to maintain themselves and their little Ones, then are they with their Lemmons, or else they walk in some City carrying Hawks on their fists, or else they sit at the good Wine with their Concubines, and there they sing and play the *Lucians*, and eat of the best; and therefore all that willingly bring and give to them, shall be made Partners of that Curse which is given them of God, because they eat their bread unjustly, whereof Saint *Paul* writeth in the second to the *Thessalonians*, the third Chapter, *He that laboureth not, let him not eat.*

The eleventh Article, That they are notorious Lyars,

because, to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lyes which in the holy Scripture have no foundation nor proof. Of such writeth *John* in the *Apocal.* 21.

KING 2 Hen. 5. 5

The Popes Church infamous with notorious lies. The Popes Church erreth in diminishing one part of the Sacrament.

The twelfth Article is, That they do not rightly give or minister to the people the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they give it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and devilish sin, and too great malapertness. Herein we would overcome them, with the testimonies of the *Evangelists*; I say, we would overcome the Pope, and all his Priests with the Authorities of *Mark, Luke, and Paul, Rom.* 13. and we would suffer, that Kings, Princes, Lords, and all that are willing to hear, should hear it.

The thirteenth Article is, That they sit in Spiritual Judgment, and then many times they judge according to favour, and not according to the righteousness of God, that they take Bribes, giving Sentence for him, which in Gods sight hath the wrongful Cause. Woe be to such Sentences, as it is written in *Esay* 5. *Woe be to you that, &c.*

The Popes Church charged with partiality.

The fourteenth Article is, That they sit hearing Confessions, and when there come to them Usurers, Ravensers, and Thieves, they take Bribes of them of their ill-gotten Goods, to spare them; and they willingly suffer them in Cities and Towns. And likewise of Adulterers and other notorious Whoremongers and Whores, and they neither let or stay them in their great sins, to the end that the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which saith, *Gifts and the love of money do draw to Hell, and do blind the eyes of Judges.*

The fifteenth Article is, That they receive Tythes of men, and will of Right have them, and preach and say that men are bound to give them Tythes; and therein they say falsly. For they cannot prove by the *New Testament*, that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded it, and his Disciples warned no man to do so, neither did themselves receive them. But although in the *Old Testament* it were commanded to give Tythes, yet it cannot thereby be proved, that Christian-men are bound thereto; For this Precept of the *Old Testament* had an end in the first year of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the Precept of Circumcision. Wherefore, beloved, consider and see how your Bishops seduce you and shut your eyes with things that have no proof. Christ saith in the eleventh of *Luke*, *Give Alms of those things that remain*; but he said not, Give the Tenth of the Goods which ye possess, but give Alms. But when they hear the Word, they may say as the Lawyer said to Christ, *Master, when thou sayest so, thou givest offence, Luke* 11.

He meaneth of claiming Tythes by meer necessity of the old Law, and not by the positive Law of Priests.

The sixteenth Article is, That they in many places lend money or goods to have Treasure or Usury, and they have in Cities and Towns yearly Payments and perpetual Revenues, as great Princes and Lords. Wherein they do against the Gospel, which saith, *Do not ye possess Gold nor Silver.* And whereas they lend for gain and usury, against that speaketh the Lord, *Deuteronomy* the four and twentieth, *Lend not to usury to thy Brother, &c.* Yea, honest, discreet, and welbeloved Lords, all the aforesaid Articles we will prove against the Pope, all his Priests, with many Testimonies of the holy Scripture, which for brevities sake we have not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly these four Articles, for which we strive, and desire to defend them to the death.

The Popes Church charged with usury.

The first Article is, That all publick and customable mortal sins ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all Priests and Lay-men, according to the commandment of the holy Scripture.

The second Article is, That Riches ought to be taken from the Pope and all his Priests, from the highest to the lowest, and they ought to be made poor, as the Disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were; who had nothing of their own, neither Possessions in this World, neither worldly Power.

He meaneth the immoderate riches and temporal possessions.

The third Article is, That the Word of God ought to be free for every man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, or without any inhibition of either Spiritual or Earthly Power, openly or manifestly.

Men appointed to preach, may preach though the Pope forbid them.

The

KING
Hus.
When the
Pope hold-
eth his
council, let
men look
to their
Wives and
Daughters
where the
Council is
kept.

The fourth Article is, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be delivered to every Christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Evangelists have written. We have also understood that there shall be a Council in *Basil*; Wherefore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keep their Wives, their Daughters, and their Virgins from Bishops, Priests, and Monks. And do not think that there is made any holy Assembly of Bishops and Priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendom, but only to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies with the cloak of hypocrisie, and let, and hinder the righteousness of God, which is much contrary to them; and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an Holy Assembly, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heed that it be not done as some did at *Constance*, who took many of Bishops and Prelates, and suffered them to sleep with their Wives. Ye welbeloved and honest Lords, if ye find any thing in these foresaid Articles or words written somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or condemn you, but to the end that ye should diligently consider and devise, how Christendom is so ill kept and led by the Priests of this present Age. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep you both in body and Soul, Amen. In the year of our Lord, 1430.

Procopius, Smabors, Conradus, Samssmolich, Captains
of Bohemia.

The Army
of Zisca di-
vided.

Now to prosecute the wars of the *Bohemians* again. After *Zisca* was dead, whereof we did entreat before, there was great fear, sorrow, and lamentation in the Army, the Souldiers accusing fortune which gave over such an invincible Captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was a division in the Host, the one part choosing *Procopius Magnus* to be their Captain, the other part saying, that there was none could be found worthy to succeed *Zisca*; whereupon they choosing out certain to serve the wars, named themselves *Orphans*.

Thus the *Thaborites* being divided into two Armies, the one part retained their old and accustomed name, and the other, by means of the death of their Captain, named themselves *Orphans*. And albeit that often times there was dissention between them, yet whensoever any forraign power came towards them, they joyned their powers together in one Camp, and defended themselves. They seldom went unto any fenced towns, except it were to buy necessities, but lived with their Wives and Children in their Camp and Tents. They had amongst them many Carres, the which they used as a Bulwork; For whensoever they went unto battel, they made two wings of them, which closed in the Footmen. The wings of the Horsemen were one the outside, and when as they saw their time to joyn battel, the Waggon-men which led the wings going forth unto the Emperors Standard, and compassing in such part of their enemies as they would, did close themselves in together, whereby the enemies being inclosed, so that they could not be rescued, they were partly by the Footmen, and partly by the men that were in the Carres, with their Darts slain. The Horsemen fought without the Fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the Carres opening themselves received them as it were into a fenced City; and by this means they got many Victories, forso much as their enemies were ignorant of their policies.

The order
and Policy
that the Ar-
my of Zisca
used in War
after his de-
cease.

These two Armies went forth, the one into *Slesia*, and the other into *Moravia*, and returned again with great prey, before their enemies knew of their coming. After this they besieged the Town of *Swetly* in *Austrich*, where the *Thaborites* and the *Orphans* two nights continually assaulted the Walls without ceasing; but *Albert* Duke of *Austrich* coming with his Host to aid the Citizens, they fought by the space of almost four hours, the valiantest warriors being slain on both parts. At the length the battel was broken off, and the *Thaborites* lost their Carres, and *Albert* was put out of his Camp and Tents. Within a while after, *Procopius Magnus* came again and inclosed the City of *Rhetium* in *Austria* with a notable Siege. They of *Prague* were in his Army, and *Boslaus Cygneus* of whom we spake before, was slain there with a Dart, and the City of *Rhetium* was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The Burgrave of *Malderburge*, Lord of the Town was also

Procopius Magnus.

taken and carried unto *Prague*, where also he dyed in prison.

Sigismund
the Emper-
or which
burned *Hus*
and *Jeron*
before, now
is faine to
intreat for
his King-
dom.

These things thus done, the Emperor sent for the Nobles of *Bohemia*, which went unto him unto a Town of *Hungary*, called *Pozonium* in the borders of *Austria*, upon the banks of the River of *Danubius*; but they would not enter into the Town, but remained without the Town in their Tents; whither as the Emperour going out unto them, communed much with them, as touching his right and title, and the recovering of his Fathers Kingdom, promising if there were any cause, which did alienate the *Bohemians* minds from him, that he would take away all the occasion thereof: They made answer, that he had made war upon them without a cause, and that he had suffered their Countreymen, contrary to his promise, to be burnt at *Constance* not being heard, and the Kingdom to be contumeliously interdicted, and the Nobles of *Bohemia* to be condemned by the Church of *Rome* as Hereticks; and that he should think the force and power of the *Bohemians* not to be so small, but that they would provide for their own honour. Whereunto the Emperor answered very gently, and offered them a General Council, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they would submit themselves to the judgment of the universal Church: but the *Bohemians* which were become valiant Victors in Arms, would not be overcome with words; and so nothing being finally concluded, the Emperor returned home.

The death
of *John Hus*
and *Hierom*
revenged.

Then Pope *Martin* perceiving the Gospel to encrease daily more and more, sent the Cardinal of *Winchester* an Englishman, born of a Noble House, into *Germany* to move them unto war against the *Bohemians*. Whereunto the Emperor also did assist him.

The Cardi-
nal of *Win-
chester* sent
into *Germa-
ny* to raise
war against
the *Bohemi-
ans*.

There were three Armies provided. In the first Army were the Dukes of *Saxony*, and the lower Cities.

Three Ar-
mies sent
against the
Bohemians.

The second Army, which was gathered of the *Franconians*, was under the conduct of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*.

The third Army was led by *Otto* the Archbishop of *Trevers*, whom the *Rhenenses*, the *Bavarians*, and the Imperial Cities of *Suevia* followed. These armies entering into *Bohemia* in three several parts, after they were passed the Wood, they joyned together and pitched, before *Misna*. This Town a certain learned and eloquent Protestant, named *Prichicho*, the night before had wonn from the Papists; wherefore the Army was determined first to recover that City, before they would go any further. But when as news came unto the Host, how the Protestants had gathered an Army, and came with all speed towards them; they fled before they saw their enemies, and went unto *Tacovia*, leaving behind them their warlike Engines with a great prey. The Cardinal was not yet come into the Camp, but meeting them in their flight at *Tacovia*, he marvelled at the cowardly flight of so many Noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turn again unto their enemies, which, he said, were far weaker than they. Which thing when he had long travelled about in vain, he was faine to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entred the Wood, when as the *Bohemians* coming upon them, set upon the rereward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearful than before, neither did they leave flying before the *Bohemians* left following. Then all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquished *Tacovia*; and having obtained great store of warlike Engines, they destroyed *Misna*. And when they would have returned home by *Franconia*, they had great sums of money sent unto them; that they should not waste or destroy the Countries of *Bamberge* and *Noremberge*; whereby the Host of the *Bohemians* was greatly enriched.

God reser-
eth his peo-
ple newly
converted.

The Popes
Army fleeth
like Cap-
tain like
Souldier.

Sigismundus the Emperor, having news of these things, went straight unto *Noremberge*, and gathered there new aid and help. Also Pope *Martin* sent *Julian* the Cardinal of *Saint Angel* into *Germany* with his Ambassage, to make War against the *Bohemians*, and that he should in the Council of *Basil*, which doth now shortly draw on, be President in the Popes name. He entering into *Germany* went straight to *Noremberge* to the Emperor, where many of the Nobles of *Germany* were assembled.

Amo
1431.
The Pope
raiseth war
the second
time a-
gainst the
Bohemians.

R r r

There,

A new war
raised by
the Pope
against the
Bohemians.

There was a new expedition decreed against the *Bohemians*, against the eighth of the Kalends of *July*, and *Frederick* Marquess of *Brandenburge* appointed General of that War, which should follow the Cardinal. He entred into *Bohemia* by the way that leadeth unto *Thopa*, and *Albertus* Prince of *Austrich* was appointed to bring his Army thorow *Moravia*.

The number
of the Pope's
Army
against the
Bohemians.

In this expedition was *Albert* and *Christopher* of *Barvaria*, and *Frederick* Dukes of *Saxony*, *John* and *Albert* Princes of *Brandenburge*, with their Father which was General of those Wars. Also the Bishops of *Hyperbolus*, *Bamberge* and *Eysten*. Also the Company of the *Sweviens*, which they called the Company of *S. George*, and the Magistrates of the Imperial Cities, the Bishop of *Mentz*, *Trevers*, and *Colen* sent their aids, and with them the Chieftains of their Provinces. It is said that the number of their Horsemen were above forty thousand, but their Footmen were not full so many, for the *Germans* for the most part do use to fight their battels on horseback.

Cardinal
Julian with
a main host
entred Bo-
hemia.
The cruel
slaughter
done by the
Cardinal.

Also *Rhenatus* Prince of *Lorraine* promised to come to these Wars; but being letted by his Civil Wars, forso-much as he went about to vanquish the Earl of *Vandome*, he could not keep his promise, and the County Palatine of *Rheine*, which did aid and succour the Earl of *Vandome*, could not go against the *Bohemians*. The Cardinal staying for them deferred his journey until the Calends of *August*. In the mean time *Albert* leading his Army out of *Austria*, understanding that the Cardinal was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the *Bohemian* power, he returned back again. After this the Cardinal entred into *Bohemia* with a huge Army, and destroyed many of the Protestants towns, killing Men, Women and Children, sparing neither Old nor Young; notwithstanding this his Tyranny was exercised in the uttermost borders of *Bohemia*, for his Captains feared to enter far into the Land. The *Bohemians*, as soon as they had heard tell that their enemy was come, made ready and gathered their Host with all speed, and laid siege to a Tower called *Stiltirverge*, and brought it under subjection.

God strik-
eth a fear
into the
Pope's Ar-
my.

In the mean season there fell such a marvellous sudden fear amongst the Papists throughout the whole Camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy came in sight. The Cardinal *Julianus* marvelled at this most sudden fear, and what should move so great an Army to flee, went about unto the Captains, exhorting them to put on Armour, to order their battels, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their Kingdom, or for the possession of Lands, but for their lives, and honour, and Religion of Christ, and for the salvation of souls. How ignominious a thing is it (saith he) for the *Germans* to flee in battel, whose courage and valiantness all the world doth extoll? It were much better to dye, than to give place to any enemies before they were seen; for they can by no means live in safety within the walls, which give place unto their enemy in the field: for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walls, and except they would even presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death. But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldness: for the Ensigns were snatched up, and as though there had been no Captain in the Host, every man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his Captain, but casting away their Armor with speedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The Cardinal also, although it were against his will, was forced to do the like.

The Cardi-
nals Army
ran away
for fear.

Thus the Protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and courageous, pursued them through the Woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, *Albertus* when he heard tell that the Cardinal was entred into *Bohemia*, with all speed came again out of *Austrich* with his Army, and besieged the strong Town of *Prezorabia*: but when he understood how the Cardinal was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through *Moravia*, which was not yet subject unto him and destroyed above fifty Towns with Fire and Sword, took many of their Cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter, and so afflicted them

Great
slaughter in
Bohemia by
Duke Al-
bert.

that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him under this condition, that as touching Religion he would be bound to do that which the Council of *Basil* should determine.

KING
H. 4.

Then was there an Ambassage sent out of *Bohemia* unto *Basil*, where *Sigismund* held the Council, who during the time of the Wars had kept himself at *Noremburge*. When as he should take his journey unto *Rome* to be Crowned Emperor, he wrote letters unto the Nobles of *Bohemia*, wherein was contained, how that he was a *Bohemian* born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to *Rome* for none other cause but to be Crowned, the which his honour should also be a renown to the *Bohemians*, whom to advance it hath been always his special care.

The Council
of Basil.

A Letter of
the Emper-
ors to the
Bohemians.

Also, how that through his endeavour the Council was begun at *Basil*, exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching Religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy Mother the Church; that the Council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons; that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the Synod as touching Religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable Kingdom for him, against his return: Neither should the *Bohemians* think to refuse his Regiment, whose Brother, Father, and Uncle had reigned over them, and that he would reign over them after no other mean or sort, than other Christian Kings used to do.

The Council of *Basil* also wrote their letter to the *Bohemians*, that they should send their Ambassadors which should shew a reason of their Faith, promising safe conduct to go and come, and free liberty to speak what they would. The *Bohemians* in this point were of two opinions; for the Protestants, and almost all the common people said, it was not good to go, alledging the examples of *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, which going unto *Constance*, under the safe conduct of the Emperor, were there openly burned. But the Nobility following the mind of *Maynardus*, Prince of the new house, said, that they ought to go unto the Council, and that they are not to be suffered which had invented those new and strange opinions of Faith, and new kind of Religion, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the universal Church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion took place, and an ambassage of three hundred Horse was sent unto *Basil*. The chief whereof were *William Cosca* a valiant Knight, and *Procopius*, surnamed *Magnus*, a man of worthy fame for his manifold Victories, *John Rhochezana* preacher of *Prague*, *Nicholas Galecut*, Minister of the *Thaborites*, and one *Peter* an Englishman, of excellent prompt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the Town, and many out of the Synod and Council, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people; other some gathered together in great number into the streets where they should pass through. The Matrons, Maids and Children filled the Windows and Houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel, and stout courageous countenances, saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them: notwithstanding all men beheld *Procopius*, saying, this is he which hath overthrown the Papists in so many battels, which hath subverted so many Towns, and slain so many Men, whom both his enemies, and also his own souldiers do fear and reverence; also, that he was a bold, valiant and invincible Captain, which could not be overcome with any terror, labour or travail.

The Bohemians
sent for
by the
Council.

Safe con-
duct given
to the
Bohemians
to come to
the Council.

A doubt a-
mong the
Bohemians
whether to
go to the
Council of
Basil or
no.

This May-
nardus was
after a
great back-
friend to
the faithful
Bohemians.

Three hun-
dred Horse-
men of the
Bohemians
sent Ambas-
sage to the
Council.

This Eng-
lishman was
Peter Pain.
The receiv-
ing of the
Bohemians
at Basil.

Procopius
famous a-
mong the
Germans.

The Orati-
on of Cardi-
nal Julian.

These Bohemian Ambassadors were gently received. The next day after, Cardinal *Julianus*, sending for them unto the Council house, made a gentle, long and eloquent Oration unto them, exhorting them to unity and peace, saying, that the Church was the Spouse of our Saviour Christ, and the Mother of all faithful, that it hath the Keys of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and fair without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation, and that he which doth contemn the same Church is to be counted as a prophane Ethnick, and Publican, neither can this Church be represented better by any means than in this Council. He exhorted them also to receive the decrees of the Council, and to give no less credit to the Council than unto the Gospel, by whose authority

KING Authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the *Bohemians*, which call themselves the Children of the Church, ought to hear the voice of their Mother, which is never unmindful of her Children; how that now of late they have lived apart from their Mother; albeit (said he) that is no new or strange thing, for there have been many in times past which have forsaken their Mother, and yet seeking after Salvation have returned to her again; That in the time of *Noah's* flood, as many as were without the Ark perished; that the Lords Passover was to be eaten in one House; that there is no Salvation to be sought for out of the Church, and that this is the Garden and famous Fountain of Water, whereof whosoever shall drink, shall not thirst everlastingly; That the *Bohemians* have done as they ought, in that they have sought the Fountains of this Water at the Council, and have determined now at length to give ear unto their Mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all Armor and Weapon is to be laid apart, and all occasion of War utterly to be rejected. For the Fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatsoever there they would say in their own cause or quarrel, requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred Synode; whereunto not only the *Bohemians*, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they will be partakers of Eternal life.

The Bohemians answer to the Cardinals Oration.
This Oration of the Cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the Fathers. Whereunto the *Bohemians* answered in few words, That they neither had contemned the Church nor the Council; that the sentence given at *Constance*, against those which were unheard, doth diminish nothing of the Christian Religion; that the Authority of the Fathers hath always remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the *Bohemians* have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and Gospel; and that they are now come to manifest their innocency before the whole Church, and to require open Audience, where the Laity may also be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the Church of *Rome*, they propounded four Articles.

The Articles whereunto the Bohemians disagreed from the Church of Rome.
First, They affirmed, That all such as would be saved, ought of necessity to receive the Communion of the last Supper under both kinds of Bread and Wine.

The second Article. They affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the Clergy by the Law of God.

The third Article. That the preaching of the Word of God is free for all Men, and in all places.

The fourth Article. As touching open crimes and offences which are in no wise to be suffered for the avoiding of greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the Council in the name of the whole Realm. Then another Ambassador affirmed, That he had heard of the *Bohemians* divers and sundry things offensive to Christian ears, amongst the which this was one point, That

they should preach that the invention of the order of begging Friars was Diabolical.

Then *Procopius* rising up, said, Neither is it untrue; for if neither *Moses*, neither before him the Patriarchs, neither after him the Prophets, neither in the New Law Christ and his Apostles did Institute the Order of begging Friars: Who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the Devil, and a work of darkness?

This answer of *Procopius* was derided of them all. And Cardinal *Julianus* went about to prove, That not only the Decrees of the Patriarchs and Prophets, and those things which Christ and his Apostles had Instituted, were of God, but also that all such Decrees as the Church should Ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghost, be the works of God. Albeit, as he said, the Order of begging Friars might seem to be taken out of some part of the Gospel. The *Bohemians* chose out four Divines which should declare their Articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part there were four appointed by the Council. This Disputation continued fifty days, where many things were alledged on either part, whereof, as place shall serve, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of that Council.

In the mean season, while the *Bohemians* were thus in long conflicts with *Sigismund* the Emperor and the Pope, fighting for their Religion, unto whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the Popes power was bent against them, God of his goodness had given such noble victories, as is above-expressed, and ever did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselves; as these things (I say) were doing in *Bohemia*, King *Henry* the fifth fighting likewise in *France*, albeit for no like matter of Religion, fell sick at *Blois* and died, after he had Reigned nine years, five months, three weeks and odd days from his Coronation. This King in life, and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the Pope and his Chaplains, that he was called of many, The Prince of Priests: who left behind him a Son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by Queen *Katherine*, Daughter to the *French* King, married to him about two or three years before. The name of which Prince, succeeding after his Father, was *Henry* the sixth, left under the Government and Protection of his Uncle, named *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*.

Certain appointed by the Bohemians and the Council to Dispute.

The Death of King Henry the fifth, called Prince of Priests for favouring the Pope.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this Fifth Book Contained.

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|----|
| 54 | <i>Simon Islepe.</i> | 17 |
| 56 | <i>Simon Langham.</i> | 2 |
| 57 | <i>William Wilsley.</i> | 5 |
| 58 | <i>Simon Sudbury.</i> | 6 |
| 59 | <i>William Courtney.</i> | 15 |
| 60 | <i>Thomas Arundel.</i> | 18 |
| 61 | <i>Henry Chichester.</i> | 29 |

The End of the Fifth Book of Martyrs.

[KING
LIBRARY]

THE
Sixth Part or Section;
PERTAINING
To the last Three Hundred Years.

A Preface to the Reader.

According to the Five sundry diversities and alterations of the Church, so have I divided hitherto the order of this present Church-Story into Five principal parts, every part containing 300 years. So that now coming to the last 300 years; that is, to the last times of the Church, counting from the time of Wickliff: Forasmuch as in the compass of the said last 300 years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the marvellous reformation of the same through the wondrous Operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one Book: I have therefore disposed the said later 300 years into divers Books, beginning now with the Sixth Book at the Reign of King Henry the Sixth. In which Book, beside the grievous and sundry Persecutions raised up by Antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be observed, That whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common People, that this Religion now generally used hath sprung up and risen but of late, even by the space (as many do think) of 20 or 30 years; it may now manifestly appear, not only by the Acts and Monuments heretofore passed, but also by the Histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christs Religion hath been spread abroad in England of Old and Ancient time, not only for the space of these 200 late years, from the time of Wickliff, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out, as they have done within these Hundred years and more: As by these Histories here collected and gathered out of Registers, especially of the Diocess of Norwich, shall manifestly appear: wherein may be seen what Men, and how many both Men and Women within the said Diocess of Norwich have been, which have defended the same cause of Doctrine which now is received by us in the Church. Which Persons although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they Warriors in Christs Church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the best, good Reader, and refer the cause thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

King Henry
the sixth.

{ Ann.
1422 }

Ex scale
quanti.
Ex Regis.
Cant.

William
Tailor the
first time
apprehended.
William
Tailor again
appeareth be-
fore the
Archbishop.
Three Ar-
ticles first
objected
to William
Tailor.

THIS young Prince being under the Age of one Year, after the Death of his Father, succeeded in his Reign and Kingdom of England, An. 1422, and in the Eighth Year was Crowned at Westminster: and the second Year after was Crowned also at Paris, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal, being present at them both, and Reigned 38 Years, and then was deposed by Edward the 4th, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in his time. In the first Year of his Reign was burned the constant Witness-bearer and Testis of Christs Doctrine, William Tailor a Priest, under Henry Chichelesy Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this William Tailor I read, That in the days of Thomas Arundel, he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterward in the days of Henry Chichelesy, about the Year of our Lord 1421, which was a Year before his burning, the said William Tailor appeared again in the Convocation before the Archbishop, being brought by the Bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Bristow these Articles following:

First, That whosoever hangeth any Scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the Devil.

Secondly, That no human person is to be worshipped, but only God is to be adored.

Thirdly, That the Saints are not to be worshipped nor invocated.

Upon these Articles the said William Tailor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the same, especially upon the second and third Articles, only in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to justify his Opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosom a Paper or Libel written, wherein were contained certain Articles, with the Testimonies of the Doctors alledged, and exhibited the same unto the Archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the Archbishop consulting together with the Bishops and other Prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Master John Castle, and John Rikinghale, the two Vice-Chancellors of Oxford, and Cambridge, and

to John Langdon Monk of Canterbury. Who advising with themselves, and with other Divines, about the Articles and Allegations, on the Monday following presented the said Articles of William Tailor to the Archbishop and Prelates, as Erroneous and Heretical. Whereupon William Tailor, being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his Penance was by them condemned to perpetual Prison.

Notwithstanding, through favour, they were contented that he should be released from his carceral indurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the Kings Chancery, and swear that he shall never hold nor favour any such Opinions hereafter. And thus the said William Tailor, appointed to appear the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the Archbishop, to take his Absolution from his long Excommunication during the time from Thomas Arundel, appeared again before him: where he laying aside his Arundelous, that is, his Cloak, his Cap, and stripped unto his Doublet, kneeled at the feet of the Archbishop. Who then standing up, and having a Rod in his hand, began the Psalm *Miserere*, &c. His Chaplains answering the second Verse. After that was said, the Collect, *Deus cui proprium*, &c. with certain other prayers. And so taking an Oath of him, the Archbishop committed him to the custody of the Bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority was permitted to release him, upon the conditions aforesaid. And thus was William Tailor for that time Absolved, being enjoined notwithstanding to appear at the next Convocation, whensoever it should be, before the said Archbishop or his Successor that should follow him.

In the mean time, while William Tailor was thus in the custody of the Bishop of Worcester, there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith Priest at Bristow, in the which writings William Tailor replied against the said Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping of Saints. Upon the occasion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the Bishop of Worcester, William Tailor began a new to be troubled, and was brought again before the publick Convocation of the Clergy by the said Bishop of Worcester, to answer unto his writings. This was Anno 1422, the 11th day of February.

Unto

The form
of Canon-
ical Absolu-
tion in the
Church of
England
then that
were ex-
communicated.

KING Unto the which Convocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not deny to be of his own hand writing.

The Opinion of William Tailor concerning worshiping of Saints.

Cultus laicis, that is, worship which is only due to God.

The tenor and effect of whose writing only tended to prove, That every petition and prayer for any Supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no Creature. Albeit in this his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to Saints (and bringeth for the same *Thomas Aquin*) but only in respect of that worship, which is called *Cultus laicus*; And further so persecuteth his mind herein, that he seemeth little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the Papists, as most plainly appeareth by his own words, saying, *Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viventium, tam vivis, quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere; quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quae non fallit, & ex consensu rationis, &c.* And moreover he inferreth the example of *Moses*, who prayed unto God, alledging the merits of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, which were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimony of *Jerom*, and alledging the example of *Stephen*, saith, *Quod nunc magis exauditur pro venerabilibus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus.* And at length he cometh to this conclusion, proving by *St. Austin*, in this manner, *Ne igitur cum impiis & idololatriis in veteri testamento, in circuitu ambulamus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, sciamus est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis, Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiae ejus, ut misericordiam consequamur, & gratiam inveniamus in amiluo opportuno, &c.* That is, And therefore, lest we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the *Old Testament*, and never come to the center, it is wholesome and good counsel, that we follow the mind of the Apostle, saying, Let us resort with boldness unto the Throne of his Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help, &c.

Aug. super 7. Jul. 21.

Four Articles by the four Orders of Friars laid against William Tailor.

Thus much out of the foresaid writing of *William Tailor*, I have excerpted, to the intent that the indifferent Reader, using his judgment herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the Papists. And yet notwithstanding the same writing, being delivered by the Archbishop to the four orders of Friars of *London* to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

1. That every prayer which is a petition of some Supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

2. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.
3. Item, To pray to any Creature is to commit Idolatry.

4. Also, another Opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth; so that although all these Opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a number, every Order of the four sorts of Friars, thought to find out some matter to offer up to the Archbishop against him, lest one Order should seem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or else perchance lest any of them should seem to favour the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

When the Saturday was come, which was 20th day of February, upon the which day the four Orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the Articles in the Chapter-house of *Paul's*, first appeareth *Frier Tille*, for the black Friars, then *Frier Winchelsey*, then *Frier Low*, after *Frier Ashwell*, each Frier for his Order severally bringing his Heresie, as is above-specified.

Thus the verdict of these four Orders being given up to the Archbishop, and severally each Order coming in with his Heresie, which was the twentieth day of February; hereupon cometh down a Writ from the King, directed to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, *De haeretico comburendo*, dated the first day of March, the first year of his Reign. The Copy whereof remaineth in the Records of the Tower, beginning thus: *Rex Majori & Vice-comitibus.* Whereupon the said *William Tailor*, condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the Secular Power; who then being had to *Smithfield*, the first day of March, with Christian constancy, after long Imprisonment, there did consummate his Martyrdom, 1422.

William Tailor degraded. William Tailor martyr burned in Smithfield.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of *John Hus* before; for the Papists use but one form for all men. First, Degrading them from Priesthood, by taking from them the Chalice and Patine. From Deaconship, by taking from them the Gospel-Book and Tunicle. From sub-Deaconship, by taking from them the Epistle-Book and Tunicle. From Acoluthship, by taking from them the Cruet and Candlestick. From an Exorcist, by taking away the Book of Exorcisms or Gradual. From the Sextonship, by taking away the Church-Door-Key and Surplice. And likewise from Benet, in taking away the Surplice, and first Tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly Martyr, before his burning.

The Popes manner of degrading on.

The burning of William Tailor Priest



The disciplining of John Florence



John Florence a Turner.

John Florence a Turner.

John Florence a Turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the Diocese of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these Heresies here under-written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

Imprimis, That the Pope and Cardinals have no power to make or constitute any Laws.

Item, That there is no day to be kept Holy, but only the Sunday which God hath hallowed.

Item, That Men ought to fast no other time, but of the *Quatuor temporum*.

Item, That Images are not to be worshipped, neither that the people ought to set up any Lights before them in the Churches, neither to go on Pilgrimage, neither to Offer for the Dead, or with Women that are Purified.

Item, That Curates should not take the Tithes of their Parishioners, but that such Tithes should be divided amongst the poor Parishioners.

Item, That all such as Swear by their life or power, shall be damned, except they repent.

He meaneth they should not claim such riches by any exaction.

{Ann. 1424}

Upon Wednesday being the second day of August in the year of our Lord 1424, the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernam, Chancellor of William Bishop of Norwich; where he proceeding against him, objected the first Article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals; to which Article the said John Florence answered in this manner: If the Pope lived uprightly as Peter lived, he hath power to make Laws; otherwise I believe he hath no power. But being afterward threatened by the Judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the Church, and was Abjured, taking an Oath that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any Error or Heresie contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome, neither maintain, help, or aid any that shall teach or hold any such Errors or Heresies, either privily or apertly; and for his offence in this behalf done he was enjoined this Penance following:

The manner of this disciplining was with a white Rod thrice laid upon the head of the Penitent.

Three Sundays in a Solemn Procession, in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, he should be disciplined before all the people. The like also should be done about his Parish-Church of Shelton, three other several Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a publick Penitentiary, his body being covered with a Canvas-shirt, and Canvas-breeches, carrying in his hand a Taper of a pound weight; and that done he was dismissed.

Richard Belward of Erisam in the Diocese of Norwich.

Richard Belward of Erisam in the Diocese of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these Errors and Opinions here under written, contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

He meaneth the wicked Bishops of that time, whose curses God did bless. This proveth Sir J. Oldcastle to be no Traytor.

Imprimis, That Ecclesiastical Ministers and Ordinaries have no power to Excommunicate, neither can Excommunicate. And albeit that a Bishop do Excommunicate any Man, God doth absolve him.

Item, That he held the erroneous Opinions and Conclusions that Sir John Oldcastle held when he was in Prison, and affirmed that Sir John Oldcastle was a true Catholick Man, and falsly condemned and put to death without any reasonable cause.

Item, That such as go on Pilgrimage, offering to Images made of Wood and Stone, are Excommunicate, because they ought to offer to the quick, and not to the dead; and that the Ecclesiastical Ministers; that is to say, the Curates do sell God upon Easter-day, when as they receive Offerings of such as should Communicate, before they do Minister the Sacrament unto them.

Item, That he counselled divers Women, that they should not Offer in the Church for the-dead, neither with Women that were purified.

The words of the Regis.

Item, That he blamed divers of his Neighbours that refused his Doctrine, saying unto them, Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the Doctrine of my Sect; for your

Neighbours which are of my Sect are able to confound and vanquish all other that are of your Sect.

Item, That the Saints which are in Heaven ought in no case to be prayed unto, but only God.

Item, That the said Richard keepeth Schools of Lollardy in the English Tongue, in the Town of Ditchingham, and a certain Parchment-maker bringeth him all the Books containing that Doctrine from London.

The fifth day of July 1424, the said Richard Belward, was brought before John Bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of Judgment, where the foresaid Articles were objected against the said Richard, which he there denied; whereupon the Bishop appointed him another day to purge himself, the Monday next after the Feast of St. Margaret: upon which day, being the 24th of July, in the year aforesaid, he appeared again before the Bishop, and brought with him nine of his Neighbours to purge him upon those Articles, and there did solemnly purge himself. And afterward, forasmuch as the said Bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there presently to Swear upon the Evangelists, That from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any Error or Heresie, contrary to the Church of Rome, neither aid, assist, favour or maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of person or persons, that should hold or maintain the said Errors or Heresies. In the presence of Master William Bernam, John Wadden, Robert Serle, and J Berne Esquire, and other of his Neighbours which came unto his purgation.

In like manner John Goddesel of Ditchingham Parchment-maker, was detected and accused upon the same Articles, and thereupon brought before the Bishop, where he denying them, purged himself by his Neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being Sworn also in like manner as he was, and so was dismissed and set at liberty, until the year of our Lord 1428, when he was again apprehended, accused and abjured, as shall be more at large declared in the History when we come to that year.

Sir Hugh Pie also, Chaplain of Ludney in the Diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the Bishop of Norwich the fifth day of July, Anno 1424, for holding of these Opinions following:

That the people ought not to go on Pilgrimage.

Item, That the people ought not to give Alms, but only unto such as beg at their doors.

Item, That the Image of the Cross and other Images are not to be worshipped. And that the said Hugh had cast the Cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate of Ludney. Which Articles, as is aforesaid, being objected against him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three Lay-men, and three Priests. That so done, he was Sworn as the other before, and so dismissed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1428, King Henry the 6th sent down most cruel Letters of Commission unto John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White Priest, and others suspected of Heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth.

The Copy of the Kings Letters directed to John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White Priest, and other (as they called them) Lollards.

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved John Exeter, and Jacolet Germain, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, health:

Ye shall understand that we fully trusting unto your fidelity and circumspections, have appointed you jointly and severally to take and Arrest William White Priest, and Thomas, late Chaplain of Setling, in the County of Norfolk, and William Northampton Priest, and all other whatsoever they be that are suspect of Heresie or Lollardy, where-soever they may be found within the Liberties or without, and straightway being so taken, to send them unto our next Goal

A Letter of the King.

Image of the Cross not to be worshipped

John Goddesel of Ditchingham

Sir Hugh Pie

[KING] Goal or Prison, until such time as we shall have taken other order for their delivery: And therefore we straightly command you, that ye diligently attend about the Premises, and fulfil the same in form aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and all other our faithful Officers, by the tenor of these Presents, That they do assist, aid and counsel you and every of you, in the execution of the Premises, as it shall be comely for them. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters Patents to be made. Witness my self at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth of our Reign.

By vertue of which Commission we find in old Monuments, that within short space after John Exeter, which was appointed one of the Commissioners, attached six persons in the Town of Bungay in the Diocese of Norwich, and committed them to William Day, and William Roe, Constables of the Town of Bungay, to be sent within ten days following, under safe custody, unto the Castle of Norwich. Whose names through the Antiquity of the Monument were so defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the Book to be read, which were these:

¶ The names of them that were taken and Examined upon suspicion of Heresie.

A Catalogue of good Men and Women troubled for suspicion of Heresie.

Robert Skirving of Harlstone.
William Skirving.
John Terry of Ersham.
John Abtre of Ersham.

John Middleton of Hulvergate.
John Wayde of Ersham.
Richard Clark of Setbing.

Thomas White of Bedingham.
Master Robert Beet of Berry.
Richard Page of Clipply.

The other were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned, among whom we do specially find mention made of these three:

Father Abraham of Colchester.

William White, Priest.

John Waddon, Priest.

¶ The residue, for a great number of good Men and Women were forced to Abjure, sustaining such cruel Penance as pleased then the said Bishop and his Chancellor, to lay upon them. The names of which, both Men and Women, here follow together in this Brief Catalogue to be seen:

John Beverley.
John Warden.
John Baker. John Middleton.
John Kynget. Margery Backster.
John Skilley. John Godbold.
Thomas Albeck. John Pierce.
Nicholas Canon of Eye.
Thomas Pie. John Mendham.
John Middleton. Thomas Chatris.
Thomas Wade. William Tailor.
John Cuppet, Vicar of Tunstal.
Sir Hugh Pie, Priest.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Thomas James.
John Fouling.
Bertram Cornmonger.
Thomas Swerden. Alanus Andrew.
William Wright.
William Everden.
William Tailor.
Avis the Wife of Thomas Moon, and her Daughter.
Richard Fletcher of Beckles.
Nicholas Belward.
Thomas Grenemere.
John Clark.
William Bate.
William Scherming.

William Osbourne.
John Rene of Beckles.
Baldwin Cooper of Beckles.
John Pet. M. Moons servant.
Rob. Briggs. John Finch.
John Wrotham. Thomas Moon.
Isabel Chaplain of Martbam.
William Marsh of Ersham.
John Goodwin of Ersham.
Henry Latchcold of Ersham.
Henry Broode of Ersham.
Rich. Horne of Ersham.
John Belward, Sen. of Ersham.
John Belward, Jun. of Ersham.
John Spire of Bungay.
Rob. Cole of Turming.
The herd of Shepemedow.
Isabel Davy of Costes.
Sibyl, Wife of John Godesel of Ditcham.
John Pyry of Bartham.
John Baker. Margery Wright.
Thomas Burrel and his Wife.
John Pert.
Edmund Archer.
The Clerk of Ludney.
Richard Clark of Setbing.
Katherine the wife of Will. Wright.

William Collin of Southereke.
Richard King of Windham.
Thomas Plowman.
John Fellis.
Thomas Love of Rokeland.
Richard Knobbing of Beckles.
Richard Grace of Beckles.
John Eldon of Beckles.
William Hardy.
William Bate.
John Weston.
Katherine Hobbs.
John Daw.
Robert Grigs of Martbam.
William Calis, Priest.
Thomas Pert, Priest.
Katherine Davy.
Jacob Bodhome, and Margaret his Wife.
John Manning of Marton.
John Culling of Beemster.
Richard Fletcher of Beckles and Marton his Wife.
John Eldon of Beckles.
Robert Canel, Priest.
Nicholas Drey.
William Hardy of Mundham.
John Poleyne.

These fore-named Persons and Soldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those days, although they were constrained to relent and abjure; that is, to protest otherwise with their Tongues than their hearts did think, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity (being as yet but new trained Soldiers in Gods field) yet for their good will they bare unto the truth, although with their Tongues they durst not express it, we have thought good that their names should not be suppressed, as well for other sundry causes, as specially for this; either to stop the mouths of malignant adversaries, or to

answer to their ignorance, who following rather blind affection, than the true knowledge of Times and Antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accusing the True Doctrine of the Word of God for novelty, and carping the teachers thereof for new broched Brethren. Who, if they did as well foresee times passed, as they be unwilling to follow times now present, they should understand as well by these Stories as other before, how this Doctrine of the Grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath prevailed, although in most places,

William Bishop of Norwich, William Bernham his Chancellor.

places, through tyranny and the malice of Men, Christs proceedings have been suppressed and kept under from rising, so much as Mens power and strength joyned with craft and subtilty could labour to keep down the same; as here by these good Men of Norfolk and Suffolk may well appear. For if the knowledge and the good towardness of those good Men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of Prelates, it had well appeared how old this Doctrine would have been, which now they condemn and reject for the newness thereof: neither needed *Bonner* to have asked of *Thomas Hawks*, and such other, where their Church was forty years ago, in as much as for forty years ago, and more, within the countrey of Norfolk and Suffolk, was then found such plenty of the same Profession and like Doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number and names of these persons.

Bonner might see the Church here in this age more than forty years before he was born

Now as touching their Articles which they did maintain and defend: First, this is to be considered, as I find it in the Registers, such society and agreement of Doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in their Assertions and Articles there was no difference. The Doctrine of the one was the Doctrine of all the other: what their Articles were, partly it is shewed in the Leaf before; and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these Articles, that many of them either were falsely objected against them, or not truly reported of the Notaries, according as the common manner is of these Adversaries, where the matter is good, there to make Heresie, and of a little occasion to stir up great matter of slander, as they did before by the Articles of *John Wickliff* and *John Hus*, and others more: So in like manner it seemeth they did in the Articles of these Men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two Articles concerning Baptism and paying of Tithes. For whereas they speaking against the ceremonial and superfluous Traditions then used in Baptism, as Salt, Oil, Spittle, Taper, Light, Chrisomes, exorcising of the Water, with such other, accounted them as no material thing in the Holy Institution of Baptism, the Notaries slanderously depraving this their assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, so gave out the Article, as though they should hold, that the Sacrament of Baptism used in the Church by Water is but a light matter and of small effect.

These Men are falsely slandered about Baptism.

Again, In speaking against the Christening the Midwives use in private Houses, against the Opinion of such as think such Children to be damned which depart before they come to their Baptism, they are falsely reported, as though they should say, That Christian people be sufficiently Baptized in the Blood of Christ, and need no Water, and that Infants be sufficiently Baptized, if their Parents be Baptized before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest Word, That it is not to be thought any to be so ignorant of the Gospel, that ever would or did affirm the same.

Moreover, they thought or said peradventure, That in certain cases Tithes might be withholden from wicked Priests sometime, and be conferred to better uses, to the behoof of the poor: Therefore they are falsely slandered, as saying and affirming, That no Tithes were to be given to the Ministers and Curates of the Churches.

The Papists are but quarrel pickers.

And likewise for Matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it consisted only in the mutual consent betwixt the Man and the Woman, needing no other Solemnizing in the publick Church, and all because (as it is like) they denied it to be a Sacrament. Other Articles were objected against them, as these which hereafter follow:

Articles.

That Auricular Confession is not to be made unto a Priest, but unto God only; because no Priest hath any power to Absolve a sinner from his sin.

Item, That no Priest hath power to make the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that, after the Sacramental words, there remaineth pure material Bread as before.

Item, That every true Christian-man is a Priest to God.

Item, That no Man is bound under pain of damnation unto Lent, or any other days prohibited by the Church of Rome.

KING
M. A.

Item, That the Pope is Antichrist, and his Prelates the Disciples of Antichrist, and the Pope hath no power to bind and loose upon Earth.

Item, That it is lawful for every Christian to do any bodily work (sin only except) upon Holy-days.

Item, That it is lawful for Priests to have Wives.

In case of necessity
urgent they
mean.

Item, That Excommunications and Ecclesiastical censures given out by the Prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, It is not lawful to Swear in private cases.

Item, That Men ought not to go on Pilgrimage.

Item, That there is no honour to be given to the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady or any other Saint.

Item, That the holy water, hallowed in the Church by the Priest, is not holier or of more vertue than other running or Well-water, because the Lord blessed all Waters in their first creation.

Item, That the death of *Thomas Becket* was neither Holy nor Meritorious.

The death
of *Thomas*
Becket.

Item, That the relicts, as dead Mens Bones, ought not to be worshipped or digged out of their Graves, or set up in Shrines.

Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

Item, That Men ought not to pray to any Saint, but only to God.

Item, That the Bells and Ringing in the Church was Ordained for no other purpose, but to fill the Priests purses.

Item, That it is no sin to withstand the Ecclesiastical Precepts.

Item, That the Catholick Church is only the Congregation of Elect.

In this Article
is meant,
that the
wicked be
in the
Church, but
not of the
Church.

These were the Articles which were generally objected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one uniform Faith, that whatsoever one did hold, all the other did maintain, and hold the same. By the which their consent and Doctrine it appeareth, That they all received it of some one Instructor, who was *William White*; which being a Scholar and follower of *John Wickliff*, reformed afterward into this Countrey of Norfolk, there instructed these Men in the Light of the Gospel. And now, as we have declared the names and Articles of these good Men, so it remaineth somewhat to speak of their troubles, how they were handled; beginning first with *William White*.

William White, Priest.

THIS *William White*, being a follower of *John Wickliff*, and a Priest, not after the common sort of Priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them, of whom the wise Man speaketh, *He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, &c. This Man was well learned, upright and a well-spoken Priest. He gave over his Priesthood and Benefice, and took unto him a godly young Woman to his Wife, named *Joan*; notwithstanding he did not therefore cease to leave from his former Office and Duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the Spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, preaching. The principal points of his Doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at *Canterbury*.

Will. White,
Martyr.
Ann. 1428
in Walden
*Ecc. 18.

That Men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the Pope, and his Holiness, is nothing else but a Devilish estate and heavy yoke of Antichrist, and therefore he is an Enemy unto Christs Truth.

That Men ought not to worship Images, or other Idolatrous Paintings.

That Men ought not to worship the holy Men which are dead.

The Romish
Church
aply re-
sembled to
the cursed
Fig-tree.

That the Romish Church is the Fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That such as wear Couls, or be Anointed or Shorn, are the lance-Knights and Soldiers of *Lucifer*; and that they all, because their Lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when as the Lord shall come.

Upon

KING Upon which Articles he being attached at *Canterbury* under the Archbishop *Henry Chicheley*, in the Year of our Lord 1424, there for a certain space, stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had preached: but like as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterward he became again much more stouter and stronger in *Jesus Christ*, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into *Norfolk* with his said Wife *Joan*, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto the True Doctrine of *Christ*, at the last, by the means of the Kings Letters sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before *William Bishop of Norwich*, by whom he was convicted, and condemned of thirty Articles, and there was burned in *Norwich*, in the month of *September*, *An. 1424*. This *William White* and his Wife had his most abode with one *Thomas Moon of Ludney*. This Man was of so

devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; inasmuch that one *Margaret Wright* confessed, That if any Saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come unto the Stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the Bishops servants struck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good Man, receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the great dolor and grief of all the good Men of *Norfolk*. Whose said Wife *Joan*, following her Husbands footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same Doctrine, confirmed many Men in Gods Truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same Year at the hands of the said Bishop.

The Bishop's man smiteth him on the mouth, exhorting the people.

The Burning of William White



The description of the penance of Thomas pye and John Mendham



Father Abraham, John Wadden, Priest, Martyr, and burned.

About the same time also was burned father *Abraham of Colchester*, and *John Wadden Priest*, for the like Articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what Depositions came in against them, and what was the order and manner of the Penance enjoined them, here it might be set out at large: but for avoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better understanding may be given to the Reader, after what manner and order all the other were intreated.

First, Amongst them which were Arrested and caused to Abjure in this Year aforesaid specified, 1428, was *Thomas Pie*, and *John Mendham of Alborough*, who, being convicted upon divers of the Articles before-mentioned, were enjoined Penance to be done in their own Parish-Church, as by the Bishop's Letter directed to the Dean of *Rhodeshall*, and the Parish-Priest of *Alborough*, doth more at large appear, the Tenor whereof here ensueth:

The Copy of the Bishop of Norwich his Letter.

A Letter of the Bishop of Norwich.

William by the sufferance of God Bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved Sons in *Christ*, the Dean of *Rhodeshall* of our Diocese, and to the Parish-Priest of the Parish-Church of *Alborough* of the same our Diocese, Health, Grace and Benediction. Forasmuch as we, according to our Office, Lawfully proceeding to the correction

and amendment of the Souls of *Thomas Pie* and *John Mendham* of *Alborough* of the Diocese aforesaid, because they have holden, believed and affirmed divers and many Errors and Heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of Rome, and the Universal Church and Catholic Faith, have enjoined the said *Thomas* and *John*, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially that they have holden, believed and affirmed divers and many Errors and Heresies, this Penance be hereunder written, for their offences to be done and fulfilled in manner, form and time hereunder-written, according as Justice doth require; that is to say, six fastings or disciplinings about the Parish-Church of *Alborough* aforesaid, before a solemn Procession six several Sundays, and three disciplinings about the Market-place of *Hereford* of our said Diocese three principal Market-days, bare necked, head, legs and feet, their bodies being covered only with their shirts and breeches, either of them carrying a Taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the Church, as about the Market-place, in every of the aforesaid appointed days; which Tapers, the last Sunday after the Penance finished, we will that the said *John* and *Thomas* do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high Altar of the Parish-Church of *Alborough* at the time of the Offertory of the high Mass the same day, and that either of them, going about the Market-place aforesaid, shall make four several pauses and stays, and at every of those same pauses humbly and devoutly recite at your hands three disciplinings: Therefore we straitly charge and command you and either of you, jointly and severally by virtue of

The manner of the Penance.

your obedience, that every Sunday and Market-day, after the receipt of our present commandment, you do effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pie and John Mendham to begin and accomplish their said Penance, and so successively to finish the same in manner and form afore-appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments in this behalf, and begin and finish their said Penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them peremptorily, that they or either of them appear before us, or our Commissary, in the Chappel of our Palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the Citation so made, if it be a Court day, or else the next Court day following, to declare if they or any of them have any cause why they should not be Excommunicate for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of Law, and further to receive such punishment, as Justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the Premises, whether the said Thomas and John have obeyed your Admonitions, and performed the same Penance or no, we will that you or one of you, which have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify us between this and the last day of November next coming. Dated at our Palace of Norwich under our Commissaries Seal, the 8th day of October, Anno 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the most part, the order of their whole Penance: howbeit some were oftentimes more cruelly handled; and after their Penance they were banished out of the Diocess, and other some more straitly used by longer Imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverly alias Battild.

John Beverly.

John Beverly alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the Vicar of Southereke, the Parish-Priest of Waterden, and a Lawyer, and so delivered unto Master William Barnham the Bishops Commissary, who sent him to the Castle of Norwich there to be kept in Irons: where afterward he being brought before the Commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an Oath, that every year afterward he should confess his sins once a year to his Curate, and receive the Sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did; and for his offence was enjoined that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast on Bread and Water, and upon the Saturday to be *whipped from the Palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, and by St. Michaels Church, by Cottlerew, and about the Market, having in his hand a Wax-Candle of two pence, to offer to the Image of the Trinity after he had done his Penance. And forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter-day, and was not shriven in all Lent, nor received upon Easter-day, the Judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday in Whitsun-week, having but one meal a day of fish and other white Meats, and after this Penance so done he should depart out of the Diocess, and never come there any more.

* Altar, fastigated.

John Skilley of Flixon, Miller.

John Skilley. The Penance of J. Skilley.

John Skilley of Flixon, Miller, being apprehended and brought before the Bishop of Norwich the 14th day of March, 1428, for holding and maintaining the Articles above-written, was thereupon convicted and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made (which here to avoid tediousness we omit) he had a most sharp sentence of Penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: That forasmuch as the said Skilley was convicted by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the Articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly Men into his House, as Sir William White Priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable Hereticks, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of Excommunication which he had incurred by means of his Opinions, he was enjoined for Penance seven years Imprisonment in the Monastery of Langly, in the Diocess of Norwich. And for so much as in times past he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined

to fast on Bread and Water every Friday by the space of that seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next immediately after the seven years expired, every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and every Maundy-Thursdays, he should appear before the Bishop or his Successor, or Commissary for the time being, in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, together with the other Penitentiaries, to do open Penance for his offences.

Besides these there were divers other of the same company, which the same year were forced to like Abjuration and Penance. And so to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there ensueth a great number in the same Register, which were examined, and did Penance in like sort, to the number of 16 or 17. In the number of whom was John Baker, otherwise called Usher Tomfal, who for having a Book with the Pater-Noster, the Ave and Creed in English, and for certain other Articles of fasting, Confession, and Invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish Church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure and sustain such Penance, as the other before him had done.

KING
Hen. 6.

The Story of Margery Backster.

Another was Margery Backster, Wife of William Backster Wright in Martham, the same year accused; against whom one Joan, Wife of Cliffland was brought in by the Bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following:

Margery Backster.

First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this Deponent, That she should in no case Swear, saying to her in English, Dame beware of the Bee, for every Bee will sting, and therefore take heed you Swear not, neither by God, neither by our Lady, neither by any other Saint; and if ye do contrary, the Bee will sting your Tongue and venom your Soul.

A Woman brought in for witness in the Popes Court. The Bee will sting.

Item, This Deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at Church; she answered, That she kneeled down and said five Pater-Nosters, in worship of the Crucifix, and as many Ave Marias in worship of our Lady. Whom Margery rebuked, saying, You do evil to kneel or pray to such Images in the Churches, for God dwelleth not in such Churches, neither shall come down out of Heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a Candle lighted, and set under the cover of the Font, will give light by night to those which are in the Church; saying moreover in English, Lewd Wrights of Stocks hew and form such Crosses and Images, and after that, lewd Painters gleer them with Colours. And if you desire so much to see the true Cross of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your own House. Which this Deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her Arms abroad, said to this Deponent, This is the true Cross of Christ, and this Cross thou oughtest and maist every day behold and worship in thine own House, and therefore it is but vain to run to the Church to worship dead Crosses and Images.

Against Images.

Item, This Deponent, being demanded by the said Margery how she believed touching the Sacrament of the Altar, said, That she believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration, to be the very Body of Christ in form of Bread. To whom Margery said, Your belief is naught. For if every such Sacrament were God, and the very Body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a Thousand Priests and more do every day make a Thousand such gods, and afterward eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily stinking under the Hedges, where you may find a great many such gods if you will seek for them. And therefore know for certainty, That by the grace of God it shall never be my god, because it is falsly and deceitfully ordained by the Priests in the Church, to induce the simple people to Idolatry; for it is only material Bread.

The Sacrament is not God.

Moreover, The said Margery said to this Deponent, That Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called St. Thomas, was a false Traitor, and damned in Hell, because he injuriously endowed the Churches with possessions, and raised up many Heresies in the Church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed; and those false Priests that say

The Bishop a Traitor. The Bishop slain, not before the Altar, but in his flying.

[KING] say that he suffered his death patiently before the Altar, do lie; For as a cowardly Traitor he was slain in the Church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, this Deponent faith, that the said Margery told her that the cursed Pope, Cardinals, Archbishop, and Bishops, and specially the Bishop of Norwich and others that support and maintain Heresies and Idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false Mammetries and Laws, to extort money from the simple folk to sustain their pride, riot and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, which have most cruelly slain the children of God, Father Abraham, and W. White, a true preacher of the Law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas, the Bishop of Norwich and his Ministers, which are members of the Devil, before this time, if the Pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsly obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the Church. Which pardons brought the simple people to cursed Idolatry.

Father Abraham, William White, John Wadden.

Against the Pope's fasting days.

William White willing to speak at the stake, was struck on the mouth.

Item, The said Margery said to this Deponent, that every faithful Man and Woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the Church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the Market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that Pope Sixvester made the Lent.

Item, The said Margery said to this Deponent, that William White was falsly condemned for an Heretick, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a Devil, one of Bishop Caiaphas servants struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Item, This Deponent faith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not go on Pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Walsingham, nor to any other Saint or place.

Also this Deponent faith, that the said Margery desired her that she and Joan her Maid would come secretly in the night to her Chamber, and there she should hear her Husband read the Law of Christ unto them; which Law was written in a book that her Husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her Husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a Woman named Joan West, and that the said Woman is in a good way of Salvation.

Also that the said Margery said to this Deponent, Joan, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you; and this Deponent swear that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this Deponent; If thou do accuse me unto the Bishop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain Frier a Carmelite of Yarmouth, which was the best learned Frier in all the Country. Then this Deponent desired to know what she had done to the Frier. Unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said Frier, rebuking him because he did begg, saying; that it was no Alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the Plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those Friars. Then the Frier required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as she affirmed to this Deponent) declared to this Frier the Gospel in English, and then the Frier departed from her. After this the said Frier accused the said Margery of Heresie; and she understanding that the Frier had accused her, accused the Frier again, that he would have known her carnally; and because she would not consent unto him, the Frier had accused her of Heresie. And moreover the said, that her Husband would have killed the Frier therefore; and so the Frier for fear held his peace, and went his way for shame.

This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes been faintly confessed to the Dean of the Fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this Deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sins to a Priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any Priest, and therefore she would never confess her self to any Priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men; and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no Priest.

Against attitudinal confession.

Item, That the said Margery said to this Deponent, that the people did worship Devils which fell from Heaven with Lucifer, which Devils in their Fall to the Earth, entred into the Images which stand in the Churches, and have long lurked and dwelled in them; so that the people, worshipping those Images commit Idolatry.

Against image worship.

Item, She said more to this Deponent, that holy Bread and holy Water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the Bells are to be cast out of the Church, and that they are excommunicated which first ordained them.

Moreover, that she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a Charter of salvation in her body.

Also the said Deponent faith, that Agnes Berthem her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ashwednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a bras Pot standing over the fire, with a piece of Bacon and Oatmeal seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this Deponent.

There were also, besides this Deponent, divers other sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, servants to William Clifland, which all together confirmed the former Depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old Monuments and Registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we find no mention made in the said Registers, we are not able to declare.

The same year also were the like Depositions made by one William Wright against divers good men, as here followeth.

First, This Deponent faith, that William Taylor told John Piry of Ludney, in the house of John Bungay of Begbion, in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Griggs, Wright of Martham, and John Usher, that all the good men of Martham which were favourers and helpers to that good man William White, are evil troubled now a-days, and that the said William White was a good and holy Doctor; and that the best Doctor after him was William Everden, which wrought with the said William Taylor of Ludney, by the space of one month, and that the first Sunday of the same month, the said William Everden did sit all day upon the table at work, saying to the said William Taylor, that he would not go to Church to shew himself a Scribe or a Pharisee; and the second Sunday he put on gentlemen's apparel, and went to Norwich to harken how the Bishop and his Ministers used the poor Christians there in prison.

John Piry, John Bungay, Robert Griggs, John Usher.

Also the said William Wright deposed, that William W. Taylor of Ludney was one of the Sect, and went to London with Sir Hugh Pie, and had conversation oftentimes with Sir William White, having often conference upon the Lollards Doctrine.

W. Everden.

Item, That Anise, Wife of Thomas Moon, is of the same Sect, and favoured them, and receiveth them often, and also the Daughter of Thomas Moon is partly of the same Sect, and can read English.

The Wife and Daughter of Tho. Moon.

Item, That Richard Fletcher of Beckles is a most perfect Doctor in that Sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a Book of the new Law in English, which was Sir Hugh Pies first.

Richard Fletcher.

Item, That Nicholas Belward, son of John Belward, dwelling in the Parish of Southelam, is one of the same Sect, and hath a new Testament which he bought at London for four Marks and forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his Wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

Nicholas Belward.

A New Testament cost four marks and forty pence.

Item,

Tho. Gremmer. Item, That *Thomas Gremmer*, Turner of *Dychingham*, is perfect in that Sect and Law.

John Clark. *John Clark* the Younger of *Bergh* had the Bedding and Apparel of *William Everden* in his custody, after the return of *William White* from *Bergh*, and is of the same Sect.

W. Bate. Item, *William Bate*, Tailor of *Setbing* and his Wife, and his Son, which can read English very well, are of the same Sect.

W. Skirving. Item, *William Skirving* of *Setbing* received *Joan* the Wife of *William White* into his house, being brought thither by *William Everden*, after their departure from *Martham*.

W. Osbourn. Item, *Will. Osbourn* of *Setbing*, *John Reve* Glover, and *Bawdwin Cooper* of *Beckles*, are of the same Sect.

John Reve. Item, *John Pert*, late servant of *Thomas Moon*, is of the same Sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of *William White*, and was the first that brought *Sir Hugh Pie* into the company of the *Lollards*, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said *Thomas Moon*, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Sir Hugh Pie Priest. Item, *Sir Hugh Pie* bequeathed to *Alice*, servant to *William White*, a new Testament, which they then called the Book of the new Law, and was in the custody of *Ofwald Godfrey* of *Colchester*.

Job. Perkyn. *John Perkyn*, Mercer of a Village by *Ipswich*, is a famous Doctor of that Sect. Also he said, that *Father Abraham* of *Colchester* is a good man.

A prophecy. Item, The said *William Wright* deposeth, that it is read in the Prophecies amongst the *Lollards*, that the Sect of the *Lollards* shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding at the length the *Lollards* shall prevail and have the victory against all their enemies.

Also he said, that *Tucke* knoweth all of that Sect in *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Essex*.

Besides these, there were many other the same year troubled, whose names being before expressed in the table of *Norfolk-men*, here for brevities sake we omit further to intreat of, passing over to the next year following, which was 1430. *Ex Regist. Norw.*

John Burrel. *John Burrel*, servant to *Thomas Moon* of *Ludney*, in the Diocels of *Norwich*, was apprehended and arrested for Heresie the 9th day of *September*, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by *Mr. William Bernham* the Bishops Commissary, upon the Articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following objected against him.

Imprimis, That the Catholick Church is the foul of every good Christian man.

Lent fast, fish-days. Item, That no man is bound to fast the Lent or other fasting days appointed by the Church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the Priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days indifferently, according to his own will, and every *Friday* is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Pilgrimage to the poor. Item, That Pilgrimage ought not to be made but only unto the poor.

Masses for the dead unprofitable. Item, That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

Item, That Masses and Prayers for the dead are but vain; for the souls of the dead are either in Heaven or Hell: and there is none other place of Purgatory but this World.

Upon the which Articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the other before had done. KING Hen. 6.

Thomas Moon of *Ludney* was apprehended and attached for suspicion of Heresie, against whom were objected by the Bishop the Articles before written, but specially this Article, that he had familiarity and communication with divers Hereticks, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained divers of them, as *Sir William White*, *Sir Hugh Pie*, *Tho. Pet.*, and *Will. Callis* Priests, with many more; upon the which Articles he being convicted before the Bishop was forced to abjure, and received the like penance, in like manner as before. Tho. Moon of Ludney

In like manner, *Robert Grigges* of *Martham* was brought before the Bishop the 17. day of *February*, in the year aforesaid, for holding and affirming the fore said Articles, but specially these hereafter following. Will. White, Hugh Pie, Tho. Pet., Will. Callis, Priests persecuted. Robert Grigges of Martham.

That the Sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the Articles, Bishop did avail nothing to Salvation.

That it was no sin to withstand the Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*.

That holy Bread and holy Water were but trifles, and that the bread and water were the work for the conjurations and characters which the Priests made over them.

Upon which Articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and received Penance in manner and form as the other had done before him.

The like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened unto *John Finch* of *Colchester*, the 20 day of *September*, who albeit he was of the Diocels of *London*, being suspect of Heresie, was attached in *Ipswich* in the Diocels of *Norwich*, and brought before the Bishop there, before whom he being convicted of the like Articles, as all the other before him, was enjoined Penance, three disciplinings in solemn procession about the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, three several Sundays, and three disciplinings about the Market-place of *Norwich* three principal Market-days, his head and neck and feet being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt or vesture, having in his hand a Taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every *Ashwednesday* and *Maunday-Thursday*, he should appear in the Cathedral Church at *Norwich*, before the Bishop or his Vicegerent, to do open penance amongst the other Penitentiaries for his offences. John Finch of Colchester.

There were, besides these men which we have here rehearsed, divers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that their Articles and punishments were all one, we have thought good at this time to pass over, especially forso much as their names be before recited in the Catalogue. Popish penance.

About the same time, even the same year 1430, shortly after the solemn Coronation of King *Henry* the sixth, a certain man named *Richard Hoveden*, a Wooll-winder, and Citizen of *London*, received also the Crown of Martyrdom. Which man when he could by no persuasions be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of *Wickliff*, he was by the Rulers of the Church condemned for Heresie; and as *Fabian* writeth, burned hard by the *Tower of London*. Richard Hoveden Martyr.

KING?
1431.

The burning of Richard Houeden



The burning of Thomas Rhedonenfis



Nicolas Canon of Eye.

Nicolas Canon of Eye.
Ann.
1431.

NOW to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one *Nicolas Canon of Eye* was brought before the Bishop of *Norwich* for suspicion of Heresie, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation, which witnesses appointing one *William Christopher* to speak in the name of them all, he deposed in manner and form following.

First, that on *Easter-day* when all the Parishioners went about the Church of *Eye* solemnly in Procession, as the manner was, the said *Nicolas Canon*, as it were mocking and deriding the other Parishioners, went about the Church the contrary way, and met the Procession.

Depositions This Article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, The said *Nicolas* asked of Master *John Colman* of *Eye* this question, Master *Colman*, what think you of the Sacrament of the Altar? To whom the said *Colman* answered, *Nicolas*, I think that the Sacrament of the Altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ* under the form of Bread and Wine. Unto whom *Nicolas* in derision said, Truly, if the Sacrament of the Altar be very God and very man, and the very Body and Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; then may very God and very man be put in a small room; as when it is in the Priests mouth, that receiveth it at Mass. And why may not we simple men as well eat flesh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the Priest to eat the flesh, and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently? The which Article the said *Nicolas* denied that he spake unto Master *Colman*, but unto a Monk of *Hockesney*, and furthermore he thought he had spoken well in that behalf.

If the Sacrament be very flesh, then the Priests eat flesh on Friday.

Item, That on *Corpus Christi* day at the Elevation of High Mass, when all the Parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the Sacrament, the said *Nicolas* went behind a Pillar of the Church, and turning his face from the High Altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the Sacrament.

This Article he also acknowledging affirmed that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

Item, When his Mother would have the said *Nicolas*

to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the Devil, forso much as he deferred the doing thereof, his Mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, *In nomine patris, filii, & spiritus sancti. Amen.* Which so ended, the said *Nicolas* immediately deriding his Mothers blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his adversaries report of him. This Article the said *Nicolas* acknowledged to be true.

Item, That upon *Alballows-day*, in the time of Elevation of High Mass, when as many of the Parishioners of *Eye* lighted many Torches, and carried them up to the High Altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the Sacrament, the said *Nicolas* carrying a Torch went up hard to the High Altar, and standing behind the Priests back saying Mass, at the time of the Elevation he stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the Priest, and his face toward the people, and would do no reverence unto the Sacrament. This Article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which Articles the Bishops Commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto Master *William Worsted*, Prior of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, and to other Doctors of Divinity of the Order of Begging-Friers, that they might deliberate upon them, and shew their minds between that and Thursday next following. Upon which Thursday, being the last of *November* the year above said, the said *Nicolas* was again examined before Master *Barnam* and divers other, upon two other Articles which he had confessed unto *J. Excetor* Notary, and *Thomas Geruften* Bachelor of Divinity, and others. Whereof the first Article was this, That the said *Nicolas Canon* being of perfect mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the Sacrament of the Altar were the very Body of Christ or no. This Article he confessed before the Commissary to be true.

Nicolas Canon turned his back to the Sacrament.

Another examination of *Nicolas Canon*.

Item, That he being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confess his sins to a Priest. This Article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Articles objected.

Now remaineth to declare what these Doctors aforesaid concluded upon the Articles; whose answer unto the same was this.

First of all, as touching the first Article, they said that the Article in the same terms as it was propounded, is not simply an Heresie, but an error.

The judgment of the Prior and Doctors upon his Articles.

Item, As touching the second Article, the Doctors agree as in the first.

Sff

Item,

Item, As touching the third Article, they affirm that it is an Heresie.

Unto the fourth Article, they answered as unto the first and second.

Item, The Doctors affirm the fifth Article to be an Heresie.

An heresie to doubt whether the Sacrament be the perfect Body of Christ, or no.

Item, As touching the sixth Article, the Doctors conclude, that if the said *Nicolas*, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the Sacrament of the Altar were the very perfect Body of Christ or no, then the Article is simply an Heresie.

Nic. Canon declared an Heretick.

Whereupon the said Commissary declared and pronounced the said *Nicolas* upon the determination of the said Doctors, to be an Heretick, and thereupon forced the said *Nicolas* to abjure all the said Articles. That done he enjoyed the said *Nicolas* penance for his offences, three Disciplinings about the Cloister of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, before a solemn Procession, bare headed and bare foot, carrying a Taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a meer Penitentiary: the which his penance the Judge commanded should be respited until the coming of the Bishop into his Diocese, and that in the mean time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venom and poyson of Errors and Heresies.

Penance enjoined to Nic. Canon.

Thus have we briefly discoursed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* by the space of those four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly for every year, certain notable examples sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, forasmuch as their opinions being nothing different their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise than by those particular examples may be plainly seen,

Thomas Bagley Priest.

Thomas Bagley Priest, Martyr.

AND now to proceed as we have begun with our former Stories, generally we find in *Fabians* Chronicles, that in the same year of our Lord 1431. *Thomas Bagley* a Priest, Vicar of *Monenden* beside *Malden*, being a valiant Disciple, and adherent of *Wickliff*, was condemned by the Bishops of Heresie at *London*, about the midst of *Lent*, and was degraded and burned in *Smithfield*.

Paul Craw a Bohemian.

Paul Craw, Martyr.

THE same year also was *Paul Craw* a Bohemian taken at *Saint Andrews* by the Bishop *Henry*, and delivered over to the Secular power to be burnt for holding contrary opinions unto the Church of *Rome* touching the Sacrament of the Lords-Supper, the worshipping of Saints, Auricular confession, with other of *Wickliff's* opinions.

Ex Heret. Error.

The Story of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in Italy for the profession of Christ.

Thomas Rhedon, Martyr. Ex Anton. no 3. part. Hist. fol. 165

WE have declared before how this cruel storm of persecution which first began with us in *England* after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, brake out and passed into *Bobeme*, and after within a short time, the fire of this persecution increasing by little and little, invaded *Scotland*, and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entred *Italy*, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and slaughter of most good and godly men. It happened about this time that one *Thomas Rhedon*, a Frier of that Sect, which taketh his name of the Mount *Carmelus*, by chance came with the *Venetian* Ambassadors into *Italy*. This man although he was of that sort and Sect, which instead of Christians are called *Carmelites*, yet was he of a far other Religion, and understood the Word of God, judging that God ought not to be worshipped neither in that Mount, nor at *Jerusalem* only, but in spirit and truth. This man being a true

Thomas Rhedon, Martyr. Ex Anton. no 3. part. Hist. fol. 165

Carmelite, and favouring with his whole heart that new sweet Muste of *Jesus Christ*, with earnest study and desire seeking after a Christian integrity of life, prepared himself first to go into *Italy*, trusting that he should find there, or else in no place, some by whose good life and living he might be edified and instructed. For where ought more abundance of vertue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all Religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that whereas so great holiness is professed, whereupon all mens eyes are bent as upon a Stage, whereas *Saint Peters* seat is, and is thought to be the Ruler and Governour of all the Church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great expectation in that place? This holy man having these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himself, forsook his own Country and City, and went unto *Rome*, conceiving a firm and sure hope that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning: but the success of the matter did utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatsoever he saw was nothing else but meer dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of gold he found nothing but coals; and to say the truth he found nothing else there but gold and silver. Instead of heavenly gifts there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world. In place of godliness, riot: Instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of Apostolick simplicity: that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were turned arseverse, all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation wheresoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good mans mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the Apostles, yet these things did so much pass all measure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue in so great abuse and corruption of the Church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their Palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armour, and finally in all things pertaining unto them. Which things how much they did vary from the prescript rule of the Gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak; albeit he did well understand how little he should prevail by speaking: for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the Books of *Wickliff* and divers other were not wanting. The famous testimonies of *John Hus*, and of *Hierome* of *Prague*, and their blood shed for the same, was yet present before their eyes: at whose most effectual exhortations, they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office he would spend his life if need should be. So by this means he which came to be a scholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens lives and manners, had now contrariwise set before them his life to be marked and followed. For he lived so amongst them, that his life might be a rule unto them all; and so taught, as he might also be their Schoolmaster. For even as *Paul* had foretold unto such as desired to live godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of Godliness, which they should follow: they again set upon his head the diadem of Martyrdom. He shewed them the way to salvation; and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travels, they with most extream ignominy persecuted him even unto the fire. For when as by continual Preaching he had gotten great envy and hatred, the Rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this mans life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and continual custom amongst the Prelates of the Church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talk be not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hindrance to their lucre and gain, by and by they frame out Articles of some Heresie, which they charge

KING Hen. 6.

The Golden City of Rome.

All things corrupt at Rome.

The wickedness and pride that reigneth at Rome.

The corruption of Rome will admit no reformation

Pity rewarded with persecution.

Heresie made where none is.

KING
HEN. 6.

Popery arm-
ed with po-
licy, and de-
fended with
tyranny.

charge him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the Boar with his Tusks, the Hedgehog with his Prickles, the Lion is feared for his Claws, the Dog for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his Horns, neither doth the Ass lack his Hoofs to strike withal: even so this is the only armour of the Bishops, to strangle a man with Heresie, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition; which thing may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, beside a great number of other. Who when as now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered; what did they? straightways flie unto their old policies, and as they had done with *Hus*, and *Ferome* of *Prague*, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him with suspicion, they seek to intangle him with questions, they examin him in judgment, they compile Articles against him, and lay Heresie unto his charge, they condemn him as an Heretick, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godliness: this was the peaceable Order of those *Carmelites*. Whose Religion was to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding they did bear in their hearts malice, rancor, vengeance, poyson, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by Law, that none of these Clergy-men should fight with sword in the streets? when as in judgment and accusations (whereas it is not lawful for a man to oppress his Brother) there is no murderer which hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his Brothers soul than they. They shed no blood themselves, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliver them over unto others to be slain. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the Ministers of the cruel fact? they kill no man as murderers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

His Articles

The Articles which they falsly gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Moors* shall be converted unto Christ in the later days.

That abominations are used at *Rome*.

That the unjust Excommunication of the Pope is not to be feared: and those which do not observe the same do not sin or offend.

Ex Antonin.
3 part. Hist.
fol. 165.
W. Cardina-
le Rhedona-
ensis his
persecutor.
Thomas Rbe-
donensis
brought be-
fore Pope
Eugenius.

But yet there lacked a Minister for these Articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at *Rome*, where all things are to be sold, even mens souls. For this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet than *William* of *Roune*, Cardinal of Saint *Martins* in the Mount, Vice-chancellor of the Court of *Rome*. *Eugenius* at that time was Pope, who had a little before succeeded Pope *Martin* above mentioned. Before the which *Eugenius* this godly *Rhedonensis* the *Frenchman* was brought, and from thence sent unto prison. And again after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the Judges. The Wolf sat in judgment, the Lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring: But here need not many words. This good *Thomas* not being able to resist the malice of these mighty Potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convict and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he had taken of Priesthood. For it is counted an unlawful thing, that a Priest should be punished with prophane punishment, when as notwithstanding it is lawful enough for Priests to put any Lay-man to death, be he never so guiltless.

Thomas de-
graded.

How religiously and earnestly do they foresee that the Majesty of the Priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt? But how little care have they that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless? Wherefore before that he should come unto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and manner of this Popish degrading is partly before touched in the story of *William Taylor*.

Thomas Rbe-
donensis, a
Frenchman,
burned at
Rome.

After that it had pleased the Bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they deprived him of his life also, and burned him

four years after that he came to *Rome*. In the year of our Lord, 1436.

And thus through the cruelty of these most tyrannous Prelates, this blessed Martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loss of this body for a greater gain of salvation before the just judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted but that he liveth eternally under the Altar with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soon for some of them, whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

As this *Thomas* above said suffered at *Rome*, so were divers others in other places about *Germany* executed neer about the same time, after the burning of *John Hus*, and *Henry Grundfelder* Priest, of *Ratisbone*, Ann. 1420, also *Henry Radtgeber* Priest, in the same City, Ann. 1423. *John Draendorfe* of Noble birth, and a Priest, was burned at *Wormes*, Anno 1424. *Peter Thoraw* at *Spire*, Anno 1426. *Matthieu Hager* also suffered at *Berlin* in *Germany*, not long after. Ex *Baldi Centur. sept.*

Henry Grund-
felder Priest,
Henry Radt-
geber Priest,
John Draen-
dorfe Priest,
Peter Tho-
raw, Matthe-
Hager, Mar-
tyrs.
Pope Eugen-
ius the
Fourth.

After the death of Pope *Martin*, who reigned fourteen years, succeeded *Eugenius* the Fourth of that name, about the year of our Lord 1431. Of whom *Antonius* thus writeth, that he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the *Romans* may declare: also the Bat-tels between the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*.

This Pope began first to celebrate the Council of *Basil*, which Council *Martin* his Predecessor had before intended according to the institution of the Council of *Constance*. Notwithstanding the said *Eugenius* perceiving afterward this Council of *Basil* not to favour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, after-ward laboured by all subtil practise to dissolve and interrupt the said Council, and from *Basil* to translate it first to *Ferraria*, then to *Florentia*, more near to his own See of *Rome*. Concerning the which Council of *Basil*, forso-much as we have begun here to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principal matters thereof shall seem sufficient or necessary to be known.

Here followeth the order and manner of the Council of *Basil*, touching the principal matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged here in this present Book; the rest whereof we have referred unto our former Edition, wherein the full discourse of the whole Disputation is to be seen more at large for such as have list and leisure to see more thereof.

IN the Thirty ninth Session of the Council of *Constance*, (as is before mentioned) it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such General Councils as should hereafter follow: The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth year after the said Council of *Constance*: The second to be holden the 7th year after that, and so orderly all other to follow successively from ten year to ten year. Wherefore according to this Decree, followed a General Council five years after the Council of *Constance*, celebrate and holden at *Sene*, under Pope *Martin*, Anno 1424, but it soon broke up. After the which Council the term of seven years being expired, another Council was holden at *Basil*, in the year of our Lord 1431. The which Council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other Council beforetime celebrate and holden in the Church. This Council continued almost the space of seventeen years: wherein it was concluded, as before in the Council of *Constance*, that the General Councils were above the Pope, and both of these two Councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto the General Council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of this present Council.

The Coun-
cil of *Basil*.
Ex *Anna*
Sylvia.
Ex *Cochles*
in *Hist. Hef-*
st.
Et in *para-*
lipom. Ab-
bat. Helv.

When as Pope *Martin* the Fifth had appointed *Julian*, Cardinal and Deacon of Saint *Angel*, his Legate, to celebrate and hold a General Council at *Basil*, for the reformation of the Church, and rooting out of Heresies, within

The death
of Pope
Martin.
Pope Eugenius
the Fourth.

short space after Pope *Martin* died, in whose seat *Eugenius* the Fourth succeeded, who confirmed unto the said Cardinal *Julian* the same authority which his Predecessor before had given him. Unto this Council of *Basil* being begun, came the Emperor *Sigismund*, who during his life time, with his presence and authority, did protect and defend the said Synod. After the Emperors death, Pope *Eugenius* altering his former mind and purpose, would transport the Council unto *Bononia*, and thereby hindered the success of the Council of *Basil*. And first he held a contrary Council at *Ferraria*, and afterward at *Florence*. For after the death of the Emperor *Sigismund*, there were no Princes nor Noblemen that had any care or regard, of the Council. *Eugenius* the Pope pretended causes, as touching the *Greeks* which should come unto the Council, and the uniting of the Church unto the West Church, the which *Greeks* would in no wise pass the *Alpes*; also as touching his own incommodity, that he could not come unto *Basil*, being so long a journey, and that all his men might have easie access unto *Bononia*, and that amongst the *Germans* (which in their own Country are so intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal *Julian*, and the Fathers of the Council unto *Bononia*, under great penalty. They again cited the Pope that either he should come himself unto the Council, or send Ambassadors under the like penalty. For this cause the Ambassadors of *Albert* King of the *Romans*, and of the other Princes of *Germany*, assembled together first at *Norenberge*; and when as they could determine nothing there, they assembled again at *Frankford* to appease the dissention between the Council and the Pope: for it was thought that the Electors of the Empire might best assemble and meet in that place, in the mean time the Emperors Ambassadors, and the Ambassadors of the Electors went into *Basil*, and having conference with the Ambassadors of the other Princes which were there, they did earnestly exhort the Fathers of the Council, that they would embrace and receive the unity which they would offer. The request of the Princes was, that the Fathers would transport the Council, and go unto another place; the which only thing Pope *Eugenius* seemed always to seek and desire, that thereby he might either divide the Fathers of the Council, or take away their liberty.

Pope Eugenius
seeks to dissolve
the Council
of Basil.

Dissention
between the
Council of
Basil, and
Pope Eugenius.

The Princes
of the
Council refused
the Popes request.

Notwithstanding this sacred Synod thought good neither to deny the Princes request, nor to grant that which Pope *Eugenius* required. During this doubt, the Emperors Ambassadors, the Bishops of *Patavia* and *Augusta*, (being much required and stirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant Baron called *Conrade Weinsperger*, by the Kings commandment to be Protector and defender of the Council, and the Fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceived the Emperors mind to be alienate from the Pope, so the Fathers of the Council understood his good will towards them, forso much as he would not have sent them a Protector, if he had not judged it a lawful Council; neither again would he have judged it a Council in *Basil*, if he had given credit to Pope *Eugenius*. But by means of a great Pestilence which began to grow, the assembly that should have been holden at *Frankford* was transported unto *Mentz*. The Ambassadors of the Princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the Pope again unto the Council.

The Princes
assembled
at Mentz,
to make
unity
between
the Council
and the Pope.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Collen*, and *Trevers*, Electors of the Sacred Empire, and all the Ambassadors of the other Electors. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop of *Collen* was the chief favourer of the Council in this assembly, who with all his labour and diligence went about to bring the matter unto a good end. *Rabanus* the Archbishop of *Trevers* shewed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred Synod also thought good to send thither their Ambassadors, and appointed out the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, the Bishop of *Vicene*, and the Bishop of *Argen*: Divines, *John Segorinus*, and *Thomas de Corcellis*, with divers others. There was no man there present which would name himself the Ambassador of *Eugenius*: Albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the Council, and also out of *Florence*, the which albeit they had sworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more *Eugenius* than the Council. But the chief *Hercules* of all the *Eugenians* was *Nicolas Cusanus*, a man singularly well learned,

and of great experience. After divers consultations had, the Electors of the Empire, and the Ambassadors of the other Princes of *Germany*, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole Nation and Country, that the Decrees of the Council of *Basil* should be received and observed.

KING
H. 6.

Whilest these things were thus debated at *Mentz*, there sprang a certain very doubtful Question amongst the Divines which remained at *Basil*, whether *Eugenius* might be called an Heretick, which had so rebelliously contemned the commandments of the Church. Hereupon they gathered themselves together, disputing long amongst themselves, some affirming, and other some holding the Negative part. Upon this their disputation there arose three several opinions, some affirming that he was an Heretick; other some, not only an Heretick, but also a relapse: The third sort would neither grant him to be an Heretick nor a relapse. Amongst these Divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority, was the Bishop of *Ebrun*, Ambassador of the King of *Castile*, and a certain *Scottish* Abbot: which as two most valiant Champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent unto their arguments, or gave place unto them, and so their determination took place, and *Eugenius* was pronounced both an Heretick and relapse. Eight Conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the Divines, which they called verities, the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Christendom.

Three opinions
touching
the Pope.

When the Ambassadors of the Council were returned from *Mentz*, and that certain report was made of the allowing of their Decrees, the Fathers of the Council thought good to discuss the Conclusions of the Divines more at large. Whereupon by the commandment of the Deputies all the Masters, and Doctors, and Clergy were called together, with all the residue of the Prelates, into the Chapter-house of the great Church, there openly to dispute and discuss *Eugenius* heresie. The which thing so grieved the Bishop of *Millain*, fearing lest this disputation would work the deprivation of *Eugenius*, the which, as he said, he had always letted for fear of a Schism. Wherefore he ceased not by all manner of ways to labour, to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his Letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of *Eugenius*. But at the last there was a great assembly in the Chapter-house, some coming thither to dispute, and other some to hear. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon, amongst whom Cardinal *Lodovicus*, Archbishop *Arelatensis* was appointed as Judge and Arbitrator of the whole disputation; who besides many other notable vertues, was both valiant and constant. *Nicolas Amici* which was also a Protector of the Faith, a famous man amongst the Divines of *Paris*, demanded of every man what their opinion was. *John Deinlesist*, publick Notary, wrote every mans sentence and judgment. The Conclusions of the Divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following.

The Ambassadors
returned from
Mentz.

The Popes
heresie discussed.

The Bishop
of Millain
taketh
Eugenius
part
for fear of a
schism.

1. It is a verity of the Catholick Faith, that the Sacred General Council hath power over the Pope, or any other Prelate.
2. The Pope cannot by his own authority, either dissolve, transport, or prorogue the General Council being lawfully congregate, without the whole consent of the Council: and this is of like verity.
3. He which doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted an Heretick.
4. Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth hath resisted these verities, when as at the first, by the fulness of his Apostolick power, he attempted to dissolve or to transport the Council of *Basil*.
5. *Eugenius* being admonished by the Sacred Council, did recant the errors repugnant to these verities.
6. The dissolution or translation of the Council, attempted the second time by *Eugenius*, is against the aforesaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the Faith.
7. *Eugenius*, in going about to dissolve and transport the Council again, is fallen into his before revoked errors.

Conclusions
of the Disputation.

8. *Eugenius*

KING 8. *Eugenius* being warned by the Synod that he should revoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted, after that his contumacy was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a Council at *Ferraria*, shewed himself thereby obstinate.

These were the Conclusions which were read in the Chapter-house before the Fathers of the Council. Upon the which when they were desired to speak their minds, they all in a manner confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, *Panormitane* Archbishop disputed much against them. Likewise did the Bishop of *Burgen*, the King of *Arragons* Almoner. Yet did they not gain-say the three first Conclusions, but only those wherein Pope *Eugenius* was touched. This *Panormitane*, as he was subtil, so did he subtilly dispute against the last Conclusions, endeavouring himself to declare that *Eugenius* was not relapsed, and had great contention with the Bishop of *Argens*, *John Segovius*, and *Francis de Fuxe*, Divines. He divided the Articles of the Faith into three sorts: straitly, as in the Creed: largely, as in the Declarations made by the Church: most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premises: affirming that *Eugenius* did by no means violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the Church, that the Pope cannot dissolve the Councils; and that it seemeth not unto him to rise of the determinations before made, but rather of the Decrees of the Council of *Constance*. And further, that this as a case omitted is reserved for the Pope to be discussed, forso much as in the Chapter beginning *Frequens*, it appeareth that the place where the Council should be kept ought to be chosen by the Pope, the Council allowing the same, and nothing is thereof at all spoken. And if peradventure *Eugenius* had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the Council of the Cardinals, representing the Church of *Rome*; whose authority he said to be such, that the judgment thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there been any sacred Council found to have proceeded against *Eugenius* as an Heretick; and that is an evident sign that the Council hath not thought him to have swarved from the faith, neither to have any occasion that he should be called Heretick for his errors revoked; and that he himself hath read the whole Text, that the Pope did not revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence: Also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, forso much as likewise he had done it by the Council of the Cardinals, and for the uniting of the *Greeks*, that he might not be compelled in a criminal cause to answer by his Procurator, when as he being letted by sickness, could not come personally. *scil.* forasmuch as in the first dissolution *Eugenius* hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be perswaded that he can be called a relapse, forso much as he neither in the first, neither yet in the second dissolution did violate his faith.

This Oration of *Panormitane* was more praised than allowed of men. Notwithstanding this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the Conclusions, and instead thereof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst *Panormitane* himself altogether excuse *Eugenius* of Heresie, but defended more the first dissolution, than the second, yet departed he not without answer, for *John Segovius* an expert Divine, rising up, answered him reverently, as was comely for such a Prelate. He said, He granted that which *Panormitane* had spoken touching the division of the Articles of the Faith into three points, because it made for this purpose. For if those things are to be holden for Articles of Faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifest that the Conclusions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church, that is to say, of the Council of *Constance*; for if therein the Pope be made subject unto the General Council, who is it that will say that the Pope hath power over the Council which is above him; or that *Eugenius* ought to remain Pope, because he could not dissolve the Council which is above him, without the consent thereof? The which article undoubtedly he hath violate and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this Article was not violate, because there was no declaration made thereof, let him which

so thinketh thus, understand, That the Bishop of *Rome* ought not only to know the plain and manifest, but also the secret and hidden things of the Faith; for he being the Vicar of Christ, and the Head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he will not, then he shall be convicted for being dead, because he continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the Council, neither did consent unto the determination of the Church; and therefore if peradventure he did not err in the Faith in dissolving of the Council, yet did he err in persevering in the same, as it manifestly appeareth by the saying of *Clement* oftentimes alledged by *Panormitane*, wherein it is said, That he which liveth rebelliously, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the Devil than of Christ, and rather an Infidel than a true believer; so that *Eugenius* by disobeying the Church may worthily be called an Infidel. Neither is it true that the Pope hath not offended in the Faith; forso much as well in that answer which becometh *Cogitanti*, as also in the answer which becometh *Speranti*, made unto the Popes Ambassadors, these words are manifest; this Article concerning Faith, and we had rather die than through cowardlines to give place. By the which saying it is evident the Synod to have sufficiently admonished the Pope that he did against the Faith, and therefore it seemed that afterward, when as *Eugenius* revoked the dissolution, he also revoked the error of faith contained in the same. There are also divers offences sprung and risen through the error of faith: for some say that the Pope is under the Council, other some deny it, and this diversity of Doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressly against the authority of the Council, that the Pope did revoke the assertions made in their name.

And albeit in such revocations the stile and order of judgments is not observed, notwithstanding it doth suffice in such case when as the Council doth proceed against the Pope, in which case only the truth is to be observed, neither is the Council subject unto any positive Law, that it ought to observe any terms or judicial orders. Also he said that he utterly condemned that singular Gloss which did prefer the Pope before all the world, so that it might well be called singular, which decreed so foolish and fond things, and unworthy to be followed of any man; and that he did much marvel at *Panormitane*, and other Doctors of those days, which whilst they went about to extoll the authority of the Glosses, do abase the same by adding a singularity thereto; for that Gloss is singular which is alone. But who would not more esteem a Gloss constantly written and agreeable in all places, than that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may seem to be an error; and that as touching the verity and truth? Saint *Hierome* a grave and ancient Doctor, is contrary to this Gloss, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is above the City it self, that is to say, *Rome*.

Segovius could scarcely finish this his Oration without interruption; for *Panormitane* oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this, and now that reason. Whereupon the Bishop of *Argen* rising up, a man not only eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled *Panormitane* in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose; yet they proceeded so far, that they passed the manner of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts.

When the Bishop of *Argen* chanced to say that the Bishop of *Rome* ought to be the Minister of the Church, *Panormitane* could not suffer that: inso much that he so forgot himself that day, and his knowledg (which otherwise was great) did so fail him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirm, that the Pope was Lord over the Church. Whom *Segovius* answered, Mark (saith he) O *Panormitane*, what thou sayest; for this is the most honourable title of the Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he calleth himself the *Servant of the Servants of God*. Which is gathered upon this point, when as Christ said unto his Disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know he answered them, *The Princes of the people have rule and dominion over them, but amongst you it is not so, &c.* Wherein he doth utterly prohibit Lordship and Dominion; and *Peter* which was the first Vicar of Christ said, *Feed the flock of Christ which is committed*

The Pope neglecting to do good, is a member not of Christ, but of the Devil.

Councils bound to no positive Law.

Panormitane appointeth the Pope Lord of the Church.

The Pope and the Clergy desire Dominion contrary to the Scriptures.

unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly; and immediately after he said, *not as Lords over the Clergy.* For if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to serve, how then can his Vicar have any Dominion, or be called Lord, as you *Panormitane* will affirm? forasmuch as his Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. And the Lord himself saith, *Be ye not called Masters, forasmuch as your only Master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you shall be your servant.* *Panormitane* being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the Council brake up and departed.

The French Kings Embassador.

The next day there was a General Congregation, and they returned all again unto the Chapter-house after Dinner, where the Archbishop of *Lions*, the Kings Orator, being required to speak his mind, after he had by divers and sundry reasons, proved *Eugenius* to be an Heretick, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignavvy of those that had preferred such a Man unto the Papacy, and so moved all their hearts which were present, that they all together with him did bewail the calamities of the Universal Church.

The Bishop of Burgen.

Then the Bishop of *Burgen*, the Embassador of *Spain*, divided the Conclusions into two parts, some he called general, and other some personal, disputing very excellently as touching the three first Conclusions, affirming, that he did in no point doubt of them, but only, that the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtful unto him. But upon this point he stayed much, to prove that the Council was above the Pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proved both by Gods law, and mans law, he taught it also by physical reason, alledging *Aristotle* for witness. He said, *That in every well ordered Kingdom it ought especially to be desired, that the whole Realm should be of more authority than the King; which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a Kingdom, but a Tyranny: so likewise doth he think of the Church, that it ought to be of more authority than the Prince thereof, that is to say, the Pope.* The which his Oration he uttered so eloquently, learnedly and truly, that all men depended upon him, and desired rather to have him continue his Oration, than to have an end thereof.

The Council above the Pope.

The force of truth which appeared also in *Eugenius* himself the Writer hereof, although afterwards he was Pope, he denied the same.

Note what it is for a man to labour against his knowledge.

But when as he entered into the other Conclusions, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither gravity in Oration, or cheerfulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which ministered Copy of matter unto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof. But when as he began once to speak against her, she took away even his natural eloquence from him. Notwithstanding *Panormitane*, and the Bishop of *Burgen*, shewed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confess or grant the last Conclusions to be verities of Faith: yet they would not that any man should follow or lean unto their opinion, which were but mean Divines: but rather unto the Opinions of the Divines. But the King of *Arragon's* Almoner, being a subtil and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the Conclusions, but picking out here and there certain Arguments, fought to let and hinder the Council. Against whom an Abbot of *Scotland*, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; and *Thomas de Corcellis*, a famous Divine, alledged much against him out of the Decrees of the sacred Council, and with a certain modest shamefastness, always beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the Conclusions.

The Conclusions of the Disputation.

The first Conclusion.

But now to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare Arguments whereby the Conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to intreat of the five last Conclusions, which concern the person of *Eugenius*, but only upon the three first, whereunto I will adjoyn certain probable Arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the Fathers. In the first Conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed; touching the which, two things are to be required and examined. The one, *Whether the General Council have authority over the Pope.* The other, *Whether the Catholick Faith commandeth it to be believed.* As touching that the Pope is subject to the General Council,

it is excellently well proved by the reason before alledged by the Bishop of *Burgen*. For the Pope is in the Church, as a King in his Kingdom; and for a King to be of more authority than his Kingdom, it were too absurd: *Ergo*, neither ought the Pope to be above the Church. For like as oftentimes Kings which do wickedly govern the Commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their Kingdoms; even so, it is not to be doubted, but that the Bishops of *Rome* may be disposed by the Church, that is to say, by the General Councils.

KING (Hn. 6.)

A King is not of more authority than his Kingdom.

Neither do I herein allow them which attribute so ample and large authority unto Kings, that they will not have them bound under any Laws; for such as so do say, be but flatterers, which do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say, that the moderation of the Law is always in the Princes power; that do I thus understand, that when as reason shall persuade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the Law; for he is called a King, which careth and provideth for the Commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of his Subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth; which if he do not, he is not to be counted a King but a Tyrant, whose property it is, only to seek his own profit; for in this point a King differeth from a Tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his own. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alledged wherefore Kings were ordained.

These kind of flatterers came none in our days.

What a King is.

At the beginning (as *Cicero* in his Offices saith) it is certain, that there was a certain time when as the People lived without Kings. But afterward, when Lands and Possessions began to be divided according to the custom of every Nation, then were Kings ordained for no other cause, but only to exercise justice. For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and vertuous man, which should defend the poor from injury, and ordain Laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet under the rule of Kings, the poor were oftentimes oppressed, Laws were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich; whereby we do understand and know, not only the People, but also the King to be subject to the Laws. For if we do see a King to contemn and despise the Laws, violently rob and spoil his Subjects, deflower Virgins, dishonest Matrons, and do all things licentious and temerariouly; do not the Nobles of the Kingdom assemble together, deposing him from his Kingdom, set up another in his place, which shall swear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the Laws? Verily as reason doth persuade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the Church, that is to say, in the Council, which is done in any Kingdom. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we have before said, that the Pope is subject unto the Council.

The institution of Kings.

The Pope ought to be subject unto the Council.

But now to pass unto the Arguments of Divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do intreat upon, are the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but especially where as he speaketh unto *Peter*, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, & porta inferni non prevalebunt adversus eam*; that is, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this Disputation, forasmuch as some were wont to alledge these words, to extol the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. But (as it shall by and by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think; for he saith, *And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there have been spoken, than that the gates of Hell should not prevail against the Church? These gates of Hell, as *St. Jerome* saith, *Sins are the gates of Hell.* Wherefore, if sins cannot prevail against the Church, neither can any malign spirits prevail against the same, which have no power at all over Mankind, but only through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in *Job*, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit, thereby it followeth, that the power of the Church is above all other power.

This place Tu es Petrus expounded.

Sins are the gates of Hell.

We

KING
Hes. 6. 1
Against the
Papist, op-
inion, that
the Pope
cannot err.

The inter-
pretation
of this
place, *Oravi*
pro te *Petre*,
is meant of
the Church.

Bishops of
Rome are
Heretics.
He meaneth
Silvester the
second.

The Church
is without
sin, and the
Pope is a
sinner.

The Church
one flesh
with Christ.

The Church
is without
spot or sin.
It is to be un-
derstood
not by na-
ture, but
only by im-
putation.

We may also upon the same saying, reason after another sort; forasmuch as the gates of Hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the Pope which is a mortal man, forasmuch as it is written, *Seven times in the day the just man doth offend.* If the Church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled Church? Neither let us give ear unto those which will not refer these words of Christ unto the Church, whereas he saith, *Oravi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat Fides tua*, that is to say, *Peter I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith should not fail thee.* For as *S. Augustine* saith in the Exposition of the *Psalms*, Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the Apostle *Peter*, notwithstanding, they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the Church the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent. Whereupon in another place in the questions of the New and Old Testament, upon the words, *Rogavi pro te Petre, I have prayed for thee Peter*; what is doubted? Did he pray for *Peter*, and did he not pray for *James* and *John*, beside the rest? It is manifest, that under the name of *Peter* all others are contained. For in another place of *S. John*, he saith, *I pray for them whom thou hast given me, and I will that wheresoever I am, they shall be also with me.* Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of *Peter* understand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forasmuch as within a while after, the Faith of *Peter* failed for a time, by the denial of Christ, but the Faith of the Church, whose person *Peter* did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

As touching the Bishops of *Rome*, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have been Heretics, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant, how that *Marcellinus* at the Emperors commandment, did sacrifice unto Idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attain unto the Papacy by devilish fraud and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimony of *Paul* unto the *Hebrews* shall suffice us at this time, who saith, *that every Bishop is compassed in with infirmity*, that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the Church remaineth always without sin; for in *Matthew* he saith, *I am with you even unto the end of the World.* The which words were not only spoken to the Apostles (for they continued not unto the end of the world) but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signify that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy Church, consisting amongst his Apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

And again in another place, *I (saith he) will pray, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you.* The which words being spoke unto the Disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so consequently unto the Church. And if the spirit of truth be continually in the Church, no man can deny but that the Church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the Spouse of the Church, who seeth not but that the Church is undefiled? For the Husband and the Wife (as the Apostle saith) are two in one flesh, and (as he doth also add) *no man hateth his own flesh*; thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the Church, forasmuch as she is his Spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself; Ergo, the Church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apostle, to confess that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he writing unto *Timothee*, affirmeth the Church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon in this Song to the Spouse it is said, *My friend thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee.* These words peradventure, may abash some; that I do go about to prove the Church to be without sin. For

when as the Church doth contain all Men which are called Christians, which also do agree and come together in one belief of Faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I do fear lest some men will think, that I do affirm all men to be without sin; which is so far from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the Church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselves; for the Church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subject unto humane fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable Sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, which affirm that the Virgin *Mary* only persevered in Faith at the Lords Passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith might be so debilitate and weakened, that it should return to one only old Woman, whose opinion, or rather madness, *St. Paul* seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the *Romans*, *Do ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture writeth of Elias, how incessantly he called upon God against the Children of Israel, (saying) O Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and digged down thine Altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul: But what answer received he of God? I have left unto my self yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal.* What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of them which think the Church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men, who affirm, that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father, *O holy Father, save them in thy Name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy Name: I have kept them that thou gavest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the son of perdition. And I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the World, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.*

Behold, Christ prayeth that his Disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, and he so praying, without doubt is heard; for he saith in another place, *I know that thou hearest me.* But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swarved at the time of his Passion? As for example, by what means did Christ hanging upon the Cross, commend his dearly beloved Mother unto *John*, if so be he were either then swarved, or should by and by after have swarved from the Faith? Moreover, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and say, *truly this is the Son of God?* The Jews also which at that time were far distant from *Jerusalem*, might both be called faithful, and also saved by their faith; seeing that (as the Apostle saith) men are bound unto the Gospel, after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is a great number of good men in the Church, and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the Church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the Church is compared unto a Net which is cast into the Sea, and gathered together all kind of Fishes.

And again, it is compared unto a King, which made a Marriage for his Son, and sent forth his Servants to call those which were bidden unto the Wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the Church; the which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the Church were. But forasmuch as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithful in the Church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the Church, to be called most holy;

The Church without sin, how to be understood.

The error of those which say that only the Virgin *Mary* did persevere constant at the time of Christs Passion.

The Church comprehendeth both the evil and good. Mat. 20.

This listing of Ecclesiastes is not so to be translated, and also serveth to another sense than here meant.

holy; which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our Creed, *unam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam*, that is to say, *one holy Catholick and Apostolick Church*; the which Article the Synod of Constantinople added unto the rest; wherefore if the Church be holy, it is also without sin. But to return to our former purpose, this word *Sanctum*, which signifieth holy (as *Macrobius* alledging *Trebatius*, affirmeth) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for clean and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the Church holy, as the Apostle *Peter* calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epistle of *Clement*.

Christ is the Rock whereupon the Church is builded.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by *Saint Paul*, *That Christ is the Head of the Church*; for if the Church should wholly sin, she should not agree with her Head *Christ*, who is in no point defiled. This also *Christ* himself would signifie unto us in *Matthew*, when he commended the House which was builded upon the strong Rock, against the which, neither the Winds, neither the Storms could prevail. *Is the house of God* (saith the Apostle) *which is the Church, builded upon the Rock, which Rock (as the Apostle declareth) is Christ*. Who then is so unshamefast, that he will affirm the Church, which is founded upon *Christ*, to be subject to sin? And will not rather cry out with the Prophet, and say, *Domine, dilexi decorum domus tue*; that is to say, *O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house*? Hereupon wrote *John Chrysostome* this Golden Sentence, *The Church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Christ it hath always the upper hand, and overcame. And albeit that others do ly in wait for it, or that the floods do beat against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the Rock is not shaken*. *Saint Hilary* also saith, *That it is the property of the Church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reproved, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtain victory when as it seemeth almost overcome*. Thus by many reasons and testimonies, it is proved that the Church doth not err; which is not spoken or affirmed of the Bishops of *Rome*, so that this reason doth make the Pope subject unto the Church; for it is convenient, that the less perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now somewhat more intreat.

He proveth by authority the Pope to be under the Council.

If authority be sought for, saith *Saint Jerome* (for I willingly occupy my self in his sentences, as in a most fertile field) *the World is greater than a City*. What then I pray you *Jerome*? Is the Pope mighty because he is Head of the Church of *Rome*? His authority is great, notwithstanding the Universal Church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one City, but also the whole World. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Church be the Mother of all faithful, then she hath the Bishop of *Rome* for her son; otherwise, as *Saint Augustine* saith, *he can never have God for his Father, which will not acknowledge the Church for his Mother*. The which thing *Anacletus* understanding, called the Universal Church his Mother, as the Writers of the Canons do know. And *Calixtus* saith, As a Son he came to do the will of his Father, so we do the will of our Mother, which is the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the Son is inferiour to the Mother, so much the Church is superiour or above the Bishop of *Rome*.

The Church being the Spouse, the Pope cannot be the Head thereof, but he must also be the Head of Christ, for so much as Christ and his Spouse be both one.

Also we have said before, that the Church was the Spouse of *Christ*, and the Pope we know to be a Vicar; but no man doth so ordain a Vicar, that he maketh his Spouse subject unto him, but that the Spouse is always thought to be of more authority than the Vicar; for so much as she is one body with her Husband, but the Vicar is not so. Neither will I here pass over the words of *St. Paul* unto the *Romans*, *Let every soul (saith he) be subject unto the higher powers*. Neither doth he herein except the Pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the Church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto *Peter* by *Christ*, *Whatsoever thou bindest, &c.* In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the Person of the Church, for we find it spoken afterward unto them *Quodcumque ligaveritis super terram, ligatum erit in celis* that is, *Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, shall be also bound in Heaven*. And furthermore, if all power be given

The exposition of this place, *Quodcumque ligaveritis*.

of *Christ*, as the Apostle writeth unto the *Corinthians*, it is given for the edifying of the Church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the Church correct the Pope, if he abuse the Keys, and bring all things unto ruine?

{KING} Hen. 6. The Church may depose the Pope, if he abuse the Keys.

Add hereunto also another Argument. A Man in this life is lesser than the Angels, for we read in *Matthew* of *John Baptist*, that *he which is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he*. Notwithstanding *Christ* faith in another place, *that amongst the children of women, there was not a greater than John Baptist*. But to proceed, Men are forced, by the example of *Zacharias*, to give credit unto Angels, lest through their misbelief, they be stricken blind as he was. What more? the Bishop of *Rome* is a Man: Ergo, he is less than the Angels, and is bound to give credit to the Angels. But the Angels learn of the Church, and do reverently accord unto her Doctrine, as the Apostle writeth unto the *Ephesians*; Ergo, the Pope is bound to do the same, who is less than the Angels, and less than the Church, whose authority is such, that worthily it is compared by *Saint Augustine* unto the Sun; that like as the Sun by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the Church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon *Saint Augustine* writeth thus, *I would not believe the Gospel, saith he, if the authority of the Church did not move me thereunto*: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the Bishop of *Rome*, who representing the Church, and being Minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour *Christ*, do specially prove the Bishop of *Rome* to be subject to the Church, as we will hereafter declare. For he sending *Peter* to preach unto the Church, said, *Go, and say unto the Church*. To the confirmation of whose authority, these words do also pertain, *He that heareth you, heareth me*. The which words are not only spoken unto the Apostles, but also unto their successors, and unto the whole Church.

The Church and not the Pope compared to the Sun.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the Pope do not hearken and give ear unto the Church, he doth not give ear unto *Christ*, and consequently he is to be counted as an *Erb-nick* and *Publican*. For as *Saint Augustine* affirmeth, when as the Church doth excommunicate, he which is so excommunicate, is bound in Heaven, and when the Church looseth he is loosed. Likewise, if he be an *Heretic* which taketh away the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, as the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* do determine, how much more is he to be counted an *Heretic* which taketh away the authority from the Universal Church, wherein the Church of *Rome* and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave Authors) that the Pope is subject unto the Universal Church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of the General Council. For there are some, which (whether it be for desire of vain glory, or that through their flattery they look for some great reward) have begun to teach new and strange Doctrines, and to exempt the Bishop of *Rome* from the Jurisdiction of the General Council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present Schism, but also all other Schisms, even unto this day have had their original. For as in times past the greedy desire and ambition of the Papacy, brought in that pestiferous Beast, which through *Arrius* then first crept into the Church; even so they do especially nourish and maintain this present Heresie which are not ashamed to beg. Of the which number, some cry out and say, the works of the Subjects ought to be judged by the Pope, but the Pope to be reserved only unto the Judgment of God. Others said, that no man ought to judge the high and principal Seat, and that it cannot be judged either by the Emperor, either by the Clergy, either by any King or People. Other affirm, that the Lord hath reserved to himself the depositions of the chief Bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the Bishop of *Rome*, although he carry souls in never so great number unto Hell, yet he is not subject unto any correction or rebuke.

The Pope if he do not hearken to the Church, is an Erb-nick and Publican.

It is to be feared lest the Church hath had many such Popes.

Whether the Pope is to be judged by the General Council, &c.

These are the Canons and the School Divines, and beggars & Friars.

Diversity of judgments touching the Bishop of Rome.

And

KING
Ans. 6.

And because these their words are easily refolved, they run straightways unto the Gospel, and interpret the words of Christ; not according to the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteeme and regard this which was spoken unto Peter, *In vocaberis Cephas*; that is, *Thou shalt be called Cephas*: by the which word they make him the Head of the Church. Also, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon the earth, &c.* I have prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith should not fail. And again, *Feed my Sheep*; *Cast thy Net into the deep*; *Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men*: Also that Christ commanded Peter, as the Prince of the Apostles, to pay Toll for them both; and that Peter drew the Net unto the Land full of great Fishes; and that only Peter drew out his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the Expositions of the Fathers; the which if (as reason were) they would consider, they should manifestly perceive, by the authorities aforesaid, that the Pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in Council, but when they are separate and divided.

But these things being passed over, forso much as answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall follow, we will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men upon this question. But first we would have it known, that all men, which are of any name or estimation, do agree, that the Pope is subject to the Council, and for the proof thereof they repeat (in a manner) all those things which were before spoken of the Church; for they suppose all that which is spoken of the Church, to serve for the General Council. And first of all they alledge this saying of the Gospel, *Die Ecclesie, Tell it unto the Church*. In the which place it is convenient to understand, that Christ spake unto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, *If thy brother offend or sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear unto thee, Dic Ecclesie, Tell it unto the Church*.

What shall we understand by the Church in that place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole World? *My yoke is pleasant, saith the Lord, and my burden is light*. But how is it light, if Christ command us to do that which is impossible to be done? For how could Peter speak unto the Church which was dispersed, or to seek out every Christian scattered in every Town or City? But the meaning of these words is far otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted; for which cause, it is necessary that we remember the double person which Peter represented, as the person of the high Bishop, and a private man. The sense and meaning of his words are evident and plain enough of themselves, that they need no suppliment or alteration. We must first mark and see what this word *Ecclesia* signifieth, the which we do find to be but only twice spoken of by Christ; once in this place, and again when as he said unto Peter, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam*; that is, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. Wherefore the Church signifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. *Dic Ecclesie, tell it unto the Church*, that is to say, *Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful*; the which, forso much as they are not accustomed to come together but in a General Council, this interpretation shall seem very good, *Dic Ecclesie, tell it unto the Church*, that is to say, *Dic generali Concilio, tell it unto the General Council*.

In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man which doth think these words to be more properly expressed in any Prelate, than in the Council, when as they must put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we shall from henceforth find no firm or stable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at this Interpretation, let him search the old Writers, and he shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy Fathers and old Doctors, which have first given light unto the Church, as Pope Gregory witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both

for the holiness of his life, and his singular learning) whose words are these, written in his Register unto the Bishop of Constantinople; *And we (said he) against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldness, do observe and keep that which the truth doth command us, saying, Si peccaverit in te frater, that is, If thy brother do offend against thee, &c.* And afterward he addeth more, *If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I do seek help of the Church*. The which words do manifestly declare the Church here to be taken for the General Council. Neither did Gregory say, that he would seek help of the Church that is dispersed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the General Council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Also Pope Nicholas reproving Lotharius the King for adultery, said, *If thou dost not amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy Church*.

In the which saying, Pope Nicholas did not say, that he would go throughout the World to certify every one, man by man; but that he would call the Church together, that is to say, the General Council, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he which had contemned the Popes commandments, should fear the reverence of the General Council. I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tend unto one end; but this one testimony of the Council of Constance, shall suffice for them all; wherein it is said, that not only the Pope in the correction of his Brother, is remitted unto the Council, when as he cannot correct him of himself; but also when as any thing is done as touching the correction of the Pope himself, the matter ought to be referred to the Council. Whereby it appeareth our interpretation to be most true, which doth expound the Church to be in the General Council. Hereupon in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the Congregations which were then holden were called the Church. Also in the Council of Nice, and in other Councils, when as many should be excommunicated, always in manner, this sentence was adjoynd, *Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia*, i. *The Catholick and Apostolick Church doth excommunicate this man*. And hereupon that Title is given unto the Councils, whereby we do say, that the General Council doth represent the Universal Church. Wherefore the Laws and Decrees of the Council are called the Laws of the Church, for that the Church doth not set forth any Laws in any other place, but in the General Council; except we will call the Popes Constitutions the Laws of the Church, which cannot be properly said but of the Council; whereas, albeit all these which are of the Church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those which come, the whole power of the Church doth consist. Whereupon we read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, *It pleased the Apostles and Elders with all the Church*. For albeit that all the faithful were not there present (because a great number of them remained at Antioch) yet notwithstanding it was called the whole Church, because the whole power of the Church consisted in the Council. Thus for this present it is sufficient that we understand by the Church the General Council.

And now to return unto our purpose, let us hear what our Saviour saith unto Peter, *If thy brother do offend against thee, unto this Text following, Tell it unto the Church*; and let us understand the Council by the Church. Who is greater in this place, he which is sent unto the Council, or the Council whereunto Peter was sent? The verity doth remit the Bishop of Rome unto the General Council. And why so? verily because the Bishop of Rome should not disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be above them, the which they should consult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name, *Simon*; the which, as *Rabanus* in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew Tongue, obedience, that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the Bishop of Rome.

The authority of the Council of Constance might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to stay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries; which while they go about to maintain the unfatiable

The Church taken for the General Council.

The Council of Constance decreeth the Pope to be under the Council.

The Acts of the Apostles The Council of Nice.

The title of the Council.

The Constitutions of the Bishops of Rome, are not the laws of the Church.

By the Church the Council is understood.

Simon obedience necessary in the Bishops of Rome.

Have foolishly the Church of Rome doth wrest the Scriptures, neglecting the expositions of the Fathers.

Those things were spoken of the Church, serve also for the General Council.

Peter representeth a double person.

Christ nameth the Church but twice in the Gospel.

What the Church is.

The Interpretation of this place Dic Ecclesie.

The favour-
ers and
maintainers
of the Pope
go about to
maintain
and prefer
the pleasure
and profit
of one be-
fore a com-
mon com-
modity.

fatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth, before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stir up. Against the which, besides many other, *Zacharias* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive. Who in the great and sacred Synod of *Chalcedon*, when as the sentence of the Bishop of *Rome* was objected unto him, that the Canon of Pope *Nicholas* and other Patriarchs was above the Council, he replied against it. And *Zosimus* the Pope saith thus, as touching the Decrees of the General Council, *The authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the Fathers*. Neither doth he here speak of the Decrees of the Fathers which are dispersed abroad in Cities or Wilderness, for they do not bind the Pope; but of them which are made and published by the Fathers in the General Council. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of Pope *Leo*, the most eloquent of all the Bishops of *Rome*, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto *Anatholius*, *That the Decrees of the Council of Nice are in no part to be violate and broken; thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the high Patriarch*.

The Pope
can abide
no General
Councils.

The authority also of *Damasus* upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto *Arelins* the Archbishop, as *Isidorus* declareth in the Book of Councils, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the Synod is this, *That they which are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either forwardly do any thing, either presume to do any thing, or willingly consent unto those which would do any thing contrary and against the sacred Canons, they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost*. Of the which blasphemy whether *Gabriel*, which calleth himself *Eugenius*, be presently partaker, let them judge which have heard him say, *That it is so far from his office and duty to obey the General Councils, that, he saith, he doth then best merit and deserve, when as he contemneth the Decrees of the Council*. *Damasus* addeth yet moreover, *For this purpose, saith he, the rulers of the sacred Canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be known and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no mans, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid) we do transgress against any of the Decrees of the holy Fathers*. Notwithstanding we daily see in all the Popes Bulls and Letters, these words, *Non obstante*, that is to say notwithstanding, which no other necessity hath brought in, than only unsatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

Non obstante
in the Popes
Bulls.

The Coun-
cil to be
above the
Pope.

But now to return again unto *Damasus*, mention is made in the Epistles of *Ambrose* Bishop of *Millain*, of a certain Epistle, which is said to be written by *Damasus*, unto the Judges deputed by the Council of *Capua*, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter which hath been before the Council. By the which saying, he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirm and say, the Bishop of *Rome* to be above the Council. The which, if it were true, *Damasus* might have taken into his hands the cause of *Bonofius* the Bishop to determine, which was before begun by the Council; but forso much as the Council is above the Pope, *Damasus* knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon *Hilarinus* also acknowledging the Synod to be above him, would have his Decrees confirmed by the Council. Also the famous Doctor Saint *Augustine* in his Epistle which he did write unto *Glorius* and *Eleusius*, and *Felix* the Grammarian, declareth the case. *Cecilianus* the Bishop was accused by *Donatus*, with others. *Melchisedes* the Pope with certain other Bishops, absolved *Cecilian*, and confirmed him in his Bishoprick. They being moved with those doings, made a Schism in the parts of *Africa*, *S. Augustine* reproveth them, which having another remedy against the sentence of the Pope, did raise a Schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner: *Behold, let us think those Bishops which gave judgment at Rome, not to have been good Judges, there remained yet the judgment of the Universal Church, where the cause might have bin pleaded even with the Judges themselves, so that if they were convicted not to have given just judgment, their sentence might be broken*.

Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the Pope alone, but also the Pope with his Bishops joyned with

him, might be made frustrate by the Council; for the full judgment of the Universal Church is not found elsewhere but in the General Council. Let not any man doubt, in that *S. Augustine* seemeth here only to speak of Bishops, for if the Text of his Epistle be read over, he shall find the Bishop of *Rome* to be comprehended amongst the other Bishops. It was also prohibited by the Councils of *Africa*, that the Bishops of *Rome* should not receive or hear the Appeals of any which did appeal from the Council; which altogether declare the superiority of the Council. And this appeareth more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, where *Peter* is rebuked by the Congregation of the Apostles, because he went in to *Cornelius* a Heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the Congregation; and yet it was said unto him as well as others, *He & baptizate, &c. Go and baptise*. But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose, which *St. Paul* writeth unto the *Galatians*, where he saith, *he resisted Peter even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the Gospel*. Which words, if they be well understood, signifie none other thing by the verity of the Gospel, than the Canon of the Council decreed amongst the Apostles; for the Disciples being gathered together, have so determined it. Whereupon *S. Paul* doth shew, that *Peter* ought to have obeyed the General Council.

[KING]
[Hen. 6.]
The full
judgment
of the
Church is
not to be
found but
in the Ge-
neral Coun-
cil.

No appeal
to be made
from the
Council to
the Pope.
Acts 31.

Gal. 2.
Peter con-
strained to
obey the
General
Council.

The Decree
of the coun-
cil of Con-
stance.

The Pope
bound un-
der the ob-
edience of
the General
Council.

Divers pla-
ces rehear-
ed out of
the Gospels
and Apo-
stles, for au-
thority of
the Church
and General
Councils a-
bove the
Pope.

But now to finish this Disputation, we will here adjoyn the determination of the Council of *Constance*, the which Council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared by a solemn Decree, *That all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were Popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred General Councils*. And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, *in such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the head as in the members*: notwithstanding this amplificative clause, which is adjoyned, is to be noted, *Et in pertinentibus ad ea*, that is to say, *with all the appurtenants*. The which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his Apostles, *Go ye forth and teach all people*. He did not say in three points only, *but teach them to observe and keep all things whatsoever I have commanded you*. And in another place he saith, *not this or that, but whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.* which all together are alledged for the authority of the Church and General Councils. For the preferment whereof these things also come in place, *He that heareth you, heareth me*. And again, *It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God*. Also, *Where two or three be gathered in my name, &c.* Again, *Whatsoever ye shall ask, &c.* O holy Father, save them whom thou hast given me, &c. And I will be with them even unto the end of the World. Also out of *St. Paul* these places are gathered, *We are helpers of God, &c.* Which hath made us apt Ministers of the New Testament, &c. And he appointed some Apostles, and some Prophets, &c. In all which places, both Christ and the Apostles, spake of the authority of many, which all together are alledged for the authority of the Universal Church.

But forso much as that Church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain any thing; therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the Church doth consist in the General Councils where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the Primitive Church, that hard and weighty matters were not intreated upon, but only in the General Councils and Congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward. For when as the Churches were divided, General Councils were holden. And in the Council of *Nice* we do find the Heresie of *Arrius* condemned. In the Council of *Constantinople* the Heresie of *Macedonius*. In the Council of *Ephesus* the Heresie of *Nestorius*. In the Council of *Chalcedon* the Heresies of *Eutychius* were also condemned; forso much as they thought the judgment of the Bishop of *Rome* not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the Council to be of greater force than the sentence of the Pope, forso much as he might err as a Man; but the Council wherein so many Men were gathered together,

Weighty
matters in-
treated but
only in Ge-
neral Coun-
cils.

The Pope
not suffici-
ent of him-
self to con-
vince or
judge Here-
tics.
The Pope
may err.

KING
Hen. 6.

ther, being guided with the holy Ghost, could not err. Also it is a very excellent saying of *Martianus* the Emperor, which serveth for that purpose, whose words are these: *Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men will stick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of meer madness, at the noon-time and fair day light, to seek for a feigned light; for he which having found the truth seeketh to discuss any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.*

Whether
the Pope
may be de-
posed by the
Council or
not.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the Bishop of *Rome* is under the Council. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the Council or not: For albeit it be proved, that he is under the Council, yet for all that will they not grant, that he may be also deposed by the Council. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter: and first of all, to speak of these Railers which are yet so earnest for the defence of the Bishop of *Rome*, which being vanquished in one Battell still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before spoken, as touching the preheminance of the Bishop of *Rome*, or the Patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words than eloquent, they stay much of this point, where Christ said unto Peter, *Tibi dabo claves Regni Caelorum; I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon Earth shall be bound in Heaven;* as though by those words he should be made Head over the other. And again they do amplify it by this, *Pasce oves meas, Feed my sheep,* which they do not find to be spoken to any other of the Apostles. And because it is said, that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the Apostles, therefore they judge it well spoken, that no man shall judge the chief and principal See; being all of this opinion with *Boniface*, which said, that the Pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or known to swerve from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him head-long into Hell, there to be perpetually tormented; as though he could open the Kingdom of Heaven to others, if any other could shut it against him; that he could feed other, if he himself lacked pasture.

The places
Tibi dabo
claves regni
caelorum,
Pasce oves
meas, make
nothing for
the Popes
supremacy.

The Popes
supremacy
confuted.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For Saint *Augustine* in the Sermon of the Nativity of Peter and Paul, faith in this wise, *Our Lord Jesus Christ, before his Passion, chose his Disciples, (as ye do know) whom he called brethren. Amongst those Peter alone almost in every place, represented the person of the Church, And therefore it was said unto him, Tibi dabo claves Regni Caelorum, that is to say, Unto thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. These Keys did he not receive as one man, but as one he received them for the Church. And in another place, where he writeth of the Christian Agony, he faith, The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given unto the Church, when as they were given unto Peter. And when as it was spoken unto him, Amas me? Pasce oves meas, that is to say, Lovest thou me? Feed my Sheep; it was spoken unto them all. And Saint *Ambrose* in the beginning of his Pastoral, faith, Which sheep and which flock the blessed Apostle Saint Peter took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we altogether with him. By which words the foundation and principal arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrown. For if Peter represented the person of the Church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto Peter, but unto the Church. Neither do I see how that can stand which *Boniface* doth affirm, for it is far distant from the truth, except it be understood otherwise than it is spoken.*

Pope Boni-
face erreth.

But it may peradventure seem a great thing unto some, that it is said the Bishop of *Rome* to be the Head of the Militant Church. For as in the body of man, Physicians do never give counsel to cut off the Head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be never so full of Ulcers, or infected: so in this Mystical Body of the Church, the Head ought always to be kept; and albeit it be never so wicked, yet it is to be suffered and born withal. But now convert this Argument, If it were possible in the body of man, when one Head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the Church;

The Bishop
of Rome un-
properly
called the
Head of the
Church.

should not Heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the Head of the Church should be, in respect of his body, as the Head of Man in respect of the body of Man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurdity to confess, that the Pope being dead, the Church also should be dead; the which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoever other men say. I am not of opinion with them, which affirm the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church, except peradventure, they do make him the ministerial Head; for we do read that Christ is the Head of the Church, and not the Pope; and that he is the true Head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting, and the Church is his body, whereof the Pope himself is also a member, and the Vicar of Christ, not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroyer of the Church, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do; and we ought, as Pope *Leo* faith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the Gospel; that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord faith in another place, *every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire.* And in another place also it is said unto us, *Take away all evil and wickedness from among you.* It is very just and true which is written in the Epistle of *Clement*, unto *James* the brother of our Lord, *that he which will be saved, ought to be separate from them which will not be saved.*

They doth
which say
that the
Pope can-
not be de-
posed for
any other
cause than
for heresie.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must have recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the Gospel of *John*, *I am the true Vine, faith the Lord, and my Father is the Husbandman, but ye are the branches; every branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off.* These words were spoken unto the Apostles, amongst whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also saint *Jerome* upon these words of *Matthew*, *Unsavory salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and troden of swine.* Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul he faith thus, *It is no easie matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keep the Chair of them which reign with Christ. This unsavory salt, that is to say, a foolish Prelate, unsavory in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be troden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty Prelates, as their own flock and herd. Behold this testimony of *Jerome* is plain and evident, Let him be cast out, faith he.*

Fruitless
branches are
to be cut
off.

He expoundeth and speaketh it of the Prelate which usurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the Bishop of *Rome*, who being unsavory in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as *Jerome* affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither as some do dream, is he to be deposed for Heresie only. *Isidorus* in the Book of Councils, rehearseth a certain Epistle of *Clement* the Successor of Peter, written unto *James* the Apostle, where the said *Clement*, referring the words of Peter unto himself, faith thus, *If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thy self, and those which shall give ear unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation; whereby it shall come to pass, that thou, as a man for not teaching those things which pertain unto salvation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance.* Notwithstanding in another place, in stead of this word deposed, it is found, *thou shalt be punished;* which two words, if they be well understood, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment. But peradventure some will here object, that this Epistle is not to be judged *Clement's*, because it is said to be written unto *James*, who as the Ecclesiastical History affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But *Clement* might think that *James* was alive, when as he wrote; which were far distant asunder, and Messengers of the Christians came not often unto *Rome*. Moreover, there is mention made of this Epistle in divers places of the Decretals, as most true, and therefore it

If the Pope
be unsavory
salt, he is
to be cast
away.

A note for
all naughty
Prelates.

The words
of Peter to
Clement.

The Epistle
of Clement
to James
doubted.

it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same Epistle; where he saith, *That he which liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learn and to do good, is rather a member of the Devil than of Christ, and doth shew himself rather to be an Infidel than a faithful Christian.* Upon which words, the Gloss which *Panormitane* calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, That if the crime or offence of the Bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, *Ergo*, also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault depofed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

The Pope may and ought to be both accused and punished for ill doing.

Whether the Pope may be depofed by the Council or no.

The Pope is rather to be called the Vicar of the Church, than of Christ.

Pope John 23d depofed, and yet for no Heresie.

Whether Councils may be congregated without the authority of the Pope.

They err that say the Pope ought only to appoint the Councils. Mark wherefore the Popes will have no General Councils.

The first Council of the Apostles

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the Pope may be depofed. Notwithstanding it is not yet evident whether he may be depofed by the Council or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And first of all the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the Bishop of Rome may be depofed by the Church, forasmuch as the Pope being the Vicar of the Church, no man doubteth but that a Lord may put out his Vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the Pope is more truly called the Vicar of the Church than of Christ. But if the Church may depofe the Pope, *Ergo*, the Council also may do the same. Also the Gloss, which *Panormitane* in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence, *That the General Council is judge over the Pope in all cases.* Likewise the most sacred Synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the Bishops of Rome to be under the judgment of the Council; and the Council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the Bishop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt thereof, because this word depofition is not mentioned; for it is said of every doubtful matter or question; for if the Synod do judge of every doubt, *Ergo*, it shall also judge whether the Pope shall be depofed or not; for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples far off, *John 23.* whom all the World did reverence, was depofed of his Papacy by the Council of Constance. Neither yet was he condemned for any Heresie; but because he did offend the Church by his manifold crimes, the sacred Synod thought good to depofe him; and ever since continually the Church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirm, that the Pope cannot be depofed, but only for Heresie.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the General Councils to be of no effect, except the Pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they said, that *Dioscorus* did rebuke *Paschasius* the Bishop of *Cicil*, and Legate of Pope *Leo*, because that he did enterprise, without the authority of the Apostolick See, to call a Council at *Ephesus*. They also alledge another testimony of the Synod of *Chalcedon*; where, when mention was made of the Council of *Ephesus*, all the Bishops cried out, saying, *We ought not to call it a Council, because it was neither gathered by the Apostolick authority, neither rightly kept.* By the which authorities, they which say that the Councils cannot be holden without the consent of the Pope, do think themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the Church. For what remedy shall we find, if that a wicked Pope do disturb the whole Church, destroy souls, seduce the people by his evil example, if finally he preach contrary unto the Faith, and fill the People full of Heresies, shall we provide no stay or stop for him? Shall we suffer all things to run to ruine and decay with him? Who would think that the Bishop of Rome would congregate a Council for his own correction or depofition? for as Men are prone unto sin, so would they also sin without punishment. But when as I do peruse ancient Histories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I do not find this order, that Councils should be gathered only at the will of the Pope; for the first Council of all, after that *Matthias* was substitute in the place of *Judas*, was not congregate at the commandment of *Peter*, but at the commandment of Christ, who commanded the Apostles that they should not depart from *Jerusalem*, but look for the promise of the Father.

The second Council, as touching the election of the Deacons, *Peter* alone did not congregate, but the Twelve Apostles, for it is written, *The twelve Apostles calling together the multitude, &c.*

KING
1 Hen. 6.
The second Council of the Apostles

The third Council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the Law, was gathered together by a general Inspiration: for it is written, *The Apostles and Elders came together, &c.*

The third Council of the Apostles

The fourth Council, where certain things contained in the Law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by *James*, and so discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive Church, whereby it should appear that the authority of congregating of Councils should pertain only unto Bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of *Constantinus Magnus*, and other Emperors, was the consent of the Bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of Councils; and therefore it is written thus of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, *The sacred and universal Synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chief City of the Province of Bethulia, according unto the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and Christian Emperor. Valentinian and Martian do not make any mention of the Bishop of Rome, although his consent were there.*

The fourth Council of the Apostles

General Councils in times past congregated by Emperors, and not by Popes.

Wherefore, if the Pope would resist, and would have no Council congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church do judge it necessary to have a Council, the Council may be congregate whether the Pope will or no. The Council holden at *Pisa*, was not congregate by the authority and consent of any Pope, when as *Gregory* did condemn it, and *Benedict* cursed it. The same also may be said of the Council of *Constance*, which was assembled by the authority of Pope *John*, who in respect of the Spaniards was no true Pope. And if the Council of *Pisa* were no true Council, Pope *John* was no true Pope; whereupon his consent to the congregation of the Council of *Constance* was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the Pope hath once given his consent, if it should be called back, the Council should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his consent. And of necessity he must be obedient unto the Council whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part: and if he separate himself from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the Unity of the Church, he maketh himself a Schismatick.

If the greater part of the Church do consent, a Council may be holden whether the Pope will or no.

How the Pope is a Schismatick.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion; if it be true, as it is indeed, that the Pope is under the Council, how can the Pope then dissolve, alter and transport the Council, against the will of the same? For with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power over the superior? How can the Synod correct the Pope, if the Pope may dissolve the Synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, covetous, a fower of war and discord, and a most mortal enemy unto the Church and the name of Christ, how can the Council reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve the Council? For as soon as ever that the Bishop of Rome shall understand that in the Council they do intreat or talk of his correction or punishment, straightways he will seek remedy by dissolving the Council. For as *Macrobius* saith, he that hath liberty to do more than is fit or necessary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If so be that the Bishop of Rome may exempt himself from correction by dissolving or transporting the Council, it followeth that the Council is not above him. Therefore we must either deny that which is aforesaid, that the Pope is under the Council, or else deny that the Pope hath power to dissolve the Council, contrary to the will and determination of the Council.

The Pope cannot dissolve a General Council against the will of the same.

The saying of Macrobius.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are all other conclusions false, which seem to impugn the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the Divines is also manifest, albeit that some do admit it in certain cases, and in other some exclude it again. For if we do admit, that for certain causes the Pope may dissolve the Council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the Pope Judge of the Council, it were clean contrary unto the first conclusion.

Whether the Pope in certain cases may dissolve the Council.

Now it is proved that the Council is above the Pope, and cannot be dissolved by the Pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an Article of

KING } of our Faith to believe it: which matter hath respect unto
 { **Hu. 6.** } the third Conclusion. For there have been many, which
 albeit they did confesse these two Conclusions to be true,
 yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the Catho-
 lick Faith or no. Therefore this second part must be
 confirmed. And we must see whether it be an Article of
 Faith that the Pope be under the Council. Which being
 proved, it shall also appear to be an Article of Faith,
 that the Pope cannot Dissolve the Council without the
 consent thereof. Which consequent none of the contrary
 part hath refuted. First of all therefore we must inquire
 what Faith is, that we may thereby the better understand
 what pertaineth thereunto.

The defini-
 tion of
 Faith.

The defini-
 tion of the
 Catholick
 Faith.

Rom. 3
 Catholick
 what it is.

Faith, as the Divines do define it, is a firm and sted-
 fast cleaving unto things, believed by the Authority of him
 that speaketh; If then we believe, as is aforesaid, that
 the Pope of Rome is under the Council, some authority
 doth move us thereunto: so is it the Faith of him which
 believeth it. But the Question is not whether it be an
 Article of Faith only, but whether it be an Article of the
 Catholick Faith. Wherefore we must again enquire what
 the Catholick Faith is. This word *Catholick* is a Greek
 word, and signifieth *Universal*. The Catholick Faith,
 that is to say, the Universal Faith, is not so called because
 that every man holdeth it, but because every man ought to
 believe it. For all men do not believe that God is Incar-
 nate, but every Man ought so to believe. And albeit that
 many be against this Faith, yet doth it not cease to be
 Universal. For what writeth the Apostle unto the Ro-
 mans? *If some of them have not believed, doth their
 misbelief make the Faith of God Vain? God forbid.
 Verily God is true, but every man is a liar.* There-
 fore to believe that the Pope is under the Council, is a
 point of the Catholick Faith, although some think the
 contrary: for we are bound to believe it, inasmuch as it
 is taken out of the Gospel. For we are not bound only
 to believe those things which are noted to us in the *Creed*,
 but also all those things which are contained in the Holy
 Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one jot. And those
 things which we alledge for the superiority of the
 general Council are gathered out of the sayings of our
 Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Epistles of Saint Paul:
Ergo, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that
 these things are taken out of the Gospel, the Council of
Constance doth witness, the which groundeth his authority
 upon these words, *Dis Ecclesie*, that is to say, Tell it
 unto the Church. And where two or three are gathered
 together in my name, &c. And, Whatsoever ye shall bind,
 &c. with other such like texts.

The Council
 of Constance
 Vide supra.

Whereupon to Pope *Martin* the fourth being yet in
Constance, under the licence of the Council, sent out his
 Bulls, which do reckon up the Articles, whereupon they
 ought to be examined which had fallen into any Heresie;
 amongst the which Articles he putteth this Article:
 Whether he doth believe the sacred general Council to
 have power immediately from God, and that the Or-
 dinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Christians;
 which if any Man would deny, he should be counted an
 Heretick. Wherefore, when as the sacred Synod of *Con-
 stance* doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiori-
 ty of the general Council, what should let, but that we
 also should confesse the same to be a verity of the Catholick
 Faith? For the Catholick Church being Congregate at
Constance received that Faith, that is to say, believed it
 by the authority of him which spake it, that is, Christ
 and his Saints.

The words
 of the
 Council of
 Chalcedon,
 whereby he
 is declared
 an Heretick
 that holdeth
 any opinion
 contrary
 to the
 Council.

To this purpose also serve very well the words of the
 Synod of *Chalcedon*, written in this manner: It is not
 lawful for him that is condemned by the whole Synod to
 nominate any Bishop. The determination pleaseth all
 men. This is the Faith of the Fathers. He that holdeth
 any opinion contrary unto this, is an Heretick. And again,
 it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect
 and chosen Synod.

Mark the manifest witness of this most sacred Synod,
 which said, that he is an Heretick, which holdeth any
 opinion contrary unto the Council: But he is no Heretick,
 except he refuse the Catholick Faith: *Ergo*, it was the
 Catholick Faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal
 from the sacred Council. But how was the same any
 point of the Catholick Faith? Verily inasmuch as the

sacred Synod, perusing over the Holy Scriptures, hath
 received this Conclusion out of the words of Christ and
 other Holy Fathers. And like as the Synod of *Chalce-
 don* took their Conclusions out of the Holy Scrip-
 tures, so did the Council of *Constance*, this we now
 reason upon. And like as the one is an Article of the
 Catholick Faith, so is the other also. And he which
 holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is an
 Heretick.

Furthermore they seem unto me to dream and dote,
 which confelling them to be verities, will not confesse
 them to be verities of Faith. For if they be verities, I
 pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of Gram-
 mar, much less of Logick; and from Astronomy and
 Physick they are far distant. Neither is there any other
 Man but a Divine, that will grant this verity, whom
 Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he do believe
 Christ, or his Apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the
 Catholick Faith, which all men ought to embrace; and
 he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be
 judged an Heretick, as the third Conclusion doth affirm.
 Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he should
 be called an Heretick, which goeth about to derogate
 any thing from the power of the general Council, which
 is confirmed by so many Testimonies and Authorities.
 Also *Panormitane* alledgeth Saint *Jerome*, saying, He
 which understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the con-
 sent of the Holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not de-
 part from the Church, may be called an Heretick.

Panormitane
 is noted,
 and very
 well slipped
 by his own
 supposition.

Whereupon it followeth, that he which upon the words
 of Christ, saying unto Peter, *Dis Ecclesie*, i. Tell it
 unto the Church, doth not understand by the Church
 the general Council, understandeth it otherwise than the
 sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may
 be noted as an Heretick. And to prove that the sense of
 the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the
 Council of *Constance* doth declare: The which interpret-
 ing those words, *Dis Ecclesie*, i. Tell it unto the
 Church, spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them
 to be spoken of the general Council. By these and many
 other weightier reasons the three aforesaid Conclusions
 seemed true unto the Divines, and through them they also
 allowed the residue.

Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which
 was before promised: neither do I think any man now to
 be in doubt of these three first Conclusions. Now to
 return again unto our Story, it is our purpose to declare
 those things which happened after the Conclusions of
 the Divines; for there are many things worthy of re-
 membrance, which also may happily be profitable unto the
 posterity.

Tell the
 Church, that
 is to say, the
 general
 Council.

When the disputation was ended, and a final Conclu-
 sion of these matters even at hand, the Archbishop of *Mil-
 lain* and *Panormitane* with the residue of their fellow Am-
 bassadors of the King of *Aragon*, and Duke of *Millain*,
 armed themselves with all their power to let the matter,
 exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with
 stout and valiant stomachs.

And first of all, as soon as the Congregation was as-
 sembled together, the Bishop of *Burgen* exhorted them
 to defer the Conclusion, and to tarry for the Ambas-
 sadors of other Provinces, which would return from
Mentz.

The Bishop
 of Burgen.

After him *Panormitane*, with a grave and Rhetorical
 Oration, spake (in a manner) as followeth.

*Panormi-
 tane's Ora-
 tion.*

I have (said he) had a Commandment by the Pro-
 phet, to cry without ceasing. Which Prophet said;
 Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet. If
 that in any matter at any time before he ought to have
 cried, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh
 crying and roaring out, when as the state of the Universal
 Church is intreated upon either to be preserved, or utter-
 ly overthrown: and that he hath cried so much in this
 manner, that he doubted not but the saying of *David* was
 fulfilled in him, where he saith, *Laboravi clamans, faucibus
 facta fauces mea*; I have laboured, crying out,
 that my jaws are become hoarse.

Notwithstanding that he would, both now, and as often
 as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and
 specially now in this most difficult and weighty matter;
 wherein he required the sacred Council gently to hear both
 him,

Four things
to be con-
sidered in
every re-
quest.

him, and the Ambassadors of other Princes: Adding moreover four things to be considered in all requests made of any man. The which he also required the Fathers now presently to mark and consider: Who it is that maketh the request. What is required. Why it should be required. And what effect would come by the request either granted or denied. As touching the first point he said; The most noble Kings and excellent Princes with their Prelates to be of great power: and then he reckoned up the King of Castile, the King of Arragon, the Duke of Millain, and the Bishops of the same Princes, rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said Kings, and also of the Duke of Millain. But when as he came to make mention of the Prelates, he could not refrain himself, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of Prelates were on his part. For if the Bishops and Abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greatest part of them would have this present matter deferred: and forso much as the whole power of the Council doth consist in the Bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded, which pleased the greater part of the inferiors. For the Keys (said he) were given to the Apostles, and to their successors which are the Bishops: also that there are three kinds of Synods, Episcopal, Provincial, and General, and none of all these without Bishops. Wherefore the manner and order of the present Council seemed undecent, whereas things were not weighed according as men excel in Dignity, but by most voices: Notwithstanding, according to the most famous Epistle of Clement, the Bishops were the pillars and keys of Heaven, and the Inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultative voice with them: wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of Faith should be determined without the Bishops; in which matter not only the Bishops, but also the secular Princes ought to be admitted. And forso much as they in the name of their Princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was that they should be contemned or despised.

Panormitane
would have
dignity to
be con-
sidered in Coun-
cil, and not
voices.

Panormitane
seemeth to
delay the
process a-
gainst the
Pope.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed over to the second part of his Oration, declaring what it was that he required; not Gold, nor Silver, neither precious Stones, neither Provinces nor Kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but that only the delay of the sacred Council was required, and that the Fathers would stay in the process against the Pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only until the return of the Ambassadors from Mentz, whom he knew well would return very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and needed but small intreaty, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seem injurious, not to tarry for the Ambassadors of the Princes which were then at Mentz, when as they were not absent for their own private Commodity, but about the affairs of the Commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugenius.

The third
part of Pa-
normitane's
Oration.

Then immediately adjoining the third part of his Oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private Commodity of any one Man, but for a Common-wealth; not to cause any trouble or unquietness, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might pass with peace and quietness, that the matter might be so much the more firm and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the Fathers that they would consider, and weigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they should grant or deny this request. For (saith he) if ye shall deny this small petition of the Princes, they all will be aggrieved therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your Decrees. In vain shall ye make Laws, except the Princes do execute them, and all your Decrees shall be but vain: yet would I think this to be born withal, if I did not fear greater matters, to ensue. What if they should joyn themselves with Eugenius,

Persuasions
of Panormi-
tane.

who desireth to spoil you, not only of your livings, but also of your lives? Alas! what slaughter and murder do the eyes of my mind behold and see? Would God my opinion were but vain! But if you do grant and consent unto my petitions, they will think themselves bound unto you; they will receive and imbrace your Decrees; and whatsoever you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your adversary, they will speak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praise, you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly submit themselves; and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the Church. And thus he required the matter to be respited on all parts. At the last he said, that except the Ambassadors of the Princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

{ KING
H. 6. }

When Panormitane had made an end of his Oration, Lodovicus the Protonotary of Rome rose up a Man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous Men aforetime. Inso much that he had always in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgot any thing that he had seen. This man, first commending Panormitane, said; that he came but the day before from the Baths, and that it seemed unto him a strange thing which was now brought in question; wherein he desired to hear other mens minds, and also to be heard of others, and that those Prelates which were at Mentz should be tarried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their Princes, which Prelates were men of great estimation, and the Orators of most mighty Princes.

The praise
of Lodovi-
cus the Pro-
tonotary.

He allowed also the saying of Panormitane, touching the voices of the Inferiors, that it seemeth not to be against the truth, that only Bishops should have a deciding or determining voice in Councils. And albeit that some in this disputation do think that which is written in the 15. Chap. of the Acts, to be their force or defence; notwithstanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any effect, albeit it was said, it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and to us; whereas both the Apostles and the Elders were gathered together: whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the Apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marvelled at, than to be followed; and that it doth not appear there, that the Apostles called the Elders of Duty, but that it is only declared that they were there present; whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it seemed unto him, that the inferiors in the Council of Basil were admitted to determine with the Bishops, but of grace and favor only, because the Bishops may communicate the authority unto others. He alledged for Testimony the Bishop of Concen, a Man of great Authority, who would not suffer any incorporation, or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himself, which as yet was not made Bishop, to have any deciding voice in the Council. Wherefore forso much as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the Bishops spake against it, he required the Council that they would of necessity stay and tarry for the Ambassadors of the Princes coming from Mentz.

Bishops only
to have de-
termining
voice in
Councils.

His Oration was so much the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and specially in that point, that he said the Apostles were not to be followed; for that all men did impugn as a blasphemy. But here a Man may marvel, that a Man of such such excellency alledged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the Man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speak in this matter, and desired nothing so much, as not to obtain that which he intreated for. After him many other spake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and defer the conclusion of these matters.

It is no mar-
vel why he
alledged no
more or bet-
ter matter;
for of
naughty lea-
ther no man
can make a
good shoe.
And note
here how
God with-
draweth his
gifts, when
men dissem-
ble and
cloke the
truth.

Then Lodovicus the Cardinal Arelatenfis, a Man of marvelous constancy, and born for the governance of the general Councils, gathering together the words of all the Orators, spake in this wise: Most reverend Fathers, this is now no new or strange business, nor begun to day or yesterday. For it is now many weeks ago since the

On-

KING Conclusions were disputed upon amongst the Divines, and sent unto Mentz, and to all other parts of the world. After this they were disputed upon six days continually, and fully discussed, and after that not without great delay approved by the Deputies; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all

Truth seeketh no corners. things were done publickly and openly. Neither can any Man pretend ignorance, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned. For we called all that were present at Basil, and exhorted all the rest to be present. And forsomuch as mention is made of the most Noble King of Castile; who is it that is ignorant that the Kings Orators were there present? The Bishop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence, and you also Panormitan your self, which here represent the person of the most famous King of Arragon, were twice present your self in the Chapter-house, and disputed twice most subtilly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What do you desire any more? Also out of the Territory of the Duke of Millain there was present the Archbishop of Millain, who albeit he be no Ambassador, yet how famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignorant. When he had spoken these words, the Archbishop being somewhat moved said unto him, My Lord Cardinal, you supply the room of a President no better than I do the place of a Dukes Orator, and began to taunt him with many words. But the Cardinal, (as he was a Man most patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any means) said, This is it that I even now desired. For if the Archbishop be an Ambassador, then hath the Duke no cause to complain, which had his Orator present at the discussing of those matters.

The patience and Answer of Arlesensis.

I pass over other Princes, because they do not complain. Notwithstanding, the most Christian King of France, had there the Bishop of Lions, a grave and sober Man, his Ambassador at the disputation. As for other Princes, I see no cause why they should be tarried for, which knowing the Council to be congregate for such matters as pertain unto Faith, do not think it absurd that the doubtful matters of Faith should be declared in the Council; Whereupon if they had been willing to come, they would have been present ere this.

Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I do not understand. For if I be well remembered, Panormitan and also Ludovicus have oftentimes affirmed in this place even the very same thing which the Conclusions signifie. And if any of them now will go about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto Didimus. To whom, when as on a time he repugned against a certain History as vain and frivolous; his own Book was delivered unto him, wherein the same was written: So likewise these two Men (meaning Panormitan and Ludovicus the Protonotary) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Besides this, there are Synodal Epistles and Decrees of this Council, which are full of such Conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raised? What is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (say they) the Princes and Ambassadors are absent, which are Bishops, by whose presence the decrees should be of more authority. Well, they are not only absent which are gone to Mentz, but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout the whole World; whom if we should tarry to look for, nothing at any time should be decreed. They are all called unto the Council; they might have come if they would. To those that are present power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they which are absent are about the affairs of the Common-wealth; truly we sent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the Council, than with the consent thereof.

And admit that they had been sent by the Council, yet were not our power so much restrained but that we might reform the Church, for otherwise there should never any thing be done in the Council: forsomuch as always some are sent out by the Council, and some are always to be looked and tarried for, and therefore we must either do nothing at all, or send out no Prelates from the Council. Whereas he said that Prelates, and especially Bishops are contemned, that is most far from the truth, for they have

the chief and first places. They speak first, and give their voices first of all unto all things: and if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors without any gainsaying did soon follow their mind.

Neither peradventure shall it be found untrue, that there was never any Synod, which did more amplify the power and authority of Bishops, than this. For what have the Bishops been in our days, but only shadows? Might they not well have been called Shepherds without the Sheep? What had they more than their Miter and their Staff, when as they could determine nothing over their Subjects? Verily in the Primitive Church the Bishops had the greatest power and authority: but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common sort of Priests only in their habit and revenues. But we have restored them again to their old State: we have reduced the collation of benefices again unto them; we have restored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again the causes of the Subjects to be heard into their hands, and have made them Bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, that the Bishops should say they are contemned of the Council? Or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them? But Panormitan saith, that forsomuch as most Bishops are on his part, and few against him, the Conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors: but let Panormitan remember himself, that this is no new kind of proceeding.

This order of Proceeding, the Council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitan, in times past hath pleased you well enough, when as the multitude did follow your mind. But now, because they do not follow your mind, they do displease you. But the Decrees of the Council are not so mutable, as the Wills of men. Know ye moreover that the very same Bishops which do consent with you in word, do not consent with you in mind, neither speak the same secretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their Country, that except they would follow your mind they should displease the King. They fear the power of the Prince, and to be spoiled of their temporalities; neither have they free liberty to speak as is requisite in Councils. Albeit if they were true Bishops, and true Pastors of souls; they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their Sheep, neither be afraid to shed their blood for their Mother the Church.

But at this present (the more is the pity) it is too rare to find a Prelate in this world, which doth not prefer his temporalities before his spiritualities; with the love whereof they are so withdrawn, that they study rather to please Princes than God; and confess God in corners, but Princes they will openly confess. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his Gospel, Every one, saith he, that confesseth me before Men, I will confess him before my Father which is in Heaven. And contrariwise, the Lord will not confess him before his Father, which is afraid to confess the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitan saith, most Bishops to be on his part; for here are many Bishops Proctors whom he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the Dignity of the Fathers to be respected in the Council, as he saith, but only reason: nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth: neither will I for my part prefer a lye of any Bishop, be he never so rich, before a verity or truth of a poor Priest. Neither ought a Bishop to disdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent Priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftner under a bare and ragged Cloak, than in rich Ornaments and Apparel.

Wherefore I pray you my Lord Bishops, do not so much contemn your Inferiors; for the first which dyed for Christ, the which also opened unto all other the way of Martyrdom, was no Bishop but only a Levite. As for that which Ludovicus and Panormitan do alledge touching the voices of Bishops, I know not where they have it. Wherefore I desire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old Councils, we shall find that the Inferiors were always present with the Bishops. And albeit that Ludovicus

Mark O ye Bishops, the Council of Basil contendeth for you, and ye will not understand it.

This was a true Cardinal: out of whose mouth the verity did speak, which feared not the threatenings of Princes, neither sought any worldly glory or dignity.

Mark what worldly pomp dignity and wealth had brought the Prelates to in those days. Note here the great godliness and most Christian saying of this good Bishop.

Truth many times dwelleth under the ragged cloke.

Stevens the first Martyr

Note the sincerity of this good Bishop, which stayed himself upon the examples of the Primitive Church, and not upon customs and Popes.

do forbid us the examples of the Apostles, I stay my self most upon their doings. For what is more comly for us to follow, than the Doctrine and Customs of the Primitive Church? It is said therefore in the 15. Chap. of the *Acts of the Apostles*, *It seemed good unto the holy Ghost, and to us.* The which words (*to us*) is referred unto them which are before named the Apostles and the Elders. Neither this word, (*it seemed good*) signifieth in this place consultation, but decilion and determination; whereby it appeareth that other beside the Bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said *Acts*, when as the Apostles should intreat upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the Twelve called together the multitude.

Here *Ludovicus* saith, that it doth not appear that the Apostles called other of necessity: But I say unto him, how knowest thou that they did not say unto them of necessity? But forso much as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibite us to follow the Apostles. For seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our Inferiors. And therefore in all Councils which were celebrate and holden afterwards, we find that Priests were also present: as in the Council of *Nice*, which of all other was most famous, *Athanasius* being then but only a Priest, withstood the *Arrians* and infringed their arguments, albeit there were also other Priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twenty two Bishops, yet it is not denyed but that the Inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

Athanasius being but a Priest and no Bishop, vanquished an Archbishop.

The name of Priests or Elders common both to Bishops and Priests.

In the Synod of *Chalcedon* (which was counted one of the four principal Synods) it is said that there were there present 600 Priests; the which name is common both unto Bishops and Priests. In other Councils the name both of Bishops and Priests is omitted, and mention made only of Fathers, which hath the same signification that this word *Elders* hath in the *Acts of the Apostles*. We have also a Testimony of the Ecclesiastical History, how that there was a Council gathered at *Rome* of sixty Bishops, and as many Priests and Deacons against the *Novatians*, which called themselves *Cathary*. Also, when *Paul* the Bishop of *Antioch* in the time of *Galiene* the Emperor, Preached that Christ was a Man of common nature, the Council assembled against him in *Antioch*; whereunto there came Bishops out of *Cesarea*, *Cappadocia*, out of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and from *Jerusalem*, many other Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and it is said, that for that cause the Council was often holden.

Paul Bishop of *Antioch*.

Paul the Heretick condemned.

St. Augustin mind upon this sentence. *Tibi dabo claves regni celorum.*

And at the last in the same place, under *Aurelius* the Emperor, *Paul* was condemned of all Christian Churches which were under Heaven: neither was there any man which did more confound the said *Paul*, than *Malchion* a Priest of *Antioch*, which taught *Rhetoric* in *Antioch*. But to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident Testimonies for the defence of Inferiors. For the chief and principal amongst all the Divines, *St. Austen* upon the words of *Matthew*, where Christ saith to *Peter*, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, saith, That by those words the judicial Power was given not only unto *Peter*, but also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church, the Bishops and Priests. If then Priests have a judicial Power in the Church, what should let that they have not also a determining voice in the Councils. The famous Doctor *Saint Jerom* doth also agree with *Saint Austen*, whose words are these upon the Epistle of *Paul* unto *Titus*. Before that difference was made in Religion by the instigation of the Devil, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of *Paul*, I of *Apollo*, and I of *Cephas*, the Churches were governed by the common consent and Council of the Priests; for a Priest is the very same that a Bishop is. Wherefore all Bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power than Priests, rather by custom than by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the Church together. And this we do also gather out of *Paul* unto *Titus*, which maketh so much concordance between Bishops and Priests, that oftentimes he calleth Priests, Bishops; whereby it doth evidently appear, that Priests

Bishops are of greater power than Priests, rather by custom than by dispensation of truth.

are not to be excluded from the conventions of Bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit, as *Saint Jerom* writeth that Bishops only by custom are preferred before Priests, it may be that a contrary custom may take away that custom. For if Priests ought to rule the Church together with the Bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the Church.

KING Hen. 6. Bishops and Priests ought to rule the Church together.

Wherefore the Testimony of *Saint Paul* is evident; for (as he writing unto the *Ephesians* saith) If Christ instituted his Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, and Teachers to the work of the ministry, for the edifying of his Church, until such time as we should meet him, for this purpose, that there should be no doubt in the diversity of doctrine; who doubteth then, but that the governance of the Church is committed unto others together with the Apostles? Let these our Champions now hold their peace, and seem to be no wiser than they ought to be. The memorial of the Council of *Constance* is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I my self also which was neither Cardinal nor Bishop, but only a Doctor, where I did see without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the Inferiors to be admitted with the Bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great Council, which also followed the examples of the Council of *Pisa*, and the great Council at *Lateran*, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Priests did jointly judge together with the Bishops.

Hen. Silvius.

Moreover, if Abbots, as we do see it observed in all Councils, having a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ; why should not Priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his Apostles? Hereupon also, if only Bishops should have a determining voice, nothing should be done but what pleased the *Italian* Nation, the which alone doth exceed all other Nations, or at the least is equal with them, in number of Bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the Inferiors should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

Note that Abbots were not instituted by Christ.

Italy surmounteth all other Nations in number of Bishops.

Behold you do see the zeal, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimity of these Inferiors. Where should the Council now be, if only Bishops and Cardinals should have their voice? Where should the Authority of the Council be? Where should the Catholick Faith be? Where should the Decrees and Reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of *Eugenius*, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these Inferiors, whom ye now condemn, had withstood him. These are they which have contemned the privation made by *Eugenius*. These I say, are they which have not regarded his threatnings, spoil and persecution. These are they which being taken, imprisoned and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the Council; yea, even these are they, who albeit they were by *Eugenius* delivered over a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred Council, and feared not to suffer War, Famine, and most cruel Pestilence: and finally, what thing is it, that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the Council? You might have heard this Inferior sort, even in the midst of their Tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and say, *Albeit that all Men become obedient unto that Subverter of the Church Eugenius, and that every Man do depart from the verity of the Faith and constitutions of the Fathers, consenting unto the Commandments of Eugenius, yet we and our Brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy Fathers, the which indeed they have done.* Neither could they be feared with threatnings or discouraged with any spoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their most blessed purpose. And (to speak somewhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

Note the terrible persecution of those days, and the great constancy of the godly, for the truth sake.

O zeal of Faith, worthy the crown of Martyrdom?

As for the Bishops, whom *Panormitan* alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and even they which are here present are not able by vertue to overcome iniquity, they fear the Terrene power, and commit offence with their haste. Have ye not heard how they all said, they would consent unto the Kings will and pleasure? But the Inferiors are they which have had truth, right-

Ecles. 7.

The Bishops fear the earthly power, but no God.

KING righteousness, and God himself before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for shewing themselves such Men unto the Church of God. But why do I defend the cause of these Inferiors? When as some will also exclude those Bishops which are but Bishops by name and title, and have no possession of the Church, from our company, not understanding that whilst they go about to put back those men, they do condemn Peter, and the other Apostles, who (as it is evident) were long without any great flock; neither was Rome unto Peter, nor Jerusalem unto James, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a small flock believed in Christ.

The Bishops of the Primitive Church what they were. Poor men more meet to give judgment than rich: for riches, wealth, and dignity bring fear: but poverty causeth liberty.

* The Bishops in this age of the Church, what they are.

For, I pray you, what is that we should enquire of these Bishops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenues: but Money maketh not a Bishop, and as the Lord saith, *Beati pauperes spiritu*, that is, Blessed are the poor in spirit. Neither was their any rich Bishops in the Primitive Church, neither did the ancient Church reject *Dionysius* Bishop of *Millain*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelles*, or *Hilary* Bishop of *Pictavia*, although they were never so poor, and banished without a flock. But if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment, than the rich: because that riches bring fear, and their poverty causeth liberty. For the poor Men do not fear Tyranny as our rich Men do, which being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleness and sloath, will rather deny Christ, than lack their accustomed pleasures; * whom not their flock, but their revenues make Bishops, delighting so much in Riches, that they judge all poor Men unhappy. But, as *Cicero* saith; Nothing can happen better unto a wise Man, than mediocrity of substance. Whereupon it is written in the Gospel; *It is easier for a Camel to pass thorow a needles eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

But now to return to a more full Declaration of *Panormitan*'s words, I determine to pass over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his Oration, that is, *Qui petant*, & *cur petant*, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We grant that they are great Men, and Men of power, and (as he doth affirm) that they have deserved good of the Church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon which he spake of; it is now to be enquired. A delay (saith he) is required; a delay for a few days. A small matter; a matter of no importance, a matter easie to be granted. Notwithstanding, let *Panormitan* here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of Faith. The verities are already declared; they be already discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftentimes the delay of one Moment, is the loss of a whole Year; hereof we have many examples. *Hannibal* when he had obtained his Victory at *Cannas*, if he had gone straight unto *Rome*, by all Mens judgments he had taken the City. But forso much as he did defer it until the next day, the *Romans* having recovered their force again, he was shut out, and deserved to hear this Opprobry:

Vincere scis Hannibal, uti victoria nescis.

*Hannibal thou knowest Victory to get,
But how to use it thou know'st not yet.*

Likewise the French-men, after they had taken *Rome* and besieged the *Capitol*, whilst that they greedily sought to have great sums of Money, and delayed the time in making of their Truce, *Camillus* coming upon them did most shamefully drive them out again. But what need I to rehearse old Stories, when as our own examples are sufficient for us? Ye know your selves how often these delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the Eighth year that you have spent in delays; and you have seen, that always of one delay another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore I do require that *Panormitan* should consider, that the Conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be

The Eighth year of the Council of Basel. How subtilly they sought delays.

brought to pass hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may rise. Neither doth *Panormitan* say, that this delay being obtained, he would afterward consent with his Fellows unto the Conclusions; for he denyeth that he hath any Commandment thereunto: and (which is more to be considered) he saith that the Ambassadors at their return from *Mentz* may bring such news, whereby these Conclusions may be omitted; as though any thing were more excellent than the truth.

The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seek delays for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugn the Conclusions the more strongly. Neither do I agree with *Panormitan*, as touching the effects which he said should rise either of the denial, or granting of the requests; For I see no cause why the Princes should greatly require and delay. There are no Letters of any Prince come unto us as touching such request, neither is there any Man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of Faith should be determined. But this is a most pernicious Conclusion which *Panormitan* hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most godly Princes; where he saith, if we do please them, they will take our part. If contrariwise, they will decline unto *Eugenius*, and wholly resist and rebel against us. This is a marvelous word, and a wonderful Conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a Man. The Decrees of the Council of Constance are, that all manner of Men, of what state or condition soever they be, are bound to the Ordinances and Decrees of the general Councils. But *Panormitan*'s words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the Princes obedient unto the Council, but the Council to be obedient unto the Princes.

The decrees of the Council of Constance.

Alas, most Reverend Fathers, Alas, what times and days, what manners and conditions are these? Into what misery are we now brought? How shall we at any time bring to pass, that the Pope being Christ's Vicar, and (as they say) another Christ in Earth, should be subject unto the Council of the Christians, if the Council it self ought to obey worldly Princes? But I pray you look for no such things at the Princes hands. Do not believe that they will forsake their Mother the Church. Do not think them so far alienate from the truth, that they would have justice suppressed.

If these things seem so intolerable, what shall we say, when as they make the Pope a God?

The Conclusions, whereupon the controversie is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the Princes do refuse them, they do not resist against us, but against the Holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ, himself; which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comly for *Panormitan* so to say. *Panormitan* (by your licence be it spoken) you have uttered most cruel words, neither do you seem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the Fathers: for you have rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit ourselves unto the Princes.

But you most Reverend Fathers, shall not be afraid of them that kill the body, the soul they cannot kill; neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slack in the quarrel of our Mother Church, and the Catholick Faith, than those most holy Martyrs, which have established the Church with their blood. For why should it be any grievous matter unto us to suffer for Christ, which for our sakes hath suffered so cruel and grievous death? Who when he was an immortal God, void of all Passions, took upon him the shape of a mortal Man, and feared not for our redemption to suffer torments upon the Cross. Set before your eyes the Prince of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Paul*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *Bartholomew*, and (not to speak only of Bishops) mark what *Stephen*, *Laurence*, *Sebastian* and *Fabian* did. Some were Hanged, some Beheaded, some Stoned to death, other some Burned; and others Tormented with most cruel and grievous Torments suffered for Christ's sake. I pray you for Gods sake let us follow the example of these Men. If we will be Bishops and succeed in honour, let us not fear Martyrdom. Alas, what effeminate hearts have we? Alas, what faint hearted people are we? They in times past by the contempt of death converted the whole World, which was full of Gentility and Idolatry and we through our sluggishness and desire of life, do bring the Christian Religion

They which teach this Doctrine, are Heretics and Schismatics: but blessed are those Heretics, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

A Christian exhortation to constancy and Martyrdom.

This came so to pass twenty three years after, when Christendom lost Constantinople, and all the East parts unto the Turke.

out of the whole World into one corner; and I fear greatly, lest the little also which is left, we shall lose through our cowardliness; if that by following *Panormitan's* mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the Church unto the Princes. But now play the stout and valiant men in this time of Tribulation, and fear not to suffer death for the Church, which *Curtius* feared not to do for the City of Rome: which *Mencothens* for Thebes, and *Cordus* for Athens, willingly took upon them.

Examples of good men dying for their Country.

Not only the Martyrs, but also the *Gentiles* might move and stir us to cast off all the fear of death. What is to be said of *Theremius* the *Athenian*? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drink the poison? What say you unto *Socrates* that most excellent Philosopher? did he either weep or sigh when he supped up the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certain of: Not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better.

Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many Examples, instructed with so great Learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to fear death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole Legions, which have cheerfully and courageously gone unto those places, from whence they knew they should not return. With like courage did the *Lacedemonians* give themselves to death at *Thermopylae*, of whom *Symonides* writeth thus:

*Dic hospes, Spartanos te hic vidisse tacentes,
Dum sanctis Patriae legibus obsequimur.*

*Report thou stranger, the Spartans here to lie,
Whiles that their Countrey Laws they obeyed willingly.*

The noble Lacedemonians

Neither judge the contrary, but that the *Lacedemonians* went even of purpose unto death; unto whom their Captain *Lecidas* said, O ye *Lacedemonians*, go forward courageously, for this day we shall sup together with the infernal gods. But I, most reverend Fathers, do not invite you unto the Infernals, as he did his *Lacedemonians*, but unto the celestial and everlasting joys of Paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truths sake, and patiently abide the threatnings of these Princes, if there be any threatnings at all. I call you unto that eternal Glory, where there is no alteration of State, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good and perpetual things do abound: where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth; and finally no man dieth. Where all men are blessed and happy, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like estate; and that all men have, every man hath, and that every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well consider, we shall truly answer *Panormitan*, as *Theodorus Cyrenensis* is said to have answered *Lysimachus* the King, when he threatened to hang him: who said, I pray you threaten these horrible things unto your Courtiers: as for *Theodorus*, it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground, or under the ground. So likewise let us answer unto the Princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their Torments.

The blessed state of the life to come

The worthy answer of Theodorus the Cyrenensis

What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too short a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of Vertue. And if the death which a man suffereth in the quartel of his Country, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the *Rhetoricians*, but also happy and blessed: what shall we say for these deaths which are sustained for the Country of all Countries, the Church? Truly most reverend Fathers, it is too much that our Adversaries do persuade themselves of you, for they judge you fearful, sluggish and faint-hearted; and therefore they do object Princes unto you, because they think that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile in the quarrel and defence of the Church. But I think you will esteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining of everlasting life, to do the same which Ship-men do for the obtaining of transitory riches, to put themselves in danger of the Sea and Wind, and suffer most cruel storms.

No death to be feared for Christs Church.

Example of Mariners and Hunters.

The Hunters lie abroad in the nights in the Snow, in the Hills and Woods, and are tormented with cold; yet

have they none other reward, but some wild Beast of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do whose Reward shall be Paradise? I am ashamed of your ignavy, when as I read that Women, yea even young Maidens have violently obtained Heaven through their Martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This River of *Rheine*, which runneth along by the City, in times past hath carried eleven thousand Virgins unto Martyrdom. In *India* (as *Cicero* writeth) when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who should be burned with him; and she whom he loved best having vanquished the other (all the rest joyfully following her) was cast into the fire with the dead Carcass of her Husband, and burnt. The other which were overcome, departed full of heaviness and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

Example of the eleven thousand virgins.

The which courage we now taking upon us for Christs sake, will answer *Panormitan* even as the *Lacedemonians* answered *Philip*, who when as by his Letters he threatned them, that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him, *Whether he would also let them to die.* Therefore, as you are excellent men, so use your vertue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that Power is given of the Lord, and strength from the most High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts, unto whom ye should be careful to render a good account, judging rightly and keeping the law of righteousness, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the Ambassadors of *Eugenius* do openly preach and declare a new Doctrine, extolling the Bishop of Rome above the universal Church, to the end that ignorant Souls be not snared, ye shall not cease or leave to publish the three first Conclusions, following the example of the Apostle *Paul*, which would in no point give place unto *Peter* when he walked not according to the Gospel. As for the other matters which do respect the only person of *Eugenius* (because *Panormitan* and the other Ambassadors of the Princes shall not say that we do pass our bounds) ye shall defer them for this present.

When as Cardinal *Arelatensis* had made an end of this Oration, there was a great noise, crying out and brawling every where. The Presidents Commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed; for sometimes they spake unto *Panormitan*, sometime unto *Ludovicus*; no man was suffered to speak, but in haste the Bishops brawled with Bishops, and the Inferiors with their Fellows. All was full of contention and debate; which even as *Ludovicus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia* perceived, a man of no less courage and stomach, than of nobility and birth, being also a Duke, for the zeal that he bare unto the universal Church, turning himself unto *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary, he said, Do not think the matter shall so pass, you know not yet the manners of the Germans, for if you go forward on this fashion, it will not be lawful for you to depart out of this Country with whole heads. With which words *Panormitan*, *Ludovicus*, and the Archbishop of *Millain* being stricken (as it were with Lightning from Heaven,) rose up, and said, Is our liberty thus taken from us? What meaneth it that the Patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads should be broken? And turning themselves unto *John Earl of Dierstein*, which then supplied the Protectors place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the Council, and preserve all men in their liberty, or no?

Lewis Patellarch of Aquileia Duke of Deck in Swabia.

The Earl of Dierstein.

The Citizens also and Senators were present to provide and foresee that no offence should rise; for the Citizens observed always this order, that they would be present in all Affairs, which they supposed would breed dissension, foreseeing specially that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words. They used always such a marvelous foresight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cause against them, to complain for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time any Citizens have deserved well at the hands of the Church, surely this praise is to be given unto the *Basilians*. These men together with *John Earl of Dierstein*, being present in the Assembly of the Fathers, gave a sign of preservation of their liberty. The Earl (albeit he was moved at the strange-

The praise of the Citizens of Basil.

KING {*Hen. 6.*} firangenis of the matter, (for he would not have thought so great contentions could have risen amongst wise men) answered by his Interpreter, *That they all should be of good cheer. For the Emperors safe Conduct should be observed and kept even to the uttermost: neither should the Patriarch nor any other once violate the liberty, or take away the assurance granted by the Emperor.* Notwithstanding he desired the Patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not to speak any more in such sort. But that famous Father, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed his whole mind unto *John Bacheistein*, Auditor of the Chamber, a man both grave and eloquent to be declared. Who affirmed that the Patriarchs mind was not to threaten any man, or disturb the liberty of the Council, but to move the Fathers unto constancy, that they should be mindful of the Reformation which they had promised unto the whole World, and not to say one thing to day, and another to morrow; for if they would so do, it were to be feared, lest the Laity seeing themselves deluded, and despairing of Reformation, should rise against the Clergy.

Therefore he monisheth the Fathers to foresee and provide for the peril, that they should not depart from the Council, nothing being determined or done; and finally he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the Council, *Panormitan*, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly said, *That Humility is the sister of Nobility*: both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet for all this could not the humility of the Patriarch stop or stay their noise or cries: for as often as mention was made of reading the *Concordatum*, great noise and rumors were still made to stop the same. Then *Amodens* Archbishop of Lions, and Primate of all France, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with the zeal of Faith, which he saw there to be stopt and suppressed, said, *Most*

reverend Fathers, I have now a great occasion to speak: for it is now seven years or more, that I have been amongst you, yet have I never seen the matter at that point which it is now at, most like unto a Miracle; for even presently I do behold most wonderful signs of Miracles: for it is no small matter that the Lame do walk, the Dumb do speak, and that poor men preach the Gospel. Whereupon I pray

you cometh this sudden Change? How happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now suddenly start up? Who hath given hearing to the Deaf, and speech to the Dumb? Who hath taught the poor men to preach the Gospel? I do see here a new sort of Prelates come in, which unto this present have kept silence, and now begin to speak. Is not this like to a Miracle? I would to God they came to defend the Truth, and not to impugn Justice.

But this is more to be marveled at than any Miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all impugn our Conclusions which are most certain and true: And they which now reprove them, in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Ludovicus the Protomary preached these Verities at Lovaine and at Collen, and brought them from thence confirmed with the authorities of the Universities. Wherefore albeit that he be now changed, yet is the Truth in no point altered. And therefore I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not give ear unto these men, which albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have they no constancy in them, which doth adorn all other Vertues.

When he had ended his Oration, *Ludovicus* the Protomary rising up, said, *It is most true that I brought those Verities, but you do call them Verities of Faith, which addition seemeth very doubtful unto me.* When he had spoken these words, Cardinal *Arelatenis* required that the *Concordatum* of the twelve men should be read, and many whispered him in the ear, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then *Panormitan*, as soon as the *Concordatum* began to be read, rising up with his Companions and other *Aragons*, cried out with a loud Voice, saying, *You Fathers do condemn our Requests, you condemn Kings and Princes, and despise Prelates; but take heed lest whilst that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greatest part of Prelates, we make the*

Council, and it is our part to conclude: and I in the name of all other Prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed. With this word there sprang such a noise and rumor in the Council, as is accustomed to be in battel, with the sound of Trumpets, and noise of Horsemen when two Armies joyn: Some curling that which *Panormitan* went about, other some allowing the same: So that diversity of minds made divers contentions.

Then *Nicholas Amici*, a Divine of *Paris*, according unto his Office, said, *Panormitan, I appeal from this your Conclusion, to the Judgment of the Council here present; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done, as I am ready to prove, if it shall seem good. The contrary part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seen how they could conclude amongst so great Cries and Uproars.* Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, *John Segovius*, a singular Divine of the University of *Salamantine*, lacked not audience; for the whole Council was desirous to hear him: wherefore all men as soon as he rose up kept silence, and he perceiving that they were desirous to hear him speak, began in this sort:

Most reverend Fathers, the zeal and love of the House of God forceth me now to speak: and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have seen those things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I should not have heard those words which have been spoken. Who is it that is so stony or hard-hearted, which can abstain from tears, when as the authority of the Church is so spoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the Council, and that there is no place given unto the verity? O sweet Jesus, why hast thou forsaken thy Spouse? Behold and look upon thy people, and help us if our Requests are just.

*We come hither to provide for the necessity of the Church, we require nothing for our selves, and our desire is only that truth might appear. We trusted now to have concluded upon the Verities which were sometimes allowed in the sacred Deputations; The Orators of the Princes are present, and require the Conclusions to be deferred. But we be not unmindful of those things which *Ambrose* wrote unto *Valentinian* the Emperor in this manner. If we shall intreat upon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times past, who is it that will deny but that in case of Faith (I say in case of Faith) the Bishops ought to judge upon Christian Emperors, and not Emperors upon Bishops? Neither do we admit their Petition but upon most urgent causes. Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilst that they did speak even so long as they would.*

*But now if any of our part would speak, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honesty is this? what modesty or gravity? is it lawful so to do in the Council? where is the Decree of the Council of *Tholouse* now become? (where are our Decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also small babblings and talk?) They say, it is because we condemn them; but they are they, which not only condemn the Council, but also resist the same. The Patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no evil intent or purpose, and by and by they complained that their liberty was broken: but they, when as they do enforce the Council, when as they forbid the President to speak, and will not suffer the Ordinances to be read, do not judge that they do any thing contrary to the liberty of the Council. They say, they are the Council themselves, and yet they intreat the Council. These things do not I understand; for if they be the Council, why do they intreat themselves? If they be not the Council, why do they not suffer the Council to speak? Why do they not look for an answer of him to whom they make their Petitions?*

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is also too much, to suffer such excess even in the face of the Church. But this doth most of all grieve me, and this do I most marvel at, that *Panormitan*, a man of singular wit and Doctrine, did conclude without any discussing or deciding of the Deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eyes had beheld and seen, I would scarcely believe,

Nicholas Amici a Divine of Paris.

The Oration of Segovius.

Ambrose ad Valentinianum.

How far and where the Bishops ought to judge upon Emperors.

He excuseth the Patriarch.

Humility sister to nobility.

Amodens Archbishop of Lions. Anno 1438.

Bishops that lie at home, have tongues here to speak for the Pope.

Mark how they are turned back which sometime favoured the truth, and are now become liars and flatterers.

Constancy lacked in divers of this Council.

Panormitan spoke like himself.

He meaneth
Panormitan,
which did
conclude
without the
examination
of 12 men.

believe, if any other man should report it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I may sufficiently credit my self, the matter seemeth so terrible: for I do not see by what authority his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the Authority of his King, *Who*, he saith, *will have it so*. But you most reverend Fathers, take heed that ye bring in no such custom; for so it shall come to pass, that in all matters, a few froward Prelates shall have one to conclude for them.

Paul would
give to Pe-
ter no re-
spite when
he swarved
away.

And albeit *Panormitan* hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet notwithstanding, I do require you most reverend Fathers to follow the example of the Apostle, who (as *Arelatenfis* hath very well declared) would not give one hours respite unto *Peter*, when he swarved from the truth of the Gospel. The Faith is speedily to be relieved and holpen; neither doth any thing sustain more danger by delays, than Faith doth. For Heresies except they be rooted out at the first, when they are once grown, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help and aid, Hoise up your Sails, and lanch out your Oars. What should we tarry looking for either the Prelates or the Princes? You are now in conflict: I only desire that you would hasten unto the Victory. Regard not the threatnings of those Princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: *For you are blessed*, saith the Lord, *when as men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lyes and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoyce and be glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven*. What is it I pray you that the Princes do so much object against us? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the Furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those Princes? I beseech you most reverend Fathers and loving Brethren, have no less hope in Jesus Christ, than *Sidrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego* had, which feared not that old King *Nabuchodonosor*: and let the people know, *That the most High ruleth over the Kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth*. God beholderth all things from above; He is (I say) in the midst amongst us; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and shew your selves as a strong wall for the Church of God; suffer not the Faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Fear not them which seek only to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the Backbiter and Slanderer. Again I say unto you, shew your selves valiant and stout, defend your Mother the Church. And unto thee, O thou President, I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man; for if thou depart thence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait Judgment of God. And thus without any more words he fate down in his place.

Mark the
great con-
stancy and
Christian
zeal of this
man.

An exhorta-
tion to con-
stancy.

The Bishop
of Burgen
seeketh con-
cord.

In the mean time many grave and ancient men had exhorted *Panormitan* that he should give over his conclusion. The Bishop of *Burgen* was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the Fathers, and went about to make an unity with all men. But neither the Fathers of the Council were determined to depart without a conclusion; neither was *Panormitan* minded to alter his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the Prelates sit in their Seats, as they were accustomed, but as every mans affection led him. Some went to the Cardinal *Arelatenfis*, some unto *Panormitan*, and exhorted them, as if they had been Princes or Rulers of Armies. Then *Arelatenfis* knowing the matter to be in danger; and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policy to appease the tumult.

How men
be ready to
hear news.

Note the
godly poli-
cy of the
Cardinal.

Most reverend Fathers, said he, *we have received now Letters out of France, which declare unto me marvelous things; that there are incredible news sprung up there, which if you will give me willing Audience, I will declare unto you*. By this means there was a sudden silence throughout the whole Council, and by this marvelous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he saw he had free liberty to speak, without either Fable or History of any Letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and as it is requisite in an Orator, came by little and little to the principal Point, saying, *That Eugenius his Messengers filled all France, preaching a new Doctrine,*

and extolling the Authority of the Bishop of Rome above the General-Council: against whom, except speedy remedy were found, it would come to pass that many would give credit unto them, and therefore the sacred Council ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the Verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repressed; which Verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the Fathers intent to conclude upon them all, but only the three first: even as I also (saith he) here do conclude in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

The conclu-
sion of the
Council.

The Holy
Ghost work-
ing against
the Pope.

The sorrow
of Panormi-
tan for im-
pugning the
Truth.

When he had finished his Oration, with a chearful and merry countenance rising up, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his Garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that being a *Frenchman* born, had that day vanquished the *Italians*, which were men of great policy. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghost, than by the Cardinals own power. The other of the contrary Faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his Lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another, so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were overcome. Something more also is reported of *Panormitan*, that when he came to his Lodging, and was gone unto his Chamber, he complained with himself upon his King, which had compelled him to strive against the truth, and put both his Soul and good name in danger of losing; and that in the midst of his tears and complaints he fell asleep, and did eat no meat until late in the evening, for very sorrow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither unwillingly impugned the truth.

The Bishop
of Lions and
Burgen.

After this there was great consultation amongst the *Eugenians*, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leave the Council, other some thought it meet to tarry, and withall endeavour to resist that nothing should further be done against the *Eugenians*; and this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of *April*, the Archbishop of *Lions* and the Bishop of *Burgen*, calling together the Prelates in the Chapter-house of the great Church, began many things as touching peace. The Bishop of *Burgen* perswaded that there should be Deputations appointed that day, unto whom the Archbishop of *Lions* should give power to make an agreement. Unto whom answer was made, as they thought very roughly, but as other judged gently, but notwithstanding justly and truly: For they said, *There could be no unity of Concord made before the Adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon therefore*.

The just an-
swer of the
Council.

The day following the said Bishop of *Burgen*, with the other *Lombards* and *Cathelans*, went unto the *Germans*, and from thence unto the Senate of the City, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of Schisms. The *Germans* referred themselves to those things which the Deputation should determine. The Senate of the City (as they were great men in wisdom, which would do nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) answered, *That the matter pertained not unto them, but unto the Council: the Fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the Christian Faith; and if there were any danger toward, it should be declared unto the Council, and not to the Senate*. For they believe that the Elders of the Council, if they were premouished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the City, it was their duty only to defend the Fathers, and to preserve the promise of the City. With this answer the Bishop of *Burgen* departed.

The answer
of them
both.

In the mean time the Fathers of the Council had drawn out a form of a Decree upon the former Conclusions, and had approved the same in the sacred Deputations. By this time the Princes Orators were returned from the Assembly at *Mentz*, and holding a Council amongst themselves, they had determined to let the Decree. The ninth day of *May*, there was a general Convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part putting forth himself unto the conflict.

The form
of the De-
cree is
written and
approved.

The Princes Ambassadors were called by the Bishop of *Lubeck* and *Comrade de Winsperge* the Protector into the

{KING
HEN. 6.}

the Quire, and there kept where they intreated of a Unity, and by what means it might be had, and there they tarried longer than some thought to do; the which matter gave occasion to bring things well to pass, beyond all expectation. The only form of the Decree was appointed to be concluded that day; whereupon, as soon as Cardinal Arelatenfis perceived the Congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it for fear of tumult, but commanded by and by the publick Concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the Cardinal Arelatenfis might appoint a Session whensoever he would. Which being read, he being desired by the Promoters, concluded according as the manner and custom is. The Ambassadors of the Princes being yet in the Quire, as soon as they understood how the matter passed, being very much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all things to the Bishop of Lubeck, which of purpose had kept them in the Quire, and protracted the time. Whereupon they entering into the Congregation, filled the Church full of complaints.

The policy
of the Car-
dinal Arelatenfis.

First of all, the Orator of Lubeck complained both in his own name and the name of the Proctor, as touching the conclusion, and required that the Council would revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to intreat a Peace, and to be a Proctor between the Council and the Ambassadors of the Princes. But the Archbishop of Turnon said, That it seemed unto him, every man to have free liberty to speak against that Law which should be promulgate, until the Session, when the Canons should be consecrated and receive their force: when as the Bishops in their Pontificalibus, after the reading of the Decree in the Session, should answer that it pleased them: otherwise the demand which was made by the Promoters in the Session, to be but vain: And for that the Conclusions were not yet allowed in the Session, therefore he said that he might without rebuke speak somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in such a short time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithstanding that he being an Archbishop, ought to have known the matter, that at his return home, he might inform the King, and also instruct those which were under him. And that he and his Fellows, before any Session should be, would both bear and be heard of others. Neither doth it seem good unto him that the Session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the Ambassadors of the Princes had done at Mentz, which would peradventure be such as might alter and change the minds of the Fathers. Then the Bishop of Concen, Ambassador of the King of Castile, which was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the Prelates were concerned. Neither had it been (said he) any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expences went to Mentz, not for their pleasure, but of necessity. And afterward as it were smiling, he said, How mad am I, that would have the Prelates to be tarried for, until they return from Mentz, when as they are not tarried for, whilst they came out of the Quire of the Church? Do therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischief hereupon, neither are we the Ambassadors of Castile to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our most noble King.

The Bishop
of Turnon.

The Bishop
of Concen
speaketh.

Mark what
the truth
must suffer.

O marvel-
ous despite
and contum-
ely in a
Bishop! for
if Arelaten-
fis had kept
Whores or
Concubines,
he would
have praised
him: but to
maintain
learned
men was a
great of-
fence.

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed against the Cardinal Arelatenfis: but especially the Bishop of Millain railed most cruelly upon him, saying, That he fostered and maintained a rabble of Sophisters and School-Masters, and that he had concluded in matters of Faith with them; calling him also another Catiline, unto whom all desperate and naughty persons had refuge, that he was their Prince, and ruled the Church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the Ambassadors of the most noble Princes, or to the most famous Prelates in this most weighty matter. Albiganensis a Bishop, and a man of great Nobility, descended of the Emperors blood, albeit he had never alienate his mind before from the Council, yet left he should seem to dissent from other Ambassadors of the Princes, he made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the Prelates. After this it came unto Panormitan to speak, who as he

had a greater vehemency in speaking, so also he did declare a more angry stomach and mind: for in the beginning of his Oration he seemeth not to go about according to the Precept of the Orators, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he said, *That our Saviour shewed four signs in the Gospel, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate; for he which is of God (saith he) beareth the words of God, but ye hear not the words of God, because ye are not of God. And again, He that doth evil hateth the light. And in another place also, By their fruits ye shall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.*

The Fathers
of the Coun-
cil flattered
by Panormitan.
Four signs
to know the
good from
the bad.

All which sayings he wrested against the Fathers of the Council, because they would not hear the words of God; that is to say, the words of peace: which the Ambassadors had spoken: because they fled from the light in the absence of the Ambassadors, privily concluding; and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy-day, but had concluded thereupon; also because they had the upper-hand in the foresaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he said, *That the Fathers themselves should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselves were not good; and that he did see another Council at hand, where he feared lest these Conclusions should be revoked, as the fruit of an evil Tree: and therefore they ought not so suddenly to proceed in so weighty matters: and that he would be yet more fully heard before the Session, as well in his own name, because he was an Archbishop, as in the name of his Prince, which reigned not over one Kingdom alone, but over many.* Also he said, That he heretofore by his words, deeds and writings, hath extolled the authority of the Council; and that he feared, lest by these means the authority thereof should be subverted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the Fathers of the Council, forso much as very sorrow and grief forced him to speak so.

Look if it
be not spo-
ken of them
in the Gos-
pel, where
mention is
made of the
Beast which
is fallen in-
to the ditch

What is it
that ambi-
tion will
not do?

The Abbot of Virgiliensis would have made answer to those things which Panormitan had touched, concerning his deputation: but Arelatenfis thought good that all the contrary part should speak first, among whom, last of all Ludovicus the Protonotary, the Homer of Lawyers, rose up. And albeit that he spake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And whiles he went about to seem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He said, *That the Council ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of Faith against the Prelates, lest any offence should follow; for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the Creed only the Apostles were present, thereby (as it were) giving example that the matters of Faith did pertain only unto the Apostles, and so consequently unto Bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of Faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forso much as Peter affirmeth the trial of Faith to be much more precious than Gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the Bishops be concerned, which are called the Pillars and Keys of Heaven, the Faith cannot seem to be well proved or examined. But at length he confessed that the Inferiors might determine with the Bishops, but denied that the least part of the Bishops with the most part of the Inferiors might determine any thing. From thence he passing to the matter of Faith, said, *That those Verities whereupon question was now had, are Articles of Faith, if they were Verities of Faith. And forso much as every man should be bound to believe those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should believe as an Article of Faith. Neither should it be comely for the Council to deny him his request; which according to the rule of the Apostle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man which shall require it, touching the Faith which it holdeth.**

Abbot of
Virgiliensis.

Ludovicus
the Proto-
notary in
labouring
to seem
learned, for-
got to be
good.

The Apo-
stles princi-
pally pas-
thered the
Creed.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the Cardinal Arelatenfis calling his Spirits together, made an Oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the Imperial Ambassadors, which offered to intreat a Peace and Unity; but neither necessity, nor honesty (he said) would suffer those things which are concluded to be revoked. He answered also, That the Petition of the Ambassadors

The Orati-
on of the
Cardinal
Arelatenfis
to the Im-
perial Am-
bassadors.]

To the Ambassadors of France.

To the Bishop of Constance.

To Ludovicus the Protonotary.

Nicholas Piceninus an Italian.

Articles of the Creed not all put in by the Apostles, but some by the Councils.

The Article of the Holy Ghost put in by the Council of Lyons.

Panormitan wounded with his own darts.

ambassadors of France is most just, in that they required to be instructed touching the Faith; and that the Council would grant their request, and send unto them certain Divines, which should instruct them at home at their Lodgings, but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought into question, that the Session was only holden, rather to beautifie the matter, than to confirm the same. And as touching that which the Bishop of Constance so greatly complaineth of, he doth not much marvel: for he could not know the process of the matter, when he was absent; who being better instructed, he supposed would speak no more any such words, forasmuch as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also that his protestation had no evil sense or meaning, in that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his King, if any offence should rise upon the Conclusions. Notwithstanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil should spring of good Works. But unto the Bishop of Millain, he would answer nothing, because he saw him so moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying of more grievous and hainous words. As for Panormitan he reserved unto the last. But unto Ludovicus the Protonotary, which desired to be instructed, he said, *He willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the Bishop of Turin.*

Notwithstanding, he left not this untouched which Ludovicus had spoken concerning the Apostles Creed. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed the Apostles be only named; yet it doth not follow (saith he) that they only were present at the setting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes, that Princes are commended and praised as chief authors and doers of things, when as notwithstanding they have other helpers; as it appeareth in battels, which although they are fought with the force of all the Souldiers, yet the Victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in these our days they do ascribe all things which the Army doth either fortunately or wisely, unto Nicholas Piceninus, that most valiant Captain, which hath obtained so many famous Victories; albeit that oftentimes other have been the Inventors of the Policy, and Workers of the Feat. And therefore Ludovicus ought to know and understand, that they are not only Articles of Faith, which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the Councils as touching the Faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some Articles of the Creed which we now use in the Church, that were not put to by the Apostles, but afterward by general Councils; as that part wherein mention is made of the Holy Ghost, which the Council of Lyons did add; in which Council also it is not to be doubted, but that the Inferiors did judge together with the Bishops. But for so much as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the Congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But coming unto Panormitan, he rehearsed his words, *Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit, He that is of God, heareth Gods Word;* which is very well taken out of the Gospel, but not well applied unto the Council (saith he;) for he firmly believed, that his Predecessors have judged the Holy Ghost to be in the midst of the Councils, and therefore the words of the Councils to be the words of the Holy Ghost, which if any man do reject, he denieth himself to be of God. Neither doth the Council hate the light, which doth all things publicly and openly, whose Congregations are evident unto all men, neither doth it, as the Conventicles of the Adversaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be intreated of for two months ago, and first the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the Divinity Schools, and afterward sent unto Mentz, and other places of the world.

After all this the Fathers were called into the Chapterhouse of the great Church, to the number of an hundred and twenty; amongst whom Panormitan, which now complaineth, was also present, and according to his manner did learnedly and subtilly dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise in the Disputations every man spake his mind freely, and in the disputation where Panormitan was, the matter was three days discussed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general Congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly and also without any fraud or deceit. And

whereas the deputation did sit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that; neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they have often their Session upon Festival-days, when as the matter hath had haste, and specially that the matter of Faith hath no holy days. And further he said, That he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the Congregation, as Panormitan hath reported, but publicly and openly at the request of the Promoters.

Neither hath any man any just cause to complain upon him, for so much as when he was made President, he was sworn that always when three or four of the deputations did agree, he should conclude thereupon. And for so much as he had already concluded, in divers causes touching the Pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of Faith, for that he was a Cardinal, and did wear his red Hat for this purpose, that he should shed his blood in the defence of the Faith. Neither hath he done any thing now against the Pope, for that omitting the five Conclusions touching Eugenius, he had concluded but only the general Conclusions: which except he had done, the Fathers should have had just cause to complain against him (in that they trusting in his fidelity and faithfulness, had chosen him President) if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessary cause of Faith. And turning himself unto the people, he desired the Fathers to be of good comfort, for so much as he would never forsake them, yea although he should suffer death: for he had given his Faith and Fidelity unto the Council, which he should observe and keep: neither should any mans flattery or threatnings put him from his purpose: that he would be always ready to do whatsoever the Council should command him, and never leave the commandments of the Deputies by any means unperformed.

As touching that Panormitan had extolled the authority of the Council, he said, *That he was greatly to be thanked.* But yet he ought to understand and know the authority of the Council to be such as cannot be augmented or increased by any mans praise or commendation, or be diminished by any opprobry or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the form of the Decree to be read. Then Panormitan and those which took his part, would needs have a certain Protestation to be first read. There was great contention on every side. Notwithstanding at the last Arelatenfis prevailed, and the form of the Decree was read unto this word *Decernimus*; that is to say, We decree. Then Panormitan rising up would not suffer it to heard any further: And the Bishop of Catania cried out saying, *That it was uncomely that Arelatenfis, with a few other Bishops by name, should conclude the matter.* The like did also all those which favoured Panormitan. The Cardinal of Taracomia also (which until that time had holden his peace) did grievously rebuke his Partakers, that as men being asleep or in a dream, they did not read the Protestation, and commanded by and by one of his Familiars to read it. But like as the Adversaries before did perturb the reading of the Concordances, so would not the Fathers of the Council now give place to the reading of the Protestation. Which when Albiganensis did consider, he commanded the Writing to be brought unto him, and as he began to speak, suddenly Arelatenfis rose up, with a great number of the Fathers to depart: Which thing pleased the Cardinal of Taracomia and Panormitan very well, for that they hoped that they alone with their Adherents, should remain in the Church. They exhorted Arelatenfis to revoke the conclusion and to make another.

There was in that Congregation in his place George the Protonotary of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his Uncle, the Cardinal of Taracomia, a man but young of age, but grave in wisdom, and noble in humanity: who as soon as he saw the Cardinal Arelatenfis rise, he determined also to depart, and when as his Uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he said, *God forbid farther that I should tarry in your Congregation, or do any thing contrary to the Oath which I have taken.* By which words he declared his excellent Vertue and Nobility, and admonished our men which remained, of those things they had to do. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghost, and words more necessary than could be thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the Fathers of the Council had peradventure departed, and gone their way; and the

KING
H. 6.
Arelatenfis concluded not, but at the request of the Promoters.

These four deputations were four sorts of chosen men, which did discuss and determine those things which the Fathers did conclude upon. Verily this is no Babylonical Cathedral, but of the immaculate Spouse, Jesus Christ. He speaketh to the whole Council.

Every man may determine of Faith, having the Scripture on his part. Contention in the Council about reading of the protestation.

How God worketh by occasion.

KING the other remaining in the Church had made another conclusion which they would have affirmed to have been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many being warned by the words of the *Protonotary*, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other Councils before, called back again the multitude which were departing, and cried upon the Cardinal and the Patriarch to sit down again, and that they should not leave the Church void and quiet for their Adversaries. Whereupon suddenly all the whole multitude sat down, and the Gates were shut again. In the mean time *Mattheus Albigenensis* a Bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himself alone, for it could nor be heard for noise; which being ended, the *Lombards* and the *Cathelanes* confirmed the Protestation. When the Cardinal of *Terracoma* said, That he did agree to that diffension, they marvelled at that saying. And when some smiled and laughed at him: *What said he, ye Fools do ye mock me? do not the Ambassadors of my King dissent from you? What do you marvel then if I do say I consent unto their diffensions?* And with these words he and almost all the *Aragons*, *Lombards* and *Cathelanes* departed; all the other tarried still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past Two at Afternoon) *Arelatenfis* seeing the Congregation quiet, commanded the affairs of private persons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded also the publick affairs to be read, and willed the conclusions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the Congregation, the Ambassadors of the Empire of *France*, talking together of their affairs. Notwithstanding the Bishop of *Turnon* heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himself to the Bishop of *Lubeck*, said, *Loe, the matters of Faith are now in hand again, let us go hence I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not said, to dissent from the other Ambassadors.* To whom the Bishop of *Lubeck* answered, *Tarry Father, tarry here, are not the Conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?* These words were not heard of many, for they spake them softly between themselves. Notwithstanding I heard it, for I sitting at their feet, did diligently observe what they said. *Arelatenfis*, after all things were read, which he thought necessary, at the request of the Deputies concluded, and so making an end, dismissed the Congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty *Arelatenfis* concluded, forso much as neither the matter, nor the form could be concluded without diffension: * and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all mens hope, but were obtained by the industry of *Arelatenfis*, or rather by the special Gift of the Holy Ghost.

After this it was determined between the *Lombards* and *Aragons* to abstain from the Deputations for a certain time, which they did not long observe, notwithstanding the Deputations were holden very quietly for a certain space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of *May*; during which time, all means possible were sought to set a concord between the Fathers, but would not be. Then *Nicholas Amici* Promoter of the Faith, was called into the Congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the days before, and declared how that *Arelatenfis* might point a Session. Wherefore forso much as delay in matters of Faith was dangerous; he required that a Session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the Cardinal for his Dignities sake, in that he was called the Principal of the Church, and the other Bishops, that (as they had promised in their Consecration) they would not now shrink from the Church in these weighty Affairs, and suffer the Faith to be oppressed; but the other Inferiors he required, upon their Oath which they had taken, to shew themselves faithful and constant herein. Then again there fell a great contention upon these words; for *Arelatenfis*, as he was required, did appoint a Session, and exhorted all men to be there present in their Robes. The Bishop of *Lubeck* rising up made a protestation in his own name, and also in the name of his Protector, *That he would not consent that there should be any Session, if it should in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz.* *Gregorius Miles* also, his Fellow-Ambassador, consented to this protestation. When as the Protector of the Council, appointed by the Emperor, understood him-

self to be named by the Bishop of *Lubeck*, he marvelled a while what the matter should be. But being certified by an Interpreter, he answered, *That he would in no case consent unto the Protestation of the Bishop of Lubeck, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz; also that he was sent by the Emperor to the sacred Council, and bath his Charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto.* After whom the Bishop of *Concense*, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed *Panormitan*. Whose words before I will repeat, I desire that no man would marvel that I make mention so often of *Panormitan*; for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

It hapned in these matters, even as it doth in Warlike affairs: for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and do most worthy Feats, obtain most fame, as in the battel of *Troy*, *Achilles* and *Hector*: so in these Spiritual Wars and Contentions, those which most excel in Learning and Eloquence, and do more than other, should be most renowned and named: for on the one part *Panormitan* was Prince and Captain; on the other, *Arelatenfis*: but his own will made not the one Captain, but only necessity, for it behoved him to obey his Prince. Notwithstanding he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he resist willingly against it; for I have seen him oftentimes in his Library complain of his Prince, that he followed other mens counsel. When as his time came to speak, he said, *That he did not a little marvel why the Protector of the Faith should require the Prelates to have a Session, which was nothing pertaining to his Office, and that he ought not to usurp the Presidents place.* And again, *He complained touching the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did presently touch the state of the Apostolick See, and for that cause the See ought to be heard before any Session be holden.* Neither is it to be regarded (said he) that the Council of *Constance* seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be spoken of, forso much as Pope John was not heard at *Constance*, neither any man else, to speak for the See; by which words he seemed both to contemn and bring in doubt all the Decrees of that most great and sacred Synod of *Constance*: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying, *That the Synod of Constance is holy, and the Authority thereof ought to be inviolate.* But he, being still instant, with a stout and haughty courage affirmed, *That the matter could not be finished without the Ambassadors of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of Faith.* And again, *that the Ambassadors themselves cannot consent, for so much as in the Colloquie holden at Mentz they had promised, during the Treaty of Peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the Pope should either do against the Council, or the Council against the Pope; and that he doubted not but that the three first Conclusions declared Eugenius an Heretick, insomuch that it was evident that Eugenius did vehemently resist the two first.* And therefore forso much as the Session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before that Session to speak what he will, he desired and required them most instantly that there might be no Session as yet holden. Unto whom *Arelatenfis* answered, *That it was not to be doubted but that the Promoter of the Faith, by his Office might call the Prelates to determine a matter of Faith, and specially forso much as the deputation of the Faith and the whole Council had so given him in Commandment.*

As touching the Prelates, he saith, That albeit without all doubt Bishops have chief Authority, yet notwithstanding it is accustomed in Councils not to make any conclusion in the name of the Bishops, but in the name of the whole Council: and the universal Church hath decreed certain Laws in this Council which should remain inviolate. Neither let the Bishops think the presence of the Inferiors grievous unto them, when as oftentimes under a bare and torn Coat, wisdom lieth hid, and under rich Vestures and Ornaments folly lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindful of the saying of *Domitian*, which (as *S. Jerome* reporteth) said, *Why should I esteem thee as a Prince, if thou dost not regard me as a Senator?* For the Bishops ought to esteem Priests as Priests, if they will have reverence done unto them as Bishops. Neither ought

Comrade Winiferge a Baron.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Eugenians; and Arelatenfis the Hector of the Council.

The Papists extol that which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary they contemn, whether it be Scripture or prophane

Arelatenfis answer to Panormitan. This deputation of Faith, was the company of chosen men which did determine matters of Faith.

S. Jerome unto Nepotianus de vita clericali. Mark how politickly and sincerely he doth confute his Adversaries.

Albigenensis readeth the protestation, but none could hear him.

The affairs of the Council are read.

Aeneas Sylvius being present collected this. Arelatenfis concluded here, as he did also before, not without the consent of the Deputies, according to the order of the Council.

Aeneas, you did not so praise this Council after you were Bishop your self.

The Bishop of Lubeck.

ought the Princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, forasmuch as the Church is not congregated in the name of the Princes, but in the name of Christ, which hath not received his Power from Princes, but immediately from God: to the defence whereof he should perceive the Inferiors to be no less encouraged than the Bishops, for that he did well understand and know, that they would not only spend their Temporal goods, but also their lives for the defence thereof. As for some Bishops, rather than they will lose any part of their Temporalities, they will sell the liberty of the Church unto the Princes, and make them Judges and Lords over the Council. As touching the Acts at *Mentz*, he doth not regard them, forasmuch (as it is said) they counted without their Host: for he saith, *He doth not understand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the Pope, nor the Council.* The one or the other they must needs be obedient unto; for there is no third Tribunal whereunto any Obedience is due in these matters which concern the faith and salvation of Souls. And finally, that the Church would not suffer that their affairs and matters of Faith should be determined by the Judgment of Princes: for the Holy Ghost is not subject unto Princes, but Princes unto him: and upon this conclusion he would not fear either the loss of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas *Panormitane* doth now shew himself so great a Defender of *Eugenius*; he saith, *That he doth not a little marvel at it, for that in times past no man hath more published Eugenius his Errors, than he: by whose special labour and counsel, both a decree monitory, and also the suspension was admitted and set out against Eugenius.* And now, whereupon this sudden change should come, he saith, *That he was utterly ignorant, forasmuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the Church continue in such a Schism.* Wherefore he desired *Panormitane* diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: For (saith he) *the Conclusions which now shall be decreed, are most general: neither is there any mention in them of the Pope: and moreover the verity of Faith is contained in them: against the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more meet that the Pope should be corrected, than the verity omitted.* And thus he maketh an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the Session. The Protector also desired the sacred Council, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the Session: forasmuch as he was ready to observe the safe conduct of the Emperor, and together with the Senate of the City, to prohibite all quarrels for doing of injury.

When the sixteenth day of *May* was come, all they whom the Session contented and pleased, assembled at the hour. The Ambassadors also of the Princes were come together into the Quire of the Church, to attempt further what they could do; and sending the Bishop of *Lubeck* and *Concense*, and the Dean of *Turnon*, an excellent learned man, they offered themselves to be present at the Session, if that the depolition of *Eugenius* might yet be deferred four months. Who when they had received a gentle answer of *Arelatenfis* and the other Principals, returning again unto the Ambassadors, they would only have the first Conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent again unto *Arelatenfis*: unto whom answer was made, *That the chief force did consist in the two other Conclusions, and that the Council would specially determine upon them.* If the Ambassadors would not be present, they should understand, that the Concord was broken by them, which would not observe that which they had offered. With which answer they departed, and the Session began to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of *Aragon* present at it, neither out of *Spain*, nor out of *Italy*, only the Bishop of *Grossetane*, and the Abbot of *Dona*, which for their constancy and stedfast good will toward the Universal Church, could not be changed from their purpose: but of Doctors and other Inferiors, there were a great number of *Aragons*, and almost all the Inferiors of *Spain* and *Italy* (for the Inferiors feared not the Princes, as the Bishops did) and then the worthy stoutness of the *Aragons* and *Castelanes* appeared in the inferior fort, which would not shrink away in the necessity of the Church. Of the two other Nations there were only present twenty Bishops. The residue lurked in their Lodgings, professing the Faith in their hearts, but not

in their mouths. *Arelatenfis* considering afore what would come to pass, caused prayers to be made, and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentation, that he would send them his holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This Congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many Bishops present, yet all the Seats were filled with the Bishops Proctors, Archdeacons, Presidents, Priors, Priests and Doctors of both Laws, which I judged to be about the number of 400 or more: amongst whom there was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the Faith, and there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the Church. The Bishop of *Maffilia* a noble man, read the Decree, which was attentively hearkened unto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, *Te Deum laudamus* was sung with great joy and gladness, and so the Session dissolved, which was in number the thirty third Session, and amongst all the first the most quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the 22th of *May*, the Princes Ambassadors without all mens expectation came unto the general Congregation, by that their doing at the least giving their assent unto the Session before passed. In celebrating whereof, if the Fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the Princes and Ambassadors to have holden the Council with those Fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and even now to detest and abhor that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the Ambassadors of the Empire and France. For the Bishop of *Lubeck* said, *That the cause of his absence was, for that he was appointed by the Emperors Commandment to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any business, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be intreated.* Notwithstanding, he did much commend the Session before holden, and believed the Decree therein promulgate to be most good and holy, and the Verities therein contained to be undoubted; and said, *That he would stick therewith both now and ever, even to the death.* But the Bishop of *Turnon*, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his Fellows, said, *That he heard how that they were evil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honoured their King in that most sacred Session, whom it becometh specially to exalt and defend the Faith; which also for that cause above all other Kings was named most Christian: notwithstanding, he said, that they had a lawful excuse, in that it was convenient that they, which were sent to intreat peace, should do nothing whereby their Ambassage should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of Injustice (said he) whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done are not done. The first doth not always bind, because it is convenient to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth always bind, wherein he said they were not culpable. But as touching the first point, they might seem unto some to have erred, because they were not present at the Session: but yet in this point they had sufficient to answer, forasmuch as if they had been present at that Session, they should have been unmeet to have entreated any peace with *Eugenius*. And therefore albeit they were wanting at so holy a business, in that point they followed the example of *Paul*, which albeit he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, yet for the further profit and advancement of the Church, it was deferred. So likewise he said, *That they had now done: for that they were not absent because they doubted of the Conclusions (which they judged to be most true and holy, and wherewith they would stick even unto the death) but because they would not be unmeet for the Treaty of Peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their own Persons, they had fulfilled (said he) by their Servants and Household, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that Session.* I would that I had been then in the place of some great Prelate; surely they should not have gone unpunished, which thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treaty of peace? Or if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as a great Offender, which consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What shall we need any further testi-*

No man hath herebefore more than *Panormitane* published the errors of *Eugenius*: whom he now so greatly defendeth.

The Session proclaimed.

In all Italy there were scarcely two Prelates found which sought the commodity of the Universal Church, in Spain there was none.

KING
Hsa. 6.
Prayers made with tears.

Among 400 Doctors that were present, there was not one ill word.

The 33th Session. The Ambassadors consent to the former Session.

Two kinds of Injustice.

O Ambassadors, you should have used such severity when you were Pope. Behold, the Princes Ambassadors declare *Eugenius* an enemy unto the truth.

KING testimony? For now the Embassadors of the Princes have declared *Eugenius* to be an enemy unto the truth. But to pass over these things, it is sufficient that *Eugenius* wrote afterward unto the King of France, that he did understand the Bishop of *Tournon* to become his enemy.

After that the Bishop of *Tournon* had made an end, Cardinal *Arelatenfis* gave thanks unto God, which had so defended his Church, and after great Storms and Clouds had sent fair and clear weather; and commending the good will of the Emperor and the King of France toward the Church, he also praised the Bishop of *Lubeck* and *Tournon*, for that oftentimes in the Council, and also of late at *Mentz*, they had defended the authority of the Council. But specially he commended their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestered themselves from the faith of the Church.

Afterward he, entering into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at *Pysis* and at *Constance*, and never saw a more quiet or devout Session than this; affirming that this Decree was most necessary, to repress the ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, which exalting themselves above the Universal Church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleasure, and that no one man from henceforth should transport the Council from one place to another, as *Eugenius* attempted to do, now to *Bononia*, now to *Florentia*, then again to *Bononia*, after to *Ferraria*, and after that again to *Florentia*; and that hereafter the Bishops should withdraw their minds from the carefulness of temporal goods, which (as he himself did see) had no mind at all on spiritual matters; and therefore by how much this Session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the Embassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the Fathers. These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the Congregation was dissolved.

Now after that *Gabriel Condulmarus* was deposed from the Bishoprick of *Rome*, the principal Fathers of the Council, being called together in the Chapter-house of the great Church, consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new Bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the Election should be done with speed, shewed how dangerous a thing it was for such a Congregation to be without a Head; also what a pestiferous sickness was in all the City, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this Plague came first by strangers unto the poor of the City, and so infected the rich, and now was come unto the Fathers of the Council; amplifying moreover, and encreasing the tenor thereof, and making the thing worse than it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the Decree (said they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided, that there should be delay of sixty days after the See is void; for that is to be understood when as the See is void, at such time as there is no Council holden; neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the Princes being persuaded by *Gabriel*, should resist; unto whom the Deposition of *Gabriel*, and the Election of some other, is to be certified all under one message. The other, which thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the Council did lack no Head, forso much as Christ was the Head thereof: neither did lack a Ruler, forso much as it was governed by the Presidents and other Officers; and that no mention should be made of any Pestilence in such case, seeing that unto stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or fear them which contend for the Christian Faith. As for that Pestilence which doth now increase and grow in the City, forso much as judgment is now given, it is to be hoped that it will assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of Justice. Also, that in so doubtful a matter, they ought rather to use the Princes against their will, than to neglect them; and that it is not to be feared, but that in this case God will help those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds as there were men) yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to chuse the Bishop by and by, but most honest to defer it.

Hereupon *John Segovius*, a man of excellent learning, said, Most Reverend Fathers, I am diversely drawn by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come

to a speedy election it seemeth good, to speak after mans judgment; but to delay it for two Months, to speak after Gods judgment, it seemeth much better. I do judge that not only the words, but also the meaning of our Decree ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather dangerous honesty, than secure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty. This opinion of delay took place among the Fathers, and they determined to stay for the space of two Months.

In the mean time Messengers were sent unto the Princes, to declare the Deposition of *Eugenius* by the Synod, and publish it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt Air was nothing at all purged, but the Mortality daily increasing, many died and were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the Fathers. Neither were they sufficiently advised what they might do; for they thought it not to be without danger, either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding, they thought it good to tarry, and also they caused others to tarry; that since they had overcome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they would not seem to shrink for the persecution of any Plague or Sickness. But forso much as they could not all be kept there, it was politickly provided, that the Council should not seem to be dissolved for any mans departure. And for the more establishment of the matter, there were certain things read before the Fathers, which they called *De stabilimento*, whose authority continued long time after. When as the Dog-days were come, and that all Herbs withered with heat, the Pestilence daily increased more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the Coarces hourly carried through the Streets, when on every side there was weeping, wailing and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place, but Matrons bewailing their Husbands, and the Husbands their Wives. Men and Women went through the Streets, and durst not speak one to another. Some tarried at home, and other some that went abroad, had Perfumes to smell unto, to preserve them against the Plague.

The Common People died without number; and like as in the cold Autumn the Leafs of the Trees do fall; even so did the Youth of the City consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should have met a man merry in the Street now, and within ten hours heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead Coarces was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the Church-Yards were digged up, and filled with dead Coarces, and great holes made in the Parish Churches, where a great number of Coarces being thrust in together, they covered them over with earth. For which cause the Fathers were so afraid, that there appeared no blood in their faces; and specially the sudden death of *Ludovicus* the Prothonotary did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both Laws, whom the same envious and raging sickness took away in a few hours. By and by, after died *Ludovicus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adversity, neither could he see the day of the Popes Election which he had long wished for. Notwithstanding, he took partly a consolation, in that he had seen *Gabriel* deposed before his death. This mans death was grievous unto all the Fathers; for now they said, that two Pillars of the Council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the Prothonotary and the Patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the Council.

About the same time also died the King of *Arragon*'s Almoner in *Switzerland*, a man of excellent learning, being Bishop of *Ebron*. The Abbot of *Vergilia* died at *Spire*, and *John* the Bishop of *Lubeck*, between *Vienna* and *Buda*.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When as they perceived the hour of their death approach, calling unto them certain grave and wise men, said, All you that be here present, pray to God that he will convert such as knowledge *Gabriel* for high Bishop, for in that state they cannot be saved; and professing themselves, that they would die in the Faith of the Council of *Basil*, they departed in the Lord. In *Boheme* also departed the Bishop of *Constance*, which was Embassador for the Council. There was great

The Abbot
Dona, a true
Abbot.

Know the
author here-
of escaped
death
hardly.

The invinc-
ible conftan-
cy and for-
titude of
the Cardi-
nal Arela-
tenfis.

The com-
mendation
of Arela-
tenfis.

The counfel
of Marcus.

fear and trembling throughout all the Council. There had been alfo in the Council, by a long time, the Abbot of *Dona*, of the Diocels of *Cumana*, a man poor unto the World, but rich unto God, whom neither flattering nor threatening could turn away from his good purpose and intent, chusing rather to beg in the truth of the Fathers, than to abound in riches with the falfe flattering adverfaries.

Whereupon, after the Lords were departed which gave him his living, he remaining ftill, was stricken with the Plague and died. Likewise a great number of the Registers and Doctors died; and fuch as fell into that Difcfe, few or none escaped. One amongst all the reft, *Aneas Sylvius*, being stricken with this Difcfe, by Gods help escaped. This man lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in defpair of him; notwithstanding it pleased God to grant him longer life. When as the Peftilence was moft fervent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great intreaty made unto Cardinal *Arelatenfis*, that he would go to fome other Town or Village near hand; for thefe were the words of all his friends and houfhould, *What do you moft reverend Father? At the leaft void this Wane of the Moon and fave your felf; who being fave, all we fhall alfo be fave; if you dy, we all perifh. If the Plague opprefs you, unto whom fhall we fly? Who fhall rule us? Or who fhall be the guide of this moft faithfull flock? The infection hath already invaded your Chamber. Your Secretary and Chamberlain are already dead. Consider the great danger, and fave both your felf and us.* But neither the intreaty of his Houfhould, neither the coarfe of thofe which were dead could move him, willing rather to preferve the Council with peril of his life, than to fave his life with peril of the Council; for he did know, that if he fhould depart, few would have tarried behind, and that deceit fhould have been wrought in his abfence.

Wherefore, like as in Wars the Soldiers fear no danger, when as they fee their Captain in the midft of their enemies: fo the Fathers of the Council were afhamed to fly from this Peftilence, feeing their Prefident to remain with them in the midft of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly fubvert the opinion of them, which babbled abroad, that the Fathers tarried in *Bafil*, to feek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth which men would change for their lives; for that all fuch as do ferve the World, do prefer it before all other things. But thefe our Fathers, fhewing themfelves an invincible ftrong Wall for the Houfe of God, vanquifhing all the crafty deceits which *Gabriel* ufed, and overcoming all difficulties, which this moft cruel and peftiliferous year brought upon them, at the length all defire of life alfo being fet apart, they have overcome all dangers, and have not doubted with moft conftant minds to defend the verity of the Council, even unto this prefent.

The time of the Decree being paffed, after the Depofition of *Gabriel*, it feemed good unto the Fathers, to proceed to the Election of another Bifhop. And firft of all, they nominated thofe that together with the Cardinals, fhould elect the Pope. The firft and principal of the Electors, was the Cardinal *Arelatenfis*, a man of invincible conftancy, and incomparable wifdom; unto whose vertue I may juftly afcribe whatsoever was done in the Council; for without him, the Prelates had not perfevered in their purpose, neither could the fhadow of any Prince have fo defended them. This man came not to the Election by any favour or denomination, but by his own proper right. The reft of the Electors were chofen out of the *Italian, French, German and Spanifh Nations*; and their Cells and Chambers appointed to them by lots, without refpect of dignity or perfon, and as the lots fell, fo were they placed; whereby it chanced a Doctor to have the higheft place, and a Bifhop the laft. Wherein the diftribution of lots was very ftrange, or rather a divine difpenfation, reproving the devices of man, whereas the Prelates had determined to have the beft Chambers appointed for themfelves, and had earneftly contended before to have their Chambers appointed according to their dignity.

The next day after there was a Seffion holden, wherein *Marcus* a famous Divine, made an Oration unto the Electors, wherein he reckoned up the manifold crimes of *Gabriel*, which was depofed. He endeavourd to perfwade the

Electors to chufe fuch a man, which fhould in all points be contrary unto *Gabriel*, and efchew all his vices; that as he, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtful unto all men, fo he which fhould be chofen, fhould fhew himfelf acceptable unto all men, through juftice; and as *Gabriel* was covetous and full of rapine, fo this man fhould fhew himfelf continent.

There was fo great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the Streets, any man could pafs. There was prefent *John Earl of Dierftein*, who fupplied the place of the Emperors Protector; alfo the Senators of the City, with many other Noblemen, to behold the fame, whereof you fhall hear (Chrift willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in Armour, to take care that there fhould be no uproar made. The Electors received the Communion together, and afterwards they received their Oath; and the Cardinal *Arelatenfis*, opening the Book of Decrees, read the form of the Oath in the audience of all men, and firft of all, he taking the Oath himfelf, began in this manner:

Most reverend Fathers, I promife, fwear and vow, before my Lord Jefus Chrift (whose moft blessed Body I unworthy finner have received, unto whom in the laft Judgment, I fhall give an account of all my deeds) that in this bufinefs of Election, wherunto now by the will of the Council we are fent, I will feek nothing elfe, but the only falvation of the Chriftian People, and the profit of the Univerfal Church. Thus fhall be my whole care and ftudy, that the authority of the General Councils be not contemned, that the Catholick Faith be not impugned, and that the Fathers which remain in the Council be not oppreffed. This will I feek for; this fhall be my care; unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend my felf; neither will I refpect anything in this point, either for mine own caufe, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the Church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart will I take mine Oath before the Council.

His words were lively and fearful. After him all the other Electors in their order, did fwear and take their Oath. Then they went with great folemnity unto the Conclave, where they remained feven days. The manner of their Election was in this fort. Before the Cardinals Seat was fet a Desk, whereupon there flood a Bafon of Silver, into the which Bafon all the Electors did caft their Schedules; which the Cardinal receiving, read one by one, and four other of the Electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the Schedules was in this manner: *I George Bifhop of Vicene, do chufe fuch a man, or fuch a man, for Bifhop of Rome, and peradventure named one or two; every one of the Electors fubfcribed his name unto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his own, and fay nay; if it were contrary to that which was fpoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The firft scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the Papacy; yet none had fufficient voices, for that day there were 17 of divers Nations nominate. Notwithstanding, *Amedeus Duke of Savoy*, a man of fingular vertue, furmounted them all; for in the firft scrutiny he had the voice of 16 Electors, which judged him worthy to govern the Church.*

After this, there was a diligent inquisition had in the Council touching thofe which were named of the Electors, and as every mans opinion ferved him, he did either praife or difcommend thofe which were nominate. Notwithstanding, there was fuch report made of *Amedeus*, that in the next scrutiny, which was holden in the Nones of November, the faid *Amedeus* had 21 Voices, and likewise in the 3d and 4th scrutiny, 21 Voices. And forfomuch as there was none found in all the scrutiny to have 2 parts, all the other Schedules were burnt. And forfomuch as there lacked but only one Voice to the Election of the high Bifhop, they fell unto prayer, defiring God that he would vouchfate to direct their minds to an unity and concord, worthily to elect and chufe him which fhould take the charge over the flock of God. Forfomuch as *Amedeus* feemed to be nearer unto the Papacy than all other, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and difpofition. Some faid that a Lay-man ought not fo fuddenly to be chofen; for it would feem a ftrange thing, for a feccular Prince to be called unto the Bifhoprick of Rome; which would alfo too much derogate from the Ecclefiaftical ftate,

RING.
Hon. 6. 5.

The godly
Oath of
Arelatenfis.

The other
Electors
take their
Oath.

Amedeus
Duke of
Savoy.

A scrutiny
is a privy
election by
voices.

Prayer for
unity and
concord.

[KING] as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Other some said, *that a man which was married and had children, was unmeet for such a charge.* Other some again affirmed, that the Bishop of Rome ought to be a Doctor of Law, and an excellet learned man.

Let lying
Eugenius
be ashamed
of his false
invektives
against
Amedeus

When these words were spoken, other some rising up, spake far otherwise; that albeit *Amedeus* was no Doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forasmuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought not the name, but even the ground of Learning. Then said another, if ye be desirous to be instructed further of this Princes life, I pray you give ear unto me, which do know him throughly. Truly this man from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiously than secularly, being always obedient to his Parents and Masters, and being always indued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonness; neither hath there at any time been any child of the House of *Savoy*, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardness; whereby all those which did behold and know this man, judged and foresaw some great matter in him; neither were they deceived. For if ye desire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been; first, know ye this, that this man hath reigned, since his Fathers decease, about forty years.

During whose time, Justice, the Lady and Queen of all other Vertues, hath always flourished: For he, hearing his Subjects himself, would never suffer the poor to be oppressed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the Fatherless, the advocate of the Widows, and protector of the Poor. There was no Rapine or Robbery in all his Territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burthenous to his Subjects, or importune against strangers throughout all his Country; there were no grievous exactions of Money throughout all his Dominion. He thought himself rich enough, if the Inhabitants of his Dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it was the point of a good Shepherd to shear his Sheep, and not to devour them. In this also was his chief study and care, that his Subjects might live in peace, and such as bordered upon him, might have no occasion of grudge.

Commenda-
tion of
Amedeus
Pope elect

By which policies he did not only quietly govern his Fathers Dominion, but also augmented the same by others, which willingly submitted themselves unto him. He never made War upon any, but resisting against such as made War upon him, he studied rather to make peace, than to seek any revenge, desiring rather to overcome his enemies with benefits, than with the Sword. He married only one Wife, which was a Noble Virgin, and of singular beauty and chastity. He would have all his Family to keep their hands and eyes chaste and continent, and throughout all his house, honesty and integrity of manners was observed. When as his Wife had changed her life, and that he perceived his Dutchy to be established, and that it should come without any controversie unto his Posterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious, and dedicate unto God, and shewed what will and affection he had long born in his heart. For he contemning the pomp and state of this World, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a Wilderness; where building a goodly Abby, he addicted himself wholly to the service of God, and taking his Cross upon him, followed Christ. In which place he being conversant by the space of many years, shewed forth great examples of holiness, wearing no other garments but such as could withstand the cold, neither using any kind of dainty fare, but only to resist hunger, watching and praying the most part of the Night. Wherefore this Prince is not newly come unto the Church (as some do suppose) but being a Christian, born of Progenitors, a thousand years and more, being Christians, doth now serve God in a Monastery.

To have a
Wife is no
let for a
good man
to be elect-
ed Pope.
Popes have
been marri-
ed.

But as touching that also which is spoken concerning a Wife, I do not regard it; when as not he only which hath had a Wife, but he also which hath a Wife may be elect and chosen Pope. For why do the Doctors dispute, whether a married man chosen Pope, ought to perform his duty towards his Wife, but only because a married man might be received and chosen? For as you know well enough, there were many Popes that had Wives; and *Peter* also was not without a Wife. But what

do we stand about this? For peradventure, it had been better that more Priests had been married; for many should be saved through Marriage, which are now damned through their single life. But hereof we will (saith he) speak in another place. But this seemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any answer, which is objected touching his children; for what can children (specially being of great age) be impediment or let unto the Father being a Bishop? Doth not the Scripture say, *Wo be unto him that is alone; for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again?* This cannot be imputed unto the Prince? for he hath two sons, both comely and wise, Whereof the one is Prince of *Piemont*, the other Earl of the *Genevians*; these men will rule the Country of *Savoy* in the absence of their Father, and will help him if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a Bishop of *Rome* to have valiant children, which may help their Father against Tyrants? O most reverend Fathers, the more I do behold the storm of this most perverse and froward time, the more I do consider the vexations and troubles which the Church is now tormented withal; I do so much the more think it profitable, yea and necessary, that this man should be chosen Prince and Head; I will think that God hath shewed his mercy upon us, if I may see him have the governance over this Boat; I pray you consider into what straits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and tossed? What Prince is it that is obedient unto this Council? For some will not confess, that the Council is here, neither receive our Decrees: Other some confess it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at *Florence*. For albeit that by their words and Letters, they do not deny that the Church is here, yet do they procure Promotions at the hands of *Gabriel* which is deposed. This is the state of the Church with these storms and tempests the Ship is shaken and bruised; wicked children have risen up against their Mother, which being unmindful of their Mothers labours and kindness towards them, despise her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuse a bare man, which shall rather be derided of our Princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have respect only unto vertue, for (as the Satyrical Poet writeth) *vertue is praised, but is coldly followed.* A poor man speaketh, and they ask what he is? Truly vertue is good, but for our purpose it must be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man; you must chuse a Governour which may rule the Ship not only by counsel, but by power also. The wind is great; wherefore except the counsel be good, and the power strong, the Ship shall be broken and all put in danger. The memorial is yet fresh before our eyes, that the Princes do neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantness shewed in this point, in that you fearing no peril or danger, either of life or goods, have so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the most mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will resist this their pride. I have often consented unto their opinion, which said it was expedient that the Temporal Dominions should be divided from the Ecclesiastical state; for I did think that the Priests should thereby be made more apt to the divine Ministry, and secular Princes more obedient to the Clergy. But forasmuch as at this present the Churches of the World are possessed, partly by *Eugenius*, and partly by other Tyrants, we must provide that we chuse such a one, which may recover again the Patrimony of the Church, and in whom the office of Christs Vicar may not be contemned; through the shield of whose power their contumacy may be suppressed, which contemn both verity and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth unto me more apt or meet, than *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, which holdeth the one part of his possessions in *Italy*, and the other in *France*; unto whom all Christian Princes are allied either by consanguinity, or joyned by amity and friendship, and whose vertue, how famous it is, I have already declared. Why do we then stay or doubt to chuse him, than whom *Gabriel* feareth no man more. Let him therefore perish with the sword wherewithal he hath stricken. There is no man which can more pacifie the Church than he. Do ye require devotion in a Bishop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? Now ye understand by his former life what manner of

Read the
fifth Epistle
of *Ignatius*,
and you
shall see
that the A-
postles had
Wives, and
Bishops
Marianus
maketh
mention,
how that
Hilarius
Bishop of
Pisa had
a Wife.
Ecclesi. 4.

Schism in
the Church.

Good it
were that
temporal
Dominions
were divid-
ed from
the Church.

man is he. If ye seek for Justice, his people are a witness thereof; so that whether you seek for virtue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye stay? Go to I pray you, chuse this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preserve the authority of the Church. Have ye not heard these troubles of the Church to have been afore spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there should a Pope be chosen which should comfort *Sion*, and set all things in peace? And who I pray you should he be that could fulfil these things except we chuse this man? Believe me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds thereunto. Notwithstanding, do whatsoever you shall think most good and holy.

Amedeus
Duke of
Savoy cho-
sen Pope.

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the Electors seemed to consent unto him, and his words took such effect, that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished and ended, and when the scrutiny was opened, it was found that *Amedeus*, the most devout Duke of *Savoy*, according to the Decree of the Council, was chosen Pope. Wherefore suddenly, there was great joy and gladness amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the Cardinal *Arelatensis* published unto them the name of the elect Bishop. After this all the Prelates in their Robes, *Pontificalibus* and Miters, and all the Clergy of the City coming unto the Conclave, the Electors being likewise adorned, they brought him unto the great Church, where after great thanks given unto God, and the Election again declared unto the people, a Hymn being sung for joy, the Congregation was dissolved.

Pope Felix
the fifth.

This *Amedeus* afore said, was a man of reverent age, of comely stature, of grave and discreet behaviour; also before married. Who thus being elect for Pope about November, was called *Felix* the Fifth, and was crowned in the City of *Basil*, in the Month of *July*. There was present at his Coronation, *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*; *Philip* Earl *Gebenens*. *Lewis* Marquis of *Salutz*; The Marquis of *Rotelen*; *Conrade* of *Winpberg* Chamberlain of the Empire; The Earl of *Dierstein*; The Embassadors of the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Bern*, *Friburg*, *Soloturn*, with a great multitude of other beside, to the view of 50000 persons. At this Coronation, the Popes two Sons did serve and minister to their Father. *Lewis* Cardinal of *Hosia* did set on his Head the Pontifical Diadem, which was esteemed at thirty thousand Crowns. It were long hereto recite the whole order and solemnity of the Procession, or the Popes riding about the City. First proceeded the Pope under his Canopy of Cloth of Gold, having on his Head a Triple-Crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the Marquis of *Rotelen*, and *Conrade* of *Winpberg*, leading his Horse by the Bridle. The Procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous; where the Popes two Sons were Barbers to his Cup; the Marquis of *Salutz* was the Steward, &c.

The number
of people at
the Coronation
of
Pope Felix.
The Popes
two Sons
serving at
the Coronation.
The valuation
of the
Popes
Crown.
The Popes
dinner and
service.
Volat. lib. 3.

Of this *Felix* thus writeth *Volaterane* in his third Book, That he being desired of certain of the Embassadors, if he had any Dogs or Hounds to shew them; he willed them the next day to repair unto him, and he would shew unto them such as he had. When the Embassadors according to the appointment were come, he sheweth unto them a great number of poor People and Beggars sitting at his Tables at meat, declaring that those were his Hounds, which he every day used to feed, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of Heaven to come.

A note
for our
Gentlemen
and Lords,
to learn
how to
hunt and
what Dogs
to keep.

And thus you have heard the state of this Council hitherto, which Council endured a long season, the space of 17 years.

The death
of Sigis-
mund the
Emperor.
Albert the
second
Emperor.
Anno
1438.

About the sixth year of the Council, *Sigismund* the Emperor died, leaving but one Daughter to succeed him in his Kingdoms, whom he had married to *Albert* the second Duke of *Austria*, which first succeeded in the Kingdom of *Hungary* and *Boheme*, being a fore adversary to the *Bohemians*, and afterward was made Emperor, Anno 1438, and reigned Emperor but two years, leaving his Wife, which was *Sigismund* his Daughter, great with Child. After which *Albert* succeeded his Brother *Frederick*, the third Duke of *Austria*, in the Empire, &c. Whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

The death
of Albertus.

In the mean time *Eugenius* hearing of the death of *Si-*

gismund above recited, began to work the dissolution of the Council of *Basil*, and to transfer it to *Ferraria*, pretending the coming of the *Grecians*. Notwithstanding, the Council of *Basil*, through the disposition of God, and the worthiness of Cardinal *Arelatensis*, constantly endured. Albeit in the said Council were many stops and practices to impeach the same, beside the fore Plague of Pestilence which fell in the City, during the said Council. In the which Plague time, besides the death of many worthy men, *Aeneas Sylvius* also himself, the Writer and Compiler of the whole History of that Council, sitting at the feet of the Bishops of *Turnon* and *Lubeck*, lay sick three days of the same fore, as is above touched, and never thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that stuck to *Eugenius* as Pope, against that Council, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated again for the better marking. *Arelatensis* being most instantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be intreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the Church, than of his own life.

KING
Hen. 6.
The Plague
at Basil in
the time of
the Council.

Aeneas
Sylvius sick
of the
Plague in
Basil.

The con-
stant zeal of
Arelatensis
to the
truth.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this Council, strange it was to behold the mutation of mens minds. Of whom such as first seemed to favour the Council, after did impugn it; and such as before were against it, in the end shewed themselves most friends unto the same. The chief Cardinals and Prelates, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipped away, or else lurked in Houses or Towns near, and absented themselves for fear; so that the stay of the Council most rested upon their Proctors, Doctors, Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Priors, and such other of the inferior sort. Whereof *Aeneas Sylvius*, in his 183 Epistle, maketh this relation, where one *Caspar Schlick*, the Emperors Chancellor, writeth to Cardinal *Julian* in these words, Those Cardinals (saith he) which so long time magnified so highly the authority of the Church, and of General Councils, seeming as though they were ready to spend their lives for the same, now at the sight of one Letter from their King (wherein yet no death was threatened, but only loss of their promotions) slipped away from *Basil*. And in the same Epistle, deridingly commendeth them, as wise men, that had rather lose their faith than their flock. *Albertus* (saith he) they departed not far away, but remained about *Soloturn*, waiting for other commandments from their Prince. Whereby it may appear how they did shrink away not willingly; but the *Burse* (quoth he) bindeth faster than true honour.

Aeneas Syl-
vius, epist.
183.

The wealthy
Prelates
slide away
from the
Council.
Wealthy
Prelates
afraid of
truth.
Fide quam
plene, carere
malui.
Promotions
choke the
Clergy.

Quid enim salvus infamia nummis? that is to say, What matter maketh the name of a Man, so his Money be safe? *Hæc Aeneas.*

Moreover, in one of the Sessions of the said Council, the worthy Cardinal *Arelatensis* is said thus to have reported, that *Christ* was sold for thirty pence; but I (saith he) was sold much more dear: For *Gabriel*, otherwise called *Eugenius* Pope, offered threescore thousand Crowns, who so would take me, and present me unto him. And they that took the said Cardinal, afterward excused their fact by another colour, pretending the cause, for that the Cardinals Brother, what time the *Armiakes* wasted *Alsatia*, had brought great damage to the Inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (saith they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a Frenchman, whosoever they might take him. At length by the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, *Rupert*, and the said City, the matter was taken up, and he rescued. Wherein no doubt appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the Pope his adversary. *Ex Paralip. Abbat. Ursper.*

60000
Crowns
offered by
Pope Euge-
nius, for the
buying of
Arelatensis.

Arelatensis
taken and
rescued.
Gods de-
fence to-
ward his
servants.
Ex Paralip.
Abb. Ursper.

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this foresaid Council, until the election of *Amedeus*, called Pope *Felix* the Fifth, before we prosecute the rest that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withal the residue pertaining to the matters concluded between this Council and the *Bohemians*, declaring the whole circumstances of the Embassage, their Articles, Disputations and Answers, which they had first in the said Council, then in their own Country with the Councils Embassadors; also with their Petitions and Answers unto the same.

Touching the story of the *Bohemians*, how they being sent for, came up to the Council of *Basil*, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before

KING before hath been expressed. Now as leisure serveth from other matters, to return again unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so far as both brevity may be observed, and yet the Reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthy in the same to be noted and known.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) having always the upper hand, albeit they were accused by the new Bishop *Eugenius*, yet it was thought good that they should be called unto *Basil*, where the Council was appointed. Whereupon Cardinal *Julian* sent thither before *John Pulmar* Doctor of the Law, and *John de Ragusa*, a Divine. Who coming unto *Basil* in the Month of *August*, Anno 1431. called by their Letters unto the Council, *John Abbot of Muldrun*, and *John Gelbusius*, Monk of the same Cloister; which men for dexterity of their wit and experience, and knowledge of Countries, were very meet and necessary for Embassages.

Within a few days after, *Julianus* also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out *John Gelbusius*, and *Hammon Offenbourg*, a Senator of *Basil*, first unto the Emperor *Sigismund* being at *Feldirch*, and afterward unto *Frederick Duke of Austria*, for the appealing of the Wars between him and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*. This was done, to the intent that peace being had, not only the Ecclesiastical Prelates, but also the Merchants might have safe access unto *Basil*, and so bring in all things necessary for sustentation.

They going on this Embassage, received Letters from the Synod, to be delivered unto the Emperor *Sigismund*, whereby the Bohemians and Moravians were called unto the Council. These Letters he by and by caused to be carried unto *Boheme*. But forso much as he himself went into *Italy*, to receive the Imperial Crown of the Bishop, he left *William Duke of Bavaria*, as his Deputy, to be Protector unto the Council. Furthermore, when as the Synod understood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shameful flight, they sent *John Niderus* a Divine, and *John Gelbusius*, to comfort the people which joyed upon *Boheme*, and earnestly to move the Moravians and Bohemians, which were before called, to come unto the Council.

They departing from *Basil*, about the end of *October*, took their journey toward *Monacum*, a Town of *Bavaria*; where, after they had saluted *William Duke of Bavaria*, and his Brother *Ernestus*, and *Albert the Son of Ernestus*, and had declared the Commission of their Embassage, and had shewed unto Duke *William*, how that as soon as he should come unto *Basil*, the protection of the Council should be committed unto him by the Emperor; they exhorted *Frederick Marquess of Brandenburg*, and *John Duke of Bavaria*, the Senate of *Noremberg*, and other Princes and Lords, partly by the Letters of the Council, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no means take any Truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtful unto the Church, and said they should have aid out of hand. They desired them also in the name of the Council, That if the Bohemians would send their Embassadors unto *Basil*, they would guide them, every man through his Country in safety; which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men rejoiced that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when as they counselled with the Senate of *Noremberg*, touching the sending of the Councils Letters unto *Boheme*, it seemed best first of all to inquire of the Rulers of *Egra*, whether the Bohemians had made any answer to the former Letters of the Council which they had sent. The Rulers of *Egra*, being advertised by these Letters, sent him which carried the Councils Letters into *Boheme*, unto *Noremberg*. He reported how reverently the Council of the greater City of *Prague* received the Letters, and how he was rewarded.

Whereupon they conceived great hope of the good success of the Embassage. Therefore the Embassadors using the counsel of the Senate of *Noremberg*, and divers others, sent the messenger back again unto *Egra*, with their own private Letters, and with Letters of the Council; for there was no better mean to send the Letters to *Boheme*. Much travel was taken by them of *Egra*, *Frederick Marquess of Brandenburg*, and *John Duke of Bavaria*, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be

had amongst Christians, The Copy of those Letters, whereby the Synod did call the Bohemians unto the Council, and other Letters exhortatory of the Embassadors, and the Bohemians answer unto the same, for brevities cause we have here pretermitted. The Bohemians not in all points trusting unto the Embassadors, required by their Letters that the Councils Embassadors, with the other Princes, would come unto *Egra*, where their Embassadors should also be present, to intreat upon the safe conduct, and other matters.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the Sunday after *Easter*, which was the twenty seventh day of *April*. Then came the Embassadors of the Council unto *Egra*, with the noble Princes *Frederick Marquess of Brandenburg*, and *John Duke of Bavaria*, with other Nobles, almost to the number of 252 Horse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the Inhabitants of *Pilsana*, and the Lord *Swambergius* had not sent their safe conduct. When they understood this by their Letters, they brought it to pass, that the Embassadors of the Bohemians, *Nicolaus Humpelzius*, Secretary of the greater City of *Prague*, and *Matthew Clumpezan*, President of *Piestra*, should be brought forth by them of *Egra*, and the *Elenbogenses*, and so they came unto *Egra* with nineteen Horse, the 8th day of *May*. The next day after *Henry Toczge* received the Bohemian Embassadors before the Marquess with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Gospel for his Theme, *Pax vobis*, i. Peace be with you. Then they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there were some hope that they should be heard.

After this they conferred as touching the safe conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but Princes and Nobles. Which thing, forasmuch as it did not content the Embassadors, and that the matter should so be put off, the common People of *Egra* began to cry out, That it was long of the Ecclesiastical Princes, that a concord was not made with the Bohemians. Then *Frederick Marquess of Brandenburg*, and *John Duke of Bavaria*, bound themselves of their own good wills. The like also did *William Duke of Bavaria*, at the request of the Council. Likewise also did the Council and the Emperor *Sigismund*. Furthermore, promise was made, That all the Princes and Cities should do the like, through whose dominion they should come, and the City of *Basil* also. The copy of which safe conduct was afterward sent unto *Prague*. This also was required by the Bohemians, That if it were possible the Emperor should be present at the Council.

This convention at *Egra*, continued 21 days. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the Councils Embassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two Embassadors, *Nicolaus Humpolizius*, and *John Zaczenses*, which should go to *Basil*, and diligently enquire out all things. These men, *Conrade Bishop of Ratibone*, and *Conrade Seglauer* Dean of *Essein* brought into *Cattelsburg*, where the Marquess dwelt, being sent out by the Synod a little before, to enquire whether the Bohemian Embassadors would come or not. When they were come to *Biberack*, one being overcurious, inquired of one of the Bohemian Embassadors, of what County he was. He answered that he was a *Zacz*. There (said he) are most execrable hereticks and naughty men, &c. Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to Prison, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian Embassadors, and the Abbot of *Ebera*, had not intreated for him. When they came unto *Basil*, they were honourably received with Wine and Fish. They tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of *October* they came unto the Synod, which was assembled at the Friers *Augustines*.

These Embassadors, when as they were returned home with the Charter of the Synod, and declared those things which they had seen, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were Embassadors chosen to be sent unto the Council, both for the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and the Marquessdom of *Moravia*, which coming unto *Tusca*, were brought from thence

The Embassadors of the Bohemians, and of the Council, meet together at *Egra*.

The Bohemians require Pledges.

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the Emperor to be present at the Council.

The Bohemians send two Embassadors to the Council.

Good justice upon a slanderous railor. The gentleness of the Bohemian Embassadors.

The Embassadors of the Bohemians return home.

The Bohemians send up to the Council other solemn Embassadors.

The Oration of the Cardinal Julian to the Bohemians. *Vide supra.*

The 1st Article of the Bohemians by the first Embassador. The 2d Article of the Bohemians by the second Embassador. The 3d Article of the Bohemians by the 3d Embassador.

The 4th Article of the Bohemians Embassadors.

The Oration of the Abbot of Siffertia, offensive to the Bohemians.

John Ragusinus replies against the 1st Article.

The Bohemians displeased with Ragusinus.

Egidius Carlerius answers to the second Article. Henry Collyon answers to the 3d Article. J. Polomarius answers to the 4th Article.

with thirty two Horse, and divers Noblemen unto *Chambria*. From thence they came to *Swenkendorph*, and so unto *Nuremberg*, where, beside their entertainment of Wine and Fish, 22 Horsemen accompanied them unto *Ulmes*; from thence they of *Ulmes* brought them unto *Biberack* and *Sulgotia*, where *James Tunches* a Knight, receiving them, brought them to *Stockacum*, and from thence the Bands of the Duke of *Bavaria*, brought them unto *Schaf-huse*. There they taking Ship the fourth day of *January*, came unto *Basil* the ninth day of the same Month. What were the names of these Embassadors of the *Bohemians*, which were brought up with three hundred Horse, and how they were received at *Basil*, mention is made before. When as they came unto the Synod, Cardinal *Julian* made an Oration, That whatsoever was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the Council, forasmuch as all men are bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the holy Church, which the General Council doth represent. Which Oration was not allowed of all the *Bohemians*.

Then *Rochezanus* made an Oration, requiring to have a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the sixteenth day of the same Month. Upon which day *John Rochezanus*, having made his Preface, began to propound the first Article, touching the Communion to be ministered under both kinds, and disputed upon the same by the space of three days always before Noon. Then *Wenceslaus* the *Thaborite* disputed upon the second Article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days. After whom *Uldericus* Priest of the *Orphans* propounded and disputed upon the third Article by the space of two days, touching the free preaching of the Word of God.

Last of all, *Peter Pain* an *Englishman*, disputed three days upon the 4th Article, touching the civil dominion of the Clergy, and afterward gave Copies of their Disputations in writing unto the Council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inveigh against the Council, condemning *John Hus* and *John Wickliff* for their Doctrine. Whereupon *John de Ragusino*, a Divine rising up, desired that he might have leave to answer in his own name, to the first Article of the *Bohemians*. The Council consented thereunto; so that by the space of eight days in the Fore-noon, he disputed thereupon. But before he began to answer, *John* the Abbot of *Siffertia* made an Oration unto the *Bohemians*, that they should submit themselves to the determination of the holy Church, which this Council doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the *Bohemians*. *John Ragusinus* a Divine, after *Scholastic* fashion, in his answer spake often of Heresies and Hereticks. *Procopius* could not suffer it, but rising up with an angry stomach complained openly to the Council of this injury. This our Countryman (saith he) doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes Hereticks. Whereunto *Ragusinus* answered, forasmuch as I am your Countryman both by Tongue and Nation, I do the more desire to reduce you again unto the Church. He was a *Dalmatian* born, and it appeareth that the *Dalmatians*, going into *Boheme*, took their name by their Country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence the *Bohemians* would depart from *Basil*, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the *Bohemians* would not hear *Ragusinus* finish his Disputation.

After him a famous Divine, one *Egidius Carlerius*, Dean of the Church of *Cambray*, answered unto the second Article, by the space of four days. To the third Article answered one *Henricus*, surnamed *Frigidum Fegrum*, three days together. Last of all one *Johannes Polomarius*, Master of the requests of the Palace, answered unto the 4th Article likewise by the space of 3 days, so that the long time which they used in Disputations seemed tedious unto the *Bohemians*. Notwithstanding this answer, the *Bohemians* still defended their Articles, and specially the first, inasmuch as *John Rochezanus* did strongly impugn *Ragusinus* answer by the space of six days. But forasmuch as one Disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made; the Prince *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, Protector of the Council, attempted another remedy, that all Disputations being set apart, the matter should be friendly debated.

There were certain appointed on either part, to intreat upon the concord; who coming together the eleventh day of *March*, those which were appointed for the Council, were demanded to lay their minds. It seemed good, said they, if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them.

The *Bohemians*, when they had a while paused, said, This way seemed not apt enough, except first of all the four Articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for otherwise it would be but a frivolous matter, if they being now united, again disagree in the deciding of the Articles. Here answer was made to the *Bohemians*, That if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Ghost called for, they should not err in the deciding of the matter, forasmuch as every Christian ought to believe that Determination, which if they would do, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part. But this answer satisfied them not, inasmuch that the other three rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time Cardinal *Julian* President of the Council, made this Oration unto the *Bohemian* Embassadors.

Thus sacred Synod, saith he, hath now by the space of ten days patiently heard the Propositions of your four Articles; and afterward he annexed, You have propounded, saith he, four Articles, but we understand that, beside these four, you have many other strange Doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if that a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow between us, that all these things be declared in the Council, to the end that by the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present which have seen them with their own eyes in *Boheme*, and partly we do gather it by your own report. For Master *Nicholas*, which was the second that did propound, amongst other things alledged, that *John Wickliff* was an Evangelical Doctor. If ye believe him to be a true Doctor, it followeth that you must repute his works as authentick; if ye do not for him, it is reason that it should be opened unto us.

Wherefore we desire you, that you will certify us upon these and certain other points, what you do believe, or what credit you do give unto them. But we do not require, that you should now declare your reasons but it shall satisfy us, if you will answer unto every Article by this word, *Credimus aut non credimus*, that is, We believe, or believe not. Which if you will do, (as we trust you will) then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing whereof you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand; for we are ready, according to the Doctrine of Saint Peter, to render account unto every man which shall require it, touching the Faith which we hold. Hereunto the *Bohemian* Embassadors answered in few words, That they came only to propound those four Articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Boheme*, and spake no more. Whereupon *William* the noble Protector of the Council, calling upon him four men on either part, intreated touching the pacifying the matter, by whose advice the Council decreed to send a famous Embassy with the *Bohemian* Embassadors, unto *Prague*, where the People should assemble upon Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon the 14th day of *April*, there were ten chosen out of the Council, to go with the *Bohemian* Embassadors unto *Prague*.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these Embassadors all the way in their journey, and specially when they came unto *Boheme*, by the Citizens of *Prague*, when as a great number of *Bohemians* were assembled at *Prague* at the day appointed, both of the Clergy, Nobility and Common people.

After the coming of those Embassadors, much contention began to rise between the parties. First began *John Rochezanus*, who speaking in the publick person of the Commonalty, laboured to commend and prefer the four

KING. Hm. 6. Certain chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

The Oration of Cardinal Julian.

Nicholas the second propounder, charged by the Cardinal, for commending of John Wickliff.

A prudent answer of the Bohemians to the Cardinal Julian.

The Embassadors of the Bohemians return without agreement.

The coming of the Legates to Prague. J. Rochezanus speaks.

KING
Hist. lib. 7.

four verities of the *Bohemians* before propounded; charging also the Prelates and Priests for their slanderous obtractions, and uncleserved contumelies wherewith they did infame the noble Kingdom of *Boheme*, complaining also that they would not receive those Christian verities, left and allowed by their King *Wenceslaus* now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalf of the whole Nation, that they would leave off hereafter to oppress them in such sort, that they would restore to them again their *Joseph's* vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies had spoiled them, &c.

Polomar
an-
swereth
to the
Bohe-
mians.

To this *Polomar* maketh answer again, with a long and curious Oration, exhorting them to peace and unity of the Church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should be soon removed, promising also, that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply restored again; and afterward, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

The Bohemians
reply
again to
Polomar.

But all this pleased not the *Bohemians*, unless they might first have a declaration of their four Articles, which if they might obtain, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace (said they) began first to be broken by themselves, in that the Council of *Constance*, by their unjust condemnation, burned *John Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague*, and also by their cruel Bulls and Censures, raised up first Excommunication, then War against the whole Kingdom of *Boheme*.

Polomar
ex-
tolleth
the
Councils
General
Councils
may
err
and
have
erred.

Hereunto *Polomar*, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnifie the honour and dignity of General Councils. To conclude, as much as the said *Polomar* did extol the authority of the Councils, so much did the answer of the *Bohemians* extenuate the same; saying, That the later Councils which are not expressed in the Law of God, have erred, and might err, not only in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the green wood, may also chance unto the dry. But of other, the most strong Pillars of the Militant Church, the Apostles I mean, seem all to have erred, and the Catholick Faith to have remained three days found and incorrupt only in the Virgin *Mary*. No christian man therefore ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the Pope or the Council, except it be in that which is plainly expressed in the Law of God. For it is evident, that all the General Councils which have been of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace and manners of the Church, but have always, both in their life and decrees, notoriously swarved, and have not established themselves upon the foundation which is Christ. Wherefore the said *Bohemians* protested, that they would not simply and plainly (God being their good Lord) yield themselves to their Doctrine, nor to such rash and hasty Decrees; left through that their hasty and uncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and sound Doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In sum, in no case they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their four Articles which they counted for Evangelical verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained (said they) if they would condescend with them in the verity of the Gospel, so would they joyn together, and be made one with them in the Lord, &c. *Ex Cochleo, hist. lib. 7.*

Ex Cochleo,
Hist. lib. 7.

The Embassadors
of the
Council
and the
Bohemians
could
not
agree.

When the Embassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to pass, they required to have those Articles delivered unto them in a certain form, which they sent unto the Council by three *Bohemian* Embassadors.

A declaration
of three
Articles
promi-
sed to the
Bohemians
by the
Council.

Afterward the Council sent a Declaration into *Boheme*, to be published unto the People in the common Assemblies of the Kingdom, by the Embassadors, which were commanded to report unto the *Bohemians*, in the name of the Council, that if they would receive the Declaration of those three Articles, and the Unity of the Church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the fourth Article, of the Communion under both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietness.

A Declaration
of the
Council
to the
Bohemians
con-
cerning
the
first
three
Articles.

They propounded in *Prague*, in an open Assembly of the Nobles and Commons, the Declarations of the three Articles in form following:

Forasmuch as touching the Doctrine of the verity, we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words being so orderly conceived and uttered,

that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error, and (to use the words of *Modore*) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful; whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sins in these words, All mortal sins and specially open offences ought to be rooted out, punished and inhibited, by them whose duty it is so to do, reasonably and according to the Law of God: here it is to be marked and understood, that this word (whose duty it is) is too general, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling stock before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbours Ox do not fall therein; all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say, that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the Doctrine of the holy Doctors, it is thus universally to be holden, That all mortal sins, especially publick offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reasonably as may be according to the Law of God, and the Institutions of the Fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but only unto them which have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.

The 1d pro-
position
propounded
by the *Bohe-*
mians with
the declara-
tion from
the Coun-
cil.

Punishing
of publick
offences
how and by
whom.
Note here
the Popes
addition.

As touching the preaching of the Word of God, which Article you have alledged in this form, That the Word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt Ministers of the Lord: Left by this word (freely) occasion might be taken of disordered liberty (which as you have often said you do not mean) the circumstance thereof is to be understood; and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and Doctrine of the holy Fathers) it is thus universally to be believed, That the Word of God ought freely, but not everywhere, but faithfully and orderly to be preached by the Priests and Levites of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors unto whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the Bishop always reserved, who is the provider of all things according to the institution of the holy Fathers.

The 2d Ar-
ticle of the
Bohemians
with the de-
claration
from the
Council.

Liberty of
preaching,
how far,
and to
whom it
extendeth.

As concerning the last Article expressed under these words, It is not lawful for the Christian Clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporal goods; we remember that in the solemn Disputation holden in the sacred Council, he which was appointed by the Council to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort:

The 4th Ar-
ticle of the
Bohemians,
with the de-
claration
from the
Council.

First, That such of the Clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possess any temporal goods; as the inheritance of his Father or any other, if it be left unto him; or any other goods justly gotten by means of any gift, or other lawful contract or else some lawful Art.

Temporal
possessions
in the Cler-
gy men's
hands.

The second conclusion, The Church may lawfully have and possess temporal goods, moveable and unmoveable, Houses, Lands, Towns and Villages, Castles and Cities, and in them a private and civil dominion. Your Embassador which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying, That they did not impugn the sense of this Article being well understood, forasmuch as he understandeth this Article of civil dominion, formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understood, that those words, to have secular dominion, expressed in the foresaid Article, seemeth to be referred to some special manner or kind of dominion. But forasmuch as the Doctrine of the Church is not to be intreated upon by any ambiguous or doubtful words, but fully and plainly; therefore we have thought good more plainly to express that, which according to the Law of God, and the Doctrine of the holy Doctors, is universally to be believed, that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, That the Clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the Church, whose Administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy Fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the Church goods, done by any other than by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilege.

The Popes
stand hard
for their
temporal
Lords' pt.

Thus the sacred Council (said they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three foresaid Articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remain any doubt; according to the information which we have received in the sacred Council, we are ready by Gods help (who is the principal

principal verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the said three Articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, simple and perfect unity touching the liberty of the Communion under both kinds which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy Church; we have authority from the General Council, by certain means to intreat and conclude with you, trusting that you will shew your selves as you will continue.

The Bohemians take a deliberation of the 4th Article.

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said, *That they would give no answer unto the premises, before they understood what should be offered them as touching the Communion.* Wherefore it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following.

A Declaration of the Council touching the 4th Article of the Communion.

In the Name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, upon the Sacrament of whose most blessed last Supper we shall intreat, that he which hath instituted this most blessed Sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchsafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesus our Head, and that he will subvert all the subtilties of the Devil, which through his envious craftiness hath made the Sacrament of peace and unity, an occasion of war and discord; that whilst Christians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the Communion. Whereupon St.

Augustine in his Sermon upon Infants, in the Decrees De consecrat. distinct. 2. Quia passus, saith thus, *So the Lord Jesus Christ certified us, and willed that we should aspertain unto him, and consecrate the mystery of our peace and unity upon the Table. He that receiveth the mystery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a mystery for himself, but a testimony against himself.* This we thought good above all things to be premised, that the general custom of the Church, which your Fathers and you also in times past have observed, hath a long time had and still useth, that they which do not consecrate, communicate only under the kind of Bread. Which custom being lawfully brought in by the Church and holy Fathers, and now a long time observed, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the Church.

This is to set up the Church above the Scripture.

Therefore to change the custom of the Church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy Church, is altogether unlawful. For holy Church upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate under both kinds. And every Communion, which being attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, should be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy Church, shall be lawful, if other things let it not; because (as the Apostle saith) *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.*

The holy Communion requireth amendment of life.

Whereupon St. Isidore of the second Distinct. upon the Consecration writeth thus, *They which live wickedly, and cease not daily to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sins.* And St. Augustine in the same distinction saith, *Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are salvation, but unto the evil damnation.* There are besides this many other authorities. The Apostle Judas was amongst them which did first communicate, but forso much as he received unworthily, having that sin of Treason in his heart, did profit him nothing, but the Devil by and by exercised the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reason, Which of you is it, that if you should receive your Lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care study to make clean and adorn his house, that he may receive the Lord honestly? much more he that shall receive the Lord and Saviour into the house of his soul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his soul, to cleanse it by the Sacrament of Penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely and truly confessing his sins, and receiving due Satisfaction and Penance, to adorn and deck the same with the purple or rich array of devotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with fervent desire, he may come to that most holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the World unto him.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reverent receiving of the Sacraments.

Wherefore the most sacred Synod admonisheth, exhorteth and commandeth, that all Priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should use all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that most blessed Sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, lest that which is received for the salvation of the soul, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

KING 2
Hm. 6.

Moreover, Doctors do say, that the custom of communicating unto the people, only under the kind of bread, was reasonably introduced by the Church and holy Fathers, for reasonable causes, specially for the avoiding of two perils; of error and unreverence. Of error, as to think that the one part of Christs Body were in the Bread, and the other part in the Cup, which were a great error. Of unreverence, forso much as many things may happen, as well on the part of the Minister, as on the part of the Receiver: As it is said, that it happened when as a certain Priest, carried the Sacrament of the Cup unto a sick man, when he should have ministered, he found nothing in the Cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such like chances. We have heard moreover, that it hath often happened, that the Sacrament consecrate in the Cup, hath not been sufficient for the number of Communicants, whereby a new Consecration must be made, which is not agreeable to the Doctrine of the holy Fathers, and also that oftentimes they do minister Wine unconsecrate for consecrate Wine, which is a great peril. By this means when it shall be brought to pass, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the Church in all other things besides the use of the Communion under both kinds, conforming your selves to the faith and order of the Universal Church, you that have that use and custom shall communicate still by the authority of the Church under both kinds, and this Article shall be discussed fully in the sacred Council, where you shall see what as touching this Article, is to be holden as an universal verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the Christian people, and all things being thus thoroughly handled, then if you persevere in your desire, and that your Embassadors do require it, the sacred Council will grant licence in the Lord unto your Ministers, to communicate unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, to such as be of lawful years and discretion, and shall reverently and devoutly require the same; this always observed, that the Ministers shall say unto those which shall communicate, that they ought firmly to believe, *not the flesh only to be contained under the form of Bread, and the blood only under the Wine, but under each kind to be whole and perfect Christ.*

Receiving under one kind, for avoiding two perils.

Error grounded upon error.

Causes why to minister under one kind.

Receiving in both kinds, permitted to the Bohemians.

The condition annexed.

Thus hitherto we have declared the Decree of the Council. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterward moved by the Masters and Prelates of Boheme, the Embassadors of the Council answered thus.

Doubts or questions of the Bohemians.

First they said, That it was not the meaning of the sacred Council, to suffer the Communion under both kinds by toleration, or as the Libel of divorcement was permitted to the Jews, forso much as the Council, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the Bohemians and Moravians, doth not mean to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sin, but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his true Spouse the Church, it may be lawful, profitable and healthful unto those which worthily receive the same. Also as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians, of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth up the hearts of private persons to the correcting and punishing of sins, and so it should seem lawful unto the inferiours to correct and punish their superiors; they answered, alledging the Text of St. Augustine in the 33d Decree. He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the Minister of God; but he which without any publick administration or office murdereth or maimeth any wicked thief, sacrilegious, adulterous or perjured person, or any other offender, shall be judged as an Homicide, and so much the more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse and usurp the power not granted him of God; and truly this City would take it much more grievously, if any private man should attempt to punish an offender, and set up a Gallows in the Street and there

Answer.

Permission of both kinds granted to the Bohemians, not of sufferance, but by full authority.

Punishing of offences considered.

How and by whom offenders ought to be punished.

{ KING } there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawle or quarrel. They alledged also other Texts of St. *Ambrose* and St. *Hierome* agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the Law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, *Thou shalt not steal*. And notwithstanding by the Commandment of God the Children of *Israel* carried away the Goods of the *Egyptians*, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same Law it is plainly written, *Thou shalt do no murder*. Whereupon St. *Augustine* in his first Book *De Civitate Dei*, proveth that it is not lawful for any man to kill himself; and when as he maketh example of *Sampson*, he answereth with these words: When as God commandeth and doth affirm himself to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God?

Here in this Proposition you have the words of St. *Austin* for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him prove the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no Laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily occasion rise to make sedition, and for the inferiors to rise against the superiors. For when any man had stolen any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifest proof thereof, he should be punished.

Again, they said that there were certain cases wherein the Laity had power over the Clergy. It was answered, that there were certain cases in the law, wherein the laity had power over the Clergy, and oftentimes over Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals would not enter the Conclave to elect a new Pope, the King, Prince, or other Lord or Secular power may compell them: but in these cases he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the Law. The like is to be understood of all other cases expressed in the Law.

They said further, That no common Law hath any right or justice, except Gods Law do allow the same.

It was answered, That no common Law hath right or justice, if it be against the Law of God; because the Law of God is the rule of all other Laws. But there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule; for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diversity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

As touching the Article of preaching the Word of God, it was moved that oftentimes some Prelates through their own envy and malice, without any reasonable cause, do inhibit a good, and meet Preacher that preacheth Catholically and well.

Answer was made, How that they understood well enough that the abuse of certain Prelates, which did inordinately behave themselves, gave a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they never heard of any such complaints in those parts, but that the Prelates do favour good Preachers, and stir them up to preach, by intreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there are remedies already provided by the Law; for when any man is so prohibited to use his right, he hath remedy to appeal: and if he do trust his appeal to be just, he may use his right, all violence both of the Spiritual and Secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare if he had just cause to appeal. Then shall it be declared that the superior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the Plaintiff justly in doing, and the superior for his unjust prohibition shall be punished. But if he be justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do contemn the just commandment of his superior, he is worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Where it was moved concerning the third Article, whether it were lawful for the Ecclesiastical Prelates to exercise in their proper person, the Acts of Secular dominion: Hereunto it was answered, that if by this word, Acts of Secular dominion, are understood Acts which a Secular Lord may do or exercise, then it is to be said, that a Prelate may lawfully exercise some such Acts in his proper person, as to sell, pawn, or pledge, to infeoffe by manner and form ordained by Law: but there are some Acts which it is not lawful for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to have afterward a Vicegerent or Proctor to do the

same; whereupon there is prohibition made in the Law in the Rubrick, *Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotiis se immisceat, & in aliis rebus*.

It was also moved, whether that coactive power, which ought to be exercised by a Steward, &c. be in the hands of an Ecclesiastical Prelate.

Whereupon *John Polomair* answered, That this Question presupposeth another; whereof there are divers opinions amongst the Doctors, in whose power the dominion of the Church should be: and furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the Tutor or Proctor, or if they be not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitution of any Actor or Proctor (whose exercising of those actions do give authority unto the Actor or Proctor) they be; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forasmuch as he was urged to say his opinion, he said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would be contented to give the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of Church-matters should be in the power of Christ: and the Prelates with the other Clergy, are but Canonical administrators in manner of Tutors; but they have more power and administration than Tutors, and by constituting a Steward or Vicegerent, &c. their constitution being duly made, the Steward or Vicegerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth Article, for the declaration of the first Conclusion, it is agreed that these words, *Iuste requisita*, i.e. justly gotten, alledged therein, determine all things contained in the same.

Also as touching the second Conclusion, whereas the Sacred Canons and holy Doctors speak thus, The Goods of the Church, the substance of the Church, and the possessions of the Church, and divers other opinions there be amongst the Doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be, as it is noted in the Gloss. *Cap. expedit xii. Quest. 1.* they do not intend to constrain any man to any of those opinions; neither to exclude any of them, but that every man should have liberty probably to maintain which of them he thinketh best.

Moreover the *Bohemians* said, that they did believe that the Clergy are but administrators of the Temporalities of the Church, and not Lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy Doctors and Canons. Also the *Bohemians* said, that in all occasions which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the Judge agreed upon in *Egra*, with one consent. In this manner did the Ambassadors make answer unto the *Bohemians*. At the last, after much communication had to and from, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The *Bohemians* promised to receive the peace and unity of the Church, and the declaration of the three Articles. This was done in the year of our Lord 1438. About the Feast of St. *Martin*, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambassadors of that Council, and of *Boheme*, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at *Ratisbona*, afterward at *Bruna* in the Diocess of *Olymutes*; then at *Alba* in *Hungary*, before the Emperor *Sigismund*, but the matter could not be ended in any place.

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing with their Seals at *Inglavia*, a City of *Moravia*, the fifth day of *July*, in the presence of the Emperor.

¶ Certain Petitions which the Bohemians put up last of all in the Sacred Council of Basil, Anno 1438, in the Month of November.

Unto the most reverend Fathers in Christ, and our most gracious Lords: We the Ambassadors of the Kingdom of *Boheme* do most humbly and heartily require you that for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your Clemency to give and grant unto us all and singular our requests here underwritten, with effectual execution of the same.

First, And above all things we desire and require you, for the extirpation of divers dissensions and controversies which will

Objection.

Answer.

Coactive power, whether it belongeth to the Clergy, and how.

The Goods of the Church in whose possession they be properly.

12 q. 1. cap. expedit.

The Clergy be administrators, not Lords of the Temporalities of the Church.

The agreement between the Bohemians and the Council. Anno 1438.

Certain Petitions of the Bohemians put up to the Council. Anno 1438.

The Communion in both kinds to be generally granted.

will undoubtedly follow amongst our people under the diversity of the Communion, and for the abolishing of infinite evils which we are not able to express as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchsafe of your goodness and liberality to give, grant and command, unto our Kingdom of *Bobeme*, and Marquedom of *Moravia*, one uniform order of the Communion unto all men, under both kinds, that is to say, unto the Archbishop of *Prague*, the Bishop of *Lutbonus*, *Olimutz*, and other Prelates of the Kingdom and Marquedom, having charge of Souls, and to their Vicars, and also to their flocks and subjects, and that according to those things which are contained in the Bull of the Ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole Council, written in the Chapter, *Pro firmitate*, where it is thus said, *And all other things shall be done, which shall be meet and necessary for the preservation of the peace and unity*. For this done, by your benefit the whole Kingdom shall be comforted above measure, and established in brotherly love; whereby an uniform subjection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed unto the holy Church.

Item, We require and desire (as before) that for the avoiding of all false suspicion and doubtfulness of many, which suppose that the Sacred Council hath granted the said Communion under both kinds unto us but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libel of divorcement; that you will vouchsafe, according to this Chapter alledged in the Compositions: *First they said, that it was not the intent of the Sacred Council, &c.* wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety, and with your grant in this behalf, and with the Bulls of your Letters, to confirm that Chapter together with the other pertaining to the office of your Ambassadors.

To have a good and lawful Pastor and Bishop.

Item, We beseech you (as before) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the Discipline of all the Clergy, and for the final defence and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in Spiritualities, ye will vouchsafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful Pastor, Archbishops and Bishops, which shall seem unto us most meet and acceptable for our Kingdom, to execute those offices and duties.

Free Communion under both kinds to be permitted to all Princes.

Item, We require you (as aforesaid) that your Fatherly reverences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the Kingdom and Marquedom, to declare and shew our innocency, in that they have communicated, do, and hereafter shall communicate under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the Letters of the Sacred Council, in manner and form most apt and meet for such declaration, unto all Princes, as well Secular as Spiritual, Cities and Communalities, according to the Compositions, and as the Lords the Ambassadors are bound unto us to do.

Item, We desire you that in the discussing of the matter for the Communion under both kinds, and of the Commandment thereof given unto all faithful, ye will not proceed otherwise than according to the *Concordatum* agreed upon in *Egra*: that is to say, according to the Law of God, the order of Christ, and his Apostles, the General Councils, and the minds of the holy Doctors, truly grounded upon the Law of God.

Item, We desire that your Fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate unto the younger sort the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this use of Communicating should be taken away, which our Kingdom being godly, moved by the writings of most great and holy Doctors, and brought in by example, hath received as Catholick, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise up an intolerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grievously vexed and troubled.

The Gospels and Epistles to be read in the vulgar tongue. The Scriptures read in the Slavonic tongue of old time.

Item, We require you (as before) that for like causes your Fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the Gospels, Epistles, and Creed, to be sung and read in the Church in our Vulgar Tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our *Slavon* language it hath been used of old in the Church, and likewise in our Kingdom.

Incorporations to be granted to Universities an unlawful request.

Item, We require you in the name of the said Kingdom, and of the famous University of *Prague*, that your Fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to shew such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that University, that according to the manner and form of other

Universities reformed by the Church, Prebends and Collations of certain Benefices of Cathedral and Parish-Churches may be annexed and incorporate unto the said University, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

KING Hen. 6.

Item, We desire you (as before) as heartily as we may, and also (saving always your Fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former Compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and study, your reverences will watch and seek for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the Church and Christian Religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publick evils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you have often promised to do in our Kingdom, in the Compositions, and as our fourth Article, touching the avoiding of all publick evils doth exact and require.

A request for necessary reformation and discipline.

There were certain answers provided by the Council to these Petitions of the *Bobemians*, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back, for what purpose and intent we know not. Wherefore because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to avoid proximity, we have judged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiously the chief and principal matters intreated and done in this famous Council of *Basil*. And here (to conclude withal) we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people (which judge many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be; and thereupon have established a great part of their opinions) how that toward the latter end of this Council, that is to say, in the 37th Session of the same, holden the 17 of *September*, in the year of our Lord 1439, the Feast of the Conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly. In like case also in the 44th Session of the same Council, holden the first day of *July*, Ann. 1441, it was ordained that the Feast of the Visitation of our Lady should be celebrate and holden yearly in the Month of *July*. We have also thought it good, before we do end this story, to annex hereunto certain Decrees, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the said Council, against the inordinate giving of the Ecclesiastical Benefices and Livings by the Pope, with certain other Constitutions also, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the Church.

The Conception of our Lady brought in to the Church.

The Visitation of our Lady brought in.

During the time that the General Council at *Basil* was so diligent and careful about the reformation of the Church, this one thing seemed good unto them to be prosecuted and followed with an earnest care and diligence, that thorough every Church apt and meet Ministers might be appointed, which might shine in vertue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthful edifying of the Christian people: whereunto the multitude of expectative graces hath been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers disorders, and many dangers upon the Ecclesiastical state. For hereby oftentimes scarcely apt or meet Ministers have been appointed for the Churches, which are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void Benefices (as the old Laws do witness) doth give occasion to desire another mans death, which is greatly prejudicial unto salvation: besides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongst the servants of God; rancor and malice nourished; the ambition and greedy desire of Pluralities of Benefices maintained; and the riches and substance of Kingdoms and Provinces marvellously consumed. Poor men suffer innumerable vexations by running unto the Court of *Rome*. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues; and having spent their Patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are constrained to live in extream poverty. Many do challenge Benefices, which without any just title (yea such indeed as ought not to have them) obtain and get the same; such I say, as have most craft and subtilty to deceive their neighbour, or have greatest substance to contend in the Law. It happeneth oftentimes that under the intricacy of these prerogatives, antelations, and such other as do associate these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also oftentimes the Ministry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, whiles that by the troubles of those contentions, and divers discourses, running to and fro by means of those graces, they are vexed and troubled; the Ecclesiastical

Vowsons and gifts of Benefices before they were void, debarred by the Councils which Vowsons here are called Expectative Graces.

Inconveniences that arise by Vowsons of Benefices.

KING cal order is confounded, whiles that every mans authority and jurisdiction is not preserved; and the Bishops of Rome also, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the publick utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion unto the Clergy and Ecclesiastical state, to the great prejudice and hinderance of Gods true worship, and publick salvation.

No contro- In the same Council also divers other Constitutions were verities to be made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing brought to Rome beyond four days journey from thence. of certain abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the Bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to be brought up and translated to the Court of Rome: Wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controversies should be brought from other Countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond four days journey distant from the said Court of Rome, a few principal matters only excepted. Also that no frivolous Appeals should be made to the Pope hereafter. It was moreover in the same Council decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of four and twenty, besides them that were already, and that they should be freely taken out of all Countries, and that they should not be of kin to the Bishop of Rome, or to the Cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for Annates or first fruits, or half fruits, it was there provided that no such Annates or confirmation of Elections, or collation of Benefices, should be paid or reserved any more to the Pope, for the first years voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the French King, Charles the Seventh, with the full consent of all his Prelates, in his High Court of Parliament in Bitures, and there called *Pragmatica Sanctio*, Ann. 1438. whereupon great utility ensued afterward to the Kingdom of France. Albeit in process of time divers Friers there were which wrote against the same. *Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.*

Against the Papes first-fruits.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum 7.

An Act made for the Conversion of the Jews.

An Act for studying the Hebrew, Latin, and Chaldean.

Against Priests that kept Concubines.

Amongst many Decrees of the said Council of Basil, in the Nineteenth Session there was also a Decree made touching the converting of Jews, and young Novices in Religion, unto the Christian Faith.

Also that all Ordinaries should yearly at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the Holy Scriptures, in such places where Jews and other Infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholick Faith, that they acknowledging their error might forsake the same; unto the which preaching the said Ministers should compel them to resort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the said Diocesans and Preachers should behave themselves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not only by the declaring of the verity, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the Preachers might be the better instructed in the Tongues, it was also in the same Council provided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the Council of Vienna for learning the Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabick and Greek Tongues, should by all means be observed and kept; and ordinary stipends provided for them that should teach the same tongues.

Another Decree moreover in the twentieth Session was Enacted, that whosoever was known or publicly noted to be a keeper of Concubines, should be sequestred from all fruits of his Benefices for the space of three months, which fruits should be converted by the Ordinary to the reparations, or some other utility of the Church; and if he did not so amend, it was by the Synod decreed, that he should be clearly deposed from all his Benefices.

Furthermore the said Synod did greatly inveigh against them, which having the jurisdiction of the Church, did not shame to suffer such Whoremasters, for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthiness, &c.

By these Decrees of the Council above specified, it is to be seen, what corruption had been then frequented in the Church of God, through the Bishop and Court of Rome. For the more expresse declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Aeneas Sylvius, touching and no-

ting the said corruptions; the tenour of whose Epistle here enlueth.

Unto the Reverend Father, the Lord Aeneas, Cardinal of Scene; Martin Meyre, Chancellor to the Bishop of Mentz, wilheth health.

I Have understood by certain of my friends Letters, that you are created Cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received so worthy rewards for your vertues. I rejoyce also for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto such a dignity wherein he may in time to come both help me and my friends: But this is a grief unto me, that you have hapned upon those days, which seem to be troublesome unto the Apostolick See. For there are many complaints made unto my Lord the Archbishop upon the Pope, that he will neither keep the Decrees of the Council of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himself bound to the Covenants of his Predecessors, and seemeth utterly to contemn our Nation, and to seek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the Election of Prelates is every where rejected; Benefices and Dignities, of what sort soever they be, are reserved for the Cardinals, and chief Notaries; and you your self have obtained the reservation of three Provinces of Germany, under such a form as hath not been accustomed or heard of. Vowsons or gifts of Benefices are granted without number; yearly stipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The Regiments of Churches are not committed unto such as best deserve them, but unto such as offer most money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape and gather together money. Tythes are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our Prelates, for the Turkish war; and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the Apostolick See of Rome. A thousand ways are invented and devised, how the See of Rome may, by subtilty and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from us, even as it were of the Turks or Barbarians; whereby our Nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the Roman Empire, and was once the Lady and Queen of all the world, now being brought unto poverty, is made a hand-maid, and become tributary, and being now in extream misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our Nobles, being (as it were) wakened out of their sleep, have begun to consider and devise with themselves, by what means they might withstand this calamity, and utterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themselves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no small loss unto the Court of Rome, if the Princes of Germany bring to pass that which they have devised. Wherefore as much as I do rejoyce of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moved and grieved that these things happen in your days. But peradventure Gods determination is otherwise, and his Will shall surely take place. You in the mean time be of good cheer, and devise according to your wisdom, by what means the vehemency of these floods may be stayed. Thus fare ye well.

From Hasbassenberge the last day of August.

Concerning the authority of this General Council of Basil, what is to be esteemed of it by the acts and fruits thereof may be understood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the Pope agreed and consented unto it. But after the Pope began to draw back, many other followed, especially of the richer sort of Prelates, which had any thing to lose; whereof sufficiently hath been said by Arelatensis the Cardinal before. In the number of those unconstant Prelates, besides many other, was first Cardinal Julian, the first Collector of this Council, and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by his fervent and vehement Letter, written to Pope Eugenius in defence of this Council, may well appear. VVherein he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaid Pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolve the Council,

An Epistle of Martin Meyre to Aeneas Sylvius, translated into English, the Latin whereof is extant in the former Edition of this Book Ex Orb. Grat.

The corruption of the Church of Rome detected.

The authority of the Council of Basil expended.

The Epistle of Cardinal Julian to the Pope, in the commendation of the Council of Basil.

cil, and declareth in the same many causes, why he should rather rejoyce, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the Council and the *Bohemians*, and so exhorteth him with manifold persuasions to resort to the Council himself, and not to seek the dissolution of the same. The copy and tenour of whose Epistle to the Pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, we thought here good to set down to be seen.

The Copy of an Epistle, which Julian Cardinal of St. Angen, and the Popes Ambassador into Germany, wrote marvellous boldly and freely unto Eugenius Bishop of Rome, for that he went about to dissolve the Council of Basil.

Most blessed Father, after the devout kisses of your blessed feet.

NOW shall the whole world understand and know, whether that your Holiness have in you the bowels of fatherly love and charity, and the zeal of the House of God, whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse, or whether you be that good shepherd which giveth his life for his sheep. Behold the door beginneth now to be opened, whereby the lost sheep may return again unto their own Fold; now is there good hope even at hand of the reconciliation of the *Bohemians*. If that your Holiness, as it is your duty, do help and further the same, you shall obtain great glory both in Heaven and Earth. But if peradventure you go about to let the same (which is not to be feared at your hands) all men will reprove you of impiety; Heaven and Earth will conspire against you, all men will forsake you. For how is he to be followed, which with one word may restore peace and quietness to the Church, and refuseth to do it? But I conceive a better hope in you, how that your Holiness without any excuse, will, with your whole heart and mind, favour this most Sacred Council, and give thanks unto Almighty God for his great goodness, that this Congregation hath not departed. Behold the Ambassadors of this Sacred Council are returned with great joy and gladness from *Egra*, reporting how that, through the Grace of the Holy Ghost, they have firmly concluded with the Ambassadors of the *Bohemians*, that is to say, of the *Pragues*, *Orphans* and *Thaborites*, amongst whom were also present the Captains of their enemies, and specially *Procopius*: That a solemn Ambassade of all the Estates of the Realm should come unto the Council of *Basil*: After that a safe Conduct is sent unto them by the said Council in form conditioned, which shall be done with speed, this Sacred Congregation is marvellously exhilarate and joyful. For those our Ambassadors affirm, that all things were handled with such charity at *Egra*, and that they did see such things amongst the *Bohemians*, that notwithstanding, they do conceive great hope of their reconciliation.

And at last gently embracing one another, even with tears of gladness, they departed from *Egra*; the *Bohemians* requiring our Ambassadors, that the matter might be ended with all expedition. They report also, that many things happened in that Treaty, which if any man heard, and did not weep for joy, he might well think himself to be but smally affectioned unto Christ. As for three of the four Articles, they seem not to make any great difficulty upon. As touching the fourth, that is, of the Communion under both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the judgment of the Council. Who is it then that dare counsel your Holiness to persevere any longer in the purpose of dissolution? for if the Council had not been appointed at all, for so great hope and necessity; it ought to have been appointed in this place. How worthy praise and commendation should your Holiness do, if that you would leave *Italy* and all other affairs, and come hither in your own person; although you should need to be carried in a Wagon or Litter. The keeping and defence of the Temporal Patri-

mony of the Church may well be disposed and done by Legates and Vicars. This is the true Patrimony of the Church, to win souls. For the Church is not an heap of stones and walls. Christ hath not made you a keeper of Castles and Forts, but a Pastor of souls. Therefore you should do that in your own person which is most necessary and acceptable unto Christ, and all other things by your substitutes. For so did the Apostles, which to the intent they might the more freely attend to the preaching of the Word of God, did institute seven to serve the Tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I hear that by the Grace of God your Holiness doth daily recover and amend; and if so be, as it is said, you do visit some Churches on foot, ye may also come hither on Horseback; for you cannot go unto any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, than to go unto the place where innumerable benefits and goodness may spring. Let your Holiness understand and consider wherein Christ, whose Vicar you are, and Saint *Peter* whose Successor you are, and the Apostles and holy Bishops did exercise and occupy themselves; and as you do succeed them in office, so succeed them in manners. But if peradventure your Holiness cannot come hither, I do counsel you, that for so great a benefit you would send the more part of the reverend Lords, Cardinals of the Court of *Rome*, and command all other Prelates to come hither. Do not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

Your Holiness may believe me, that only charity moveth me to counsel you in this sort, be ye not separate from your members, nourish your children as the Hen doth her Chickens under her wings. And if so be that you will do nothing else, yet speak this only word, *Placet*, that is to say, that it pleaseth you that the Council of *Basil* should go forward. For a few days past there came news hither, for the which your Holiness ought altogether to cease from your dissolution. The reverend Father the Archbishop of *Lions* hath written unto the Council, and unto me also, how that the Prelates of *France* have assembled together in the City of *Bituria*, and there after long and exact examination have concluded, that the Council is lawfully congregate in this place. And that it is necessary that it should be holden and celebrate here at this present; and how the Prelates of *France* should come unto it: he also directed hither the cause which moved them so to conclude, the copy whereof I suppose is sent unto your Holiness by some other. Whereupon then doth your Holiness stay? You have gone about as much as in you lay, by your Messengers, Letters, and divers means to draw back the Prelates, and have laboured with all your endeavour to dissolve the Council; yet notwithstanding, as you do see, it is increased day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more are all mens minds inflamed to the contrary. Is not this then to resist the will of God? Why do ye provoke the Church to anger? Why do ye stir up the Christian people?

Vouchsafe I pray you so to do, that ye may get the love and favour of the people, and not the hatred; for all Nations are greatly offended when they hear these your doings. Suffer not your Holiness to be seduced by any man, which peradventure shall inculcate fear unto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted; or that do persuade you this to be no lawful Council. I know I should offend your Holiness if I should go about to prove the contrary; but it is better that I do offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds; for a Physician layeth a burning corrosive unto the disease, and healeth the sore: For the medicine cannot profit except it be sharp and bitter in taste. Under this hope and confidence I will not fear to declare the truth; that it being known, your Holiness may the better provide both for your self and the Church. It dependeth upon the Council of *Constance*, whether this Council be lawful or not. If that were a true Council, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt whether that Council were lawful, and likewise whatsoever was there decreed to be lawful: for if any man will say, that the Decrees of that Council are not of force, he must needs grant that the deprivation of Pope *John*, which was done by the

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What the Church is.

The Ambassadors of the Council are returned from *Egra*.

Eugenius provoketh the Church.

A strong argument against Eugenius.

force

KING { **HEN. 6.** } force of those decrees, was of no effect. If that deprivation were not of effect; neither was the election of Pope Martin of any force, which was done he being yet alive. If Martin were no true Pope, neither is your Holiness, which was chosen by the Cardinal that he made; wherefore it standeth no man more upon to defend the decrees of that Council, than your Holiness, for if any decree of that Council be called into doubt; by like means may all the rest of the decrees be revoked. And by like means shall the decrees of any other Council be of no force and effect: for by like reason, as the faith of one Council is weakned, all the rest shall also be weakned, according to Saint Augustins saying in the 9. Distinct. cap. Si ad scripturas. Then, saith he, both the Faith and all other Sacraments shall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any Council lawfully congregate. There was a decree made in the Council of Constance, intituled Frequens. Whereby it was ordained, that the first Council after that should be holden within five years, and another within seven years after that again. The Council of Constance being ended, and the five years passed, the Council of Papia or Scene was holden, after which seven years being also run over, this Council is begun to be celebrate. To what end then is it expressed in the Bull of the dissolution, amongst other causes, that the seventh year is already past? When as of necessity it ought to be passed before the Council can be celebrate. For these words, from seven year or five year, signifie according to the Law, that all parts of time should be passed, and the last day looked for. Wherefore it behoved that seven years to be fully compleat, before this Council of Basil should begin. Like as five years were fully expired, before that the Council of Papia did begin. But peradventure some man will say, that it ought to have begun the first day after the seventh year was expired. For otherwise the term of the Council is passed. But hereunto we may answer, that it is not contained in the Chapter Frequens, that except it were holden the first day, it should not be holden at all, neither can it be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it is only required that it should be holden after seven years expired, but whether it be the second or third day, or the third or four month after the seventh year, it doth satisfie the Chapter Frequens. For when the first day is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the Council, but not afore; but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, In quinquennium, that is to say, against five years, next following, which is alledged in the Chapter Frequens, and seemeth to be repeated also for the seven years; for it is not understood that it is necessary to be holden the first day precisely after the seventh year, but because it should not be understood of other seven years to come. For in speaking simply of seven years, it is understood of seven years next ensuing. Admit also that in the Chapter Frequens, any of these words had been joyned with immediately following, as by and by, out of hand, immediately, or straightways after, or such other words: yet ought they to be understood with a certain moderation, and distance of time, that as soon as might be convenient; as these words are expounded by the Lawyers and Doctors, for they are enlarged and restrained according to the Subject and divers circumstances of the matters and affairs. For it is not by any means likely that it was the mind of those which made the decree, that considering the long journey and hard preparation of such affairs, and also the manifold impediments which may happen, that they would restrain so precise a time, even at the first day, that if it were not then celebrated, it should not be holden at all, for by such subtil means it should also be holden even in the first moment and very instant after the same year.

But forso much as words are civilly to be understood, this sense or understanding is too far disagreeable. For if any man will say, then it is commanded to be prorogued, that is also forbidden in the Chapter Frequens. He that doth so argue, doth not understand himself, nor the force of the words. It is not prorogued if it be begun the second or third

month, but it is rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For if it were a prorogation, then forso much as a prorogation doth favour of the nature of the first delay, it could not be begun before the time prorogued; but this happeneth not in our case: for albeit it were not begun in the first month, but in the second or third: it is not thereby concluded that it could not be begun in the first: but if there had been any prorogation made till the second month, then it could not have been begun in the first, as for example, I promise to give an hundred pounds after Easter; afore Easter it cannot be required, but by and by after Easter it may be required; and albeit that I be not urged for it, notwithstanding I do not cease to be bound; and if so be I be demanded it in the second or third month after, it is not thereby understood that there is any prorogation made; Neither doth it follow, but that it might have been demanded in the beginning, which could not have been done if that there had been any prorogation made. Also it is the nature of prorogation to be made before the first day or term or day be passed. For otherwise it is no prorogation, but a new appointment. And albeit it may be said, that then it may be long delayed; it is answered, that in this point we must stand unto the judgement of the Church, which considering divers circumstances would think the time meet. For the liberty of celebrating of Councils was institute for the profit and favour of the Church. What if it should happen that when the time cometh, in the place where a Council should be kept there be a great Plague, or some Siege, which should continue by the space of three or four months, and the Pope in the mean time doth not change the place according to the form of the Chapter Frequens, and that through such impediments the Prelates did not come the first day unto the place; or if any were coming and were taken by the way, which if they had not been taken, had been present at the first day in the place appointed; is it therefore to be said that the power of the Council is past? Or that the impediment ceasing, and the Prelates coming thither, the Council cannot be holden? That truly were greatly absurd and too much prejudicial to the Church of God: but in this our case, the cause is probable why that the Prelates did defer to come at the beginning of the time appointed; for so much as when the time drew near, Pope Martin dyed the twentieth of February. For which cause the Prelates might well doubt upon some impediment of the Council. Also they tarried looking that some should come thither in the name of the Pope, because they would not tarry in that place in vain without a President. As for the Legate which was appointed for the Council, whose presence all men tarried for before he would prepare himself for that journey, he came not at the time appointed unto the Council, but went unto Norenberge, to persecute the Bohemians; according to the commandment of Pope Martin, which had enjoyned him to go first thither before he went to Basil.

And the same Legate being oftentimes required at Norenberge, that he should go to Basil to hold the Council, he answered, that he would not go before he had the consent of the new Bishop. This was the cause of the Prelates delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed unto the Prelates, which suspected that Pope Martin would not have holden the Council, and feared to bring themselves in trouble, and good cause had they so to fear, through those things which happened in the Council of Scene. For there were many things spoken which caused great suspicion. It was reported unto me that many had said, I came unto Germany to disturb the Council.

Also this was Pope Martins mind and intent, that albeit the Council was not begun at the beginning of March, notwithstanding the authority of holding the Council should not be void. For he, when as the time of the Council approached, willed me that I should first go unto Bohemia, before I went unto the Council; whereof

The cause of the long delay of the Prelates.

The Council of Scene.

also mention is made in the Bull of the Consistory dissolution.

But what need we any other proof, than by your Holiness Letters? In which your Letters dated the second of the Kalends of June, and delivered unto me long after the time, by the space of three months, you do commend me, that my business being done in Bohemia, I should take my way to Basil to hold the Council, and there to foresee unto all things as it was enjoined me, and ordained in the Council of Constance. The same also ye repeat in the Bull of the dissolution brought unto me by the Lord Parentine, the words are these; Unto your circumspection. Since your going into Germany no Prelates have assembled in Basil for the celebrating of the Council: We gave you in commandment that in the mean time you should be diligent about the expedition against the Bohemian Hereticks, which is committed to your charge, and afterward you shall come unto Basil, the place appointed for the Council, and there rule in Our place in the name of the Church. What is more evident than this? If any thing were doubtful, by the tenour of these Letters it were evidently taken away. If any man would say, that neither Pope Martin nor Eugenius could confirm the Council by writing of such Letters, because there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the Chapter *Frequens*: It is answered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is not necessary to hold the Council precisely even at the beginning. Also it is no prorogation. For a prorogation is made before the term is expired and not after; for after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. And if any man will say that there can be no new indiction made, then may this be objected; How could the Council of Bononia be newly appointed? If they will answer, that the appointment of the Council of Bononia was of force, because the Council of Basil was dissolved by your Holiness, then I have my intent. For if it were dissolved; Ergo, it was a Council before, because it presupposeth the habit. If it were a Council before, then, as hereafter shall be proved, it could not be dissolved without the consent of the Council; what can be more answered hereunto? For the greater declaration and evidence of the matter, the Abbot of Virgilia, even upon the same day of the time appointed or afore, gathering together the Prelates of the great Church, and many other Prelates and Notable men, made a solemn protestation, how the time was come to celebrate and hold the Council, and that he was come unto Basil for the same purpose, requiring them that they would confer and intreat together upon matters touching the Council, and hereupon there is a public instrument or testimonial.

Within a month after the Ambassadors of the University of Paris came thither, and began to entreat of matters touching the Council, writing also unto the Emperor, and to the other Princes of Germany, that they should send unto the Council; which Letters I my self did see; neither doth the small number of men let; for whereas authority is, a great number is not required, according to the saying of Christ, where as two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them. Upon the which authority the Councils are grounded. Now therefore your Holiness doth manifestly see the said objection to be but frivolous. For to what end should any dissolution be made, if it had not been a Council? Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that it was a lawful Council, and canonically congregate. And peradventure it is scarcely found where any Council hath been confirmed by so many authorities as this, that is to say, by the two Councils before passed, of Constance and of Scene, and confirmed by two Bishops of Rome.

Besides this, I have heard that some do report at Rome, that I could not call the Prelates unto the Council, because that clause was not added in the Bull of Pope Martin. I greatly marvel why this should be objected, specially seeing that not I alone have called them, but I together with the rest which are here assembled in the Council. It is a marvellous matter;

Pope Martin gave me authority by the advice of the Council to root out Heresies, to pacifie Kingdoms, to reform the manners of every state of Christendom, and yet they will say that I cannot cite them. Power is given me to judge and to condemn, and have I not also power to cite? The Law doth say; unto whom any power or jurisdiction is committed, all things seem to be committed unto him, without the which he cannot exercise his jurisdiction; for how could all the premises be done, if the Prelates or others should not come hither? Also why is it said in the Chapter, *Ego enim de jurejurando*, I will come unto the Synod if I be called, if he cannot be called? By whom then is it presupposed that he should be called, but only by the Council, or by him which ruleth the Council? Also the whole eighteenth distinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the Bishops being called unto the Council, if they come not, they may be Excommunicate and Suspended. Let these men read the Book of Councils of Saint Isidore, and they shall find how that in many Councils the Prelates have been called by the Synod. Now it remaineth, that we should declare, whether the dissolution be of force or no. Wherein I do again fear to move your Holiness unto anger. But charity forceth me thereunto; for peradventure your Holiness doth think the dissolution to be effectual, and therefore do persevere in it; whereby for so much as many offences may arise, my Conscience doth move me not to hold my peace. First of all the chapter, *Frequens*, declareth that it is of no force; for if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is a small matter, much more is dissolution, which is a greater matter, for it is a greater matter to take away than to defer: For by proroging a thing is but deferred, and by dissolving it is utterly taken away. Also these men say, that the said constitution in the chapter, *Frequens*, may be made void, forasmuch as soon as the Council is begun, it may be dissolved without any thing done, as it is said that it was done at Senes; and now they say also that your Holiness hath been perversly informed touching the dissolution. They say also, that the said dissolution doth manifestly tend to the subversion of faith, the ruin of the Church, and the trouble of the Christian people. Therefore it cannot be done, neither obeyed.

They say moreover, that the said dissolution could not be made by means of a certain decree of the Council of Constance in that behalf provided; That in such matters as appertain unto Faith, the extirpation of sin, and reformation of the Church in the head and in the members, all men of what estate or condition soever they be, yea the Pope himself should be bound to obey the statutes, precepts and ordinances of every general Council; and except they did obey, it had power to punish them. Mark how that these things, to have power to determine upon any man, to command him and punish him if he be not obedient, are signs of superiority, in those matters which he doth decree, command or punish; and to be bound to obedience, to be subject and obey the same, are signs of inferiority in the said cases. Ergo in the foresaid cases, seeing that the Pope, as they say, is under the Council, which also hath been; in that for one of the said three cases the Council did deprive John, and for the other Benedict, neither could the Pope dissolve the Council, in that he is inferior unto the Council, he cannot bind or compel the superior; As in the Chapter *Cum inferior*, otherwise it should contain in it a contradiction, that he is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, because he may dissolve; for how should he be obedient unto the ordinance and decree of the Council, if he may annihilate and take away the same ordinance and decree? This Council is congregate for the rooting out of Heresies, for the making of peace, and reformation of manners; and in the first Session it did ordain, that their whole intent and respect should be thereunto, and that he which should procure to let the Council, to prorogue or alter it, should be punished, and have process against him as against a common disturber of the peace, &c. If it may be dissolved, it is evident that they do not obey the said ordinance; whereby this also must of necessity be granted, that if it may be dissolved, the decree of the Council of Constance is of no force.

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'This is also proved by another reason. No man doubteth but if any controversie of Heresie should be moved against any Bishop of Rome, that he could not dissolve the Council: For if he might dissolve the Council, he could not be judged, which were contrary to the Chapter *Si Papa*. 40. *Ergo*, like as it is in Heresie, so is it in the two other cases. For these three were pacified by the Council of Constance: for thus speaketh the Council, as it is in the Chapter, *Si Papa in illo uno*. And as I have before said, the Council of Constance allowed this decree, through the which they deprived *Peter de Luna*, for making of a Schism, and Pope *John* for the deformity of his life. And albeit there be certain Laws that say, The principal seat cannot be judged of any man; and again, no man judgeth the chief seat; and, no man faith unto himself, why dost thou so? There are to be understood in the three cases; first, that there was proviso made for the faith in the Chapter *Si Papa*; and in the other two points, by the decree of Constance. Otherwise it should be understood, without any exception, that the first seat, &c. and then the Chapter *Si Papa* 40. distinct. and the said decree of Constance should be false. If the Chapter *Si Papa* had added causes of Heresies, no man would have doubted upon these two cases, touching the said sentence; so likewise no man ought to doubt of the decree of the Council, that it was made by the authority of the Pope, and representeth the universal Church. And if any man would say, that in all Councils the authority of the Pope is excepted: I answer, that is true, when as the person of the Pope is not specially included. But if he be specially included, he cannot be excepted, because it should favour of contradiction. Most blessed Father, God is my witness that I have spoken these things with great anguish and sorrow of mind; but I am forced so to speak, that your Holiness may cease from the said dissolution, lest there might happen infinite evils in the Church of God. If your Holiness did see my pure mind, my upright Conscience, and entire affection towards you, whereby I am moved to write those things, even for very love you would embrace and kiss me, and without doubt love me as your own Son. I have often said, and now do say and protest before God and man, that you will be the cause of Schism, and infinite mischiefs, if you do not alter and change your mind and purpose. Almighty God preserve your Holiness in the prosperity of a virtuous man. Unto whose feet I do most humbly recommend me. From Basil the 5th day of June.

Thus endeth the Epistle of Cardinal *Julian*, written unto Pope *Eugenius*. Wherein, forsomuch as mention is made how that the *Bohemians* had promised to send their Ambassadors unto the Council, and, as before is partly touched in the *Bohemian* story, of their coming into *Basil* and propounding of certain Articles, wherein they dissented from the Pope; we do not think it any thing differing from our purpose, to annex a brief epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their Ambassage, their Articles, disputations and answers which they had at the said Council of *Basil*, with their petitions and answers unto the same. Faithfully translated out of Latine by *F. W.*

In like manner *Aeneas Sylvius* also, with his own hand writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this Council, but also bestowed his labour and travel in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding the same *Sylvius* afterward being made Pope, with his new honour, did alter and change his old sentence. The Epistle of which *Aeneas* touching the commendation of the said Council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought here following, for the more satisfying of the Readers mind, to insert.

An Epistle of *Aeneas Sylvius* to the Rector of the University of Colen.

TO a Christian man which will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of Faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: And if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the Gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walk not directly to the truth of the Gospel. Which thing I am glad and so are we all, to hear that your University hath done in this Council of Basil. For a certain Treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness of such, which do deny the Bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgement, to be subject unto the general Council; and that the supreme tribunal seat of judgment standeth in the Church, and in no one Bishop. Such men as deny this, you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery Eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you. These be the words of *Sylvius*.

An Epistle of *Aeneas Sylvius*, in defence of the Council of Basil.

The Tribunal seat standeth not in one Bishop.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the foresaid Council, this is to be noted, that during the life *Sigismund* the Emperor no man relisted this Council. Also, continuing the time of *Charles* the Seventh, the French King, the said Council of *Basil* was fully and wholly received through all France. But after the death of *Sigismund*, when *Eugenius* was deposed, and *Felix* Duke of *Savoy* was elected Pope, great discords arose, and much practise was wrought, but especially on *Eugenius* part; who being now excommunicated by the Council of *Basil*, to make his part more strong, made eighteen new Cardinals. Then he sent his Orators unto the Germans, labouring by all perswasions to dissolve the Council of *Basil*. The Germans at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with *Felix* and the Council of *Basil*; other some, with *Eugenius* and the Council of *Ferraria*; and some were Neuters. After this, the French King being dead, which was *Charles* the Seventh, about the year of our Lord 1444, the Pope becometh a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite (as is supposed) the Dauphin of France by force of Arms to dissipate that Council collected against him. Who, leading an Army of fifteen thousand men into *Alsacia*, did cruelly waste and spoil the Country; after that, laid Siege unto *Basil*, to expel and drive out the Prelates of the Council. But the *Helvetians*, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to Sword and Flight; like as the *Lacedemonians* only with three hundred did suppress and scatter all the mighty Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylae*.

The authority of the Council of Basil maintained by the Emperor and the French King, so long as they lived.

The practise of Pope *Eugenius*, to undo the Council of Basil.

The Pope stirreth up War.

The Dauphin driven away by a few Germans.

Although *Basil* was by the valiantness of the *Helvetians* thus defended, yet not withstanding the Council, through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the Princes Ambassadors, which shrunk away and would not tarry. So that at length *Eugenius* brought to pass, partly through the help of *Frederick* (being not yet Emperor, but labouring for the Empire) partly by his Orators (in the number of whom was *Aeneas Sylvius* above mentioned amongst the Germans) that they were content to give over both the Council of *Basil*, and their neutrality.

The dissolution of the Council of Basil.

This *Frederick* of *Austria* being not yet Emperor, but towards the Empire, brought also to pass, that *Felix*, which was chosen of the Council of *Basil* to be Pope, was contented to renounce and resign his Papacy to *Nicholas* the Fifth, successor to *Eugenius*, of the which *Nicholas* the said *Frederick* was confirmed at Rome to be Emperor, and there Crowned, An. 1451.

Frederick of *Austria* Crowned Emperor, great Grandfather to this *Ferdinandus*.

The Legates
of the
Grecians con-
fessend first
to the
Popes Law.

The Greek
Churches
refuse the
Popes do-
ctrine.

The incon-
venience of
discord.

Ex Cochlea
lib. 8. bift.
Huffi.

Ex Ant.
nim. 3. part.
tit. 22. cap.
10.

Ex bift. Caf.
pari. Peucer.
lib. 5.

Marvelous
fear fallen
upon the
Popes Ar-
my.
Gods holy
Angels
pitch their
tents about
them that
fear him,
Efa. 34.

The cruel
deceit and
wicked fact
of Mainar-
dus against
the Souldi-
ers of Bohe-
mia.

As these things were doing at *Bafil*, in the mean season Pope *Eugenius* brought to pass in his convocation at *Florence*, that the Emperor and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the rest of the *Grecians* there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost; also to receive the Communion in unleavened Bread, to admit Purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish Bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding the other Churches of *Grecia* would in no wise assent at their coming home; inasmuch that with a publick execration they did condemn afterward all those Legats which had consented to these Articles, that none of them should be buried in Christian burial: which was, *An. 1439. Ex Casp. Peucer.*

And thus endeth the story, both of the Council of *Basil*, and of the Council of *Florence*, also of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and of the Schism between Pope *Eugenius* and Pope *Felix*, and also of the *Bohemians*. The which *Bohemians*, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults above said, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new City of *Prague*, partly also through the discord of the messengers and Captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterward, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their Religion, not by Sword, but by argument and disputation, that the Bishop of *Rome* could never yet to this day remove the *Taborites* and City of *Prague* from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which in the beginning of the Council was enjoined their Priests to observe, as testifieth *Cochleus, lib. 8. bift. Huffi.* With whom also recordeth *Antoninus*, who in 3. part. bift. faith; That the Doctrine of the *Bohemians*, which he termeth by the name of *Zizania*, did take so deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterward neither by Fire nor Sword it could be extinct. *Anton. 3. part. bift. tit. 22. cap. 10.*

Concerning the which *Bohemians*, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they in their own defence, and in the quarrel of *John Hus*, and *Hierom of Prague*, provoked by their Catholick adversaries to War, fighting under *Zisca* their Captain, had eleven battels with the Popes side, and ever went away victors. *Ex Paral. Abb. Ursp. in Epitaphio Joani. Zisca.* Moreover in the History of *Peucer* it is testified that Pope *Martin* the fifth, sending for the Bishop of *Winchester* then Cardinal, had levied three main Armies, intending to over-run all the *Bohemians*; one Army of the Saxons under the Prince Elector: the second of the *Francones*, under the Marquis of *Brandenburge*; the third of *Renates*, *Bavarians* and *Suechers*, under *Octo* Archbishop of *Trevers*. With these, *Sigismund* also the Emperor, and Cardinal *Julian* the Popes Legate (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) joyned all their force. Who joyned together five times (faith the story) with five sundry battels, assailed and invaded the *Bohemians*; at every which battel, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their Tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given. *Ex Casp. Peuc. lib. 5.* whereby it may appear that the holy Angels of God do fight for them which embrace the sincere doctrine of Christs Gospel.

Thus the *Bohemians*, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of *Zisca*, and also of *Procopius*, till at length, through discord growing between them and their Captains *Procopius* and *Mainardus*, they were subdued unto their enemies.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of *Mainardus*, who after the death of *Procopius*, Thinking to purge the Realm of *Bohemia* of those chief and principal Souldiers, which had been long expert and trained up in Wars, found means for a Proclamation made, as though he would War against other Countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all them which were disposed to take wages, into certain Barns or Hovels prepared for the same purpose,

and so shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest by that means under subjection to the Emperor during his life time; which after that continued not long, *Ex An. Sylv.* The which Souldiers if they had fought so much for the Catholick liberties of the Pope and his Church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the Pope had not dignified them all for holy Martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (faith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of *Mainardus* is worthy of all men to be detested.

During this business among the Bishops beyond the Sea, in the mean time our Bishops here also in *England* were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the Country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the Clergy do draw with them a more insensible untowardness in Gods religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all men which will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in *England* is more burning and slaying for Religion and for all other matters; more bloodshed among us, than in any other Land or Nation in *Christendom* besides. After the burning of *Richard Hoveden*, of *Nicholas Canon*, and of *Thomas Bagley* Priest, above recorded, whom the Bishops condemned to death, *An. 1431.* not long after about the year of our Lord, 1439, which was the eighteenth of the reign of *K. Henry* the sixth, they had another poor man by the back named *Richard Wiche* Priest, mentioned both in *Robert Fabian*, and also in another old English Chronicle borrowed of one *Permynger*. What his opinions were they do not express. This they record, that this *Richard Wiche* first was degraded, then burnt at *Tower-hill* for Heresie. Some do affirm, that he before his death revolted; but that seemeth by his burning not to be true.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophesying) that the Postern of the *Tower* should sink; which also afterward came as he faith to pass, wherefore of the people he was counted for an holy man; inasmuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their Oblations and prayers, and areared a great heap of stones, and set up a Cross there by night: so that by this means a great clamor ran upon the Church-men, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumor, the King gave commandment to punish such as went thither on Pilgrimage. The copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

Rex Vicecomitibus London & Midd. salutem. *Albeit* Richard Wiche late Clerk, who heretofore long sithence heretically did hold, teach, and publicly preach certain Heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our Realm of *England*, and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did before a Judge in that behalf sufficiently abjure all Heresie generally, and afterward, as a Dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publicly preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a Relapse. And again, being impeached, for the same before the reverend Father in God Robert Bishop of Lond. his lawful Ordinary, was called forth to judgement, and being before him, did judiciously confess his errors and heresies: For the which cause the Reverend Father, upon mature deliberation by him the said Reverend Father first had with the advice of the learned in the Law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did by his sentence definitive pronounce and adjudge him to be a Relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all Priestly Ornaments, and deprived him of all Priestly function and privilege (according to justice) and last of all turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by our Princely commandment and Warrant, did according to the Law of our Realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a Relapse convicted, and degraded as a notorious Traitor, not only against God, but also against us, and our Crown and dignity; All which notwithstanding, certain our Subjects (as we have been sundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising of all likelihood not only Seditiion, but also Idolatry with-

{KING}
Hen. 6.

Certain
thousands of
the Bohemi-
an Souldiers
burnt.
Ex An.
Sylv. lib. de
bift.
Bohem. cap.
15.

England no-
ted of cru-
elty.

Burning and
slaying in
England.

{Anno}
1439.
Rich. Wiche
Priest, Mar-
tyr.
Ex Fabia.
par. 7.
Ex antiquo
alia Chroni-
clo.

Rich. Wiche
after his
death taken
for a Saint.

[KING] in our Realm, are not afraid publicly to affirm, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay rather they do most shamefully with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died a good, just, and an holy Man, and that he doth many miracles (whereas indeed no such miracles be done by him.) Which disordinate persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deem culpable not only of heretical pravity, but also of High treason, and as Rebels to our person, Majesty, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our Realm, as withal breakers and Trespassers against the sacred Canons of the Church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said Richard as a Saint, whereas it is not lawful to worship any manner of person, be he never so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the Bishop of Rome: We therefore being very careful for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out of all the coasts of the same all manner of Idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certain places within your liberties, where you shall think most convenient, you cause forthwith Proclamations to be made on our behalf, straightly charging that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed under colour of a Pilgrim, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said Reverend Father by his definitive sentence hath pronounced him to be, upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for an Heretick, or a favourer of Hereticks, and to receive condigne punishment provided for Hereticks. And that you arrest all and every person whom ye shall find to do any thing contrary to this our Proclamation, and the same so arrested commit to our Prison, there to remain until we shall think good to send countermand for their deliverance. Witness the King at his Manor of Estampsted, the fifteenth day of July, in the eighteenth year of his reign.

Per ipsum Regem.

Like Writs and to the same effect were directed to all the Sheriffs through all the Realm, bearing all one and the same date. By the vertue of which Letter, the Mayor and Sheriffs did use such diligence, that shortly after, that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the same year about November, a convocation was called by Henry Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein was propounded among the Clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the Law of *Premuniri facias*; for so were the hearts then of the temporality set against the Ecclesiastical sort, that where any vantage might be given them by the Law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the Church-men at that time were greatly molested by the said Law of *Premuniri*, and by the Kings Writs, and other Indictments, to their no small annoiance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken, that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented, to the King, for the abolishing of the aforesaid Law of *Premuniri facias*, and also for the restraining of other Briefs, Writs, and Indictments, which seemed then to lye heavy upon the Clergy. This Bill or Supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and of York, unto the King, standing in need the same time of a Subsidy to be collected of the Clergy; This answer was given to their Supplication, on the Kings behalf: That forsomuch as the time of Christmas then drew near, whereby he had as yet no sufficient leisure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a farther pause. In the mean time, as one tending their quiet, he would send to all his Officers and Ministers within his Realm, that no such Brief of *Premuniri* should pass against them or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next Parliament, Anno 1439. Ex Regist. Cant.

In my former Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, so hastily raked up at that present, in such shortness of time, as in the said Book thou mayest see (gentle Reader) declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor

Cobham, Dutches of Gloucester, and of Sir Roger Only Knight (Priest, it should have been Printed,) which two persons, about the year of our Lord 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to Death, the other to perpetual Prison. Of this little short matter Mr. Cope the Popes scout, lying in privy waight to spee faults in all mens works wherefoever any may appear, taketh Pepper in the Nose, and falleth again unto his old barking against me, for placing these foresaid persons in my Book of *Martyrs*; but especially he thinketh to have great vantage against me, for that in the same story I do joyn withall, one Margaret Jourdeman, the Witch of Eye, condemned also with them the same time, and burned for practising the Kings death by an Image of Wax, &c. To answer hereunto.

First, I say (as I before said) that I profess no such title to write of Martyrs, but in general to write of *Acts and Monuments* passed in the Church and Realm of England. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walk of a story writer, more than other that have gone before me?

Secondly, Touching my condemnation of Sir Roger Only, and the Lady Eleanor; if Mr. Alane be therewith offended; I answer, that I commended them for favouring and favouring of the truth of Christs doctrine: for the fact, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine one head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well believe John Bale, as Mr. Alane believe Mr. Fabian? Especially seeing I do know, and was privy, that the said John in recognising his Centuries, followed altogether the History of Leland de Catalogo virorum illustrium; which Book being borrowed of Mr. Cheek, I my self did see in the hands of the foresaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the House of the Noble Lady Dutches of Richmond. Wherefore if he think me so lewd to speak without mine Authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine Authors not to be believed, then let this Nomothetes, or jolly Dictator, come forth and prescribe us a Law, what Authors he would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale; and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian, and Edward Hall; especially seeing they had seen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge, and so did never these?

Thirdly, For the name of Roger Only; if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolinbroke, &c. hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of England deceived him, or else that he, going no farther but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect Sicophant. And admit the said name of Only could not be found in those writers, yet were it not impossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man, to bear the name of the Town where he was born, besides his own proper surname. But now, what if I (Mr. Cope) can avouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Only but of sufficient Record, which you seem not to have yet read? Have ye not then done well and properly (think you) so bitterly to flee in my face, and bark so eagerly all this while at Moon-shine in the water, having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the Moon? And now left you should think me so unprovided of unjust authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience; write you to your prompter or suborner (wherefoever he lurketh here in England) to send you over unto Lovane the book of John Harding a Chronicler, more ancient than either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of Richard Grafton, Anno 1543. Where turn to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there you shall find and read these words.

Again, the Church and the King cursedly,
By help of one Master Roger Only, &c.

By the which words you must necessarily confess Roger Only to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the Author. For otherwise, that Master Roger Bolinbroke was the only helper to the Dutches in that fact,

X x x 3

A brief answer to Cope concerning Lady Eleanor Cobham.

To the third Objection.

Ex Regist. Henr. Chelmsley.

The Bishops consult to abolish the Law of Premuniri facias.

The Kings answer to the Bill of the Clergy, touching the Law of Premuniri.

Vad. Censor.
8. B. A. cap.
4.

To the
fourth ob-
jection.

M. Cope
saileth with-
out a cause.

The former
Edition, p.
371.

The fifth
Objection.

The story of
the Lady
Eleanor
and Roger
Only here
pretermitted.
A question
whether
Eleanor the
Dutchess
was culpa-
ble of trea-
son against
the King.

by no wife it can stand with the story of these Authors, which say, that four other besides him were condemned for the same crime, &c. And moreover, though the said Sir Roger Only was no Knight (as I have said in my former Edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the Testimony of them that have seen his works, but that he was a Priest, which you will grant to be a Knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Mr. Roger Only.

Fourthly, As concerning Margaret Jourdemane, whom ye call the Witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say that I make her a Martyr, which was a Witch; when as I here profess, confess and ascertain both you, and all English men, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Jourdemane I never spake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your book your self. So far is it off, that I either with my will, or against my will, made any Martyr of her.

Furthermore, I profess and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just or congrue occasion in my Book so to judge, much less to rail on me. For where in expresse words I do speak of the Mother of the Lady Young, what occasion have you thereby to slander me and my Book with Margaret Jourdemane? Which Margaret whether she was a Witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But because I couple her in the same story, you say. To this I say, because she was the Mother of a Lady, I thought to joyn her with another Lady in the same story, as in one Pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet notwithstanding I do so couple the said Mother with the Dutchess, in such distinct difference of years, that you Master Cope might easily have understood, or beside you, no man else would have thought the contrary but Margaret Jourdemane was neither here in my Book, nor yet in my Memento. For the words of my story are plain, where the condemnation of the Lady Eleanor, and of the Mother of Lady Young, being referred to the year of our Lord, 1441. I do also in the same story (through the occasion of that Lady) infer mention of the Mother of the Lady Young, declaring in expresse words, that she followed certain years after, and in the end of that Chapter do name also the year of her burning to be 1490 which was fifty years after the death of Only, and Margaret Jourdemane; by the computation of which years it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady Youngs Mother.

But Mr. Cope, continuing still in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my Calender the said Lady Youngs Mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after death of Roger Only, which day pertaineth properly to Margaret Jourdemane, which was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the Ladies Mother, &c.

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he which had the disposing of the Catalogue, did place them so in months, as he saw them joyned in Chapters, not perusing peradventure nor advising the Chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth clear it self in distinguishing them rightly in names and also in years, as is afore declared.

Fifthly and lastly, Having thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times (Master Cope) I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the Lady Dutchess, and to the rest; with this protestation before premised unto the Reader, that if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the Histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the Reader then so to take me, as though I did not deal here withal, nor speak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and dispuncted the same. But for so much as the deed and offence laid and given forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of evil will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore I do but only move a question by way of History, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the question, whether it is to be judged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged, and so having briefly propounded certain conjectural suspicions or supposals concerning that matter, I will pass it over, neither meddling on the one nor on the other.

The first conjecture, why it may be possible that this act of Treason, laid to the charge of the Dutchess and Roger Only, against the King, may be untrue, is this; that the said Only (otherwise named Bolingbroke) took it upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

The second conjecture; for that the Lady Eleanor, and Only seemed then to favour and favour of that Religion set forth by Wickliff; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the Clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practices of Papists can do, it is not unknown.

The third conjecture; for that the said Master Roger Only, falsely noted and accused of Necromancy, wrote a Book in purgation of himself, intituled, *De Innocentia sua*. Also another Book intituled, *Contra vulgi superstitiones*, recorded in *Centur. 8. Bal. cap. 4.* Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of Necromancy himself.

The fourth conjecture; because this accusation against the Dutchess of Gloucester, Duke Humphries Wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled between the Cardinal of Winchester, and Duke Humphrey her Husband.

Another conjecture may be hereof, for that if the Dutchess had intended any such hainous Treason against the Kings life, as by burning of a Wax Candle to consume him, it is not like (neither was there any such need) that she would have made so many privy to such a pernicious Counsel, as the Witch Eye, Master Roger Bolingbroke, Master Thomas Sambwell, and John Hume.

Sixthly, It is not to be supposed, if any such high Treason had been wrought or pretended against the Kings person by these, that either the Dutchess should so escape with bearing a Taper and banishment; or that John Hume should be pardoned his life; the fact being so hainous, that neither any durst ask this pardon, nor if it had been asked, had it been like to be granted.

To these we may also add another supposal, rising upon the words and form of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and other moe, wherein they were accused for working Sorcery and Inchantments against the Church and the King. Now what Sorcery can be wrought against the Church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the Reader judge; and by the truth of this consider also the truth of the other, which was against the King. Furthermore, if by this Church is meant the Cardinal of Winchester, as like it is; then it may be conjectured, that all this matter rose of that Cardinal, who was then a mortal enemy to the House of Gloucester, &c.

Eighthly, And that all this was done and wrought by the said Cardinal of Winchester, the Witch of Eye maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that Town of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was near beside Winchester, and See of that Bishop.

Moreover, forso much as Polidore Virgil, among other story Authors, being a man as may be supposed, rather favouring the Cardinals part than the Dukes, made no mention at all touching this Treason, his silence therefore may minister matter not only to muse, but also to conjecture, that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is unlike, that he would have so mewed up the matter, and passed it over without some mention.

Finally, and briefly, the frequent practices and examples of other times may make this also more doubtful, considering how many subtil pretences after the like sort have been sought, and wrongful accusations brought against many innocent persons. For (not to repeat the like forgeries against the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Aston, &c.) why may not this accusation of the Dutchess and Only be as false, as that in the time of King Edward the fifth, which was laid to the charge of the Queen and Shores Wife by the Protector, for enchanting and bewitching of his withered Arm? Which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarell made, only to oppress the life of the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley, &c. And thus mayest thou see, gentle Reader, according to the Wife mans saying, *Nihil novum esse sub sole; Nihilque dictum, quod non sit dictum prius*, &c.

KING

Certain conjectures of the crime not to be true.

1. Conje-
cture.

2. Conje-
cture.

3. Conje-
cture.

4. Conje-
cture.

5. Conje-
cture.

6. Conje-
cture.

7. Conje-
cture.

8. Conje-
cture.

9. Conje-
cture.

10. Conje-
cture.

KING
1440

Although these with many more conjectures may be alleged in some part of defence of this Dutchess, and of her Chaplains and Priests, yet because it may not be impossible again the matter laid against them to be true, I leave it therefore at large as I find it; saying as I said before, That if it be true which the Stories say in this matter, think I beseech thee gentle Reader, that I have said nothing hereof. Only, because the matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I have but moved thereof a question, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, I durst name the Lady *Eleanor Cobham*, and *Roger* only; let him take this for a short answer, because my leisure serveth not to make long brawls with him, That if I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former Edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to sponge away such notes, as I thought would seem great stumbling blocks in such Mens walks, which walk with no charity to edifie, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amiss in others, neither tarrying while other Men reform themselves, and finally finding quarrels where no great cause is justly given. And here an end with Master Cope for this time.

A brief answer to Master Cope's cavillations, concerning Duke Humphry's Wife

The contention between the Cardinal of Winchester and Duke Humphry, Lord Protector.
Anno 1440

Forasmuch as in the Process before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the Cardinal, called the rich Cardinal of *Winchester*, and the good Duke *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, the Kings Uncle and Protector of the Realm, order of Story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large. Wherein this first is to be understood, that long before great flames of grudge and discord did burst out between these two. For as the noble heart of the Duke could not abide the proud doings of the Cardinal, so much again the Cardinal in like manner fore envied and disdained at the rule of the Duke of *Glocester*. Notwithstanding that, by the means of the Duke of *Bedford*, the braisting out between them was before appeased and cured: yet not so, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred, as sparkles under the imbers, did still remain: so that the Cardinal, joyning with the Archbishop of *York*, attempted many things of their own presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the King (being then under age) but also of the Protector and Governor of the Realm. Wherewith the Duke (like a true hearted Prince) being not without just cause offended, declared in writing to the King certain complaints contained in 21 Articles, wherein the Cardinal and Archbishop had transgressed both against the King and his Laws. The tenor whereof more at large is in other Stories expressed, the brief abstract thereof followeth in a short Summary here to be seen.

Ex Polychron.

Certain Points or Articles objected by Duke Humphry against the Cardinal of Winchester.

Winchester presumeth to be Cardinal against the mind of the King.

First, complained to his Sovereign Prince his right redoubted Lord Duke *Humphry*, his Uncle and Protector of the Realm, That the Bishop of *Winchester*, in the days of his Father King *Henry* the fifth, took upon him the state of a Cardinal, being denied by the King, saying, That he had as lief set his own Crown beside him, as to see him wear a Cardinals Hat; and that in Parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a Bishop among the Spiritual persons, presumed above his order; which the said Duke desired to be redressed.

Winchester incurth the Law of Præmunire.

2. Item, Whereas he being made a Cardinal was voided of his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, he procured from *Rome* the Popes Bull, unknowing to the King, whereby he took again his Bishoprick, contrary to the Common Law of this Realm, incurring thereby the case of provision, and forfeiting all his Goods to the King, by the Law of *Præmunire*.

Winchester intrudeth himself to be the Kings Governor.

3. Item, He complained that the said Cardinal, with the Archbishop of *York*, intruded themselves to have the governance of the King, and the doing under the King of Temporal matters, excluding the Kings Uncle, and other

Temporal Lords of the Kings kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

4. Item, Whereas the King had borrowed of the Cardinal four thousand pounds, upon certain Jewels, and afterward had his money ready at the day to quit his Jewels; the Cardinal caused the Treasurer to convert that money to the Payment of another Army, to keep the Jewels still to his own use and gain.

The Cardinal doth fraudeth the King of his Jewels.

5. Item, He being then Bishop of *Winchester*, and Chancellor of *England*, delivered the King of *Scots* upon his own Authority, contrary to the Act of Parliament, Wedding his Niece afterward to the said King. Also, where the said King of *Scots* should have paid to the King Forty thousand pounds, the Cardinal procured Ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

The Cardinal delivereth the King of Scots upon his own Authority.

6. Item, The said Cardinal, for lending notable sums to the King, had the profit of the Port of *Hampton*, where he setting his servants to be the Customers, Wool and other Marchandise was, under that cloke, exported, not so much to his singular vantage, being the chief Merchant, as to the great prejudice of the King, and detriment to his subjects.

The Cardinal playeth the Merchant.

7. Item, The Cardinal in lending out great sums to the King, yet so deferred and delayed the Loan thereof, that coming out of season the same did the King little pleasure, but rather hinderance.

8. Item, Where Jewels and Plate were prized at Eleven thousand pounds in weight of the said Cardinal forfeited to the King; the Cardinal for Loan of a little piece, got him a restorment thereof, to the Kings great damage, who better might have spared the Commons, if the sum had remained to him clear.

The Cardinal doth fraudeth the King.

9. Item, Where the King's Father had given *Elizabeth Beuchampe* Three hundred Marks of Livelood, with this condition, If she Wedded within a year; the Cardinal, notwithstanding she was Married two or three years after, yet gave her the same, to the Kings great hurt, and diminishing of his Inheritance.

10. Item, The Cardinal, having no Authority nor Interest in the Crown, presumed notwithstanding to call before him, like a King, to the Kings high derogation.

The Cardinal taketh upon him like a King.

11. Item, That the Cardinal sued a Pardon from *Rome*, to be freed from all Disins, due to the King by the Church of *Winchester*, giving thereby example to the Clergy, to withdraw their Disins likewise, and lay all the charge only upon the Temporality and poor Commons.

12, 13. Item, By the procuring of the said Cardinal and Archbishop of *York*, great Goods of the Kings were lost and dispended upon needless Ambassades, first to *Arras*, then to *Calice*.

14. Item, It was laid to the charge of the said Cardinal and Archbishop, That by their means, going to *Calice*, the two Enemies of the King, the Duke of *Orleanse* and Duke of *Burgoin*, were deduced together in accord and alliance; who being at War before between themselves, and now confederate together again, joynd both together against the Kings Towns and Countries over the Sea, to the great danger of *Normandy*, and destruction of the Kings people.

15. Item, By the Archbishop of *York*, and the Cardinal, persuasions were moved openly in the Kings presence, with allurements and inducements, that the King should leave his right, his title, and honour of his Crown, in nominating him King of *France*, during certain years, and that he should utterly abstain, and be content only in writing with *Ren Anselme*, to the great note and infamy of the King, and all his Progenitors.

The Cardinal traitor to the Crown.

16, 17. Item, Through the sleight and subtilty of the said Cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the King and certain adversaries of *France*; also the deliverance of the Duke of *Orleanse* was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dishonour and inconvenience was like to fall, rather of the Kings side, than of the other.

18. Item, That the Cardinal had purchased great Lands and Liveloods of the King, the Duke being on the other side the Sea occupied in Wars, which redounded little to the worship and profit of the King; and moreover he had the King bound, to make him as sure Estate of all those Lands by *Easter* next, as could be devised by any learned Counsel, or else the said Cardinal to have, and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, the Lands of the Duchy of *Lancaster*.

The Cardinal a purchaser of the Kings Lands.

Lancaſter in Norfolk to the value of ſeven or eight hundred Marks by the year.

Perverſe
counſel of
the Cardi-
nal.

19. Item, Where the Duke the Kings Uncle had often offered his ſervice for the defence of the Realm of France, and the Dutchy of Normandy; the Cardinal ever labour- ed to the contrary, in preferring other, after his ſingular affection; whereby a great part of Normandy hath been loſt.

The Cardi-
nal a de-
ceiver of
the King,
and a hea-
ter

20. Item, Seeing the Cardinal was riſen to ſuch Riches and Treafure, which could grow to him, neither by his Church, nor by Inheritance (which he then had) it was of neceſſity to be thought, that it came by his great de- ceits, in deceiving both the King and his Subjects, in ſel- ling Offices, Preferments, Livelihoods, Captainſhips, both here, and in the Realm of France, and in Normandy ſo that what hath been there loſt, he hath been the greateſt cauſer thereof.

The Cardi-
nal pur-
chafeth a
Pardon a-
gainſt his
Præſumpti-
on.

21. Furthermore, when the ſaid Cardinal had forfeited all his Goods by the Statute of Proviſion, he having the rule of the King, and of other matters of the Realm, pur- chaſed from the Pope a Charter of Pardon, not only to the defeating of the Laws of the Realm, but alſo to the defrauding of the King, who otherwiſe might and ſhould have had wherewith to ſuſtain his Wars, without any Tal- lage of his poor people, &c.

Prelates
hold one
with the
nothe.

When the King heard theſe accuſations, he committed the hearing thereof to his Council, whereof the moſt part were Spiritual perſons. So, what for fear, and what for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing ſaid thereunto, and a fair countenance was made to the Duke, as though no diſpleaſure had been ta- ken, nor malice born in theſe Spiritual ſtomachs. But ſhortly after, the ſmoke hereof not able to keep in any longer within the Spiritual breſts of theſe charitable Church-men, braſt out in flames of miſchief. For upon the neck of this matter, as witneſſeth Fabian, Polychroni- con, and Hall which followeth Polychronicon, firſt enſued the condemnation of Lady Eleanor the Dutcheſs and her Chaplains, as ye have heard before. Whereby it may ap- pear, the ſaid Dutcheſs more of malice than of any juſt cauſe thus to have been troubled. Alſo within fix years af- ter followed the lamentable deſtruction of the Duke him- ſelf, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Malice
buriſt out.

About which time, or not long after, Anno 1443, the Steeple of Pauls was ſet on fire by Lightning, and at laſt by diligent labour of helpers the fire was quenched.

Paul's Stee-
ple ſet on
fire by
Lightning.

Ann.

1445

The death
of Henry
Chicheſly,
Archbiſhop
of Canter-
bury.

The build-
ing of Al-
ſole Col-
lege and
Barnard
College of
Oxford.

And after the condemnation of Lady Eleanor the Dutcheſs aforeſaid, within few years, Anno 1445, followed the death of Henry Chicheſly Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by whom ſhe was condemned in St. Stephen's Chappel at Wincheſter, for Penance to bear a Taper through Cheap- ſide three ſundry times, and afterward Out-lawed to the Iſle of Man, under the cuſtody of Sir John Strandy, Knight. This Henry Chicheſly builded in his time two Colleges in the University of Oxford, the one called Al- ſole College, the other named Barnard College.

Ann.

1447

The ſtory
and death
of Humphry
Duke of
Gloceſter.

Proceeding now to the year, wherein ſuffered Humphry that good Duke of Gloceſter, which was the year of our Lord 1447, firſt we will begin in few words to intreat of his life and converſation; then of the manner and cauſe of his death. As touching the offspring and deſcent of this Duke, firſt, he was the Son of Henry the fourth, Bro- ther to King Henry the fifth, and Uncle to King Henry the ſixth, aliigned to be the Governor and Protector of his perſon. Of manners he ſeemed meek and gentle, lo- ving the Common-wealth, a ſupporter of the poor Com- mons, of wit and wiſdom, diſcreet and ſtudious, well af- fected to Religion, and a friend to verity, and no leſs E- nemy to pride and ambition, eſpecially in haughty Pre- lates, which was his undoing in this preſent evil World. And which is ſeldom and rare in ſuch Princes of that cal- ling, he was both learned himſelf, and no leſs given to ſtudy, and alſo a ſingular favourer and Patron to them which were ſtudious and learned. And that my com- mendation of him may have the more credit I will pro- duce the Teſtimony of learned writers, who living in his time, not only do commend his famous knowledge, and ripe- neſs of learning in him, but alſo commit and ſubmit their works to his Judgment to be examined. Of which writers, one is Petrus de Monte, writing, *De virtutum & vitiſorum differentia*; who in his Epitile Dedicatory be-

Duke Hum-
phry com-
mended for
his learning.

Petrus de
Monte, de
virtutum &
vitiſorum
differentia,
ad D. Hum-
fridum.

ginning with the ſingular commendation of this Duke, and afterward ſpeaking *De optimarum artium, libera- liumq; ſcientiarum peritia*, ſaith thus: *Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque ſtudio incumbis: adeo ut nihil tibi ſine librorum lectione jucundum, gratum aut certe de- lectabile videatur, &c.* And in further proceſs of his work, thus he further declareth, ſaying, *Delectaris autem non una tantum arte aut ſcientia, quanquam & id quidem eſſet ſatis; verum fere omnibus, earumque codices magna quadam aviditate legiſti, &c.* Beſides this Petrus de Monte, let us hear alſo the judgment of another writer of the ſame age, named Lapiſcaſtellius, who likewiſe Dedi- cating to the ſaid Duke Humphry, his Book intituled *Com- paratio ſtudiorum & rei militaris*, Amongſt divers other words commendatory, hath theſe which follow, *Ad te po- tiſſimum miſto, quod horum re optimum, & ſapientiſſi- mum judicem fore exiſtimo, qui ut ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Bajocenſi Episcopo, homine tue laudis cu- pidiſſimo, accepi, ita in his humanitatis ſtudiis invigilares, ut nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps nec doctrina, nec elo- quentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus ſit, &c.* Ma- ny other arguments and places may be brought to declare what is to be eſteemed of the learning and ſtudious wit of this noble Prince.

KING
Hm. 6.

Lapiſcaſtel-
lius De com-
paratione
ſtudiorum &
rei militaris
ad D. Hum-
fridum.

Furthermore, As the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, ſo was the diſcreet Wiſdom and ſingular Prudence in him no leſs to be conſidered; as for the more maniſeſt proof thereof I thought here good, amongſt ma- ny other his godly doings, to recite one example reported as well by the Pen of Sir Thomas Moor, as alſo by M. Wil- liam Tindal, the true Apoſtle of theſe our later days, to the intent to ſee and note, not only the crafty working of falſe Miracles in the Clergy, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this high and mighty Prince, the foreſaid Duke Humphry, may give us the better to underſtand what Man he was. The ſtory lieth thus:

In the young days of this King Henry the ſixth, being yet under the governance of this Duke Humphry his Pro- tector, there came to St. Albans a certain begger with his Wife, and there was walking about the Town begging, five or ſix days before the Kings coming thither, ſaying, That he was born blind, and never ſaw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he ſhould come out of Barwick, where he ſaid he had ever dwelled, to ſeek St. Alban, and that he had been at his Shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and ſeek him at ſome other place; for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince he came, That St. Alban's body ſhould be at Colen, and indeed ſuch a con- tention hath there been. But of truth, as I am ſurely informed, he lieth here, at St. Albans, ſaving ſome re- licks of him, which they there ſhew Shrined. But to tell you forth my tale, when the King was come, and the Town full, ſuddenly this blind Man at St. Albans Shrine, had his ſight again, and a miracle ſolemnly Rung, and Te Deum Sung, ſo that nothing was talked of in all the Town, but this miracle. So hapned it then, that Duke Humphry of Gloceſter, a Man alſo no leſs wife than well learned, having great joy to ſee ſuch a miracle, called the poor Man unto him; and firſt ſhewing himſelf joyous of Gods glory ſo ſhewed in the getting of his ſight, and ex- horting him to meekneſs, and to no aſcribing of any part of the worſhip to himſelf, nor to be proud of the peoples praife, which would call him a good and godly man there- by; at laſt, he looked well upon his Eyes, and asked whe- ther he could ſee nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his Wife as himſelf affirmed ſally no; then he looked adviſedly upon his Eys again, and ſaid, I believe you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot ſee well yet. Yea Sir, quoth he, I thank God and his holy Martyr, I can ſee now as well as any Man. You can (quoth the Duke) What colour is my Gown? Then anon the begger told him. What colour (quoth he) is this Mans Gown? He told him alſo, and ſo forth, without any ſticking he told him the names of all the colours that could be ſhewed him. And when the Duke ſaw that, he bad him walk Traitor, and made him to be ſet openly in the ſtocks: for though he could have ſeen ſuddenly by miracle the difference be- tween divers colours, yet could he not by the ſight ſo ſud- denly tell the names of all theſe colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the Men that he ſhould ſuddenly ſee.

A falſe mi-
racle ſpied.

Diffini-
tion well
quitted.

By

KING
H. 6.

By this may it be seen how Duke *Humphry* had not only an head to discern and dissever truth from forged and fained Hypocrisie, but study also, and diligence likewise was in him to reform that which was amiss.

Commen-
tation of
Duke
Humphry.
The good
Duke of
Glocester.

And thus much hitherto for the noble Prowess and Vertues, joynd with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely Duke. For the which as he was both loved of the poor Commons, and well spoken of of all Men, and no less deserving the same, being called The good Duke of *Glocester*; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that House, which is but a vain and frivolous observation of

Polyd. Hist.
lib. 23. Hall.
in 25. lib. 6

Polydore and *Hall* which followeth him, bringing in the examples of *Hugh Spenser*, of *Thomas of Woodstock*, Son of King *Edward* the third, of this Duke *Humphry*, and after of King *Richard* the third, Duke likewise of *Glocester*: or whether it was, That the nature of true vertue is such, that as the flame ever beareth the smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightness of vertue never blazeth, but hath some disdain or envy waiting upon it; or else whether it was rather for some divorcement from his Wife, or for some other vice or trespass done (as seemeth most like truth) which God as well in Dukes Houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons, especially where he loveth. But howsoever the cause is to us unknown, this good Duke of *Glocester*, albeit being both the Kings sole Uncle, and having so many well-willers through the whole Realm, yet lacked not his Satan, lacked not his secret maligners. Of whom specially was *Henry Beauford* Cardinal, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Chancellor of *England*; who, of long time disdainning and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, first had disposed and appointed himself to remove the Kings Person from *Eltham* unto *Windsor* out of the Dukes hands, and there to put in such Governors as him listed. After that, intending the Dukes Death, he set Men of Arms and Archers at the end of *London-bridge*, and fore-barring the Highway with a draw-chain, set Men in Chambers, Cellers and Windows with Bows and Arrows, and other Weapons, to the purposed destruction both of the Duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turn his journey another way. Beside other manifold injuries and molestations, the ambitious Cardinal, seeking by all means to be Pope, procured such trouble against him, that great division was thereby in the whole Realm; insomuch that all the Shops within the City of *London* were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great Personages; for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Quinber*, called the Prince of *Portingale*, rode seven times in one day between those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the Realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet Cardinal.

The ene-
mies of the
Duke of
Glocester.The malici-
ous work-
ing of the
Cardinal a-
gainst the
Duke of
Glocester.William de
la Pole,
Duke of
Suffolk, the
cause of
the Duke of
Glocester's
death.The unpro-
fitable mar-
riage be-
tween King
Henry the
sixth and
Queen
Margaret.

Over and beside this Cardinal afore-mentioned, an other capital enemy to the said Duke was *William de la Pole*, first Earl, then Marquis, at last Duke of *Suffolk*, a Man very ill reported of in Stories, to be not only the Organ and Instrument of this good Mans death, but also to be the annoyance of the Common-wealth, and ruin of the Realm. For by him and his only device was first concluded the unprofitable and unhonorable Marriage between the King and Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Duke of *Angeou*; whereas the King had concluded and contracted a Marriage before with the Daughter of the Earl of *Arminick*, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a Prince to Marry a Wife with Riches and Friends, than to take a Maid with nothing, and disinherit himself and his Realm of old Rights, and ancient Inheritance; which so came to pass. And all this the good Duke did well foresee, and declared no less; but his Counsel would not be taken. Whereupon followed first the giving away the Dutchy of *Angeou*, and the City of *Maine*, with the whole Country of *Maine*, to *Reimer* Duke of *Angeou* and Father of the Damsel, called then King of *Sicile*, and of *Jerusalem*, having thereof no peny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

Queen *Margaret*'s mortal
enemy to
the Duke of
Glocester.

Another fore Enemy and mortal Plague to this Duke was the Queen her self, lately before Married to the King.

Who being of haughty stomach, and all set upon glory, of wit and wiliness, lacking nothing, and perceiving her Husband to be simple of wit, and easie to be ruled, took upon her to Rule and Govern both the King and Kingdom. And because the Advice and Counsel of *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester* was somewhat a stay that her Authority and Regiment could not so fully proceed; and partly because the said Duke before did disagree from that Marriage, this manly Woman and courageous Queen ceased not by all imaginations and practises possible to set forward his destruction, having also for her helper herein the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c.

The malice
of a Wo-
man.

These being his principal Enemies and mortal Foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a Prince so near the Kings blood, and so dear to the people, and of all Men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they devised how to trap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided. For the more speedy furtherance whereof a Parliament was Summoned to be kept at *Bury*, Anno 1447, far from the Citizens of *London*, as *William Tindal* in his Book of practise writeth, where resorted all the Peers of the Realm, and amongst them the Duke of *Glocester*, thinking no harm to any Man, and less to himself. Who on the second day of the Session was by the Lord *Beaumont*, High Constable then of *England*, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in Ward, and upon the same all his servants discharged and put from him, of whom 32 of the principal, being also under Arrest, were dispersed into divers Prisons, to the great murmuring and grievance of the people. After this Arrest thus done, and the Duke put into Ward, the night after (said *Hall*, six nights after said *Fabian* and *Polychron.*) he was found dead in his Bed, the 24th of *February*, and his body shewed to the Lords and Commons, as though he had been taken naturally with some suddain Disease. And although no wound in his Body could be seen, yet to all indifferent Persons it might well be judged, that he died of no natural pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled, some that a whole Spit was privily forced into his Body; some affirm that he was stifled between two Feather-beds. After the death of this Duke, and his Body being interred at *St. Albans*, after he had politickly by the space of 25 years governed this Realm, five of his Houthold, to wit, one Knight, three Esquires, and a Yeoman, were Arraigned, and Convict to be Hanged, Drawn and Quartered. Who being Hanged and cut down half alive, the Marquis of *Suffolk*, there present, shewed the Charter of the Kings Pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying, That the saving of the servants was no amends for the murdering of the Master.

A snare to
catch the
Innocent.Anno
1447
A Parlia-
ment at
Bury.The cruel
death or
Martyrdom
of the good
Duke of
Glocester.

In this cruel Fact of these persons, which did so conspire and consent to the death of this noble Man, and which thought thereby to work their own safety, the marvellous works of Gods Judgment appeareth herein to be noted, who as in all other like cruel policies of Man, so in this also turned all their policies clean contrary. So that where the Queen thought most to preserve her Husband in honour, and her self in State, thereby both she lost her Husband, her Husband lost his Realm, the Realm lost *Angeou*, *Normandy*, the Dutchy of *Aquitane*, with all her parts beyond the Sea, *Calice* only except, as in the sequel of the matter, who so will read the Stories, shall right well understand.

The judg-
ment of
God upon
them which
persecuted
the Duke of
Glocester.

The next year following, it followed also that the Cardinal, who was the principal Artificer and Ringleader of all this mischief, was suffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in *Edward Hall*, I omit here to speak. What he himself spake on his death-bed for example to other, I thought not best to premit. Who hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and gruded, wherefore he should die having so much Riches, saying, That if the whole Realm would save his life, he was able either by Policy to get it, or by Riches to buy it; adding and saying moreover. Fie (quoth he) will not Death be hired? Will money do nothing? When my Nephew of *Bedford* died, I thought my self half up the wheel, but when I saw mine other Nephew of *Glocester* deceased,

Anno
1448
The death
of the
Cardinal
and manner
of the same.The words
of the Car-
dinal of
Winchester
at his death

the 11

then I thought my self able to be equal with Kings, and so thought to encrease my Treasure, in hope to have worn the Triple Crown, &c. *Ex Edovar. Hallo.* And thus is the rich Bishop of Winchester, with all his Pomp and Riches, gone; with the which Riches he was able, not only to build Schools, Colleges, and Universities, but also was able to sustain the Kings Armies in War (as is specified in Stories) without any Taxing of the Commons.

Will. Wan-
flet Bishop
of Winchester.
Magdalen
College in
Oxford
builded.

In whose seat next succeeded William Wanflet, preferred to the Bishoprick of Winchester, who though he had less substance, yet having a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the College of Mary Magdalen in Oxford. For the which Foundation as there have been and be yet many Students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess my self to be one, except I will be unkind.

Gods pun-
ishment
upon the
Marquess of
Suffolk.

Among the other mischievous adversaries which fought and wrought the death of Humphry Duke Gloucester, next to the Cardinal of Winchester (who as is said, died the next year following) was William de la Pole, Marquess of Suffolk, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped unpunished. For although he was highly exalted, by the means of the Queen, (whose Marriage he only procured) unto the favour of the King, and was made Duke of Suffolk, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the Realm, whose acts and facts his vain glorious head caused also by the assent of the Commons to be Recorded, and substantially to be Registered in the Rolls of the Parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his Posterity for ever; yet notwithstanding, the hand of Gods Judgment still hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his Triumphant Victory. For within three years after the death and ruin of the Cardinal, the voices of the whole Commons of England were utterly turned against him, accusing him in the Parliament at the Black-Friers for delivery of the Duchy of Anjou, and the Earldom of Maine; also for the death of the noble Prince Humphry Duke of Gloucester. They imputed moreover to him the loss of all Normandy, laying unto him, That he was a swallower up and consumer of the Kings Treasure, the expeller of all good and vertuous Counsellors from the King, and advancer of vicious persons, apparent adversaries to the publick wealth; so that he was called in every Mans mouth, A Traitor, a Murtherer, and a Robber of the Kings Treasure.

The vain
glory of
mans heart
forgetting
himself in
honour.
The Com-
mons un-
constant.
The Duke
of Suffolk
accused by
the Com-
mons.

The Queen, albeit she tenderly loved the Duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the Commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower, where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired, he was delivered and restored again unto his old place, and former favour with the King; whereat the people more grudged than before. It hapned by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that the Parliament was for that time adjourned to Leicester, the Queen thinking by force and rigour of Law to repress there the malice and evil-will conceived against the Duke. But at that place few of the Nobility would appear. Wherefore it was again rejourned unto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the King and Queen, and with them the Duke of Suffolk as chief Counsellor. The Commons, not forgetting the old grudge, renewed again their former Articles and Accusations against the said Duke, against the Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir James Finies, Lord Say, and other. When the King perceived that no glossing nor dissimulation would serve to appease the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first, he sequestered from him the Lord Say, Treasurer of England, and other the Dukes adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of Suffolk for term of five years, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God

The Duke
of Suffolk
again accu-
sed.

Example of
Gods judg-
ment and of
blood re-
venged.
The Duke
of Suffolk
beheaded.

would not suffer the guileless blood of Humphry Duke of Gloucester to be unrevenge, or the flagitious person further to continue. For when he was shipped in Suffolk, intending to be transported into France, he was encountred with a Ship of War belonging to the Tower; whereby he was taken, and brought into Dover-rode, and there on the one side of a Ship-boat, one struck off his head; which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of Duke Humphry, and of all his adversaries; also of Gods condign punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the foresaid Duke, and of the proud Cardinal his enemy, I will here by the way annex a certain instrument, by the King and advice of his Council, made against the said Cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this Realm as Legate from the Pope, contrary to the old Laws and customs of this Realm, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latine may well appear.

{KING}
{Hen. 6.}

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod Anno Dom. 1428 Indictione septima pontificatus Sancti in Christo Patris, & D. nostri D. Martini, &c.

Publicum
instrumen-
tum nomine
Regis.

Ego Richardus Candry, procurator & nomine procuratorio Christianissimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & domini Hiberniæ, domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter & advisamento Illustris & potentis Principis Humfredi Ducis Glocestriæ, Comitissæ Pembrochiæ, protectoris & defensoris regni Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, & cæterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suæ Regiæ celsitudinis ac consilium ejusdem facientium & hac vice representantium, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod dictus Christianissimus Princeps, dominus meus supremus, sui que inclitissimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ Reges fuerunt & sunt, tam speciali privilegio, quam consuetudine laudabili legitimeque præscripta, necnon a tempore & per tempus (cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit) pacifice & inconculse observata, sufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus Apostolicæ sedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Angliæ, aut alias suas terras & dominia, nisi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, invitationem, seu rogatum: Fueruntque & sunt dicti Christianissimi Princeps dominus meus supremus ac sui inclitissimi progenitores, hujusmodi Reges Angliæ, in possessione quasi juris & facti privilegii, & consuetudinis prædictorum, absque interruptione quacunque, toto & omni tempore supradicto, pacifice & quiete Romanis pontificibus, per totum tempus supradictum, præmissa omnia & singula scientibus, tolerantibus, & iisdem consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem & omnimodam possessionem, quasi juris & facti, Legatum hujusmodi (ut præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias suas terras & dominia mittendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, & rogatum Regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis. Et quia reverendissimi in Christo Patri, & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia, &c. Sancti Eusebii presbyter, Cardinalis sanctæ sedis Romanæ, Legatum se affirmans, more legati, insigniis Apostolicæ dignitatis utens, absque vocatione, petitione, requisitione, invitatione, aut rogatu Christianissimi domini nostri Regis prædicti, inclitum regnum Angliæ de facto est ingressus, protector igitur palam, & publico in his scriptis nomine & vice quibus supra ac omnium ipsius Domini nostri Regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis præfati Christianissimi Principis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de consilio, in derogationem legum, jurum, consuetudinum, libertatum & privilegiorum dicti D. nostri Regis ac regni, ingressum hujusmodi dicti reverendissimi patris, ut legati in Angliam, auctoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum ut Legatum sedis Apostolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates & privilegia prædicta quovismodo admittere seu recognoscere; aut exercitio legationis, seu hujusmodi, aliquibusque per ipsum ut Legatum sedis Apostolicæ actis, seu agentibus, attentatis, seu attentandis adversus præmissa, legis jura, consuetudines, libertates, & privilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire; sicque dissentit dictus dominus noster Rex, atque dissentiunt dicti domini mei de consilio, per præsentes, &c.

The sum and effect whereof in English in this, That in the year of our Lord 1428, as the King with Duke Humphry Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, were in the Dukes house in the Parish of S. Bennets by Pauls-Wharf, one Richard Candray Procurator, in the Kings name and behalf, did protest and denounce by this publick instrument, that

An instru-
ment by the
K. against
the admit-
ting the
Popes Le-
gate.

{KING} **{Hen. 6.}** that whereas the King and all his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore possessed, time out of mind, with special privilege and custom used and observed in this Realm from time to time, that no Legate from the Apostolick See should enter into this Land or any of the Kings Dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Request, Invitement or Desire of the King; and forasmuch as Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal of St. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired by the King; therefore the said Richard Candray in the Kings name doth protest by this Instrument, that it standeth not with the Kings mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratify the coming of the said Legate in any wise, in derogation of the Rights, Customs and Laws of this his Realm; or to Recognise, or assent to any exercise of this his Authority Legatine, or to any Acts, Attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect, contrary to the foresaid Laws, Rights, Customs and Liberties of this Realm, by these Presents, &c.

And thus much as an Appendix, annexed to the story of Duke Humphry, and the Cardinal of Winchester, extract out of an old written Volume, remaining in the hands of Master William Bowyer.

The Benefit and Invention of PRINTING.

{Ann.} **{1450}** **{The Art of Printing Invented. Ex Typographia per Maestrium J. G.}** IN following the course and order of years, we find this foresaid year of our Lord 1450, to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous inventing of Printing. Naucerus, and Wymfelingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralip. Abbat. Ursi. it is Recorded this faculty to be found, An. 1446. Aventinus and Zieglerus do say, Anno, 1450. The first Inventor thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Argentine, afterward Citizen of Mentz, named J. Faustus, a Goldsmith. The occasion of this Invention first was by Engraving the Letters of the Alphabet in Metal; who then laying black Ink upon the Metal gave the form of Letters in Paper. The Man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in Letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his counsel, one J. Guttemberg and P. Schaffer, binding them by their Oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years John Guttemberg, companion with Faustus, began then first to broach the matter at Strausbourg. The Art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, J. Mentel, J. Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulrichus Han, in Latin called Gallus, first brought it to Rome. Whereof the Epigram was made:

*Carmen
Ant. Cam-
pari.*

*Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit, ultor aderit
Ulrichus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.*

*Printing
came of
God.*

Notwithstanding, what Man soever was the Instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, than he was of the gift of Tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of Printing be resembled to the gift of Tongues: for like as God then spake with many Tongues, and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of Books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the Gospel.

*Printing
likened to
the Gift of
Tongues.*

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of Printing to the Earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

*The time
considered
when Prin-
ting was
found.*

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of Man, this is to be marked, that when as the Bishop of Rome with all the whole and full consent of the Car-

dinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, Lawyers, Doctors, Provosts, Deans, Archdeacons, assembled together in the Council of Constance, had condemned poor John Hus, and Jerome of Prague to death for Heresie, notwithstanding they were no Hereticks, and after they had subdued the Bohemians and all the whole World under the Supreme Authority of the Romish See; and had made all Christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having (as one would say) all the World at their will, so that the matter now was past, not only the power of all Men, but the hope also of any Man to be recovered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where Mans power could do no more, there the blessed Wisdom and Omnipotent Power of the Lord began to work for his Church, not with Sword and Target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with Printing, Writing and Reading to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So, that, by this means of Printing, the secret Operation of God hath heaped upon that proud Kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the Bishop of Rome had burned J. Hus before, and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his Transubstantiation, nor his Supremacy, nor yet his Popish Mass, but said Mass, and heard Mass themselves, neither spake against his Purgatory, nor any other great matter of his Popish Doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous Pride, his unchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it Heresie, or at least matter of Death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God of his secret Judgment, seeing time to help his Church, hath found a way by this faculty of Printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his Doctrine, Laws and Institutions, most detestable in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his Doctrine standing as it doth, no Man is so blind but he may see, that either the Pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is near Coulin to the Popes. And all this doth and will hereafter more and more appear by Printing.

*Double
confusion
upon the
Pope by
Printing.*

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby Tongues are known, Knowledge groweth, Judgment encreaseth, Books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the Doctors be read, Stories be opened, Times compared, Truth discerned, Falshood detected, and with Finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of Printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the Pope must abolish Printing, or he must seek a new World to reign over: for else, as this World standeth, Printing doubtless will abolish him. But the Pope, and all his College of Cardinals, must this understand, That through the Light of Printing the World beginneth now to have Eyes to see, and Heads to judge: He cannot walk so invisible in a Net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of John Hus before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his Kingdom sure: yet, in stead of John Hus and others, God hath opened the Press to preach, whose voice the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his Triple Crown. By this Printing, as by the Gift of Tongues, and as by the singular Organ of the Holy Ghost, the Doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all Nations and Countries under Heaven, and what God revealeth to one Man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one Nation, is opened to all.

The first and best were for the Bishop of Rome, by the benefit of Printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand that Printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the stream it availeth not. What the Pope hath lost, since Printing and the Press began to Preach, let him cast his Counters. First, When Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius Printed, what a blow thereby was given to all Friars and Monks in the World? And who seeth not that the Pen of Luther following after Erasmus, and set forward by writing, hath set the Triple Crown so awry on the Popes head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

*Good Coun-
sel to the
Pope.*

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet by this one argument of Printing, the Bishop of Rome might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against

So preached
the Vicar of
Creden in
King Henry
the eighth's
days, at
Pauls Croft;
saying, That
either we
must root
out Prin-
ting, or else
Printing
will root
out us.

against him, having provided such a way in Earth, that almost how many Printing Presses there be in the World, so many Block-houses there be against the high Castle of St. Angel; so that either the Pope must abolish Knowledge and Printing, or Printing at length will root him out. For if a Man wisely consider the hold and standing of the Pope, thus he may repute with himself, that as nothing made the Pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high Spire of his Papacy so much, as Reading, Preaching, Knowledge and Judgment; that is to say, The fruit of Printing; Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lords Blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, Tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of Men daily (no doubt) be instructed through the benefit of Printing. And though the Pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession: yet neither must he think, that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forso much as in those former days Books then were scarce, and also of such excessive Price, that few could attain to the Buying, fewer to the Reading and Studying thereof; which Books now by the means of this Art, are made easie unto all Men. Ye heard before, pag. 755, how *Nicholas Belward* bought a *New Testament* in those days for four Marks and forty Pence, whereas now the same Price will well serve forty persons with so many Books.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the Testimony of *Armachanus*, how for defect of Books and good Authors, both Universities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging Friars, scraping all the wealth from other Priests, heaped up all Books that could be gotten, into their own Libraries; where either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good Books, when neither they which could have Books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few Prelates did abuse the blindness of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God of his merciful Providence, seeing both what lacked in the Church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his Glory, gave the understanding of this excellent Art or Science of Printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the World. First, The price of all Books is diminished. Secondly, The speedy help of Reading more furthered. And Thirdly, The plenty of all good Authors enlarged; according as *Aprutinus* doth truly report:

Imprimis ille die, quantum non scribitur anno. i.

*The Press in one day will do in Printing,
That none in one year can do in Writing.*

By reason whereof, as Printing of Books Ministred matter of Reading, so Reading brought Learning, Learning shewed Light, by the brightness whereof blind Ignorance was suppressed, Error detected, and finally Gods Glory with Truth of his Word advanced. This faculty of Printing was after the Invention of Guns the space of 130 years; which Invention was also found in *Germany*, Anno 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of Printing.

The lamentable losing of Constantinople.

Anno 1453 **A**Nno 1453, *Constantinus Paleologus*, being Emperor of *Constantinople*, the 29th day of *May*, the great City of *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turk Mabometes*, after the Siege of 54 days; which Siege began in the beginning of *April*. Within the City, beside the Citizens, were but only 6000 rescuers of the *Greeks*. And 3000 of the *Venetians* and *Genues*. Against these, *Mabometes* brought an Army of 400 Thousand, collected out of the Countries and Places adjoining near about, as out of *Grecia*, *Illyrica*, *Wallachia*, *Dardanis*, *Triballis*, *Bulganis*, out of *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Lydia*, *Cicilia*, and such other; which

Places had the name yet of Christians. Thus one Neighbour for lucre sake helped to destroy another.

The City was compassed of the *Turks* both by the Sea and Land. *Mabometes* the *Turk* divided his Army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the City so beat the Walls and brake them down, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the City. But the valianess of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose Duke was called *John Justinianus*, of *Genua*. But forso much as the assaults were great, and the number of the Christian Soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the Walls and at the Haven against such a multitude of the *Turks*, they were not able long to hold out. Beside the Armies which lay battering at the Walls, the *Turk* had upon the Sea his Navy of 250 Sail, lying upon the Haven of the City, reaching from the one side of the Havens mouth unto the other, as if a Bridge should be made from the one Bank to the other. Which Haven by the Citizens was barred with Iron Chains, whereby the *Turks* were kept out a certain space. Against which Navy 7 Ships there were of *Genua* within the Haven, and 3 of *Creta*, and certain of *Chio*, which stood against them. Also the Soldiers issuing out of the City, as occasion would serve, did manfully gainstand them, and with wilde fire set their Ships on fire, that a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the Chains being brast, and a way made, the *Turks* Navy entred the Haven, and assaulted the City; whereby the *Turk* began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardness to obtain the City. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, *Mabometes* the tyrant stood by upon an Hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the Walls and enter the Town; otherwise, if any reculled, he threatened to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his Soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the *Turks* Men, being sent by his commandment to slay them, and so they were justly served, and well payed their hire.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the City the *Turks* retinue so consumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after by rage of War, it hapned *Justinian* the Duke above-named to be hurt; who notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by *Paleologus* the Emperor, not to leave his Tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his Fort dis-furnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughty Duke, hurt more with his false-heart than with force of Weapon, gave over and fled to *Chius*, where shortly after for sorrow, rather than for foreness of his wound, he died. Many of his Soldiers, seeing their Captain flee, followed after, leaving their Fort utterly destitute without defence. The *Turks*, understanding that vantage, soon brast into the City. The Emperor *Paleologus* seeing no other way but to fly, making toward the Gate, either was slain, or else troden down with the multitude. In the which Gate Eight hundred dead Mens bodies were found and taken up.

The City of *Constantinople* thus being got, the *Turks* sacking and ranging about the streets, houses, and corners, did put to the Sword most unmercifully whomsoever they found, both Aged and Young, Matrons, Virgins, Children and Infants, sparing none; the noble Matrons and Virgins were horribly ravished, the Goods of the City, the Treasures in houses, the Ornaments in Churches were all sackt and spoiled, the Pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havock of the City lasted three days together, while the barbarous Souldiers murdered and rifled what them listed.

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days *Mabometes* the *Turk* entred into the City, and first calling for the heads and Ancients of the City, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my Author) reported, that in the Feasts of the *Turks*, honest Matrons and Virgins, and such as were of the Kings stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their disport.

{ KING
Hm. 8. }

The tyranny
of the *Turk*
toward his
own Men.

The cowardness
of
Duke *Justinian*.

The Emperor
of *Constantinople*
slain.
Constantinople
won of
the *Turks*.

The bloody
Victory
of the *Turks*.

The horrible
tyranny
of the
Turks.

And

KING
Hen. 6.Constantinople
called
New Rome.A warning
to all Chris-
tians by
Constantine
Peucer.

And this was the end of that Princely and famous City of Constantinople, beginning first by Constantine, and ending also with Constantine, which for the Princely Royalty thereof was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the City of Rome, and called also by the name thereof New Rome, and also continued the space of 1120. years. I pray God that Old Rome may learn of New Rome, to take heed and beware betime.

This terrible destruction of the City of Constantinople, the Queen of Cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the Barbarous cruelty of these filthy Rake-hells and merciful Murderers; as specially for this, that we being admonished by the doleful ruine and misery of these our even Christened, may call to mind the plagues and miseries deserved, which seem to hang no less over our own heads, and thereby may learn betime to invoke and call more earnestly upon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he for his Sons sake will keep us, and preserve his Church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows, which we no less have deserved, than these above minded have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen. Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peucer.

The History of Reynold Pecock Bishop of Chichester, afflicted and imprisoned for the Gospel of Christ.

The Story
Reynold Pe-
cock.

After the death of Henry Chicheley before mentioned, next succeeded John Stafford, Anno 1445. who continued eight years. After him came John Kemp, Anno 2453. who fate but three years. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which Archbishop fell the trouble of Reynold Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the Popes Prelates for his Faith and profession of the Gospel. Of this Bishop, Hall also in his Chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthrow judgment (as he termeth it) was given by the Fathers of the spirituality against him. This man (saith he) began to move Questions not privately, but openly in the Universities, concerning the Annates Peter-pence, and other jurisdictions, and authorities pertaining to the See of Rome, and not only put forth the Questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same; wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Pauls Cross. Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This Bishop, first of Saint Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as Duke Humfrey lived (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) divers Books and Treatises. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye have heard) made away, this good Man lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and matter soon found against him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accused by privy and malignant promoters unto the Archbishop, Letters first were directed down from the Archbishop, to cite all Men to appear that could say any thing against him. The form of which Citation here ensueth.

The Copy of the Citation sent by the Archbishop.

The Citation
of the
Archbishop
The Dow-
cher, Allen,
Burschere.

Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, to all and singular, Parsons, Vicars, Chaplains, Curates, and not Curates Clerks, and learned Men, whatsoever they be, constitute and ordained in any place throughout our Province of Canterbury, health, grace and benediction.

We have received a grievous complaint of our Reverend fellow Brother, Reynold Pecock Bishop of Chichester, containing in it, that albeit our said Reverend fellow Brother, the Bishop, delivered unto us, certain Books written by him in the English Tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, collected, reformed and allowed:

notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said Books depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly Preached and taught at Pauls Cross in London, and in divers other places of our Province of Canterbury, that our said fellow Brother the Bishop hath propounded, made and written, or caused to be written in the said Books, certain Conclusion repugnant to the true Faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the Lord Reynold the Bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marvelously burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart do command you, firmly enjoying you, that openly and generally you do warn or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, which will object any thing contrary, and against the Conclusions of our said Reverend fellow Brother the Bishop, had or contained in his Books or Writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they do freely of their own accord appear before us and our Commissaries in this behalf appointed, where-soever we shall then be in our City, Diocese, or Province of Canterbury, to speak, propound or alledge, and affirm fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever Heretical or Erroneous matter they will speak, propound or object against the said Conclusions contained in his said Books; and both to satisfie and receive, whatsoever shall seem meet and right in this behalf by the holy institution and ordinances.

And forasmuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and discussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed; we charge you that by this our authority you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we by the Tenor of these presents do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the Conclusions and Books aforesaid, depending before us and our Commissaries undiscussed, they do not presume by any means, without advice and judgment, to preach, judge and affirm any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold the Bishop: and if so be you do find any in this behalf gainsaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cause them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us our Commissaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their Citation, if it be a Court day, or else the next Court day following, where-soever we shall then be, in our City, Diocese, or Province of Canterbury, to make further declaration by form of law of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in their behalf; and that by our Letters you do duly certify us or our Commissaries, what you have done in the Premises at the day and place aforesaid; or that he which hath so executed our Commandment, do so certify us by his Letters. Dated at our Mannour of Lambeth the 22d day of October, Anno 1457. and in the fourth year of our Translation.

This Citation being directed, the Bishop upon the summon thereof was brought, or rather came before the Judges and Bishops unto Lambeth, where the foresaid Thomas the Archbishop, with his Doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbishops Court. In which convention also the Duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the Bishops of Rochester, and of Lincoln. What were the opinions and Articles against him objected, after in his revocation shall be specified. In his answering for himself, in such a company of the Popes friends, albeit he could not prevail; notwithstanding he stoutly defending himself, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prevailed.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travel extended themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terror and threatening, so also many fair flattering words and gentle persuasions were admixt withal. Briefly, to make a short Narration of a long and bule travell, here was no stone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to intreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrifie his mind, till at length, he being vanquished and overcome by the Bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation

Y y y

was

Reynold ap-
peareth at
Lambeth be-
fore the
Archbishop.Great labo-
r to reduce
Pecock from
his opinions.

was put unto him by the Bishops, which he should declare before the people. The Copy of which his recantation here followeth.

The form and manner of the recantation of Reynold Pecock.

The recantation of Bishop Pecock.

Ex Regis.

His Articles.

In the name of God, Amen. Before you the most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Thomas by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Legate of the Apostolic See, I Reynold Pecock, unworthy Bishop of Chichester, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty years last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught and written, as touching the Sacraments, and the Articles of the Faith, than the Holy Church of Rome, and Universal Church; and also that I have made, written, published and set forth many and divers pernicious Doctrines, Books, Works, Writings, Heresies, contrary and against the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith, containing in them Errors contrary to the Catholick Faith, and especially these Errors and Heresies here under written.

1. First of all, That we are not bound, by the necessity of Faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into Hell.
2. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church.
3. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe the Communion of Saints.
4. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the body material in the Sacrament.
5. Item, That the Universal Church may err in matters which pertain unto Faith.
6. Item, That it is not necessary unto salvation to believe that which every general Council doth Universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily for the help of our Faith, and the salvation of souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians.

Wherefore I Reynold Pecock, wretched sinner, which have long walked in darkness, and now by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy Mother the Church, renounce and forsake all Errors and Heresies aforesaid.

Notwithstanding (godly Reader) it is not to be believed that Pecock did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the Bishops, that when they do subdue or overcome any Man, they carry him whither they list, as it were a young Steer by the nose, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a Parrot; that he should speak unto the people; not according to his own will, but after their lust and fantasie. Neither is it to be doubted but that this Bishop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may easily be judged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppressed with privy and secret Tyranny, and there obtained the the crown of Martyrdom, or no.

The Articles of Reynold Pecock mentioned by Thomas Gascoigne. Ex Tho. Gascoigne. lib. de Dictione Theolog. p. 301.

The Dictionary of Thomas Gascoigne I have not in my hands at present. But if credit be to be given to such as have to us alledged the Book, this we may find in the eighth Century of John Ball, Chapter nineteen, That the said Thomas Gascoigne in his third part of his Dictionary, writing of Reynold Pecock, maketh declaration of his Articles, containing in them matters of fornication. First (saith he) Reynold Pecock at Pauls Cross Preached openly, that the Office of a Christian Prelate, chiefly above all other things, is to preach the Word of God. That Mans reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. That the use of the Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That Bishops which buy their admissions of the Bishop of Rome, do sin. That no Man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the Church of Rome. Also that the riches of Bishops by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. Item, That the Apostles themselves personally were not the makers

of the Creed; and that in the same Creed once was not the Article, He went down to Hell. Item, That of the four senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old Doctors. Item, That he condemned the wilful begging of the Friars, as a thing idle and needless. This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also, adding this moreover, saith, that he, not contented to follow the Catholick sentence of the Church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly (as he judged it) of the holy Eucharist.

At length, for these and such other Articles, the said Reynold Pecock was condemned for an Heretick, by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ross, Lincoln, and Winchester, with other Divines more. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was notwithstanding detained still in prison. Where some say, that he was privily made away by death.

Hall addeth, that some say his opinions to be, that spiritual persons by Gods law ought to have no temporal possessions. Other write, that he said, that personal Tithes were not due by Gods Law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Pauls Cross to abjure, and all his Books burnt, and he himself kept in his own house during his natural life. I marvel that Polydore, of his extremity of the Bishops handling, and of his Articles, in his History maketh no memorial. Belike it made but little for the honesty of his great Master the Pope.

From persecution and burning in England now out of the way to digress a little, to speak of foreign matters of the Church of Rome; you remember before, in the later end of the Council of Basil, how Eugenius was deposed. Of whose conditions and martial affairs, how he made War against Sfortia a famous Captain of Italy, and what other Wars he raised beside, not only in Italy, but also in Germany, against the City and Council of Basil, I shall not need to make any long rehearsal. After his deposition ye heard also how Felix Duke of Savoy was elected Pope. Whereupon another great Schism followed in the Church during all the life of Eugenius.

After his death, his next successor was Pope Nicholas the fifth, who (as you before have heard) brought so to pass with the Emperor Frederick the Third, that Felix was contented to renounce and resign his Papacy to Nicholas, and was therefore of him afterward received to the room of Cardinal for his submission; and Frederick for his working was confirmed at Rome to be full Emperor, and there Crowned, An. 1451. For Emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the Pope, are no Emperors, but only called Kings of Romans.

This Pope Nicholas here mentioned, to get and gather great sums of Money, appointed a Jubile in the year of our Lord 1450, at which time there resorted a greater number of people unto Rome, than hath at any time before been seen. At which time we read in the Story of Platina that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people resorting up to the mount Vatican to behold the Image of our Saviour, which there they had to shew to Pilgrims, the people being thick going too and fro between the Mount and the City, by chance a certain Mule of the Cardinals of Saint Mark, came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the Mule, there was such a prease and throng upon that occasion on the Bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of Men, and three Horses were there strangled, and on each side of the Bridge many besides fell over into the Water, and were drowned.

By means of which occasion the Pope afterward caused the small Houses to be plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by Idolatry. Ex Platina.

In the time of this Pope one Mat. Palmerius wrote a Book De Angelis, for defending whereof he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at Corna, An. 1448. Ex Tritemio.

After him succeeded Calixtus the Third, who amongst divers other things ordained, both at Noon and at Evening the Bell to toll the Aves, as it was used in the Popish time,

KING Hen. 6.

R. Pecock detained in prison.

Polydore noted.

Pope Felix.

Pope Nicholas the 5th.

Emperors are but Kings of Romans; before they be Crowned by the Pope.

Ex Platina de vita.

The example of Idolatry punished.

The fruit of Idolatry.

Mat. Palmerius a Florentine Martyr.

Tolling of Aves.

KING
Hen. 6.

8. Edmund
of Canter-
bury Cano-
nized.

Pope Pius
the 2d.

Promotion
sheweth
Religion.

The pro-
verbs of
Pius.

Marriage of
Priests al-
lowed by
Aeneas Syl-
vius.

En Epist. 54.
Pli. second.
of Gaffarum
Schlick.

The way to
exclude
Schism is
concord of
Princes.

time, to help the Souldiers that fought against the Turks; for the which cause also he ordained the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord, Solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences, as was *Corpus Christi* day.

Also this Pope, proceeding contrary to the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, decreed that no Man should appeal from the Pope to any Council. By whom also Saint *Edmund* of *Canterbury* with divers other, were made Saints.

Next after this *Calixtus* succeeded *Pius Secundus*, otherwise called *Aeneas Sylvius*, who wrote the two Books of Commentaries upon the Council of *Basil* before mentioned. This *Aeneas*, at the time of the writing of those his Books, seemed to be a Man of an indifferent and tolerable Judgment and Doctrine, from the which he afterward being Pope seemed to decline and swerve, seeking by all means possible how to deface and abolish the Books which heretofore he had written.

Sentences attributed unto this Pius.

The Divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by Faith, than by disputation.

Christian Faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a covetous Man be satisfied with Money, nor a learned Man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poor Men in stead of Silver, to Noblemen in stead of Gold, and to Princes in stead of precious Stones.

An Artificial Oration moveth Fools, but not wise Men. Suters in the law be as birds; the Court is the baite; the Judges be the Nets; and the Lawyers be the Fowlers.

Men are to be given to Dignities, and not Dignities to Men.

The Office of a Bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him that doth well bear it.

A Bishop without learning may be likened to an Ass.

An evil Physician destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned Priest destroyeth souls.

Marriage was taken from Priests not without great reason; but with much greater reason it ought to be restored again.

The like sentence to this he uttereth in his second Book of the Council of *Basil* before specified, saying, Peradventure it were not the worst, that the most part of Priests had their Wives; for many should be saved in Priestly marriage, which now in unmarried Priesthood are damned. The same *Pius* also, as *Cellus* reporteth, dissolved certain Orders of Nuns, of the Orders of Saint *Briget* and Saint *Clare*, bidding them to depart out, that they should burn no more, nor cover a Harlot under the Vesture of Religion.

This *Pius*, if he had brought so much piety and godliness as he brought learning unto his Popedom, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said *Aeneas*, called *Pius* the Pope, writeth touching the peace of the Church, unto *Gasper Schlick*, the Emperors Chancellor, in his 54th Epistle.

All Men do abhor and detest Schism. The way to remedy this evil Charles the French King hath shewed us both safe and brief, which is, that Princes or their Orators should convene and assemble together in some common place, wherethey may conclude upon matters amongst themselves. To bring this to pass, it were needful writings to be sent again to all Kings and Princes, to send their Orators to *Strawesborow*, or to *Constance*, with their full authority, there to treat of matters appertaining to the peace of the Church. Neither would it require so great expences; Forasmuch as we see the year before 300 Guilderns to be sufficient. Constantine the Emperor bestowed not much more in the Congregation of the Council of *Nice*. And this way could not be stopped; neither could the Pope or the Council withstand it, or make excuse, as though this might not easily be done without them. For why? The secular Princes may convene and assemble together, will they, will they; and yet notwithstanding unity may there be concluded; For he shall be an undoubted Pope, whom all Princes would obey. Neither do I see any of the Clergy so constant to death, which

will suffer Martyrdom either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that Faith which our Princes hold; which if they would worship Idols, we would also do the same; and deny not only the Pope, but God also, if the secular Power strain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all Faith is gone. Howsoever it be, let us all desire and seek for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a Council, or by assembly of Princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you give it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a Council or a Conventicle, or an Assembly, or a Congregation or a Synagogue, that is no matter, so that Schism may be excluded, and peace established.

Thus much out of the Epistle of *Pius*.

By this it may appear, of what sentence and mind this *Pius* was in the time of the Council of *Basil*, before he was made Pope. But as our common proverb faith, honours change manners; so it happened with this *Pius*, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from what he was before. For when as before he preferred general Councils before the Pope, now being Pope, he did decree that no Man should appeal from the high Bishop of *Rome* to any general Council.

And likewise for Priests marriage, whereas before he thought it best to have their Wives restored, yet afterward he altered his mind otherwise, insomuch that in his Book intreating of *Germany*, and there speaking of the Noble City of *August*, by occasion he inveighed against a certain Epistle of *Hulderick* once Bishop of the said City, written against the constitution of the single life of Priests. Whereby it appeareth how the mind of this *Pius* was altered from that it was before. This Epistle of *Hulderick* is before expressed at large.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this *Aeneas Sylvius* and *Diotberus*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, and what discord was stirred up in *Germany* upon the same between *Frederick* the Palatine, and the Duke of *Wittenberge*, with others; by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the City of *Mentz*, which was free before, lost her freedom and became servile.

The causes of the discord betwixt Pope *Pius* and *Diotberus* were these.

First, Because that *Diotberus* would not consent unto him in the imposition of certain Tallages and Taxes within his Country.

Secondly, For that *Diotberus* would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said *Diotberus*, being Prince Elector, should not call the other Electors together without his licence, that is, without the licence of the Bishop of *Rome*.

And Thirdly, Because *Diotberus* would not permit to the Popes Legates, to convocate his Clergy together after their own list. This Pope *Pius* began his See, about the year of our Lord 1458.

After this *Pius Secundus* succeeded *Paulus Secundus*, a Pope wholly set upon his Belly and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of learned Men. This *Paulus* had a Daughter begotten in fornication, because he saw her to be had in reproach, for that she was gotten in fornication, began (as the Stories report) to repent him of the Law of the single life of Priests, and went about to reform the same, had not death prevented him. Ex *Stanislao Rubeno*.

After this *Paulus* came *Sixtus* the Fourth, which builded up in *Rome* a Stews of both kinds, getting thereby no small revenues and rents unto the Church of *Rome*. This Pope amongst his other Acts, reduced the year of Jubile from the fiftieth unto the twenty fifth. He also instituted the Feast of the conception, and the presentation of *Mary* and of *Anna* her Mother, and *Joseph*. Also he Canonized *Benaventure* and Saint *Francis* for Saints.

By this *Sixtus* also were Beads brought in, and instituted to make our Ladies Psalter, through the occasion of one *Alanus* and his Order, whom *Baptista* maketh mention of in this verse, *Hi filo insertis numerant sua mura mura Baccis*. That is, These men putting their Beads upon a string, number their Prayers. This *Sixtus* the Pope made two and thirty Cardinals in his time, of whom *Petrus Ruerius* was the first, who for that time that he was Cardinal, which was but two years, spent in luxurious Riot, wasted

The Popes
Clergy will
not abide
the fire, ei-
ther for
Princes or
Pope.

The breath
of this pe-
ssilent heat
corrupteth
all that sit
in it, what-
soever they
were before.

Aeneas Syl-
vius, now
puffed up
with
worldly
pomp and
glory, dis-
pogneth the
truth which
he did be-
fore both
know and
profess.

Discord be-
tween Pope
Pius and the
Archbishop
of Mentz.

Anno
1458.
P. Paulus 2.
Ex Stanislao
Rubeno, vita
Gen. 3. Set.

The Feast of
the concep-
tion and
presentation
of our Lady.
Beads
brought in.

Wesellus Groningensis
The Pope
Hearsteth
the whole
family of a
certain Car-
dinal to
play the
Sodomites
three
Months in
the year.

wasted and consumed two hundred thousand Florens, and was left 60000. in debt. *Wesellus Groningensis*, in a certain Treatise of his *de indulgentiis papalibus*, writing of this Pope *Sixtus*, reporteth this, That at the request of the foresaid *Peter* Cardinal, and of *Hierom* his Brother, the said Pope *Sixtus* permitted and granted unto the whole Family of the Cardinal of Saint *Lucy*, in the three hot Months of Summer, *June*, *July*, and *August* (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leave and liberty to use Sodomitry, with this clause, *Fiat ut Peritur*, That is, Be it as it is asked.

Pope Inno-
centius the
Eighth.
Eight Men
and six Wo-
men con-
demned of
Heretic by
Pope Inno-
centius the
Eighth.

Next after this *Sixtus* came *Innocentius* the Eighth, as rude, and as far from all learning, as his Predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble Facts of this Pope this was one, that in the Town of *Polus apud Equicolas*, he caused eight Men and six Women, with the Lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for Heretics, because that they said none of them was the Vicar of Christ which come after *Peter*, but they only which followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of Heretic, *George* the King of *Boheme*, and deprived him of his Dignity and also of his Kingdom, and procured his whole flock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his Kingdom to *Matthias* King of *Pannonia*.

George King
of *Boheme*
condemned
of Heretic.

Now from the Popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the Emperors incident to this time, which matters and grievances of the *Germans*, and also other Princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the overthrow of this King *Henry* and his Seat, now following to be shewed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business in a short Narration, here is to be remembered, which partly before was signified, how after the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the King and his Realm. For after the giving away of *Angeou* and *Main*, to the *French-men*, by the unfortunate Marriage of Queen *Margaret* above mentioned, the said *French-men*, perceiving now by the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, the stay and pillar of this Common-wealth to be decayed, and seeing moreover the Hearts of the Nobility amongst themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into *Normandy*, and in short time they recovered the same, and also gat *Gascoine*, so that no more now remained to *England* of all the parts beyond the Sea, but only *Calis*. Neither yet did all the calamity of the Realm only rest in this: For the King now having lost his friendly Uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, which had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldened to set upon him; as appeared first by *Jack Cade* the *Kentish* Captain, who, encamping first on *Blackbeath*, afterward aspired to *London*, and had the spoil thereof, the King being driven into *Warwickshire*. After the suppressing of *Cade*, ensued not long after the Duke of *York*, who, being accompanied with three Earls, set upon the King near to Saint *Albans*, where the King was taken in the field captive, and the Duke of *York* was by Parliament declared Protector, which was in the year of our Lord 1453. After this followed long division and mortal War between the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, continuing many years. At length about the year of our Lord 1459, the Duke of *York* was slain in Battel by the Queen near to the Town of *Wakefield*, and with him also his Son Earl of *Rutland*. By the which Queen also shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom the keeping of the King was committed by the Duke of *York*, and so the Queen again delivered her Husband.

Mischief to
England af-
ter the death
of the Duke
of *Glocester*.
Angeou,
Main, *Nor-
mandy* and
Gascoine,
recovered
of the
Frenchmen.

Jack Cade.

The Duke
of *York* a-
gainst King
Henry.

Anno
1459.

After this Victory obtained, the *Northern* Men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob Churches, and religious Houses, and Villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their Lords and Captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the City of *London*, and to take the spoil thereof; and no doubt (saith my History) would have proceeded in their conceived, greedy intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy. For as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the Noble Prince *Edward* unto *London* with a mighty Army,

The *Nor-
thern* Men
intended
the subver-
sion of *Lon-
don*.
By his
manifolds
cruelties,
Scale man-
di.

the seven and twentieth day of *February*, who was the Son and Heir to the Duke of *York* above mentioned, accompanied with the Earl of *Warwick*, and divers more. King *Henry* in the mean time, with his Victory, went up to *York*; when as *Edward* being at *London*, caused there to be proclaimed certain Articles concerning his Title to the Crown of *England*, which was the second day of *March*.

Whereupon the next day following, the Lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said Articles were propounded, and also well approved. The fourth day of the said Month of *March*, after a solemn general procession (according to the blind superstition of those days) the Bishop of *Exceter* made a Sermon at *Pauls* Cross, wherein he commended and proved by manifold evidences, the Title of Prince *Edward* to be just and lawful, answering the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

This matter being thus discussed, Prince *Edward* accompanied with the Lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to *Westminster* Hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the Lords, as also by the voice of all the Commons, took his possession of the Crown, and was called King *Edward* the Fourth.

These things thus accomplished, at *London*, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of Money sufficiently being ministered of the people and Commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his Wars; he with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Fauconbridge*, in all speedy wise took his journey toward King *Henry*; who now being at *York*, and forsaken of the *Londoners*, had all his refuge only reposed in the *Northern* Men.

When King *Edward* with his Army had passed over the River of *Trent*, and was come near to *Ferebridge*, where also the Host of King *Henry* was not far off, upon *Palm-Sunday*, between *Ferebridge* and *Tadcaster*, both the Armies of the *Southern* and *Northern* Men joyned together in Battel. And although at the first beginning divers Horsemens of King *Edwards* side turned their backs, and spoiled the King of Carriage and Victuals; yet the courageous Prince with his Captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries. The which Battel on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, beside Men of name, 30000 of the poor Commons. Notwithstanding, the Conquest fell on King *Edwards* part, so that King *Henry* having lost all, was forced to flee into *Scotland*, where also he gave up to the *Scots* the Town of *Barwick*, after he had Reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

The claim and title of the Duke of *York*, and after him of *Edward* his Son, put up to the Lords and Commons, whereby they challenged the Crown to the House of *York*, is thus in the Story of *Scala mundi*, word for word, as hereunder is contained.

The Title of the House of *York* to the Crown of *England*.

The Title of the House of *York* to the Crown of *England*.

Edward the Third, right King of *England*, had Issue, First, Prince *Edward*. Secondly, William Hatfield. Thirdly, Lionel. Fourthly, John of Gaunt, &c. Prince *Edward* had Richard the Second, which died without Issue. William Hatfield died without Issue. Lionel Duke of *Clarence* had Issue lawfully begot, Philip, his only Daughter and Heir; the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of *March*, and had Issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*, and Heir; Which Roger had Issue, Edmund Earl of *March*, Roger, Anne, and Alienor; Edmund and Alienor died without Issue, and the said Anne, by lawful Matrimony was coupled unto Richard Earl of *Cambridge*, the Son of Edmund of *Langley*, who had Issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantaginet now Duke of *York*; John of Gaunt gat Henry, which unrightfully intreated King Richard, then being alive Edmund Mortimer Earl of *March*, Son of the said Philip, Daughter to Lionel. To the which Richard Duke of *York* and Son to Anne, Daughter to Roger Mortimer

KING
HEN. 6.
London re-
scued by
Prince Ed-
ward.

Ann.
1461.
The title of
Edward to
the Crown
proved at
Pauls Cross.

King Ed-
ward took
possession of
the Crown.

The fierce
and cruel
battel be-
tween King
Henry the
sixth, and
King Ed-
ward the
fourth.

King *Henry*
the sixth
conquered.
Barwick gi-
ven to the
Scots, by
King *Henry*
the sixth.

The Title
of the house
of *York*.

Richard
Plantaginet.

KING { **Edw. 4.** } timer Earl of March, Son and Heir to the said Philip, Daughter and Heir to the said Lionel, the third Son of King Edward the Third, the right and dignity of the Crown appertained and belonged, afore any Issue of the said John of Gaunt. Notwithstanding, the said Title of Dignity of the said Richard of York, the said Richard desiring the wealth, rest and prosperity of England, agreeeth and consenteth that Henry the Sixth should be had and taken for King of England during his natural life, from this time without hurt of his title.

Wherefore the King understanding the said Title of the said Duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the Parliament, and by the authority of the same Parliament declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful and true, and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of York very true and rightful Heir to the Crown of England and France; and that all other Statutes and Acts made by any of the late Henries, contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The King agreed and consented that the said Duke and his Heirs should after his natural life enjoy the Crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the Duke of York, shall be high Treason, and all Acts of Parliaments contrary to this principal Act be void and of none effect, &c.

And thus much for the Reign of King Henry the Sixth, who now lacked his Uncle and Protector, Duke of Gloucester, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

In the time of this King was builded the House in London called *Leaden-Hall*, founded by one *Simon Eyre*, Mayor once of the said City of London, An. 1445.

Also the Standard in Cheap builded by *John Wells* An. 1442. the Conduit in Fleetstreet by *William Eastfield*, Anno 1438. Item, *Newgate* builded by the goods of *Richard Whittington*, An. 1422.

Moreover the said Henry the Sixth founded the College of *Eaton*, and another house, having then the title of *St. Nicholas*, in *Cambridge*, now called the *Kings College*. *Ex Scala mundi.*

In the Reign of this Henry the Sixth, it is not to be passed over in silence which we find noted in the Parliament Rolls, how that *Lewis* Archbishop of *Rhoan*, after the death of the late Bishop of *Ely*, had granted unto him by the Popes Bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said Bishoprick, by the name of the administrator of the said Bishoprick. *Lewis* the foresaid Archbishop sheweth his Bulls to the King, who utterly rejected his Bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in France, the King granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents, at the petition of the said *Lewis*, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were Bishop, touching profits, liberties and hability.

Neither again is here to be overpast a certain Tragical act done between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* of a false Briton, Anno 1427, which murdered a good Widow in her Bed (who had brought him up of Alms, without *Algar* in the Suburbs of London) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he took succour of Holy Church at *St. Georges* in *Southwark*; but at the last he took the Cross and forswore the Kings Land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and Women of the same Parish came out with Stones and Channel-dung, and there made an end of him in the High-street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the Constables and other Men also which had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

King Edward the Fourth.

Anno { **1461.** } **King** { **Edw.** } **Edward** { **the** } **Fourth.** } King Edward, after his Conquest and Victory achieved against King Henry, returned again to London, where, upon Vigil of *St. Peter and Paul*, being on Sunday, he was Crowned King of England, and Reigned twenty two years, albeit not without great disquietness, and much perturbation in his Reign.

Queen Margaret, hearing how her Husband was fled into Scotland, was also faine to flee the Land, and went to her Father Duke of *Anjou*; from whence the next year following she returned again to renew War against King Edward, with small succor and less luck. For being encountered by the Earl of *Warwick*, about November she was driven to the Seas again, and by tempest of weather she was driven into Scotland.

In this year we read that King Edward, in the cause of a certain Widow for rape, fate in his own person in *Westminster-Hall* upon his own Bench, discussing her cause. *Ex Scala mundi.*

The year following, King Henry, issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the North Country to recover the Crown, unto whom the Lord *Radulph Percy*, and Lord *Radulph Gray* flying from King Edward, did adjoyn themselves: But the Lord so disposing, King Henry with his power was repulsed in battel at *Exham* by the Lord *Mountecute*, having then the rule of the North; where the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Rofs*, with certain other were taken. The Lord *Radulph Percy* was slain, the residue fled, Albeit the History of *Scala mundi*, referreth this battel to the year 1464. the 15th day of May. In the which Month of May were beheaded the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Rofs*, Lord *Philip Wentworth*, Lord *Thomas Hussy*, Lord *Tho. Findern*, beside Twenty one other belonging to the retinue and household of King Henry the Sixth. Queen Margaret, finding no resting place here in England, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own Country to drink that Drink, which she her self had brewed here in England.

And not long after, the next year, An. 1465. on the day of *St. Peter and Paul*, King Henry being found and known in a Wood by one *Cantlow* (as they say) was arrested by the Earl of *Warwick*, and at last, of a King made prisoner in the Tower of London.

In this mean time, King Edward (after the motion of Marriage for him being made; and first the Lady Margaret Sister to James the fourth King of Scots thought upon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady Elizabeth, Sister to Henry King of Castile, being intended; but she being under age, the Earl of *Warwick* turning then his legation and voyage to the French King *Lewes* the eleventh, to obtain Lady *Bona*, Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to *Carlos* the French Queen, and obtained the same) had cast favour unto one *Elizabeth Grey*, Widow of Sir *John Grey* Knight, slain before in the battel of *St. Albans*, Daughter to the Dutches of *Bedford*, and Lord *Rivers*, and first went about to have her to his Concubine. But she as being unworthy (as she said) to be the Wife of such an high Personage, so thinking her self to be too good to be his Concubine, in such sort won the Kings heart, that incontinent before the return of the Earl of *Warwick*, he married her; at the which marriage were no mo than only the Dutches of *Bedford*, two Gentlewomen, the Priest and Clerk. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the King, much bloodshed to the Realm, undoing almost to all her Kindred, and finally confusion to King Edwards two Sons, which both were declared afterward to be Bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the King, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the King, and to put him beside his Cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spie a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two Brethren, to wit, the Marquess *Mountecute*, and the Archbishop of *York*, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove a far off the mind of the Duke of *Clarence*, King Edwards Brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his Daughter in Marriage.

This matter being thus prepared against the King, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the North Country. Where the Northern Men in short space gathering themselves in an open Rebellion, and finding

Queen Margaret fled the Land.

Anno 1462. King Edward sitteth his own person in the Kings Bench judging.

Anno 1463. King Henry the sixth again repulsed in the battel of Exham.

K. Henry 6th taken, arrested, and committed to the Tower. Anno 1465.

The Kings sudden marriage with Queen Elizabeth.

The first falling out between King Edward and the Earl of Warwick.

Conspiracy against King Edward.

Ex Scala mundi.

Leaden-Hall builded. The Standard in Cheap. The Conduit in Fleetstreet. Newgate builded. The College of Eaton and the Kings College in Cambridge founded.

The King rejecteth the Popes Bulls.

Ex vetusto cod. cui inscriptum, Nomina custodum &c. Et ex Fabiano.

Example of Gods rod and judgement.

Captains of their wicked purpose, came down from York toward London. Against whom was appointed by the King, W. Lord Herbert Earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Stafford, and certain other Captains to encounter. The Yorkshire men giving the Overthrow first to the Lord Stafford, then to the Earl of Pembroke, and his Company of Welchmen at Banbury Field, at last joining together with the Army of the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night secretly stealing on the Kings Field at Wolney by Warwick, killed the Watch, and took the King Prisoner, who first being in the Castle of Warwick, then was conveyed by night to Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, under the custody of the Archbishop of York, where he having loose keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas of Borough, and other his Friends, was too good for his Keepers, and escaped the hands of his Enemies, and so came to York, where he was well received; from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain, well accompanied, by whose help he came safe to London.

King Edward taken Prisoner by the Earl of Warwick.

The Rebellion in Lincolnshire repressed.

The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence flee into France.

The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence return into England.

The receiving of the Earl of Warwick into England. King Henry again proclaimed King.

The inconstant levity of the people of England.

After this tumult, when Reconciliation could not come to perfect Peace and Unity, although much labour was made by the Nobility, the Earl of Warwick raiseth up a new War in Lincolnshire, the Captain whereof was Sir Robert Wells Knight, who shortly after being taken in battel with his Father, and Sir Thomas Duncok, were beheaded, the residue casting away their Coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the Field, called *Lofcoat-Field*. The Earl of Warwick after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of England, Anno 1470. first to Calice, then to Lewis the French King, accompanied with the Duke of Clarence. The fame of the Earl of Warwick and of his famous Acts was at that time in great admiration above measure, and so highly favoured, that both in England and France all men were glad to behold his Personage. Wherefore the coming of this Earl, and of the Duke of Clarence, was not a little grateful to the French King, and no less opportune to Queen Margaret, King Henries Wife, and Prince Edward her Son, who also came to the French Court to meet and confer together touching their Affairs; where a League between them was concluded, and moreover a marriage between Edward Prince of Wales, and Anne the second Daughter of the Earl of Warwick was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the Earls part, beside the large Offers and great Promises made by the French King, on the best manner to set forward their purpose, the Earl having also intelligence by Letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sore for his presence, so that there lacked now but only haste with all speed possible to return; he with the Duke of Clarence, well fortified with the French Navy, set forward toward England; for so was it between them before decreed, that they two should prove the first venture, and then Queen Margaret, with Prince Edward her Son, should follow after. The arrival of the Earl was not soon heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, but great concourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him; who immediately made Proclamation in the name of King Henry the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear Armor, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward Duke of York, Usurper of the Crown. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

When King Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to have stopped his landing, or else straightways to have encountered with him, before the gathering of his Friends, but passing forth the time in Hunting, in Hawking, in all Pleasure and Dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly more repaired and more daily about the Earl and the Duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late. Who trusting too much to his Friends, and Fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially here of England, whose nature is never to be content long with the present state, but always delighting in News, seeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the Wind,

and wavering with the Reed, did well appear in the course of this Kings story. For he, through the favour of the people when he was down, was exalted; now being exalted of the same was forsaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all Princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and stable; so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promises of his Word, only in Christ his Son, whose only Kingdom shall never have end, nor is subject to any mutation.

KING Edward.

These things thus passing on in England on the Earls side against King Edward, he accompanied with the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, and the Lord Hastings, who had married the Earl of Warwicks Sister, and yet was never untrue to the King his Master; and the Lord Scales, Brother to the Queen, sent abroad to all his trusty Friends for furniture of able Souldiers for defence of his person, to withstand his Enemies. When little rescue and few in effect would come, the King himself so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he perceiving his Enemies daily to increase upon him, and all the Countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and singing Songs, crying, King Henry, King Henry, a Warwick a Warwick, and hearing moreover his Enemies the Lancastrians to be within half a days journey of him, was advised by his Friends to fly over the Sea to the Duke of Burgoyne, which not long before had married King Edwards Sister.

The constant heart and truth of the Lord Hastings.

King Edward forsaken of his people in his need.

The weak state of King Edward.

Here might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, peradventure that King Edward, as he had in his hands the life of King Henry, of his Queen and Prince, so if he had dispatched them out of the way, when as he might, he had not fallen into this misery: but because he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reason gave him, therefore that sparing pity of his, turned now to his confusion and ruine. And certes I suppose no less, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitiless days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly simplicity always in the end of things gaineth more than mans policy, forasmuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

Whether godly simplicity, or mans policy be stronger.

And so far is it off, that event and success of things be governed by mans advised policy, or unadvised affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flourisheth in man, than that which is cast down in the Lord; as in the double case of both these Kings may well appear. And first let us consider the case of King Edward, who, being so beset and compassed with evils and distresses on every side, first was compelled to take the *Washes* between Lincolnshire and Linne (which was no less dangerous to his life, than it was unseemly for his state.) Being come to Linne, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the Townsmen, if he had been known to his Enemies? And how could he be but known, if had tarried any space? But though men and friends forsook him, yet the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him which shewed mercy unto other, so provided, that at the same present there was an English Ship, and two Hulks of Holland ready to their journey. Thus King Edward without provision, without bag or baggage, without cloth-sack or mail, without store of money, without raiment, save only apparel for War; also without all friends, except only his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, and Lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seven or eight hundred persons, took Shipping toward Holland; at which time he was in no less jeopardy almost on the Sea, than he was on the Land. For certain *Easterlings* having many Ships of War, which lay roving the same time on the Sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the English Merchants as to the French Nation, spying the Kings Ship, with seven or eight gallant Ships, made Sail after the King and his Company. The Kings Ship was good of Sail, and gave some ground, albeit not much, of the *Easterlings*, that she came to the Coast of Holland before *Alquemare*, and there cast Anker; for otherwise, being an ebbing-water, they could not enter the Haven. The *Easterlings* with their great Ships approached as near as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the Flood to obtain their prey, and so were like to do, if the Lord had not there also pro-

The double case of these two Kings considered. King Edward taketh the *Washes*.

God provideth.

King Edward taketh Shipping.

King Edward near taken of the *Easterlings*.

KING provided *Monsieur de Grounture*, Governor for Duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the Town of *Alquemare*, who, hearing of the Jeopardy of the King being there at Anker, prohibited the *Easterlings*, on pain of death, to meddle with any *Englishmen*, which were the Dukes Friends and Allies.

God again provideth.

King Edward delivered from the *Easterlings*.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne, King Edwards Brother in law.

Thus King Edward well chastised of God for his wantonness, both by Sea and Land, but not utterly given over from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company; who there well refreshed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to *Hage*.

Duke Charles, at the hearing of the unprosperous case and condition of King Edward his Brother in law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himself, much casting and doubting what he should do. For being then in war with the French King, he could not well provoke the English Nation against him, without his manifest grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great shame and obloquie, leave the King his Brother in that necessity. Notwithstanding, so he demeaned himself through fair speech, pretending to the *Englishmen* to joyn part with the house of *Lancaster*, being himself partly descended of the same Family by his Grandmothers side; that he both was his own Friend openly, and the Kings Friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tydings was spread in England of King Edwards flying, innumerable people of all hands resorted to the Earl of *Warwick*, to take his part against King Edward, a few only except of his constant Friends which took Sanctuary. Amongst whom was also *Elizabeth* his wife, who, desperate almost of all comfort, took also Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where she in great penury forsaken was delivered of a fair Son called *Edward*, which without all pomp was baptized like another poor womans Child, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Westminster*, the Godmother was the Lady *Scroope*.

Queen Elizabeth taken Sanctuary. Prince Edward born in Sanctuary.

To make the story short, the Earl of *Warwick* having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of *October* rode to the *Tower*, which was then delivered to him, and there took King Henry out of the Ward, and placed him in the Kings Lodging. The five and twentieth day of the same month, the Duke of *Clarence* accompanied with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Stanley*, with a great company, brought him in a long Gown of *blew Velvet* through the high Streets of *London*, first to *Pauls Church* to offer, then to the Bishops Palace of *London*, and there he resumed again to the Crown Royal, *Anno 1471*. which he did not long enjoy.

King Henry the Sixth brought out of the Tower.

King Henry restored again to his Kingdom.

After this followed a Parliament, in the which King Edward with all his Partakers were judged Traytors. Queen *Margaret* with her Son Prince *Edward*, all this while was tarrying for a fair Wind, thinking long belike till she came to an evil Bargain, as it proved after. For King Edward within six months after his departure out of England unto the Duke of *Burgoyne*, whether by Letters from his Friends solicitate, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made instant suit to Duke Charles his Brother, to rescue him with such Power as he would bestow upon him; for he was fully resolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time no longer.

The Duke camped in double fear in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding overcome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be delivered to him 50000 *Florence*, and further caused four great Ships to be appointed for him in a Haven in *Zeland*, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same Duke had for him hired fourteen Ships of the *Easterlings* well appointed, taking bond of them to serve him truly till he were landed in England, and fifteen days after.

King Edward returned again into England.

King Edward only with 2000 Souldiers cometh to Ravenspur, alias Ravenspui.

Thus King Edward being furnished but only with two thousand men of War, with more luck than hope to speed, sped his Voyage into England, and landed at *Ravenspur* in the Coast of *Yorkshire*. Although there was no way for the King with such a small Company of Souldiers to do any good, yet, to use policy where strength did lack, first he sent forth certain light horsemen to prove the Country on every side, with perswasions, to see whether the *Uplandish* people would be stirred to take King Edwards part. Perceiving that it would not be, King

The dissembling policy of King Edward.

Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claim the Crown and Kingdom, but only to claim the Dutchy of *York*, which was his own Title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more but only his just Patrimony and lineal Inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favour him or not to resist him; and so journeying toward *York*, he came to *Beverley*. The Marquis *Mountacute*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, was then at *Pomfret*, to whom the Earl had sent straight charge, with all expedition to set upon him, or else to stop his passage; and likewise to the Citizens of *York* and all *Yorkshire*, to shut their Gates and take Armour against him. King Edward being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding near to *York* without resistance, where he required of the Citizens to be admitted into their City. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant unto him, but on the contrary sent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own safeguard. The desolate King was here driven to a narrow strait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the Country and loss of his cause: neither could go further, for the present danger of the City. Wherefore using the same policy as before, with lovely words and gentle speech he desired the Messengers to declare unto the Citizens, that his coming was not to demand the Realm of England, or the Title of the same, but only the Dutchy of *York*, his old Inheritance; and therefore determined to set forward, neither with Army nor Weapon. The Messengers were not so soon within the Gates, but he was at the Gates in a manner as soon as they.

King Edward cometh to York.

King Edward repelled by the Citizens of York.

King Edward changeth his Title.

The gentle and fair words of King Edward.

The Citizens hearing his courteous Answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the King, nor of the Realm, were something mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the Walls, willing him to withdraw his Power to some other place, and they should be the more ready to aid him, at least he should have no damage by them.

Notwithstanding he again used such lowly Language, and delivered so fair speech unto them, intreating them so courteously, and saluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own Town, whereof he had the name and title; that at length the Citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly also enticed with fair and large promises, fell to this convention, that if he would swear to be true to King Henry, and gentle in entertaining his Citizens, they would receive him into the City.

Two conditions put to King Edward.

This being concluded, the next morning at the entering of the Gate, a Priest was ready to say Mass, in the which after the receiving of the Sacrament the King received a solemn Oath to observe the two Articles afore agreed. By reason of which so rashly made, and as it was broken, and not long after punished (as it may well be thought) in his posterity, he obtained the City of *York*. Where he, in short time forgetting his Oath, to make all sure, set in Garrisons of armed Souldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no stir to be made against him, he thought to foreslack no opportunity of time, and so made forward toward *London*, leaving by the way the Marquis *Mountacute*, which lay then with his Army at *Pomfret*, on the right hand, not fully four miles distant from his Camp: and so returning to the high-way again, he went forward without any stirring to the Town of *Nottingham*; where came to him Sir *William Parre*, Sir *Thomas* of *Borough*, Sir *Thomas Mountgomery*, and divers else of his assured Friends, with their Aids, which caused him by a Proclamation to stand to his own Title of King Edward the Fourth, saying, That they would serve no man but a King: At the same hereof being blown abroad as the Citizens of *York* were not a little offended (and that worthily) so from other Towns and Cities, Lords and Noble men began to fall unto him, thinking with themselves that the Marquis *Mountacute* either favoured his Cause, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howsoever it was, King Edward, being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the Town of *Leicester*, and there hearing that the Earl of *Warwick*, accompanied with the Earl of *Oxford* were together at *Warwick* with a great Power, minding to set on the Earl, he removed from thence his Army, hoping to give him battel. The Duke of *Clarence*

King Edward put to his Oath.

Victory got by perjury punished at length in Posterity.

King Edward fairly cometh to Nottingham. King Edwards Friends resort unto him. King Edward refuseth the name of a King.

King Edward cometh to Leicester.

King Edward cometh to Warwick. The Earl of Warwick flyeth to Coventry.

The Duke of Clarence cometh with a great Army.

Concord of Brethren.

The Earl of Warwick refuseth to be reconciled.

King Edward cometh to London. Londoners take part with King Edward.

King Henry's Counsellors fly away.

King Henry again taken and committed to prison.

The Earl of Warwick cometh to Barnet.

The battel at Barnet.

in the mean time about London had levied a great Host coming toward the Earl of Warwick, as he was by the Earl appointed. But when the Earl saw the Duke to linger the time, he began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his Brethrens part. The King advancing forward his Host, came to Warwick, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward Coventry, where the Earl was; unto whom the next day after he boldly offered battel. But the Earl, expecting the Duke of Clarence his coming, kept him within the Walls. All this made for the King. For he hearing that his Brother the Duke of Clarence was not far off, coming toward him with a great Army, raised his Camp, and made toward him, either to entreat or else to encounter with his Brother. When each Host was in sight of the other, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Brother to them both, as Arbitrator between them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain. But hereby both the Brethren, laying all Army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joyed together. And that fraternal Amity by Proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspicion.

Then was it agreed between the three Brethren to attempt the Earl of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he crying out shame upon the Duke of Clarence, stood at utter defiance. From thence King Edward so strongly furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to London. Where, after it was known that the Duke of Clarence was come to his Brethren, much fear fell upon the Londoners, casting with themselves what was best to do. The suddenness of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London the same time the Archbishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Somerset, with other of King Henry's Council, to whom the Earl had sent in Commandment a little before, knowing the weakness of the City, that they should keep the City from their Enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all possible speed with a puissant Army, who, according to their commandment, defended the City with all their power, but yet to little purpose. For the Citizens consulting with themselves for their own most indemnity, having no Walls to defend them, thought best to take that way which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with King Edward. This was not so soon known abroad, but the Commonalty ran out by heaps to meet King Edward, and to salute him as their King. Whereupon the Duke of Somerset, with other of King Henry's Council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the World, to shift for themselves, fled away and left there King Henry alone. Who, the same day being caused by the Archbishop of York to ride about London like a King, was before night made Captive, and reduced again to the Tower.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the coming of the Earl of Warwick was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mischiefs with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the Earls Army were John Duke of Excester, Edmund Earl of Somerset, John Earl of Oxford, and Marquis Mountacute, the Earls Brother. The Earl had now passed a great part of his Journey, when he hearing news of the World so changed, and of the Captivity of King Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind; wherefore he stayed with his Army at S. Albans, to see what way further to take. And forso much as there was no other remedy, but either he must yield, or one conflict must finish the matter, he removed to Barnet ten miles from S. Albans.

Against him set forth King Edward, well appointed with a strong Army of picked and able persons, with Artillery, Engins and Instruments meet for the purpose; bringing with him also King Henry. On Easter even he came to Barnet, and there he embattelled himself. In the morning upon Easter-day the battel began, and fiercely continued almost till noon, with murder on each side, much doubtful till both parts were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then desirous to see an end, off or on, with a great crew of new fresh Souldiers set upon his wearied enemies. Where the Earls men,

encouraged with words of their Captain, stoutly fought, but they sore wounded and wearied could not long hold out. The Earl, rushing into the midst of his Enemies, ventured so far, that he could not be rescued; where he was stricken down and slain, and there lay he. Marquis Mountacute thinking to succour his Brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After that Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, and his Brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this Field slain, are judged about ten thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian numbred of them that were slain but fifteen hundred. The Duke of Somerset and Earl of Oxford, thinking to fly to Scotland, returned to Jasper Earl of Pembroke in Wales. The Duke of Excester, hardly escaped to Westminster, and there took Sanctuary. For the death of the Earl of Warwick, the King was not so glad, as he was sorry for the Marquis of Mountacute, whom he took to be his Friend. The Corps of these two were brought to the Church of Pauls, where they lay open in two Coffins two days, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. & aliis.

In the narration of this History Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deal differ from Robert Fabian. Neither do I doubt but both these had their Authors by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I marvel, that Polydore, writing of so many things which he never saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite unto us those Writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel or rather lament, if it be true that I have heard, that he not only nameth no Author unto us, but also burned an heap of our English stories unknown, after the finishing of his, in the days of King Henry the Eighth. But now to our Text again.

All this while yet Queen Margaret, with young Prince Edward her Son, was scarce come over, being long let with contrary Winds; who at length in the month of April arrived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowful tydings of these things lately happened to her Husband, and to the Earl of Warwick and his Brother, and of the prosperous success of King Edward, was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things contrary to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with her self, lamenting her Husband, bewailing her Son, curling her coming, and crying out of Fortune, as though blind Fortune were she that governeth times and tides (rewarding just punishments to unjust deservings of men) and not the secret Power and terrible Justice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that Queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her passion, (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death of Duke Humfrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked) that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speech decayed, and life almost gone, she fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live. In this desolate case Queen Margaret learning now to know her Friends from her Foes, when it was too late, fraught full of heaviness, without solace or hope of remedy, she with her Son and her Company departed for the next Refuge, to a Monastery of Monks called Beaulieu in Hampshire, there to take Sanctuary and Privilege of the House.

Yet all hearts were not found nor subdued in England, especially Edmund Duke of Somerset, with Lord John his Brother, Thomas Courtney Earl of Devonshire, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, Lord Wenlock John Longscrother, being Prior of the Knights of Rhodes in Saint Johns. These hearing of the Queens return, with speed resorted to her; by whom she being somewhat quickened in her spirits, and animated to War, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsel; which was, in all the hot haste, to renew War against King Edward, being now unprovided, by reason his Army was now dispersed, and chiefest of his Souldiers wasted. Here great hope of Victory was shewed, great Promises made. Although the Queens mind was, being more careful for the young Prince than for her self, to send him over into France, before some proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counsel of them, and partly cut off by shortness of time, which required haste, she began with all Expedition to gather their Power. Likewise Jasper Earl of Pembroke posted into Wales to do the same.

King

KING
Edw. 4.

The Earl of
Warwick
and his Bro-
ther slain.

Difference
between Po-
lydore and
Fabian.

Hall fol-
lower of
Polydore.
Polydore is
said to have
burned a
number of
our English
Writers.

The return
of Queen
Margaret
into Eng-
land.

Queen Mar-
garet for-
sorroweth.

Ex Polyd.
lib. 14.

Queen Mar-
garet taketh
Sanctuary.

Queen Mar-
garet moved
by her
friends to
renew wars
against King
Edward.

{ KING }
Edw. 4

King Edward
was
brought
back
against
Queen Margaret.

Queen Margaret
debateth
from
Glocester.

The battel
of Tewkesbury.

A great
matter to
take a thing
in time.

King Edward having Intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light Horsemen, to espy abroad through the West parts what ways his Enemies did take. In the mean time he, using all celerity to meet them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as he could make about London, and first cometh to Abingdon, from thence to Marlbridge, hearing that the Queen was at Bathe, thinking to encounter with them, before they diverted into Wales to the Earl of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the Queen, understanding the King to be so nigh, removeth from Bathe to Bristow, sending word in the mean while to the Citizens of Glocester, that they would grant her leave safely to pass by their City. Which when it could not be obtained, with her Army she departed from Bristow to Tewkesbury; where the Duke of Somerset, knowing King Edward to be at hand at his very back, willed the Queen there to stay, and in no wise to fly backward, for certain doubts that might be cast. Although this counsel was against the consent of many other Captains, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the Earl of Pembroke with his Army were with them associate; yet the mind of the Duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the Field pitched, the time of battel came, the King was looked for; who being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry and policy, as his Enemies had done, disposed his Army likewise in their array. The celerity of the King, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till he had conjoined with the Earl of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Of this battel Hall thus reporteth, adding more than Polydore, that the Duke of Somerset, although he was strongly intrenched, yet through the occasion or policy of the Duke of Glocester, which had the foreward of the Kings part, a little reculing back, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord Wenlock, who had the middleward, would have followed hard at his back. The Duke of Glocester, whether for shame rather than of policy, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was effoons discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The Duke of Somerset not a little agrieved, at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middleward, where he seeing the Lord Wenlock abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him Traytor, and with his Ax striketh the brains out of his head.

Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydore; but sheweth not his Author where he had it. Polydore, writing of this Conflict, writeth no more but this; that the Queens Army being overfet with the number and multitude of their Enemies, and she having no fresh Souldiers to furnish the Field, was at last overmatched, and for the most part slain or taken. In which battel were named to be slain, the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Wenlock, Lord John Duke of Somerset his Brother; besides other. Among them that were taken was Queen Margaret, found in her Chariot almost dead for sorrow, Prince Edward, Edmund Duke of Somerset, John Prior of Saint Johns, with twenty other Knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the Queen only and the young Prince excepted. Which Prince Edward being then brought to the Kings presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battel against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith, That after the Field was finished the King made Proclamation, That whosoever would bring Prince Edward to him, should have Annuity of an hundred pound during his life, and the Princes life should be saved. Whereupon Sir Richard Croftes, not mistrusting the Kings promise, brought forth his Prisoner, &c. And so the King demanding of the Prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuously enter this Realm with his Banner displayed against him, he answered, saying, That he came to recover his Fathers Kingdom and Inheritance from his Grandfather and Father to him descending; whereat (said Polydore) the King with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Other say, that the King struck him on the face with his Gauntlet.

Prince Edward
brought to
the King.
The stout
answer of
the Prince
to the King.

At the speaking of these words was present George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Glocester, and the

Earl Lord William Hastings. Who upon the same Prince Edward uncounteously falling upon the Prince, did slay him. Queen Margaret, being brought Prisoner to London, was afterward ransomed of her Father Duke of Anjou, for a great sum of money which he borrowed of the French King, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the Title of the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous Wars rendred to God his hearty thanks, and caused publickly through his Realm solemn Processions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much touching the Wars of King Edward the fourth, which was done, Anno 1471. Ex Polyd. & alii.

The same year, and about the same time, upon the Ascension-even, King Henry, being Prisoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all thirty eight years, and six months. Polydore and Hall following him, affirm that he was slain with a Dagger by Richard Duke of Glocester, the Kings Brother, for the more quiet and safeguard of the King his Brother. In the History, intituled, Scala mundi, I find these words, Quod in turri, in vigilia Ex Scala ascensionis Dominice, ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thameisiam navicula usque ad Abbatiam de Chertsey deductus, ibi sepultus est; That is, That King Henry being in the Tower, upon the Ascension-even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a Boat to the Abbey of Chertsey, and there buried.

Polydore, after he hath described the Vertues of this King, recordeth that King Henry the Seventh did afterward translate the Corps of him from Chertsey to Windsor, and addeth moreover, that by him certain Miracles were wrought. For the which cause the said King Henry the Seventh (saith he) laboured with Pope Julius, to have him canonized for a Saint, but the death of the King was the let why that matter proceeded not. Edward Hall, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why King Henries fainting went not forward, to be this; For that the Fees of canonizing of a King were of so great a quantity at Rome (more than of another, Bishop or Prelate) that the said King thought it better to keep the money in his Chests, than with the impoverishing of the Realm to buy so dear and pay so much for a new Holy-day of St. Henry in the Kalender, &c. Ex Hall. Which if it be true, it might be replied then to Pope Julius, that if Popes be higher than Kings in the Earth, and especially in Heaven, why then is a Pope-Saint so cheap in the Market-place of Rome, and a King-Saint so dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all Markets and Burfes be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought; what reason is it, seeing the fainting of a King beareth a bigger sale than the fainting of any Pope in Heaven, but that Kings should be above Popes also upon the Earth? Sed extra jocum, as I do not doubt, but that King Henry was a good and a quiet Prince, if he had not otherwise been abused by some; so touching the ruine of his House, I think not contrary, but it came not without the just appointment of the Lord, either for that the Henries of Lancasters house were such Enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other; or else for the unjust displacing of King Richard the Second; or else thirdly, for the cruel slaughter of Humfrey the good Duke of Glocester his Uncle; whereof sufficiently hath been said before.

During the time of these doings, being about the year of our Lord, 1465, there was here in England a certain Friar Carmelite, who about the term of Michael the Arch-Angel preached at Pauls in London. That our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present World, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose Opinion and Doctrine the Provincial of that Order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctors more and Brethren of the same Order; unto whom also adjoynd certain of the Jacobites; and stiffly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many Doctors and also Lawyers, both in their publick Lectures and preaching, to the uttermost of their cunning did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the Church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the Defendant part was driven for a while to keep silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our days now present, with our tumultuous contention of Forms and Fashions of Garments. But

Publick
processions
for victory
got.
Anno
1471.

The death
of King
Henry the
Sixth.

Ex Scala
mundi.

King Henry
buried at
Chertsey.

Polydore
Miracles.

A King
Saint, is
dear ware
in the Popes
Market.

Ex Edw. 4
Hall.

The cause
examined
of Lancasters
House.
Example of
Gods just
rod of cor-
rection.

A fore He-
retic
preached at
Pauls Croft.

Contention
in the
Church
whether
Christ was
a Beggar or
not.

Times com-
pared.

But I put my self here in *Pythagoras* School, and keep silence with these Friars. In the story moreover it followeth, that this beggerly question of the begging-Friers, whether Christ did beg or no, went so far, that at length it came to the Popes ears, *Paulus 2.* who was no beggar ye may be sure. After that the fame of this Doctrine mounting over the *Alpes*, came flying to the Court of *Rome*, which was about the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, the year next following, *Anno 1465*, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine Noses there, that it was no need to bid them to stir; for begging to them was worse than high Heresie. Wherefore the holy Father Pope *Paulus* the Second to repress the sparkles of this Doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might have set his whole Kitchen on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and effsoons directeth down his Bull into *England*, insinuating to the Prelates here, *Hæresim illam pestifera asserentem quod Christus publice mendicavit, esse antiquitus a Romanis Pontificibus, cum suis conciliis damnatam, & eam pro damnata undique declarandam & conculcandam, &c.* That is, that this Heresie, which pestiferously doth affirm that Christ did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the Bishops of *Rome*, and his Councils, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned Doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all mens feet, &c. This was in the same year when Prince *Edward*, King *Edwards* Son was born in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, *Anno 1465*.

Ex Hist. Sæcæ mundi, fol. ult. The Popes determined solution, that Christ was no Beggar.

King Edward vanquished nine battels, being himself present at them all. Charles Duke of Burgoyne failed his promise with the King. Peace between the two Kings, bought with the French Kings money.

As touching the rest of the doings and affairs of this King, (which had vanquished hitherto in nine battels, himself being present) how afterward he, through the incitement of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne* his Brother in law, ventured into *France* with a puissant Army, and how the Duke failed him in his promise; also how Peace between these two Kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of both the said Kings together (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white Dove sitting the same day of meeting upon the top of King *Edwards* Tent) also of the Marriage promised between the young *Dolphin* and *Elizabeth* King *Edwards* eldest Daughter, but afterward broken off on the *French* Kings part; moreover as touching the death of the Duke of *Burgoyne*

slain in War, and of his Daughter *Mary*, Niece to King *Edward*, spoiled of her Lands and Possessions wrongfully by *Lewis* the *French* King, and married after to *Maximilian*; Furthermore, as touching the Expedition of King *Edward* into *Scotland*, by reason of King *James* breaking promise in marrying with *Cicely* the second Daughter of King *Edward*, and of driving out his Brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery again of *Burwick*; of these (I say) and such other things more, partly because they are described sufficiently in our common *English* stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the Church, I omit to speak, making of them a *Supersedeas*. Two things I find here, among many other, specially to be remembered.

The first is concerning a godly and constant Servant of Christ, named *John Goose*, which in the time of this King was unjustly condemned and burnt at the *Tower-hill*, *Anno 1473*, in the month of *August*. Thus had *England* also his *John Hus* as well as *Boheme*. Wherein moreover this is to be noted, that since the time of King *Richard* the Second, there is no Reign of any King to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire for the Religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. Of this said *John Goose*, or *John Hus*, this moreover I find in another *English* Monument recorded, that the said *John* being delivered to *Robert Belisdon*, one of the Sheriffs, to see him burnt the Afternoon; the Sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his Errors. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, desired the Sheriff to be content; for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this he desired of the Sheriff, for Gods sake to give him some meat, saying, *That he was very sore hungry*. Then the Sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been toward no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, *I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shewre ere I go to Supper*. And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit unto God. *Ex Polychron.*

KING Edward 4

Marriage between the French Kings Son and King Edwards Daughter, made and broken. King James of Scotland, goeth from his promise of marriage. Burwick recovered.

Anno 1473

John Goose Martyr. John Goose in English, is as much as John Hus in the Bohemian Tongue.

John Goose taketh his dinner before he went to Martyrdom.

The Burning of John Goose



The unworthy death of the Duke of Clarence.

The second thing herein to be noted, is the death of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings second Brother; of whom relation was made before, how he assisted King *Edward* his Brother, against the Earl of *Warwick* at *Barnet* Field, and helped him to the Crown; and now after all these benefits was at length thus requited, that (for what

cause it is uncertain) he was apprehended and cast into the *Tower*, where he being adjudged for a Traytor, was privately drowned in a Butt of *Malmsey*. What the true cause was of his death it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers Conjectures and Imaginations there be diversly put forth. Some partly imputed it to the Queens displeasure.

The Duke of Clarence drowned in a Butt of Malmsey.

Other

KING Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his Servant, which was accused and condemned for poisoning, Sorcery or Inchantment. Another same there is, which surmisseth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain fear of a foolish Prophecie, coming no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times else happen among *Infidels* and *Gentiles*, where Christ is not known: where among high Princes and in Noble houses much mischief groweth, first murder and parricide, and thereby ruine of ancient Families, and alteration of Kingdoms. The effect of this Prophecie (as the same goeth) was this, That after King *Edward* should one Reign whose name should begin with *G*. And because the name of the Duke of *Clarence*, being *George*, began with a *G*. therefore he began to be feared, and afterward privily (as is aforesaid) was made away.

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such Prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soon to be seen from what Fountain or Author they proceed, that is (no doubt) from Satan, the ancient enemy of Mankind, and Prince of this World; against whose deceitful delusions, Christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvel greatly at them though they seem strange, nor yet to believe them though they happen true. For Satan being the Prince of this World, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dream of *Astages*, seeing a Vine to grow out of his Daughter, which should cover all *Asia*, and fearing thereby that by his Nephew he should lose his Kingdom, proved true in the sequel thereof; and yet notwithstanding of Satan it came, and caused cruel murder to follow, first of the Shepherds Child, then of the Son of *Harpagus*, whom he set before his own Father to eat. *Ex. Just. lib. 1.* Likewise *Cyrus* was prophetically admonished by his dream, to take him for his Guide whom he first met the next morning. In that also his dream fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blind Oracles of the Idolatrous *Gentiles*, which although they proceed of a lying Spirit, yet sometime they hit truth to a mischievous purpose. The like judgment also is to be given of *Merlines* Prophecies. The Sorcerers mentioned *1 Reg. 28.* raising up *Samuel*, told *Saul* the truth, yet was it not of God. In the sixteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, there was a Damocel having the spirit of *Pytho*, who said truth of *Paul* and *Silas*, calling them the Messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The unclean Spirits in giving testimony of Christ said the truth, yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of *Valence* the Emperor that he also had a blind Prophecie, not much unlike to this of King *Edward*, which was, that one should succeed him in the Empire whose name should begin with *Θ. α. and δ.* Whereupon one *Theodorus*, trusting upon the Prophecie, began rebelliously to hope for the Crown, and for his labour felt the pains of a Traytor. Notwithstanding the effect of the Prophecie followed; for after *Valence* succeeded *Theodorus*. Wherefore Christian Princes and Noble men, and all Christs faithful people must beware and learn.

1. First, That no man be inquisitive or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, besides those things only which are promised and expressed in the Word.

2. Secondly, To understand what difference there is, and how to discern the Voice of God from the Voice of Satan.

3. Thirdly, How to resist and avoid the danger of false and devilish Prophecies.

Many there be, which being not contented with things present, curiously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end will come, how long Princes shall Reign, and who after shall succeed them, and for the same get unto them Soothsayers, Astrologers, Sorcerers, Conjurers, or Familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to search or ask, but the Devil is as ready to answer them, who either falsely doubleth with them to delude them, or

else telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and sorrow. Thus was Pope *Silvester* the Sorcerer circumvented by the Devil, who told him, that he should be at *Jerusalem* before he died, and so it fell out. For as he was saying his Mass at a Chappel in *Rome*, called *Jerusalem*, there he fell sick, and within three days after died: To King *Henry* the Fourth also it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to *Jerusalem*, who being brought to the Abbots Chamber of *Westminster*, and hearing the name of the Chamber to be called *Jerusalem*, knew his time to be come, and died.

By such deceitful Prophecies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience both publicly and privately groweth to the life of men, either causing them falsely to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate that they would not; as may appear both by this King, and also divers more. So was *Pompeius*, *Crassus*, and *Cæsar* (as writeth *Cicero*) deceived by the false *Chaldees*, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such a false trust rising upon false Prophecies, *S. Ambrose* in his Book of *Exameron* writeth, speaking of rain, which being in those parts greatly desired, was promised and prophesied of one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the new Moon: but (saith *S. Ambrose*) there fell no such rain at all, till at the prayers of the Church the same was obtained; giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the Moon, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator. *Ex. Ambros. in Exameron.*

Joan. Picus Earl of *Mirandula*, in his excellent Books written against these vain Star-tellers and Astrologers, lib. 2. writeth of one *Ordalaphus* a Prince, to whom it was prognosticated by a famous cunning man in that Science, called *Hieronymus Manfredus*, that he should enjoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who notwithstanding the self same year, and in the first year of his marriage, deceased: and after divers other examples added moreover upon the same, he inferreth also mention, and the name of a certain rich Matron in *Rome*, named *Constantia*, who in like manner departed the same year, in which she received great promises by these Soothsayers and Astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her Husband these words, Behold (saith she) how true be the Prognostications of these Sooth-tellers? If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot; I could recite the names of certain, especially one, which taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation, and forecasting of the success and good speed of his Journey, was notwithstanding in the same Journey apprehended and brought where he would not, and after that never enjoying good day, in short time he departed. In *Bess* this I my self heard of one which knew and was conversant with the party, who having a curious delight in these Speculations of Chances and Events to come, by his Calculation noted a certain day which he mistrusted should be fatal unto him, by something which at that day should befall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himself all that day to keep him sure and safe within his Chamber; where he reaching up his hand to take down a Book, the Book falling down upon his head, gave him his death wound, and shortly after he died upon the same. Of these and such like examples the World is full, and yet the curiosities of mens heads will not refrain, still to pluck the Apple of this unlucky and forbidden Tree.

Beside all this, what murder and parricide cometh by the fear of these Prophecies, in great bloods and noble houses, I refer it unto them which read and well advise the stories, as well of our Kings here in *England*, as in other Kingdoms more both Christened and *Turkish*, whereof another place shall serve as well (Christ willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertaineth also the great inconvenience and hinderance that groweth by the fear of such Prophecies in the vocation of men, forso much as many there be which fearing, some one danger, some another, leave their vocations undone, and follow unordinate ways. As if one having a blind Prophecie, that his destruction should be on the day, would wake and do all his business by night and candle-light; and so forth

The Prophecie of G.

The Prophecie of G.

Prophecies not rashly to be believed.

Satan can say truth for a wicked end. Devilish Prophecies although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Ex. Just. lib. 1. Merlines Prophecies, 1 Reg. 28. Act. 16.

A Spirit of divination which could guess and foretell things past, present and to come; which knowledge God many times permitted to the Devil.

Ex. Paulus Diaconus.

Three things to be noted concerning false Prophecies.

Vide supra.

Vide supra.

False trust by devilish Prophecies.

Ambrose in Exameron.

Joan. Picus Mirandula contra Astrologos, lib. 2. c. 9. Experience of false Prophecies.

This man by false calculations was taken, betrayed, and brought into England.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

forth in other several cases of men and women, as every one in his own conscience knoweth his own case best.

The second part how Prophecies are to be discerned.

The second thing to be considered in these Prophecies, is rightly to discern and understand, as near as we can, the difference between the Prophecies proceeding from God, and the false Prophecies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan sometime playeth Gods Ape, and transformeth himself into an Angel of Light; bearing such a resemblance and colour of Truth and Religion, that a wise man is scarcely able to discern one from the other, and the most part is beguiled. Concerning Prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be observed:

In the second part three things to be considered.

1. First, Whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous: whereof the one seemeth to taste of Gods Spirit, such as be the Prophecies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwise, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of Gods Prophecies, as also of Miracles is commonly and ordinarily expired, yet if the Lord in these days now extraordinarily do shew any Prophecy, by the simpleness and plainness thereof it may partly be discerned.

The second thing to be considered in the Prophecies.

2. Secondly, This is to be expended, whether they be private, tending to this Family or that Family, or publick. For as the Scriptures, so commonly the Prophecies of God have no private interpretation, but general; forso much as the care of Gods holy Spirit is not restrained partially to one person more than to another, but generally and indifferently respecteth the whole Church of his Elect in Christ Jesus his Son. Wherefore such Prophecies as privately are touching the arms of houses or names of men, rising or falling of private and particular Families, are worthily to be suspected.

The third thing to be considered in Prophecies.

3. The third note and special argument to discern the true Prophecies of God from the false Prophecies of Satan and his false Prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof; that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or state of this present World, or whether they tend to the spiritual instruction, admonition, or comfort of the publick Church.

The third part, how to avoid the danger of sinister Prophecies. Two remedies against devilish Prophecies. The first remedy.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what Prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next how to eschew the fear and peril of all devilish Prophecies which make against us. Wherein two special remedies are to be marked of every Christian man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all danger of the enemy. The first is, that we set the name of Christ Jesus the Son of God against them, through a true Faith in him, knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to dissolve the Works of the Devil. And again, *This is the Victory (saith the Scripture) that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* Whatsoever then Satan worketh, or can work against us, be it never so forcible, Faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a Majesty is in our Faith, believing in the Name of the Son of God.

The second remedy against dangerous Prophecies.

The other remedy is faithful Prayer, which obtaineth in the Name of Christ all things with the Lord. So that wicked Fiend, which had killed before seven Husbands of Tobias Wife, could not hurt him entering his Matrimony with earnest prayer; so no more shall any sinister Prophecy prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth strive against it. Neither am I ignorant, that against such Temporal evils and punishments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth also in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where sin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there also the operation of Satan is strong against us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal Salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our Faith in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two special remedies, whereby the operation of all devilish Prophecies may be avoided and defeated.

Man's policy can nothing do against the Devil.

Now many there be, which leaving these remedies aforesaid, and the safe protection which the Lord hath set up in Christ, take other ways of their own, seeking by their own policy how to withstand and escape such Prophecies, either in eschewing the place and time subtilly, or else cruelly by killing the party whom they fear; whereof

cometh injury, murder, and parricide, with other mischiefs in Common-wealths unspeakable. To whom commonly it cometh so to pass, that whereby they think most to save themselves, by the same means they fall most into the snare, being subverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they trusting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, which only can dissolve the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not only in *Astages*, King of the *Medes* aforesaid, and *Cyrus*; but in infinite other like events, which the trade of the World doth daily offer to our eyes. So Queen *Margaret* thought her then cocksure, when Duke *Humphrey* was made away; when nothing else was her confusion so much as the loss and lack of that man.

KING Edward. No power can withstand Satan, but only Christ, and our faith in him.

So if King *Richard* the Second had not exercised such cruelty upon his Uncle *Thomas*, Duke of *Glocester*, he had not received such wrong by King *Henry* the Fourth as he did. Likewise this King *Edward* the Fourth, if he had suffered his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence* to have lived, his House had not so gone to wrack by *Richard* his other Brother, as it did. What beset upon the Student of Astrology in the University of *Basil* ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himself in his Chamber for fear of his Divination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now in avoiding such Prophetical events which he should not have searched, he fell into that which he did fear. These few examples for instruction sake, I thought by occasion to infer, not as though these were alone; but by these few to admonish the Reader of infinite other, which daily come in practice of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in private houses, as in weals publick.

Wherefore briefly to repeat what before simply hath been said touching this matter, seeing that Satan through such subtil Prophecies hath yet and doth daily practise so manifold mischiefs in the World, setting Brother against Brother, Nephew against the Uncle, House against House, and Realm against Realm, generating hatred where love was, and subverting privily the simplicity of our Christian Faith; therefore the first and best thing is for godly men not to busie their brains about such Phantasies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in searching for them, either by Soothsayer, or by Conjuror, or by Familiar, or by Astrologer; knowing and considering this, that whosoever shall be delirous or ready to search for them, the Devil is as ready to answer his curiosity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his Oracles by Idols and Priests of that time; so the same Devil, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by Astrologers and Conjurers in these our days, and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceive men when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiosity, let every Christian man walk simply in his present vocation, referring his things not in the word expressed, unto him which faith in his word, *Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta temporum, &c.* It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own Power, &c.

A brief to befall of the matter of Prophecies before passed.

The Devil ready to answer, is matters of Divination.

Curiosity of Prophecies to be avoided.

Secondly, In this matter of Prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for every Christian man to learn, how to discern and distinguish the true Prophecies, which proceed of God, and the false Prophecies which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned; so necessary it is that every good man do rightly understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, Because it is not sufficient that the deceitful Prophecies of the Devil be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satans Works and Prophecies are to be overcome; that is, not with strength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that Enemy. Under Heaven there is nothing else that can prevail against his Works, but only the Name of the Lord Jesus the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our Lips, or signed in our Foreheads with the outward Cross, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a silent Faith, firmly and earnestly

KING earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his Name. For so it hath pleased his Fatherly wisdom to set him up, to be both our righteousness before himself, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no less price than he accepteth the works and worthiness of the same his Son in whom we do believe.

The strength of a Christian mans faith in Christ.

Such is the strength and effect of Faith both in Heaven, in Earth, and also in Hell: In Heaven to justice, in Earth to preserve, in Hell to conquer. And therefore when any such prophesie, or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to tend against us, let us first consider whether it favour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us seek our succour, not in our selves where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation therefore, following unordinate ways; but let us run to our Castle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembering the true promise of the Psalm, *Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei celi commorabitur*: That is, Who so putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of Heaven to be his Protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalm, *Ipse liberabit te a laqueo venantium, & a verbo aspero*: That is, And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words, and prophesies, be they never so sharp or bitter against him, &c. And thus much by the occasion of King Edward, of Prophecies.

Only Christ able to withstand the power of Satan. Psal. 90.

Now having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christs Church, as well here in Europe under the Pope, as in the East parts under the Turk, first deducing our story from the time of Sigismund, where before we left. Which Sigismund, as it is above recorded, was a great doer in the Council of Constance against John Hus, and Jerome of Prague. The Emperor had ever evil luck fighting against the Turks. Twice he warred against them, and in both the Battels was discomfited and put to flight; once about the City of Myfia, fighting against Bajazetes the Great Turk, Anno 1395, the second time fighting against Celebinus the Son of Bajazetes, about the Town called Columbaciun. But especially after the Council of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned these two godly Martyrs, more unprosperous success did then follow him, fighting against the Bohemians his own subjects, Anno 1420, by whom he was repulsed in so many Battels, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca, and of Procopius, as is afore more at large expressed; who was so beaten both of the Turks, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the Turks after. Then followed the Council of Basil, after the beginning whereof within six years, this Sigismundus which was Emperor, King of Hungary, and King of Boheme, died in Moravia, Anno 1434.

Sigismundus Emperor. Sigismundus unprosperous in his wars.

Sigismundus overcome of the Turks.

Sigismundus overcome of the Bohemians.

Albertus, Emperor.

THIS Sigismund left behind him one only Daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert Duke of Austria, by reason whereof he was advanced to the Empire, and so was both Duke of Austria, Emperor, King of Hungary, and King also of Boheme. But this Albert, (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a disquiet to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Thabor, as he was preparing and setting forth against the Turks, in the mean time died, in the second year of his Empire, Anno 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who lying then in Hungary, and thinking her self to be great with a Daughter, called to her the Princes and the Chieftains of the Realms, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and unsufficient to the Governance of such a state; and moreover how she thought her self to be with child of a Daughter; and therefore required them to provide among them such a Prince and Governour, (reserving the right of the Kingdom to her self) as were fit and able under her, to have the Regiment of the Land committed. The Turk in the mean while, being elevated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismundus afore said, began then more fiercely to invade Hungary, and those parts of Christendom. Wherefore the Hungarians making the

Albert Duke of Austria, Emperor, K. of Hungary, King of Boheme.

Albertus Emperor but two years.

Elizabeth Daughter to Sigismund, Wife to Albert, Emperor.

The Turk beginneth to invade Hungary. Uladislaus Brother to Casimirus K. of Polonia, made King of Hungary.

more halt, consulted among themselves to make Duke Uladislaus, Brother to Casimirus King of Polonia, their King.

But while this was in working between the Hungarians and Uladislaus the Duke, in the mean space Elizabeth brought forth a Son called Ladislaus, who being the lawful heir of the Kingdom, the Queen called back again her former word, minding to reserve the Kingdom for her Son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refused Marriage with the said Uladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Uladislaus joyning with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over; by reason whereof great contention and division kindling among the people of Hungary, Amurathes the Great Turk taking his advantage of their discord, and partly surprized with pride of his former success against Sigismund afore said, with his whole main and force invaded the Realm of Hungary; where Huniades, Sirnamed Vainoda, Prince of Transilvania, joyning with the new King Uladislaus, did both together set against the Turk, Anno 1444, and there Uladislaus the new King of Hungaria, the fourth year of his Kingdom was slain. Elizabeth with her Son was fled in the mean while to Frederick the Emperor. Of Huniades Vainoda the Noble Captain, and of his Acts, and also of Ladislaus (Christ willing) more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

Elizabeth Q. of Hungary brought to bed of a man-child.

Ladislaus Prince of Hungary born. Division and discord in Hungary.

The Turk warreth against Hungary. Huniades Vainoda, Uladislaus K. of Hungary slain in War.

Fredericus the Third, Emperor.

After the decease of Albert succeeded in the Empire, Fredericus the Third, Duke of Austria, Anno 1440. By whom it was procured (as we have before signified) that Pope Felix, Elected by the Council of Basil, did resign his Popedom to Pope Nicholas the Fifth; upon this condition, that the said Pope Nicholas should ratifie the Acts decreed in the said Council of Basil. In the days of this Emperor much War and dissention raged almost thorough all Christian Realms, in Austria, Hungaria, Polonia, in France, in Burgoins, and also here in England, between King Henry the Sixth, and King Edward the Fourth, as ye have already heard; whereby it had been easie for the Turk, with little mastery, to have over-run all the Christian Realms in Europe, had not the Providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep Amurathes the Turk occupied in other civil Wars at home in the mean while. Unto this Frederick came Elizabeth (as is afore said) with Ladislaus her Son; by whom he was nourished and entertained a certain space, till at length, after the death of Uladislaus afore said, King of Hungary, (which was slain in Battel by the Turks) the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulrichus Eizingerus, and of Ulrichus Earl of Cilicia, rising up in armour, required of Frederick the Emperor, either to give them their young King, or else to stand to his own defence.

Fredericus the Third Emperor.

Uladislaus K. of Hungary slain in Battel by the Turk.

When Frederick heard this, neither would he render to them a sudden answer, neither would they abide any longer delay; and so the matter growing to war, the new City was besieged, where many were slain, and much harm done. At length the Emperors part being the weaker, the Emperor, through the intervention of certain Nobles of Germany, restored Ladislaus unto their hands, who being yet under age, committed his three Kingdoms to three Governours: whereof John Huniades, the worthy Captain above mentioned, had the ruling of Hungary: George Pogiebracius had Boheme: and Ulrichus the Earl of Cilicia had Austria. Which Ulrice having the chief custody of the King, bare the greatest authority above the rest; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almost of all the Austrians, and shortly after, by the means of Eizingerus, was excluded also from the King and the Court, but afterward restored again, and Eizingerus thrust out. Such is the unstable condition of them which be next in place about Princes. But this contention between them I overpass.

John Huniades Governour of Hungary under the K. G. Pogiebracius Governour of Boheme.

Not long after, Ladislaus the young King went to Boheme, there to be Crowned, where George Pogiebracius (as is said) had the Governance. But Ladislaus during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor hear the service of them which did draw after the Doctrine of Hus. In such

Ulricus Governour of Austria. Ladislaus a young Polish King. Ladislaus could not abide the Doctrine of Hus.

that when a certain Priest, in the high Tower of *Prague*, was appointed and addressed, after the manner of Priests, to say service before the King, being known to hold with *John Hus* and *Rochezana*, the King disdainful at him, commanded him to give place and depart, or else he would send him down headlong from the rock of the Tower; and so the good Minister repulsed by the King, departed. Also another time the said *Ladislaus* seeing the Sacrament carried by a Minister of that side, whom they called then *Hussites*, would do thereunto no reverence. *Ex An. Sylv.*

At length the long abode of the King, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly disposed to be longer than they wished; and that was not to the King unknown, which made him to make the more haste away; but before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble City *Uratislavia* in *Schlesia*. In the which City, the fore-said King *Ladislaus* being there in the high Church at Service, many great Princes were about him. Among whom was also *George Pogiebracius*, who then stood nearest to the King, unto whom one *Chilianus*, playing the Parasite about the King (as the fashion is of such as begin themselves fools, to make other men as very fools as they) spake in this wise as followeth, With what countenance you do behold this our Service I see right well, but your heart I do not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion seem unto you decent and comely? Do you not see how many and how great Princes, yea, the King himself, do follow one order and uniformity? And why do you then follow rather your Preacher *Rochezana* than these? Do you think a few *Bobemians* to be more wise than all the Church of Christ besides? Why then do you not forsake that rude and rustical people, and joyn to these Nobles, as you are a Nobleman your self?

Unto whom thus *Pogiebracius* sagely again doth answer, If you speak these words of your self (saith he) you are not the man whom you feign your self to be; and so to you I answer, as not to a Fool. But if you speak this by the suggestion of others, then must I satistie them. Hear therefore, As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, every man hath a conscience of his own to follow. As for us we use such Ceremonies, as we trust please God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will our selves. The mind of man, being perswaded with great reasons, is captivated, will be, will be; and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawn, in some one way, and in some another. As for my self, I am fully perswaded in the Religion of my Preachers. If I should follow thy Religion, I might perchance deceive men, going contrary to mine own conscience, but I cannot deceive God, who seeth the hearts of all; Neither shall it become me to frame my self to thy disposition. That which is meet for a Jester, is not likewise convenient for a Nobleman. And these words either take to thy self, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man; or else I refer them to those which set thee on work. *Ex Aeneas Sylv. in Hist. Bohem.*

After the King was returned from the *Bobemians* again to *Austria*, the *Hungarians* likewise made their petitions to the King, that he would also come unto them. The Governour of *Hungary* (as ye before have heard) was *Johannes Huniades*, whose victorious acts against the *Turks* are famous. Against this *Huniades*, wicked *Ulricus* Earl of *Cilicia* did all he could with the King to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the King to send for him up to *Vienna*, and there privily to work his death. But *Huniades* having thereof intelligence, offereth himself within *Hungary* to serve his Prince to all affairs: Out of the land where he was, it was neither best (saith he) for the King, nor safest for himself to come. The Earl being so disappointed, came down with certain Nobles of the Court to the borders of *Hungary*, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to *Vienna*, or there to dispatch him. *Huniades* without in the fields said he would commune with him, within the Town he would not be brought. After that another train also was laid for him, that under pretence of the Kings safe conduct he should meet the King in the broad fields of *Vienna*. But *Huniades* suspecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he neither seeing the King to come, nor the Earl to have any safe conduct for him, was moved (and not without cause) against the Earl, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, which went about to seek his blood, but for

the reverence of the King he would spare him and let him go. KING
Ed. 4.

Not long after this, the *Turk* with a great power of fighting men, to the number of an hundred and fifteen thousand, arrived in *Hungary*, where he laid siege to the City *Alba*. But through the merciful hand of God, *John Huniades*, and *Capistranus* a certain *Minorite*, with a small Garrison of Christian Souldiers gave him the repulse, and put him to flight with all his mighty host: Whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter. *Ex Hist. Bohemic. An. Sylv.* *Huniades* shortly after this victory deceased. Of whose death when the King and the Earl did understand, they came the more boldly into *Hungary*, where he being received by *Ladislaus Huniades* Son into the Town of *Alba*, there viewed the place where the *Turks* before had pitched their Tents. When this *Ladislaus* heard that the King was coming first toward the Town, obediently he opened to him the Gates. Four thousand only of armed Soldiers he debarred from entering the City.

In the mean time while the King was there resident in the City, the Earl with other Nobles did sit in Council, requiring also *Ladislaus* to resort unto them; who first doubting with himself what he might do, at length putteth on a privy coat of Mail, and cometh to them. Whether the Earl first began with him, or he with the Earl, it is not known. The opinion of some is, that *Ulricus* first called him Traytor, for shutting the Gates against the Kings Soldiers. Howsoever the occasion began, this is undoubted, that *Ulricus* taking his sword from his Page let fly at his head. To break the blow, some putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The *Hungarians* hearing a noise and tumult within the Chamber, brake it open upon them, and there incontinent slew *Ulrick* the Earl, wounding and cutting him almost all to pieces. The King hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his mind: yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissembled his grief for a time.

From thence the King took his journey again to *Buda*, accompanied with the fore-said *Ladislaus*; who passing by the Town where the Wife of *Huniades* was mourning for the death of her Husband, seemed with many fair words to comfort her, and after he had there sufficiently repasted himself, with such pretence of dissembled love, and fained favour, that they were without all suspicion and fear; from thence he set forward in his journey, taking with him the two Sons of *Huniades*, *Ladislaus* and *Matthias*, who were right ready to wait upon him. The King being come to *Buda* (whether of his own head, or by sinister counsel set on) when he had them at a vantage, caused both the Sons of *Huniades*, to wit, *Ladislaus* and *Matthias*, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth *Ladislaus* the elder Son to the place of Execution, there to be Beheaded, where meekly he suffered, being charged with no other crime but this, published by the voice of the Cryer, saying, *Thus are they to be chastened, which are rebels against their Lord.* *Peucerus* writing of his death addeth this moreover, That after the Hangman had three blows at his neck, yet notwithstanding the said *Ladislaus*, having his hands bound behind him, after the third stroke rose upright upon his feet, and looking up to Heaven called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf; and so laying down his neck again, at the fourth blow was dispatched: *Matthias* the other Brother was led captive with the King into *Austria*. The rest of the captives brake the prison and escaped.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon *Ladislaus*, the King being about the age of twenty and two years, that talk was made of the Kings marriage with *Magdalen* Daughter to the *French* King. The place of the Marriage was appointed at *Prague*, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the King into the City of *Prague*, *Rochezana* with a company of Ministers, such as were favourers of *John Hus*, and of sincere Religion, came with all solemnity to receive the King, making there his Oration to gratulate the Kings most joyful and prosperous access into the same his own Realm and Country of *Bobeme*. Unto which *Rochezana*, after he had ended his Oration, scarce would the King open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cheerful countenance unto his Company, but fiercely seemed

Chilianus a
Parasite a-
bout King
Ladislaus.

The words
of a Popish
Parasite to
Pogiebracius

An answer
proceeding
of a Hea-
venly wis-
dom.

Ulricus
seeketh the
death of
Huniades.

Huniades
spareth his
enemy.

Alba belie-
ged of the
Turk.
The power
of God by
the means
of Huniades
and Capis-
tranus a-
gainst the
Turk.
K. Ladislaus
cometh into
Hungary.

Ladislaus
Huniades
Son.

Debate be-
tween Ulri-
cus and La-
dislaus Hu-
niades Son.

Ulricus Earl
of Cilicia
slain.

The cruel
dissembla-
tion of La-
dislaus the
King.

The two
Sons of Hu-
niades, La-
dislaus and
Matthias.
Ladislaus
Huniades
Son inno-
cently put
to death.

A miracu-
lous token
at the death
of Ladislaus.

Ex Peucer.
Chron. lib. 5.

Preparation
to the Kings
Marriage.

Ladislaus
the King
received in
Bobeme.
Ladislaus
the King, an
infest ene-
my against
the Hussians

KING seemed to frown upon them. In the next Pageant after these came forth the Priests of the high Minister, after the most Popish manner, meeting him with Procession, and with the Sacrament of the Altar: For as *Panacea* among Physicians serveth for all diseases, so the Sacrament of the Popes Altar serveth for all pomps and Pageants. First it must lye upon the Altar, then it must be holden up with hands, then it must hang in the Pixe, it must serve for the quick, it must also help the dead, it must moreover visit the sick, it must walk about the Churchyard, it must go about the streets, it must be carried about the fields to make the grafs to grow, it must be had to the battail, it must ride on horseback before the Pope: And finally it must welcome Kings into Cities. Wherein these Catholick Fathers do seem somewhat to forget themselves. For if the Pope being inferior to the Sacrament of the Altar, at the coming of Kings do use to sit still while the Kings come and kiss his feet, what reason is it that the Sacrament of the Altar, which is (I trow) above the Pope, should meet Kings by the way, and welcome them to the Town? But this by the way of *Parentesis*: Let us now continue the Text.

When *Ladislaus* this Catholick King, who had shewed himself before so stout and stern against *Rochezana* and his company, had seen these Catholick Priests with their Procession, and especially with their blessed Sacrament, to come with all reverence and much devotion he lighted down from his Horse, he embraced the Crofs and kissed it, and with chearful countenance saluted the Priests in order. All this while his young Wife was not yet come out of *France*, but Legates were sent, after most sumptuous wife, to conduct her. Other Legates also were sent the same time to the Emperor *Frederick*, for conclusion of peace. The third Legacy was directed likewise to Pope *Calixtus* about Religion, how to reduce the *Bohemians* to the Church of *Rome*. The Author of this Story (which was Pope *Pius* himself) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that King *Ladislaus* the same time had intended to make a final end and destruction of all that sect in *Bohemia*, which held with the Doctrine of *John Hus* and *Hierome*, by the assembly and concourse of the Catholick Princes, and Popish Prelates which were appointed there to meet together at that Marriage in *Prague*. For there should be first the Emperor *Frederick*, *Elizabeth* the Kings Mother, and his Sisters *Elizabeth* and *Anna*, the Princes of *Saxony*, *Ba-*

joria, *Slesia*, *Franconia*, the *Palatine*, and other Princes of *Rhene*: many also of the Lords of *France*, besides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates, and other Potestates of the Popes Church; who if they had altogether converted in *Boheme*, no doubt but some great mischief had been wrought there against the *Hussites*; against whom this *Ladislaus*, following the steps of *Sigismundus* his Grandfather, and *Albertus* his Father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him.

And therefore truly it is written of *Aeneas Sylvius* in the same place, saying, *De regimine Civitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est quod homines possint (tum vero de religionis constitutione multo minus) magna magnus disponit Deus.* That is, In Regiment of Cities, in alteration of Kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is less than nothing that man can do; it is the High God that ruleth high things. VVhereunto then I may well add this moreover, and say, That if the governance of worldly Kingdoms standeth not in mans power, but in the disposition of God, much less is it then that mans power can do in the Regiment and governing of Religion. Example whereof in this purposed device of Princes doth evidently appear. For as this great preparation and solemnity of Marriage was in doing, and the Princes ready to set it forth, with a little turn of Gods holy hand, all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this business, about the one and twentieth day of *November*, Anno 1461, this great adversary of Christs people, King *Ladislaus*, King of *Boheme*, of *Hungary*, and Prince of *Austria* sickned, and within six and thirty hours died; some say of a Pestilent fore in his Groin, some say of poyson. But howsoever it was, as it came not without the just judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of *Ladislaus Huniades* Son, wrongfully put to death before; so by the opportune death of this King, the poor Churches of *Boheme* were graciously delivered. And this end made *Ladislaus* one of the mightiest Princes at that time in all *Europe*; in whom three mighty Kingdoms were conjoynd and combined together, *Austria*, *Hungaria*, and *Bohemia*; which Countries do lye South-East from *England*, in the farthest parts of all *Germany*, toward *Constantinople*, and the Dominions of the *Turks*, and contain these principal Towns in them.

Man purposed, and God disposed.

Governance of Empires and Kingdoms is not in mans power, much less the Governance of Religion.

The death of King *Ladislaus*.

Blood revenged by God.

The Large Dominion of Ladislaus.

Austria, called once *Pannonia superior*. *Vienna*, which was besieged of the Turk, Ann. 1533.
Meleck.
Neustat. nova Civitas.
Gretz.
S. Hypolit.
Lintz.
Stein.
Haynberg.
Kremsz.
Karolsburg.
Toben.
Rotzo.
Raba.
Lindenburg.

¶ To *Austria* be adjoyning also certain Provinces and Earldoms: as,

Stiria.
Carinthia.
Croatia.

Cilicia.
Tyrolentz.

Hungaria, which was once called *Pannonia inferior*.
Buda. *Ofen*.
Strigonium.
Kalachia.
Varadinum.
Nitria.
Nicopolis.
Agria.
Orszaw.
Bossen.
Sabaria.

¶ This *Hungaria* was first called *Pannonia*, or *Pania*. After the coming of the *Huns*, it was called *Hungaria*. Of which came *Attila*, which destroyed *Italy*, about the year of the Lord 440. Through *Hungaria* runneth *Danubius*, having on the West-side, *Austria*, and *Bohemia*; on the East, *Servia*; on the South-side, *Polonia*, &c. The most of this *Hungary* is now under the Turk; which Turk first came into *Europe*, Ann. 1211.

Bohemia.
Praga.
Pilzen.
Thabor.
Budweis.
Kolm, or *Kals*.
Egra.
Kuttenberg.
Leimirtz.
Laun.
Raconick.
Glaraw.
Bern. or *Beraun*.
Bruck. *Most*.
Gretz. *Hradetz*.
Aust.
Maut. *Myta*.
Hof.
Jaromir.
Dub. *Biela*.
Lantzbut.
Gilowy.
Krupka.
Krumaw.
Pardubitz.
Chumitau.
Loket. *Teplitz*.
Hantzburg. *Zbraslau*.
Labe. *Ustawa*.

George Pogiebracius.

Matthias Huniades.

After the death of *Ladislaus*, the Kingdom of *Boheme* fell to *George Pogiebracius* above mentioned, whom Pope *Innocent* the Eighth did Excommunicate and depose for his Religion, as is afore declared.

Furthermore the Kingdom of *Hungary* was given to *Matthias* Son of *Huniades*, who was in captivity (as is said) with King *Ladislaus*, and should have been put to death after his Brother, had not the King before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the said King *Ladislaus* thus dying without wife and issue, left behind him two Sisters alive, to wit, *Elizabeth*, which was married to *Casimirus* King

of *Polonia*; and *Anna*, married to *William* Duke of *Saxonia*; *Elizabeth* by her Husband *Casimirus*, King of *Polonia*, had *Uladislaus*, who at length was King of both *Boheme* and *Hungary*. This *Casimirus* first was married to *Beatrix*, Wife before to *Matthias*. Then being divorced from her by the dispensation of Pope *Alexander*, he married a new Wife, a Countess of *France*, by whom he had two Children, *Lewes* and *Anna*; *Lewes* which was heir of both Kingdoms, of *Boheme* and *Hungary*, was slain fighting against the *Turks*. *Anna* was married to *Ferdinandus*, by whom he was Archduke of *Austria*, King of *Boheme*, &c.

KING
Ed. 4.

Sigismundus left only one Daughter,

Elizabeth, Wife to *Albertus* Emperour: who had three Children.

Ladislaus, King of *Hungary*, *Boheme*, and *Austria*.

Elizabeth, Wife of *Casimirus*, King of *Polonia*: who had

Anna, Wife to *William* Duke of *Saxon*.

Uladislaus, King of *Boheme* and *Hungary*: who by his second Wife, Countess of *France*, had

Ludovicus, King of *Boheme*, and *Hungary*.

Anne, Wife to *Ferdinandus*, Father to this *Maximilian*, now Emperor.

War between Matthias and Frederick the Emperor.

Ye heard before how after the decease of *Ladislaus* the *Hungarians* by their Election preferred *Matthias*, surnamed *Corvinus*, which was Son of *Huniades*, to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. For which cause dissention fell between *Frederick* the Emperor and him, for that the said *Frederick* was both nominated himself by divers unto that Kingdom, and also because he had the Crown of *Hungary* then remaining in his hands, which *Elizabeth* Mother to King *Ladislaus* had brought to the Emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceased by the intercession of the Princes of *Germany*, so that *Matthias* ransomed that Crown of *Frederick* for Eight thousand *Florentines*.

George Pogiebracius by the Pope deposed from his Kingdom, for favouring of John Hus.

Not long after, Pope *Innocent* being displeased with *George Pogiebracius* (or *Bojebracius*) King of *Bohemia*, for favouring of *John Hus* and his Religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did Excommunicate and depose him, conferring his Kingdom to *Matthias*. But forasmuch as *Frederick* the Emperor would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaid *George*, when the Emperor and the *Bohemians*, leaving out *Matthias*, did nominate *Uladislaus* Son of *Casimirus* King of *Polonia*, and of *Elizabeth*, to be King of *Boheme*, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and *Frederick* the Emperor. Wherein the Emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not *Albertus* Duke of *Saxony*, rescued the Emperor, and repressed the vehemency of *Matthias*.

Albert D. of Saxony.

The noble acts of John and Matthias Huniades against the Turks. Sirmium & the borders of Illyria, recovered from the Turks.

The noble acts of *John Huniades*, and of this *Matthias* his Son, were not only great stays to *Hungary*, but almost to all Christendom, in repelling back the *Turk*. For beside the other Victories of *John Huniades* the Father aforementioned, this *Matthias* also his Son succeeding no less in valiantness than in the name of his Father, did so recover *Sirmium*, and the confines of *Illyria*, from the hands of the *Turks*, and so vanquished their power, that both *Mahometes* and also *Bajazetes* his Son were enforced to seek for Truce.

Jaitza recovered. The subtle practise of Satan to stop good proceedings.

Over and besides, the same *Matthias* conducting his Army into *Bosna* (which lyeth South from *Hungary*) recovered again *Jaitza*, the principal Town of that Kingdom from the *Turks* possession. Who if other Christian Princes had joyned their helps withal, would have proceeded farther into *Thracia*. But behold here the malicious subtilty of Satan, working by the Pope. For while *Matthias* was thus occupied in this expedition against the *Turks*, wherein he should have been set forward and aided by Christian Princes, and Bishops; the Bishop of *Rome* wickedly and sinfully ministrereth matter of civil discord between him and *Pogiebracius* aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his Kingdom, and transferring the same to *Matthias*. Whereupon not only the course of victory against the *Turks* was stopped, but also great war and bloodshed followed in Christian Realms, as well between this *Matthias* and *Pogiebracius*, with his two Sons *Victorinus* and *Henricus*, as also between *Casimirus* *Uladislaus*, and *Matthias* warring about *Uratislawia*, till at length

the matter was taken up by the Princes of *Germany*.

Albeit, for all the execrable Excommunication of the Pope against *Pogiebracius*, a great part of *Boheme* would not be removed from the obedience of their King, whom the Pope had cursed, and deposed; yet *Matthias* took from him *Moravia*, and a great portion of *Silesia*, and adjoyned it to his Kingdom of *Hungary*, Anno 1474.

The Popes Excommunication not obeyed of divers in Bohemia. Matthias adjoyned Moravia and part of Silesia unto Hungary. Anno 1474. The Religion of the Bohemians defended by God against the four greatest Princes in Europe.

Where this by the way is to be noted, that the Religion in *Bohemia*, planted by *John Hus*, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of four mighty Princes, *Vincellaus*, *Sigismundus*, *Albertus* and *Ladislaus*, notwithstanding they with the Popes did therein what they possibly could; but still the Lord maintained the same, as ye see by this *Pogiebracius* King of *Boheme*, whom the Pope could not utterly remove out of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

This forementioned *Matthias*, beside his other memorable acts of Chivalry, is no less also commended for his singular knowledg and love of Learning and of Learned men, whom he with great Stipends procured into *Pannonia*; where by the means of good Letters, and furniture of Learned men, he reduced in short space the barbarous rudeness of that Country into a flourishing Commonwealth. Moreover such a Library he did there erect, and replenish with all kind of Authors, Sciences and Histories, which he caused to be translated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, as the like is not thought to be found, next to *Italy*, in all *Europe* beside. Out of which Library we have received divers fragments of Writers, as of *Polybius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which were not extant before. Ex Peucer.

Matthias a great lover of Learning and of learned men.

The noble Library of Matthias K. of Hungary. Ex 5. Lib. Peucer.

The constant fortitude also of *Georgius Pogiebracius*, King of *Boheme*, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom also Pope *Pius* himself, in *Descriptione Europæ*, doth honestly report (as a Pope may speak of a Protestant) in these words writing, *Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus*, &c. Who although Pope *Innocent* did execrate with his Children, yet he left not off the profession of the verity and knowledg which he had received. Moreover, the Lord so prospered his Sons, *Victorinus* and *Henricus*, that they subdued their enemies, and kept their Estate: Inasmuch that when *Frederick* the Emperor at *Vienna* was in custody inclosed by the Citizens, *Victorinus* did restore, and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the Emperor afterward advanced them to be Dukes. Also God gave them sometimes prosperous victory against *Matthias*, as at the City of *Glogovia*, &c.

Commendation of Geo. Pogiebracius Ex Pii Poms. Descriptione Europæ.

Gods favour to the Sons of Pogiebracius.

After the decease of *Georgius Pogiebracius* King of *Boheme*, *Frederick* the Emperor assigned that Kingdom, not to *Matthias* upon whom the Pope had bestowed it before, but upon *Uladislaus* Son of *Casimirus* King of *Polonia*, and of *Elizabeth*, Daughter of the Emperor *Albert*, and Sister to *Ladislaus*. For the which *Matthias* being discontented, and for that the Emperor had denied him his Daughter *Kunegunda*, went about to exclude *Uladislaus* out

The death of Pogiebracius.

Uladislaus Casimirus Son, made King of Hungary.

KING out of *Bobeme*, and also proclaimed war against *Frederick*. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death prevented him, who without issue departed, Anno 1490.

After the death of *Matthias*, departing without issue, *Uladislaus* Son of *Casimir* King of *Polonie*, and of *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Albert* Emperor, and Sister to King *Ladislaus*, married his Wife *Beatrix*, whom *Matthias* left a Widow, and with her was Elected King of *Hungary*, with this condition made between him and *Frederick* the Emperor, that if he died without lawful issue, then the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and of *Bobeme* should return to *Maximilian* Son to *Fredericus*. But *Uladislaus* not long after did repudiate his Wife *Beatrix*, and depriving her of her Kingdom, caused the said *Beatrix* to swear and to consent to his marrying of another woman, which was the Daughter of the French King, named *Anne*, procuring from Pope *Alexander* a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this *Anne* *Uladislaus* had *Lewis*, and *Anne*, which *Anne* afterward was married to *Ferdinandus*.

Lewis succeeding after his Father, had both the said Kingdoms of *Bobeme* and *Hungary*, Ann. 1492, and married *Mary*, Sister to *Charles* the fifth Emperor. *Anne*, as is said, was coupled to *Ferdinandus*, &c.

Of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne* somewhat was before touched, who had married King *Edwards* Sister; and what troubles by him were stirred up in *France*, partly was before notified. This *Charles* after he had besieged the City *Nussia*, or *Novasium*, the space of a whole year, went about to alienate the Territory of *Colen* from the Empire to his own Dominion: wherefore war began to be moved between him and *Frederick* the Emperor. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a Marriage appointed between *Mary* the only Daughter of *Charles*, and *Maximilian* the Emperors Son, Anno 1475.

Then from *Novasium*, *Charles* leadeth his Army toward *Helvetia*, against *Renatus*, or *Reinhardus* Duke of *Lotharing*; then against the *Helvetians*, where he being thrice overcome, first at *Granson*, then at *Moratum*, or *Murta*, in the higher part of *Helvetia*, at last at the Town of *Nanse*, was overthrown and slain, Anno 1477.

The procurer of which wars was chiefly *Lewis* the 11th, the French King, to the intent he might compass the Dominion of *Burgundy* under his subjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding *Mary* the Daughter of *Charles*, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cause the *Burgundians* were the more willing to joyn her Marriage with *Maximilian*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor: by reason whereof the Title of *Burgundy* was first joyned to the house of *Austria*.

And thus have you the miserable vexations and contentions among our Christian Princes here in *Europe* described, under the reign of this *Frederick* the Third Emperor, so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendom (whether we consider the state of the Church, or Civil Government) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worm of ambition so mightily creepeth, and every where prevaileth in these later ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in Commonweals, nor peace in the Church, nor any sparkle of charity almost to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then if the Lord seeing us so far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that Brother with Brother, Uncle with Nephew, Blood with Blood cannot agree, in striving, killing, and fighting for worldly Dominions, do send therefore these cruel *Turks* upon us, so to scourge and devour us? Of whose bloody tyranny and daily spilling of Christian blood hereafter (by the Grace of Christ) we will discourse more at large, when we come to the peculiar consideration of the *Turkish* Stories. In the mean time this shall be for us to note and observe not so much the scourge how grievous it is; but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which is our own miserable ambition and wretched wars among our selves.

And yet if this Christian peace and love, left and commended so heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now banished out of Christian Realms, and Civil Governance, might at least find some refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuary among men professing nothing

but Religion, less cause we had to mourn. Now so it is, that as we see little peace and amity among Civil Potentates; so less we find in the spiritual sort of them, which chiefly take upon them the administration of Christs Church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the *Turk*, or the civil sword of Princes have slain more in the fields, or the Popes Keys have burnt more in Towns and Cities. And albeit such as be professed to the Church do not fight with Sword and Target for Dominions and Revenues, as warlike Princes do; yet this ambition, pride and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly Potentates; especially if we behold and advise the doings and insatiable desires of the Court of *Rome*. Great arguments and proof hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be sought, what Realm almost through all Christendom hath not only seen with their eyes, but have felt in their purses the ambition intolerable, and avarice insatiable of that devouring Church, and also have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redressed? What exactions and extortions have been here in *England* out of Bishopricks, Monasteries, Benefices, Deanries, Archdeacons, and all other Offices of the Church, to fill the Popes Coffers? and when they had all done, yet every year brought almost some new invention from *Rome* to fetch in our *English* money; and if all the floods in *England* (yea in all *Europe*) did run into the See of *Rome*, yet were that Ocean never able to be satisfied.

In *France* likewise what floods of money were swallowed up into this See of *Rome*? It was openly complained of in the Council of *Basil*, as is testified by *Henry Token*, Canon and Ambassador of the Archbishop of *Maidenburge*, written in his Book intituled *Rapulari*, where he writeth that in the Council of *Basil*, Ann. 1436, the Archbishop of *Lions* did declare that in the time of Pope *Martin* there came out of *France* to the Court of *Rome*, Nine Millions of Gold, which was gathered of the Bishops and Prelates, besides those which could not be counted of the poor Clergy, which daily without number ran unto the Court of *Rome*, carrying with them all their whole substance. The Archbishop of *Turonne* said also at *Basil*, in the year of our Lord 1439, that Three Millions of Gold came unto *Rome* in his time, within the space of fourteen years, from the Prelates and Prelacies, whereof no account could be made, beside the poor Clergy which daily run to that Court. Let the man which feareth God judg what a devouring gulf this is; a Million containeth Ten hundred thousand.

And what made Pope *Pius* the Second to labour so earnestly to *Lewis* the Eleventh, the French King (who as is aforesaid was a great enemy to the House of *Burgoyne*) that he would (according to his former promise) abolish and utterly extinguish the constitution established before at the Council of *Bitures*, by King *Charles* the Seventh his Predecessor, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; but only the ambition of that See, which had no measure, and their avarice which had no end? The story is this, King *Charles* the Seventh the French King, willing to obey and follow the Council of *Basil*, did summon a Parliament at *Bitures*; where by the full consent of all the States in *France*, both Spiritual and Temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and Decrees concluded in the Council of *Basil*. The which constitution the said King *Charles* willed and commanded through all his Realm inviolably to be observed and ratified for the honour and increase of Christian Religion for ever. This was Ann. 1438.

It followed that after the decease of the foresaid *Charles* the Seventh, succeeded King *Lewis* the Eleventh, who had promised before, being Dauphin, Pope *Pius*, that if he ever came to the Crown, the foresaid *Sanctio Pragmatica* should be abolished. Whereupon *Pius* hearing him to be Crowned, did send unto him *John Balveus* a Cardinal, with his great Letters-patent, willing him to be mindful of his promise made. The King either willing, or else pretending a will to perform, and accomplish that he had promised, directed the Popes Letters-patent, with the said Cardinal, to the Council of *Paris*, requiring them to consult upon the cause.

Ambition and avarice of the Church of Rome.

Ex Rapulari Henrici Token.

The See of Rome is turned into an Ocean, that hath no bottom.

What a Million is.

Concilium Bituricense.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Joan. Maria Belg. de Schismate & Concilio Cap. 24.

Pope Pius laboureth that Pragmatica Sanctio should be abolished.

Uladislaus forsaketh his first wife Dispensation from Pope Alexander to forsake his first Wife, and to marry another. Ludovicus, Uladislaus Son, King of Hungary and Bobeme.

Wars between Charles Duke of Burgoyne and Frederick the Emperor.

Anno 1475. Charles Duke of Burgoyne slain in war.

Ann. 1477.

Mary Daughter of Charles of Burgoyne married to Maximilian.

War and dissension among Christian Princes.

The discord of Christians scourged by the Turks.

Discord and dissension in the Church noted.

The Council of Paris appealeth from the Pope to the General Council. *Vide supra.*

The complaint of the Germans to the Emperor, for help and aid against the oppression of the Pope.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the Parliament-House, the Kings Attorney named *Joannes Romanus*, a man well spoken, singularly witty, and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence, and no less boldness, proved the said sanction to be profitable, holy and necessary for the wealth of the Realm, and in no case to be abolished. Unto whose sentence the University of *Paris* adjoining their consent, did appeal from the attempts of the Pope to the next General Council. The Cardinal understanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatening many terrible things against them; but all his minatory words notwithstanding, he returned again to the King, his purpose not obtained, Anno 1438. *Ex Joan. Mario.*

Thus the Popes purpose in *France* was disappointed, which also in *Germany* had come to the like effect, if *Frederick* the Emperor had there done his part likewise toward the *Germans*; who at the same time, bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suit to persuade the Emperor, that he should no longer be under the subjection of the Popes of *Rome*, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the Charter of Appeals; declaring their estate to be far worse, (although undeserved) than the *Frenchmen* or *Italians*, whose servants (and especially of the *Italians*) they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The Nobles and Commonalty of *Germany* did instantly intreat with most weighty reasons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the Empire, to have the Emperors aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an Oath; alledging also the great dishonour and ignominy in that they alone had not the use of their own laws, declaring how the *French Nation* had not made their suit unto their King in vain against the exactions of Popes, by whom they were defended; which also provided Decrees and Ordinances for the liberty of his people, and caused the same to be observed; the which thing the Emperor ought to foresee within his Empire, and to provide for his People and States of his Empire, as well as other Kings do; for what shall come to pass thereby, if that foreign Nations, having recourse unto their Kings, being relieved and defended by them from the said Exactions, and the *Germans*, and States of the Empire flying unto their Emperor, be by him forsaken, or rather betrayed and deprived of their own Laws and Decrees? The Emperor being moved, and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no less for them, than the King of *France* had done for the *Frenchmen*, and to make Decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of *Aeneas Sylvius*, as *Platina* writeth in the History of *Pius* the second, brake off the matter; who by his subtle and pestiferous persuasions, did so bewitch the Emperor, that he, contemning the equal, just and necessary requests of his Subjects, chose the said *Aeneas* to be his Ambassador unto *Calixtus* then newly chosen Pope, to swear unto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all *Germany*, as the only Country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the Ordinances and Decrees of their Country, as before he had done unto *Eugenius* the 4th, being Ambassador for the said *Frederick*, promising that he and all the *Germans* would be obedient unto him from henceforth in all matters, as well spiritual as temporal.

Frederick made the Germans twice subject unto the Pope.

Thus twice *Frederick of Austria* contemned and derided the *Germans*, and frustrating them of their native Decrees and Ordinances, brought them under subjection and bondage of the Pope; which partly was the cause that seven years before his death, he caused his Son *Maximilian*, not only to be chosen, but also crowned King of *Rome*, and did associate him to the ministration of the Empire, left after his death (as it came to pass) the Empire should be transported into another Family, suspecting the *Germans*, whom he had twice contrary to his Laws made subject, and in bondage unto the Popes Exactions; first before he was crowned in the time of *Eugenius* the fourth; and again, the second time after his Coronation, and death of Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, denying their requests. Whereupon *Germany* being in this miserable poverty and grievous subjection under the Popes tyranny and pollings with tears and sighs lamenting their estate, continued so almost unto *Luther's* time; as the Histories hereafter following do testify.

And here ceasing with the story of *Frederick*, we will now proceed to the Reign of *Maximilian* his son, omitting divers things else incident in the time of this Emperor; as first touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this *Frederick* and *Albertus* his Brother, and *Sigismundus* his Uncle, for the Dukedom of *Austria*, after the death of *Matthias* afore mentioned. Omitting also to speak of the long and cruel War between the *Prussians* and *Polonians*, with the religious Sect of them, which were called *Tentones fratres sanctae Mariae*, in the time of *Uladislaus*: Omitting also the strife and variance for the Dukedom of *Millain*, between *Fredericus* the Emperor, *Alphonfus*, *Carolus* Duke of *Orleanse*, and *Franciscus Sfortia*; And how the said Princedom being after given to *Sfortia*, great Wars were kindled and long continued between *Sfortia* and the *Milleners*, then between the *Milleners* and *Venetians*, and after between the *Frenchmen* and the *Milleners*. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I refer to other Writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

This as more properly belonging to the story of the Church, I thought good not to pass over, touching such as were condemned, and suffered the pains of fire for testimony of Christ and his Truth. Of whom one was *John* a Pastor or a Neat-herd, which was a keeper of Cattel: The other was *Joannes de Wesalia*, although not burned, yet persecuted near to death, under the Reign of this Emperor *Fredericus* the 3d.

And first touching this *John* the Neat-herd, thus writeth *Sebast. Munsterus*, That the Bishop of *Herbipolis* condemned and burned for an Heretick one *John*, which was a Keeper of Cattel at a Town called *Nicholas Hausen* in *Franconia*, because he taught and held that the life of the Clergy was ignominious and abominable before God. *Ex Munster.*

The other was Doctor *Joannes Wesalia*, who was complained upon unto *Dietherus* the Archbishop of *Mentz*, by the *Thomists*, upon certain Articles and Opinions gathered out of his Books. Wherefore the said *Dierberus* fearing else to be deposed again from his Bishoprick, directed forth Commission to the Universities of *Heidelberg* and *Colen*, to have the matter in examination; who convening together the year above mentioned, called this Doctor *de Wesalia* before them, making him to swear that he should present and give up all his Treatises, works and writings, whatsoever he had made or preached; that being done, they divided his Books amongst themselves, severally every man to find out what Heresies and Errors they could. His Articles and Opinions are these:

That all men be saved freely, and through meer grace by faith in Christ. Free will to be nothing. That we should only believe the Word of God, and not the Gloss of any Man, or Fathers. That the Word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another. That Prelates have no authority to make Laws, nor to expound the Scriptures, by any peculiar right given unto them more than to another. That mens Traditions, as Fastings, Pardons, Feasts, long Prayers, Peregrinations and such like, are to be rejected. Extreme Unction and Confirmation to be reprov'd; Confession and Satisfaction to be reprehended. The Primacy of the Pope also be affirmed to be nothing.

Certain other Articles also were gathered out of him by his adversaries, but in such sort, that they may seem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than true intelligence of his mind, whereof more is to be understood in this process hereafter.

Thus when *Wesalianus* was commanded to appear, there convened together first the Archbishop, the Inquisitor, the Doctors of *Colen*, and the Doctors of *Heidelberg*, with the Masters of the same, and the Rector of the University of *Mentz*, the Dean of Faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, and many other Masters of the same University, Canons, Doctors, with the Bishops Chancellor, and his Counsellors, besides many religious Prelates, Scholars, with a Doctor of *Frankfort*, the Sumner and Bedles, which all met together in the great Hall of the *Minorites*, for the examination of this *Jo. de Wesalia*.

Frier *Elton* the Inquisitor first sitteth in the highest place, then after him, others according to their degree. In the beginning of the Examination, first the Inquisitor be-

KING
Ed. 4.
Frederick,
Albertus,
his Brother,
and Sigismund strive for the Dukedom of Austria.
War between Francisus Sfortia and the Venetians about Millain.
War between Lewis the French K. and the City of Millain.

John Neat-herd of Franconia Martyr.
Anno 1476.

John de Wesalia persecuted.
Anno 1479.

The Articles and Opinions of J. de Wesalia. Free-will nothing. Prelates have no more power over Scriptures than other men. Extreme Unction reprov'd. Against the primacy of the Pope.

The Inquisitor speaks.

KING {Ed. 4.} beginneth with these words, *Most Reverend Fathers and honourable Doctors, &c.* Our reverend Father and Prince Elector hath caused this present Convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Master John de Wefalia, in certain suspected Articles concerning the Catholick Faith. But something I will say before, that may do him good, and desire that two or three of them that favour him, or some other, will rise up and give him counsel to forsake and leave his errors, to recognize himself, and to ask pardon; which if he will do, he shall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed against him without pardon. And thus Wefalianus being cited, and brought in the midst betwixt two

J. de Wefalia brought before the Prelates.

The answer of Wefalia was reasonable.

The cruel proceeding of the Inquisitor.

The greater curse of the people.

Scio. Credo.

His opinion of the Sacrament.

His opinion of Monks and Nuns. The vow of Chastity.

Minorites, being very aged, and having a staff in his hand, was set before the Inquisitor. Who beginning to answer for himself with a long protestation, could not be suffered to prosecute his Oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words, whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the Church. To this he answered, that he never spake any thing against the determination of the Church, but said, *That he had written divers and sundry Treatises, in the which if he had erred, or were found to say otherwise than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the same, and do all things that were requisite.* Then said the Inquisitor, *Do you ask them pardon?* The other answered, *Why should I ask pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?* The Inquisitor said, *Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the Examination.*

In the mean time, others called upon him instantly to ask pardon. Then said Wefalianus, *I ask pardon.* Notwithstanding the Inquisitor proceeded to the Examination, reading there two Instruments, declaring that he had authority from the Apostolick See; after this, he cited the said John to appear to his Examination. Thirdly, he commanded him under pain of disobedience, in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and under pain of Excommunication of the greater Curé (from the which no man could absolve him, but only the Pope, or the Inquisitor, except only at the point of death) to tell plainly the truth upon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and sophistication of words. And so being demanded first whether he did believe upon his Oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were against himself or any other; To this he answered, *Scio, that is, I know.* Then the Inquisitor biddeth him say, *Credo, that is, I believe.* To which he answered again, *What need I say that I believe that thing which I know?* There the Inquisitor something stirred with the matter, as hot as a Toast (as they say) cried with a loud voice, *Master Joannes, Master Joannes, Master Joannes, say Credo, say Credo;* then he answered, *Credo.*

After this, being demanded whether he had written any Treatise, concerning the binding of humane Laws, to one Nicholas of Bobemo; and whether he had written any Treatise of the Ecclesiastical power of Indulgences and Pardons, and of Fasting and other Treatises; he answered, *That he believed that he had so written, and had conferred with divers learned men;* also, *That he had sent to the Bishop of Worms a certain Treatise of Fasting.*

Many other interrogatories were ministered unto him, whereof some were vain, some false. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leaving out superfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a fautor of the Bobemians, he said, he was not. Also, being demanded concerning the Sacrament of the holy Body and Blood of our Lord, whether he thought Christ there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe in the said Sacrament, the substance of Bread there to remain, or only the form thereof; To this he answered, not denying but the Body of Christ was there really contained, and also that with the Body of Christ the substance of Bread did remain.

After this, he was demanded his Opinion concerning Religious Men, as Monks, Nuns or Beguines, whether he thought them to be bound to the Vow of Chastity, or to the keeping of any other Vow, and whether he said to the Friars Minorites any such word in effect, *I cannot save you in this your state and Order.* This he confessed that he had said, *how that not your Religion saveth you, but the grace of God, &c.* not denying but they might be saved.

Item, Being required whether he believed, or had written, that there is no mortal sin, but which is exprest to be mortal in the Canon of the holy Bible; To this he answered, *that he did so believe as he hath written, till he was better informed.* Likewise, being required what he thought of the Vicar of Christ in earth, he answered, *That he believed that Christ left no Vicar in earth;* for the confirmation whereof he alledged and said, *That Christ ascending up to Heaven, said Ecce ego vobiscum sum, &c. Behold I am with you, &c.* In the which words he plainly declared, *that he would substitute under him no Vicar here in earth;* and said moreover, *if a Vicar signified any man which in the absence of the Principal hath to do the works of the Principal, then Christ hath no Vicar here in earth.*

In like manner, concerning Indulgences and Pardons, such as the Church doth use to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof; who answered again, *That he had written a certain Treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that Treatise he would persist therein, which was thus, That he believed that the treasure-box of the merits of Saints could not be distributed of the Pope to others, because that Treasure is not left here in earth, for so it is written in the Apocalyp, Opera enim illorum sequuntur illos, &c. that is, their works follow them.*

Item, *That their Merits could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the Pope and other Prelates, cannot distribute that treasure to men.*

It was objected to him moreover, that in the said his Treatise he called Pardons and Indulgences, *Pias fraudes fidelium*, that is, *boly frauds and deceits of the faithful.*

Also being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and blessing of Altars, Chalice, Vestments, Wax-Candles, Palms, Herbs, Holy-water, and other divine things, &c. He answered, *That they had no spiritual vertue and power in them to drive away Devils, and that Holy-water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of venial sins, and driving away Devils, and other effects, which the School Doctors do attribute to it.*

Item, For degrees of Marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth, *That all Christian men under deadly sin are bound unto the same.*

Item, *That he believeth, That God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without all motion of free will.* Also he thinketh, *that Saint Paul in his Conversion did nothing of his own free will for his Conversion.* He believeth moreover, *That God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, not doing that which in him is.*

Item, He affirmed, *That nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the Canon of the Bible.*

Also, *That the Elect are saved only by the grace of God.*

Besides all these, moreover he was charged with the old Opinion of the Grecians, which they did hold contrary to the Roman Church, unto the time of the Council of Ferrara above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, three Doctors, the Suffragan, Herwicus and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent unto him, with persuasions to exhort him; and when he would not stand to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute his Doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would believe rather the four Evangelists, than the Gospel of Nicodemus? To whom he answered, because he would. Being asked again why he believed the four Evangelists, he said, because he so received of his Parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the Doctors; because (said he) *their Doctrine is not Canonical Scripture.* Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himself when he preached, seeing he would not believe the holy Doctors? To whom he answered in this wise, saying, *That he did preach as his duty was; but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.*

This Examination being ended, after these Articles were condemned by the Inquisitor and his Assistants, then said he after this manner, *As you do wish me, if Christ himself were here, he might be condemned as an Heretick.*

After

Mortal sin found by the Pope, beside that which is exprest to be mortal in the Scripture.

What is this Article, but to make the Pope a God? Christ left no Vicar in earth.

Pardons and Indulgences be of no effect.

The treasure of Saluts merits is not in earth.

This saying was taken out of one Cantor Parisiensis, which was wont to say, that Pardons were holy deserts, because that lay-men there were provoked, by naughty deserts, to give good alms.

Degrees in Scripture forbidden to marry.

Nothing to be believed, but which is in Scripture contained.

The Church giveth witness who were the Writers of the Scriptures, but hath no authority above that which is written.

By this Inquisition, Christ himself might be condemned.

After this they sent divers to him to have communication with him, and to perswade him, sending also to him, with his Articles, a form of asking pardon; at length, within three or four days after, he was content to condescend unto them, and to submit himself to their holy Mother Church, and the information of the Doctors. In the Book of *Orthuinus Gratius*, and in *Paralipomena*, adjoyned to *Abbas Urspergensis*, we read these words written of this *Joannes de Wefalia*, *Dempto solo articulo de processione spiritus sancti in aliis videtur non ita grave censura, &c.* That is, Except only the Article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, in other Articles it seemeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharp censure, if respite and space had been given him, if good counsellors had been about him, if all they which did accuse and molest him had not been de via realium, as Thomists, that is, of the Sect of Thomas; which Thomists were set at that time against the other Sect of the Seculars, which were called Nominales, and therefore they so spited this Doctor, because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whom otherwise (had it not been for that cause) they would never have been so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witness, which knoweth all things, that this Process which was made against him, for his revoking and burning of his Books, did greatly displease Master Engeline of Brunswick, a great Divine, and also, Master John Keisersburg, being both learned and famous men; but namely Master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashness was shewed in handling of that same man, and did not fear to say, That many of his Articles, and the greater part thereof, might be bolden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantastical dissention of the Thomists, seeking by all manner of ways how to get the triumph over the Secular Divines, &c. *Hæc ille.*

Ex Ort. Gra.
Ex Paralip.
Ab. Ursper.

Discord between Reals and Nominals.

Ex Ort. Gra.

Doctor John de Wefalia revoketh his opinions.

Albert Duke of Saxony, called Dextra manus Imperii. Albert Marquis of Brandenburg, called Achilles Germanicus.

Ann. 1484. The abomination of Pope Sixtus. Ex declamatione Agrippæ ad Laurentium.

The Wars of Pope Sixtus.

Although this aged and feeble old man by weakness was constrained to give over unto the Romish Clergy by outward profession of his mouth; yet notwithstanding, his Opinions and Doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death present had not inforced him to say otherwise than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no such form of Recantation to be prescribed to him to read openly unto the People, as the use is here in England. This story of this man is more fully to be found in the Books of *Orth. Gratius, &c.*

As touching the Reign of this Frederick Emperor, seeing we have comprehended hitherto sufficiently the most principal matters in his time incurrent, we will now pass forward (the Lord guiding us) to *Maximilian*, after I have first given a brief Memorandum of three valiant Princes and Captains, flourishing in the same time of this Frederick in Germany: Of the which, one was *Albert Duke of Saxony*; who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by publick voice, *Dextra manus Imperii, The right hand of the Empire.* The other was *Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg*, to whom also the name was attribute, named of Pope *Pius* to be *Achilles Germanicus*. The third was *Frederick Earl Palatine*, surnamed *Victoriosus*, who manfully defended the Freedom and Majesty of the Empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the Popes tyranny.

In the year of our Lord 1484, in this Emperors time died Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, a little before touched, a Monster rather of Nature, than a Prelate of the Church. Of him writeth *Platina*, that unjustly he vexed all Italy with war and dissention. *Agrippa* writing of him saith, That among all the Bawds of these our later days, which were builders of Brothel-houses, this Pope *Sixtus* the 4th, surmounted all other; who at Rome erected a Stews of double abomination, not only of Women, but also, &c. whereupon no small gain redounded to his Coffers. For every such common Harlot in Rome paid him a *July* piece, the sum whereof grew in the year, some while to 2000, at length to 4000 Duckets. Whereunto accordeth right well the Epitaph of *John Sapidus*, which in the end hereof we will annex.

John Carion also, speaking of this Bishop, witnesseth him to be a man rather born to War than to Religion. For he warred against *Vitellius*, *Tiphernates*, against the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, whom he excommunicated, and did not absolve till he died; also against *Columnensis*,

against *Ferdinandus* King of *Apulia*, and Duke of *Calabria*; also against other Nation and Princes more. *Ex Joan. Laziardo.*

Of the said Pope it is recorded, that he was a special Patron and Tutor to all Begging-Friers, granting them to have and enjoy Revenues in this World, and in the World to come everlasting life. Among the which Friers there was one named *Alanus de rupe*, a black Frier, which made the Rosary of our Ladies Psalter (so they term it) and erected a certain new fraternity upon the same, called *Fraternitas Coronariorum*, pertaining to the Order of the *Dominicks*, of the which Order *Jacobus Sprenger*, one of the condemnors of *Joannes de Wefalia* above mentioned, was a great advancer, and especially this Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who gave to the said Fraternities large graces and privileges.

Concerning the Institution of this Rosary, there was a Book set forth about the year of our Lord 1480. In the beginning whereof is declared, That the blessed Virgin entered into the Cell of this *Alanus*, and was so familiar with him, that not only she did espouse him to her Husband, but also kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also for more familiarity opened to him her Paps, and poured great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the said *Alanus* this holy Babe (saith the story) did swear deeply, cursing himself, if it were not thus as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of *John Bale*, I began with my self to mistrust the credit thereof, and had thought not to trouble the Reader with such incredible Forgeries. But as the Providence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in this, that the very same Book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this self same narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in *John Bale* is expressed, but also found in like manner another wonder as prodigious as this; where in another place not far off, it is storied in the same Book, how that about the time of Saint *Dominick*; there was a certain Matron in Spain, named *Lucia*, which being taken Captive by the *Saracens*, having her Husband killed, was carried great with Child into the Turkish Land.

When the time of her labour came, she being left desolate among Beasts and Hogs, and remembring this twice holy Rosary; (first instituted, saith the Book, by Saint *Dominick*, and afterward renewed by *Alanus*) etsoons the holy Virgin was ready and stood by her, and received the Child at her travel, supplying all the parts of a diligent Midwife; and moreover causing a Priest suddenly to appear, she gave the Child to be Christened, calling it after her own name, *Marianus*; and so was the Wife to *Alanus*, Midwife to *Lucia*, and Godmother to *Marianus*. Which story if it be true, then is the Popes Canon by this example to be controlled, which permiteth Midwives in time of necessity to baptize, seeing the blessed Virgin, playing the part her self of a Midwife, durst not baptize this Child without a Priest.

It followeth more in the story, that by the help of the said blessed Virgin, this *Lucia* our Ladies Gossip, after her Purification, was restored with her Child safe to her Country again. This Book, being in *Latine* and printed, beareth this Title *Rosacea Augustissima Christifera Mariae corona*; and in the front it sheweth the name of *Jodocus Bisselajus*, a Nobleman of *Aquino*. And this by the occasion of Pope *Sixtus*. Which *Sixtus*, what a main-tainer of blind Superstition he was, partly by that afore spoken, partly by the end following it may be seen. For we read in certain Writers, that after this Pope had understanding that *Hercules Estensis*, Duke of *Ferraria*, had joynd peace with the *Venetians* against his will, he was so grieved therewith, that for rancour of mind, within five days after he died; whereunto his Epitaph following giveth sufficient Record. About whose time also died *Platina*, a man not unlearned, but yet a shameful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the Popes.

KING Ed. 4. Ex Joan. Laziardo, lib. 1. cap. 284. A large gift of the Pope to the begging Friers. Alanus author of our Ladys Psalter.

Then had the blessed Virgin Mary a husband.

An old Kneave to suck his Wives breast.

The detestable impiety and blasphemy of the Popish lying Religion.

Mendacium memorem esse oportet.

Ex Latino Codice impresso, cui titulus, Rosacea Mariae Corona.

The death of Pope Sixtus the fourth. Here endeth *Platina*.

The

KING
Ed. 5.

The Epitaph of Pope Sixtus is this:

*Non potuit scævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum,
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.*

Another Epitaph of the same Pope.

*Sixte jaces tandem, nostri discordia secli,
Sævisti in superos, nunc Acheronta move.
Sixte jaces tandem, deslent tua busta cinedi,
Sortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.*

Another.

*Gaude prisce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic scelus omne simul clauditur, & vitium.*

But leaving here Pope Sixtus with his Verses and Vices, let us now proceed, as we before promised, to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping notwithstanding, the order of our Kings here in England. For a little before the Reign of Maximilian, King Edward the fourth ceased his life, Anno 1483. after he had Reigned twenty two years. In the time of which King Edward this also is not to be forgotten, that one *Burdet*, a Merchant dwelling in *Cheapside*, at the Sign of the *Crown*, which is now the Sign of the *Flower-de-luce*, merrily speaking to his Son, said that he would make him inheritor of the Crown, meaning indeed his own House. For the which words, King Edward causing them to be misconstrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the Crown of the Realm, within less space than four hours, he was apprehended, judged, drawn and quartered in *Cheapside*.

King EDWARD the Fifth.

K. Edward
the Fifth.

THIS King Edward left behind him by his Wife *Elizabeth*, two Sons, *Edward* and *Richard*, and two Daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Cecile*. Which two Sons *Edward* and *Richard*, forasmuch as they were under Age, and not ripe to govern, a Consultation was called among the Peers, to debate whether the aforesaid young Prince and King, should be under the government of his Mother, or else that *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, Brother to King Edward the fourth, and Uncle to the Child, should be Governor of the King, and Protector of the Realm, there hath been and is an old Adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wrested out of *Solomon*, *Vae Regno cuius Rex est puer, &c.* i. *Wo to the Kingdom, the King whereof is a Child, &c.* But if I may find leave herein to thrust in a Gloss, I would add this, and say, *Vae illi puero, qui sui Regni Rex non est.* i. *Wo to that child, which is a King in a Kingdom unruly and ambitious.* There was the same reason, among other noble Peers of the Realm, the Duke of *Buckingham*, a man of great authority, who had married King Edward's Wives Sister. Because the Duke being so near allied to the King, had been unkindly (as he thought) of the King entreated, having by him no advancement, nor any great friendship shewed, according to his expectation, he took part therefore with *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, both against the Queen and her children, to make the foresaid Duke the chief Governor and Protector. The which thing being brought to pass, by the aid, assistance and working of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Queen took Sanctuary with her younger Son; the elder Brother, which was the King, remaining in the custody of the Duke of *Gloucester*, his Uncle. Who, being now in a good towardness to obtain that which he had long looked for, sought all the means, and soon compassed the matter, by false colour of dissembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Cardinal Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that the other Brother also should be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious Protector and unnatural Uncle, having the possession of his two Nephews, and innocent Babes, thought himself almost up the Wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in such mists and clouds, but his devised purposes began to be espied; which caused him more covertly to go about to remove from him all suspicion, and to blind the peoples eyes. But before he

could accomplish his execrable enterprize, some there were whom he thought first must be rid out of the way, as namely the Lord *Hastings*, and the Lord *Stanley*; who as they were sitting together in Council within the Tower, the Protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he suddenly halted out again, his mind belike being full of mischief and fury, was not quiet. Who within the space of an hour returned again into the Chamber, with a stern countenance and a frowning look, and so there sat down in his place. When the Lords were in great marvel and muse at the meaning hereof, then he out of a cankered heart thus began to bray, asking them, *What are they worthy to have, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so near to the Kings Bloud, and Protector of the Realm?* At the which question as the other Lords sat musing, the Lord *Hastings*, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, *That they were worthy of punishment, whatsoever they were.* Which when the other Lords also had affirmed; that is (quoth the Protector) *ponder Sorceress, my Brothers Wife*, meaning the Queen and other with her; adding moreover, and saying, *That Sorceress and other of her Council, as Shore's Wife with her affinity, have by their Witchcraft thus wasted my body, and therewith shewed forth his left Arm, a wearish withered thing, as it was never otherwise, as was well known.*

This *Shore's* Wife had been before a Concubine to King *Edward*, and afterward was kept by the same Lord *Hastings*. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said Lord *Hastings*, the cruel Protector had devised about the same time, the Kindred of the Queen innocently to be beheaded at *Pomfret*, of meer despite and hatred. Wherefore, this punishment not undeservedly, by the just hand of God, fell upon the Lord *Hastings*.

It followeth then more in the story, that when the Lord *Hastings* had heard of these false accusations of the Tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; Certainly (my Lord) said he, *if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment.* Why, quoth the Protector, dost thou serve me with if and with and? I tell thee, they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, Traytor; and therewith giving a great rap on the Board (for a token or a watchword) one cried *Treason* without, and forthwith the Chamber was full of harnessed men. The Protector then approaching to the Lord *Hastings*, arrested him as a Traytor. Another let fly at the Lord *Stanley*; who to avoid the blow, shrunk under the Table, or else his Head had been cleft asunder; notwithstanding he received such a wound, that the blood ran about his ears. There were in that Council the same time the Archbishop of *York*, and Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, (by whose procurement afterward King *Henry* the Seventh was sent for into *England*, and he made Archbishop after that of *Canterbury*) these with the Lord *Stanley* diversly were bestowed in divers Chambers. The Lord *Hastings* was commanded to speed and shrieve him apace, for before Dinner the Protector sware by Saint *Paul* that he should die; and so incontinently, without further judgment, his Head was stricken off, by whose counsel the Queens Kindred were at the same time and day beheaded at *Pomfret*.

After this tyrannous Murder accomplished, the mischievous Protector aspiring still to the Crown, to set his devices forward, first through gifts and fair promises, did suborn Doctor *Shaw* a famous Preacher then in *London*, at *Pauls Cross* to insinuate to the people, that neither King *Edward* with his Sons, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begotten, nor the very Children of the Duke of *York*, but begotten unlawfully by other persons in Adultery or the Dutcheys their Mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful Heir of the Duke of *York*. Moreover, to declare and to signify to the audience, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but his Wife before was Dame *Elizabeth* Lucy, and so the two Children of King *Edward* to be base and Bastards, and therefore the Title of the Crown most rightly to pertain unto the Lord Protector. Thus this false flatterer and loud lying Preacher, to serve the Protectors humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy Place, that reverend Auditory, the sacred Word of God, taking for his Theme, *Adultera plantationes non habunt radices altas, &c.* which

The devil-
lish Prote-
ctor picketh
quarrels.The Queen
and Shore's
Wife falsly
accused of
the Prote-
ctor to be-
witch his
Arm.Adultery
punished of
God.Murder
justly puni-
shed of
God.L. Hastings
arrested for
a Traytor.
L. Stanley
wounded.Bishop
Morton.The tyrann-
y of the
Protector.The Lord
Hastings
beheaded.The beastly
Protector
accuseth his
own Mo-
ther.
Dr. Shaw's
impudent
Sermon at
Pauls-Cross.

Sapi. 4.

The death
of K. Edw.
the fourth.
Ann. 1483.
Burdet.
Tyranny in
misconstru-
ing a mans
words.
The laws of
the Realm
misconstru-
ed for the
Princes
pleasure.

Eccle. 10.

Vae puero re-
gi in suo
regno.Rich. Duke
of Gloucester
made Prote-
ctor.
The young
King com-
mitted to
the Duke of
Gloucester.The Duke
of Bucking-
ham a great
doer for the
Protector.
Both King
Edward's
Children in
the posses-
ion of the
Protector.

Example
for all flat-
tering
Preachers
to beware.

The Duke
of Bucking-
ham ano-
ther Mini-
ster for the
Protectors
fury.
The Duke
of Bucking-
ham speak-
eth for the
Protector in
Guildhal.

An hard
thing to
make the
tongue
speak a-
gainst the
heart.

A ston
content in
the Guild-
hal.

File of hypo-
crisie.

The hypo-
crisie of the
Protector,
denying the
Crown
thrice be-
fore he
would take
it.

he most impiously did apply against the innocent Children, and right Heirs of the Realm. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that for shame of the people crying out of him, in few days after he pined away.

When this Sermon would take no effect with the people, the Protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within a few days after excited the Duke of Buckingham, first to break the matter in covert talk to the Mayor and certain Heads of the City picked out for the purpose; that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which shameless *Shaw* before had preached at *Pauls Cross*. Which the Duke with all diligence and helps of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificial Oration, supposing no less, but that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry, *King Richard, King Richard*. But there was no *King Richard* in their mouths, less in their hearts. Whereupon the Duke looking to the Lord Mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other; it was then answered of the Mayor, that the people peradventure well understood him not: wherefore the Duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his Oration again and again. Then the Commons which before stood mute, being now in amaze, seeing this opportunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no *King Richard* could sound in their lips, save only that in the nether end of the Hall, certain of the Dukes servants, with one *Nashfield*, and other belonging to the Protector, thrusting into the Hall among the Preefe, began suddenly at mens backs to cry *King Richard, King Richard*, throwing up their Caps, whereat the Citizens turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The Duke and the Lord Mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came blowing for haste to the Protector, then lying at *Baynards Castle*. Where the matter being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth humble petition was made in the name of the whole Commons, and that with three sundry sutes, to the humble and simple Protector, *That he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would of his humility stoop so low, as to receive the heavy Kingdom of England upon his shoulders*. At this their tender request and sute of the Lords and Commons made (ye must know how) the mild Duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sore against his will (ye must so imagine) and to submit himself so low, as of a Protector to be made King; not much herein unlike to our Prelates in the *Popish Church*, who when they have before well compounded for the Popes Bulls, yet must they for manner sake make courtesie, and thrice deny that for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have payed for.

King RICHARD the Third, Usurper.

K. Richard,
Usurper.

AND thus *Richard Duke of Gloucester* took upon him to be made and Proclaimed King of England, the year aforesaid, Anno 1583. in the Month of June. Who then coming to the Tower by Water, first made his Son, a child of ten year old, Prince of Wales, and *John Haward* (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be Duke of Northfolk, and Sir *Thomas Haward* his Son he ordained Earl of Surry. Also *William Lord Barkley* was appointed Earl of Nottingham. *Francis Lord Lovel* was made Viscount Lovel. Lord *Stanley* for fear of his Son was delivered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the Kings Household. Likewise the Archbishop of York was set free; but *Morton Bishop of Ely* was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in *Henry Earl of Richmond* into England, and to conjoyn Marriage between *Elizabeth King Edward's Daughter* and him, whereby the two Houses of York and Lancaster were united together.

After the Kingdom of England was thus allotted to *King Richard the Usurper*, as in manner above remembered, he tarried not long for his Coronation, which was solemnized the Month next ensuing, the sixth day of July.

The triumph and solemnity of his usurped Coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet Tyrant yet could not think himself safe, so long as young *Edward* the right King and his Brother were alive; wherefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this, how to rid those innocent Babes out of the way, that he might reign King alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender hearts to understand. As the younger Brother lingered in thought and heaviness; so the Prince, which was eleven years old, was so out of heart, and so fraught with fear, that he never tyed his points, nor joyed good day, till the traitorous impiety of their cruel Uncle had delivered them of their wretchedness which was not long in dispatching. For after *King Richard* their Uncle had first attempted to compass his devilish device by *Robert Brakenbury* Constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruel fact (to die therefore) then he got one *James Tyril*, joyning with him *J. Dighton*, and *Miles Forrest*, to perpetrate this heinous murther. Which *Dighton* and *Forrest*, about midnight entering into their Chamber, so bewrapped and intangled them amongst the Cloaths, keeping down the Featherbed and Pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piteously in their Bed.

And thus ended these two young Princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloody murther committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first *Miles Forrest*, at *S. Martins le graund*, by piece-meal miserably rotted away; *John Dighton* lived at *Calis* long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery. Sir *James Tyril* was beheaded at Tower-Hill for Treason. Also *King Richard* himself, within a year and a half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, torn and tugged like a Cur-dog.

Furthermore, the said justice of Gods hand let not the Duke of Buckingham escape free, which was a great maintainer and setter up of this butcherly Usurper: for less than within a year after, so God wrought, that he was himself beheaded for Treason by the said King, whom he so unjustly before had advanced and set up.

In the same Catalogue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we have also to comprehend two other, as well worthy of memorial as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was Doctor *Shaw* above rehearsed; The other Doctor *Pinky*, Provincial of the *Austen Friars*; both famous Preachers, and both Doctors in Divinity, both of more learning than vertue (saith the story) of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. *Shaw* made a Sermon in praise of the Protector, before his Coronation. *Pinky* preached after his Coronation. Both were so full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. *Pinky* in his Sermon so lost his voice, that he was feign to leave off and came down in the midst. *Dr. Shaw* by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, so that he never durst after that shew his face again. But as for the Frier, he was so far past shame, that the loss thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of Doctor *Morton Bishop of Ely*, by whose means the device was first broached, for the conjoyning of the two Houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first broken to the Duke of Buckingham, which soon after cost him his life. But that Bishop, more crafty to save himself, incontinent fled into Britain. Notwithstanding, the device once being broached, was so plausible and took such effect, that message was sent over the Sea to *Henry Earl of Richmond*, by his Mother, and by the Queen, Mother to the Lady *Elizabeth*, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said Lady *Elizabeth King Edward's Daughter*, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter

KING
Ric. 3.
K. Richard
crowned.

The truth
of Rob. Bra-
kenbury to
his Prince.
James Tyril,
J. Dighton,
Miles For-
rest, cruel
Traitors,
and Mur-
therers of
their Prince.
Young Prin-
ces, the a-
children of
K. Edward
murdered.
The just pu-
nishment of
God upon
the murthe-
rers of them
two.

The punish-
ment of
God upon
K. Richard.

The punish-
ment of
God upon
the Duke of
Buckingham

Dr. Shaw,
and Dr.
Pinky, two
flattering
Preachers.

Gods judge-
ment upon
flattering
Preachers.

The first
motion of
joyning the
two Houses
York and
Lancaster
together.

KING matter which is sufficiently set forth by Sir Tho. More, so ornately, it needeth not.

Earl Henry Briefly, (to contract that in a small compass of words, which was not so small a thing in doing) after that the Earl Henry, with such other banished men as fled out of England at the taking of the Duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his Mother, and by the Queen and other friends more out of England, how the case of the Realm stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all convenient speed haste his return over into England, promising to marry with Lady Elizabeth; he with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by Francis Duke of Britain, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first Voyage sped not; for that, the Winds turning contrary, by force of Weather his Ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France again. His second Voyage was more prosperous. Who taking the Seas at Harflet, in the Month of August, Anno 1485, accompanied only with two thousand men, and a small number of Ships, arrived at Milford-Haven in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Harford west, where he was joyfully received, and also by the coming in of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, was in power increased. From thence he removing by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Lichfield, his Army still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small Rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this Earl, divers noble Captains and men of power adjoynd themselves, as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rice ap Thomas, then Sir George Talbot, with the young Earl of Shrewsbury his Ward, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, Knights. At the last the said Earl, hearing of the Kings coming, conducted his whole Army to Tamworth.

**The arriv-
ing of Henry
Earl of
Richmond in
Wales.** King Richard first hearing of the arrival of the Earl Henry in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after understanding that he was come to Lichfield, without resistance or incumbrance, he was fore moved, and exceedingly took on, curling and crying out against them which had so deceived him, and in all post speed sent for John Duke of Northfolke, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Earl of Surry, with other his friends of special trust. Robert Brakenbury also, Lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for, with Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, with certain other Knights and Esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspicious jealousy. Thus King Richard, after most forcible manner, well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The Earl by this time was come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the Evening resorted Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, forsaking the part of King Richard, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The King, having perfect knowledge the Earl to be encamped at Tamworth, embattelled himself in a place near to a Village called Bosworth, not far from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his adversaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning the Lord Stanley, (which was the Earls Father-in-law, and had married his Mother) to what part he would encline. For although his heart went (no doubt) with the Earl, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his Son and Heir George Lord Strange, being then in the hands of King Richard, lest the King should attempt any prejudicial thing against him, he durst not be seen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured, and therefore closely kept himself between both, till the push came that his help might serve at a pinch.

K. Richard gathered his power to encounter with Earl Henry. The number of the Earls part exceeded not to the one half of the side of King Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two Battels should encounter and joyn together, sore stripes and great blows were given on both sides, and many slain. If number and multitude might govern the success of Battel, King Richard had double to the Earl. But God is he, not Man, that giveth Victory, by what means it seemeth to his Divine Providence best. In what order, and by what

occasion this Field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expressed, but only the History of Polydore Virgil, whom Sir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which story it doth appear, that as these two Armies were coupling together, King Richard understanding by his Espials where the Earl of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage, than ruled with reason, set Spurs to his Horse, and ranging out of the compass of his Ranks, pressed toward the Earl, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed Sir William Brandon the Earls Standard-bearer, Father to the Lord Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, then after overthrew Sir John Cheinie, thinking likewise to oppress the Earl. But as the Lord by his secret Providence disposeth the event of all things, as the Earl with his Men about him, being overmatched, began to despair of Victory, suddenly and opportunely came Sir William Stanley with three thousand well appointed able men, whereby King Richard's men were driven back, and he himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slain, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

In the mean time the Earl of Oxford, who had the guiding of the foreward, discomfited the forefront of King Richard's Host, and put them to flight, in which Chace many were slain, of Noblemen especially above other, John Duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Radcliff, and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Haward Earl of Surry there submitted himself, and although he was not received at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

This King Richard had but one Son, who, shortly after the cruel Murther of King Edward's Sons, was taken with sickness and died. The Wife of the said King Richard (whether by poyson or by sickness) died also a little before the Field of Bosworth, after whose decease, the story of Polydore and of Sir Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the Lady Elizabeth, his own Brothers Daughter, and so to prevent the Earl of Richmond.

Moreover, as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story, that King Richard being in Bosworth Field, sent for the Lord Stanley by a Purlevant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his presence; otherwise he sware by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his Sons Head before Dinner. The Lord Stanley sent word again, That if he did, he had more Sons alive. Whereupon the King immediately commanded the Lord Strange to be beheaded; which was the very time when both the Armies were within sight, and were ready to joyn together. Wherefore the Kings Counsellors, pondering the time and the case, perswaded the King that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, advising him to delay the matter till the Battel were ended. And so (as God would) King Richard breaking his Oath, or rather keeping his Oath, for he himself was slain before Dinner, the Lord Strange was committed to be kept Prisoner within the Kings Tent; who then, after the Victory gotten, was fought out and brought to his joyful Father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched King Richard.

Henry the Earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God for his glorious Victory obtained, proceeded to the Town of Leicester, where was brought to him, by the Lord Strange, the Crown, and put on the Earls Head.

In the mean time the dead Corps of King Richard was shamefully carried to the Town of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being trussed behind a Purlevant of Arms, was carried like a Hog or a Dog, having his Head and Arms hanging on the one side of the Horse, and the Legs on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped Reign of King Richard, who reigned two Years and two Months, Ex Polyd. & Th. More.

Bosworth field.
The History of Sir Thomas More, a word taken out of Polydore Virgil.

W. Brandon, Christs Brandon.

The death of K. Rich.

Duke of Northfolke slain.
L. Thomas Haward Earl of Surry advanced by King Henry 7th.

K. Richards Son punished for the wickedness of his Father.
K. Richard purposed to marry Elizabeth his Brothers Daughter.

L. Stanley Husband to K. Henry's Mother, forsook K. Richard.

The Lord Strange marvellously preserved.

The shameful tolling of King Richard's dead Corps. Anno 1485.

King HENRY the Seventh.

King Henry
the 7th.King Henry
married
with Eliza-
beth.
The two
Houses of
York and
Lancaster
joyined to-
gether.

WHEN King Henry, by the Providence of God, had obtained this Triumphant Victory and Diadem of the Realm, first sending for Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, Son to George Duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the Tower, from Leicester he removed to London, and not long after, according to his Oath and Promise made before, espoused to him the young Lady Elizabeth, Heir of the House of York; whereby both the Houses of York and Lancaster were conjoynd together, to the no little rejoycing of all English hearts, and no less quiet unto the Realm, which was Anno 1485. This King Reigned 23 Years and 8 Months, and being a Prince of great Policy, Justice and Temperance, kept his Realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promised, of Maximilian the Emperor, and matters of the Empire, especially such as pertain to the Church.

Maximilian the Emperor.

Ann.
1486
Maximilian
Emperor.The Reign
and Death
of Frederick
Emperor.
Anno
1494.Maximilian
marrieth
the Dorch-
ess of Bur-
goin.
This Mary
was Neece
to King Ed-
ward the
fourth.The learn-
ing of Max-
imilian the
commendedMaximilian
Writer of
his own
stories.
Ex Joan.
Carione.Maximilian
first ordai-
ner of the
University
of Witten-
burg.

IN the Year of our Lord 1486, Frederick waxing aged, and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germans, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore misdoubting that his House, after his decease, should have the less favour among them, for that cause in his life time did associate his Son Maximilian to be joynd Emperor with him; with whom he Reigned the space of seven years, till the death of the said Frederick his Father, who departed Anno 1494, after he had Reigned over the Empire 53 years, lacking only but three years of the Reign of Augustus Caesar, under whom was the Birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

This Maximilian, as he was a valiant Emperor, prudent and singularly learned, so was his Reign intangled in many unquiet and difficil Wars; first in the lower Countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the said Maximilian was taken captive, but shortly after rescued and delivered again by his Father, Anno 1487. It was signified before how this Maximilian, by the advice of the Burgundians, had to Wife Mary the only Daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy afore mentioned, by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, Anno 1477. Which Mary not long after, about the year of our Lord 1481, by a fall from her Horse, fell into an Ague, and departed. Other Wars many more the same Maximilian also achieved, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary, and divers besides.

So happy was the education of this Emperor in good Letters, so expert he was in Tongues and Sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and promptness in the Latine stile, that he, imitating the example of Julius Cesar, did write and comprehend in Latine Histories his own acts and feats done, and that in such sort, that when he had given a certain taste of his History to one Pircamerus a learned Man, asking his judgment how his warlike stile of Latine did like him, the said Pircamerus did affirm and report of him to John Carion (the witness and writer of this story) that he did never see nor read in any German story, a thing more exactly (and that in such haste) done, as this was of Maximilian. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so was he a singular Patron and advancer of learned Students, as may well appear by the erecting and setting up the University of Wittenburg. By this Emperor many in those days were excited to the embracing as well of other Liberal Arts, as also namely, to the searching out of old Antiquities of Histories, whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in Germany, to set their minds, and to exercise their diligence in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of History, as well of ancient as also of later times, as namely Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus, Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

Here now it began right well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the World by the Art and Faculty of Printing, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which Printing the Church and Commonwealth of Christ, began now to be replenished with learned Men,

as both may appear by this Emperor, being so indued himself with such excellent knowledge of good Letters, and also by divers other famous and worthy wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to encrease and multiply; as Baptista Mantuanus, Aug. Politianus, Hermolaus, Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciscus his Cousin, Rodol. Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marsilius, Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Among whom is also to be numbred Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilus, who was not long after Joan. de Wesalia above recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This Weselus died in the year of our Lord 1490. After that Johannes Doctor de Wesalia aforesaid, was condemned, this Weselus being familiar with him, thought that the Inquilitor would come and examine him also, as he himself in a certain Epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthy a man, that of the people he was called Lux Mundi, that is, The light of the World.

Concerning his Doctrine, first he reprehended the Opinion of the Papists, as touching Repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, Satisfaction and Confession he did disallow. Likewise Purgatory and Supererogation of works and pardons he did disprove, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the Popes Indulgences, by the occasion whereof divers of the Popes Court perswaded by him, began to speak more freely against the same matter, than he himself had done.

The abuses of Masses, and praying for the dead he disallowed; and likewise the Supremacy of the Pope he utterly rejected (as appeareth in a Book of his, De sacramento penitentiae) denying utterly that any supreme Head or Governor ought to be in the World over all other; affirming also, and saying many times, That the Pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth, that is, so far as truth goeth with him, so far his sentence to stand; neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, so as every true Christian Bishop may prevail over another. Also in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that Popes and their spiritual Prelates, proceeding against Christs Doctrine, be plain Antichrists. Such as were infirm and not able to perform the bond of Chastity taken upon them, he said they might well break their Vow.

Also the said Weselus witnesseth, that the forefathers which were before Albert and Thomas, did resist and withstand the Popes Indulgences, calling them in their Writings plain Idolatry, meer fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good Divines had withstood these Pardons and Indulgences of the Pope, innumerable errors had overflowed the Church.

Amongst these works of Weselus, there is a certain Epistle of one written to him, in which the Author of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at Paris, called Mr. Thomas de Curselis a Dean; who being in the Council of Basil, where as divers began to advance the power of the Pope too far, declared and affirmed, to be said to him of Christ, Quicquid ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in calo, &c. Et non quicquid dixeris esse ligatum; that is, Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven, but not, Whatsoever thou sayst to be bound. As who should say, the Pope cannot nor doth not bind therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousness go also with him; then he doth so bind indeed. There is a certain Book of this man amongst divers others, which he intituled, De subditis & superioribus, in the which he disputeth greatly against the Pope and his Prelates; affirming that the Pope, unless his Faith and Doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the Pope may err, and when he errerh, men ought by all manner of means to resist him. Item, That great and superfluous riches in the Clergy do not profit, but hurt the Church. That the Pope doth wickedly distribute the Rents of the Church, and the Church it self, to unworthy Ministers by Simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear, that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the Church. Item, That the precepts and commandments of the Pope and Prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of Physicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholesome and standing with the truth of the word.

KING
Hen. 7.
Learned
men begin
to grow in
ChristianismDr. Weselus
Groningen-
sis.Weselus cal-
led Lux
Mundi.The Do-
ctrine of
Weselus
Groningens.Ex lib. D.
Weseli. De
sacramento
penitentiae.
The Popes
supremacy
written a-
gainst.Ex epist. cu-
jusd. in opete
Weseli.
Christs an-
swer to Tho-
de Curseliu
touching
this place,
Quicquid li-
gaveris su-
per terram,
erit ligatum
in celo, &c.
Not what-
soever is
said to be
loosed on
Earth, is
loosed in
Heaven;
but what-
soever is
loosed in
very deed
in earth,
that is also
loosed in
Heaven.Against
riches in
the Church.
The pre-
cepts of the
Pope and
Prelates
how they
bind.

KING
H. 7.
The Popes
keys. Vows.
Doctrines
to be recei-
ved without
examinati-
on.

word. *Item*, That the Pope can command no man under pain of deadly sin, except God command him before. He saith, that the Keys of the Pope and of the Prelates be not such wherewith they open the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather shut it, as the *Pharisees* did. Concerning Vows, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to discern and judge of the doctrine of their Prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination.

Excommu-
nication.

He sheweth moreover that the sentence of Excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly, honest, simple and learned man, than from the Pope; as in the Council of *Constance*, *Bernard* was more esteemed than *Eugenius*. Also if the Pope with his Prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they never so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreover of two Popes, *Pius* the Second, and *Sixtus* the Fourth, he saith, that *Pius* the Second did usurpe unto himself all the Kingdoms of the whole World, and that *Sixtus* the Pope did dispense with all manner of Oaths, in causes temporal, not only with such Oaths, as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter; which was nothing else but to give liberty and licence for men to forswear themselves and deceive one another.

This *Weselus* being a *Phrygian* born, and now aged in years, upon a certain time when a young man, called *M. Joannes Ostendorpius*, came to him, said these words; Well my child, thou shalt live to that day, when thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious Divines, as *Thomas* and *Bonaventure*, with others of the same sort, shall be utterly rejected and exploded from all true Christian Divines. And this which *Ostendorpius* then being young heard *Weselus* to speak, he reported himself to *Norwimagus*, which wrote the story, Anno 1520, and heard it of the mouth of the said *Weselus*, An. 1490, Martij. 18.

Ex Novio-
mage.
A Prophecie
of *Weselus*.
This *Ostendorpius* was
a man well
learned and
Canon of
the Minster
of *Lubeck*.

Here it
appeareth
that this
Rodulphus
Agricola
was of good
judgment
though the
Friars after-
ward buried
him in a
Friars weed.
Rodulphus
Agricola,
Weselus
lamenteth
the darkness
of the
Church.

Philippus Melancthon writing of the life of *Rodulphus Agricola*, saith, that *Josquinus Groningensis*, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes present at the Sermons of *Rodulphus* and *Weselus*, wherein they many times lamented the darkness of the Church, and reprehended the abuses of the Mass and of the single life of Priests. *Item*, that they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of Faith, why Saint *Paul* so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by Faith, and not works. The same *Josquine* also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of Monks, which say that men be justified by their works. *Item*, Concerning mens Traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceived, whosoever attributed unto those Traditions any opinion of Gods worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of Doctor *Wesellianus* and *Weselus*.

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of Printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light to judge and discern the errors of the Pope from the truth of Gods Word; as partly by these above said may appear, partly by other that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seen.

About the very same time and season, when as the Gospel began thus to branch and spring in *Germany*, the Host

of Christs Church began also to muster and to multiply likewise here in *England*, as by these Histories here consequent may appear. For not long after the death of this *Weselus*, in the year of our Lord 1494, and in the ninth year the Reign of *Henry* the 7th, the 28th of April, was burned a very old Woman named *Joane Boughton* widow, and Mother to the Lady *Young*, which Lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her Mother was. Her Mother was of fourscore years of age or more, and held eight of *Wickliff's* opinions (which opinions my Author doth not shew) for the which she was burnt in *Smithfield* the day abovesaid. My Author saith, she was a Disciple of *Wickliff*, whom she accounted for a Saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the Doctors of *London* could not turn her from one of them: and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said she was so beloved of God, and his holy Angels, that she passed not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cryed to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the Doctrine that she dyed for.

Anno
1494.
Joane
Boughton
Mother to
the Lady
Young, Mar-
tyr.

Shortly after the Martyrdom of this godly aged Mother, in the year of our Lord, 1497, and the 17th of January, being Sunday, two men, the one called *Richard Milderale*, and the other *James Sturdy*, bear Faggots before the procession of *Pauls*, and after stood before the Preacher in the time of his Sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at *Pauls* Cross all the Sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a Faggot on his neck. After that in Lent season upon Passion Sunday one *Hugh Glover* bear a Faggot before the procession of *Pauls*, and after with the Faggot stood before the Preacher all the Sermon while at *Pauls* Cross. And on the Sunday next following four men stood, and did their open Penance at *Pauls*, as is aforesaid, in the Sermon time, and many of their Books were burnt before them at the Cross.

Anno
1497.
Richard
Milderale,
James Sturdy
Martyrs.

Hugh Glover

Four other
bear Fag-
gots.

Furthermore the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1498, in the beginning of May, the King then being at *Canterbury*, was a Priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the Clerks and Doctors then there being could not remove him from his Faith: Whereof the King being informed, he caused the said Priest to be brought before his presence, who by his perswasion caused him to revoke, and so he was burnt immediately.

Anno
1498.
A Priest
burnt.

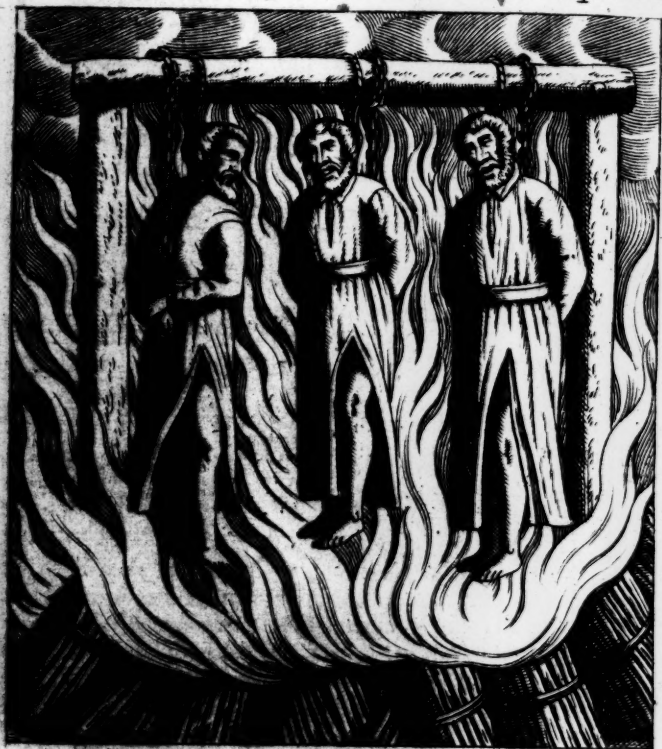
In the same year above mentioned, which was the year of our Lord 1498, after the beheading of *Edward Plantaginet* Earl of *Warwick*, and son to the Duke of *Clarence*, the King and Queen being removed to *Calis*, a certain godly man and a constant Martyr of Christ, named *Babram*, in *Norfolk*, was burnt in the month of July, as is in *Fabian* recorded, after the Copy which I have written. Albeit in the Book *Fabian* Printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is, Anno 1500. Ex *Fabiano*, & alio scripto codice.

The Queen
was removed
to *Calis*
at the be-
heading of
her Cousin
Edward
Plantaginet.
Babram
burnt in
Norfolk.
Martyr.

The burning of Babram



The Martyrdom of Ierome & his two companions

An old
man burned.{ Anno }
1499.
Hieronymus
Savanarola
with two
Friars Mar-
tyrs.Prophecie of
Jer. Sa-
vanarola
gainst Italy.Pope Alex-
ander be-
sieged by
Charles the
French
King.Savanarola
cited to ap-
pear before
the Pope.
The do-
ctrine of
Savanarola
condemned
because he
would not
come be-
fore the
Pope.
Savanarola
preacheth
contrary to
the Popes
command-
ment.

A Bout which year likewise, or in the year next follow-
ing, the twentieth day of July, was an old man
burnt in *Smithfield*.

In the same year also, which was of the Lord, one thou-
sand four hundred ninety and nine, fell the Martyrdom and
burning of *Hieronymus Savanarola*, a man no less godly
in heart, then constant in his profession. Who being a
Monk in *Italy*, and singularly well learned, preached fore
against the evil life and living of the spirituality, and specially
of his own Order, complaining fore upon them as the
springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness.
Whereupon by the help of certain learned men he be-
gan to seek reformation in his own order. Which thing
the Pope perceiving and fearing that the said *Hierom*,
which was now in great reputation amongst all men,
should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained
his Vicar or Provincial to see reformation of these
matters; which Vicar with great superstition began to
reform things: but the said *Hierom* did always withstand
him, whereupon he was complained of to the Pope, and
because that contrary unto the Popes commandment he
did withstand his Vicar, he was accused. But for all that

Feronymus left not off preaching, but threatened *Italy*
with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophe-
sied before unto them, that the Land should be over-
thrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and
for the untruth, hypocrisie and falshood of the Clergy,
which God would not leave unrevenge, as afterward
it came to pass, when as *K. Charles* came into *Italy*
and to *Rome*, and so straightly beset Pope *Alexan-*
der, that he was forced to make composition with the
King.

Now forso much as the said *Hierom* would not leave
off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the
Pope, to give account of his new learning (for so then
they called the truth of the Gospel) but by means of the
manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not
come. Then was he again forbidden by the Pope to preach,
and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious,
false and seditious.

This *Feronymus*, as a man worldly wise, fore-
seeing the great perils and dangers that might come
unto him, for fear left off preaching. But when as
the people, which sore hungered and longed for Gods
Word, were instant upon him that he would preach
again, he began again to preach in the year of our
Lord, 1496, in the City of *Florence*, and albeit that

many counselled him that he should not so do without
the Popes commandment, yet did he not regard it, but
went forward freely of his own good will. When as
the Pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they
were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and
now again cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked He-
retick. But for all that, *Feronymus* proceeded in teaching
and instructing the people, saying that men ought not to
regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and
the common profit, whereby the people should be learned
and amended, Christs Kingdom enlarged, and the King-
dom of the Devil utterly overthrown.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing
than the only pure and simple Word of God, making often
protestation that all men should certifie him if they had
heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for
upon his own conscience he knew not that he had taught
any thing but the pure Word of God. What his doctrine
was all men may easily judge by his Books that he hath
written.

After this, in the year of our Lord, 1498, he was taken
and brought out of *Saint Marks* Cloister, and two other
Fryers with him, named *Dominick* and *Silvester*, which
favoured his learning, and was carried into Prison, where
he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable
thirty first Psalm; *In te Domine speravi, non confun-*
dar in eternum, sed in iustitia tua libera me. Wherein
he doth excellently describe and set forth the continual
strife between the flesh and the spirit.

After this the Popes Legates came to *Florence* and cal-
led forth these three good men, threatening them mar-
vellously; but they continued still constant. Then came the
chief Counsellors, of the City, with the Popes Commis-
sioners, which had gathered out certain Articles against these
men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the
tenor of which Articles hereafter ensue.

1. The first Article was as touching our free Justificati-
on through Faith in Christ.

2. That the Communion ought to be ministred under
both kinds.

3. That the Indulgencies and Pardons of the Pope were
of no effect.

4. For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of
the Cardinals and spirituality.

5. For denying the Popes Supremacy.

6. Also

Hierom
with two
other Friars
committed
to prison.
The com-
mentary of
Ferom. Sa-
vanarola upon
the Psalm
beginning
In te domine
speravi.

Articles
objected
against *Je-*
rom and the
two Friars.

KING 6. Also that he had affirmed that the Keys were not
Hen. 7. given unto Peter alone, but unto the Universal Church.

7. Also, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, for that he did attribute more to his own Pardons and Traditions, than to Christs merits, and therefore he was Antichrist.

8. Also, that the Popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth fear or flee them is excommunicate of God.

9. Item, That Auricular confession is not necessary.

10. Item, That he had moved the Citizens to uproar and sedition.

11. Item, That he had neglected and condemned the Popes Citation.

12. Item, That he had shamefully spoken against, and slandered the Pope.

13. Item, That he had taken Christ to witness of his naughtiness and Heresie.

14. Also, that Italy must be cleansed through Gods scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the Princes and Clergy.

These and such other like Articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the said Hieron and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through Gods help they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another by the Bishop of Vasson, and so delivered over to the secular Rulers of Florence, with straight commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked Hereticks.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the Market place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the River of Arum, the 24th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1499. *Ex Catal. testium Illyrici.*

This man foresaw many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the Church; which three things have hapned in these times within our remembrance. Also he foresaw that the Turks and Moors in the later days should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one should pass the Alpes into Italy, like unto Cyrus which should subvert and destroy all Italy. Whereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, Earl of Mirandula, called him a Holy Prophet, and defended him by his writings against the Pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocency of the said Savonarola. Masilius Ficinus also in a certain Epistle doth attribute unto him the spirit of Prophecy, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner Philippus Comineus a French Historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of Prophecy, forso much as he had foresaw unto him so many things which in event had proved true.

Anton. Flaminius an Italian, and for piety and learning famous, in that age, wrote this Epigram upon the death of Hieron. Savonarola.

*Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, pascitur artus,
Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,
Flevit, & O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostrarogo.*

Which may be thus Englished.

Whilst flames unjust (blest Saint) thy body burns,
Weeping Religion with dishevel'd hairs,
Cries out, and says, Oh spare his sacred urnes,
Spare cruel flames; that fire our soul impairs.

There were besides these, many other, not to be passed over or forgotten: as Philip Norice an Irishman, professor at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that such as have occupied themselves in writing of Histories, and have so diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign Common-wealths, had bestowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing those things which pertain unto the affairs of the Church: whereby the posterity might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

This Savonarola above mentioned, suffered under Pope Alexander the Sixth, of which Pope more leisure and opportunity shall serve hereafter (Christ willing) to entreat, after that we shall first make a little digression, to entreat of certain cases and complaints of the Germans, incident in the mean time, which as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred. What complaints of the Germans were made and moved unto the Emperor Frederick against the Popes suppressions and exactions, mention was made before; where also was declared, how the said Germans at that time were twice put back and forsaken of the Emperor; whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage until the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germans, in the time of Maximilian the Emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the Emperor ten principal Grievances, whereby, the Germans have been long time oppressed; shewing also the remedies against the same, with certain advilements unto the Emperors Majesty, how he might withstand and resist the Popes subtilties and crafts: The order and tenor whereof here ensueth.

The ten Grievances of the Germans.

1. **T**hat the Bishops of Rome, successors one unto another, do not think themselves bound to observe and keep the Bulls, Covenants, Priviledges, and Letters, granted by their Predecessors, without all derogation; but by often dispensation, suspension and revocation, even at the instance of every vile person, they do gain say and withstand the same.

2. That the elections of Prelates are oftentimes put back.

3. That the elections of Presidentships are withstood, which the Chapter houses of many Churches have obtained with great cost and expence, as the Church of Spire and Havel do well know; whose Bull, touching the election of their President, is frustrate, he being yet alive which granted the same.

4. That Benefices and the greatest Ecclesiastical dignities are reserved for Cardinals and head Notaries.

5. That expectative graces, called Vowfons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continual contentions do arise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the Bulls of those Vowfons, which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to Law. Whereupon this proverb is risen, Whosoever will get a Vowfon from Rome, must have C. or C. C. pieces of Gold laid up in his Chest, for the obtaining of the same, which he shall have need of, to prosecute the Law withal.

6. That Annates, or yearly renewals are exacted without delay or mercy, even of the Bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through the new Offices and new Servants, as by the examples of the Churches of Mentz and Strausbourg, may be seen.

7. That the rule of the Churches is given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, which were more fit to feed and keep Mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

8. That new Indulgences and Pardons, with the suspension and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and scrape money together.

9. That Tenths are exacted, under pretence of making War against the Turk; when as no expedition doth follow thereupon.

10. That the causes which might be determined in Germany, where there are both learned and just Judges, are indistinctly carried unto the Court of Rome; which thing S. Bernard writing to Pope Eugenius, seemeth wonderfully to reprove.

Here ensueth the remedy against the said Grievances.

IF it shall seem good unto the Emperors Majesty, let it be declared unto the Bishop of Rome, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Germans, to suffer continually so great charges and grievances, to pay

The complaint of the Germans against the Popes grievances relieved.

Ten Grievances complained of by the Germans.

Remedy against the fore said Grievances.

so great Annates for the confirmation of the Bishops and Archbishops, and especially in such Bishopricks, whereas the Annates by success of time are enhanced, and in many (as it is said) doubled. For the Archbishops See of *Mentz* (as it is said) sometime paid only ten thousand Florens; which sum, when as one which was chosen there, refused to give, and so continued even unto his death, he which was afterward elect, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the Apostolick See, offered the old sum of 10000 Florens: but notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10000, which his predecessor before him had not paid.

The Arch-
bishops
Pall of
Mentz, what
it costeth.

By this means he was compelled to pay 20000 Florens. Which being enrolled in the register of the Chamber, as much hath been exacted of every Archbishop since, until these our days; and not only 20000, but also 25000 for their new offices, and new servants. At last, the sum drew to 27000 Florens, which *James* the Archbishop of *Mentz* was compelled to pay, as his Commissary did report. So by this means, in a little time there was seven times 25000 Florens paid out of the Archbishoprick of *Mentz* unto *Rome*, for the confirmation of the Archbishop. And when this Archbishop *James* had kept the Archbishoprick scarce four years, the Lord *Uriel* was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24000, or 25000 Florens. Whereof a part he borrowed of Merchants: but to satisfy and pay them again, he was forced to exact a Subsidy of his poor Subjects and Husbandmen, whereof some have not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the Bishops Pall, so that by this means our people are not only tormented and brought to extreme poverty, but also are moved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what means soever they may, grievously murmuring against the cruelty of the Clergy.

The Popes
Pall dearly
bought.

The Pope also should be admonished, how that, through divers and sundry Wars and Battels, the Lands of *Germany* lye desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that for the scarceness of Husbandmen, the Fields for the most part lye untilld, the Tolls are by divers means diminished, the Mines consumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the Archbishops and Bishops should pay their Annates unto the Apostolick See, besides their other necessary and honest charges; inasmuch, that not without just cause, *James* the Archbishop of *Mentz*, being even at the point of death, said, That he did not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poor Subjects should be again forced to pay a grievous exaction for the Pall. Wherefore let the high Bishop, as a godly Father, and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent Pastor, deal more favourably with his children the *Germans*, lest that persecution happen to rise against the Priests of Christ, and that men following the example of the *Bohemians*, do swerve from the Church of *Rome*.

The people
pall for the
Popes
Pall.

At the least, let him be more favourable, as often as any Archbishop or Bishop hapned to rule his Church but a few years; as it hapned to the Bishops of *Bamberg*, whereof three died within few years. The like also might happen by other Bishopricks, whereof (as *Aeneas Sylvius* witnesseth) there are in *Germany* to the number of fifty, besides Abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at *Rome*.

About fifty
Bishopricks
in *Germany*.

And admit that in *Germany* there were greater profits and Revenues rising of the Ground, Mines and Tolls; notwithstanding the Emperor and the other Princes should lack treasure and munition of War against their enemies, and specially the Infidels, and to preserve *Germany* in peace and quietness, and to minister justice unto every man: for which purpose the Council of the Chamber, being most holily instructed and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides that, the Emperor hath need of treasure, to suppress the Rebels in the Empire, to banish and drive away Thieves and Murderers, whereof a great number are not ashamed to spoil Churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to assail the Clergy themselves. Finally, our Nation and Country of *Germany* hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repairing of Churches and Monasteries, but also for Hospitals for Children that are laid out in the Streets, for Widows, for Women with Child, for Orphans, for marriage of the

Daughters of poor Men, that they be not deflowred, for such as have need and necessity, for the Old and Weak, for the Sick and the Sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) *Germany* is fully replenished and filled. {KING
Hra. 7.}

Advertisements unto the Emperors Majesty.

Let the Emperors Majesty foresee and provide that the begging Friars do not preach against his Majesty, which are wont to complain gladly unto the Apostolick See, fearing to lose their privileges, which I would to God were as well grounded upon Christ, as they are upon profit. Let the Emperors Majesty also beware, that the Pope do not give commandment unto the Electors, to proceed to the Election of a new King of the *Romans*, as he did against *Frederick* the Second, when as the Landgrave of *Thurin*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, were elect by the commandment of the Pope. Let the Emperors Majesty also fear and take heed of all the Prelates of the Churches, and especially of the Presidents, which by their Oath are bound to advertise the Pope. Let the Emperors Majesty also fear and beware, that the Pope do not take away from his Subjects their obedience, and provoke the people bordering upon him, to make invasion into the Emperors Dominions and Archduchy of *Austria*; which those men, under colour shewing obedience unto the Popes commandment, be ready to do.

The Emper-
advised
of the sub-
til practices
of the Pope
and popish
Prelates.

Let the Emperors Majesty also take heed of the Apostolick censures, from which the Pope will in no case refrain. Finally, let the Emperors Majesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the Pope do not persuade the people with most subtil Arguments, contrary to the Pragmatical sanction, excusing himself, and getting the good will of the simple, alledging that with great costs and charges, he will repair the Church of *Saint Peter* in *Rome*, and build in certain places against the Turks, and recover again the Lands and Patrimony pertaining unto the Church of *Saint Peter*, as he is bound by his Office. Therefore let your Majesty diligently foresee and deliberate, how through your most wise and discreet Counsel, if need shall require, you will answer to those subtilties to the Pope.

The Popes
pretence of
building *S.
Peters*
Church in
Rome.

A certain godly Exhortation unto the Emperors Majesty.

Your Majesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternal remembrance, than to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the *Germans*; to take away all occasions from the Laitie, to persecute the Clergy: also to take away the Benefices out of the hands of Courtiers, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counsel any man (of which Benefices, as *Aeneas Sylvius* writeth, some are equal to the Bishopricks of *Italy*) to increase Gods honour and worship; and so to bridle the avarice and ungodliness of those Courtiers, whereby your Majesty may the better provide for the children of man Noble and famous men and Citizens of *Germany*; which being brought up from their youth in the University, learning both the Scriptures, and other humane letters, may without unquiet vexations, and most sumptuous charges and contentions, aspire to the Ecclesiastical promotions, who by their Counsel and prayers may be helps unto the whole Church: for there is no small occasion, why the Realm of *France* should so flourish, having so many notable learned men in it. If the Emperor would abolish this impiety, and restore *Germany* unto their ancient liberty, which is now oppressed with grievous tributes, and would make way for learned and honest men unto Ecclesiastical promotions; then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the restorer of *Germany* to his ancient liberty, and the father of his Country, and should obtain no less glory thereby unto himself, and profit unto *Germany*, than if he had by force of Arms subdued any Province unto them. And so shall *Germany* render no less thanks unto the said *Maximilian*, than unto all the rest, which having translated the Empire from

A supplica-
tion or Ex-
hortation
to *Maximi-
lian* Empe-
ror of the
Church.

KING from the Grecians unto Germany, have reigned many years before.

Hereafter ensueth the Copy of a certain Letter of the Emperor Maximilian, given out in manner of a Decree or Commandment against certain abuses of the Clergy. Whereunto we have also annexed the answer of Jacobus Selestadiensis unto the Emperors Letters, wherein he seemeth also to have sought advice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

An Edict of Maximilian the Emperor.

WE, according to the example of our dearly beloved Father, Frederick Emperor of Rome, reverencing the chief Pastor of the Church, and all the Clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the Ecclesiastical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the Prelates and Clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by humane frailty, with Constantine our Predecessor, we have not disdained to hide and cover. But forasmuch as through our liberality, the decay of Gods honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect unto the Empire, without any desert) that among all other affairs of Peace and War, the Churches do not decay, Religion quail not, or Gods true worship be not diminished; which we have manifestly experimented, and daily do perceive by the insatiable covetousness of some, which are never satisfied in getting of Benefices, through whose absence (being resident but only upon one) GODS honour and worship is diminished, houses decay, Churches decrease, the Ecclesiastical liberty is hurt, Learning and Monuments are lost and destroyed, Hospitality and Alms diminished, and by their unsatiable greediness, such of the Clergy, as for their Learning and Vertue were worthy of Benefices, and their Wisdom profitable in Commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore according to the office and duty of our estate, for the love of the increase of GODS honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any Canonship or Vicarage in one City of our Empire, shall occupy or possess a Prebend in another Church of the same City, except he give over the first within a years space unto some person fit and profitable for the Church; neither that he do by unjust quarrels, vex or trouble any man in getting of Benefices, neither that any man do falsely feign himself to have been of the Emperors household, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the Patronages from any Lay-man, or aggravate the small Prebends of Curates, or Churches with Pensions, neither that they do use in getting of Benefices and Bulls, any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked Simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regrest, or other thing contrary to the sacred Canons, right, honesty, equity and reason; upon pain of the most grievous offence of Treason: the which we will, that not only they going so contrary to God and all honesty; but also all their favourers, which do help, Council, harbour or give them any thing, all their Messengers, and Writers, Proctors, Sureties, and other their friends, shall incur, and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment. From Oenopent, &c.

No man to have two Canonships or Prebends at once.

Here ensueth the Copy of a Letter written unto the Emperor Maximilian.

To our Most victorious Lord, Maximilian the Emperor, Jacobus Selestadiensis most humble commendations.

MOST Victorious Emperor, when I had read your Majesties Epistle, and received instructions of your Secretary, I prepared my self with all my whole endeavour to satisfy your Majesties desire. For even from my

youth hitherto, I have applyed all my care and study, first for the honour of your Majesty, and consequently for the amplifying of the German nation, and sacred Roman Empire. Albeit I know my self far unable to satisfy your desire and purpose, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which have greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other Princes, and in the Senates of Commonwealths, many excellent learned men, which can exornate and beautifie Germany, and persuade to reduce all the Clergy unto a Christian Discipline, and to an unity and peace of the universal Church. Wherein, not only your Majesty, but also your predecessors, as Charles the Great, and his Son Ludovicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Fredericks, and Henricks, and last of all, Sigismundus, have with all labour and diligence travelled, being stirred thereunto undoubtedly through the zeal and charity which they bear unto Almighty God, and thankfulness to Christ for his benefits which he hath bestowed upon mankind, and specially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poor for us, that we should live in all riot and wantonness upon his patrimony, and shew forth our ambition and covetousness; neither did he suffer hunger, that we should glut up our selves; nor suffered labours, chastity, and grievous torments, that we should live in idleness, wantonness, and all kind of voluptuousness. Neither they which were contributors, and Benefactors to Churches, including the Ministers thereof with their temporal riches, had any such respect herein, that the Clergy should live only in idleness, having all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause, why that they in times past did impoverish themselves and theirs, to endow the Church; verily, that they might the better attend unto Divine Service, without care of want of living (which they might easily get and gather out of the Fields, Woods Meadows and Waters), and to the intent that they should liberally give Alms unto the poor Christians, Widows, Orphans, Aged and Sick persons. For in the Institutions of the Canonical profession, which we suppose was written by the commandment of Ludovicus Pius the Emperor, and allowed by the Council of the Bishops, thus it is read: The goods of the Church (as it is alledged by the Fathers, and contained in the Chapters before) are the vows of the faithful, and patrimony of the poor. For the faithful, through the ferventness of their faith and love of Christ, being inflamed, having an earnest desire of that heavenly Kingdom, have enriched the holy Church with their own goods, that thereby the Soldiers of Christ might be nourished, the Church adorned, the poor refreshed, and captives according to the opportunity of time redeemed. Wherefore such as have the administration of those goods, ought diligently to be looked upon, that they do not convert them unto their own proper use, but rather according to their substance and possibility they do not neglect them, in whom Christ is fed and clothed. Prosper is also of the same mind, affirming that holy men did not challenge the Church goods to their own use, as their own proper goods, but as things commended unto the poor, to be divided amongst them. For that is to condemn that which a man possesseth, not to possess a thing for himself, but for others, neither to covet the Church goods with covetousness to have them to himself, but to take them with a godly zeal to help other. That which the Church hath, is common to all them which have nothing, neither ought they to give any thing of that unto them (saith he) which have of their own; for to give unto them which have enough, is but to cast things away. Ex Illyrico.

To return now to the order of Popes, where we left Pope Sixtus before, speaking of Innocentius the eighth. After the said Innocentius, next succeeded Pope Alexander the sixth. In which Alexander, among other honorable things, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus named him Demes) brother to Bajazetes the Great Turk,

The Pope
poysoneth
Gemes the
Turks Bro-
ther, being
committed
to his custo-
dy.
Ex Paula
Favio lib. 2.
Ex Pencero
lib. 5.
Ex Hiero-
nym. Mario.
The Pope
sette the
Great Turk
against
the French
King.
Ex Seb.
Munster lib.
4.
Cosmograph.

was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the sixth, for whose keeping, the Pope received every year 40000 Crowns; yet notwithstanding, when Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles the eighth, the French King, for a pledge, because the French King should not procure the Great Turks favour, by sending his Brother Gemes to him to be slain, he being hired by the Turk, caused the said Gemes to be poysoned, who, in his journey going toward the French King, died at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

Moreover, in the said Hieronymus Marius, it appeareth that this Alexander taking displeasure with the said Charles the French King, about the winning of Naples, sent to Bajazetes the Turk, to fight against the forsaide Charles. Ex eodem.

Munsterus lib. 4. Cosmog. declaring the foresaid History of Gemes something otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French King. And when as Joannes Huniades aforementioned did labour to the French King to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the Turk, as it was not unlike: This Alexander the Pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French King into his own hands, by whose means the said Gemes afterward was poysoned, as is in manner before expressed.

Unto these poysoned acts of the Pope, let us also adjoyn his malicious wickedness, with like fury exercised upon Antonius Mancinellus, which Mancinellus being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent Oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as Antoninus the Tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life, at length, as one poyson requireth another, this poysoned Pope, as he was sitting with his Cardinals, and other rich Senators of Rome at dinner, his servants unawares brought to him a wrong Bottle, wherewith he was poysoned, and his Cardinals about him.

In the time of this Pope Alexander also it hapned (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the Angel, which stood in the high top of the Popes Church, was beaten down with terrible Thunder; which thing seemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedom. After this Pope, next succeeded Pius the third, about the year of our Lord, 1503. After whom came next Julius the second, a man so far passing all other in iniquity, that Wicelius, and such other of his own friends writing of him, are compelled to say of him, *Marti illum quam Christo deditorem fuisse*; that is, that he was more given to War and Battel, than to Christ. Concerning the madness of this man; this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to War, he cast the Keys of Saint Peter into the River Tiberis, saying, that forso much as the Keys of Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he would take himself to the Sword of Paul. Whereupon Philip Melancthon, amongst many other writing upon the same, maketh this Epigram.

*Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet:
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem
Egressus sevas edidit ore minas.
Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
Tibridis, hic urbi pons ubi junget aquas.
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit enssem,
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defender ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri.*

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigram.

*In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum.
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, & sevas talia verba facit:*

*Quum Petri nihil efficient ad praelia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.*

{ KING }
Hen. 7.

The sense of these Epigrams in English, is this.

When Julius Pope against the French determined to make War: As fame reports, he gathered up great troops of men from far. And to the Bridge of Tibur then, marching as he were wood; His holy Keys he took and cast them down into the flood. And afterward into his hand he took a naked Sword: And shaking it broke forth into this fierce and warlike word: This Sword of Paul (quoth he) shall now defend us from our foe; Since that this Key of Peter doth nothing avail thereto.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his Wars, partly with his curlings, with in the space of seven years, as good as 200000 Christians were destroyed. First, he beliged Ravenna against the Venetians; then Servia, Imolia, Faventia, Forolivium, Bononia, and other Cities, which he gate out of Princes hands, not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of John Sleyden make mention, that when this Julius was made Pope he took an Oath, promising to have a Council within two years: but when he had no leisure thereunto, being occupied with his Wars in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French King, and in Ferrara, and in other Countries; nine of his Cardinals, departing from him, came into Millain, and there appointed a Council at the City of Pise; amongst whom, the chief were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Preneftinus, Franciscus, Constantinus, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoyned the Procurators of Maximilian the Emperor, and of Charles the French King. So the Council was appointed the year of our Lord, 1511, to begin in the Kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this Council, was thus alledged, because the Pope had so broken his Oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any Council; and also because there were divers other crimes, where upon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through Bribes and ambition. Julius hearing this, giveth out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another Council against the next year, to be begun the 19th day of April. The French King understanding Pope Julius to joyn with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, convented a Council at Thurin, in the Month of September; in which Council these Questions were proposed.

Whether it was lawful for the Pope to move War against any Prince without cause.

Whether any Prince in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his Obedience.

Unto the which Questions it was answered, That neither the Bishop ought to invade, and also that it was lawful for the King to defend himself. Moreover, that the Pragmatical sanction was to be observed through the Realm of France: Neither that any unjust Excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust. After this the King sent to Julius the answer of his Council, requiring him either to agree to Peace, or to appoint a general Council some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of both these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French King, with all his Kingdom. At the length a Ravenna, in a great War he was overcome by the French King, and at last, after much slaughter and great bloodshed, and mortal War, this Pope died in the year of our Lord, 1513, the 21. day of February.

The Popes
Law giveth
leave to
kill all that
be accused
of him.
The Wars
and blood-
shed of
Pope Julius

A Council
called to
depose Pope
Julius.
The Pope
perjured.

The Prag-
matical
Sanction
established,
mentioned
before.
No unjust
Excommu-
nication to
be feared.

KING
Hen. 7.

The Turks
doings re-
quire to
be known
of Christi-
ans.

IF it were not that I fear to overlay this our Volume with heaps of foreign Histories, which have professed chiefly to intreat of *Acts and Monuments* here done at home; I would adjoyn after these Popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turks story; of their rising and cruel persecution of the Saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of *Christendom*: yet notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruine and subversion of so many Christian Churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of *England*, as also to other Nations.

The first
cause.

First, For the better explaining of the Prophecies of the new Testament, as in Saint Pauls Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and also in the Revelation of Saint *John*. Which Scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these Histories, cannot so perfectly be understood. Of the which Scriptures, we mind hereafter (Christ granting) orderly, as the course of matter shall lead us, to make rehearsal.

The second
cause.

Another cause is, that we may learn thereby, either with the publick Church to lament with our Brethren, such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

The third
cause.

The third cause, that we may ponder more deeply with our selves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which in the sequel hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The fourth
cause.

Fourthly, The consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turks, rising chiefly by our discord and dissention among our selves, may reduce us again from our domestical Wars, in killing and burning one of another, to joyn together in Christian patience and concord.

The fifth
cause.

Fifthly, But chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and unprosperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the Prince of this World, goeth with the Turks. Which to resist, no strength of mans Army is sufficient, but only the

Admonition
to fight a-
gainst the
Turk.
Christian
faith neces-
sary to be
joyned
with out-
ward force
against the
Turk.

name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Son of God, going with us in our battels; as among the old Israelites the Ark of Gods covenant and promise went with them also fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we Christian men have no strength but in Christ only. Whether we War against the Devil, or against the *Turk*, it is true that the Scripture saith, *Sine me nihil potestis facere*, i. without me you can do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the Devil, or to conquer the world, *Nisi fides nostra*, that is, our Faith only; to which all the promises of God (touching salvation) be annexed, beyond which promises we must not go, for the Word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the Word expressed, goeth not, but wandreth, he cannot tell whether. Neither must we appoint God how to save the World, but must take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not set God to school, nor comprehend his holy spirit within our Sculls. He that made us without our Council, did also redeem us as pleased him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let us therefore not resist but search his Word, and thereunto apply our Will; which if we will do, all our contentions will be soon at a point. Let us therefore search the Will of our God in his Word, and if he will his salvation to stand free to all Nations, why do we make merchandise thereof? If he have graciously offered his waters to us, without mony or money worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace given us.

Gratis ve-
nimus et
gratis
redimimur.
Esay 52.

Omnes sit-
entes venite
ad aquas,
emite absque
argento &
commutati-
one.
Esay 55.

And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to stand alone, let not us presume to admix with his Majesty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth Saint *George* or Saint *Dennis* as Partrons to the field to fight against the *Turk*, leaveth Christ (no doubt) at home. Now how we have fought these many years against the *Turk*, though stories keep silence, yet the success declareth. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors our

selves. We wrestle against a bloody Tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christs people with the Sword, and we burn them with fire. He observing the works of the Law, seeketh his justice by the same; the like also do we. But neither he nor we seek our justification as we should, that is, by Faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, our Doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because that Christians be wicked, and their Doctrine impure. Our Temples with Images, our hearts with Idolary are polluted: our Priests stink before God for Adultery, being restrained from lawful Matrimony. The Name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We War against the Turk with our Works, Masses, Traditions and Ceremonies; but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the Power of his Glory, which if we did, the Field were won.

Reformati-
on of reli-
gion requi-
site before
we fight the
Turks.

Wherefore briefly to conclude, saying my judgment in this behalf, what I suppose; this hope I have, and do believe, That when the Church of Christ with the Sacraments thereof shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be received to be our Justifier, all other Religions, Merits, Traditions, Images, Patrons and Advocates set apart, the Sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon vanquish the Turks pride and fury. But of this more largely in the process of this story.

Faith get-
teth victory.

The sixth and last cause, why I think the knowledge of the Turks History requisite to be considered, is this: because that many there be, which for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what hapneth to their other Brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this so lamentable ruin of Christs Church, I thought it requisite, by order of History, to give this our Nation also something to understand, what hath been done in other Nations by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the Church of Christ, except we make our earnest invocation to Almighty God, in the Name of his Son, to stop the course of the Devil by these Turks, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his Faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Jesus of his grace grant with speed. Amen.

The sixth
cause.

Earnest in-
vocation ne-
cessary in
the Church
of Christ.

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and *Saracens*, first let us call to remembrance the Prophecie and forewarning of Saint Paul writing to the *Thessalonians*, in his second Epistle, in these words: Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or writing, or by Letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be revealed. &c. Of this defection, sundry minds there be of sundry Expositors: some thinking this defection to mean a falling away from the Empire of *Rome*: some from the obedience of the Pope. But as Saint Paul little passed upon the outward glory of the Roman Empire; so less he passed upon the proud obedience of the Pope. What Saint Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling away of these Churches by him before planted, will soon declare.

The place
of S. Paul
expounded;
2 Thes. 2.
Speaking
of the
defection to
come.

Another Mystery there is in the Revelation, *Apocal. 13*, where the number of the Beast is counted 666. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to be signified the first Origin and springing of these beastly *Saracens*, as by the sequel hereof may appear, by the first rising of this devillish sect of *Mahomet*.

The number
of the Apo-
calypse cap.
13. ex-
pounded.

Moreover, another place there is, *cap. 16. Apocal.* where we read, that by pouring out of the Vial of Gods wrath, of the sixth Angel, the great flood *Euphrates* was dried up, to let in the Kings of the *East*; the opening of which prophesie may also more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming of these Turks into *Europe*.

Another
place Apoc.
16.

Some also apply to the Turks certain Prophecies of *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, and other places of the Old Testament moe, which here I omit, forasmuch as the Prophecies of the Old Testament, if they be taken in their proper and native sense, after my judgment, do extend no further than

Et fecit
Angelus es-
sentialia
sua
&c.

to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the *Jews* Kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any mans opinion, but that every man may abound in his own sense.

The time of Mahomet the false Prophet expounded.

As touching the year and time when this pestiferous sect of *Mahomet* the first began, Histories do not fully consent, some affirming that it began, Anno 621. and in the tenth year of *Heraclius* the Emperor of *Constantinople*; in which mind is *Joannes Lucidus*. As *Munsterus* counteth, it was in the year of our Lord, 622. *Martin Luther* and *John Carion* refer it to the 18th year of the reign of *Heraclius*, which is the year of our Lord, 630. Unto the which number, the computation of the *Beast* signified in the *Apocalypse*, doth not far disagree, which numbereth the name of the *Beast*, with three Greek letters $\chi \xi \varsigma$, which Greek letters, after the supputation of the *Grecians*, make the number of six hundred sixty and six.

Mahomet of the stock of the Ishmalites, dwelling in Arabia.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable *Mahomet* was born in the Country of *Arabia*, bordering on the East part of *Jewry*. His father was a *Syrian*, or a *Persian*, his mother was an *Ishmalite*, which *Ishmalites* being a people of *Arabia*, were called the *Agarens*; Which term *Mahomet* afterward turned to the name of *Saracens*. Of this wretched *Mahomet*, mention was made before, where we shewed, how he making himself the highest Prophet, of all other, yet denieth not Christ to be an holy Prophet, and next to him, and *Moses* also to be another. Moreover, he denieth not *Mary* the Mother of Christ to be a Virgin, and to have conceived Christ by the Holy Ghost: affirming further, that Christ in his own person was not crucified, but another called *Judas* for him. He greatly commendeth also *John* the son of *Zachary* for a Virgin: when he himself permitte a man to have four Wives, and as many Concubines as he is able to find: and saith that whereas Christ and other Prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was sent by force of sword, to compel men to his Religion.

The prodigious lies and blasphemies of Mahomet's Alchoran.

The prodigious vanities, lies and blasphemies contained in his Law called *Alchoran*, are rather to be laught at, than recited.

Mahomet's Alchoran mingled with divers Laws.

It is thought that *Sergius a Nestorian* was a great doer with *Mahomet*, in contriving of this lying *Alchoran*, and so it doth well appear by the scope and pretence thereof, which especially tendeth to this end, to take the divinity from the person of Christ, whom he granteth notwithstanding to be a most holy man, and also that he is received up to God, and shall come again to kill Antichrist, &c.

Moreover, this ridiculous *Alchoran* is so blanced and powdered with divers mixtures of the Christians, *Jews*, and the Gentiles Laws, giving such liberty to all wantonness of flesh, setting up Circumcision, abstaining from swines flesh, and Judaical lotions, and so much standeth upon Father *Abraham*, that it is supposed of some, this filthy *Alchoran*, not to be set out in the days of *Mahomet*, but that certain *Jews* had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death, and so seemeth first to take his force about the number of years limited in the *Apocalypse*, as is aforesaid, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the *Beast*: for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred sixty and six.

The numeration of the Apocal. 666.

After this devilish *Mahomet* had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to give his Law, and that they which will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for so be the words of the *Alchoran*;) and after that he had gathered strength about him of the *Arabians*, which *Arabians* had then occasion to rebel against the Emperor, because their stipends were not paid them of *Heraclius* the Emperors Officers, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of *Syria*, bordering near unto him, and first subdued *Mecha*, then *Damascus*; and further increasing in power, he entred into *Egypt*, and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the *Persians*, with whom *Cosroes* the King of *Persia* encountered with a puissant Army, overthrew the *Saracens*, and put *Mahomet* to flight. Of these *Persians* came the *Turks*, which afterward joyning with the *Saracens*, maintained them against the Christians. *Ex Munster.*

Damascus subdued of the Saracens.

Mahomet put to flight by Cosroes, King of the Persians.

After the death of this *Beast*, which as some say, was poysoned in his house, succeeded *Ebocara*, or *Ebubecer* his Father in law, or as *Bibliander* affirmeth, his Son in law, who took upon him the government of the Christians, and got the City *Gaza*, and beleaged also *Jerusalem* two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief City *Damascus*.

KING Hm. 7.

After him followed *Omar*, or *Abumer*, who conquered a great part of *Syria*, and got *Egypt*.

The fourth King of the *Saracens*, after *Mahomet*, was *Cesarea* got of the *Saracens*. The Kingdom of the *Persians* subdued to the *Saracens*. *Odman*, then followed *Haly*, and after him *Mubnias*: which after a Siege of 7 years, obtained and got the Christian City of *Cesarea*; also overcame the *Persians*, with their King *Orimasda*, and subdued that Country to his Law.

Thus the wicked *Saracens*, in the space of thirty years, subdued *Arabia*, got *Palestina*, *Phenicia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Persia*, which came directly to the 666 years, Prophesied of in the Revelation of Saint *John*, as is aforesaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got *Afrik*, and then *Asia*, as in the process of their story shall appear, the Lord willing.

Not long after *Heraclius* Emperor of *Constantinople*, succeeded *Constance* his Nephew, who in the 13. year of his Empire, fighting unluckily against the *Saracens* in *Lycia*, was overthrown of *Mubnias* aforesaid, in the year of our Lord 655. Which *Constance*, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his Wars, it was no great marvel, considering that he had slain his brother *Theodosius* before at home; moreover, lived in incestuous Matrimony: also, being inclined to certain new Sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew them which admonished him thereof. The said *Constance* going afterward to *Italy*, was also overcome of the *Lumbards*, &c. The *Saracens* after this victory, spoiled all *Rhodes*.

Rhodes spoiled of the Saracens.

Although these cursed *Saracens* in these their great victories and conquests, were not without domestical sedition and divisions among themselves, yet the Princes of the *Saracens*, being called then *Sultans*, had in their position the government of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Afrik*, and of a great part of *Asia*, about the term of 400 years, till at length the *Saracen* King which ruled in *Persia*, fighting against the *Saracen* of *Babylon*, fought aid of the *Turks*, to fight with him against the Sultan of *Babylon*. The which *Turks* by little and little surprised upon the Sultan of *Persia*, and not long after putting him out of place, usurped the Kingdom of *Persia*: which afterwards went further, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the *Turks* dominion.

Sultans first called.

The first rising of the Turks.

These *Turks*, after they had thus overcome many Countries and Provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in *Asia* and *Europa*, began to divide their Kingdoms and Countries amongst themselves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly War contended for the bounds of those Kingdoms and Dominions, in the mean time four of the principal Families, conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole Empire amongst themselves. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruel hatred, contention, war and slaughter, (no doubt by the just Judgment of God against his blasphemous Enemies) that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient *Turks* was utterly rooted out.

The Turks dominions parted into four families.

For it is evident that there are few now remaining, which are *Turks* indeed by birth and blood, and that the State of that great Empire is not upholden, but by the strength and power of Soldiers, which have been Christians, and now are turned to *Mahomet's* Religion; so that even their own natural Language is now out of use amongst them, saving in certain Families of their Nobility and Gentlemen.

These four Families above-mentioned, with their Captains and Armies, about the year of our Lord 1330, went raging throughout all *Asia* and *Europa*, and every one of them conquered some part of the Countries where they passed.

The causes of these great Invasions and Victories, were the dissention and discord, fallhood, idleness, unconfrancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Christian Men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilful defection and back-sliding of the Christians, the *Turkish* power did exceedingly increase, in that many

The dissention of the Christians do make the Turks so strong.

KING many desiring the licentious life and liberty of War, and allured with the prosperous success of things, forsook the Church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to *Mahomet* and his Devilish Sect; both because that fleshly liberty is delightful to all Men, and partly also because as fortune favoureth, so commonly the wills of Men incline. And again, such as be prophane and without the fear of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all Ages are wont commonly to judge of Religion, according to the success of Realms and Kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune amongst Men, have enquired and do enquire, Whether there be any Church of God distinct from other Nations: what it is, and where it is: especially, forso much as the greatest part of Men, both in the old time, when as the four Monarchies flourished in order, was ignorant of this Doctrine, which is peculiar to the Church alone, and now also the barbarity of *Mahomet* prevaleth and reigneth in the most part of the World. And how standeth this with Mans Reason, that a small number, both miserable and also feeble and broken with many Battels, should be regarded and loved of God, and the other flourishing in all Wealth, Prosperities, Victories, Authority and Power, should be rejected and despised of God, seeing there is no Power and Authority, but by the Ordinance of God? Albeit therefore the power of the *Turks* hath been, for these two hundred years, of greater force than any other Monarchy of the World betides, yet is there no Imperial Dignity to be esteemed in that *Turkish* tyranny, but amongst those Nations only, where the Heavenly Doctrine of the Gospel is preached, and other Disciplines necessary for the Church of God, and the common life of Man maintained and regarded; where the Laws of God, and other honest and civil Ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reign: where lawful Judgment is exercised; where virtue is honoured and rewarded; where sin and wickedness is punished; where honest Families are maintained and defended.

No Imperial Country in all the Turkish Dominions.

The destruction of the Turkish undinate Empire.

Ezek. 39
Apo. 20.

These things are not regarded amongst the *Turks*, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful Empires: because they dissolve and reject all godly Societies, honest Discipline, good Laws, Policies, righteous Judgment, the Ordinance of Matrimony, and godly Families. For what hath the Empire of the *Turks* been hitherto, but most deadly, cruel, and perpetual War, to work all mischief, destruction and desolation? To subvert good Laws, Cities, Kingdoms, Policies, and to enlarge their cruel Power and Dominion? The stay and strength whereof is not love and favour proceeding of virtue and justice, as in Lawful and well Governed Empires; but fear, violence, oppression, swarms and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, Ministers of Satans malice and fury. Which kind of Dominion and Tyranny hath been condemned by the Voice of God many years ago; the Testimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the Church, lest the godly, being moved with the power and success thereof, should fall away and forsake the Son of God.

Wherefore, let us not seek for any Imperial state in that barbarity: but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reserved to us certain remnants of the *Roman* Empire: And let us call upon him daily with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the House of God, that this *Turkish* power joynt with the malice of Satan against the Son of God, prevail not against the poor Congregations and little Remnant of his Church, as it hath hitherto done against those strong and noble Christian Kingdoms and Churches, where now we see the *Turkish* tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full possession. Whose state was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible overthrows and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads. For though the *Turk* seemeth to be far off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may soon cause us to feel his cruel hand and worse, if worse may be; to over-run us; to lay our Land waste; to scatter us amongst the Infidels, the Enemies and Blasphemers of the Son of God.

The Christian Kingdoms and Churches destroyed by the Turks are a warning for us, whom God hath yet spared.

Now, although these four Families above-mentioned long continued together in bloody Wars, deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all cruelty and tyranny, and subduing the other three Families, took upon him the Government alone, and so became the first Monarch, or Emperor, that reigned amongst them, called *Ottomannus*; of whom all that reigned after him were called *Ottomanni*. Who succeeding orderly of his Line, have occupied the same Dominion and Seat of the *Turks*, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this present time, which have been to the number of 12, of the which 12, in such order as they lived and reigned, I intend (Christ so permitting) severally and compendiously something to intreat, briefly abstracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, such specialties, as for us Christians shall be briefly requisite to be known.

Four principal Families of the Turks.

The Family of Ottomannus.

Ottomannus the first great Emperor, or Tyrant of the Turks.

THIS *Ottomannus* was at the first of poor estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of Men, coming of a base Progeny, and of rustical Parents; but through his valiantness and activity in War, he got him a great name amongst the *Turks*. For he being a Man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in War, and gathering together by great subtilty a multitude of common Soldiers, began to make War, and by conquest and victories to advance himself and his Family. First, He began to rob and spoil with a great band of rovers, and afterward he attempted to set upon all Men. Neither did he vex and destroy the Christians only, but set upon his own Nation also, and fought all occasion to subdue them wholly unto him. For now the Princes and Captains of the *Turks* inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, in so much that they fell to domestic and inward War, with all the power they could.

Ottomannus the first Emperor of the Turks.

Inward War among the Turks.

Ottomannus having this occasion very fit and meet to accomplish that which he long had sought for, gathering unto him all such as he thought to be given to robbing and spoiling, and set all upon mischief, in short time began to grow in Authority, and first set upon certain Towns, as he saw opportunity to serve him. Of which Towns some he took by force, some by yielding, other some he spoiled and overthrew to terrify the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the mean time, the discord which was amongst the Christians was no small advantage to this *Ottomannus*, by occasion whereof, he within ten years space subdued *Bithynia*, and all the Provinces about *Pontus*; also *Natolia*, which comprehendeth all the Dominion of the *Greeks* within *Asia*: *Ancyra* a City in *Phrygia*: *Synope* a City in *Galatia*; and *Sabastia* a City in *Cappadocia*: and thus still prevailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret Judgment of God against that Nation, or else because God would have them so far and so cruelly to prevail, for the punishment of the sins of other Nations, like as it was Prophesied before, that such a Kingdom there should be of *Ezek. 38* *Gog* and *Magog*.

The coming up of Ottomannus. Bithynia, Natolia, Ancyra, Synope, Sabastia subdued.

This *Ottomannus*, after he had reigned 28 years, in the year of our Lord 1327, died, and departed to his *Mahomet*, leaving behind him three Sons, of whom *Orchanes*, being the youngest, killed his two Brethren, whilst they were at variance between themselves.

Orchanes the second Emperor after Ottomannus.

O*rchanes*, the youngest of the Sons of *Ottomannus*, after he had slain his two Brethren, took the Regiment of the *Turks* after his Father. Who after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of War, converted his power further to enlarge his Fathers Dominion, winning and subduing *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Lycæonia*, *Phrygia* and *Caria*: All which Countries, being within the compass of *Asia*, unto the Sea-side of *Hellepontus*, and the Sea *Euxinus*, he added to the *Turkish* Empire. Also he won *Prusis*, which was the Metropolitan City of *Bithynia*.

Orchanes the second Emperor of the Turks after Ottomannus. Mysia, Lydia, Lycæonia, Phrygia, Caria, Prusis, Nicæa, Rhegedia, Christian Cities subdued of the Turks.

nia, which then he made the chief seat of the *Turks* Empire. Besides these moreover, he conquered *Nicea*, and got *Nicomedia*: all which were before Christian Cities and Regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian Princes in *Grecia* to cease their civil Wars, and to joyn and accord among themselves; Such debate and variance, was then between *Cantacuzenus* on the *Greeks* part, and *Paleologus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*. By reason whereof, the *Turks* aid was sent for out of *Asia* to help our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of *Europe* from them both. Who if they had, according to their profession, so well joyned in Brotherly Unity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had *Orchanes* so prevailed in getting *Prusia* from the *Grecians*, neither had the *Turks* so soon presumed into *Europe* as afterward they did. *Orchanes* after these victories, when he had reigned two and twenty years, was stricken, some say, with a Dart in the shoulder, at the Siege of *Prusia*. The opinion of other is, that he fighting against the *Tartarians*, where he lost a great part of his Army, was there also slain himself, Anno 1349.

Amurathes the third after Ottomannus.

THE *Greek* writers do hold that *Orchanes* had two Sons *Solimannus* and *Amurathes*. Of which two, first *Solimannus* reigned, albeit not long. After him followed *Amurathes*, who after that *Asia* now was subdued by his predecessors, fought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade *Europe*. To whose ambitious purpose the Domestical Wars of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certain discord fell between the Princes of *Greece* (whose Captain was *Cantacuzenus*) and *Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*. Whereupon *Paleologus*, for that he was not able to make his party good with the *Grecians*, most unwisely sent for *Amurathes* to help him. Who being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aid him 12000 *Turks* into *Thracia*: but first he used all delays he could of crafty policy, to the intent that the *Greeks* first should waste their strength, and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterward to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

The *Turks* thus being called into *Europe*, by the Christians, whether they tasting the sweetness of the soil, incensed *Amurathes* their Emperor to make Invasion, or whether *Amurathes* of his own head thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himself over into *Europe* with 60000 *Turks*, falling upon the *Grecians*, being wasted and spent with their long Wars and Battels before. The pretence of the Devilish *Turk* was, to aid and assist the Emperor *Paleologus*, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian Ships of the *Ligurians*, for many were hired to conduct them over, taking for every Soldier a piece of Gold. *Ex Pencer & aliis.*

Thus the *Turks* Army being conveyed over by the *Grecian* Sea called *Hellepontus*, first got *Calipolis*, with other Towns and Cities bordering about the Sea, and their planting themselves, and preparing Ships of their own for transporting their Munitions out of *Asia*, advanced their power further into *Thracia*, and there won *Philippolis*, then got *Adrianopolis*, which was not far from *Constantinople*, and there *Amurathes* made his chief seat. Then began *Paleologus* the Emperor at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with *Amurathes*. When the *Turks* had expugned thus a great part of *Thracia*, they extended forth their Army unto *Mysia*, which they soon subdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the *Bessos* and *Triballos*, they entered into *Servia* and *Bulgarsa*, where they joyning Battel with *Lazarus* Despot, Prince of *Servia*, and with other Dukes of *Dalmatia* and *Epyrus*, won of them the Field, and put them to the worse; where *Lazarus* Despot being taken, and committed to Prison, ended his life. This *Lazarus* had a certain faithful client or servant, who to revenge his Masters death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to

the Tyrant and thrust him through with his Dagger. This *Amurathes* reigned 23 years, and was slain in the year of our Lord, 1372.

KING
Hen. 7.
The death
of Amu-
rathes.

Bajazetes the fourth after Ottomannus.

THE power of the *Turks* began to increase in *Europe*, what time *Bajazetes*, the first of that name, after the death of his Father, entered the possession of the *Turks* Kingdom. This *Bajazetes* had two Brethren, *Solimannus* and *Sauces*: which *Sauces* had his Eyes put out by his Father, for striving for the Kingdom. *Solimannus* was slain of his Brother. Thus *Bajazetes*, beginning his Kingdom with the murder of his Brother, reduced his Imperial Seat from *Prusia* a City of *Bithynia*, unto *Adrianople*, intending with himself to subdue both *Asia* and *Europe* to his own power. First he set upon the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, thinking to revenge his Fathers Death, where he gave the overthrow to *Marcus Despot*, with all the Nobility of the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the Fines and Borders of the *Illyrians*. All *Thracia* moreover he brought likewise under his yoke, only *Constantinople* and *Pera* excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of *Grecia*, prevailing against the Countries of *Theffalia*, *Macedonia*, *Phocides* and *Attica*, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto *Adrianople*, laid Siege to *Constantinople* the space of eight years, and had expugned the same, but that *Paleologus*, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the French-men, and of *Sigismund* the Emperor. Who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of French-men and Germans, came down to *Hungaria*, and toward *Servia*, against the *Turk*. *Bajazetes* hearing of their coming, raised his Siege from *Constantinople*, and with 60000 Horsemen came to *Nicopolis*, where he encountering with them, overthrew all the Christian Army, took *John* the Captain of the French power Prisoner: *Sigismundus*, which before in the Council of *Constance* had burned *John Hus* and *Ferome* of *Prague*, hardly escaped by flying. *Bajazetes*, after the Victory got, carried away Duke *John*, with five other in Bands, into *Prusia*, where before his face he caused all the other Christian Prisoners to be cut in pieces. Afterward the said *John*, being Ransomed with 200000 Crowns, was delivered. Some Authors refer this Story to the time of *Calepinus*, as followeth hereafter to be seen.

Bajazetes the cruel Tyrant after this Victory won, and Tyranny shewed upon the Christians, returned again to the Siege of *Constantinople*, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the Providence of God had found such a means, that *Tamerlanes* King of *Parthia*, with an hundred thousand Horsemen, and swarms of Footmen, like a violent flood over-running *Asia*, and pressing upon *Syria* and *Sebastia*, had taken *Orthobules*, the Son of *Bajazetes*, Prisoner, and afterward slew him, exercising the like cruelty upon his Prisoners, as *Bajazetes* had done before upon the Christians; insomuch that he spared neither Sex nor Age of the *Turkish* multitude: of whom he caused twelve thousand at one time to be over-ridden and trodden down under his Horses feet. By reason whereof, *Bajazetes* the Tyrant was enforced to raise his Siege from *Constantinople*, and to return his power into *Asia*; where he, near the Hill called *Stella*, pitched his Tents there to encounter with *Tamerlanes*.

The Fight between these two, was long and great on both sides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397, and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at *Nicopolis* in *Pannonia*; but the Victory of this Battel fell to *Tamerlanes* at length. In the which Battel, as *Munsterus* writeth, were slain 200000 *Turks*. Among whom *Bajazetes* the Tyrant, having his Horse slain under him, was taken Prisoner; and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in Golden Fetters, and so being inclosed in an Iron Grate (whom before all *Grecia* could not hold) was led about and shewed through all *Asia*, to be scorned and laughed at: and moreover, was used instead of a footstool to *Tamerlanes*, or a block, as often

Bajazetes
the fourth
after Otto-
mannus.

Marcus Di-
spota slain
of the
Turk
Servia, Ma-
cedonia,
Bulgaria,
Phocides,
Thracia,
Attica,
Theffalia:
with other
Christian
Countries,
conquered
of the
Turk.
Constanti-
ple Besieged
eight years
by the Turks

The Christi-
ans over-
thrown of
the Turk.
Sigismund
the Empe-
ror put to
flight.

The barba-
rous cruelty
of the Turk
against the
Christians.

Tamerlanes
a Parthian
stirred up of
God, to re-
venge the
Christians.
Bajazetes
Son taken
and slain.
Cruelty
justly re-
venged with
cruelty.
Bajazetes
raiseth his
Siege from
Constanti-
nople.

Bajazetes
overcome of
Tamerlanes
King of
Parthians.
The just
band of God
upon a cru-
el Perse-
cutor.
Bajazetes
made for a
block for
Tamerlanes
to get upon
his Horse.
as

Civil War
among the
Grecians.

By the dis-
cord of
Christians
the Turks
increase.

Amurathes
the third
after Otto-
mannus.
Amurathes
seeketh oc-
casion to
invade Eu-
rope.

The first
coming of
the Turks
into Eu-
rope.

The covet-
ousness of
the Christi-
ans brought
over the
Turks.

Calipolis.

Thracia got-
ten of the
Turks.
Philippolis
Adrianopo-
lis.

The Turks
enter into
Mysia, and
Bulgaria,
and Servia.
Lazarus
Despot
overcome
of the
Turks.

Example of
a faithful
servant.

{KING} as he mounted upon his Horse. Some add also, That he was made like a Dog to feed under Tamerlanes Table. The tyranny of which Bajazetes against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of Valerianus the Roman Emperor above-mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for as Saporus King of the Persians did then with Valerianus in time of the Eighth Persecution of the Primitive Church, so likewise was Bajazetes this Persecutor worthily handled by Tamerlanes King of the Parthians, as in manner above-said.

The great victories of Tamerlanes in Asia.

Ex Seb. Munsteri lib. 4. Cosmograp.

Tanais is the uttermost flood in the Northside; and Nilus the uttermost flood in the South-side of Asia. A generation of Vipers.

Tamerlanes after this Conquest passed with his Army into Mesopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriously subduing the Cities and Munitions of the Turks, at length also conquered Damascus. In his Sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in White attire, the second day in Red, the third day in Black, signifying thereby Mercy the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the Sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great Victories, and Spoils gotten of the Turks, he returned into his Country again, and there died, Anno 1402.

Seb. Munsterus, writing of this Tamerlanes, Recordeth that he had in his Army 20000 Men: and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Iberians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and Conquered all Mesopotamia: and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the River Euphrates with Six hundred thousand Footmen, and Four hundred thousand Horsemen, he Invaded all Asia Minor, Conquering and subduing from the Flood Tanais unto Nilus in Egypt, and was called Terror Orbis, the Terror of the World. He left behind him two Sons, who, falling in discord for their Possessions, lost all again that their Father got.

In the mean time Bajazetes, in the second year of his Captivity, died, leaving behind him divers Sons, Jesus or Josua the eldest, Mulsumanes, Moses, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Jesus the younger; Mustaphas and Hali, of whom, first Jesus the eldest was overcome and slain of Mulsumanes, which Mulsumanes afterward was delivered to Moses his Brother, and by him was slain likewise; which Moses had also the like end by his Brother Calepinus, having his Neck broken with a Bow-string, which was then the usual manner among the Turks in killing their Brethren. The same Calepinus sparing only the life of Mustaphas his other Brother, condemned him to perpetual Prison. Jesus the younger was Baptised, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and divisions among the Turks, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered again of the Turks that they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private Wars otherwise occupied with themselves?

Calepinus the Fifth after Ottomannus.

Calepinus the fifth after Ottomannus.

Calepinus or Celebinus, was the Son of Bajazetes, and of four Brethren the eldest; who being all taken Captives of the Parthians, he only escaped and obtained his Fathers Kingdom. This Calepinus encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the Princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Grecians amongst themselves and other Nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Servians, and Macedonians, even to the time of Sigismundus. Which Sigismundus seeing now Bajazetes to be overcome and taken of Tamerlanes, and the power of the Turks weakened in Europe, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from Heaven, to destroy and utterly to root out, not only out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous Nation, and cruel Enemies to the Name and Religion of Christ: and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his Army Fighting before with Bajazetes at Nicopolis a City in Mysia; with great Power made War against Calepinus at Columbatium a Town in Servia, as is also before-mentioned, but as unluckily and with as little success as he did before against Bajazetes his Father. For in that Battel were slain of the Christians to the number of Twenty thousand, and the rest utterly discomfited, the King himself escaping so hardly, that he entred not again into his Kingdom for the space of Eighteen months after. Some

The overthrow of Sigismund, fighting against the Turk.

write that this was done under Bajazetes; other some refer this Battel to Amurathes; but howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians. He Reigned but Six years and died very young, Anno 1404.

Some storie Record this conflict to be after the time of this Turk.

Orchanes and Moses his Uncle, the Sixth after Ottomannus.

After the Captivity of Bajazetes above-mentioned, Histories diversly do dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention at all of Calepinus, only make mention of the Sons of Bajazetes, and of the contention among them, until the time of Mahumetes. The Latin Stories writing of the Children of Bajazetes and of their succession, do not therein agree, some affirming, That Bajazetes had two Sons, Orchanes, surnamed Calepinus, and Mahumetes his Brother, which within two years slew the said Calepinus, and entred his Dominion. Other attribute to Bajazetes more Sons, as is above-rehearsed. Some again do give to Bajazetes only these two Sons, Celebinus and Mustaphas; and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had two Sons; to wit, Orchanes and Mahumetes; and add moreover, That the said Orchanes, being somewhat young, was slain of his Uncle Moses, who governed but two years. For Mahumetes, to revenge his Brothers death, slew Moses, and invaded his Dominion. The Greek Stories make no mention at all of Orchanes.

Orchanes and Moses his Uncle. Diversity in Histories.

Tyranny between Uncle and Nephew. Murders revenged with murders.

Mahumetes the Seventh after Ottomannus.

This Mahumetes, whether he was the Son of Bajazetes, or else of Calepinus, converted to himself alone the Kingdom, or tyranny rather of the murdering Turks. Who afflicted the Christians with fore Wars within Europe, especially the Country called Wallachia, lying not far from the Flood Danubius, between Hungary and Thracia. From thence he removed into Asia, where he recovered divers parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turks. This Mahumetes planted his Chief Imperial Seat in Adrianople not far from Constantinople, within the Country of Thracia. In some Writers the conflict between Sigismund and the great Turk, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahumetes, than to Calepinus; of which conflict mention is above made in the Story of Sigismundus. This Mahumetes Reigned, as some say, fourteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 1419. Others affirm seventeen years.

Mahumetes the seventh after Ottomannus. Wallachia assaulted by Mahumetes.

The Turke seat at Adrianopolis.

Amurathes the Second, Eighth after Ottomannus.

Amurathes, as Philadelphus saith, was the Son of Celebinus as Laonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Mahumetes: whose Son soever he was, a wretched Tyrant he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the story of Bajazetes mention was made before of Mustaphas his Son, who was condemned to perpetual Prison by Calepinus his Brother. This Mustaphas escaping out of his Brothers Prison, was conveyed to the Grecians, where he remained long in custody, till at length they understanding the purpose of Amurathes, set him up with sufficient Habiliments and Furniture of War, to Fight against the said Amurathes his Nephew. But in conclusion he being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his Enemy, and had his neck broke with a Bow-string, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

Amurathes the Eighth after Ottomannus.

Mustaphas murdered by Amurathes his Nephew.

The Grecians then terrified with this sinister adversity, required truce of the Turk; but when that would not be granted, they procured unto them Mustaphas, the other Brother to Amurathes, being of the age of 13 years; who, likewise being Armed of the Grecians, got the City of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurathes his Brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same City, and brought to Amurathes; who caused him likewise to taste of the same Whip, as the other Mustaphas had done before. Amurathes, being now out of all fear and doubt of Brethren and Kinsfolk to rise against him, converted all his

The Turk murdereth his Brothers.

Amurathes set against the Grecians.

power

Thracia sub-
dued to the
Turk.

Theſſalonica
ſubdued.

The deſec-
tion ſpoken
of S. Paul
declared,
2 Theſ. 2.

Joannes
Caſtriotus.
Croia given
to the Turk.
The 3. ſons
of Caſtriotus
Hoſtages
with the
Turk, Georgi-
us Scander-
beius, Alex-
ander the
Great.

The valiant
Acts of
Georgius
Scanderbe-
us.

Georgius
Scanderbe-
us ſtealeth
away from
the Turk to
his Country.
Croia reco-
vered.
Epyrus and
Macedonia
recovered
from the
Turk.
The valiant
Acts of Geo-
rgius Scan-
derbeius
againſt the
Turks.
Illyricum or
Sclavonia,
Dalmatia,
Croatia,
Iſtria, Li-
burnia.
Albania,
Bosna ſpoil-
ed and waſt-
ed by the
Turk.
Georgius
Deſpota
Prince of
Servia.
An ungodly
grant of a
Chriſtian
Father to
marry his
Daughter
to the Turk.
Scopia, So-
phia, Novo-
monte, My-
ſia, ſubdued
of the Turk.
Georgius
Deſpota fled
into Hunga-
ry.

power againſt the *Grecians*: and firſt ranging throughout *Thracia*, where divers Cities yielded unto them, which before belonged to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, from thence he ſet forward to the Noble and Famous City *Theſſalonica*, being then under the league and protection of the *Venerians*. This *Theſſalonica* is a City in *Greece*, bordering upon *Macedonia*, to the Citizens whereof Saint *Paul* writeth, foreſhewing unto them, in his ſecond *Epistle*, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of our Lord, 2 *Theſ. 2.* By the which Apoſtaſie or defection what the holy Apoſtle doth mean, this ſtory of the Turks may eaſily declare. After *Theſſalonica* was ſubdued, *Phocis* with all the Country about *Athens*, *Beotia* likewise, *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, with all the Region beyond *Peloponneſus*, unto the Coaſt of *Corinth*, to whom Saint *Paul* alſo wrote other two *Epistles*, were brought in bondage and ſlavery unto the Turk.

In *Epirus*, and in that quarter that adjoyneth to *Macedonia* named *Albania*, Reigned then one *Joannes Caſtriotus*; who, perceiving himſelf too weak to match with the Turks power, made with the Turk this convention, that he ſhould have *Croia*, a Famous City in *Grecia*, and alſo gave to him his three Sons for hoſtages, to wit, *Conſtantinus*, *Repoſius*, and *Georgius*.

In this *George* ſuch towardneſs of noble courage, ſuch vigor of mind, and ſtrength of body ſingularly did appear, that the Turk cauſed him more freely to be inſtructed after the Turkiſh Religion and manner in his own Court: where he being trained up, did ſo ſhoot up as well in feats of activity, as in ſtrength of body, that he excelled all his equals; inſomuch that he was named *Scanderbeius*, which ſoundeth as much as *Alexander Magnus*.

After this *Alexander* was grown up to mature ripeneſs of age, and was well trained up in feats of War, he was ſent out by the Turk, to War againſt *Caramannus* of *Cilicia*, the Turks enemy. In which expedition he ſped himſelf moſt manfully, fighting hand to hand, firſt with a footman of *Scythia*, then with an Horſeman of *Persia*, being challenged by them both to encounter, firſt with the one, after with the other; whom he ſo valiantly overthrew that he wan great renown with the Turk: In ſo much that he truſting to the Turks favour, when he heard of the deceaſe of his Father, durſt ask of the Turk the grant of his Fathers Dominion to be given unto him. Which requeſt although *Amurathes* the Turk did not deny him; yet notwithstanding, he perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, by ſubtile means and policy ſlipt out of the Turks Court, and came to *Epyrus* his own inheritance, where firſt by forged Letters he recovered *Croia*. The other Cities of their voluntary mind yielded themſelves unto him; who then gathering unto him the people of *Epyrus* and *Macedonia* (which were not ſo many in number, as with good willing minds they ſtuck unto him ſo manfully and valiantly behaved himſelf, that againſt all the puiſſance both of *Amurathes*, and alſo of *Mahumetes*, he maintained his own, repulſed their violence, and put to flight their Armies many years together. But to return again to the courſe of *Amurathes* victories, after he had thus prevailed (as is before ſignified) againſt the Eaſt parts of *Europa* and *Grecia*, and had convented thus for the Dominion of *Epyrus*, he invaded *Illyricum*, (otherwiſe called now *Sclavonia*) containing in it *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Iſtria*, and *Liburnia*: which Countries after he had ſpoiled and waſted, he continued his courſe to *Albania* and *Bosna*. In which Regions, when he had ſubdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to *Walachia* and *Servia*, upon hope to Conquer all *Pannonia*.

There Reigned at the ſame time in *Servia* a certain Prince named *Georgius Deſpota*, who made great ſute to the Turk for Truce and Peace, promiſing to give his Daughter to marriage; for by the Turks Law they marry as many wives as they liſt. It was not long after *Amurathes* had married the Daughter of *Deſpota*, but he contrary to his league and promiſe, made War upon *Deſpota* his Father-in-law, and expelled him out of his Kingdom, taking from him divers Cities, as *Scopia*, *Novomonte*, *Sophia*, and all *Myſia*. *Georgius* himſelf fled into *Hungary*, leaving behind him his Son to defend the Town of *Sinderonia*. *Amurathes* underſtanding of the flight

of *Deſpota* his Father in law, compaſſed the City of *Cinderonia* with a ſtrong Siege, which when in few days had expugned, he took his Wives Brother the Son of *Deſpota*, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous Tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes, with a Baſon red hot ſet before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in deriſion in deſpite of his cowardly Father. Ex *Chriſtoph. Richerio Gallo, & Gaſp. Peuc. & aliis.*

Servia being thus won and gotten, *Amurathes*, thinking to go further into *Hungary*, beſieged the City called *Belgradum*, and no doubt had alſo ſuppreſſed the ſame, had not the Providence of God found means, that partly through ſlaughter of his men, partly for lack of Victual and other Forrage, he was compelled to raiſe his Siege and retire.

In the mean time *Joannes Huniades* (of whom mention was made before:) had got great victories againſt the Turkiſh power, and had recovered part of *Servia*, and all *Muldavia*; againſt whom *Amurathes* the Turk, with a mighty Army, moved into *Pannonia*. But *Huniades* with the power and aid of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polonia* (but ſpecially by the power of the Lord) did ſoon infringe the puiſſance of the Turk, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Chriſtians the greateſt part of *Servia* and *Bulcra*.

In this Battle *Huniades* had five ſundry conflicts with the Turks upon one day, and with five Victories put them to the worſe, and toward night did ſo diſcomfit and overthrow the great Captain of *Amurathes*, called *Baſſa*, the Duke of *Anatolia* (which is otherwiſe named *Aſia Minor*) that he ſlew of the Turks that day to the number of Thirty Thouſand. *Amurathes*, although he was not a little thereat diſcouraged, yet diſſembling his fear, with ſtout countenance ſent for *Carambeius* his principal ſtay and Captain, with a new power brought out of *Aſia* to aſſiſt him in his wars. This *Carambeius*, in the Downs of *Transylvania*, *Ladiſlaus* the foreſaid King of *Polonia* (the Lord ſo working) through the induſtry of *Joannes Huniades*, ſo received and with ſuch celerity oppreſſed him unprovided, that all his ſtout and ſturdy Army either was ſlain down right, or elſe put to flight and diſparkled; *Carambeius* the Captain being himſelf taken priſoner in the ſame field.

Theſe Victories of *Huniades* ſtrook no little terror to *Amurathes*, inſomuch that for diſtreſs of mind he was ready to deſtroy himſelf (as ſome do write) but being confirmed by *Helibeus* *Baſſa* his Counſellor, he kept himſelf within the ſtraits of Mount *Rhodope*. Who then hearing that *Caramannus* invaded the ſame time the Country of *Bithynia* and *Pontus* in *Aſia*, was glad to take truce with *Ladiſlaus* and *Huniades* upon ſuch conditions as they liſted to make themſelves: which conditions were theſe, that *Amurathes* ſhould depart clearly from all the Region of *Servia*, and ſhould remove from thence all his Garrisons, which were placed in the Caſtles and Forts of the ſame; alſo he ſhould reſtore *George Deſpota* (which is to ſay) Prince of *Servia*, unto his poſſeſſion, and ſet his children free, whom he had in captivity, and reſtore them to their inheritance. Item, that he ſhould make no more claim nor title to the Country of *Muldavia* above mentioned, nor to that part of *Bulgravia* which he had loſt; and that he ſhould deſiſt hereafter from all wrongs and injuries againſt the Chriſtians. Upon theſe conditions the Turk being agreed, ſo was truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and with ſolemn Oath between them confirmed.

This done, *Amurathes* the Tyrant addreſſeth himſelf toward *Aſia*; to reſiſt the invasion of *Caramannus* aforeſaid. At what time Pope *Eugenius* ſo ſoon as he heard the Turk to be returned into *Aſia*, ſendeth *Julianus Caſſarianus* his Cardinal (whole ſtory is before touched) unto *Ladiſlaus* the foreſaid King, with full diſpenſation and abſolution to break his Oath and league with the Turk, promiſing moreover great hope and aid, if he would go in Arms ſtoutly againſt the Tyrant.

Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promiſe in that Peſtilent Sea of *Rome*, neither was there ever any War proſpered, which was taken in hand by the Popes Council: ſo was there never any Council of the Pope that brought with it more detriment to Chriſtianity, than this. But the Pope belike thought, that

KING.
Hen. 7.
The cruelty
of the Turk
upon his
wives Bro-
ther.

Belgradum
beſieged of
the Turk.

Joannes
Huniades
Valvoda.

Five Victo-
ries of John
Huniades,
againſt the
Turk gotten
in one day.
The great
Baſſa or
Duke of
the Turk o-
verthrown
by Hunia-
des.

The Victory
of Huniades
againſt Ca-
rambeius
the great
Captain of
the Turks.
The Great
Turk
brought to
a great
diſtreſs.

Amurathes
ſeeketh
truce of
the Chriſti-
ans.
The condi-
tions be-
tween La-
diſlaus King
of Polonia,
and Amur-
athes.

Truce be-
tween the
Chriſtians
and the
Turks for
ten years.
Amurathes
returned in-
to Aſia.
The Popes
diſpenſation
and abſolu-
tion abuſed.

The Popes
raſh Coun-
cil pernicious
to Chriſ-
tendom.

KING Hen. 7. Nothing prospereth that is taken in hand by the Pope setting on. The Pope breaketh Truce made between the Christians and the Turk.

The Pope moved Ladislaus to break truce.

The false dealing of the Italian Navy. The battel of Varna, between Ladislaus King of Polonia, and Amurathes.

The Popish Prelates were the cause of loſing the Field.

A juſt puniſhment upon the Popiſh Prelates for their unjuſt dealing.

Julianus the Cardinal ſlain in the War and ſpoiled.

Huniades eſcapeth.

The worthy commendation of John Huniades.

Amurathes taketh his Voiage againſt the Grecians.

that as he might lawfully break promiſe with John Huſ, and with other Chriſtians, ſo alſo he needed not to obſerve any League or Truce taken with the Turk: But it turned much otherwiſe than the Popes blind Brains imagined, as by the ſequel is to be ſeen. For Ladislaus being thus excited by the unadviſed and ſiniſter inſtigations of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the Truce ſtabliſhed a little before, ſet out with his Army from Seledinus, and ſo proceeding to Walachia and Burgaria, came to Varna, a Town of Bulgary, where he fell ſick.

It was not long but the Turk, having thereof intelligence, left his Wars begun with Caramannus in Aſia, and with great journeys made haſte into Europ, paſſing over by the Straits near to Callipolis, where all the Italian Navy ſtill looking on, and whether of purpoſe, or whether for cowardlineſs, would not ſtir one Ore to ſtop the paſſage of the Turkiſh Army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thracia, uſing ſuch celerity as no Man looked for, within eight days he was in Burgaria, and there encamped himſelf againſt Ladislaus. The day of battel being ſet, the Armies joyned on both ſides. Huniades was himſelf there preſent, but all the matter was ruled by Julianus the Cardinal, and the Popes Clergy. The Fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodſhed on each ſide; inſomuch that the field did ſtand with lakes of blood. It ſeemed at the firſt to incline to the Chriſtians, by breaking the firſt ranks of the Turks. But the Priests and Prelates which were at the field (which had been more fit to have been in the Church) ſeeing the Turks to begin to flie, unſkilfully left their array to purſue the Enemy, ſo that they leaving the other ſtandings of the Chriſtians naked, gave great advantage to the Turks with their Darts and ſhot to diſturb the Chriſtian ranks. By the which occaſion Amurathes incloſing the Chriſtians with his Army round about, obtained the Victory. In the which field, Ladislaus the young King of Polony, having his Horſe firſt killed under him, was ſtrucken down and ſlain. The Popes Biſhops flying to ſave themſelves, fell into the Marſhes, and there were deſtroyed, ſuſtaining a durty death condign to their filthy falſhood and untruth. Julianus the Cardinal, which with the Pope was the chief doer in breaking the League, in the way was found dead, being full of Wounds, and ſpoiled to his naked ſkin. Of the reſt of the Army that eſcaped by flying, part was drowned in the Marſhes, ſome perished miſerably for hunger, ſome for cold, watching and wandering in the Woods. Huniades hardly eſcaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God, being reſerved to the further profit and Commodity of Chriſtendom.

This John Huniades the worthy Warrior was born in Walachia, being Earl of Biſſice, of all Captains that ever went againſt the Turks moſt famous and ſingular, prudent in wit, diſcreet in Council, expert and politick in War, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quick in expedition: in whom wanted almoſt no good property requiſite in a warlike Captain. Againſt two moſt mighty and fierce Tyrants, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lords Might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the Thunderbolt and Terror of the Turks. Like as Achilles was unto the Grecians, ſo was he ſet up of God to be as a Wall or Bulwark of all Europe againſt the cruel Turks and Enemies of Chriſt and of his Chriſtians. Neither was there any King or Prince that ever atchieved ſuch noble Victories, either ſo many in number, or ſo profitable for the publick utility of all Europe, as did he, and that not only in the days of this Amurathes, but alſo of Mahumetes his ſucceſſor, as hereafter remaineth further to be ſeen. This battel of Amurathes againſt the Chriſtians at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the year of our Lord, 1404.

Amurathes by reaſon of this Victorious overthrow againſt the Chriſtians, ſurpriſed with no ſmall Pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the Grecians, where Caſtriotus was, otherwiſe called Scanderbeius. And firſt coming to Peloponneſus, and breaking down the Wall about the Straits of Corinth, encountered with the Brother of the Emperor of Conſtantinople, whom with his ſudden coming he oppreſſed, with all the Greeks Army, ere they

were provided. Paleologus the Emperor after that, did build up the Wall again, but at the Turks bidding he was compelled to undo it again: which Wall afterwards the Venetians did repair. After the demolition of the Wall, Amurathes entring into * Peloponneſus took divers Towns and Cities, as Sycione, and Patra; and moreover made all the parts of Theſſalia and Achaia Tributaries unto them.

The next year after this battel of Amurathes fought againſt the Chriſtians at Varna, the Turk being now about the parts of Grecia, purpoſed to bend all his force and main againſt the Country of Epyrus belonging to Georgius Caſtriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how he was brought up in the Turks Court, from whence we declared alſo how ſubtilly he conveyed himſelf, and came to the poſſeſſion of his own patrimony of Epyrus. * Which Epyrus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord alſo had raiſed up the ſame time with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turks) valiantly defended againſt all the power of Amurathes; inſomuch that he diſcomfited and vanquiſhed ſeven of the moſt expert Baſſaes or Dukes of the Ottoman Emperor, one after another, with all their Armies of moſt picked and choſen Souldiers, diſlodged them of their Tents, and expulſed them utterly out of all Epyrus. Alſo when Amurathes himſelf with his whole puiſſance had invironed about the City of Croja, with cruel ſiege and ordinance out of meaſure, yet notwithstanding the ſaid Scanderbeius (through the power and bleſſing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulſed him from the ſiege.

After this diſcomfiture, the ſaying is, that Amurathes, to keep his Vow made before, after his Victory at Varna, gave himſelf unto a religious Order, living a contemplative life with certain other Priests joyned unto him, in the Forreſt of Bithynia, renouncing the government of his Realm to the hands of Haly, one of the Princes (for thou muſt underſtand, good Reader, that the Turks alſo be not without their ſundry Sects of Religion, no more than we Chriſtians are without our Friers and Monks.)

In the mean time while Amurathes this Turkiſh Tyrant was cloyſtered up in his Monkiſh Religion, Joannes Huniades in the Kingdom of Hungary, and Caſtriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept a great ſtir againſt the Turks. By reaſon whereof Amurathes was taken again from his Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, and brought again into the field: For firſt Huniades had reſcued the whole Country of Hungaria, and had propulſed moreover all the might of the Turks far from Servia. And although the peeviſh practice of Georgius Prince of Servia had oftentimes diſcloſed his Councils unto the Turks, whereby twice he was brought in danger, yet notwithstanding (through the Lords gracious Protection) ye was preferred and delivered by the ſaid George unto the Hungarians again, and after that manfully vanquiſhed the Turks, ſo that they had no reſting place about thoſe parts of Servia and Bulgaria, ſo long as he lived.

On the other ſide in Grecia, Caſtriotus Scanderbeius ſo foiled the Turk in defence of his Country Epyrus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes ſo ſhort, that not only he was not able to win any great Town in all Epyrus; but alſo coming from Epyrus in the Straits, he was ſo intangled by Caſtriotus, that he was forced to give battel: In the which battel he was ſo vanquiſhed, and moſt part of his Army ſlain, that, for grief and ſorrow conceived, he falling into a raving ſickneſs, was tranſported out of his Pavillion unto Adrianople, and there in fury and madneſs died, after he had Reigned 34 years, which was about the year of our Lord, 1450.

This Amurathes firſt ordained the order of the Janizaries. Which were the Men-children of ſuch Chriſtians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the Faith of Chriſt, wherein they were Baptized, and brought them up in Mahumets Law, and exerciſed them in the ſame Feats of War as he did his own people, and after that they came to Mans eſtate, he named them Janizari (that is to ſay) Souldiers of a ſtrange Country, and made them to guard his perſon. They wear on their head, inſtead of an Helmet, a white Attire made of the groſſeſt fort of Wool, and in ſo many

* Peloponneſus Syntice, Patris, with all the parts of Theſſalia and Achaia, brought under the Turk. The memorable Acts of Scanderbeius againſt Amurathes.

* This Epyrus is a Country in Grecia, bordering near to the parts of Macedonia.

Seven Captains of the Turks overcome by Caſtriotus Scanderbeius.

Amurathes renounced his Dominion, and made himſelf a Turkiſh Monk.

Two Chriſtian Warriors in Europe ſtirred up of God to vanquiſh the Turk.

This John Huniades is reported of twenty battels with the Turk, to loſe but 1200.

Epyrus and Macedonia, defended by Scanderbeius.

Amurathes overcome by Scanderbeius.

Janizari among the Turks.

fold about their head that it cannot be pierced with a Sword. It hangeth down on the back with a Tail, and before on the forehead it is garnished with Gold and Silver. They were wont to use Bows and Lances in the field, but now they use Dags as our Horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but Eight thousand in their Garrison, but now there be twice so many. This of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the *Turks* is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their Children pulled from the Faith of Christ wherein they were Baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous Doctrine of *Mahumet*, and so be professed Enemies of Christ and his Church, to make War against Heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our own Children born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel Enemies, and to cut our Throats with their own hands? This servitude of mind is far greater than death it self: which if our Princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel Enemy.

A lamentable slavery of Christian Mens Children under the Turk.

Mahumetes Second, the ninth after Ottomannus.

Mahumetes the ninth Turk after Ottomannus.

A *Murathes* left behind him three Sons, *Mahumetes* born of the Daughter of *Despota*, Prince of *Servia*, being Twenty years of Age, the second Son called *Turcines*, the Third named *Calepinus*. This *Turcines* being an Infant, and but eighteen Months old, was Strangled at the commandment of the Turk by his servant *Moses*, himself being there present and beholding the horrible Murder. And when *Moses* the Executer of the murder had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his Brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other Brethren being destroyed, none should be left alive but one to govern the Empire. Wherefore *Moses* was commanded by the Tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the Infant. This horrible Fact when the Mother of the Child understood, she cried out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the Tyrant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his Mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the Executer of her Sons death, delivered the said *Moses* bound into her hands, who then in the presence of the Tyrant thrust him to the Heart with a Knife, and opening his side took out his Liver, and threw it to the Dogs to be devoured.

The Tyranny of Mahumetes in murdering his Brethren.

Halibassa a Traytor to his Master. Horrible parricide of the abominable Turk. Gods providence can fetch out of the Devils mouth whom he list to save. Note here Gods punishment upon the betrayer of innocent blood.

The third Son called *Calepinus*, which was but six Months old, the foresaid *Amurathes* his Father commended to the custody of *Halibassa*, one of his Nobles, who, to gratifie and please the Tyrant, betrayed the Infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he at the Tyrants commandment was strangled. Some affirm, that in stead of *Calepinus* another Child was offered unto the Tyrant, and that *Calepinus* was conveyed to *Constantinople*, and after the taking of *Constantinople* was carried to *Venice*, and then to *Rome* to Pope *Calixt*, where he was Baptized, and afterward came into *Germany* to *Frederick* the Emperor, and there was honorably entertained, and kept in *Austrick* during his life. Where note how the merciful Providence of God, whom he list to save, can fetch out of the Devils mouth. And note moreover the foresaid *Halibassa* the betrayer of the Infant, how he escaped not unrevenged. For *Mahumet* understanding him to be a Man of great substance and riches, through forging of false Crimes, with great Torments put him to death to have his Riches; for this Tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody *Mahumet* began regiment with horrible Murder, after the example of other cursed Tyrants his Predecessors.

Although this *Mahumet*, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian Mother, being the Daughter of *Despota* Prince of *Servia*, and by her was brought up and instructed from his Childhood in the Precepts of Christian Religion and manners, yet he soon forgetting all, gave himself to *Mahumets* Religion, and yet so, that he being

addicted to neither Religion became an Atheist, believing and worshipping no God at all, but only the Goddesses of good Fortune, irriding and mocking the minds and judgments of Men, which believe that God by his Providence governeth and regardeth the state of human things on Earth.

KING HEN. 7.

After that this *Mahumet* heard of the Victories and Conquests of other his Predecessors, and had understanding how *Bajazetes* lay eight years about *Constantinople*, and could not win it; he dispraising *Bajazetes*, and disdaining that so long time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no Victory gotten, bent all his study and device how to subdue the same. But first having a privy hatred against the City of *Athens*, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his Brethren, this murdering *Mahumet* first of all taketh his Voyage to subvert and destroy the City aforesaid, being a famous School of all good learning and discipline. Against the which City he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good Letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the Foundation thereof to stand, because that City was a good nurse and fosterer of good Arts and Sciences; wherefore he commanded the City to be rased and utterly subverted; and wherefore any Monuments or Books could be found, he caused them to be cast into dirty Sinks, and the filthiest places of the City, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirping and abolishing of all good literature; and if he understood any to lament the case, and ruine of that noble Place, those he grievously punished and put to death.

Mahumet first setteth upon Athens.

The fury of Mahumet the Turk against the City and School of Athens.

Athens destroyed.

Thus the famous and ancient School of *Athens* being destroyed and overthrown, he returned his Army and Power into *Thracia*, where in all haste he, gathering up his Power together both by Sea and Land, with a mighty multitude compassed the City of *Constantinople* about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the year of our Lord, 1453. and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperor *Constantinus* slain. As touching the cruelty and fierceness of the Turks in getting of this City, and what slaughter there was of Men, and Women, and Children, what calamity and misery was there to be seen, forso much as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath been made before, it shall be superfluous now to repeat the same. This only is not to be omitted touching three principal Causes of the overthrow of this City; whereof the first was the filthy avarice of those Citizens, which hiding their Treasures in the Ground, would not employ the same to the necessary defence of their City. For so I find it in Story expressed, that when the Turk, after the taking of the City, had found not so much Treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himself (as the truth was) the Treasures and riches to be hidden under the Ground, commanded the Earth to be digged up, and the Foundations of the Houses to be searched: where when he had found Treasures incredible. What (quoth he) how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great Riches as here is, and plenty of all things? The second cause was the absence of the Navy of the *Venetians*, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in Stories, either for that the City of *Constantinople* fifteen years before, did yield to the Bishop of *Rome*, as is before to be seen, or else because (as in some Writers it is evident) the Images were there received and maintained in their Churches, and by the Turks the same time destroyed.

The siege and taking of Constantinople.

Vide supra.

Three causes specially noted in the winning of Constantinople.

Ex Joanne Ramo, lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.

Vide supra.

Joannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this City, amongst other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifix, being there in the high Temple of *Sophia*, which Image the Turk took, and writing this supercription upon the head of it, *Hic est Christianorum Deus, i.* This is the God of the Christians, gave it to his Souldiers to be scorned, and commanding the said Image with a Trumpet to be carried thorow all his Army, made every Man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou halt (good Reader) by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence we Christians give unto the barbarous Infidels by this our ungodly superstition, in having Images in our Temples, contrary to the express

Ex Ramo. An Image of the Crucifix in Constantinople.

What offences be given to the Infidels by Images in Christian Churches.

KING prels commandment of God in his Word. For if **Hib. 7.** Saint Paul, writing to the *Corinthians*, saith, *We know Christ now no more after the flesh*; how much less then is Christ to be known of us in blind Stocks and Images set up in our Temples, serving for none other purpose, but for the Infidels to laugh both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke Gods vengeance? which by the like example (I fear) may also fall upon other Cities, which such Images and Idolatrous superstition is maintained; whereof God grant *Vienna* to take heed betime, which hath been so long, and yet is in such great danger of the *Turk*, and polluted with so many Images, and plain Idolatry.

The cruel murder by the Turks in the City of Constantinople. In summa, to make the Story short, such was the cruelty of these *Turks* in winning the City, that when *Mahumet* had given licence to the Souldiers three days together, to spoil, to kill, and to do whatsoever they listed, there was no corner in all *Constantinople*, which did not either flow with Christian blood, or else was polluted with abominable abusing of Maids, Wives, and Matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the which Citizens,

A lamentable destruction of the City of Constantinople. some they Murthered, some they Rosted upon Spits, of some they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to consume with Famine, of other some they put Salt into their Wounds, the more terrible to torment them, inasmuch that one of them contended with another, who could devise most strange kinds of new Torments and Punishments, exercising such cruelty upon them, that the place where the City was before, seemed now to be no City, but a Slaughter-house or Shambles of Christian Mens bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body also of *Constantine* the Emperor was found; whose Head being brought to *Mahumet*, he commanded it to be carried upon a Spear thorow the whole City for a publick spectacle and derision to all the *Turkish* Army. And because he would diminish the number of the Captives, which seemed to him to be very great, he never rose from his Table, but he put every day some of the Nobles to death, no less to fill his cruel Mind with Blood, than his Body was filled with Wine; which he used so long to do as any of the Nobles of that City was left alive. And of the other sort also, as the Stories do credibly report, there passed no day in the which he did not orderly slay more than three hundred Persons, the residue he gave to his rascal Souldiers to kill, and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as *Constantinus* the Son of *Helena* was the first Emperor of *Constantinople*, so *Constantinus* the Son also of *Helena* was the last Emperor thereof.

The bloody cruelty of the Turks against the Christian Captives. Not far from the said City of *Constantinople* there was another little City called *Pera*, and once called *Gallatia*, situated by the Sea side; who hearing of the miserable destruction of *Constantinople*, and seeing the City flaming with fire, sent certain of the chief Men with speed to *Mahumet*, declaring unto him, that they neither had sent any help to the City of *Constantinople*, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his Army: wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, so he would be favourable unto them and spare them, and not to punish the guiltless with the guilty. *Mahumet*, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they submitted themselves, and that they would rather resist him if they had been able, yet he received for that time the submission of the Messengers: but sending with them his Ambassadors into the City, he commanded also his Army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the City, which although it was greatly suspected and misliked of the Citizens, yet they durst not otherwise do but suffer them to enter: which being done, the Ambassador gave a sign to the Souldiers, every Man to do whatsoever he was bidden; of whom, some ran to the Walls, some to the Temples and Churches, some to the Streets and Houses of the City, plucking all things down to the ground, sacking and ranging with no less fury and abominable filthiness, than they had done at *Constantinople* before, saving only that they abstained from murder: but the same day Letters came from *Mahumet* to the Ambassador, that he would spare none, but destroy and murder all that ever were in the City; which message, because it seemed to the Ambassador to be too cruel, forsoomuch as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand a little until night came. In the mean

The City of Pera yielded itself for fear to the Turk. time, drunken *Mahumet* coming something to himself (whom drunkenness had before overcome) sent his second Letters to revoke the first. Where again is to be noted the merciful Providence of God towards his people in their deserved Plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their Enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

The City of Pera spoiled. *Mahumet* thus being in himself not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of *Constantinople*, where he had now made the Imperial Seat of the *Turkish* Dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more masteries, he set out to the siege of *Belgradum*, a City of *Hungary*, lying near to the Banks of *Danubius*, thinking to have the like success there, as he had in the winning of *Constantinople*, albeit, through the Lords disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the City of *Belgradum*, the same time of the siege thereof, was *Joannes Huniades*, the valiant Captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a sufficient strength of of picked Souldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the *Turks* Army, valiantly defended the City with great courage, and no less success. In the which siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the *Turks* slain. Among whom also *Mahumet* himself, being struck with a Pellet under the left Arm, was fain to be carried out of the Field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the *Turks* the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much under the number of forty thousand, besides the loss of all their Ordinance, which the *Turks* in haste of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

Drunken Mahumet false of promise. *Hieronymus Zieglerus*, writing of the siege of this *Belgradum*, addeth moreover, that when *Mahumet* was at the siege thereof, seeing the Town to be so small and weak of itself, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he staring and faring like a mad Man, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the Walls and Towers of the Town: So that the Christians within the Walls were vehemently distressed; for the Siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians which defended the Town *Hieronymus Zieglerus* maketh mention of a certain *Bohemian*, much worthy of his condign commendation; Who being upon the Walls, and seeing a *Turk* with a Banner or Ensign of the *Turks* to be gotten up, by the sight whereof, the whole Town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the *Turk*, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to *John Capistranus* standing below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind did cast himself with that Dog (so he termed him) down headlong from the Wall to be slain with him; what should become of his soul, and whether he might be saved or not? To whom when the other had answered, that he should be saved without doubt, he forthwith tumbleth himself with the *Turk* down off the Wall, where by his death he saved the same time the life of all the City. *Mahumet* being so wounded, and in despair of winning the City, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length coming again to himself, partly for fear, and partly for shame, was ready to kill himself. And thus was the Town of *Belgradum* at that time rescued through Gods Providence, by the means of *Joannes Huniades* and this good *Bohemian*.

The noble Act of a Bohemian in defence of his country. This siege of *Belgradum* began in the year of our Lord, 1456. and endured six and forty days. At which siege were numbered of the *Turks* two hundred thousand. Of whom more than forty thousand (as is aforesaid) were slain, where the victory fell to the Christians through the prosperous success given of God to *Joannes Huniades*, and *Capistranus*. Which *Huniades* not long after the said victory, through the importune labour and travel in defending of the Town, was taken with a fore sickness, and thereof departed; to whose valiant prowess and singular courage, Stories do give great laud and commendation.

Two hundred thousand Turks slain at the siege of Belgradum. *Mahumet* the *Turk*, after this done in Europe, returned into *Asia* to War with *Usuncassanes* a *Persian*, one of the *Turks* stock, with whom he had three Battels. The first was about the River *Euphrates*, where the *Turk* lost Ten thousand Men, and was put to the worse.

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In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third Battel at *Arfinga*, where through the terrible noise of the brazen pieces, the *Persian* Horses disturbed the Camp, and so was *Usumcaffanes* overcome.

The Turk again returned against the Christians. Synope, Paphlagonia, Trapezus, gotten of the Turk. David Emperor of Trapezus with his two Sons, and Uncle cruelly killed of the Turk.

Corinthus, Mitylene, Lesbos, Lemnus subdued of the Turk.

The falsehood of the wretched Turk against the Prince of Mysia. The cruelty of the Turk against the King of Mysia.

The siege of Chalcis in Euboea.

The cruel Tyranny of the Turk against the City of Chalcis. En Jeanne Rome de reborn Turcici.

The noble stratagem of women in defending that City.

Peloponnesus, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia, Christian Provinces in Grecia, subdued of the Turk.

From thence the Turk reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him *Synope* and all *Paphlagonia*: Also the Kingdom of *Trapezus*, which he besieging both by Land and water, wan from the Christians, and sent *David* the King of the same with his two Sons, and *Calus* his Uncle, unto *Constantinople*, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the *Comneni*, which were of the Kings stock, by the Turk were destroyed. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1459. at which time this mischievous *Mahumet* was first saluted Emperor.

Not long after, he got from the *Grecians* *Corinthus* and *Mitylene*, not without great slaughter of Christian men; infomuch that the whole City of *Mitylene* was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The Isles also of *Lemnus* and *Lesbos* he wan from the *Venetians*; in the which Island of *Lesbos* is the City of *Mitylene* aforesaid.

Not far from this Isle of *Lesbos* and *Mitylene*, there is a Country in *Asia* toward the Sea side bordering next to *Europe*, called *Mysia*, or of some called *Mæsia*, wherein stood the City of *Troy*. This Country *Mahumet* coveting to win rather by policy and falsehood, than by doubtful danger of War, secretly sent for the Prince thereof to come to speak with him for certain causes (as he pretended) which would concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the King of *Mysia* either for shame would not, or for fear durst not deny, he came to him as to confer upon necessary affairs in common to them appertaining. *Mahumet*, when he had brought that to pass which he would, he caused the King to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in pieces; and so invading the Land of *Mysia*, he exercised the like Tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

This *Mysia* by fraud being taken and lost, *Mahumet* flyeth again toward *Europe*, where he assailed the Island *Euboea*, otherwise called *Nigroponte*, making a Bridge of a marvelous frame over the Sea *Euripus*, to convey over his Army out of *Grecia*, and there laid his siege to the City *Chalcis*, which at length in thirty days he overcame, not without a great slaughter of his Army; who in the siege thereof, is said to have lost Forty thousand of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater; for when the City was won, the Tyrant commanded most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole City, but to be put to the Sword, whosoever was above the Age of Twenty years. This cruelty was shewed of the barbarous Tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to Forty thousand. In the fierce siege of this City it is memorable that is in Stories recorded, how that the Women of that City, seeing the Men begin to faint, and the City to lie in present danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the Men, went to the Walls, and there defended the City with no less trouble to the Enemy, than the Men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any Mans strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this City and Island, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the *Venetians* Navy; who being there present, and having prosperous Wind, yet durst not, or would not adventure upon the Turks Bridge, which if they had done, the Island of *Euboea* and *Chalcis* had not so soon been overmatched of the Turks.

Thus all the East parts of *Grecia* being subdued to the Turkish Tyrant, with all *Achaia*, *Attica*, *Acarmania* and *Euboea*, shortly after followed also *Peloponnesus*, brought, in like subjection to the Turk. Within *Peloponnesus* were these Provinces contained, *Achaia*, *Messenia*, *Laconia*, *Argolica* and *Archadia*, &c. The *Venetians* in this *Peloponnesus* had great possessions, and had made up the Wall again toward the Sea side, near to the Straits of *Corinth* before mentioned, where for the more speed of the work, they had Thirty thousand Work-men to the building thereof: which, when it came to the knowledge of the Turk, he braft into the Country of *Peloponnesus* with an Army of Eight thousand, and first wasted the Regions of the

Coroneans, and *Metboneans*, and making a great slaughter of the *Venetians*, in short time he brought the whole Dominion of *Peloponnesus* under his yoke and tribute. {KING} {Hen. 7.}

Long it is, and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this *Mahumet*, gotten against the Christians both by Land and Sea: who, after he had overcome the Isle *Lesbos* above mentioned, and had cruelly slain *Nicholas Catalusius* the Prince thereof, turning his Army toward the Sea of *Pontus Euxinus*, got the Country of *Capha* from the *Genuans*. Before was declared how Truce was taken between *Georgius Scanderbeus*, and the Turk for Ten years: which Truce being expired, *Mahumet* leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his Power to *Epyrus* and *Albania*, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued. In the which Tract also he wan from the *Venetians*, *Scodra*, *Lyfson* and *Dinastrum*. Notwithstanding, when *Scanderbeus* the valiant Captain had done against the Turk, what in Mans strength did lie, yet being overmatched with power and multitude, seeking no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his Country as an exile, and went to *Italy*, and there being sent for by the Popes Letters, openly declared that it was not possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one King or Prince, unless all *Europe* with one consent should joyn their power and force together. And thus *Gregorius Scanderbeus*, a Man of puissant courage, being driven out of his Country, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and vehemency is reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barbarous Enemy, for very eagerness of Spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his Lips. It is testified also of him, that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, never turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded but only once with a light shaft in his foot, neither ever set against the Turk with more than six thousand Horsemen, and three thousand Footmen; who is said with his own hand to have slain above 2000 Turks, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Neither yet was the unsatiable greediness of this Turkish Hell-hound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole World? and so passing forward towards *Europe*, he subdued all *Illyria*, slaying *Stephanus* the King of *Bosna*, about the year of our Lord 1463. But afterward *Matthias Corvinus*, the Son of *Huniades* afore mentioned, recovered again the said Kingdom of *Bosna*, with many other Cities near unto *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and moreover repulsed *Mahumet* the Turk in his second siege of *Faitza*, taking his Tents and munitions left behind him.

Moreover, the said *Mahumet* passing unto *Walachia*, set upon *Dracula* the Prince thereof; which *Dracula*, although he had no greater power of Souldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he had almost lost his whole Army, of whom a great part notwithstanding was destroyed, and many of his Ensigns taken. Into *Dalmatia* were sent two Captains of the Turk, who, fighting against the Provinces of the *Venetians*, made great spoil and waste about the Regions of *Stiria* and *Carinthia*; where also the *Venetian* Power was discomfited, and *Hieronymus Novel* their Captain slain. At length Truce was taken between the Turk and the *Venetians*, upon this condition, that *Scodra*, *Tenarus* and *Lemnus* should be yielded unto him, and that they should pay to him yearly, Eight thousand Duckets, for the free passage of their Merchants.

After this peace concluded with the *Venetians*, *Mahmet* himself faileth over into *Asia*, sending two of his great Captains abroad to sundry places; of whom, *Mesitbes* was sent against the *Rhodes* with a mighty Navy. The other called *Acomates Bassas* was sent into *Italy* to take *Rome*, and all the West Empire. Concerning the Voiage of which two Captains, this was the event, that *Mesitbes*, after his great Travel, and bloody siege against the *Rhodesians*, was fain to retire, at length with great shame and loss. The other Captain *Acomates* (as is said) was sent into *Italy* with a Navy of a hundred Ships, and fifteen thousand Men, who by the way sailing, got *Leucadia* (which now they call *S. Maure*) *Caphalanis* and

Capha taken of the Turk.

The Council of Scanderbeus how to fight against the Turk.

A notable example of singular courage in a Captain. The commendation of Scanderbeus against the Turk.

Matthias the Son of Huniades.

Stiria and Carinthia taken of the Turk.

Rhodes besieged.

KING
Hm. 7.
Lecadia,
Cephalonia,
Zacynthus,
Favolona taken of the Turk.

Hydruntum taken.

The Pope fleeth for fear of the Turk.

These two Empires were Constantinople and Trebizond.

Of these Janizaries, read before.

Bajazetes slayeth his Brothers and Mother, and his two Nephews.

Read before.

False Treason worthily recompensed.

Lithostomus, Moncastrum, Christian Forts subdued of the Turk.

The Turk overthrown at Tarsus.

and Zacynthus, and sailing by Favelona, arrived in Apulia, and so passing along by the Sea side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hydruntum a City in Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terror into all Italy, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himself, with all haste fled out of Rome. After the City of Hydruntum was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was the year of our Lord 1481. Matthias Corvinus, Huniades Son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the said City, upon the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his return with five and twenty thousand Turks, in the mean time news came, that Mahumet the great Turk was dead; by reason whereof, the siege brake up, and the City was delivered to the Italians again, and so was Italy delivered at that time out of that present peril and danger. This Mahumet was from the Christians two hundred Cities, and twelve Kingdoms, and two Empires, which he joyned both together. He died in the year above said, Anno 1481.

Bajazetes the Second, the tenth after Ottomannus.

Mahumet as aforesaid had three Sons; of the which Mustapha the Eldest, through voluptuousness and carnal Lust, died before his Father. The other two were Bajazetes and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom great controverlie arose amongst the Turks, which of them should succeed in their Fathers Kingdom. For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahumet died; Bajazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes, in Lycaonia, wherefore, when great dissention was among the Nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the Janizaries, which were the Turks guard, did proclaim Bajazetes Emperor; others, in the absence of Bajazetes the Father, did choose Corchuthus his Son. Bajazetes the Father coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with Money, got the Wills of the Janizaries, and was made Emperor. Demes the other Brother being in Lycaonia more near, although he made no less speed in his coming, yet was prevented of Bajazetes, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he being put back from all hope of his Kingdom, incited by some of his Friends, moved War against his Brother; who being overcome in three Battels by Acomates, Bajazetes Captain, who had got Hydruntum before, did flee to the great Master of the Rhodes, leaving in a place called Carrae, his Mother and two young Children, whom Bajazetes slew.

This Demes being with the Master of the Rhodes, was desired first of Pope Innocent the fourth, then of Ludovicus the second French King, but especially of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, intending by him to obtain great victory against Bajazetes. But in conclusion, the Knights of the Rhodes sent him to the Bishop of Rome, where he being kept, and afterwards sent to Charles the 8th French King, for an Hostage of Pope Alexander the Sixth, was poisoned by the way of Terracina, by the said Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death, Bajazetes, to requite the foresaid Acomates for his good service, put him to the Halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to have his Treasure: Whose death redounded to the great profit of the Christians, forasmuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the Religion and name of Christ.

Bajazetes thus being confirmed in his Tyranny, made his expedition against Wallachia, where he subdued two great Forts, one called Lithostomus, the other called Moncastrum. From thence he removed his Power, taking his Voiage into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the Sultan of Egypt, which had succoured and entertained before his Brother Demes against him; where he lost two great Battels, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus; but especially at the field at Tarsus, the Army of the Turk took such a wound, that of an hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesaid, yet Bajazetes (whether for fear, or for subtilty) abstained to provoke them with War, but rather entering with them the League of peace;

requiring the Master of the Rhodes to keep his Brother safe under his custody, promising for his yearly salary, to be payed unto him every year in every Month of August, 45000 Duckets.

Thus Bajazetes being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the Sultan of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his Army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium near unto Velona, and had a great victory over the Christian Army in the Country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians and Croatsians, joyning their Powers together, encountered with the Turk, and lost the field, about the year of our Lord, 1493.

From thence the Turk leading his Army against the Venetians, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the Turk sometimes was put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailed, out of Fadra and divers other Cities about Dalmatia, carried away great multitudes of Christians into Captivity, which was about the year of our Lord, 1498.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1500. Bajazetes with 150000 armed Men, entered into Peloponnesus; which although Mahumet had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. Which Methone the Turk besieged with three Armies, having about the Walls five hundred great brassen Canons, whereof twenty two were most violent and hurtful, wherewith he battered the City both day and night: but the Citizens, which were within the City, committing themselves to God, defended their City as well as they could, rather chusing to die than to yield unto the Turks Tyranny. But the Turk prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians convented together into a certain House prepared for the purpose, both Men, Women and Children; where they setting the House on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the Tyrants hands. Certain Women also, with their Children, cast themselves headlong into the Sea, by that means to avoid the Turkish Captivity. Some writers there be, which affirm that the Methonians, seeing five great Ships of the Venetians coming with Men and Victuals toward them, issued down from the Walls to the Sea side to receive them; which were all taken Captives, being above the number of a thousand: which all being tyed with long Ropes, were brought before the Tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain Nobles, whom Cherseogles, Son in Law to Bajazetes, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gristo. The City of Coron, and also Pilus, Cities in Greece, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yielded themselves to the Power of the Turks. Crissum, otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of Guns.

These things thus atchieved, although Bajazetes went away Victor unto Constantinople, yet notwithstanding the Venetians, through the help of the Kings of France and Spain, had won from the Turk, Chephalania an Island very commodious for their Traffick. Also they had gotten other two Lands, Leucas and Nerius, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the Garrison of the Turks. But afterwards peace being taken between the Venetians and the Turks, by the Counsel of Andreas Gristo aforesaid, the Turks so agreed, that Leucas and Nerius, the Islands aforesaid, should be rendred unto the Turks, and the Venetians should keep still the possession of Chephalania.

Unto this League the Turk did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain War against Ismael Sophus in Asia, King of Persia. Which Sophus was stirred up by Gods Providence to War with this Bajazetes, whereby the Christian Churches in Europe might have some breathing time, and freedom from the Turks cruel Tyranny and bloodshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turk, who with great Power and Victories had over-run a great compas of the East parts of Asia; then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning again into Armenia, he made War against the Albanians, Hiborians, and Scythians, and from thence coming into Asia Minor, encountered with Corchuthus Bajazetes Son, and afterward coming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Bassa, Bajazetes Captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his Wife, prisoners.

Dyrrachium taken of the Turk.

The Turk against the Venetians.

The Christians carried away captives.

Peloponnesus again invaded by the Turk.

Methone taken of the Turk, and miserably destroyed.

Coron, Pilus, Crissum yielded to the Turk.

Chephalania, Leucas, Nerius, Islands recovered of the Turk by the Venetians.

Peace between the Venetians and the Turk.

War between Sophus and Bajazetes.

Caragius the Turks Captain taken Prisoner and slain of Sepbus.

Halibassa the Turks Captain slain.

Rest given to the Christians by the disced of the Turks.

Zelymus made Emperor against his Fathers will.

What these Janizaries were, read before.

The counsel of Bajazetes to his Son Zelymus.

The displeasure of Bajazetes against his Son Zelymus.

prisoners. Afterward he was encountred by *Halibassa* another Captain of the *Turks*, whom *Techellus* one of the said *Sopbus* Captains, meeting in the plain of *Galatia*, did withstand, and so by the way slew *Caragius* the Captain, and hanged him upon a Pole in the sight of *Halibassa*, which *Halibassa* shortly after was slain in War, and his Army scattered and put to flight.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods Justice and Providence, were these *Turks* kept occupied, and so came it to pass, that these *Barbarians* being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed, for their Impiety and Blasphemy against Christ and his Religion, whereby in the mean time some rest was given to the *Christians*.

Bajazetes partly by these Victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the *Gout*, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unweildy to the Regiment of that tumultuous Kingdom, began to have talk with his Nobles about the chuling of one to succeed him. The occasion whereof ministred much matter of inward Wars amongst the *Turks*. This *Bajazetes* had in all six Sons, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left alive; to wit, *Acomates*, *Corchutus* and *Zelymus*. *Bajazetes* himself had most mind to *Acomates*, but the chiefest of his Nobles did favour rather *Zelymus*; who through their traitorous incitation, provoked him to stir War against his Father: and notwithstanding that he was overcome in War, yet through intercession, he was reconciled again to his Father, and afterward proclaimed again Emperor against his Fathers will, through the help and favour of the Souldiers, entering the first beginning of his Kingdom, with the murdering of his own Father. The story whereof in some Authors is thus declared.

After that the *Janizaries* had perswaded with *Bajazetes*, for that he himself was unweildy, therefore he should do well to constitute some Successor, and that he had assigned *Acomates* to succeed him; the *Janizaries* being offended with the said *Acomates*, because he would not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the Kings Palace with their privy Swords which they had under their Garments, with a mighty cry, required *Zelymus* to be appointed for their Emperor. Unto whom when *Bajazetes* had answered, That he had assigned *Acomates*, they refused him, because he was fat, gross, and unable thereunto; but needs would have *Zelymus*, which was stout and warlike, to be made Emperor: and withall they drew out their Swords, crying *Zelymus, Zelymus*. Then *Bajazetes* giving place to their fury, shewed himself content to give them *Zelymus*; whom the *Janizaries* receiving, brought him into the Palace unto whom *Bajazetes* his Father giving place, willed him not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things, and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are: and thus speaking, he resigned his Imperial Throne and Seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entering into a certain Order of their Religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, saluting *Zelymus* as Emperor. Who then taking the Rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his Nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruel means, and advancing his own side, with great Honours and Promotions.

Not long after that *Zelymus* was thus settled in his Kingdom, *Bajazetes* his Father intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his Government, first entred into his Treasure-house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his Armory, where all the spoils gotten by War were likewise wasted; then he entred into the Jewel-house, where all his Plate and Gifts sent from Kings and Princes were kept, which likewise were disperfed and given away. At length he came into the Stable, where also he seeing his principal Horses to be lacking, fighting with himself, and crying Vengeance upon him, he prepared himself, with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into *Natolia* unto his eldest Son; and passing by an Orchard near to the Sea-side, where he had appointed to take Ship, in the mean time whilst the Ships were in furnishing, he fate

down under a Tree, and began to curse his Son, and to ask Vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his Father, and was become so impious a Wretch.

Zelymus understanding of his Fathers departure came into the Orchard where his Father was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his Father would so privily depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the Government of the Empire, but was contented only with the Title thereof. O Father (said he) do not thus privily depart away; do not procure this shame to your Son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the Emperor indeed. The end of your natural life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue. And thus using many fair and flattering words to his Father, he commanded a Banquet with many dainty Junkets to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poyson. Which as soon as *Bajazetes* had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poyson working in his body, he took his last Farewel of his Son, and going out of the City accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the Streets, in the middle of his journey fell down and miserably died, in the year of our Lord, 1512. Here maist thou see, good Reader, a cursed brood of this *Turkish* Generation, where the Father dieth in cursing the Son, and the Son reigneth by poisoning his Father.

Zelymus the Eleventh after Ottomanus.

After that this wretched *Zelymus* had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his Father, with like impiety he seeketh the destruction of his Brethren and their Children, first beginning his murder with the five Children his Nephews, which were the Sons of his three Brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two Brethren yet alive, *Acomates* and *Corchutus* with their Children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had three Sons, whom the Father sent to *Zelymus* his Brother, and their Uncle, with fair and gentle words, to intreat him to be good unto their Father, offering to him their duty and service in all things honouring him also as Emperor. But cruel *Zelymus* commanded forthwith his said Nephews to be strangled. The Father hearing of the cruel murder of his Sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in Mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wild honey; but being betrayed by one of his men, he was brought to *Zelymus*, and so was strangled.

Christopherus Richerus, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith, That *Zelymus*, after the death of his Brother *Corchutus*, came to *Bursia*, where he under the colour of making a great Triumph, ordained a Feast for his Friends and Kinsfolk, whereunto were called especially his Nephews, who then at the end of the Feast calling his Nephews aside (as under the pretence of conferring with them secretly about his necessary affairs) committed them to his Servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while *Acomates* his other Brother, through the help and instruction of his Mother, was kept out of the Tyrants hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged Letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that *Acomates*, to revenge the great Impiety, and subdue the tyranny of *Zelymus* his Brother, should shew himself abroad. Which if he would do, he shall find Friends enough to take his part. *Acomates* circumvented with these subtil trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for desire of the Empire, shewed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had; who, being set upon incontinent by *Zelymus* his Brother, was overcome in battel, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and gross, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain.

Touching the death of this *Acomates*, *Munsterus* somewhat differing from this Narration, addeth moreover, and saith, That he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all dismayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, desired the Captain, taking his Rings from his Fingers, to deliver the same to his Brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extream cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the Bath, and so to die. But *Zelymus*, being not ignorant

{KING} Hen. 7.

The dissembling words of *Zelymus* to his Father.

Zelymus the Son, poysoneth his Father.

Zelymus the Eleventh after Ottomanus.

The cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Father and his Brethren.

The cruelty of *Zelymus* against his Cousins.

Ex Christ. Rich.

Zelymus the Turk warreth against his Brother.

KING
Hen. 7.

The cruelty
of Zelymus
against his
Brother.
The two
Sons of A-
comates fly
from the
tyranny of
Zelymus the
Turk.

The Provi-
dence of
God, in fir-
ring up oc-
casions for
his people.

War be-
tween Zely-
mus and So-
phus the
Persian
King.

War be-
tween Zely-
mus and A-
ladulus, an-
other Turk.

Preparation
of War be-
tween Zely-
mus and the
Christians.

The Turk
called a-
way from
the Christi-
ans.

A Turkish
Vow.

Campson the
Sultan or
Ruler of
the Egypti-
ans.
Mamaluci.

ignorant of this, suborneth privy Tormentors, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet, cast him down upon the ground, and so twisting his Neck with a cord, did strangle him. This Acomates had two Sons, who hearing of the death of their Father, did fly for succour, the one to Sophus in Persia, and the other to the Sultan in Egypt.

By the means whereof, new occasion of War grew unto Zelymus, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians: so that through the Lords Providence, Christendom by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the Turks tyranny. For otherwise the Turk was wholly minded, with all his Force and Puissance, to Invade the Christians, being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Pannonia, or else to set upon Italy, being then at great discord within it self: but this cause occupied the Turks mind otherwise, and kept him at home. Such was then the Providence of the Lord for the safeguard of his people.

Wherefore, forso much as the affairs and doings of this Turk were spent for the most part in the Turkish and Heathenish Countries; it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietness was amongst them there, which could never be quieted, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. Amurathes the Turks Nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained Aid of Sophus the King of the Persians, first invaded Cappadocia; not long after whom followed Ismael Sophus the Persian King. By reason whereof, a great battel was fought betwixt the Persians and Zelymus, in the fields of Armenia major. In the which battel, Ismael Sophus the Persian King was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being carried out of the field, left the Victory to Zelymus: who, albeit he had an Army of 150000 men, yet in the same field lost about 30000 of his Turks. Which field was fought in year of our Lord, 1514. Zelymus after this Victory, went to Tauricia, the Imperial City of the Persians, which he, by yielding, subdued.

In this mean time it hapned that one Aladulus, a King of Armenia the greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk; whereupon Zelymus the Turk taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the Persians, fought against the said Aladulus, and in the end overcame him; and afterward being found in a Cave in a Wood, he was taken out and brought to Zelymus, and so beheaded: whose head, being first carried about Asia for a Triumph, was afterward sent to the Senate of Venice for a terrour unto them. The eldest Son of Aladulus, escaping the hands of his Pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battel thus fought and ended, Zelymus after he had divided the Kingdom of Aladulus into three Provinces, went to Lyconia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the City of Samandria, against the Christians in Hungary, but the Hungarians being soon repressed by Juno Bassa the Turks Captain, great preparation began to be made by the Turks against the Confines of Servia bordering upon Hungary. The terrour whereof stirred up Maximilian the Emperor, and Ladislaus King of Hungary, and Sigismundus King of Polony, to consult together, and conjoyn their Power for defence of Christendom. But through new incumbrances incident, the Turk leaving Europe, made haste again into Asia, to renew again his Wars against the Persians, who had made a Vow not to give over that War before Ismael was overthrown.

But before he entred that War, first he sent his Messengers to the Sultan of Egypt, requiring him not to intermeddle in that War; for this Sultan before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turk. The name of the Sultan which reigned then in Egypt, was Campson, set up by the Mamaluci. These Mamaluci were a certain Order amongst the Egyptians, much like to the Janizaries about the Turk, who being the Children of Christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the Sultans Court, and being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbarity, or rather became worse than Turks. This Campson unto the Messengers of the Turk, gave this Answer again, That unless he would leave off this War against Ismael, and

restore the Son of Aladulus, he would not lay down his Armour.

Zelymus being incensed not a little with this insolent Answer of the Sultan, leaving all other Wars aside, with great celerity advanced his Power against the Sultan. Which Sultan, partly through the falsehood of his Captain Cajerbeius, partly by the suddenness of the Turks coming, not far from the City of Damascus, encountered with the Turk, and there overthrown from his horse, being a fat and gross body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in pieces, and so died, which was the year of our Lord, 1516.

The Mamaluci, of whom more than a thousand in this battel were slain, flying from thence to Memphis, set up Tomumbeius in stead of Campson: whose Captain Gazelles was overcome at the City of Gaza, and he afterward himself driven out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamaluci were destroyed. Then Tomumbeius, flying over the Flood Nilus, renewed his Army again; but in the end was discomfited and chased into a Marish, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin, and so being brought to Zelymus, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confess where Campsons treasures were: but when he would not declare, he was carried about the Town with an halter about his Neck, and hanged up upon an high Gibbet for a Spectacle to all Egypt; which was the year of our Lord, 1517. And thus were the two Sultans of Egypt destroyed with the Mamaluci, which there had born the Rule in Egypt, the space of 243 years. The Progeny of the which Mamaluci remaining of the Wars, the Turk commanded in the prison gates of Alexandria to be cut in pieces. Zelymus from thence triumphing, departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered sore rotting inward, and died after he had reigned seven years like a Beast, in the year of our Lord 1520.

The Reign of this Turk was but short in number of years; but in number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceeding long, which lived more like a beast than a man; for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. His Father first he poisoned, his Brethren and all his cousins he quelled, leaving none of all his Kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal Captains for small occasions he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang his Son in law, and Juno Bassa.

It is said moreover, that he intended the poisoning of his own Son Solymann, sending unto him a shirt infected with poison, because he seemed something freely to speak against the cruel demeanor of his Father: but by the means of his Mother, the gift being suspected, was given to another which was his Chamberlain, who putting on the shirt was stricken with the poison thereof, and therewithall died.

As touching this Turk Zelymus, by the way here may be noted how the secret Providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish Wars at home, while that the Reformation of Christian Religion here in Europe, the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietly take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this Zelymus, Martin Luther first began to write against the Popes Indulgences, which was in the year of our Lord, 1516.

Solymannus the Twelfth after Ottomannus.

Solymannus the only Son of Zelymus succeeded after his Fathers death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meet for the Turkish Government. Wherefore certain of his Nobles, consulting how to depose him, intended to set up another Emperor. In which Conspiracy especially are named Cajerbeius and Gazelles. This Cajerbeius was he that betrayed before Campson the Sultan of Egypt to Zelymus, as is aforesaid; who now also being in consultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them also unto Solymann. Wherefore the said Gazelles and his Fellows being thus detected, were put to death by Solymann, declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be, and as also by his Acts afterward did more appear.

Solymannus,

Cajerbeius
false to his
Master.

Campson
slain.

Tomumbeius
made Sultan
of Egypt.

Tomumbeius
executed.

A worthy
destruction
of the Ma-
maluci for-
saking their
Faith and
Religion.
Note again
the Provi-
dence of
God.
The death
of Zelymus.

The bestly
cruelty of
Zelymus
against his
Kindred.

The cruelty
of Zelymus
against his
Son Soly-
man.

A note of
Gods Pro-
vidence for
the Reforma-
tion of
Religion.

Solymannus
the Twelfth
after Otto-
mannus.

Belgradum
again be-
sieged of the
Turk.
Read
before.

Solymanus, after this execution done upon the Conspirators, taking his Voyage into Europe, first besieged *Belgradum*; which being a City in Hungary was the strongest Fort of all the Roman Empire, and the chief defence at that time of all *Christendom*; which also assaulted before time by *Amurat* the Second, was valiantly defended by *Joannes Huniades*, as is above specified. But here now lacked such an one as *Huniades* was. For the Kingdom of Hungary at that time was under the government of *Ludovicus* a young King, unexpert and of a simple wit. Whom other Princes, and specially the covetous Churchmen did so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare Name and Title of his Kingdom, whereby, he being unfurnished both of men and money, was unable to march with such an Enemy.

Discord a-
mongst
Christian
Princes,
what mis-
chief it
bringeth.

Another vantage also the *Turks* had in besieging *Belgrade*: For the *Christian* Princes at that time were in civil dissention and variance amongst themselves; and the Pope with his Churchmen also were so busie in suppressing of *Luther*, and of the Gospel then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own Bellies: Which Pope if he had set his care (as his duty was) so much in stirring up Princes against the common Enemy, as he was bent to deface the Gospel, and to persecute the true Professors thereof; some might have brought to pass, not only that *Belgrade* might have been defended against the *Turk*, but also that to be recovered again which was lost before; and moreover he might have stopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the Religion and Church of Christ; which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

The Pope so
busie against
Luther, that
he neglect-
eth the
ruine of
Christendom.

Certes whatsoever the Pope then did, this had been his duty, setting all other things apart, to have had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost Captives, which were fallen from their Faith and Religion, unto the misery and slavery of the *Turk*, and thralldom of the Devil, and to have sought all means possible to have reduced them, as lost sheep, into the Fold again. Which then might soon have been done, if Prelates and Princes, joyning together in Christian concord, had loved so well the publick Glory of Christ, and Souls of Christians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels. And admit that the Pope had conceived never so much malice against *Luther*, his quarrel also being good; yet the publick Church standing in such danger, as it then did by the Invasion of the *Turk*, Reason would, Nature led, Religion taught, time required, that a good Prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should rather have laid his shoulder to the excluding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himself, and the universal Church of Christ: But now his quarrel being unjust, and the cause of *Luther* being most just and godly, what is to be said or thought of such a Prelate, who forbearing the *Turk*, whom in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to have resisted, persecuted the Truth which he should specially have maintained? But Christ of his mercy stand for his Church, and stir up zealous Princes and Prelates, if not to recover that that is lost, yet at least to retain that little which is left.

True com-
passion lack-
ing in the
Pope.

The City of
Belgrade
won of the
Turk.

Solyman therefore taking this occasion, and using the commodity of time, while our Princes were thus at variance betwixt themselves, without any resistance or interruption brought his Army unto *Belgrade*, in the year of our Lord, 1521. Which City being but slenderly defended, the *Turk* through his Underminers, Guns, and other Engines of War, without great difficulty, and with little loss of his Souldiers, soon subdued and overcame.

After this Victory, *Solyman* resting himself a whole year, and casting in his mind how to make all sure behind him, for fear of Enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpose if he might obtain the Island of *Rhodes*; for that only remained yet *Christian* betwixt him and *Asia*: wherefore the next year following, he brought his Army of 450 Ships, and 300000 Men, to the besieging thereof. This *Rhodes* was a mighty and strong Island, within the Sea called *Mare mediterraneum*. The Inhabitants whereof at the first did manfully resist the *Turk*, sparing no labour nor pains for the defence

Rhodes be-
sieged.

of themselves and of all *Christendom*. But afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, seeing also no Aid to come from the *Christians*, somewhat began to languish in themselves. The *Turks* in the meantime casting up two great Mountains with strength of hand, two miles off from the City, like rolling Trenches carried them before them near unto the City, in the tops whereof they planted their Ordnance and Artillery, to batter the City. The Master of the Knights of the *Rhodes* was then one *Philippus Villadamus*, a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the City. The *Rhodians* likewise so valiantly behaved themselves upon the Walls, that with their shot all the Ditches about the City were filled with the Carcasses of dead *Turks*. Besides this, such a disease of the *Bloody-Flux* reigned in the *Turks* Camp, that 30000 of them died thereof; and yet for all this *Solyman* would not cease from his siege begun: who, at length by Underminers casting down the Vamures and uttermost parts of the City, won ground still more and more upon the *Rhodians*, and with Mortar-pieces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the City. And thus continued the siege for the space of five or six months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the *Christians*. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the advice of *Villadamus*, yielded themselves unto the *Turk*, upon condition that he would spare them with life and goods; which convention the *Turk* kept with them faithfully and truly.

KING
HEN. 7.

Thus *Solyman* with his great glory, and utter shame to all Christian Princes, and also ruine of all *Christendom*, got the noble Isle of *Rhodes*, although not without great loss and detriment of his Army, inasmuch that at one assault twenty thousand *Turks* about the Walls were slain with Fire, Sword, Stones, and other Engines. Whereby it may be conjectured what these *Rhodians* might or would have done, if succour had come to them from other Christian Princes as they looked for. This City was won upon Christmas-day, Anno 1522.

Christian
Princes
negligent in
helping
their Fel-
lows.

Rhodes won
of the *Turk*.

This Conquest of *Rhodes* obtained, *Solyman* the fourth year after bringeth back his Army again into Hungary, where he found none to resist him but only *Ludovick* the young King, who being accompanied with a small Army, and nothing able to match with the *Turk*, yet of a hasty rashness and vain hope of victory, would needs set upon him; who if he had staid but a little, had prospered the better. For *Joannes Vairvoda*, being a Captain well exercised in Turkish Wars before, was not far off, coming with a sufficient Power of able Souldiers. But *Paulus* the Archbishop of *Coloss*, a *Franciscan-Frier*, a man more bold than wise, with his temerity and rashness troubled all their doings. For the whole sum of the Army of the Hungarians, contained in all but only four and twenty thousand Horsemen and Footmen, who at length coming unto the battel, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the *Turks* Army, were brought into great distress. The *Turks* twice shot off their pieces against the Christian Army; yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof: which was thought to be done of purpose, because they were Christians which had the ordering of the Guns, for then the special Gunners of the *Turks* were Christians, whom for the same cause they spared. Then the *Turks* Horsemen, coming upon the back of the Christian Army, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude overcharged their Horsemen. Amongst whom was slain the same time the Archbishop Frier above said, with the Bishops of *Strygona* and *Varadina*, and many other Nobles beside. Also the King himself, being destitute of his necessary aid and succour, was compelled to fly into a Marish, where he falling from his Horse, being heavy laden with the Harnes, was not able to rise again, but there miserably perished.

Christian
were against
the *Turk*
never sped
well under
the guiding
of Popish
Prelates.

Christians
were the
special Gun-
ners to the
Turk.

The rash
Archbishop
slain.

King *Ludo-
vick* perished
in War.

Solyman the *Turk* marvelled at the foolishness of *Ludovick* the King, who with so small an Army would presume to encounter with such a great Host of two hundred thousand. This battel in Hungary was fought, Anno 1526.

After the decease of *Ludovick*, *Ferdinandus* succeeded in the Kingdom, being Duke of Austria and King of Hungary. Then *Solyman*, setting contention betwixt *Joannes Vairvoda* and *Ferdinandus* for the Kingdom of Hungary, sped his Voyage to the City of *Buda*, which also

Ferdinandus
of Hungary

{ KING } also in short time he made to be yielded unto him upon condition that they should escape with their lives and goods; which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides *Buda*, divers places and munitions the said *Turk*, contrary to his League made before, did spoil and waste, as *Varadinum*, *Quinque Ecclesias*, and other Forts and Munitions more, bordering about the Coasts of *Hungary*.

In the year of our Lord, 1529, *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary* aforesaid recovered divers Holds gotten of the *Turk* before, and also warring against *Joannes Vairvoda* his Enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expelled him out of his Kingdom. Whereupon *Vairvoda*, flying to the *Turk*, desired his aid. The *Turk*, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himself to return into *Hungary*, where he recovering again the City of *Buda* which *Ferdinandus* had gotten from him a little before, removed his Army into *Austria*, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands, shewing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny most lamentable to hear and understand. For of some he put out their Eyes, of some he cut off their Hands, of some their Ears and Noses, and of their Children he cut off their Privy Members. The Maidens he corrupted, the Matrons had their Breasts cut off, and such as were with child were ript and their Children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched *Turk* perpetrated by the way coming toward *Vienna* a noble City in *Austria*, besides the Captives which he took by the way and led into Servitude most miserable, mounting to the number of 30000.

Among other Holds by the way as the *Turks* came, there was a Castle called *Altenburch*, strongly by nature situated, and by art defended; which Castle the *Turk* intending not to overpass, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his Assault, and lay his Ordnance against it. The Warders and Keepers of the Castle, so soon as the *Turk* began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardliness sent their Messengers to the *Turk*, to yield themselves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual. Amongst whom were three hundred *Bobemians*, who were commanded to follow the Host, that the *Turk* by them might learn what strength was in the City of *Vienna*; also where the King was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

Of whom when the *Turk* had understanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twenty thousand men in *Vienna* able to bear Armor, and that other Cities of *Austria* would soon yield if that were gotten, and that *Vienna* was victualled but for two months, and that the King was of late in *Bobeme*; thus the *Turk* of all things being certified, having no doubt in his mind of Victory, made speed toward *Vienna*; and first coming to *Neapolis*, a City but eight miles distant from *Vienna*, he required them to yield themselves; who notwithstanding withstood them, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the *Turks* assigned a place for the pitching of their Tents; which because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground to the compass of seven miles circuit. The multitude of his Army, which he there planted, is accounted of some to extend to 250 thousand Souldiers. The *Turk* thus being planted, made daily excursions over all the Country of *Austria*, specially about the City of *Vienna*, wasting and spoiling with great cruelty and murder amongst the poor *Christians*.

Moreover, to make all things more sure toward the preparation of the siege, Scouts were sent abroad, and Ambushments were laid about the River side of *Danubius*, to provide that no aid nor victual should be brought to *Vienna*. So it pleased the Providence of the Lord (who disposeth all things) that three days before the coming of the *Turk*, *Fredericus* the Earl Palatine, which was then assigned by the Empire to take the charge of *Vienna*, was come down by the River of *Danubius* with 14000 and with a certain Troop of Horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the coming of this *Frederick*, provision also of victual was appointed to follow shortly after by the said River of *Danubius*.

In the mean time, they which had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and

all the Passages ten miles about *Vienna* stopped by the *Turks*, although they knew the City to stand in great need of victual, yet seeing there was no other remedy, rather than it should come to the Enemies hand, thought it best to sink their Boats with their carriage, and so they did. Whereby albeit the *Christians* wanted their relief, yet were the *Turks* disappointed of their prey and purpose. The Captains which had the keeping of the City, which were chiefly *Fredericus* the Earl Palatine, *Gulielmus Rogendorffius*, and *Nicolaus* Earl of *Salme*, seeing themselves so straitened contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken: and seeing that the little City *Neapolis* (above mentioned) being eight miles distant from them, so valiantly withstood the *Turks*, that in one day they sustained seven grievous Assaults against all the main force of the *Turkish* Army; by their example and manful standing being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the uttermost before they would give over; and first plucking down all the Suburbs and Buildings without the Walls, whereby the Enemy might have any Succour, they willed all the Farmers and Inhabitants about the City to save themselves, and to bring in their goods within the Walls. Such places as were weak within the Walls, they made strong. About the Towers and Munion of the Walls they provided Rampiers and Bulwarks distant eighty foot one from another, to keep off the shot; and every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the Wall, and his office appointed what to do: but especially that side of the City which lieth to the River of *Danubius* they fortified after the best wise; for that way only now remained for victual to be transported from the *Bobemians* unto them. Wherefore eight Ensigns were assigned to the keeping of the Bridge, and in the Plain, which was like an Island inclosed within the River, a sufficient Garrison of Horsemen were placed, lying within the gunshot of the City, to the intent that if any grain or victual were sent from the *Bobemians*, they might provide the same safely to be brought into the City.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, Lord *William Rogendorff*, to assay the strength of the *Turks*, made divers Rodes out with his Horsemen, albeit much against the minds of the *Austrians*; who, knowing the manner of the *Turks*, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be overwearied, or for lack of victuals consumed. Among many and sundry Skirmishes which the *Christians* had with the *Turks*, one especially was to our men unprosperous; in which certain of the Horsemen, espying a small Troop of the *Turks* scattering abroad from their company, made out after them, who suddenly and guilefully were inclosed and circumvented by the *Turks*, before they could recover the Gates of the City, and so were all taken alive: Of whom three were sent from the *Turks* into the City, to declare to the *Viennians* what strength they had seen in the Camp of their Adversaries, and to sollicite them to yield their City for fear of punishment which would follow. The residue they reserved to torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole Army, and of the *Christians* (which should tell the same to the Citizens) they caused every man to be drawn with four Horses apieces, and so to be dismembered and plucked asunder.

After this done, the barabrous *Turk* immediately sent his Herald to talk with the Captains of the City, whether they would yield the City upon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of War. If they would gently submit themselves, they should have all gentleness to them shewed. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defence, he would also stand to his siege begun, so that he neither would spare man, woman, or child. To this the Captains answered again, That they were contented that *Solyman* should stand to his siege begun, and do his utmost, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a point to defend themselves and their City so long as they might; the event and fall of Victory to be doubtful, and many times so to happen, that they which begin the War, are wearied sooner than they which be provoked; neither that they were so unmindful either of themselves, or of their Country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be *Germans*, who

Fredericus
Earl Palatine,
William Rogendorffius,
Nicolaus Earl of
Salme, Captains of
Vienna.

Preparation
within the
City of
Vienna, against
the *Turk*.

Provision
made for
victualing
the City.

Good counsel
and experience
re-sufed.

Rash hardi-
ness of the
Christians in
skirmishing
with the
Turk. The wretched
cruelty
of the *Turks*
against the
Christian
Captives.

The message
of the *Turk*
to the *Viennians*.

The answer
of the *Viennians*
to the
Turk.

Buda, *Varadinum*, and
the City
called
Quinque Ecclesias taken
of the *Turk*.

Contention
between
Ferdinandus
and *Vairvoda*
Vairvoda
fliest to the
Turk.

Horrible
examples
of the *Turks*
cruelty.

The effeminate
cowardliness
of the Souldiers
in *Altenburch*.

The Castle
of *Altenburch* yielded
to the
Turk.

Neapolis be-
sieged of
the *Turk*.

The *Turk*'s
Army of
two hundred
and fifty thousand
Souldiers.

Vienna be-
sieged of the
Turk.

Fredericus
Earl Palatine
Captain
in *Vienna*.

who use always first to assay the Adversary, what he is able to do, and not rashly to commit themselves into their Enemies hands.

Solymanus approacheth Vienna with three great Armies.

Solyman not a little disdain at this Answer, first burning and consuming all the Villages, Houses and places round about the City, infecting also the Springs and Fountains which gave water into the City, and so stopping all Passages that no Relief should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the City, with three great Camps; sending them word in scorn and contumely by one of his Captains, that if they stood in need of help of Souldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred *Bobemians* (mentioned a little before) to aid them in their defence. To whom the *Palatine* directed answer again, That they had more Souldiers in the City than they needed. As for the *Bobemians* which had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for *Vienna* stood in no great need of them.

A Messenger sent from Ferdinandus to Vienna.

In the mean time a Messenger coming from *Ferdinandus* was privily let in by night into the City, which brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the Enemy a while; for it would not be long, but both *Ferdinandus* and *Carolus* his Brother, with the strength of all *Germany*, would be ready to rescue them. At which Message the hearts of the Souldiers began somewhat to be cheered, and to contemn the huge multitude of the Adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost hear of before. The largeness of whose Army extended no less in compass (as is above-said) than of seven miles round about the City Walls.

The siege of Vienna begun.

Long it were to recite the whole Order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this History, with fewer words than were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the *Turks*, the absence of King *Ferdinandus*, the lack of provision and victual within the City, the noise of the Guns, the violence of the shot, the terror of the fight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that City was no mans doing, but the Arm only of the Lord God of Hosts, according to the true saying of the *Psalm*, *Unless the Lord do keep the City, the Watchmen watch in vain which watch to save it: Unless the Lord do build the House, the Builder strive in vain which taketh upon him to build it.* Experience whereof in keeping this City may well appear.

The Lords Power and Providence in keeping the City of Vienna.

First, *Solyman* bending his shot and Ordnance against the City, beat down to the ground the Vamures with all the uttermost Suburbs of the City, and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the *Viennians*, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with fear, misdoubting with themselves, left the *Turk* with the same celerity and violence would have prevailed against the inward Walls, as he did in beating down the outward Vamures. And no doubt the same time the *Turk* had put the City in great hazard, had not night coming on, broken off the siege for that day.

The slaughter of the Turks about the ways of Vienna.

In the mean time the Citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the Walls, to make all things sure against the next Assault. The next day early in the morning the *Turks* approaching the City again with a new Assault, thinking to scale the Walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the *Germans*, that uneth any ditches about the Walls could be seen for the bodies of the dead *Turks*, wherewith they were replenished; so that the *Turks* were fain to fight standing upon the bodies of them which were slain. By the which Calamity the force of the Enemy was not a little abated.

The manliness of Captain Rogendorffius against the Turks.

It happened the same time, that a Company of the *Turks* being spied out of the City wandering out of order, the Captain *Rogendorffius* with two Legions of Horsemen issuing out of the City Gate called *Salmaria*, and so passing closely under the hills side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them; the rest being driven to take the River, whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the City again. By this Victory the Captain *Rogendorffius* began to be terrible to the *Turks*. For in the same Skirmish (as after was known) were slain of them so many, that of 5000 and 300 Horsemen and Footmen scarce 140 escaped alive.

Solyman disdain at this repulse thought to prove

another way, and so bringing his Power toward the Gate called the *Kings-Gate*, there making his Trenches and Bulwarks, planted his Ordnance, with the violence whereof the Walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the *Turk*, seeing two great breaches made in the Wall, commanded his Souldiers covertly in the dark smoke of the Gunpowder to press into the City. The like also was done at the *Scotish Tower*, whereby the City was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The *Viennians* at the first freshly began to withstand them, new Souldiers still coming in the place of them that were slain and hurt; and so this assault continuing more than six hours together, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage, whereby the City had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid Captains, *Rogendorffius* in the one place, and the Earl of *Salme* in the other place, manfully encouraged the Souldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out a while the violence of the *Turks*, promising that immediately they should have aid from *Ferdinandus*.

KING Hen. 7. Another Assault of the Turks against Vienna.

In the mean time the *Turks* came so thick for the greediness of the Victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the Walls, that had it not been for that press and throng of the great multitude of the *Turks*, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, *Vienna* that same day had been taken and utterly lost. But by the policy of the Captains giving a sign within the City, as though new Souldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the *Turks* hearts to be discomfited.

Another repulse of the Turks.

When *Solyman* saw his Army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by undermining to overthrow the City; in the which work specially he used the help of the *Illyrians*, of whom he had a great number in his Camp, expert in that kind of feat. These *Illyrians* beginning to break the earth at the Gate *Carinthia*, and coming near to the foundations of the Tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, which were skillful and expert in that kind of matter; who contrariwise undermining against them, and filling their Trenches as they went with Gunpowder, so conveyed their train, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the Enemies: which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the Tower did cleave asunder, and all the Underminers of the *Turks*, working in their Trenches, were smothered and destroyed, which came to the number (as it was supposed afterward) of eight thousand persons; inasmuch that yet till this day a great number of dead mens skulls are found in the ground.

Vienna undermined by the Turks.

When *Solyman* saw that this way also would not serve, and had privy Intelligence that the Walls about the Gates of *Stubarium* were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easie entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten Garrisons of fresh Souldiers, in such sort as the Townsmen should not perceive them: who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their Ditches, and were upon the top of the Fortresses and Munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For although there was no lack of Souldiers within the City, yet forso much as the whole brunt of the siege did lie, especially at the two Gates aforesaid, from whence the Souldiers which were there warding could not be well removed, for a shift the Rescuers (which within the City were ready for all sudden adventures) were sent to the Walls; by whose coming, those few which kept the Enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to Surgery; and thus the said Assault continued terrible and doubtful until (the dark night coming upon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the *Turks* to be slain more than 5000.

Another assault of the Turks against Vienna.

Then the Captain *Rogendorffius* commending the valiant standing of his Souldiers, misdoubting with himself (as it hapned indeed) that the *Turks* would not so give over, but would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the Walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something dark and misty, the *Turks* thinking to prevent our

our

KING our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the Walls.

*Hen. 7.
The Turks
again re-
pulsed.*

*Another af-
fault of the
Turks repul-
sed.*

*The Turks
at variance
among
themselves.*

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distress and danger that the City those three days following was in. During all the which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the Enemies, fighting against the City, either in our men in defending the same. For the *Turks*, besides the multitude of the great Ordnance, wherewith (as with a great tempest of Gun-shot) they never ceased, till battering the Walls, and beating the Munitions of the City, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the *Turks*, to the scaling and climbing of the Walls, that unnet with all the Ordnance and shot of the City, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at the last the Souldiers of the *Turks*, perceiving themselves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their Dukes and Captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the City was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking; and so ceased the siege for that time.

After this, when *Solyman* had purposed in himself with his last and strongest siege to try against the City the uttermost that he was able to do, and had encouraged his Souldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto: the Souldiers shewed themselves much unwilling to return again from whence they were so often repulsed before; by reason whereof great commotion began to rise in the *Turks* Camp. The rumor whereof when it came to *Solyman's* ears, he sendeth his grand Captain to keep all the Souldiers in Order and Obedience; or if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his Commandment. Who coming to the Souldiers, shewed to them the great *Turks* Message; and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected, neither could they now without great shame give over, after so many Assaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the Victory were in their own hands. The Townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their Victuals spent; and the more to enflame their minds, he promised them not only great Thanks and Reward of their Emperor, but also the whole spoil of the City, in recompence of their travel.

*The Turk
and his
Souldiers
could not
agree.
The Turk
entreateth
his Souldi-
ers.*

*Compulsion
of men
serveth not
where the
Lord de-
fended.*

*The slaugh-
ter of the
Turks at
Vienna.*

*The Turks
slain.*

But when all this could not stir up the sturdy stomachs of the tired *Turks*, using compulsion where perswasion would not serve, he appointed a number of Horsemen to be set at their backs; whereby to inforce them either to go forward, or if they be denied, with Guns and Spears to destroy them. The *Turks* seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried it was to them like peril, yet would they not set forward except the Captain would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his array thus spake unto his Fellows, saying, *Do you forsake your Faith and Allegiance, and betray the Emperor of Constantinople unto the Christians if you will; but I will discharge my duty towards the Common-wealth and my Emperor, and with that word advanced his Ensign, making toward the City Walls. Whom when other followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to pass that whole routs of them were overthrown and slain of our men upon the Walls, before it was known what they meant. Others terrified by their example gave back and left their Array, and winding themselves by by-ways and under covert of hills, returned again into their Tents, and so came it to pass, that the strength of the Enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less hope every day more and more than other of obtaining the City. For besides the innumerable slaughter of *Turks* upon the Walls, the Townsmen also watching the Forrages and Purveyers of the *Turks*, as they ranged about for Victual for the Camp, ever as occasion served them did compass them about, and so encountered with them by that way, that of a whole Legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their Fellows alive, by means whereof the courage of the Enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvelous alteration hapned, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the *Turks* began still more to droop and to languish with despair; so that at length*

scarce durst they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light Skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to shew themselves.

Solyman perceiving his Souldiers thus daily to go to wrack, of whom he had lost already more than eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being also in lack of Forrage, for that the Country about him was wasted, beginneth to consult with his Captains and Counsellors, what remained best to be done, Of whom the most part advised him to raise his siege, and betime to provide for himself. Which to do many causes there were that moved him. First, the loss of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his Camp wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the approaching near of *Winter*. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard *Frederick Palatine* above mentioned, coming with a great Army at *Ratisbone* towards *Vienna*, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the *Turks* Forragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so enclosed in the Woods that he slew them. Whereof when *Solyman* had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the *Palatine*, made haste with bag and baggage to remove his Camp, and to retire; and first sending away his Carriage before him, he made speed himself with his Army to follow shortly after.

*The Turk
beginneth
to take
council to
retire.*

*Solyman re-
moveth and
raiseth his
siege from
Vienna.*

The *Viennians*, when they heard of the removing away of the *Turks*, although at the first they scarcely believed it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their removing, and also of the Order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the City after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the *Palatine* with his Army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet notwithstanding they took the opportunity of the time present, and issuing out of the City, in most speedy wise set after them with their Horsemen; and first overpassing the Tents (where the *Turks* had pitched their stations or pavilions) for haste of the way, they made such pursuit after them, that within little time they overtook the reaward or later end of the Army, whereof they made such havock and destruction, that (as the Author reporteth) there was never a shot of the Pursuers, nor Weapons drawn, nor stroke stricken, which light in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to do. For as the *Turks* in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being so far off from jeopardy) return back to help their Fellows, it was easie for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet notwithstanding in long pursuits, when our men could not see the Carriage of the *Turks*, which was wont in Armies to come away behind after the Host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privy waight behind them, to come betwixt them and home; they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking good, first to send out certain Scouts, to espy and bring them word where the Enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the *Turks* Army was remaining in the Tents behind, word was sent to their Fellows in *Vienna* to issue out, and to joyn also with them against the tail of the *Turks*, which had entrenched themselves within the Camp. Other were appointed to follow the chase, lest peradventure the *Turks* seeing our men to recul back, might return again upon them and help their Fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time, while part of the *Viennians* were hovering after the main Army, the rest encountered with them that were left in the Camp. Who seeing themselves overmatched, first defended their Camp with a deep Ditch and Bulwark, to delay the time until some help might come to them from the Army. Secondly, they directed Messengers to the *Christians*, to intreat for peace. Thirdly, they conveyed their privy Letters unto *Solyman* for speedy aid and rescue. But all the ways and passages being stopped by the *Christians*, their Letters were intercepted, and so the miserable *Turks* being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedy, made out of their Camp, to hazard and prove the uttermost for their defence; but in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were

*The Turk
Camp pur-
sued in their
flight.*

*The privy
purpose of
the Turks
prevented.*

were enclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the Sword and slain, a few only excepted, who escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their Fellows, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their Tents was distributed amongst the Souldiers, only such things reserved as might serve for their publick use and commodity of the City.

Thus through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, *Austria* was delivered from the fierce and barbarous Hostility of the cruel *Turks*. Notwithstanding, that neither *Ferdinandus* the King, nor the Emperor his Brother were there present, but only the Power of God, through the valiantness of the worthy *Germans*, defended that City; in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliverance (no doubt) of all these West parts of *Christendom*. For the which immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein by the way take this for a note (gentle Reader) how and after what manner Gods blessing goeth with the true Reformers of his Religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the *Turks* in so many batels and sieges heretofore were never so repulsed and foiled, as at this present time in encountering with the Protestants and Defenders of sincere Religion. This City of *Vienna* was besieged and delivered the year of our Lord, 1529. The Assaults of the *Turk* against the City are numbered to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his Army which he first brought, was 250000, whereof were reckoned to be slain eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away out of the Country about, many Captives, Virgins and Matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked, the Children he stuck upon stakes.

Solyman thus put from the hope of Victory of *Vienna*, after he had breathed himself a while at home, the second year after, which was Anno 1531, repairing his Host, returned again into *Hungary*, with no less multitude than before; where first he got the Town called *Gunza*, being but slenderly kept with a small Garrison. By reason whereof the Townsmen and Souldiers, yielding themselves unto the *Turks*, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions. Ex *Joanne Ramo*.

Melchior Sotterus in his Second Book writing *De bello Pannonico*, touching the foresaid Town of *Gunza* or *Gonzium*, differeth herein something from *Ramus*, declaring how this *Gunza*, being a small Town in *Hungary*, and having in it but only an hundred Souldiers (or as *Wolfgangus Drechslerus* in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred Souldiers) under the valiant Captain *Nicolaus Juresebitz*, defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable Power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand *Turks*, that they being notwithstanding distressed with lack and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the *Turks* invaded, yet with pure courage and promptness of heart sustained the uttermost force and violence of thirteen Assaults of that great multitude, for the space of twenty five days together.

Although the Narration of the Author may seem to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, That what time the great Ordnance and Battering pieces of the *Turks* were planted upon two Mountains much higher than the Town, whereby they within the Town were oppressed both before and behind, in so much that eight Ensigns of the *Turks* were already within the Town, yet by the reason of Women and Children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the Town were congregated in an house together, such a noise and clamor went up to Heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the *Turks* within the Walls, supposing a new Army of fresh Souldiers to be sent into the Town, for sudden fear voided the Town, and leaped down from the Walls again, (which before they had got) whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a Souldier almost was left on the Walls, which was not either slain or else wounded with the *Turks* Ordnance. At what time through the Lords Providence it so hapned, that one *Ibrahimus Bassa* near about the *Turk*, seeing both the Town to be small, and the great destruction of the *Turks* in the siege thereof, and that the Captain in no case

would yield, perswaded to the *Turk*, declaring how the Town being so little was not worth the loss of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow: whereby the *Turk* being perswaded did follow his counsel, which was this; that *Nicolaus* the Christian Captain being called unto him, under pledges and safe conduct, should receive the Town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should do no violence to his Souldiers left behind and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the securing of them; and so he raising his siege departed. Another cause might be also, which moved him so suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the *Palatinate* not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore taking his flight by the Mountains of the *Noricians*, he returned with much spoil of Christian mens goods unto *Constantinople*. Ex *Melchior Sotter. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico*.

For so it was provided the same time in *Germany*, after the Council of *August* and *Ratisbon* (at what time the Controverlie of Religion between the Protestants and the Papists was deferred and set off to the next general Council) that *Charles* the Fifth and *Ferdinandus* his Brother, having understanding of the *Turk* thus ranging in *Hungary*, should collect of the *Germans*, *Hungarians*, and *Spaniards*, and others, an able Army of eighty thousand Footmen, and thirty thousand Horsemen to repulse the Invasions of the *Turk*. But *Solyman* having intelligence of this preparation of the Christian Power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to espy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our detriment, refused at that time to tarry their coming, and so, speeding his return unto *Constantinople*, retired with much spoil and prey sent before him, as is above premised: which was in the year of our Lord, 1532.

Not long after, being the year of our Salvation, 1534, *Solyman* intending two Wars at once, first sent *Conradinus Barbarossa* the Admiral of his Navies into *Africa*, to war against the King of *Tunis*; whom *Barbarossa* also dispossessed and deprived of his Kingdom: but *Charles* the Emperor, the next year following, Anno 1535, restored the said King again into his Kingdom, and delivered in the same Voyage twenty thousand Captives out of Servitude.

The same time the *Turk* also sent another Captain into *Hungary*, to War against *Vairooda*, while he himself taking his course to *Persia*, planted his siege against the City *Taurus*, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same; For *Tahames* King of the *Persians*, suddenly coming upon the *Turks* unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his Conquarines, to the great foil and reproach of the *Turk*.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord, 1537, *Solyman*, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning again out of *Asia* into *Europe* with 270 Ships, great and little, set upon *Coreyra*, another Island belonging to the *Venetians*, which he besieged ten days, waiting and burning the Towns and Fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly led away Captives. From thence he failed to *Zacinthus* and *Cybara*, another Island not far from *Coreyra*, bordering near to the Coasts of *Epyrus* and *Grecia*. Where he suddenly by night invading the Husbandmen in Villages and Fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harm, drew them out of their Houses and Possessions, Men and Women, besides Children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his Bondslaves; burning moreover their Houses, and carrying away all the Goods and Cattel being without the said City of *Zacinthus* and *Cybara*. Ex *Joan. Crispo*.

From thence these Hellhounds turned their course to the siege and spoil of *Egina*, a rich and populous Island, lying between *Grecia* and *Asia*. Where first the *Eginians* did manfully in battel resist them, and were like to have prevailed: but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh *Turks*, which still were sent in, to rescue the other which were overcome before, were compelled to fly unto the City of *Egina*. Which City the cruel *Turks* (or rather Devils on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great Ordnance set out of their Ships, subdued and cast down to the ground; the Citizens and Inhabitants whereof the *Turk* after he had burned

The rest of the *Turks* slain in the Camp.

The merciful protection of God over *Christendom*.

Gods blessing goeth with the Maintainers of his true Worship and Religion.

Ex *Melchior Sotter. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico*.

Nicolaus Juresebitz a valiant Captain.

A miraculous example of the Lords protection and providence.

The *Turk* raiseth his siege from *Gunza*.

{ KING }
Hist. 7.

The Emperor *Charles* and *Ferdinandus* began at length to stir against the *Turk*. The *Turk* refuseth to tarry for the Christian Army.

The *Turk* warreth against the King of *Tunis*. *Tunis* won of the *Turk*. *Tunis* recovered again by *Charles* the Emperor.

Taurus a City of *Persia* taken of the *Turk*. Twenty thousand *Turks* slain of the *Persian* King.

Coreyra the Island wasted and spoiled by the *Turks*.

The Isle of *Zacinthus* and *Cybara* spoiled by the *Turks*.

Captives of the *Christians*. War between the *Eginians* and the *Turks*. *Egina* taken of the *Turks*.

The Citizens of *Egina* slain of the *Turks*.

KING

Hen. 7.
The Women of E-
gina mis-
erably en-
treated and
captivated
of the
Turks.

The Isle
Parum and
Naxos.

Cyclades
subdued of
the Turks.
Ex Joan.
Crispo.

Note, what
hurt cometh
by the dis-
sention of
Christian
Princes.
Stiria is a
Country or
Province
near ad-
joining to
Austria.

The false-
hood of the
Turks with
the Veneti-
ans.

Novum Ca-
stellum in
Dalmatia
overthrown
by the Turks
and the
people slain.

The con-
tention in
Hungary be-
tween Fer-
dinandus,
and Vaivoda
and his
successors.

The com-
munication
between
Monachus
and Ferdi-
nandus.

What hurt
may come
of rash su-
pposition.

burned their Houses, and ransacked their Goods, commanded to be slain and killed every one. The Women both noble and un-noble, with their Infants, were given to the Mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped unto Constantinople, were led away to perpetual misery and Slavery, which was in the Year of our Lord, 1537.

In the same Journey Solymann also took the Isle in the said Sea of Eugeum, called Parum; also the Isle adjoining to the same named Naxos, and made them to him Tributaries. The Duke whereof, he which wrote the story both of these Islands aforesaid, and also of the other Islands, called Cyclades, and other Dukes. Ex Joanne Crispo, Duce Naxi, &c.

This done, Solymannus directed his Navy unto Apulia, where he set on Land Ten thousand Foot-men, and 2000 Horse-men, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parts, while the Emperor, the Pope, and the Venetians were together in War and Dissention. Furthermore, the next Year following, Anno 1538. great Attempts began in Stiria, but by the resistance of the Inhabitants, the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoils of Men and Cattel were carried from thence, and the Country miserably spoiled. In the which Year also, the Turk turning into Hungary, gave Battel unto the Christians in Savia; where, through fraudulent falsehood of the Captain Cassianus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus) being (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, Anno 1538.

After that the Turks had invaded the Island of Corcyra aforesaid, the Venetians, with Solymann the Turk, had joynted Truce for a certain time, for the which they gave the Turk 300 thousand Crowns, with the City Neapolis, and Malvasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within four or five Years, the Turk, to get a new stipend of the Venetians, brake his League, and invaded their Dominions, whereby they were enforced to enter new Conditions again with him.

In the Year of our Lord, 1540. the restless Turk making his return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the Town called Newcastle, being defended by the Spaniards. In the which Town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the Inhabitants and Souldiers were put to the Sword, and slain every one. This Novum Castellum, or New Castle, was a strong Fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turks power, he had great advantage over all those Quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his Power against the City of Buda.

This Buda was a principal City in Hungary; about which great Contention had been (as ye have heard before) between Joannes Vaivoda and Ferdinandus. By reason whereof the Turk occasioned by Vaivoda, came into Hungary, and delivered the City of Vaivoda. This Vaivoda living not long after, left behind him a Son, whom being an Infant, he committed to the Government of one Georgius Monachus, who, being left Tutor unto the Infant, reduced all Transylvania, Buda, Pestta, with other parts of Hungary, which belonged to Vaivoda before, to the subjection of the Child. Ferdinandus hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger, levied an Army to recover his Lands in Hungary, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus seeing his part weak, first sent his Legate to Ferdinandus, desiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both. Whereupon, both the Parties being agreed, the place and manner of their Convention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties (according to the Agreement) convening together with their Armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entred in Communication, suddenly among Ferdinandus men hapned a Dag to be heard, which by the heat of the day (as is thought) loosing of his own accord, gave a crack. The sound whereof coming to the Ears of Monachus, he supposing the same to have been discharged against him, in great anger drew out his Sword, bidding Ferdinandus avaunt with his doubling dissimulation, saying, That he would never any more trust the Promises of Christians; and immediately upon the same, sent to Solymannus the Turk for aid against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him

free possession of Hungary, if he would come and vanquish the Army of Ferdinandus lying about the Siege of Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mighty Power flyeth into Hungary, and eftsoons discharging the Host of Ferdinandus, and putting them off from the Siege of Buda, getteth the City into his own hands, commanding the son of Vaivoda, with his Mother, to follow after his Camp.

In the History of Joannes Ramus, it followeth, that when Solymann the Turk had thus prevailed against the City of Buda aforesaid, and against other parts more of Hungary, by the assent of the Empire, one Joachimus Duke of Brandenburg, Prince Elector, was assigned with a puissant Army of chosen Souldiers of all Nations, collected to recover the City of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of Christiandom from the fear of the Turk, Anno 1542. Which Joachimus at his first setting forth, appeared so Couragious and Valiant, as though he would have Conquered the whole World: but this great heat was so slackened in short time by the Turk, that before any great jeopardy was offered unto him, he was glad to be discharged of the Voyage, and with shame enough returned home again. And would God he had left behind him in the Fields no more but his own shame. For the Enemies having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking to work some point of Mastery or Victory before his going, did set upon the Right wing of his Army (which chiefly consisted of Dutchmen of Low Germany) out of the which they took away with them above Five hundred strong and valiant Souldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive. For whom it had been much better to have stood to their Weapon, and to have died manfully upon the Turks, than by yielding themselves to be disgarnished of Weapon and Armor, and so to be left to the cursed courtesie of the foul Turks. To whom what courtesie was shewed by the sequel, did appear. For after the

Turks had led them out of Hungary into their own Dominions, after a most horrible and beastly sort they disfigured and mangled them, and so sent them abroad through all Græcia, to be witnesses of the Turks Victory. Their kind of punishment was thus. First, They had their right Arm thrust through with an Iron red hot, whereby they should be unable and unmeet to all labor and warfare. Secondly, Their Heads were shaven to the very Skulls, after the manner of our Friars and Monks, when they are newly shaven. Thirdly, They had all their Privy Members cut off from their Bodies, to the intent to make them unfruitful for Propagation; which wound was so grievous unto them, that the greatest part of them died thereupon: the few that recovered the torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miserable than death it self. And this kind of Cruelty was executed in order upon them all. In much like sort did cruel Pharaoh exercise his Tyranny against the People of God in Egypt; who to destroy the Generation of them, caused all the Male Children to be drowned in the River. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the Tyranny of this Turkish Pharaoh is come to such an Extremity, the merciful Goodness of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other unto us for our speedy Deliverance. This was by the cruel Turks done, Anno 1542.

This was by the cruel Turks done, Anno 1542. witnessed by Joannes Ramus, which not only writeth the Story, but by the Testimony also of his own Eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his Eyes one of the same number in the City of Vienna, who having Wife and Children in Bruxelles, either for shame or sorrow, had no mind to return home to his own House. Ex Joan. Ramo.

But to return again to the City of Buda, from whence we have digressed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falsehood and what cruelty the Turks used toward the Christians there after their Victory. For after that Solymann the Turk, upon yielding and submission of the Men of Buda, had given to them his promise of Safety and Life, within short time the said Turk picking a Quarrel with them for selling Oxen unto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slew all the Magistrates of the said City of Buda; like as in all other Cities whereforever the Christians yielded unto him, he never, or very rarely kept his promise with them, neither did ever any

The Turk called again into Hungary by the dissention between Monachus and Ferdinandus.

The cowardly Voyage of Joachimus Duke of Brandenburg against the Turk.

500 Christian Souldiers taken and carried away of the Turks.

The horrible punishments practised of the Turks against the Christians.

Ex Joanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis, lib. 2.

The falsehood of the Turks in keeping no promise with the Christians.

Christians speed better with the *Turk*, than they which most constantly did resist him.

An horrible
example of
the beastly
cruelty of
the false
Turks.

And as his Promise with the Magistrates of *Buda* was false and wretched; so his Cruelty with the Souldiers thereof, was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of *Buda*, amongst the rest which were slain, two Cohorts or Bands of Christian Souldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to grant Pardon of Life, he commanded to put on their Armor again, and to dispose themselves in order and Battel array, after the Warlike manner of the Christians. Which when they had accomplished readily, according to his Commandment, and he riding about the Ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain space, at length he commanded them to put off their Armor again. Which done, certain of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out, the residue, he commanded by his Souldiers coming behind them with Swords, to be cut in pieces and slain. Of the other, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for Marks and Buts to be shot at; some he appointed to his two Sons, for them to slay with their Swords and try their strength, which of them could give the deeper Wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the most Blood might follow out of their Christian Bodies. *Ex Epist. Mart. Stella de successibus Turcarum.*

Ex Epist. Mart. Stella de successibus Turcarum.

After the winning of *Buda*, the *Turk* purposing not so to cease, before he had subdued and brought under his obedience all *Hungary*; proceeding further with his Army, first, brought under a strong Hold of the Christians, named *Pellum* or *Pesta*, where a great number of Christian Souldiers partly were slain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

The Castle
of *Walpo*
was of the
Turks.

Then he came to another Castle called *Walpo*, situate in the Confines of *Bosna*, *Croatia*, and *Hungary*. Which Fort or Castle he besieged three months, while no rescue or aid was sent unto them, neither from *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, nor from any other Christian Prince or Princes. Whereupon at length the Fort was given up to the *Turk*; but more through the false treachery, or cowardly heart of the Souldiers than of the Captain. Wherein is to be noted an Example not unworthy of memory.

A notable
example of
God's Judgments
lightning upon
themselves,
which mean
flood toward
the innocent.

For when the cowardly Souldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs surrender themselves and the place unto the *Turk*, contrary to the mind of the Captain, which in no case would agree to their yielding: they thinking to find favour with the *Turk*, apprehended their Captain and gave him to *Solyman*. But see how the Justice of God, sometimes by the hand of the Enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of Virtue and punishing of Vice. For where they thought to save themselves by the danger of the faithful Captain, the Event turned clean contrary; so that the *Turk* was to the Captain bountiful and very liberal, and the Souldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, yet were all put to death, and commanded pitiously to be slain. *Ex Joan. Martino Stella de Turcarum in Hungaria successibus, &c.*

The City of
five Churches
yielded to
the *Turks*.

There is in *Hungary* another Town, bearing the name of Five-Churches, called *Quinque-ecclesiensis*, which being partly spoiled before, as is above-mentioned, which now through the loss of *Walpo*, and by the hugeness of the *Turks* Army (containing in it two hundred and twenty thousand fighting Men) so discouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the Bishop and chief Nobles of the Town, fled before the Jeopardy: the rest of the Commons, which were partly prevented by the sudden coming of the *Turks* partly for poverty could not avoid, sent their Messenger to the *Turk*, to yield and surrender the Town, upon promise of life, unto his hands. Whose promise how firm it stood, the story leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this *Quinque-ecclesiensis*, never a *Turk* durst enter the City, Anno 1543. *Ex Joan. Martino Stella, & aliis.*

Soclosia, a
Town in
Hungary
subdued of
the *Turks*.

The next Fort or Hold gotten by the *Turks* in *Hungary*, was *Soclosia*. The Town at the first Invasion of the *Turks* was won, sack'd, and fired. The Castle within the Town did something hold out for a time, and first requiring truce for fourteen days, to see what aid should be sent unto them, to deliberate upon the Con-

ditions that should be proposed unto them, after the fourteen days expired, they trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong, began for a certain space stoutly to put back the Enemy. But afterward, seeing their Walls to be battered, their Foundations to shake (for the *Turk* had set twelve thousand Underminers under the Ditches of the Castle) and their strength to diminish, and misdoubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themselves, upon condition to escape with Life and Goods. Which condition of saving their Goods was the losing of their Lives, especially of the richer sort. For the *Turks* perceiving by that condition, that they were of Wealth and Substance, omitting the inferior or baser sort, fell upon the Wealthy men for their Riches, and slew them every one, Anno 1543. *Ibid.*

KING
Hm. 7.

Covetous-
ness of
worldly
goods is the
destruction
of many a
man.

The *Turks*
keepeth no
promise.

In the which his History, this is also to be noted, that during the time while the Castle of *Soclosia* was besieged, the Villages and Pages round about the same, came of their own accord, submitting and yielding themselves unto the *Turk*, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kind of Victual and Forrage into the *Turks* Camp. Which done, *Solyman* the *Turk* commanded all the Headmen of the Pages to appear before him, which humbly obeyed and came. Then the *Turk* warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his Inferior Retinue and Household Servants. Which when they had with like diligence also according to his Commandment accomplished, the *Turk* immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole Army to be slain, and so was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the Bloody Cruelty of the *Turk*, the more Courage it may minister to our Men the more constantly to withstand him. *Ex Martino Stella.*

Example
what con-
stancy by Chri-
stian men
yielding to
the *Turks*.

Another strong Town there is in *Hungary*, named *Strigonium*, distant from *Buda* above-said, the space of five Dutch Miles, against the which the *Turks* made great preparation of Ordnance, and all other Instruments of Artillery necessary for the Siege thereof. Which City in like manner began also to be compassed and inclosed by the *Turks*, before it could be sufficiently prepared and garnished of our Men, but that the Archbishop only of *Strigon* privily conveyed unto them two hundred Oxen. Such was then the negligence of *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, which so slenderly looked unto the necessary defence of his Towns and Cities. Moreover, such was the Discord then of Christian Kings and Princes, which in their Civil Dissention and Wars were so occupied and hot in needless Quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance to help in time there where true need required. Which slender care, and cold zeal of the Christian Rulers, not in tending the publick Cause, while they contended in private Trifles, hath caused the *Turk* to come so far as he hath; and yet farther is like, unless the mercy of the Lord do help more than our diligence. One of the chief Captains within the City, was *Martinus Lascanus*, a Spaniard.

Strigonium,
a City in
Hungary,
besieged of
the *Turks*.

Negligence
of Christian
Princes in
publick de-
fence.

The *Turks* in the beginning of the Siege, began first to attempt the Citizens with fair words, and accustomed promises, to yield and gently to submit themselves. But they not ignorant of the *Turks* promises, wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they could to the defence of their City; now and then skirmishing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the Wheels of their Guns, &c.

Three special means the *Turks* use in winning great Forts and Cities; great multitude of Souldiers, great Ordnance and Mortar Pieces; the third is by Undermining. All which here in the Siege of this City lacked not. This Siege continued vehement a certain space; in which the *Strigonians* had born out four strong Assaults, and slew many thousands of the *Turks*, till at length the *Turks* either departing away, or else seeming to depart unto *Buda*, the people at last being so perswaded and made to believe of some chief Rulers of the City (peradventure not the truest men) the Citizens being crested with hope and comfort, and singing *Te Deum*, as though the City had been free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsel it is unknown) conveyed themselves all out of the City,

Three spe-
cial helps of
the *Turks* in
winning
Towns and
Cities.

KING City, 300 Horsemen also passed over the River and departed. The *Italians* which were under *Franciscus Salamanca* a Spanish Captain, hardly could be persuaded by him to abide, which were in all scarce 600.

Within three days after, Three hundred German Souldiers, with two Ships laden with Shot, Powder, and Artillery, were privily let into the Town; so that of our men in all there were scarce 1300 Souldiers. Who seeing the small quantity of their number, burning and casting down the Town and Suburbs, took them to the Castle; from whence they beat off the *Turks* valiantly with their Ordnance a good space, and with Wild-fire destroyed great Companies of them, till at last they seeing their Walls to fail them, and the whole Castle to shake by Undermining, but especially by the working of a certain Italian surnamed *Presbyter*, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or fallhood, secretly unknown to the rest of the Souldiers, accompanied with two other, conveyed himself down from the Walls, and being brought into the Tents of the next Captain or *Bassa* of the *Turks*, there in the name of all his Fellows convented with the *Turks*, to give up to them the Castle; whereupon the *Turks* were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after, with two other *Turks*, was sent back to *Salamanca* his Captain, with the *Turks* Message. The going out of this Italian being privy to the residue of his Fellows, contrary to the Laws and Discipline of War, although it seem'd to come of his own head: yet forso much as the other Souldiers were not so sure, but rather suspected lest the other *Italians* his Country-men had been in some part of consent therein, and would take his part; they neither durst offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well advise with themselves what was best to do, for fear of privy Confederacy within themselves.

The Town of Strigonium was destroyed after the flying of the Citizens and the Castle defended.

An Italian sent in yielding the Castle of Strigonium to the Turk.

A Turkish truce taken with the Christians, they not knowing thereof.

The false Turks never true in promise.

The miserable affliction of our Christian Souldiers taken at Strigonium.

Noly Souldiers and Martyrs slain of the Turks for their faithful Religion.

Thus, while *Lascaris* the chief Captain of the Christians afore said, with his Fellow-Souldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who giving a Sign both to the Christians and the *Turks* to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all Law of War to fight after Peace and Truce taken: our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward Tower. The *Turks* in the mean time had got into the Castle, and occupied all the utter parts. Then was *Salamanca*, by the consent of the rest, sent out to the *Turk*, who there being stayed that night; the next morning the *Turks* Bull or Warrant was sent into the Castle, permitting free liberty to the Christians to depart with Bag and Baggage: who now being ready to depart, first were commanded by the *Turks*, compassing them round about, to cast from them their Dags, Lances, Battelaxes, into the Trench. Then coming to the Gate to go out, their Swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last, when they were come a little further, other were sent to them to discharge them of their Helmets, their Targets, Curets, and whatsoever piece of Harnes was about them: whereupon great fear came upon them, lest some great cruelty should be shewed upon them. *Solyman*, after he had long deliberated with himself, whether to kill them or not; at last, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives: but before they should be dismissed, he first caused them, in derision of Christianity, to be baited with scorns and mocks throughout all the Turkish Army; and so the next day commanded them, being stript of their Coats and Apparel, to be reduced again into the Castle by Companies, setting over them certain *Turks* with Cudgels and Bats to lay upon their backs and sides, causing them to bury the dead Carcasses, and to gather up the rubbish broken down from the Castle-walls, and to scour the Ditches: which done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an Interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take Horse and Armor to serve him in his Wars; which Condition, divers for fear were contented to take, seeing no other remedy to avoid present death. Some, neither by menacing words, nor for any fear of death, could be compelled therunto; of whom certain, which stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and Catalogue of Martyrs.

Of the afore said Christians, part were carried over the River *Danubius*, not without great villany, and contumely most despightful. For some had their Wives taken from them, and carried away, some had their Wives ravished before their face; and such as made or shewed any resistance thereat, had their Wives before them cast into the River and drowned; also their Infants and young Children, being appointed by the *Turks* to the abominable Order of the Janizarites, mentioned before, their Parents not consenting thereunto, were precipitate and thrown into the River and drowned. All which things are testified by *John Martinus Stella*, in his Epistles in Print extant, written to his two Brethren, *William* and *Michael*, &c. which *Martin Stella* moreover addeth and affirmeth this, That he himself, being the same time at *Vienna*, did see one of the fore said Wives, who being held fast by the hair of the Head; yet notwithstanding having her Hair pluckt off, cast her self into the River *Danubius*, for the singular love to her Husband, and so swam to the Ship where he was. And thus this miserable company of *Germans*, *Spaniards* and *Italians* mixt together, macerate with labors, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours and sorrow consumed, came at length to *Schinda*.

Ex Joani Mart. Stella in Epist. ad fratres.

When the tidings thereof was noised at *Vienna*, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hearts were moved and vexed diversly. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their City, shewing themselves so dastardly and cowardly. Others thought again, that mercy was to be shewed unto them, and commended their Fact, for that they being so few, and unfurnished of aid, neither able to match by any means with such an innumerable multitude of the *Turks*, kept themselves till better time might serve them. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the Captains brought the poor remnant of that ruful company unto *Possidonium*, where the said Captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable story of *Strigonium*.

Divers opinions of the Viennians touching these miserable afflicted Souldiers.

The *Turk* proceeding in his Victories conducted his Army next unto *Tath*, and to the parts lying near about *Comaron*. This *Tath* was also a strong Hold in *Hungary*, wherein were placed certain Garrisons, partly of the *Germans*, partly of the *Italians*. The Chieftain of the *Italians* was one *Annibal Tasso*, constitute by *Philippus Tornelius*. This *Tasso* was a Man well expert in Prowess of War, but of a filthy corrupt Life, and also a fowl Swearer, and horrible Blasphemer of God and his Saints. To make the story short, this Fort of *Tath*, before any Siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the *Turks*; upon what conditions, or by whose means, the Author sheweth not. Thus much he sheweth, That the said *Annibal* shortly upon the same, returning into *Italy*, was commanded by *Tornelius* afore said, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Tath subdued of the Turks.

Victory hath never success under a wicked Captain and Swearer.

After the *Turks* had subverted and destroyed the Fort of *Tath*, they turned their Power against *Alba*, surnamed *Regalis*, for that the Kings of *Hungary* have been always wont there to be Crowned and Buried. This *Alba* is a little well compacted City in *Hungary*, having on the one side a Marish somewhat foggish or fenny, which made the Town less assaultable. But near to the same was a Wood, from the which the *Turks* every day with six hundred Carts brought such matter of Wood, and Trees felled for the same purpose, in the Marish, that within less than twelve days, they made it apt and hard to their feet, which the Townsmen thought never could be gone upon, but only in the hard Frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the Siege, there stood a little without the Munitions, in the front of the City, a certain Church or Monastery, which the Citizens pretending to maintain and keep against the *Turks*, had privily conveyed light matter easily to take flame, with Powder in secret places thereof, and had hid also Fire withal: which done, they (as against their wills being driven back) withdrew themselves within the Munitions, waiting the occasions when this Fire would take. Thus the *Turks* having the possession of the Church, suddenly the Fire coming to the Powder, raised up the Church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous *Turks*.

Alba Regalis besieged of the Turks.

The Turks device in filling up the Marish.

A stratagem of the Christians against the Turks.

A note
touching
the French
King that
then was.

Ex Epist.
Jvan. Marti.
Stella ad
Jvan. de
Turcor. in
Hungaria.
succesib.

The out-
ward Walls
got by the
Turks.

A miserable
slaughter of
Christian
Souldiers.

Let never
good Chris-
tians stand
to the Turk
gentleness.

This was not so soon espied of them within the Town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom, divers of their Nobles also the same time were slain, and one Bassa an Eunuch, which was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was taken one of those Gunners which the French King is said to have sent to the Turk a little before. Which if it be true, let the Christian Reader judge what is to be thought of those Christian Princes, which not only forsaking the common cause of Christs Church, joynd League with the Turk, but also sent him Gunners to set forward his Wars to the destruction of Christs People, and to the shedding of thir blood, for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I shew mine Author; if it be, then let the Pope see and mark well how this Title of *Christianissimus* can well agree with such doings.

But to let this matter sleep, although the *Turks* (as ye heard) had won the Fen with their Policy and Industry against the City of *Alba*, yet all this while the *Albanes* were nothing inferior to their Enemies, through the valiant help and courageous indeavor of *Ottavianus Scru-zatus*, a Captain of *Millain*. By whose prudent Counsel and constant standing, the busie Enterprizes of the *Turks* did little prevail a long time, till at length suddenly arose a thick Fog or Mist upon the City, whereas round about besides the Sun did shine bright. Some said it came by Art Magical, but rather it may appear to rise out of the Fen or Marsh, being so pressed down with Mens feet, and other matter laid upon it.

The *Turks* using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret wise approaching the Walls, had got up to a certain Fortrefs where the *Germans* were, before our Men could well perceive them: where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the Christian Souldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their Lives, did what valiant Men in cases of such extremity were able to do; yet being over-matched by the multitude of the *Turks*, and the suddenness of their coming, gave back, seeking to retire unto the inward Walls. Which when their other Fellows did see to rescue, then was there flying of all hands, every man striving to get into the City. There was between the outward Walls or Vamures, and inward Gate of the City, a strait or narrow Passage, cast up in the manner of a Bank or Causeway, ditched on both sides; which Passage or Ingrefs hapned the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poor Souldiers were forced to cast themselves into the Ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the City, where many of them sticking in the Mud were drowned, one pressing upon another; many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were received into the City; but the chief Captains and Warders of the Town were there slain.

The Citizens being destitute of their principal Captains and Warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the Citizens were distract in divers and doubtful Sentences, the Magistrates minding to stand to the *Turks* gentleness, sent out one of their Heads unto the Turk, who in the name of them all should surrender to him the City, and become unto him Tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of Life and Goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkish Faith and Assurance: first, the Souldiers which were left within the City, putting off their Armor, were discharged and sent away: who being but only 300 left of four Ensigns of *Italians*, and of 1000 *Germans*, by the way were laid for by the *Tartarians* for hope of their spoil; so that they scattering asunder one one way, and another another to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best. Of whom, some wandering in Woods and Marishes fainted for Famine; some were taken and slain by the *Hungarians*; a few, with bare and empty withered Bodies, more like Ghosts than Men, escaped and came to *Vienna*. And this besel upon the Souldiers.

Now understand what hapned to the yielding Citi-

zens. So in the Story it followeth, That when the *Turk* KING had entred the Town, and had visited the Sepulchre of the Kings, for three or four days he pretended much Clemency toward the Citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of *Ferdinandus* their King, and to deliver them from the servitude of the *Germans*. On the fourth day, all the Chief and Head men of the City were commanded to appear before the Turk, in a Plain not far from the City, where the condemned Persons before were wont to be Executed, as though they should come to swear unto the Turk. At this commandment of the Turk, when the Citizens in great number, and in their best Attire were assembled; the Turk, contrary to his Faith and Promise, commanded suddainly a general slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the Citizens of *Alba*.

In the mean time, during the Siege of *Alba*, the *Hungarians* meeting sometimes with the Horsemen of the *Tartarians*, which were sent out to stop their Victuals from the City, slew of them at one bickering, three thousand *Turks*. In which story is also reported and mentioned of mine Author, an horrible sight and example of Misery, concerning a certain Captain (a Christian belike) who coming unto *Vienna*, was found to have in his Scrip or Satchel the half of a young Child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before, Anno 1543. *Ibid*.

Next after this, was expugned the Castle of *Pappa* by the *Turks*. Let the Castle now of *Pappa* take heed, lest one day it follow after.

The like fidelity the *Turks* also kept with the Fort of *Wizigradum*, and the Souldiers thereof. This *Wizigradum* is situate in the mid-way between *Buda* and *Strigonium*. Of the which Fort or Castle, the highest Tower so mounteth upon the Hill, that unless it be for Famine or lack of Water, they have not to dread any Enemy. Notwithstanding so it hapned, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher Tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of Life and Goods, to yield themselves. But the Devilish *Turks* keeping no Faith nor Promise, slew them every one: only *Petrus Amandus* the Captain of the Place, excepted: who privily was conveyed by the Captain of the *Turks* out of the slaughter, Anno 1544.

To these moreover, may be added the winning of *Novum Castellum in Dalmatia*, where he slew all that were within, both Souldiers and other, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the Turk, whether they yielded to him or not, never spared the People and Flock of Christ.

As the false and cruel Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Christians, and might easily then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that *Charles* the Emperor, and *Franciscus* the French King, were at the same time in War and Hostility, and also other Christian Princes; as *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick* against *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*; also Princes and Rulers were contending among themselves: Behold the gracious Providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly as with a snaffle reined this raging Beast, and brought him out of *Europe* into his own Country again, by occasion of the *Persians*, who were then in great preparation of War against the *Turks*, and had invaded his Dominion. By reason whereof the *Turks* were kept there occupied, fighting with the *Persians* a long continuance. Which Wars at length being achieved and finished (wherein the said Turk lost great Victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his *Turks*) he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed *Hungarians*, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian Princes to return again into *Europe*, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his Dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an Army incredible of such a multitude of *Turks*, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his People. As the Turk was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a Pestilence through all the *Turks* Army and

KING
Ann. 7.

The cruelty
of the Turks
against the
Christians.
What it is
to yield to
the Turk, &
to stick to
his promise.
The Citizens
of Alba de-
stroyed of
the Turks.

Half of a
young child
found in the
satchel of a
Captive com-
ing from
the Turk.

The Castle
of Pappa
won by the
Turks.

Wizigradum
got and sac-
erized of
the Turks.
The false
dealing and
cruelty of
the Turks
against the
Christians.

*Novum Ca-
stellum in
Dalmatia*
won by the
Turks.

The discord
of Christian
Princes
within
themselves.
The Turk
occasioned
to return
out of Eu-
rope into
Asia.

The provi-
dence of
God for his
Christians.

Another
example of
Gods Provi-
dence for
us.

Do-

KING Dominions, reaching from *Bythinia*, and from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, and also to *Hungary*, that all the Turks possessions seemed almost nothing else, but as an heap of dead Corfes, whereby his Voyage for that time was stopt, and he almost compelled to seek a new Army.

Besides this Plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any War, other lets also and domestic Calamities, through Gods providence, hapned unto *Solymanus*, the great rover and robber of the world, which stayed him at home from vexing the Christians, especially touching his eldest Son *Mustapha*.

This *Mustapha* being hated, and partly feared of *Rustanus* the chief Councillor about the Turk, and of *Rosa* the Turks Concubine and after his Wife, was divers times complained of to his Father, accused, and at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the Turks, by them aforesaid, that in conclusion, his Father caused him to be sent for to his Pavilion, where six Turks with Vifors were appointed to put him to death: who coming upon him, put (after their manner) a small Cord or Bow-string full of knots about his Neck, and so throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his Father, with the twitch thereof throttled and strangled him to death, his Father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which Fact being perpetrated, afterward when the Turk would have given to another Son of his and of *Rosa*, called *Granger*, the Treasures, Horse, Armor, Ornaments, and the Province of *Mustapha* his Brother: *Granger* crying out for sorrow of his Brothers death: Fy of thee, faith he to his Father, thou impious and wretched Dog, Traytor, Murderer, I cannot call thee Father, take the Treasures, the Horse and Armor of *Mustapha* to thy self: and with that, taking out his Dagger, thrust it thorow his own body. And thus was *Solyman* Murderer and Parricide of his own Sons: which was the year of our Lord, 1552.

Solyman the Turk murdereth Mustapha his own son.

The loving providence of our Lord for his Christians.

Good hope at Gods hand to be conceived of the Christians.

Good news of the Turks lately repulsed by the Christians.

Wherein notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this *Mustapha*, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practise of War, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the Blood of Christians: wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God for the happy taking away of this *Mustapha*. And no less hope also and good comfort we may conceive of our loving Lord hereby ministered unto us, to think that our merciful God, after these fore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks aforesaid, now after this *Solyman* intendeth some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and release us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now, by taking away these young Imps of this impious Generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us: The Lord therefore be glorified and praised. Amen.

Moreover, as I was in writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain Writing out of *Germany*, certifying us of such News and Victory of late achieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort us, touching the decay and ruine of the Turks power and tyranny against us. Which News are these: That after the Turkish Tyrant had besieged, with an Army of 30000 Men, the famous and strong Town and Castle of *Fula* in *Hungary*, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river *Danubius*, which City had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults: God through his great Mercy and Goodness so comforted the said Town of *Fula*, and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest Prayers, that the Turk, with all his Host, was driven back by the hands of the General, called *Karetshim Lashaw*, and his valiant Company: who not only defended the said Town, but also constrained the Turks to retire to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for the which, the everlasting God be praised forever.

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the foresaid General did see his Advantage, with Captain *George*, and other Horse-men of the *Silesians* and *Hungarians*, they set on the Rereward of the Turks and killed about eight thousand of them, and took also some of their Artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to flye into a Marshy Ground, and to break the

8000 Turks slain.

wheels of the rest of their Artillery to save themselves, and therewith they got a very rich Booty, rescuing besides, and taking from the Turks, a great number of Christian Prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God, for the prosperous success given to *Magotschy* the valiant Captain of *Erla*, who making toward the Turks and encountering with the *Tartarians*, slew of them about eight hundred.

Christian captives rescued and taken from the Turks. 8000 Turks slain.

Not long after this it hapned, through the like providence of our God, a Turkish Captain called *Begen*, accompanied with a thousand fresh Horsemen, came newly out of Turkey, to go toward the City named *Quinke Ecclesia*, or *Finsfenkyrchen*, with whom the Earl of *Serin* by the way did encounter, and in the night setting upon him, killed the Captain, and took eight Camels, and eight Mules laden with Treasure, and also got two red Guidons, with a whole great piece of rich Cloth of Gold, and with another fair and strange Jewel. The Horse of this foresaid Turkish Captain was betrapped and decked most richly. The Saddle whereof had the Pommel and back part covered over with Plate of fine Arabick Gold, and the rest of the Saddle, beside the sitting place, was plated with Silver very fair gilded. The Seat of the Saddle was covered with purple Velvet; the Trappers and Bridle beset with little Turkeys and Rubies; which Horse was sent to *Vienna* unto the Emperor *Maximilian* for a Present.

A great Captain of the Turks slain, and his treasure taken.

Although the Earl would very fain have saved the Captain, not knowing what he was, yet the *Janizaries* laboring to carry away their Captain, so stiffly defended themselves, that the Earl with his Company, was constrained to kill both them and their Captain. From whom the said Earl of *Serin* the same time got fifteen thousand Turkish and Hungarian Ducates; which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish Souldiers in the Town aforesaid of *Finsfenkyrchen*, &c. All which be good beginnings of greater Goodness to be hoped for hereafter, through the Grace of Christ our Lord, especially if our Christian Rulers and Potentates, first the Church-men and Prelates for their parts, then the Civil Powers and Princes for their parts, with-holding their affections a little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of Peace put in their minds to do. Amen. Or otherwise, if it will so please the Lord that the Turk come further upon us, so as he hath begun for our punishment and castigation, his Grace then give to the Flock of his poor Christians constancy of Faith, patience in Suffering, and amendment of Life. For so I understand by publick fame, although uncertainly rumored by the voice of some, that the Turks power of late, this present year of our Lord, 1566. hath pierced the parts of *Apulia* within *Italy*, waisting and burning the space of an hundred miles toward *Naples*. Which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the Turk having thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetness of *Italy*, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into *Italy*, that he will display his Banners within the Walls of *Rome*, and do with old *Rome* the like, as *Mahomet* his great Grandfather did with new *Rome*, the City of *Constantinople*, and as the *Perfians* did with *Babylon*.

The Turk piercing into Italy.

The causes why we have so to judge, be divers: first, That the Sec of *Rome* hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much Blood; and therefore it may seem not incredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with Blood again, according to the verdict of the Gospel: He that striketh with the Sword, shall perish with the Sword, &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth Chapter of the *Apocalypse*, where it is written, That great *Babylon* shall fall, and be made an habitation of Devils, and a Den of unclean Spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean Birds: the fall whereof shall be like a mill-stone in the Sea, that is, which shall not rise again. And this to come before the Day of Judgment, the Text of the said Chapter doth aptly declare; where the words do follow, shewing, That the Kings of the Earth, and the Merchants which had to do with the whorish City, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said City flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What City this is, called *Great Babylon*, which

Conjectures why it is to be feared that the Turk shall get Rome.

The Prophecie of the 18 chapter of the Apocalyps expounded.

which like a Millstone shall fall and burn, and be made an habitation of unclean Spirits and Beasts; let the Reader construe. This is certain and plain by these her Kings and Merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her Burning, that the destruction of this City (what City soever it be) shall be seen here in Earth before the coming of the Lords judgment, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding and bewailing of her Merchants. By the which, Merchants and Kings of the Earth, peradventure may be signified the Pope, the rich Cardinals, the great Prelates and fat Doctors, and other Obedientaries of the Romish See, who at the coming of the *Turks*, will not adventure their Lives for their Church, but will flye the City (no doubt) and stand afar off from danger; and when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears the City of *Rome* to be set on fire and consumed by the cruel *Turks*, the sight whereof shall seem to them pitious and lamentable, to behold the great and fair City of *Rome*, the tall Castle of Saint *Angel*, the Popes mighty See, (where they were wont to fish out such Riches, Dignities, Treasures and Pleasure) so to burn before their Eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be re-edified again, but shall be made an habitation of Devils and unclean Spirits, that is, of *Turks* and Heathen *Sultans*, and barbarous *Saracens*, &c. This (I say) peradventure may be the meaning of that Prophetical place of the *Apocalyps*; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but only give my guess what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plain and manifest. For mytlical Prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

The third cause.
Ex Paulo Jovius.

Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of *Paulus Jovius*, who writing of the subversion of *Rhodes*, which was as ye heard, Anno 1522. upon *Christmas* day, saith, That it chanced suddenly the same day in *Rome*, that as Pope *Hadrian* the sixth, was entering into the Church to his Service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the Chappel door, which was of *Marble*, immediately as the Pope was entering, fell down, and slew certain of his Guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruine of *Rome* was not long after to follow the loss of *Rhodes*.

The fourth cause.

Ex Joann. Aventino. Annus. lib. 3. fol. 30. A Prophecie.

The fourth cause I borrow out of *Joannes Aventinus*, who in his third Book alleaging the names, but not the words of *Hildegardis*, *Brigit*, and other Prophetical Men, hath these words; *Si vera sunt carmina & vaticinia, D. Hildegarda, & Brigitte, Sybilarum Germanie, & Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea que nostro aeo completa vidimus longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt; Agrippinensis Colonia, nolimus velimus, Turcatum caput erit, &c.* that is, If the Sayings and Prophecies of *Hildegard*, of *Brigit*, and of other Prophetical Persons be true, which being foretold long before, we have seen now in these our days accomplished; the Town of *Colen*, will we nill we, must needs be the head City of the *Turk*; &c.

And this I writ, not as one pronouncing against the City of *Rome* what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to pass (as I pray God it do not) then shall the Pope well understand, whether his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering Glosses upon the same, have brought him.

A Caveat to the Bishop of Rome, if he be wise.

Wherefore my counsel is to the Pope, and all his Popish maintainers and upholders, to humble themselves, and to agree with their Brethren betime, letting all contention fall; lest that while the Bishop of *Rome* shall strive to be the highest of all other Bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the Bishop of *Rome* shall be found the lowest of all other Bishops, or peradventure no Bishop at all.

Ex Paulo Jovius.

Whereunto also another cause may be added, taken out of *Jeronymus Savonarola*, who Prophecieth, that one shall come over the *Alpes* like unto *Cyrus*, and destroy *Italy*. Whereof see more before.

This *Solymanus*, if he be yet alive, hath now reigned forty six years, who began the same year in the which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth was Crowned, which was,

Anno 1520. and so hath continued by Gods permission, for a scourge to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1556. This *Solyman*, by one of his Concubines, had his eldest Son called *Mustapha*. By another Concubine called *Rosa*, he had four Sons, *Mahumet*, *Bajazetes*, *Zelymus*, and *Gianger*. Of the which Sons, *Mustapha* and *Gianger* were slain (as ye heard before) by the means of their own Father. And thus much concerning the wretched Tyranny of the *Turks*, out of the Authors hereunder written.

{ KING }
{ Hen. 7. }

■ The Authors of the *Turks* Stories.

Authors of the *Turks* Stories.

Laconicus Chalcondyla.
Nicolaus Eboicus Episc. Sarguntinus.
Joannes Ramus.
Andreas a Lucina.
Wolfgangus Dreyfserus.
Joan. Crispus.
Joan. Faber.
Ludovicus Vives.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Mityleneus Archiepisc.
Sabellicus.
Isidorus Ruthenus.

Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Jovius.
Joan. Martinus Stella.
Gaspar Pencerus, &c.
Nicolaus a Mofsen Burgundus.
Sebast. Munsterus.
Baptista Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

■ A notice touching the miserable Persecution, Slaughter and Captivity of the Christians under the *Turks*.

Hitherto thou hast heard (Christian Reader) the lamentable Persecutions of these later days, wrought by the *Turks* against the People and Servants of Christ. In the reading whereof, such as sit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad; the knowledge and reading whereof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be, which falsely deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianity is a quiet and restful state of Life, full of pleasure and solace in this present World, when indeed it is nothing less testified by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who rightly defining his Kingdom, teacheth us, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, premonishing us also before, *That in this World we must look for affliction, but in him we shall have peace*. Examples hereof in all parts of this History through all Ages, are plenteous and evident to be seen, whether we turn our Eyes to the first Ten Persecutions in the Primitive Church, during the first three hundred years after Christ: or whether we consider the later three hundred years in this last Age of the Church, wherein the poor Flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed and devoured, that it is hard to say, whether have been more cruel against the Christians, the Infidel Emperors of *Rome* in the Primitive Age of the Church, or else these barbarous *Turks* in these our later times of the Church now present.

Persecution under the *Turks*.

Comparison between the persecutions of the Primitive Church and of the later Church.

Thus from time to time the Church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this Earth; what for the Heathen Emperors on the one side; what for the proud Pope on the other side; on the third side, what for the barbarous *Turk*: for these are and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital Enemies of the Church of Christ, signified in the *Apocalyps*, by the Beast, the false Lamb, and the false Prophet, from whom went out three foul Spirits like Frogs, to gather together all the Kings of the Earth to the Battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty, Apoc. 16. The cruelty and malice of these Enemies against Christs People hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in Cruelty of Persecution, it is hard to say; but that it may be thought that the bloody and beastly Tyranny of the *Turks*, especially above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any Age, or read of in any story. Inasmuch, that there is neither History so perfect, nor Writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable Tyranny of the *Turks*, is able to express or comprehend the horrible Examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish

Three special enemies of Christs Church.

Apoc. 16. The cruelty of the furious *Turks* described.

KING Turkish Tyrants upon poor Christian mens bodies, with-
in the compass of these later Three hundred years. Where-
of although no sufficient relation can be made, nor num-
ber expressed; yet to give to the Reader some general
guess or view thereof; let us first perpend and consider
what Dominions and Empires, how many Countries,
Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, strong Holds,
and Forts, these *Turks* have surprized and won from
the Christians. In all which Victories, being so many,
this is secondly to be noted, That there is almost no
place which the *Turks* ever came to and subdued, where
they did not either slay all the Inhabitants thereof, or
led away the most part thereof into such Captivity
and Slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or
else so lived, that Death almost had been to them more
tolerable.

Two things
to be noted
in the *Turks*;
how many
Victories
they have
got, and how
cruelly they
have used
their Victo-
ries.

Ex Marino
Bardetto de
Scod. eugug-
nai, lib. 2.

Ex Michael.
Soitro lib. 1.
de bello
Pannonic.
fol. 515.

Ex Bernar-
do de Brey-
denbach.
Decan. Eccl.
Magnus.

The super-
stitious use
of the ma-
terial cross.

Vide supra.
Ex Bernard.
Breydenb.

Like as in the time of the first Persecutions of the
Roman Emperors, the Saying was, That no man could
step with his feet in all *Rome*, but should tread upon
a Martyr: so here may be said, That almost there is not
a Town, City or Village in all *Asia*, *Grecia*, also in a
great part of *Europa* and *Africa*, whose Streets have
not flowed with the Blood of the Christians, whom
the cruel *Turks* have murdered. Of whom are to be
seen in Histories, heaps of Souldiers slain, of Men and
Women cut in pieces, of Children stuck upon Poles
and Stakes, whom these detestable *Turks* most spitefully
(and that in the sight of their Parents) use to gore
to death; some they drag at their Horse tails, and
famish to death; some they tear in pieces, tying their
Arms and Legs to four Horses; other some they make
Marks to shoot at; upon some they try their Swords
how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have
read. The aged and feeble they tread under their
Horses: Women with Child they spare not, but rip
their Bodies, and cast the Infants into the Fire, or other-
wise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to
them, or yield not, all is a matter. As in their promises
their is no truth, so in their Victories there is no sense
of Manhood or Mercy in them, but they make havock
of all.

So the Citizens of *Croja*, after they had yielded and
were all promised their Lives, were all destroyed, and
that horribly. In *Myfia*, after the King had given him-
self to the *Turks* hand, having promise of life, *Mahumet*
the *Turk* slew him with his own hands. The Princes of
Rafia had both their Eyes put out, with Basons red hot
set before them. *Theodosia*, otherwise called *Capha*, was
also surrendered to the *Turk*, having the like assurance
of life and safety; and yet contrary to the League, the Ci-
zens were put to the Sword and slain. At the winning
and yielding of *Lesbor*, what a number of young Men
and Children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and
so thrust thorow? At the winning of the City of *Buda*,
what tyranny was shewed and exercised against the poor
Christians which had yielded themselves, and against the
two Dukes, *Christopher Bifferer*, and *Joannes Tranbinger*,
contrary to the promise and hand-writing of the *Turk*, is
to be seen in the Story of *Melchior Soiterus*, *De bello Pan-
nonico*.

The like also is to be read in the Story of *Bernardus
de Breydenbach*, who writing of the taking of *Hydrun-
tum*, a City in *Apulia*, testifieth of the miserable slaugh-
ter of the young Men there slain, of old Men troden un-
der the Horse feet, of Matrons and Virgins ravished, of
Women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the Priests
in the Churches slain, and of the Arch-Bishop of that
City, who being an aged Man, and holding the Cross in
his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden Saw, &c. The
same *Bernardus*, also writing of the overthrow of *Ni-
gropontus*, otherwise called *Chalcides*, Anno 1471. descri-
beth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised,
where the *Turk*, after his promise given before to the
contrary, most cruelly caused all the Youth of *Italy* to
be pricked upon sharp stakes; some to be dashed against
the hard stones, other some to be cut in sunder in the
midst, and other more with other kinds of Torments to
be put to death: insomuch, that all the streets and ways of
Chalcides, did flow with the Blood of them which were
there slain. In which History the foresaid Writer record-
eth one memorable Example of Maidenly chastity, worthy

of all Christians to be noted and commended. The
Story is told of the Pretors Daughter of that City, who
being the only Daughter of her Father, and noted to be
of an exceeding singular Beauty, was saved out of the
slaughter, and brought to *Mahumet* the *Turk* to be his
Concubine. But she denying to consent to his Turkish
appetite and filthiness, was commanded therewith to be
slain and murdered, and so dyed she a Martyr, keeping
both her Faith and her Body undefiled unto Christ her
Spouse. *Ibid.*

A notable
example of
maidenly
chastity.

The like cruelty also was shewed upon them which
kept the Castle, and afterward yielding themselves upon
hope of the *Turks* promise, were slain every one. What
should I speak of the miserable slaughter of *Methone*, and
the Citizens thereof dwelling in *Peloponnesus*? who, see-
ing no other remedy but needs to come into the *Turks*
hands, set the Barn on fire where they were gather-
ed together, Men, Women and Children; some Women
also with child, voluntarily cast themselves into the Sea,
rather then they would sustain the *Turks* captivity.

Vide supra.
The miser-
able spill-
ing of Chris-
tian
mens blood
by the
wretched
Turks.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to be-
lieve, all the cruel parts and horrible slaughters wrought
by these miscreants against the Christians through all
places almost of the World, both in *Asia*, in *Africa*, but
especially in *Europe*. Who is able to recite the innumera-
ble Societies and Companies of the *Grecians* Martyr'd
by the *Turks* Sword in *Achaia*, *Attica*, *Thessalia*, *Mace-
donia*, *Epyrus*, and all *Peloponnesus*? besides the Island
of *Rhodes*, and other Islands and Cyclades adjacent
in the Sea about, numbred to two and fifty; of the
which also *Pathmos* was one, where Saint *John* being
banished, wrote his *Revelations*. Where did ever the
Turks set any Foot, but the Blood of Christians there,
without pity or measure, went to wrack? and what
Place or Province is there almost through the World,
where the *Turks* either have not pierced, or are not like-
ly shortly to enter? In *Thracia*, and through all the
Coasts of *Danubius*, in *Bulgaria*, *Dalmatia*, in *Servia*,
Transilvania, *Bosna* in *Hungaria*, also in *Austria*, what
havock hath been made by them of Christian mens Bo-
dies, it will rue any Christian heart to remember. At
the Siege of *Moldavia*, at the winning of *Buda*, of *Pe-
sta*, of *Alba*, of *Walpo*, *Strigonium*, *Soclosia*, *Tatbe*,
Wizigradum, *Novum Castellum* in *Dalmatia*, *Belgradum*,
Varadinum, *Quinque Ecclesia*: also at the Battel of *Verna*,
where *Ladislaus* King of *Polony*, with all his Army al-
most, through the rashness of the Popes Cardinal, were
slain: At the winning moreover of *Xabiacchus*, *Lyffus*,
Dynastrum: At the Siege of *Gunza*, and of the faithful
Town *Scorad*, where the number of the Shot against
their Walls, at the Siege thereof, were reckoned to Two
thousand five hundred thirty nine. Likewise at the
Siege of *Vienna*, where all the Christian Captives were
brought before the whole Army and slain, and divers
drawn in pieces with Horses: but especially at the win-
ning of *Constantinople*; above mentioned; also at *Croja*
and *Methone*, what beastly cruelty was shewed, it is un-
speakable. For as in *Constantinople*, *Mahumet* the drunken
Turk, never rose from Dinner, but he caused every day,
for his disport, Three hundred Christian Captives of the
Nobles of that City to be slain before his face: so in *Me-
thone*, after that his Captain *Omares* had sent unto him at
Constantinople, five hundred Prisoners of the Christians,
the cruel Tyrant commanded them all to be cut and di-
vided in sunder by the middle, and so being slain, to be
thrown out into the Fields.

A brief ré-
cital of
Christian
Towns and
Forts won
of the *Turks*
in *Europe*.

The cruelty
of the *Turks*
against the
Citizens of
*Constanti-
nople*.
Vide supra.

The cruelty
of the *Turks*
against the
Prisoners of
Methone.
Ex Leonius
Chalcondyla
de rebus.
Turcicis.
lib. 10.
A strange
and prodig-
ious won-
der of a
brute Beast
toward a
dead Chri-
stian Body.

Leonius Chalcondyla writing of the same Story, ad-
deth moreover, a prodigious Narration (if it be true) of
a brute Ox, which being in the Fields, and seeing the
Carcases of the dead Bodies so cut in two, made there a
loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature: and
afterwards coming to the Quarters of one of the dead
Bodies lying in the Field, first took up the one half, and
then coming again, took up likewise the other half, and
so (as he could) joyned them both together. Which be-
ing espied of them which saw the doing of the brute Ox,
and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof
to *Mahumet*, he commanded the Quarters again to be
brought where they were before, to prove whether the
Beast will come again, who failed not (as the Author re-
cordeth)

recordeth) but in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead Corps, laid them again together. It followeth more in the Author, how that *Mahumet*, being astonished at the strange wonder of the Ox, commanded the Quarters of the Christian Mans body to be interred, and the Ox to be brought to his House, and much made of. Some said it to be the body of a *Venetian*; some affirmed, that he was an *Illyrian*: but whatsoever he was, certain it is, That the *Turk* himself was much more Bestial than was the brute Ox; which being a Beast, shewed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another. *Ex Leonie. Chalcondyla.*

The Bishop, with the Citizens of Meibone slain of the Turk.

Ex Andree de Lacuna, & aliis. Ex Joanne Fabro, in oratione ad regem Hen. 8.

To this Cruelty add moreover, That beside these five hundred *Methonians* thus destroyed at *Constantinople*, in the said City of *Meibone*, all the Towns-men also were slain by the foresaid Captain *Omares*, and among them their Bishop likewise was put to death. *Ex Andr. de Lacuna, & ex Wolfg. & aliis.*

John Faber, in his Oration made before King *Henry* the Eighth, at the appointment of King *Ferdinandus*, and declaring therein the miserable Cruelty of the *Turks* toward all Christians, as also toward the Bishops and Ministers of the Church, testifieth, how that in *Mitylene*, in *Constantinople*, and *Trapezunda*, what Bishops and Arch-bishops, or other Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons the *Turks* could find, they brought them out of the City into the Fields, there to be slain like Oxen and Calves. The same *Faber* also writing of the Battel of *Solyman* in *Hungary*, where *Ludovicus* the King of *Hungary* was overthrown, declareth, That eight Bishops in the same Field were slain. And moreover, when the Arch-bishop of *Strigon*, and *Paulus* the Arch-bishop of *Colossensis* were found dead, *Solyman* caused them to be taken up, and to be Beheaded and chopt in small pieces. *Anno 1526.*

The cruelty of the Turk in Euboea.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the *Turks* in *Euboea*, where the said *Faber* testifieth, That innumerable people were stiked and gored upon stakes, divers were thrust thorow with a hot Iron, Children and Infants not yet weaned from the Mother, were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst? *Ex Johan. Fabro, & aliis.*

The Prince of Servia slain, and slain of the Turk.

But never did Country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly Tyranny of the *Turks*, than did *Rassia*, called *Myfia Inferior*, and now *Servia*. Where (as writeth *Wolfgangus Drechsterus*) the Prince of the same Country being sent for, under fair pretence of words and promises, to come and speak with the *Turk*, after he was come of his own Gentleness, thinking no harm, was Apprehended, and wretchedly and falsely put to Death, and his Skin slain off, his Brother and Sister brought to *Constantinople* for a Triumph, and all the Nobles of his Country (as *Faber* addeth) had their Eyes put out, &c.

Let never Christian Prince trust the Turk.

The Turk stirred up of the Devil, to fight against Christ. The Turks are butchers of the Christians.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed Caitiffs, it may seem that Satan the Old Dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the Butchers of all Christian People, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the Name and Religion of Christ, that they degenerating from the nature of Men to Devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the Primitive Age of the Church, and in the time of *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*, when the Devil saw that he could not prevail against the Person of Christ which was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his silly servants, thinking by the *Roman* Emperors utterly to extinguish the Name and Profession of Christ out from the Earth: So in this later Age of the World, Satan being let loose again, rageth by the *Turks*, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he have brought (as he intendeth) the whole Church of Christ, with all the Professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord (I trust) will once send a *Constantinus* to vanquish proud *Maxentius*, *Moses* to drown indurate *Pharaoh*, *Cyrus* to subdue the stout *Babylonian*.

The miserable state of the Christian captives under the Turk.

And thus much hitherto touching our Christian Brethren which were slain & destroyed by these blasphemous *Turks*. Now for so much as besides these afore said, many other were plucked away violently from their Country, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their

possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury, it remaineth likewise to intreat somewhat also concerning the cruel manner of the *Turks* handling of the said Christian Captives. And first here is to be noted, that the *Turk* never cometh into *Europe* to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his Army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great cheats. In the which chains they link them by fifty and sixty together, such as remain undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoils of them that rob and spoil the Christian Countries; which is lawful for any of the *Turks* Army to do, so that the tenth of their spoil or prey (whatsoever it be) be reserved to the head *Turk*, that is, to the great master Thief.

KING 7. The buying and selling of Christian captives under the Turk.

Of such as remain for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very few be reserved alive, because little profit cometh of that age) they be sold to the use of husbandry or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certain places, there to be instructed in their Language and Arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage, and such are called in their Tongue, *Sarai*: and the first care of the *Turks* is this, to make them deny the Christian Religion, and to be Circumcised; and after that they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their Laws, or else to learn the feats of War. Their first rudiment of War is to handle the Bow; first beginning with a weak Bow, and so as they grow in strength coming to a stronger Bow, and if they miss the Mark, they are sharply beaten; and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day, till they come and take wages to serve in War. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked *Janizaries*, that is, the Order of the *Turks* champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these *Janizaries*, see before. And if any of the foresaid young men or children shall appear to excel in any Beauty, him they so cut, that no part of that which Nature giveth to man, remaineth to be seen in all his body; whereby while the freshness of age continueth, he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and when age cometh, then they serve instead of Eunuchs to wait upon Matrons, or to keep Horses and Mules, or else to be scullions and drudges in their kitchens.

Christian captives of the Turk.

O wickedness passing all misery.

O misery above all misery!

Such as are young Maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. They which be of mean beauty, serve for Matrons to their drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning, and such other labors; but so, that it is not lawful for them either to profess their Christian Religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the *Turk* by tithe.

The servitude of young women captives.

The other which are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with fair words and promises to take Circumcision: which if they will do, they are more favorably intreated; but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their Country, which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if such coming at length to liberty will marry, they may; but then their Children remain bond to the Lord, for him to sell at his pleasure; and therefore such as are wife amongst them will not marry. They which refuse to be Circumcised, are miserably handled; for example whereof, the Author (which giveth testimony hereof) doth infer his own experience. Such Captives as be expert in any manual Art or Occupation, can better shift for themselves; but contrariwise, they which have no Handicraft to live upon, are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in Learning, or be Priests or Noble-men, and such other whose tender Education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth less profit to rise of them than of the other; and therefore no cost of rayment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about barehead and barefoot, both Summer and Winter in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sick in the way, there is no resting for him in any Inn, but first he is driven forward with Whips, and if that will not serve, he is set peradventure upon some Horse; or if his weakness be such that he cannot sit, then is he laid overthwart the Horse upon his belly like a Calf; and if he chance to dye, they take off his garment, such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

Ex Barthol. Georgiense. Peregrina lib. de offi. Sionibus Christianorum sub Turca.

{KING}
{Hm. 7.}

In the way moreover, beside the common Chain which doth inclose them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is, because they should not harm their Leaders; for many times it hapned, that ten persons had the leading of fifty Captives; and when night came their feet also were fettered, so that they lodged in no House, but lay upon the ground all night.

The miserable calamity of Christian Women being in captivity under the Turks.

The young Women had a little more gentleness shewed, being carried in Paniers in the day time. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the filthy injuries which they suffered by their Carriers, inasmuch that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one Sex as of the other, could not save them from the most filthy villany of the Bestial *Turks*.

The manner of Christian Captives how they are brought to Markets and sold.

When the Morning cometh, they are brought forth to the Market to be sold, where the Buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their Garments, vieweth all the Bones and Joynts of their Body; and if he like them he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their Ground, or to pasture their Cattle, or to some other strange kind of Misery incredible to speak of: Inasmuch that the Author reporteth, that he hath seen himself, certain of such Christian Captives yoked together like Horle and Oxen, and to draw the Plough. The Maid-servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any Man, neither be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow-servants, &c. Such as are committed to keep Beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild Fields, without house and harbor, and so changing their Pasture go from Mountain to Mountain; of whom also, beside the Office of keeping the Beasts, other handy-labor is exacted at spare hours, such as pleaseth their Masters to put unto them.

Christians in their Captivity, put to draw in the Plough like Horles.

The great danger of Christian Captives which fly out of *Turkey*.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to flye, especially for them that are carried into *Asia* beyond the Seas; or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about Harvest, when he may hide himself all the day-time in the Corn, or in Woods or Marishes, and find Food; and in the Night only he flyeth, and had rather be devoured of Wolves and other wild Beasts, than to return again to his Master. In their flying they use to take with them an Hatchet and Coards, that when they come to the Sea side, they may cut down Trees, and bind together the ends of them, and so where the Sea of *Hellepontus* is narrowest, about the *Sestos* and *Abidos*, they take the Sea, sitting upon Trees, where, if the wind and tide do serve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the most part either perish in the Floods, or are driven back again upon the Coasts of *Asia*, or else be devoured of wild Beasts in Woods, or perish with Hunger and Famine. If any escape over the Sea alive into *Europe*, by the way they enter into no Town, but wander upon the Mountains, following only the North-Star for their guide.

The manner and shift of our men in getting over the Sea.

The manifold dangers by the way in flying.

The misery of Christian Cities and Provinces which live under the Turks tribute.

As touching such Towns and Provinces which are won by the *Turk*, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute: First, All the Nobility there they kill and make away, the Church-men and Clergy hardly they spare. The Churches, with the Bells and all the Furniture thereof, either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their own blasphemous Religion, leaving when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of Money given to the *Turk*. Neither be they permitted to use any open Preaching or Ministration, but only in silence and by stealth to frequent together. Neither is it lawful for any Christian to bear Office within the City or Province, nor to bear Weapon; nor to wear any Garment like to the *Turks*. And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it never so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speak one word against their Religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumcised: And then if thou speak one word against *Mahomet*, thy punishment is Fire and Burning. And if it chance a Christian being on Horseback to meet, or pass by a *Musulman*, that is, a Turkish Priest, he must light from his Horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the *Musulman*; or

If Christians may not go like *Turks*, why should our Gospellers go like Papists? The *Turks* have their fire and faggots as well as our Papists. The Christians must light from their Houses meeting a Turkish Priest, and adore him.

if he do not, he is beaten down from his Horse with clubs and staves.

Furthermore, for their Tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gain to the *Turk*; beside the ordinary Tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every Poll within his Family a Ducket unto the *Turk*; which if the Parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their Children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go chained in Fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or else must lye in perpetual Prison.

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the *Turks*, to take up among the Christians children whom they best like, and them to Circumcise, and to take them away being young from the sight of their Parents to far places, to be brought up for the *Turk* Wars, so that they may not return to them again; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their Parents; so that if they come again amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

Another misery most lamentable in taking away Christian mens children from their Parents, to serve the *Turks*.

This misery passing all other miseries, no Man is able with Tongue to utter, or with words to express. What weeping and tears, with sorrow and lamentation; what groaning, sighs, and deep dolour, doth fear and rent a-funder the woful hearts of the silly Parents at the plucking away of their Babes and Children? To see their Sons and their own Children, whom they have born and bred up to the service of Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ? to see their Babes born of Christian blood, of Christians to be made *Turks*, and so to be plucked out of their arms, and out of their sight, without hope ever to return to them again? to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous *Turks*, and so to become of the number of them which are called fatherless and motherless?

O misery.

This is with tears rather than with words to be expressed.

Albeit the same Children afterward do greatly degenerate from the Faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the Gospel written of St. *John*, *In principio erat verbum, &c.* Which for a token or remembrance of their Christian Faith they carry under their Arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabick, who greatly desire, and long look for the revenging Sword of the Christians to come and deliver them out of their dolorous thralldom and captivity, according as the *Turks* themselves have a Prophecie, and greatly stand in fear of the same. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the Chapter following.

Privy Gospellers in *Turky*.

An old Prophecie of the *Turks* touching the Sword of the Christians.

¶ And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian Brethren under the cruel Tyranny and Captivity of the *Turks*, passing all other Captivities that ever have been to Gods people, either under *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, or under *Nebuchadonozzer* in *Babylon*, or under *Antiochus* in the time of the *Maccabees*. Under the which Captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his Spouse the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this Misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian Guides and Leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our Guiders and Rulers, or else better Guides and Rulers to his Flock.

And these Troubles and Afflictions of our Christian Brethren suffered by the *Turks*, I thought good and profitable for our Country People here of *England* to know, for so much as by the ignorance of these, and such like Histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience doth follow. Whereby it cometh to pass, that because we Englishmen being far off from these Countries, and little knowing what misery is abroad, are the less moved with zeal and compassion to tender their Grievances, and to pray for them whose Troubles we know not. Whereupon also it followeth, that we not considering the miserable state of other, are the less grateful to God, when any Tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little Cloud of perturbation arise upon us, be it never so little, as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our Country for the Lords Cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we go no further than our own Country, and only feeling our own cross, do not compare that which we feel with the

Necessary for many causes that the troubles of the Church be known.

the great crosses whereunto the Churches of Christ commonly in other places abroad are subject. Which if we did rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessively forget our selves in time of our prosperity given us of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our Adversity, and all because either we hear not, or else we ponder not the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth upon our other Brethren abroad in other Nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appear.

Now consequently remaineth, as I have shewed hitherto what Tyranny hath been used of the *Turks* against Christs People, so to declare likewise how far this Tyranny of the *Turks* hath extended and spread it self, describing as in a Table, to the Christian Reader, what Lands, Countries and Kingdoms the *Turks* have won and got from Christianity; to the intent, that when Christian Princes shall behold the greatness of the *Turks* Dominions spread almost thorow all the World, and how little a part of Christianity remaineth behind, they may thereby understand the better how it is time now

for them to bestir them, if ever they think to do any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a compendious Draught, as in a brief Table, of such Countries, Kingdoms and Dominions, got from us by the *Turks*: We will first begin with *Asia*, describing what Tracts, Countries, Cities and Churches the *Turk* hath surprized, and violently pluckt away from the Society of Christian Dominions, taking only such as be most principal, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were too long to Discourse all and singular such Places by name, as the *Turk* hath under his Subjection.

The World being divided commonly into three parts, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europa*; *Asia* is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the other, and is divided into two Portions, the one called *Asia Major*; the other called *Asia Minor*. And although the Empire of the *Turk* extendeth unto them both; yet especially his Dominion standeth in the other *Asia*, which is called *Asia Minor*, which reacheth from the Coasts of *Europa* unto *Armenia Major*, beyond the River *Euphrates*, and comprehendeth these Regions and Cities following.

The Division of *Asia Minor*, called *Cheronefus*, with the particular Countries and Cities belonging to the same.

| Countries. | | Cities. | Countries. | | Cities. |
|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| <p>Ⓒ Thus far reacheth the compass of <i>Natolia</i>.</p> | | | | | |
| <p><i>Apamea</i> is a City in <i>Bythynia</i>, also another in <i>Mesopotamia</i>. <i>Apamea</i> Cybora, also a City in great <i>Phrygia</i>, and another also in <i>Parthia</i>.</p> | <p><i>Pontus.</i> Aūs 2.</p> <p><i>Bythynia.</i> Aūs 26.</p> | <p><i>Nicea.</i></p> <p><i>Chalcedon.</i></p> <p><i>Horaclea.</i></p> <p><i>Prusa</i> or <i>Bursa.</i></p> <p><i>Nicomedia.</i></p> <p><i>Apamea.</i></p> | <p><i>Lycia.</i> Aūs 27.</p> | <p><i>Coloffa.</i> Col. 1.</p> <p><i>Patara.</i> Aūs 21.</p> <p><i>Pinara.</i></p> <p><i>Xanthus.</i></p> <p><i>Andriace.</i></p> <p><i>Myra.</i> Aūs 13.</p> <p><i>Ancyra.</i></p> <p><i>Gordium.</i></p> <p><i>Tbarma.</i></p> <p><i>Pessusus.</i></p> <p><i>Amisus.</i></p> <p><i>Sinope.</i></p> <p><i>Corambis.</i></p> <p><i>Perga.</i> Aūs 13.</p> <p><i>Attalia.</i> Aūs 14.</p> <p><i>Aspendus.</i></p> <p><i>Phaselis.</i> Macch. 15.</p> <p><i>Trapezus.</i></p> <p><i>Temiscyra.</i></p> | |
| <p>Ⓒ <i>Natolia</i>, or <i>Anatolia</i>, containeth divers Countries, with their Cities, as followeth.</p> | | | | | |
| <p><i>Myfia Minor.</i> Aūs 16.</p> | <p><i>Phrygia Minor.</i> Aūs 2.</p> <p><i>Troas.</i> Aūs 20.</p> | <p><i>Cizicus.</i></p> <p><i>Parium.</i></p> <p><i>Lampsacus.</i></p> <p><i>Dardanium.</i></p> <p><i>Callipolis.</i></p> <p><i>Abydus.</i></p> <p><i>Alexandria</i> or <i>Troas.</i> Aūs 16.</p> <p><i>Ilium.</i></p> <p><i>Affos.</i> Aūs 20.</p> <p><i>Scepis.</i></p> <p><i>Adramitium.</i> Aūs 27.</p> <p><i>Herrapolis.</i> Col. 4.</p> <p><i>Pitane.</i></p> <p><i>Apollonia.</i></p> <p><i>Myrina.</i></p> <p><i>Phocæa.</i></p> <p><i>Smyrna.</i> Apoc. 2.</p> <p><i>Erythra.</i></p> <p><i>Laodicia.</i> Apoc. 3.</p> <p><i>Carura.</i></p> <p><i>Thyatira.</i> Apoc. 2.</p> <p><i>Philadelphus.</i> Apoc. 3.</p> <p><i>Pergamus.</i> Apoc. 2.</p> <p><i>Cuma.</i></p> <p><i>Ephesus.</i> Apoc. 2.</p> <p><i>Sardis.</i> Apoc. 3.</p> <p><i>Halicarnassus.</i> 1 Mach. 15.</p> <p><i>Miletus.</i> Aūs 20.</p> | <p><i>Galatia, vel Gallogrecia.</i> Aūs 16.</p> <p><i>Paphlagonia.</i></p> <p><i>Pamphilia.</i> Aūs 2.</p> <p><i>Pisidia.</i> Aūs.</p> <p><i>Cappadocia.</i></p> <p><i>Armenia Minor.</i></p> <p><i>Cilicia.</i></p> <p><i>Laconia.</i></p> | <p><i>Comana Pontica.</i></p> <p><i>Amasia vel Eupatoria.</i></p> <p><i>Masa vel Casarea.</i> Here <i>Basilis</i> was <i>Magnus</i> was Bishop</p> <p><i>Naxiantium.</i></p> <p>Here <i>Gregorius Nazianzenus</i> was Bishop.</p> <p><i>Comana Cappadocia.</i></p> <p><i>Miletene.</i></p> <p><i>Nicopolis.</i></p> <p><i>Leandis.</i></p> <p><i>Claudiopolis.</i></p> <p><i>Juliopolis.</i></p> <p><i>Tharsus.</i> Aūs 22.</p> <p>* <i>Coricus.</i></p> <p><i>Solimuntis, vel Trajanopolis.</i> <i>Coricus</i> is also in the Isle of <i>Creta.</i></p> <p><i>Iffus, vel Fajassa.</i></p> <p><i>Augusta.</i> Aūs 27.</p> <p><i>Iconium.</i> Aūs 14.</p> <p><i>Lystra.</i> Aūs 16.</p> <p><i>Derbe.</i> Aūs 14.</p> <p><i>Antiochia Pisidia.</i> Aūs 11.</p> | <p>The Country where <i>St. Paul</i> was born. * Another is also in the Isle of <i>Creta.</i></p> |
| <p><i>Myfia Major.</i> Aūs 16.</p> <p><i>Phrygia Major.</i> Aūs 2.</p> <p><i>Lydia.</i> Isai. 66.</p> <p><i>Acolis.</i></p> <p><i>Ionis.</i></p> <p><i>Caria.</i> 1 Mach. 15.</p> <p><i>Doris.</i></p> | <p>At <i>Canara</i>, a certain Band with a company of halots being there lodged, suddenly happened an Earthquake in the City, wherein the said Band, with all his Strumpets, were swallowed up. <i>Pius 2</i> Papa, lib. d. Descriptione cap. 16.</p> | | | | |

Ⓒ *Syria*

| Countries. | | Cities. | | Countries. | | Cities. |
|--|--------------|---|---|---|--|---------|
| ¶ Syria comprehendeth in it divers particular Provinces, with their Cities; as followeth. | | | Armenia major ^a is divided from Armenia minor by the River Euphrates. This Armenia major and minor, this day be both under the Turks. | | | |
| Syria. | Aūs 15. | Jerofolyma. Aūs 1.
Cesarea Stratonis. Aūs 8.
Bethleem. Matth. 2.
Emaus. Mark 1.
Jericho. Matth. 20.
Joppe, or Japheth. Aūs 9.
Tyberias. John 6.
Accaron. Josh. 13.
Azotus. Aūs 8.
Ascalon. Judic. 2.
Gaza. Aūs 8.
Bersabee. Josh. 19.
Anipatriis. Aūs 23.
Aflaron. Aūs 9.
Bethania. Mark 11.
Lydda. Aūs 9.
Nazareth. Matth. 4.
Capernaum. Matth. 4.
Cana. John 2.
Tyrus. Luke 6.
Sydon, vel Sichem. Luke 6.
Ptolomais. Aūs 21.
Cesarea Philippi. Matth. 16.
Damascur. Gal. 1.
Philadelphia. Apoc. 1.
Busbis, vel Pellae. | | And thus far reacheth the compafs of Asia minor, with the Countries and Provinces to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the Faith of Christ, are now in a manner all subdued to the Turks. | | |
| Palestina Judea. | | | | The Islands belonging to the Regions of Asia minor aforefaid, gotten by the Turk. | | |
| Chanaan. | | | | | | |
| Samaria. | Aūs | | | | | |
| Galilea. | Matth. 3. | | | | | |
| Phoenicia. | Aūs 11. | | | | | |
| Damascene. | | | | | | |
| Celofyria. | | | | | | |
| Cassotis. | | | | | | |
| Comagena. | | | | | | |
| Seleucia. | | | | | | |
| Laodicene. | | | | | | |
| Apamene. | | | | | | |
| Idumea. | Mark 3. | | | | | |
| ¶ Thus far reacheth the Compafs of Syria. | | | Æneas Sylvius, otherwise Pope Pius the Second, in describing Asia Minor, chap. 74. reciteth a certain Fact of a worthy Virgin; who at what time the Turks were besieging a certain Town in Lesbos, and had cast down a great part of the Walls, so that all the Townsmen had given over, putting on mans Harnefs, stepped forth into the Breach, where not only he kept the Turks from entering in, but also slew of them a great fort. The Citizens seeing the rare Courage, and good success of the Maiden, took to them again their Hearts and Harnefs, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turks were slain. The rest being repulsed from the Land, recoiled into their Ships; who being then pursued by a Navy of Califa, were worthily discomforted likewise upon the Sea. And thus was the Isle of Lesbos at that time by a poor Virgin, that is by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak Creature, preserved from the Turks. Æneas Syl. Et Seb. Munst. lib. 5. | | | |
| Arabia. | Gal. 1. 4. | | | Beside these Regions and Countries of Asia minor above described, Sebast. Munster in the fifth Book of his Cosmography declareth moreover, that the Turks and Sultanes have under their subjection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior, wherein is Calecut. The which Persia, although it be under the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turk, yet it is to be thought, that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkish and Mahometish Religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christs Gospel, as may appear by the Primitive Church. And thus have you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all Christened, do now serve under the Turk; | | |
| Mesopotamia. | Psal. 59. | | | After the description of Asia, let us next consider the Parts and Countries of Africk. Where although the greatest part either consisteth in Deserts desolate, or is possessed with Prester John, which professeth Christ and his Gospel; yet the Turk hath there also no little portion under his Dominion, as, | | |
| Babylonia. | Dan. 3. | | | | | |
| In the Country of Babylonian, is also a certain Region appointed for Philosophers and Astronomers, called Chaldea. | Jer. 50. | | | | | |
| Sarmatia. | | | | | | |
| Colchis. | | | | | | |
| Iberia. | | | | | | |
| Albania. | | | | | | |
| Petrea, or Nabatea. | | | | | | |
| Felix. { Panchaia.
Sabea. | | | | | | |
| Deserta. | | | | | | |
| Carra, or Charan, where Abraham dwelt. | Aūs 7. | | | | | |
| Seleucia. | | | | | | |
| * Edessa, which is now called Orpha, and in the story of Tobias, called Rager. | | | | | | |
| Bible. | | | | | | |
| Babylon, vel Baldach. | Aūs 7. | | | | | |
| Oreboe, vel Urchoa, vel Hur Chaldeorum, where Abraham was born. | Gen. 11. 15. | | | | | |
| Patarve. | | | | | | |
| Azara. | | | | | | |
| Gerusu. S. Georgius. | | | | | | |
| Sinda. | | | | | | |
| Dioscuria vel Sebastia, which is now called Sujas. | | | | | | |
| Phasis. | | | | | | |
| Lubium. | | | | | | |
| Artaniss. | | | | | | |
| Armachica. | | | | | | |
| Getara, vel Gangarda. | | | | | | |
| Chabala. | | | | | | |
| Thinis. | | | | | | |
| Tenedos. | | | | | | |
| Chios. | Aūs 20. | | | | | |
| Pathmos. | Apoc. 1. | | | | | |
| Possidium. | | | | | | |
| Samos. | Aūs 20. | | | | | |
| Trogolum. | Aūs 20. | | | | | |
| Cnidus. | Aūs 27. | | | | | |
| Coer, Coin. | Aūs 21. | | | | | |
| Carpathus. | | | | | | |
| Rhodus. | Aūs 21. | | | | | |
| Cyprus. | Aūs 11. | | | | | |
| Bithynia. | | | | | | |
| Troas. | | | | | | |
| Lydia. | | | | | | |
| Eolis. | | | | | | |
| Ionia. | | | | | | |
| Doris. | | | | | | |
| Doris. | | | | | | |
| Doris. | | | | | | |
| Lycia. | | | | | | |

{ KING }
{ HIR. 7. }

*The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures considered, touching the coming up
and final ruine and destruction of this wicked Kingdom of the TURK, with
the Revelations and foreshewings also of other Authors concerning the same.*

Prophecies
considered
for the be-
ginning and
falling of
the Turk
Kingdom.

FOrasmuch as you have hitherto sufficiently heard to what quantity and largeness the Dominion of the *Turks* hath increased, and do understand what cruel tyranny these wretched miscreants have and do daily practice most heinously wheresoever they come against the servants and professors of Christ; it shall not be unprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, with what Prophecies the holy Spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned us before of these heavy Persecutions to come upon his people by this horrible Antichrist. For as the government and constitution of times and states of Monarchies and Policies fall not to us by blind chance, but be administered and allotted unto us from above; so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of Kingdoms, such a terrible and general Persecution of Gods people almost through all *Christendom*, and such a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and gendred by these *Turks*, cometh without the knowledge, sufferance, and determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purposes as his divine wisdom doth best know. For the better evidence and testimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly see to our great comfort how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the Church, though they be sharp and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by mans working only, but even as the Lord himself hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

Two things
to be con-
sidered in the
time and
order of the
Old Testa-
ment.
The Scrip-
tures, and
the people.

And first to begin with the time of the Old Testament, let us seriously advise and ponder, not only the Scriptures and Prophecies therein contained, but also let us consider the whole state, order and regiment of that people; the Church I mean of the *Israelites*. For although the Scriptures and Prophets of the Old Testament were properly sent to that people, and have their relation properly to things done, or that should be done in that Commonwealth, of which Prophets *John Baptist* was the last and made an end, as our Saviour himself witnesseth, saying, the Law and Prophets be unto the time of *John, &c.* Yet notwithstanding the said people of that Old Testament beareth a lively image and resemblance of the Universal Church which should follow, planted by the Son of God through the whole earth. So that as the Prophets of God speaking to them from the Mouth and Word of God, prophesied what should come to pass in that people; so likewise the whole course and History of those *Israelites* exemplifieth and beareth a propheticall Image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the Universal Church of God dispersed through the World, planted in Christ Jesus his Son, according as *Philip Melancthon*, gravely gathering upon the same, testifieth in divers places in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Daniel*.

*Phil. Melan-
in Dan.
Prophet.*

Gen. 4.

As first the History of godly *Abel* slain by wicked *Cain*, what doth it import or prophesie, but the condition of the people and servants of God, which commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part which belongeth not to God?

The Sara-
cens come
of *Ismael*.
Resem-
blance be-
tween the
twelve Sons
of *Ismael*,
and the 12
Ottoman
Turks.
4 Reg. 17.

The like may be said also of *Isaac* and *Ismael*; of *Jacob* and *Esau*. Of whom those two which were the children of promise, and belonged to the Election of God, were persecuted in this world of the other which were rejected. Where moreover is to be noted concerning *Ismael*, that of his Stock after the flesh came the *Saracens*, whose Sect the *Turks* do now profess and maintain. And as *Ismael* had but 12 Sons; so it were to be wished of God, that this *Solyman*, which is the 12th of the *Turkish* Generation, may be the last. But of this better occasion shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Furthermore, of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, the sacred History so reporteth, that after they had a long season continued together by the space of eight or nine hundred years, at length, for their idolatry and transgression of

their forefathers Ten Tribes of them were cut off, and dispersed among the *Gentiles* an hundred and thirty years before the Captivity of *Babylon*; so that but two Tribes only remained free, and they also at last, after an hundred and thirty years, were captived under the *Babylonians* for a certain time. No otherwise hath it hapned with the Church of Christ almost in the Universal World, of which Church the greatest part, both in *Asia*, in *Africa*, and almost in *Europe* where the holy Apostles so laboured and travelled) we see now to be disparted among the *Turks*, and their Candlesticks removed (the Lord of his great grace reduce them again, *Amen*.) So that of twelve parts of *Christendom*, which was once planted in Christ, scarce two parts remain clear, and they how long they shall so continue the Lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lord they escape the danger of the *Turks*, yet have they been so beaten with the Pope, that they had been better almost to have been in the *Turks* hands.

The old
Church of
the *Israelites*
beareth a
representa-
tion or i-
mage of the
publick
Church of
Christ Jesus.

Again, After the said *Israelites* returned, being restored of *Cyrus*, let us consider well their story, the continuance of time, the manner of their regiments, and what afflictions they sustained in the time of the *Macchabees*, and we shall see a lively representation of these our days expressed in that Prophetical People, according as *St. Paul* writing of them sheweth how all things hapned to them in Figures; that is, the actions and doings of that one Nation, be as Figures and Types of greater matters, what shall happen in these later times of the whole Church universally in Christ collected.

1 Cor. 10

So the transmigration and deliverance again of those two Tribes, declareth to us the affliction of Christs Church for sin; and yet that God will not utterly reject his people for his Sons sake, as by manifold examples of the Church hitherto may well appear.

The Church
of the *Jews*
a figure of
Christs
Church.

Again, The continuance of the Law first given by *Moses* unto the destruction of the said people by *Titus*, amounteth to 1564 years; so we counting the age of the New Testament, and reckoning from the day of our Redemption unto this present, be come now to the year 1534, lacking but only three and thirty years of the full number.

*Ex Phil. Melancthon
in Dan. cap 9.*

Likewise, In counting the years from their deliverance out of Captivity to the end of their dissolution, we find 564 years, during which year as the Church of the *Jews* was not governed under the authority of Kings, but the High Priests took all the power and authority to themselves; so we Christians, for the space especially of these later 564 years, what have we seen and felt, but only the jurisdiction and domination of the Pope and High Priests playing the Rex in all Countries, and ruling the whole? whereby, by the count of the years, it is to be thought the day of the Lords coming not to be far off.

The times
and years of
the old
Church,
compared
with the
new.
The rule
and domi-
nion of the
High Priests
in the *Jews*
Common-
wealth, and
our Prelates
compared.

Furthermore, in those later years of the *Jews* Kingdom, what troubles and afflictions that people sustained 300 years together, but chiefly, the last 166 years before the coming of Christ, by *Antiochus* and his fellows, the History of the *Macchabees* can report. Wherein we have also notoriously to understand the miserable vexations and persecutions of Christian Churches in these later ends of the World by Antichrist. For by *Antiochus* Antichrist (no doubt) is figured and represented. This *Antiochus* first named *Magnus*, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* his Son, came of the Stock of *Seleucus Nicanor*; much like as the *Mahometes*, the *Turk*, and *Solymanus* came of the stock of *Ottomannus*. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, That like as of the said *Seleucus* issued Twelve *Syrian* Kings one after another of that generation, which reigned over the *Israelites* with much severity and tyranny; so of this Devilish Generation of *Ottomannus* have come Twelve *Turkish* Tyrants, whereof this *Solyman* is now the twelfth; God grant he may be the last. And

Antiochus
beareth a
figure of
Antichrist.

The Family
of *Antiochus*.

The Family
of the *Turks*.

as the two last *Antiochi*, being Sons of the two Brethren, did fight together for the Kingdom, and in fighting were both slain, and shortly after the Kingdom fell to the *Romans*; so the Lord grant for Christs sake, that the bloody brood of this old *Solyman*, (which has reigned now six and forty years) may so fight together, and perish in their own blood, that the bloody tyranny of theirs may come to a final end for ever, Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appear to such as be disposed to meditate more upon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the Reader, to set before his eyes, in Table-wise the Catalogue of both these Antichristian Families, with the names and succession of the persons, first of the Twelve Syrian Kings, then of the Twelve *Ottomanni*, in like number and order.

A Comparison between the *Syrians* and the *Turks*.

☛ The *Syrians*.

| | | |
|---|--|----|
| Refer-
blance be-
tween the
Syrian
Kings, and
the <i>Turks</i> . | I. <i>SELEUCUS</i> . | 32 |
| | II. <i>Antiochus Soter</i> . | 19 |
| | III. <i>Antiochus Theos</i> , who killed <i>Bernice</i> his Mother-in-Law, and his young Brother. | 15 |
| | IV. <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> , with <i>Antiochus Hierax</i> his Brother, which two Brethren warred one against the other. | 20 |
| | V. <i>Antiochus Magnus</i> . | 36 |
| | VI. <i>Seleucus Philopator</i> . | 12 |
| | VII. <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> , or rather <i>Epimanes</i> . | |
| | VIII. <i>Antiochus Eupator</i> . | |
| | IX. <i>Demetrius</i> Brother of <i>Epiphanes</i> , who killed <i>Eupator</i> his Cousin. | |
| | X. <i>Demetrius Nicanor</i> , whom <i>Antiochus Sedetes</i> his Brother expelled from his Kingdom. | |
| | XI. <i>Antiochus, Sedetes</i> . These two last being Brethren had two Sons. | |
| | XII. <i>Antiochus Gryphus</i> , and <i>Antiochus Cixicenus</i> . These two, striving together for the Kingdom, were both slain, and so not long after, the Kingdom of Syria came to the hands of <i>Tygranes</i> King of <i>Armenia</i> , and so being taken from him came to the <i>Romans</i> in the time of <i>Pompeius</i> . | |

These two pestilent Families and Generations, rising out (doubtless) from the bottomless Pit; to plague the people of God, as in number of succession they do not much differ; so in manner of their doings and wicked abominations they be as near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the People and Church of Christ, both murderers and parricides of their own Brethren and Kindred, both blasphemers of God, and troublers of the whole World. Wherein we have all to learn and note, by the way, the terrible anger of Almighty God against sin, and wickedness of men.

Furthermore, who so is disposed to consider and cast the course of times, and to mark how things be disposed by the marvellous operation of Gods Providence, shall find the times also of these two adversaries in much like sort to concur and agree. For in considering with our selves both the Testaments and Churches of God, the first of the *Jews*, the second of the Christians; look what time had the Syrian Kings to rage then in *Jerusalem*, the same proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the *Turks* to murder the Christians; so that the one Antichrist may well represent and prefigure the other. For as by the Book of *Maccabees* may appear, *Antiochus Epiphanes* was about the 191 year before the Passion of our Saviour, and day of our Redemption; so now casting the same number from this present year backward, we shall find it to be about the same year and time, when *Bajazetes*, the fourth *Turk* after *Ottoman*, began to remove his Imperial seat from *Bursa* in *Bithynia* to *Adrianople* in *Europe*, which is a City of *Thracia*. In which year

☛ The *Turks*.

| | |
|---|----|
| I. <i>OTTOMANNUS</i> . | 28 |
| II. <i>Orchanes</i> , he slew his two Brethren. | 22 |
| III. <i>Amurathes</i> , he put out the eyes of <i>Sauces</i> his own Son. | 23 |
| IV. <i>Bajazetes</i> , he slew <i>Solymanus</i> his Brother. | |
| V. <i>Calepinus</i> , The Greek stories made no mention of this <i>Calepinus</i> , the Latine stories say that <i>Calepinus</i> and <i>Orchanes</i> were both one, and that he was slain by <i>Mahumetes</i> his Brother. | 6 |
| VI. <i>Orchanes</i> , whom <i>Moses</i> his Uncle did slay. | |
| VII. <i>Mahumetes</i> 1. He slew <i>Mustaphas</i> his Brother. | 14 |
| VIII. <i>Amurathes</i> 2. He slew <i>Mustaphas</i> his Brother. | 34 |
| IX. <i>Mahumetes</i> 2. He slew his two Brethren <i>Turcinus</i> an infant, and <i>Calepinus</i> . | 37 |
| X. <i>Bajazetes</i> 2. He warred against his Brother <i>Demes</i> , which <i>Demes</i> was afterward poysoned by Pope <i>Alexander</i> 6th. | 33 |
| XI. <i>Zelymus</i> , He poysoned <i>Bajazetes</i> his Father, and his two Brethren <i>Acomates</i> and <i>Corcutus</i> , with all their Children, his own Cousins. | 7 |
| XII. <i>Solymanus</i> , He slew <i>Mustaphas</i> his own Son, and was also the death of <i>Gianger</i> his second Son. | 46 |

and time began all the mischief in *Europe*, as is to be seen before, and this was the year of our Lord 1375. Unto the which year if we add 191. it maketh 1566. according to the Prophecy of the *Apocalyp*s, Chapter 20. where it is prophesied of *Gog* and *Magog*, that they shall compass about the Tents of the Saints, and the welbeloved City, by the which welbeloved City is meant (no doubt) *Europa*; and this was in the year abovesaid 1375. Although touching the precise points of years and times, it is not for us greatly to be requisite therein; but yet where diligence and studious meditation may help to knowledge, I would not wish negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of *Antiochus* and his fellows.

Now what cruelty this *Antiochus* exercised against the people of God, it is manifest in the History of the *Maccabees*; where we read that this *Antiochus* in the 8th year of his Reign, in his second coming to *Jerusalem*, first gave forth in commandment, that all the *Jews* should relinquish the Law of *Moses*, and worship the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, which he set up in the Temple of *Jerusalem*. The Books of *Moses* and of the Prophets he burned. He set Garrisons of Soldiers to ward the Idol. In the City of *Jerusalem* he caused the Feasts and Revels of *Bacchus* to be kept, full of all filth and wickedness. Old Men Women and Virgins, such as would not leave the Law of *Moses*, with cruel torments he murdered. The Mothers that would not circumcise their Children, he slew. The Children that were circumcised he hanged up by the necks. The Temple he spoiled and wasted. The Altar of God, and Candlestick of Gold, with the other orna-

The time of
Antichrist
examined
by Prophe-
cies.

One Anti-
christ pre-
figured ano-
ther.

Apoc. 20.

Mac. lib.
1. cap. 1.
The fur-
ious cruelty
of *Antiochus*
against
Gods peo-
ple.

KING {*Hen. 7.*} Ornaments and Furniture of the Temple, partly he cast out, partly he carried away. Contrary to the Law of God he caused them to offer and to eat Swines flesh. Great murder and slaughter he made of the people, causing them either to leave their law, or to lose their lives. Among whom, besides many other, with cruel torments, he put to death a godly Mother with her seven Sons, sending his cruel Proclamations through the whole Land, that whosoever kept the observances of the Sabbath, and other Rites of the Law, and refused to condescend to his abominations, should be executed. By reason whereof the City of Jerusalem was left void and desolate of all good men, but there was a great number that were contented to follow and obey his idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the King, and became enemies unto their Brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of misery could be shewed in any place, which was not there seen. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus it is historied at large in the Book of *Macchabees*; and Daniel prophesying before of the same, declareth that the people of the Jews deserved no less for their sins and transgressions.

1 Mac. 1. Dan. 9.

Antiochus a figure of the Turk.

Es Lys in Gloss. ordin. c. 1 Macch.

The name of Antichrist, what it containeth.

By consent of all Writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichrist, which was to follow in the later end of the World, and is already come, and worketh what he can against us. Although, as Saint John saith, there have been, and be many Antichrists, as parts and members of the body of Antichrist, which are forerunners; yet to speak of the head and principal Antichrist, and great enemy of Christs Church, he is come in the later end of the world, at what time shall be such tribulation as never was seen before; whereby is meant (no doubt) the Turk, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichrist I do also mean all such, which following the same Doctrine of the Turks, think to be saved by their works and demerits, and not by their Faith only in the Son of God, of what title and profession else soever they be; especially if they use the like force and violence for the same, as he doth, &c.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforesaid, and of the tribulations of the Church in the later times, both of the Jews Church, and also of the Christian Church to come, let us hear and consider the words of Daniel in the 11th Chapter, and also in his 7th Chapter, prophesying of the same as followeth:

Dan. 11. He shall return and fret against the holy Covenant; so shall he do, he shall even return and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy Covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the Sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily Sacrifice, and they shall set up the abominable desolation. And such as wickedly break the Covenant shall flatter with him deceitfully; but the people that do know their God shall prevail and prosper. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days.

Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help, but many shall cleave unto them feignedly. And some of them of understanding shall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out; for there is a time appointed. And the King shall do what him list; he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself against all that is God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods, and shall prosper till the wrath be accomplished, for the determination is made. Neither shall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the desires of women, nor care for any God; for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his place shall he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God whom his Fathers knew not, shall be honour with gold and with silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

Thus shall he do in the holds of Mauzzim with a strange God, whom he shall acknowledge; he shall increase his glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain. And at the end of time shall the King of the South push at him, and the King of the North shall come against him like a whirlwind, with Chariots, and with Horsemen, and with many Ships, and he shall enter into the Country, and shall overflow and pass through. He shall enter also into a pleasant land, and many Countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand,

even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hands also upon the Countrys, and the land of Egypt shall not escape, but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and of the Lybians, and of the black Moors where he shall pass. But the tidings out of the East and the North shall trouble him; and therefore he shall go forth with great wrath to destroy and root out many. And he shall plant the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas in the glorious and holy Mountain, yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

To this place of Daniel above prefixed, might also be added the Prophecy of the said Daniel written in the 7th Chapter, and much tending to the like effect; where he entreating of his Vision of four Beasts (which signifie the four Monarchies) and speaking now of the fourth Monarchy, hath these words:

Dan. 7.

After this, I saw in the visions by night, and behold the fourth beast was grim and horrible, and marvellous strong. It had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue under his feet; and it was unlike the other Beasts that were before it, for it had ten horns. As I considered the horns, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked away. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things, and seemed more stout than the other. Which horn also (when I looked on) made battel with the Saints, and prevailed against them; until the old aged came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the highest, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints should have the Kingdom.

Thus have you heard the plain words of Daniel. In the which as he doth manifestly describe the coming of Antiochus the great adversary, toward the later end of the Jews; so by the same Antiochus is figured also to us the great adversary of Christ, which is the Turk.

Although some there be notwithstanding, which with great learning and judgment do apply this place of Daniel above recited, not to the Turk, but rather to the Pope, and that for six or seven special causes herein touched and noted.

Vide Rodul. Gualt. de Antichristo.

The first is this, That the wicked transgressors of the Covenant shall joyn with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which shall pollute the Tabernacle of strength, and take away the perpetual sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

The first note.

The second note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among the people shall teach many, and that they shall fall upon the sword, into fire and captivity, and shall be banished, whereby they shall be tried, chosen, and made bright and pure, &c. All which (say they) is not among the Turks to be seen, but only in the Popes Church; where the faithful preachers and teachers of the people are slain and burned, and go to wrack, &c. Where likewise it followeth, that they shall be holpen against Antichrist, and that many false brethren should joyn unto them dissemblingly, &c. To this they alledge, that the Christians have no such help against the Turk, whereunto such false brethren should joyn themselves, as is and hath been commonly seen among the Christians against the Pope, from time to time, almost in all Countries; as in Germany by the Protestants, and free Cities; in England in King Henry's time by the Lord Cromwel, and afterward by King Edward, and now by Queen Elizabeth; in Scotland by the godly Nobility; in France, by the Queen of Navar and her Son; and also by the Prince of Condy and the worthy Admiral, and his two brethren, and many others; in Flanders, by them whom the Regent called Beggars; so as was in the time of the Macchabees, against Antiochus.

The 2d note.

Helps of the Christians against the Pope.

Thirdly, That the King shall exalt himself above all that hath the name of God, and shall lift up his mouth to speak presumptuously against God.

The 3d note.

Fourthly, That he careth not for the desires of women; which may seem to note how the Popes Doctrine shall forbid the honest and lawful marriage in Church-men.

The 4th note.

The fifth specialty which they apply to the Pope, is that which followeth in the Prophet saying, Neither shall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor any God; but instead of him shall set up his God Mauzzim, and shall

The 5th note.

Mauzzim the Popes God.

worship him with silver and gold, and precious stone, &c. which they do apply to the Pope, setting up his God of bread, and worshipping him with glistering golden ornaments, and most solemn service.

The sixth Note.

Sixthly, It followeth, *and he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall divide unto them lands and possessions, &c.* meaning that the Pope having dominion over treasures of gold and silver, and all precious things of the land, shall induce his Cardinals, Prelates, his flattering Doctors, with Friars Monks and Priests, and all such as shall take his part, with great privileges, liberties, revenues and possessions. And thus I say, some there be which apply this Prophecy of the seventh and eleventh Chapters of *Daniel* unto the Bishop of Rome. Whom although I take to be an extreme Persecutor of Christs Church; yet I judge rather those two Chapters of *Daniel* concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten horns, and the great destroyer of the pleasant Land and glorious holy Mountain, to mean first *Antiochus*, and by him secondly to mean the great Antichrist, the Turk; who hath now set already the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas, according to the Prophecies of *Daniel*, as is above-said.

The seventh and 11th. Chapters of *Daniel*, mean the great Antichrist, the Turk.

Ezek Chap. 38. 39. Gog and Magog.

Over and besides these Prophecies above alledged, there may be added also the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, cap. 39. speaking of *Gog* and *Magog*; which as it may be applied to the oppression of the Jews under the heathen multitude, which stopped the building of the City, and under the Syrian Kings, &c. yet in the same also are expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christs Church in these later times, under the *Saracens* and the *Turks*, &c.

The Prophecies of the New Testament concerning the Turk. 2 Thel. 2

Proceeding further in this matter, let us come now to the Prophecies of the New Testament, and mark the words of *St. Paul*, writing to the *Thessalonians*, which then were Christened, and now either are *Turkish*, or under the *Turk*, which words be these, *Be ye not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as sent from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing first, and that wicked man be revealed, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, and is exalted above all power, and that which is called God; so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, boasting himself to be God, &c.* Although this defection and departing may have a double understanding, as well of the Popes seat (which is gone and departed from the free justification by faith only in Christ through the promise of Grace) as of the *Turks*; yet leaving a while to speak of the Pope, because it appeareth more notoriously in the *Turk*, we will chiefly apply it to him; in whom so aptly it doth agree, that unless this great defection from faith in so many Churches had hapned by the *Turk*, it had been hard to understand the Apostles mind, which now by the History of these *Turks* is easie and evident to be known, considering what a ruin hath hapned to the Church of Christ by these miserable *Turks*, what Empires, Nations, Kingdoms, Countries, Towns and Cities be removed from the Name and profession of Christ, how many thousands, and infinite multitudes of Christian men and children, in *Asia*, in *Africk*, and in *Europe*, are carried away from Christs Church to *Mahumets* Religion, some to serve for the *Turks* Guard among the *Janizaries*, some for Soldiers, some for Miners, some for Gunners, to fight and war against the Christians; so that the most part of all the Churches, planted once by the Apostles, are now degenerated into *Turks*, only a small handful of Christians reserved yet in these West parts of *Europe*, of the which small residue what shall also become shortly, except Christ himself do help, Christ only himself doth know. How great this defection hath been, spoken of by *St. Paul*, thou mayest see (gentle Reader) in the Table above described.

Vide supra.

The place of Saint Paul, 2 Thel. 2. applied to the Pope.

Notwithstanding this Text of the holy Apostle (as I aforesaid) may be verified also with no less reason upon the Bishop of Rome, than upon the *Turk*, but for that he is a man of sin, that is, his seat and City is a great maintainer of wickedness, and also for that he is an adversary, that is, contrary in all his doings and proceedings to Christ.

Thirdly, For that he sitteth in the Temple of God, and so did not *Mahumet*.

Fourthly, Because he is an exalter of himself, and sitteth more like a god than a man in Rome, whereof see more

in the Book set forth in English, called, *The Contestations of the Popes.* KING Hen. 7.

Fifthly, For that he seduceth, and hath seduced by his Apostasie the most part of all Christendom from the Doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of salvation, which is not to be justified freely before God only by our Faith in Christ his well beloved Son, (unto the which Faith the promise of God freely and graciously hath annexed all our salvation only, and to no other thing) but hath taught us to work our salvation by an infinite number of other things. Inasmuch that he bindeth the necessity of our salvation also to this, that we must believe (if we will be saved) and receive him to be the Vicar of Christ in earth, &c.

Ex Bonifacio Extravag.

But to return again unto the *Turks*, among all the Prophecies both of the Old Testament and of the New, there is none that painteth out the Antichristian Kingdom of the *Turks*, better than doth the *Revelation* of Saint *John*, whose words let us weigh and consider. Who in the *Apocalypf*. 9. where he speaketh of opening the Seventh and last Seal, (which signifieth the last age of the world) and there writing of the Seven Trumpets of the Seven Angels, at the sounding of the Sixth Angel saith, *Loose the four Angels which are bound in the great River Euphrates. And the four Angels were loosed, which were ready both day, and hour, and month, and year, to slay the third part of men. And the number of Horsemen were twenty thousand times ten thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw in a vision horses, and them that sat on them, having fiery Habergions, and of Jacinth-stone, and of Brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouths went forth fire, and smoke, and brimstone; of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoke, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouths, &c.* Apoc. 9.

By the Seventh Seal is meant the seventh and last Age of the World, which last Age of the World is from Christ to the Judgment and Resurrection of the Dead. The Seven Trumpets of the Seven Angels in the Apocalypf expounded.

By the Seven Angels with their Seven Trumpets is signified the seven Plagues that come in this seventh and last Age of the World.

By the Sixth Trumpet of the sixth Angel is meant the sixth Plague coming last and next before the Plague of the great Judgment-day, which sixth Plague is here described to come by the East Kings, that is, by the *Turks*, as followeth to be seen. The sixth Trumpet.

By loosing the Angels which had rule of the great River *Euphrates*, is signified the letting out of the East Kings, that is, the *Turks* out of *Scythia*, *Tartaria*, *Persia*, and *Arabia*, by whom the third part of Christendom shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to pass. Looking of the Angels upon the river Euphrates.

It followeth in the Prophecy, *Their power shall be in their mouths, and in their tails. For their tails shall be like Serpents, having heads, and with them they hurt, &c.* Meaning that these *Turks* with the words of their mouths shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword, to them that will not yield unto them, and in the end, when the Christians shall yield unto them, trusting to their promises, they like Serpents shall deceive them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the story of the *Turks* above past. Apoc. 9.

The like Prophecy also, after the like words and sense, is to be seen and read in the sixteenth Chapter of the *Apocalypf*, where Saint *John* entreating of seven Cups filled with the wrath of the Living God, given to the hands of seven Angels, by one of the four Beasts (that is, in the time of one of the four Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of Rome) speaketh likewise of the sixth Angel, which poured his vial of Gods wrath upon the great River *Euphrates*, and the waters thereof dried up, that the way of the Kings of the East should be prepared, &c. Apoc. 16. The Four Beasts in the Apocalypf mean the four Monarchies.

By the sixth Angel with the sixth Vial is meant, as before the last Plague save one that shall come upon the Christians. By the Kings of the East are meant the *Saracens*,

KING } Saracens, and twelve Ottoman Turks. By drying up the
Hm. 7. River of Euphrates, is signified the way of these Turks to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the East to the West parts of the World, to molest and afflict the Christians. It followeth more in the Text. And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, for they are the spirits of devils, doing wonders, to go unto the Kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together to the battel against the day of the great God omnipotent, &c. And it followeth shortly after, And he assembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrew Armageddon, that is, a trap or train of destruction. And immediately it followeth in the same place, And the seventh Angel poured out his Vial in the air, and a mighty voice came from Heaven, out of the Throne, saying, factum est, it is done or finished, &c. Whereby it is to be understood, that toward the last consummation of the World great force shall be seen, and a mighty Army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the People and Saints of the highest, and then cometh the consummation, with factum est, &c.

The Kings of the East, Drying up of Euphrates. Ibidem.

Ibidem. An exhortation of the Holy Ghost to the faithful.

Apoc. 13. The Prophecy of Apoc. 13. discussed.

The Beast having horns like the Lamb, must needs mean the Pope.

The first reason.

Ex Bonifac. 8. Extra. de Majoris. & obed.

The second reason. { ANNO } 1553

Vide supra.

Wherefore it is not for nought that the holy Spirit of God in the same place, a little before the sixth Angel doth pour out his Vial, doth exhort all the faithful, saying, Behold, I come like a thief in the night, Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness, &c.

Nicholas de Lyra, and Paulus Bishop of Burdens, and Matthias Dorinke writing upon the 13th Chapter of the Apocalyps, and expounding the mytery of the second Beast rising out of the earth, having the horns of a Lamb, &c. do apply the same to Mahomet and the Turks, with a solemn Declaration made upon the same. Which interpretation of theirs, although in some points it may seem to have some appearance of probability, neither can it be denied but that Mahomet and the Turk be pestilent and picked enemies of Christ our Lord, and most bitter Persecutors of his Church; yet as touching the proper and natural meaning of the Apostle in that place, speaking of the false Lamb, &c. if we consider well all the circumstances of that Beast, and mark the consequence of the Text, both of that which goeth before and followeth after, we must needs grant, that Nicholas de Lyra with his fellows, and with all such like of the Popes School that follow that School, be deceived, and that the description and interpretation of that false horned Lamb must necessarily be applied only to the Bishop of Rome, and none other, which is to be proved by six principal causes or arguments.

The first is, for that this Beast is described to bear the horns of a Lamb; By the which Lamb, no doubt, is meant Christ. By the horns of the Lamb is signified the outward shew or resemblance of Christ our Saviour; which shew or resemblance can have no relation to Mahomet, for that he taketh himself to be above Christ, and Christ as an excellent Prophet of God sitting at his feet. Wherefore seeing Mahomet cometh neither as equal to Christ, nor as Vicar under Christ, this Prophecy cannot agree to him, but only to him which openly in plain words protesteth, that all Christs Lambs and Sheep not singularly, but universally through the whole world, are committed to him as Vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, and that all men must confess the same of necessity, or else they are none of Christs sheep, &c. Wherein it is easie to see where the pretended horns of the Lamb do grow.

The second Argument, And he spake like the Dragon, &c. A Lambs Horns and the Mouth of a Dragon do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any person, either Turk or other (if we judge truly) so lively, as in the Bishop of Rome. When thou hearest him call himself The Apostolical Bishop, The Vicar of Christ, The Successor of Peter, The Servant of Gods Servants, &c. Thou seest in him the two Horns of a Lamb, and wouldst think him to be a Lamb in deed, and such a one as would wash your feet for humility; but hear him speak, and you shall find him a Dragon. See and read the Epistle of Pope Martin the Fifth above mentioned, charging, commanding, and threatening Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Mar-

queses, Earls, Barons, Knights, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls with their Shires, Counties and Universities of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages, and other places. See the answer of Pope Urban the second, and his message to King William Rufus. Behold the works and doings of Pope Innocent against King John.

Note also the answer of another Pope to the King of England, which for the price of the Kings Head would not grant unto him the investing of his Bishops. Mark well the words and doings of Pope Hildebrand against the Emperor Henry the fourth; also of Pope Alexander the second, treading upon the neck of Fredericus Barbarossa, not like a Lamb treading upon a Dragon, but like a Dragon treading upon a Lamb; so that his own Verbe might be turned upon himself, Tanquam aspis & basiliscus super oviculam ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco concilians agnum. Consider moreover the behaviour, manner, condition, and property almost of all the Popes which have been these six hundred years, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous than their own doings and words can speak and give testimony against themselves.

It followeth moreover in the same Prophecy of the Apocalyps for the third Argument, And he doth all the power of the first Beast presently before his face, and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to honour the first Beast, the stripe of whose deadly wound was cured, &c.

In this Prophecy two things are to be noted; first, what the first Beast is, whose power the second Beast doth execute. Secondly, what this second Beast is which so doth exercise his power in his sight. The first of these Beasts in the Apocalyps described, having seven heads and ten horns, must needs signifie the City of Rome, which may easily be proved by two demonstrations. First, by the exposition of the 17 Chapter of the same Apocalyps, where is declared and described the said Beast to stand of seven Hills, and to contain ten Kings, having the whole power of the Dragon given; and also the same City to be named The Whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of the Saints. All which properties joyned together, can agree in no wise but only to the Heathen Empire of Rome, which City at that time of writing these Prophecies had the government of the whole world. The second demonstration or evidence may be reduced out of the number of the Months assigned to this Beast, Apoc. 13. For so it is written, that this Beast had power to make, that is, to work his malice against Christs people forty two months, which months counted by Sabbaths of years, (that is, every month for seven years) maketh up the just number of those years, in which the Primitive Church was under the terrible Persecutions of the Heathen Emperors of Rome, as is afore specified.

Which thing thus standing, proved and confessed, that the first Beast must needs signifie the Empire and City of Rome, then must it necessarily follow that the second Beast with the Lambs Horns, must signifie the Bishop and Pope of the same City of Rome. The reason whereof is evident and apparent by that which followeth in the Prophecy, where it is declared, that the second Beast, having two Horns of a Lamb, received and exercised all the power of the first Beast, before or in the sight of the said Beast, which cannot be verified either in the Turks or in any other, but only in the Pope of Rome, who (as you see) receiveth, usurpeth and deriveth to himself all the power of that City and Monarchy of Rome; inasmuch that he saith, that when Constantine or Ludovicus yielded unto him the rule and Kingdom of that City, he gave him but his own, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

And this authority or power over all the Empire of Rome he worketh not in Asia, or in Constantinople as the Turk doth, but in the sight of the Beast which gave him the power, that is, in the City of Rome it self, which is the first Beast here in this Prophecy of the Apocalyps described.

Fourthly, It followeth more, And he causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worship and honour the first Beast, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c. The interpretation of this part, as also of all the other parts

The Pope hath the horns of a Lamb, but the mouth of a Dragon.

The third reason.

The two Beasts in the 13th chap. of the Apocalyps expounded.

A description of the City and Monarchy of Rome.

The description of the Beast with the 3 Horns of the Lamb, Apoc. 13.

The Pope having all the rule and power of Rome.

parts of the same Chapter, standeth upon the definition of the first Beast; for it being granted, as cannot be denied, that the first Beast signifieth the City and Empire of Rome; it must consequently follow, that the Bishop (whom we call the Pope) of the said City of Rome, must be understood by the second Beast, forasmuch as neither Turk nor any other, but only the Bishop of Rome hath holden up the estimation and dignity of that City, which began to be in ruine and decay by the Vandals, Goths, Herulians and Lombards, about the year of our Lord 456, but afterward by the Bishop of Rome the pristine state and honour of that City revived again, and flourished in as great veneration as ever it did before. And that is it which the Holy Ghost seemeth here to mean of the first Beast, saying, *That he had a wound of the Beast, and was cured.* For so it followeth.

The 5th reason.

Fifthly, *And he caused all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beast, which had the stripe of the sword and lived. And it was given to him to give life to the image of the beast, and to make the image thereof to speak, and to cause all them that worshipped not the image of the beast, to be killed; forcing all persons, both little and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand, and in their foreheads, and that none might buy or sell, but they which had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name, &c.*

Rome almost dead.

Rome called Odacria.

By giving life to the image of the beast, and making it to speak, is to be presupposed that the beast was at a near point of death, and lay speechless before, inasmuch that the City of Rome began to lose and change his name, and was called a while Odacria, of Odacer King of the Herulians, which by dint of sword surprised the Romans; and yet notwithstanding, by the means of this Roman Prelate, the said City of Rome, which was then ready to give up the ghost, recovered his majesty and strength again, that it is hard to say, whether Rome did ever ruffle and rage in his tyranny before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and other Emperors, more tragically, than it hath done under the Pope; or whether that Rome had all Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all subjects more under obedience and subjection, when the Emperors reigned, or now in the reign of the Pope. And therefore it is said not without cause of the Holy Ghost,

To give life to the image of the beast. The image of Rome speaketh again as cruelly as ever it did.

That it is given to him, to give life and speech to the image of the beast, causing all them to be slain which will not worship the image of the beast, &c. As for example hereof, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of Christian Men, Women and Children in all Countries hath been put to fire and sword? Stories of all times will declare, what havock hath been made of Christian blood about the preeminence and majority of the See of Rome; what Churches and Countries, both Greeks and Latines, have been excommunicated; what Kings have been deposed, and Emperors stripped from their Imperial Seat, and all because they would not stoop and bend to the Image of the Beast, that is, to the Majesty and Title of Rome, advanced up so highly now by the Bishop thereof, as it was never higher before in the Reign of Nero or Dioclesian. Wherefore taking the first Beast to signify the Empire of Rome, which cannot be denied, it is plain, that the second Beast must necessarily be applied to the Pope and not to the Turk, forasmuch as the Turk seeketh nothing less than the advancement of that Empire, but rather striveth against it to pluck it down.

The 6th reason. The number of the name of the Beast discussed.

666. The number of the name of the Beast discussed. 666. The number of the name of the Beast discussed.

The sixth and last argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the Beast, exprest by the Holy Ghost in the same Prophecy, by the Letters $\chi \xi \varsigma$. In which letters, although there lieth great darkness and difficulty to be understood, yet certain ancient Fathers which were Disciples and hearers of them which heard St. John himself, as Irenaeus and other, do expound the said Letters conjecturally, to contain the name of the Beast, and to be the name of a man under this word $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\mu$: Whereas else, no other name lightly of any person, either in Greek or Latine, will agree to the same, save only the foresaid named $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\mu$. Although some later Writers, giving their conjectures upon the same, do find the name of Lateranus in Hebrew Letters to answer to the same number. Some feign other names, as $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\mu$ or $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon$, made words,

which signify nothing, as *Dioclux*, or *Luduic*, by Roman Letters, &c. But of all names properly signifying any man, none cometh so near to the number of this Mystery, (if it go by order of Letters (as doth the word $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\mu$ afore-said. And thus much by the way, and occasion of Nicholas de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Dorinkus, the Author of *Fortalium fidei*, and other Commentaries more of the same Faction; who writing upon this thirteenth Chapter of the *Apocalyp*, and not considering the circumstances thereof, both are deceived themselves, and deceive many other, applying that to the Turk, which cannot otherwise be verified, but only upon the Pope, as may appear sufficiently by the premises. Not that I write this of any mood or malice, either to the City of Rome, or to the person of the Bishop as being Gods creature; but being occasioned here to entreat of the Prophecies against the Turks, I would wish the Readers not to be deceived, but rightly to understand the simple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof, being bolted out, it may be the better known what Prophecies directly make against these Turks, what otherwise.

In the which Prophecies against the Turks, now to proceed, let us come to the 20th Chapter of the *Apocalyp*, wherein the holy Scripture seemeth plainly and directly to notify the said Turks. The words of the Prophecy be these.

And I saw an Angel descending from Heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he took the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satanas, and bound him up for a thousand years, and cast him into the pit, and sealed him up, that he should not seduce the people any more, till the thousand years were expired; and after that he must be let loose for a little while, &c. Apoc. 20.

And it followeth after, *And when the thousand years shall be complete, Satanas shall be let out of his dungeon, and shall go abroad to seduce the people, which are on the four corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to assemble them to battle, whose number is like to the sands of the Sea. And they went up upon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the tents of the Saints, and the well-beloved Cities, &c.*

To the perfect understanding of this Prophecy, three things are necessary to be known. First, what is meant by binding up, and loosing out of Satan as the old Dragon. Secondly, at what time and year first he was chained up and sealed for a thousand years. Thirdly, at what year and time these thousand years did end, when as he should be loosed out again for a little season. Which three points being well examined and marked, the Prophecy may easily be understood directly to be meant of the Turk. Albeit Anagogically some part thereof may also be referred not unproperly unto the Pope, as is above notified.

First, by binding and loosing of *Satanas* seemeth to be meant the ceasing and staying of the cruel and horrible Persecution of the Heathen Emperors of Rome against the true Christians, as is to be seen in *The Ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church* above described in the former part of these *Acts and Monuments*, in the which most bloody Persecutions, *Satanas* the Devil then raged without all measure, till the time it pleased Almighty God to stop this old Serpent, and to tie him shorter. And thus have you to understand what is meant by the binding up of Satan for a thousand years; whereby is signified, that the Persecution against the Christians stirred up by the Beast (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the instigation of Satan) shall not always continue, but shall break up after a certain time, and shall cease for a thousand years, &c.

Now at what time and year this Persecution, that is, the fury and rage of Satan should cease, is also declared in the *Apocalyp* before; where in the 11 and 13 Chapters we read, that the Beast afore mentioned shall have power to work his malice and mischief the space of 42 months, and no more, and then that Satan should be locked up for a thousand years. The computation of which months, being counted by Sabbaths of years (after the example of the sixty nine Weeks of *Daniel*, Chapter 11.) it doth bring us to the just year and time, when that terrible Persecution in the Primitive Church should end, and so it did.

KING 7. Hen. 7. Nichol. de Lyra, and other Popish Writers, received in the 13th Chapter of the Apoc.

The Binding and loosing out of Satan examined. 3 things to be noted in this Prophecy.

What is meant by binding up of Satan.

The time of binding up of Satan.

Apoc. xv. 13. 42 months in the Apoc. declared.

{ KING } did. For, give to every month a Sabbath of years, that is, reckon every month for seven years, and that maketh 294 years, which was the full time between the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*, (under whom Christ suffered) and the death of *Maxentius* the last Persecutor of the Primitive Church in Europe, subdued by *Constantinus*, as may appear by the calculating the years, months and days between the said year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the later end of *Maxentius*; and so have you the supputation of the year and time when Satan was first bound up, after he had raged in the Primitive Church two and forty months. Which months, as is said, being counted by Sabbaths of years, after the usual manner of the Scripture, amount to 294 years; and so much was the full time between the Passion of our Lord, which was in the 18th year of *Tiberius*, unto the last year of *Maxentius*.

And here by the way cometh a note to be observed, That forasmuch as by the number of these 42 months specified in the *Apocalyp*s, the Empire of *Rome* must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast; therefore it must by like necessity follow, the Bishop of *Rome* to be the second beast, with the two Horns of the Lamb, for that he only hath and doth cause the said Empire of *Rome* to revive and to be magnified, and so doth not the *Turk*, but rather labourereth to the contrary. Wherefore let every Christian man be wise, and beware betime how he taketh the mark of the Beast, lest peradventure it follow upon him, that he drink of that terrible Cup of wrath mentioned, *Apoc.* chap. 14.

Thirdly, It remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this foresaid Prophecie, that as we have found out (through the help of Christ) the year and time of Satans binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his loosing out, which by the testimony of Scripture was approved to be a thousand years after his binding up, and rightly according to the time appointed it came to pass. For if we number well by the Scripture the year of his binding up, which was from the Passion of our Lord 294 years, and add thereto a thousand years, it mounteth to 1294; which was the very year when *Ottomannus* the first *Turk* began his Reign, which was the first spring and Well-head of all these woful calamities that the Church of Christ hath felt both in *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*, almost these 300 years past. For so we find in Chronicles, that the Kingdom of the *Turks* being first divided into four Families, Anno 1280. at length the Family of *Ottomannus* prevailed, and thereupon came these whom we now call *Turks*, which was about the same time when Pope *Boniface* the 8th was Bishop of *Rome*.

Where by the way, this is again to be noted, that after the decree of Transubstantiation was enacted in the Council of *Laterane* by Pope *Innocent* the third, the year of our Lord 1251, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1260, was stirred up the Power and Arms of the *Oguzians*, and of *Orthogules* Father of *Ottomannus*, who about the year of our Lord 1294, began first to vex the Christians about *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and so beginning his Kingdom, Anno 1300, reigned 28 years, as is afore mentioned.

Mention was made before of *Ezekiel* prophesying against *Gog*, whose words divers Expositors do apply against the *Turk*, and are these, *Thou shalt come from thy place out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding upon horses, a great and a mighty army, and thou shalt come up against my people of Israel as a cloud, to cover the Land. Thou shalt be in the later days, and I will bring thee upon my land, that the Heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes. Thus saith the Lord God, Art not thou he, of whom I have spoken in the old time by the hand of my servants the Prophets of Israel, that prophesied in those days and years, that I would bring thee upon them? At the same time also when Gog shall come against the Land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger, for in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken it. Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the heaven, the beasts of the field, and all that move and creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the earth shall tremble at my presence; the mountains shall be overthrown; the stars shall fall, and every man shall fall to the ground, &c.*

The Prophecies of Methodius, Hildegardis, and other concerning the Reign and Ruine of the Turks.

UNTO these testimonies above excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let us add also the Prophetical Revelations of *Methodius*, *Hildegardis*, *Sibylla*, and others. This *Methodius* is thought of some to be the same *Methodius* of whom *Hierom* and *Suidas* make mention; which was Bishop first of *Olympus* in *Licia*, then of *Tyrus*, and suffered Martyrdom in the last Persecution of the Primitive Church under *Dioclesian*. Unto whom also *Trithemius* attributeth the Book entituled *De quatuor novissimis temporibus*. But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said *Methodius* doth cite and alledge the Master of Sentences, namely, in his second Book, and sixth Distinction, which Master of Sentences followed more than a thousand year after Christ; besides certain other fabulous matters contained in the same Book. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things concerning the state of the Church under Antichrist, and the Reformation of Religion, as seemeth rightly to come to pass, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraud the Reader thereof, leaving the credit of the Author to his Arbitrement, to esteem and judge of him as he seeth cause. Among divers other places of *Methodius*, prophesying of the later time, these words do follow. *After that the children of Ishmael had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the desert aforesaid, they came out of the Wilderness of Araby, and entered into the habitable land, and fought with the Kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promise, and the land was filled with them. And after 70 Weeks, and half of their power wherewith they have subdued all the Kingdoms of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted, seeing themselves so to have prevailed, and to have conquered all things, &c. And afterward it followeth of the same matter in this sort.*

It shall come to pass that the said Seed of Ishmael shall issue out and obtain the whole World, with the Regions thereof, in the entering of peace, from the Land of Egypt unto Ethiopia; and from the Flood Euphrates unto India; and from the River Tygris to the entering of Nabat, the Kingdom of Jonithus, the Son of Noah; and from the North unto Rome and Illyricum, Egypt and Thessalonica, and Albania, and so forth to the Sea Ponticum, which divideth the said Kingdoms from Germany and France; and their yoke shall be double upon the necks of all Nations and Gentiles; neither shall there be Nation or Kingdom under Heaven, which shall be able to stand against them in Battel, until the number of eight weeks of years, &c.

* Briefly, as in a grofs summe, this shall suffice, to admonish the Reader touching the meaning and method of *Methodius* Prophecies, which *Methodius*, first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christs Church, maketh mention of the Seed of *Ishmael*, which coming out of the parts and Deserts of *Araby*, shall destroy (saith he) and vanquish the whole earth. So that the Christians shall be given of God to the hands of the filthy Barbarians, to be slain, polluted, and captived; *Perlia*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, the East parts, *Asia*, *Spain*, all *Grecia*, *France*, *Germania*, *Agathonia*, *Sicilia*. The Romans also shall be slain and put to flight: also the Islands of the Seas shall be brought to desolation and to captivity, and put to the sword. The which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure; the ransom of Gold and Silver and other exactions intolerable, but especially the dwellers of *Egypt* and *Syria* shall be most in the affliction of those times: And *Jerusalem* shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captivity, from the four Winds which are under Heaven. So that Beasts also, and Fowls, and Fish in the water, and the waters of the Sea shall be to them obedient. Cities and Towns, which were before full of people, shall be laid waste. Women with child shall be ript; their children sticked, Infants taken from their Mothers, and cast in the Streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and Sage of the People shall be slain, and thrown out to the Beasts. Churches shall be spoiled; the Priests destroyed; Virgins deflowered, and

Supputati-
on of years
between the
beginning
and ending
of the per-
secutions in
the Primi-
tive Church.

Vide supra.

The Pope
proved to
be the 2d
Beast men-
tioned in
the *Apoc.* 13

Et hic bibet
de vino ire
Dni Apo. 14.

The 3d part
of the Pro-
phesy for
the loosing
out of Satan

The begin-
ning of the
Turks Pro-
geny.

The time of
Transub-
stantiation.
The time of
the Turks.

Ex Lemico
Chalcondyla
lib. 1.

The Pro-
phesy of
Ezek. c. 38.

Methodius
Prophe-
cies.

The Book
of Methodi-
us mistaken.

The Pro-
phesies of
Methodius
concerning
the Turks.

Eight weeks
of years,
counting e-
very week
for a Sab-
bath of
years, that
is, every day
for a year,
cometh to
56 years.
The 1st state
or alterati-
on of time
concerning
the coming
of the Sara-
cens.

Christians
plagued by
the Sara-
cens.

men compelled to sell their children, and the coming of them shall be chastisement without mercy, and with them shall go their four plagues, Captivity, Destruction, Perdition, and Desolation: with much more, which for brevity I overpass. And this affliction, saith he, shall last eight weeks, or Sabbaths of years, which I take to signifie eight hundred years, &c.

The second state or alteration of the Christians relieved of their plagues and tribulations

Christians abusing Gods benefits.

The third alteration by the coming of the Turks.

The reign of Christian Kings in Hierusalem lasted 88 years. Ann. 1187. By this resigning up the Crown to the Crucifix in Golgotha, is signified the ceasing of the Christians in Hierusalem till the coming of Christ. By this Tribe of Dan, and the City Chorofaim Bethsaida, and Capernaum, to signify Gods great malediction upon Antichrist.

The destruction of Antichrist.

Secondly, After these terrible Plagues thus described by Methodius upon the Christians, which he saith shall fall upon them for their wicked abominations recited in the first and second Chapter of Saint Paul to the Romans; the said Methodius afterward, in this great distress of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of relief, declarereth and speaketh of a certain King of the Greeks or Romans, which shall restore peace again to the Christians. In which peace they shall reedifie the Cities and Mansions again; the Priests shall be delivered from their grievances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations, and then shall the King of the Romans dwell in the City of Hierusalem a week or Sabbath, and a half of times, &c.

Thirdly, During the time of this peace the said Methodius saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and careless life; and then according to the words of the Apostle, saying, When they shall say, Peace, peace, sudden destruction shall fall upon them: Then (saith he) shall be opened the Gates of the North, and the beastly people shall break in, which King Alexander the Great did close up within two mountains, making his prayer unto the Lord God, that he would bind up that bestial and execrable people, lest with their filthy and detestable pollutions they should come out and pollute the holy Land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commanded them to be inclosed within two mountains in the North parts, to the deepness of twelve cubits, (which signifieth peradventure 1200 years) so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means they could get out, or any might come unto them, until the time of the Lord appointed, which are (saith he) the later times, and then according to the Prophecy of Ezechiel, in the latter time of the consummation of the world, God and Magog out from the North shall come forth into the land of Israel, and shall work all this mischief against Christians above recited. And then (saith Methodius), proceeding in his Prophecies) shall the King of the Romans, after he hath reigned in Jerusalem a Sabbath of times, and a half, that is, (saith Methodius) ten years and a half, take the Crown from his head, and yield it up to the Cross in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the Cross with the Crown shall be taken into Heaven, which shall not appear again before the coming of the Lord.

Fourthly, It followeth then moreover in the Prophecies of Methodius, which declarereth that when the week or Sabbath, and half week of times shall end, and when the King of Romans shall give up his Crown in Jerusalem, and die, Then immediately shall Antichrist the son of perdition begin to appear, and be born in Jewry, of the Tribe of Dan, whereof also came Judas Iscariot, and he shall be born (saith Methodius) in Chorofaim, and shall be bred in Bethsaida, and shall reign in Capernaum; to the which three Cities, Christ the Lord gave his third Væ. And when great tribulation shall increase and multiply in the days of this Antichrist, and all Lordship and Dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithful and dear servants, Enoch and Hely, to reprove and detect the false seducing and lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all men; so that the people seeing themselves falsely beguiled and seduced by this son of perdition, coming out of the Temple dissemblingly, to the destruction of many, shall leave and flee from him, and joyn themselves to the said two holy Prophets. Which son of perdition and Antichrist seeing his proceedings so to be reprovèd, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two Prophets of God. And then shall appear (saith Methodius) the sign of the coming of the Son of Man, and he shall come in the clouds of Heavenly glory, and shall destroy the enemy with the spirit of his mouth, &c.

INTERPRETATION.

{ KING
Hen. 7. }

TO these Prophecies and testimonies of Methodius, what credit is to be given, I leave it to the Reader. But if the meaning of his Prophecies go by such order of times as is set and disposed in his Book; he seemeth to describe unto us four principal states and alterations of times to come.

The first state and alteration is by Mahomet and the Saracens, which be the off-spring and Sons of Ismael, coming out of Arabie in the time of Heraclius Emperor of Constantinople, Ann. 630, which rebelling against Heraclius increased and prevailed still more and more against the Christians both in Asia and Africa, and also in many places in Europe, especially in Spain and Italy.

The second state and alteration he prophesieth to come by the Turk, which first coming out of the far parts of Scythia, that is, out of the North, first overcame the Saracens, subdued the Persians, and afterward joyning together with the Saracens, conquered the Kingdom of Hierusalem, about the year of our Lord 1187, then subdued Syria and most part of Asia, &c. And these be they which Methodius seemeth to mean of, speaking of the vile and miserable people closed up of the Lord God, at the intercession of Alexander the great Captain in the North, between two mountains the deepness of twelve cubits, lest that filthy corrupt Nation should pollute the earth with their wickedness. Whereby are meant these Turks, which coming out from the uttermost parts of the North, that is, out of Scythia, and the Mountains of Caucasus, or else Imaus, were with-holden and kept back of Almighty God for Christs cause, that they might not harm his Church a long space, during the time of twelve hundred years; yea, and then the sins of the Christians so deserving, they were permitted of Almighty God to break out, and to invade the Church; who now joyning together with the Saracens, have wrought and daily do work, all these grievances against our Christian Brethren; as we see this day is come to pass, and more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

Moreover, in the mean space, between the reign of the Saracens and the Turks, where Methodius speaketh of the King of Romans, which should restore quietness to the Church, and should reign in Hierusalem a Sabbath of times, and half a Sabbath; thereby seemeth to be understood the Voyage of Christian Princes out of the West-parts of Europe, under Gotfridus Duke of Lotharing, and his two Brethren, and many other Christian Princes, with 300000 Footmen, and 100000 Horsemen; who fighting against the Saracens, recovered again from them the City of Hierusalem, in the year of our Lord 1099, which City before had been in their possession the term of 490 years. After which Victory got, first Gotfridus, then Baldwinus his Brother, and other after them, to the number of nine Christian Kings reigned in Jerusalem the space of eighty eight years, and after that through the discord of the Christians not agreeing amongst themselves, both Hierusalem and Syria, with other parts of Asia besides, were subdued and won of the Turks, which to this day they keep still. And this was in the year of our Lord 1187.

About which year and time (as followeth in Methodius) when the City of Hierusalem shall be won of the Turks, then shall Antichrist begin to be born of the Tribe of Dan, of whom came Judas Iscariot, and shall be born in Chorofaim, and bred in Bethsaida, and reign in Capernaum; meaning that this Antichrist or son of perdition shall be full of Gods malediction, noted by Judas Iscariot, and these three Cities against whom were spoken thrice Væ of the Lord.

And here is moreover to be noted, that Methodius saith not that Antichrist shall be born among the Saracens or Turks, but among the people of God, and of the Tribe of Israel. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichrist shall not come of the Saracens, nor Turks, but shall come up among the Christians, and (saith Methodius) shall seem to come out of the Temple, to deceive many, &c. Whereby the Pope may seem, rather than the Saracen or the Turk, to be described, forso much as the Pope being elected, nourished and reigning in the midst of Gods people at Rome, sitteth in the Temple, and very place of Christ, and (no doubt) deceiveth many, &c.

The Interpretation.

The coming of the Saracens.

The coming of the Turks.

Scythia junctura Caucasum

Victory of the Christians against the Saracens. Ex Paulo Jo. The City of Hierusalem recovered by the Christians from the Saracens. Hierusalem possessed of the Christians 88 years. Hierusalem won from the Christians by the Turks, Ann. 1187.

The coming and marks of Antichrist described.

And

KING
Hn. 7.
The time of
Antichrist.

Petrus Lombardus.
Gratianus.
Innocent. 3.
Transubstantiation.
The first Persecution by the Church of Rome.
Dominick Frier Francis.
Ex Antonin. part 3. tit. 19 cap. 1.
The Orders of Friars began.

The Pope exalting himself above Kings and Emperors.

Notes of Antichrist.

And now to come to the time assigned of *Methodius*, here is to be added also, that which we read in *Antoninus*, *Par. 3.* that about this said present time, a certain Bishop of *Florence* preached that Antichrist was then coming. But the Pope commanded him to keep silence, and to speak no more thereof. Now why the Pope so did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichrist, I refer it to them which list to muse more upon the matter. This is certain, that about this time here assigned by *Methodius*, came *Petrus Lombardus*, *Gratianus*, and Pope *Innocent the Third*, the first Authors and Patrons of Transubstantiation. At which time also began the first Persecution by the Church of *Rome* against the *Albigenses* or *Waldenses*, about *Tolous*, *Bitures*, and *Avinion*. Of whom 17000 the same time were slain, by the Popes Crossed Soldiers. Among whom Frier *Dominick* was then the chiefest doer. About which time also was Frier *Francis*, of which two came the two Orders of Begging Friars: all which began much about one time together, *Ann. 1215*, which were near within twenty years after the Kingdom of the Christians was taken of the *Turks*, according to the Prophecie above said.

It followeth moreover in *Methodius*, That in his time all Lordship and Domination shall cease and give over, &c. The verity whereof we see now accomplished in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double Sword and Triple Crown doth come, there all Secular power must give place, both Emperors, Kings and Princes must stoop.

So King *John* yielded up his Crown to *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate, and was in his hands five days, *Ann. 1217*.

Childerick the French King had his Crown taken from him, and given to *Pepin*, *Ann. 747*.

Henry the Fourth Emperor, was forced to submit himself and his Scepter to Pope *Hildebrand*, *Ann. 1077*.

Fredericus Barbarossa Emperor, in *St. Marks Church* in *Venice*, was fain to lay down his neck under Pope *Alexanders* feet, *Ann. 1277*. Which *Frederick* also before was fain to hold the Stirrop to Pope *Adrian*, &c.

What should I speak of the Ambassador of *Venice*, named *Franciscus Dandulus*? who being sent to Pope *Clement the Fifth*, was made to lye under the Popes Table like a Dog, and gather up the Crumbs, mentioned in *Sabell. Ann. 9. Lib. 7.*

Henry the Third being Emperor, had his Diadem first set on with the feet of the Pope, and afterward stroken off from his head with the Popes foot again.

And what shall I speak more hereof? when as *Carolus Magnus* submitted himself so low to kiss the feet of Pope *Leo*, *Ann. 800*.

It followeth then in the Prophecy of *Methodius*, That in the tribulation of those days shall be sent from God two special Prophets, *Enoch* and *Hely*, to reprove and disclose the fraudulent falsehood of Antichrist, and that many seeing his delusion, shall forsake him, and follow them: Whereat Antichrist being grieved, shall kill them, &c.

We never read yet in any story of any such two Prophets to be sent either to the *Saracens*, or to the *Turks*: whereas against the Pope we read *John Hus*, and *Hierome of Prague*, two learned Martyrs and Prophets of God to have been sent, and to have reprov'd and described the Anatomy of Antichrist, and at last to have been burned for their labour. And what Prophet can speak more plainly, either *Enoch* or *Hely*, than did *Hierome of Prague*, prophecying of the coming of *Martin Luther*, an hundred years after him? when the Pope and his fellows should answer to God and to him. The time we see came just. Now let the Pope see with his fellows, what answer they can make.

Enoch and *Hely*.
John Hus and *Hierome* of *Prague*.
Vid. in primo Tom. operum
Joan. Hus
de Anathematis Hierome of Prague a Prophet and a Martyr.

The true Plate of Hus and Jerome, among the Bohemians.



The nearness of the Lords judgment.

It followeth further in *Methodius*, concluding his Prophecie, And then (saith he) shall appear the coming of the son of man in the clouds of Heaven, with celestial glory, &c.

Wherefore after the burning of these two notable Prophets, with many other thousands burned also since their time by the Bishop of *Rome*, it is to be thought that the coming of Christs judgment in the clouds, is not far off. *Veni cito Domine, Amen.*

And thus much touching *Methodius*, of whose Prophecies, how much or how little is to be esteemed, I leave it indifferent unto the Reader. For me it shall suffice simply to have recited his words, as I find them in his Book contained; noting this by the way, that of this Book of *Methodius*, *De novissimis temporibus*, neither *Hierome* in his Catalogue, nor *Suidas*, nor yet *Aventinus* in the place where he intreateth purposely of such Prophecies, maketh any mention.

As touching *Hildegardis* and *Brigit*, and other whom the French call *Bardi*, for their Songs and Prophectical Verses, sufficient hath been alledged before out of *Aventinus*: who in his third Book of *Chronicles*, writing of the testimonies of *Hildegard*, *Brigit* and *Bardi*, seemeth to ground upon them, That the *Turks*, whether we will or not, shall have their Imperial seat at *Colen*; and I pray God that it come not to pass, that the *Turk* do give some attempt against *England* by the Seas, before that he come to *Colen* by land.

Brevity causeth me to cut off many testimonies and revelations of these above said, or else I could here rehearse the

Prophectical words of *Brigit*, *Lib. 4. Cap. 57.* concerning the City and Church of *Rome*, which as the faith, must be purged and scoured with three things, to wit, with sharp sword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that City, as one that removeth plants out of one place unto another: and finally that the City of *Rome* shall sustain the sentence, as if a Judge should command the skin to be slain off, the blood to be drawn from the flesh to be cut in small pieces, and the bones thereof to be broken, so that all the marrow may be quised from the same, &c. But for brevity I let *Brigit* pass, and will declare something out of *Erythrea Sibylla*, in her Book of Prophecies found in *St. Georges Church* in *Venice*; where the prophecying many thing of the Birth of Christ under *Augustus*, and of the Birth of *John Baptist*, and of Baptism, of the Apostles, of the Conversion of the Gentiles, and of *Constantinus*, &c. hath these words, After that the peaceable Bull shall conclude all the climes of the world under tribute, in those days a heavenly Lamb shall come; and the days shall come, when the power of the flowing stream shall be magnified in water, and the Lion the Monarch shall be converted to the Lamb, which shall shine to all men, & subvert Kingdoms.

Moreover saith *Sibylla*, In the later age God shall be humbled, and the Divine off-spring shall be abased, and Deity shall be joynd with Humanity, the Lamb shall lye in Hay, and God and man shall be bred up under a Maidens attendance, signs and wonders shall go before amongst the circumcised, &c. Also, An aged woman shall conceive a child, having

Prophecies of *Brigit* against *Rome*

The Prophecies of *Erythrea Sibylla* named *Erythra*.

Ex *Erythrea Sibylla* in suo Nazilographo i. Imperiali scripto.

Prophecies of *Sibylla* of Christ.

The Prophecie of *Hildegardis* and *Brigit* of the *Turks*.

Ex *Aventinus*, *Lib. 3. Annalium*.
A Caveatto *England*.

Ex *Brigit*, *Lib. 4. C. 57.*

having knowledge of things to come. The world shall marvel at Bowtes (the Star) which shall be a leader to his birth. He having thirty two feet, and six thumbs, shall chase himself out of fishers and abjects, the number of Twelve, and one Devil, not with sword nor with battel, &c. afterward this followeth moreover in Sibylla, saying,

* The Lamb lying, that is, the Church, without travel shall be maintained with some living or possessions of the chief rulers.

* The health of the Lamb lying shall be clothed with a few spoils of the Lion. Black shall be turned into red. He shall subdue the City of Aeneas, and Kings, but in the Book of the Fishes: In dejection and poverty he shall conquer riches, and shall tread down pride with his own death. In the night he shall rise up, and be changed, he shall live and reign, and all these things shall be consummated, and regeneration (or new things) be made: at last he shall judge both good and evil, &c. And thus much briefly collected out of Sibylla Erythrea, concerning Christ our Lord.

By these 4 Beasts is meant the 4 Monarchies of the World, that is, the multitude of all the Kingdom of the Gentiles, as in the Apocal. By the City of Aeneas is meant Rome.

Furthermore, touching the state and course of the Church, and of Antichrist, it followeth in the said Sibylla, saying, Then shall four winged Beasts rise up in testimony; they shall sound out with Trumpets the name of the Lamb, sowing righteousness, and the Law irreprehensible. Against which Law the Beast shall gainstand, and the abomination and froth of the Dragon. But a marvellous Star shall rise, having the Image of the four Beasts, and shall be in a marvellous multitude; he shall bring light to the Greeks, and shall illustrate the world. The Lake of the fisher shall bring the name of the Lamb with power into the City of Aeneas, unto the end of the world (or time.) Then in the City of Aeneas the Star joyned shall loose such as were bound of the Devil, and thereof he shall rejoyce and glory, and glorious shall be his end, &c.

The Prophecy of Sibylla of Antichrist. The 663 feet do mean the years of his reign.

After this Sibylla writing (as it seemeth) of Antichrist, importeth these words, And it shall come to pass, that an horrible Beast shall come out of the East, whose roaring shall be heard to Africk, to the people of Carthage, which hath seven heads, and scepters innumerable, feet 663. He shall gainstand the Lamb, to blaspheme his Testament, encreasing the waters of the Dragon. The Kings and Princes of the world he shall burn in intolerable sweat, and they shall not diminish his feet. And then two stars like to the first star shall arise against the beast, and shall not prevail, till the abomination shall be come, and the will of the Lord shall be consummate. And again speaking of the same matter he inferreth these words of the foresaid two stars above mentioned.

These two stars seem to mean 7. How and how, who being put to death by the Pope, their Dominions shall again more strongly than before.

And toward the later days two bright stars shall arise, raising up men lying dead in their sins, being like to the first star, having the face of the four Beasts, which shall resist the beast, and the waters of the Dragon, testifying (or preaching) the name and law of the Lamb, the destruction of abomination and judgment, and shall diminish his waters, but they shall be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they shall rise again in stronger force, &c. And it followeth moreover, After the abomination, then shall truth be revealed, and the Lamb shall be known, to whom Regions and Countries shall submit their necks, and all earthly men shall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled under one discipline, and after this shall be but a small time, &c.

Ex libro cui titulus, Onus Ecclesie.

And shortly after, the said Sibylla speaking of the later judgment to come, declared how all the abominations of sins shall come before the Lamb; and that terrible fire shall fall from Heaven, which shall consume all earthly things created unto the top of Heaven, &c.

And thus much out of Sibylla, touching her Prophecies of Christ and Antichrist, according as I found them alledged of a certain Catholick Romish Writer, in his Book intituled Onus Ecclesie, excerpted, as he saith, out of the Library of St. George in the City of Venice.

Philip Melancthon in his Preface upon Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus, writing of the origine and manners of the Turks, alledged a certain Prophecy of Hilrenus, men-

tioned hereafter, which foretold that the Turks should bear rule in Italy and in Germany, Anno 1600. KING
Hen. 7.

Now it remaineth, in conclusion of these Prophecies of the Turks, something to say of the Turks own Prophecies, concerning the enduring and ending of their own Kingdom, whose propheticall Prognostication, being taken out of their own Language, and their own Books, I thought here to insert, as I find it alledged in the Book of the foresaid Bartholomæus Georgienitz, as followeth:

A Turkish Prophecy in the Persian tongue, of the Reign and Ruine of the Turks.

Parissabomox gbelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler; iediy ladegh Gyaur kelecti efikmasse, on ikiyladegh onlaron begblig eder: eusi iapar, bagbi diker babesai bagblar, oglikezi olur, cui-chi yldenfora Hristianon Kelecti efichar, ol Turchi getestine tus chure.

The same in Latine.

Imperator noster veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in suam potestatem rediget: quod si septimum usque annum Christianorum gladius non insurrexit, usque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domo edificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos sepibus munit, liberos procreabit, & post duodecimum annum, apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaque versum in fugamaget.

By the Prince of the Gentiles, the Turk do here mean the Kingdoms and Dominions of the Christians, whom they call Gentiles, because they are not circumcised after their manner.

The same in English.

OUR Emperor shall come; he shall get the Kingdom of the Gentiles Prince; also he shall take the red Apple, and shall bring it under his subjection; and if the sword of the Christians shall not rise unto the seventh year, he shall have dominion over them unto the twelfth year. He shall build Houses, plant Vineyards, shall hedge about his Orchards, shall procreate Children; and after the 12th year shall appear the sword of the Christians, which shall put the Turk to flight every where.

They which make declaration of this Turkish Prophecy, do expound this 12th year to signifie the 12th year after the winning of Constantinople; which Constantinople, say they, is meant by the red Apple; and after that twelve year, say they, shall rise the sword of the Christians, &c. And this Prophecy being written and translated out of the Persian Tongue, with this Exposition upon the same, it is to be found in the Book of Bartholomæus Georgienitz. Albeit, concerning the exposition thereof, it seemeth not to be true which is there spoken of the 12th year after the winning of Constantinople, being now 100 years since the winning thereof.

The Exposition of the Turkish Prophecy. Ex Barthol. Georgienitz.

Wherefore it may rather seem probable, that by the 7th and 12th year of the Turks, this to be the meaning, that if the 7th of the Ottoman Turks do escape the sword of the Christians, they shall continue, build and plant, &c. until the 12th Turk, which is this Solymannus, and then after that shall rise the Christians sword, which shall put them to flight, and vanquish them in all Quarters. And this Exposition may seem to accord with the place of Genesis; wherein is written of Ismael, that he had twelve Sons, and no more: So that this Solymannus being the 12th Turk after Ottomannus, may (by the grace of Christ) be the last; whom we heard credibly to be reported, at the Printing hereof, to be dead. But howsoever this Prophecy is to be taken, it appeareth by their own Oracles, that at length they shall be overcome by the Christians.

Another Exposition. Gen. 25.

{ KING }
{ Ann. 7. }

A Table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the Story above prefixed.

The Saracens begin their reign.

A Nno 632, began the Kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of Mahomet the first Ring-leader of the mischief, which Saracens reigning in Babylon over Persia and Asia, continued about

198 Years.

Anno 667, Jerusalem was taken of the Saracens. These Saracens after they had subdued Ormisda King of Persia, set up to themselves a new Kingdom, calling their chief Prince Calipha, which signifieth a General Lord; and under him Seripbes, that is an under Prince; and again under him their Soldan; which is a ruler or Captain; under the which Soldans all the Provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space above said of

198 years.

The Egyptians or Saracens, or Sultan.

Anno 703, The Egyptians being weary of their subjection under the Romans, called for help of the Saracen Calipha; and so calling off the Romans, submitted themselves to the Law of the Saracens, and had also their Calipha, and their Babylon called Cairus, where their Calipha continued unto Saraco or Syracinus

447 years.

The Saracens Kingdom ceaseth

Anno 810, Mauginetus, or Muchumetus the chief Sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbraell the Sultan of Babylon, sent for the aid of the Turks out of Scythia: by whom when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turks shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their Country within the space of

20 years.

Anno 830, The Saracens being expelled out of Asia by the Turks, wandered about Africk, Spain and Italy, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain.

The Turks Kingdom beginneth.

Anno 830, The Turks after they had expelled the Saracens out of Asia, began to reign in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia, and there reigned without interruption, till the coming of the Tartarians, the space of

192 years.

Anno 1009, The Turks won the City of Hierusalem from the Saracens; which City the Sultan of Egypt won again from the Turks shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of Gotfridus.

Anno 1051, Began the first King of the Turks, called Zaduke, to reign in Asia, and joyned League with Calipha of Egypt, and there reigned till the conquest of Gotfridus and the Christians the space of

46 years.

Anno 1078, Solymannus Nephew to Aspasalem the Turkish King in Asia, otherwise called Turquinia, subdued Cappadocia, which had continued now the space of

500 years.

Anno 1099, Gotfridus Bulion, Duke of Lotharing a Christian Prince, taking his Voyage into Asia with 700000 Christian Soldiers, first got the City of Nicea against the Sultan of the Turks; then Lycania, Silicia, Syria; afterward Mesopotamia, and Comagena: then Antiochia, Anno 1098, and the next year recovered Jerusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they a little before had won from the Turks, as is afore said. After this Gotfridus succeeded eight Christian Kings, which kept the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turks and Saracens, the space of

88 years.

Anno 1100, The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquished the Turks out of the Kingdom of Persia,

after they had cut their King in pieces. Whereby the Turks flying to Cappadocia, there remained under Solomon, and joyned themselves to the Soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in Asia minor, called now Turquinia.

Anno 1170, When Almericus the Seventh King of Hierusalem after Gotfridus had overcome the Calipha, or Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan being overcome, called for the help of Saracen the Sultan of Syria. This Saracen after he had expelled the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the Sultan of Egypt, and vanquished him, took to himself the Kingdom of Egypt: which Kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the Tartarians, and the Mamaluches about the space of

88 years.

Anno 1187, Saladinus the Nephew of Saracen the Sultan of Egypt, perceiving the dissention among the Christian States of Palestina, got Antioch, where he slew Raymondus the Prince with his own hands: Then got Tiberias: From thence he went to Acon, where he took Guido King of Jerusalem, and Master of the Templars, prisoners; for whose ransom the Turk had Ascalon yielded up to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of

88 years.

Anno 1189, Frederick the Emperor, Philip the French King, Richard King of Eng-made their Voyage into Asia, where Frederick, washing in a River at Cilicia, died. In this voyage at the siege of Acon, Saladinus won the field of our men, of whom 2000 were slain in the chase. Acon at length was got of the Christians. King Richard got Cyprus. The two Kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken trace before with the Soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the Popes sending out against the Turks.

Anno 1215, There was another Council holden at Rome by Pope Innocent the third, where was Enacted a new Article of our Faith for Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine to be turned into the Body and Blood of our Saviour. In this Council also great excitation was made by the Pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of Dukes, Lords, Knights, Bishops and Prelates, that if Gods blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all Asia and India.

Anno 1219, The Christians after eighteen months siege, got a certain Town in Egypt, called Damietta, or Elipolis, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian Army of the Popes sending went about to besiege the City Cairus, or Babylon, the Sultan through his subtil train so intrapped and inclosed them within the danger of Nilus, that they were constrained to render again the City of Damietta, with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Soldans hand, and glad so with their lives to pass

Transubstantiation.

pals forward to *Tyrus*. Anno 1221.

Vid. supra. In the mean time the *Egyptian Turk* caused the City of *Jerusalem* to be rased, that it should serve to no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voyage, it doth not greatly appear in stories. Albeit *Fredericus* the Second Emperor was not unfruitfully there occupied, and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the Bishop of *Rome* against him; whereby he was inforced to take truce with the Sultan for ten years, and so returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the last City of all belonging to the Christians, which was *Protonais*, or *Akers*, was also taken from them by the Sultan, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all *Asia*.

Tartarians.
Pontus Cassius
An. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of *Asia* by the *Sultans* and *Turks*, yet the said *Turks* and *Sultans* did not long enjoy their victory. For estoons the Lord stirred up against them the *Tartarians*, who breaking into *Asia* by the Ports of *Caspian* subdued divers parts of *Asia*, namely about *Comana*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, &c. These *Tartarians* as they had got many Captives in their wars; so for gain they used to ship them over customably to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to be sold; which servants and captives *Melechfala* the great Sultan was glad to buy to serve him in his wars. Which captives and servants after they had continued a certain space in *Egypt*, and through their valiant service grew in favour and estimation with the said *Melechfala*, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they slew him, and took to themselves the name and Kingdom of the Sultan. And thus ceased the stock of *Saracen* and *Saladinus* aforementioned, which continued in *Egypt*, about the space, as is said, of

Saladinus
stock in
Egypt cea-
seth.
Mameluchi
in *Egypt*.
Vid. supra.
An. 1240. After the death of *Melechfala*, the Army of these foresaid Rascals and captives set up to themselves a King of their own company, whom they called *Turquemenius*. Who to fill up the number of their company that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy Christian mens children, taken young from their parents, and the mothers lap; whom they used so to bring up, to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in *Mahumets* Law, and afterward to be trained in the feats of war; and these were called *Mameluchi*. Among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be King but out of their own number, or else chosen by them; neither that any should be made Knights or Horsemen, but only the Children of Christians which should deny Christ before, called *Mameluchi*. Also it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither *Saracens* nor *Jews* should be admitted. Item, that the succession thereof should not descend to the children and off-spring of these *Mameluchi*. Also that the succession of the Crown should not descend to the children of the foresaid Sultan, but should go by voice and election. The *Tartarians* with *Turquemenius* their King, about this time obtained *Turquia*, that is, *Asia minor*, from the *Turks*, and within two years after, prevailing against the *Turks*, expelled them from their Kingdom, and so continued these *Mameluchi* reigning over *Egypt*, and a great part of *Asia*, till the time of *Tomumbeius* their last King, which was destroyed and hanged at the Gates of *Memphis*, by *Zelymus* the *Turk*, Father to this *Solymanus*, as in his History is declared. These *Mameluchi* continued the space of

Ann. 1245. These *Tartarians* ranging through the Countries of the *Georgians*, and all *Armenia*, came as far as *Iconium*, which was then the Imperial City of the *Turks*.

Ann. 1289. The Soldan of *Egypt* and *Babylon* got from the Christians *Tripolis*, *Tyrus*, *Sidon*, and *Berithus* in *Syria*.

Ann. 1291. Lastly, *Protonais*, which also is called *Akers*, was surprised by the said Soldan, rased and cast down to the ground, and all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slain. And this was the last City which the Christians had in *Asia*. So that now the Christians have not one foot (as is said before) left in all *Asia*. Thus the *Egyptian* Soldans and the *Tartarians* reigned and ranged over the most part of *Asia* above the *Turks*, till the reign of *Ottomanus* the Great *Turk*, about the space of

80 years.
C And thus have ye the whole discourse of the *Turkish* story, with their Names, Countries, Towns, Dominions, also with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order described, and in years distinguished: Which otherwise in most Authors and Writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is between the *Saracens*, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, the *Sultans* or *Soldans*, *Mameluches*, or *Janizaries*; what is their *Calipha*, their *Scrippes*, their *Sultan*, or *Bassas*; in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of years they reigned. All which in this present Table manifestly to thine eye may appear.

Wherein this thou hast moreover (gentle Reader) to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the Bishop of *Rome* all this season, from the first beginning of the *Turks* reign, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling upon Christian Princes and subjects to take the Cross, and to war against the *Turks*; whereupon so many great voyages have been made to the Holy Land, and so many Battels fought against the *Turk* and *Soldan* for winning the holy Cross; and yet no lucky success hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that Bishop hath been attempted against that great enemy of the Lord; Inasmuch that the Christians have lost not only all that they had in *Asia*, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in *Europe* against his violence. What the cause is of this hard luck of the Bishops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and as the Gospel saith, He that hath eyes to see, let him see. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the Bishop of *Rome*, to stir men up to that business; so on the Princes behalf there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expences, no supportation of charges, no furniture or abilement of war; only the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would it were so easie to be reformed, as it may be quickly continued. For what man beholding the life of us Christians, will greatly marvel why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the *Turks*? And if my verdict might here have place, for me to add my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater than this afore said: which to make plain and evident, in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere Doctrine of Christian Faith, delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the Church of *Rome*; or if the Bishop of *Rome* would yet reclaim his impure Idolatry and prophanations, and admit Christ the Lamb of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our only justification, according to the free promise of Gods grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this Faith, grounding only upon Christ the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition; and also soon would, or yet will bring down the pride of that proud *Holofernes*. But otherwise, if the Bishop of *Rome* will not gently give place to the mild voice of Gods word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the *Turk* whether he will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the *Turk* and the Pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods Testament shall flourish and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come graciously and luckily forward in most places.

{ KING
HEN. 7. }

God offend-
ed with
Idolatry &
wrong faith
of the Chri-
stians.

{KING
Hen. 7.

A Prayer against the Turks.

A Prayer against the
Turks.

O Eternal Lord God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, just, gracious, and wise only, in the name and reverence of thy Son Jesus, we prostrate our selves, desiring thine Omnipotent Majesty to look down upon these afflicted times of thy poor Creatures and Servants; relieve thy Church, increase our Faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast given thine only begotten Son unto us, promising with him life to all that shall believe upon his name; so incline the obedience of our Faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other sinful additions and prophane inventions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And graunt (we beseech thee) to thy Church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other means or help of Salvation, but only in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed: Reform thy Church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we seeing our own weakness, may put off our selves, and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Son alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renew in this thy Church again the decayed Faith of thy Son Jesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of Christian life. And forgive our wretched Idolatry and blind fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked manifold ways thy deserved indignation against us: Jud. 14. For our Hearts have been full of Idols, our Temples full of Images, our ways full of Hypocrisie: thy Sacraments Joh. 12. profaned, and thy religion turned to superstition because the Lamborn of thy Word went not before us, therefore we Luk. 6. have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like Sons not of Sarah, but of Agar, and therefore these Turkish Agarens have risen up against us. Many hard and straight ways we have passed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that savageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed far and near in Barks of our own building, but have not kept within the Ark only of thy promise, and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed Temple, and therefore we have not been heard. We have plowed and tilled, but without thy beifer, and therefore this untidy ground of ours bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the Boat, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the ground-work is not surely laid upon the rock of thy promise, the East wind riseth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk and have walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men having a shew of wisdom, but not a holding the head, where lyeth all our strength, and therefore these Philistines Turks have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore we beseech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joint again. And finally, reduce this same thy mystical body again to his perfect and natural head, which is thine only Son Jesus Christ, and none other. For him only hast thou anointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head that can minister strength and nourishment to this body, but he alone: Forasmuch as all other heads be sinful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse than better. Only this thy welbeloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our strength and fullness: him only we confess and know ledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech thee (O Lord God of hosts) grant to thy Church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy Son Jesus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their Kingdom, that the Kingdom of thy Son so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy Salvation, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and most merciful Advocate. Amen.

{Ann.
1500}

IN this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath been described the grievous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians, thou hast to understand (good Reader) and behold the image of a terrible Antichrist evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also by the Scriptures, Prophesied and declared to us before. Now in comparing the Turk with the Pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easie to see and judge, that the Turk is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his Church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, which do only write the History, and the Acts of them both. Wherefore after the story of the Turks thus finished, now to reenter again there where we left, in describing the domestic troubles and persecutions here at home under the Bishop of Rome; after the burning of Babram in Norfolk above declared, I signified also of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, intituled Polichron, (although I find not his name in the said Chornicle expressed) which suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield about the same time, which was the year of our Lord, 1500. Ex Polychron.

Babram and
an old man
Martyrs.
Vide supra.
Ex scriptis
Polichroni-
ca.

This aged Father I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made in certain old Papers and Records of William Cary Citizen (albeit the day of the month doth a little differ) wherein is thus testified, That on the 20th day of July, Anno 1500, upon the day of Saint Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for an Heretick, and the same person upon the 10th day before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollards

Tower, and so falling out of the Tower, did foully hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a Cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foresaid Papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how in the year above prefixed, which was An. 1499. In the time of one Persevel, many were taken for Hereticks in Kent, and at Pauls Cross they bear Fagots and were abjured, and shortly after the same year there went thirteen Lollards afore the Procession in Pauls, and there were of them eight women and a young Lad, and the Lads Mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bear Fagots on their necks afore the Procession.

Divers Kitch
men
bearing
Fagots.

William Tylsworth Martyr.

FOrsomuch as the world is come now to such a morality and peevish insensibility in these contentions and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be so circumspetly written and storied, but shall lye in danger of one Sycofant or another, which never will credit there, where they list not to like: neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudicial to their faction, or not to serve the humor wherewith their fantasies be infected: therefore to stop the mouths of such carping cavillers with as much possibility as I may, be it known to all and singular such persons, who by evidence of truth and witness will be satisfied, that in the Town of Amersham be yet alive both men and women, which can and do bear witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said compacy, one named William Page, an aged Father and yet alive, witness to the same. Also another named Agnes Weiberly Widow, being about the age of an hundred years, yet living and witness hereof: that in the days of King Henry the seventh, Anno 1505, in the Diocels of

William
Tylsworth
Martyr.

E e e

Lincoln

Lincoln in Buckinghamshire (William Smith being Bishop of the same Diocess) one William Tyllsworth was burned in Amersham, in a Close called Stanley, about sixty years ago. At which time one Joan Clerk, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the said William Tyllsworth and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear Father: and at the same time her husband John Clerk did penance at her Fathers burning, and bear a Faggot, as did also.

The daughter compelled to set fire to her Father,

Robert Bartlet.
Richard Bartlet.
John Bartlet.
Thomas Harding, and his Wife.
Henry Harding.
Richard Harding.
Robert Harding.
John Milser, and his Wife.
William White.
John Mumbe, and his Wife.
Richard Bennet.
Roger Bennet.
John Fip.
William Grinder.
Thomas Homes.
Tomand Dorman.
William Scrivener.
John Scrivener.
Thomas Chafe.
John Cracker.

All these bear Faggots, and were compelled to wear certain brags, and went abroad to certain Towns to do penance, as to Buckingham, Alesbury, and other Towns more. And also divers of these men were afterward burned in the Cheek, as William Page, which at this present is alive, and likewise did bear a Faggot with the aforesaid. Furthermore, the foresaid Agnes Webberly testified, that at the burning of this William Tyllsworth, were 60 and above, that were put to bear Faggots for their Penance, of whom divers were in-joynted to bear and wear Faggots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet a rich man, who for his professions sake was put out of his Farm and Goods, and was condemned to be kept in the Monastery of Ashby, where he wear on his right sleeve a square piece of Cloath, the space of seven years together.

{ KING }
Hen. 7.
Amersham men bearing Faggots.

It followeth moreover in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tyllsworth (as the Amersham men do say) or the next day after) as recordeth the foresaid Agnes) was one Father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a Miller, and dwelled at Missenden: And at his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to bear Faggots, and to do such Penance as the wicked Pharisees did compel them. After that, by the space of two or three years, was burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard a Husband man, and James Morden, a laborer

Father Roberts Martyr.

The Burning of James Morden & Thomas Bernard.



Father Rogers Martyr.

Men of Amersham burnt in the Cheek for Gods word

they two were burned both at one Fire, and there was William Littlepage (who is yet alive) compelled to be burned in the right Cheek, and Father Rogers, and Father Rever, alias Reive, which after was burned. This Father Rogers was in the Bishops Prison 14 weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger and irons; that after his coming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived, as can testify divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right Cheek, and bear Faggots the same time. The cause was that they would talk against Superstition and Idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the Cheek was this: their necks

were tyed fast to a post or stay with Towels, and their hands holden fast that they might not stir, and so the Iron being hot, was put to their Cheeks, and thus bear they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

The cruel handling of Thomas Chafe of Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in the Bishops Prison at Wooburn, under William Smith Bishop of Lincoln.

Among these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the Gospel and Word of Christ, one Thomas Chafe of Amersham, was one of them that

KING
Hen. 7.

The Chafe
brought be-
fore the Bi-
shop.

The Chafe
condemned
to the Bi-
shops Prison
at Wooburn
called little
East.

A worthy
Alms of a
Bishop.
The perfect
patience
and con-
stancy of
The Chafe.

The Chafe
cruelly
Murdered
in the Bi-
shops Pri-
son.

The Chafe
falsely
condemned
to hang him-
self.

God bring-
eth to
light the
secret mur-
ders of the
Papists.
Matth. 10.
Luk. 12.

that was thus cruelly handled: Which *Thomas Chafe* by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly sober and honest behaviour (whose vertuous doings do yet remain in memory) and could not abide Idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him and brought him before the blind Bishop, being at that time at *Wooburn* in the County of *Buckingham*, and as it is written *Acts 12.* that wicked *Herod* did vex certain of the congregation, and killed *James* the Brother of *John* with the Sword; and because he saw that it pleased the *Jews*, &c. he proceeded farther, and had this same *Thomas Chafe* before him, asking him, many questions touching the *Romish Religion*, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes, but what answer this godly man *Thomas Chafe* made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christs true Religion and Gospel, and to the extirpation of Idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisie, for that the said *Thomas Chafe* was commanded to be put in the Bishops Prison, called *little East*, in the Bishops house at *Wooburn*, which Prison had not been ministred unto him, had not his answers been found and upright. There *Thomas Chafe* lay bound most painfully with Chains, Gyves, Manicles and Irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the Bishops Alms was daily brought unto him by his Chaplains: Which Alms was nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes and threatnings, floutings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly Martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christs promises. *Matth. 5. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven:* and as followeth, *Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you, &c.* When the Bishop with his band of Shavelings, perceived that by their daily practises of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christs true Religion, and that he did tolerate and bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty ministred unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, left there should be a tumult or an uproare among the people. And as *Richard Hun* shortly after was hanged or strangled in *Lollards Tower*, about the year of our Lord, 1514, even so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and preft to death this said *Thomas Chafe* in Prison, which most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in Prison.

After that these stinging Vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shameful murder withall: at last to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloody Butchers most slanderously caused it by their Ministers to be bruted abroad, that the foresaid *Thomas Chafe* had hanged himself in Prison; which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the Prison was such, that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manicles and Irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman did declare that saw him dead, inasmuch that they confessed that his blood-bulk was broken by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy Catholicks had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly Martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the Wood called *Norland-wood*, in the High-way betwixt *Wooburn* and *little Marlow*, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen: And thus commonly are innocent men laid up by these Clerkly Clergy men. But he that is effectually true of himself hath promised at one time or at another, to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true Word. No secret, faith he, is so close, but once shall be opened; neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be known clearly. Such a sweet Lord is God always to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy Name therefore for ever and ever, *Amen.*

Thomas Harding being one of this company, thus molested and troubled, as is aforesaid, in the Town of *Aversham*, for the truth of the Gospel, after his Abjuration and

Penance done, was again sought for, and brought to the Fire in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth, and under *D. Longland* then Bishop of *Lincoln*, succeeding after Cardinal *Wolsey*. Of whose death and Martyrdom we shall likewise record (Christ willing and granting) in order when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

After the Martyrdom of these two, I read also of one *Thomas Noris*, who likewise for the same cause, that is for the Profession of Christs Gospel, was condemned by the Bishop, and burnt at *Norwich*, the last day of *March*, Anno 1507.

In the next year following, which was *An. 1508*, in the consistory of *London*, was convened *Elizabeth Sampson*, of the Parish of *Aldermanbury*, upon certain Articles, and specially for speaking against Pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at *Wilsdon*, at *Stanings*, at *Crome*, at *Walsingham*, and the Image of Saint *Savior* of *Barmondsey*, and against the Sacrament of the Altar, and for that she had spoken these or like words; that our Lady of *Wilsdon* was but a burnt arse elf, and a burnt arse stock; and if she might have holpen men and women which go to her on Pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her tail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our Lady of *Wilsdon*, or our Lady of *Crome*; for the one is but a burnt arse stock, and the other is but a Puppet: and better it were for the people to give their Alms at home to poor people, than to go on Pilgrimage. Also she called the Image of *S. Saviour*, *Sim Saviour* with kit lips, and that she said she could make as good bread, as that which the Priest occupied, and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in Heaven and in Earth at one time. For these and certain other Articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master *William Horsey*, Chancellor, the day and year above written. *Ex Regist. Lond.*

Laurence Gheft.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which have been slain by the rigour of the Popes Clergy, for the true maintaining of Christs cause, and of his Sacraments. Whose memory being registred in the book of Life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not unprofitable, the suffering and Martyrdom of them to be notified, which innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christs quarrel.

In the Catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of *Laurence Gheft*, who was burned in *Salisbury* for the matter of the Sacrament, in the days of King *Henry* the Seventh: He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which the Bishop and the Clese were the more loath to burn him, but kept him in Prison the space of two years. This *Laurence* had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they thinking to expugne and perswade his mind, by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his Children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his foresaid seven Children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him Religion overcoming nature, made his constancy to remain unmoveable, in such fort, as when his wife exhorted and desired him to favour himself, he again began to desire her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his Salvation: and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself to follow Christ. As he was in burning one of the Bishops men threw a firebrand at his face. Whereat the Brother of *Laurence* standing by, ran at him with his Dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise staid.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one *William Russel*, an aged man dwelling of late in *Coleman-street*, who was there present the same time at the burning of *Laurence*, and was also himself buried in the Check, and one of the persecuted flock in those days, whose Daughter is yet living: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one *Richard Webb*, ser-

The Noris
Martyr.
Anno.
1507.

Elizabeth
Sampson.
Anno.
1508.

Laurence
Gheft
Martyr.

Laurence
Gheft
two
years in Pri-
son at Sal-
isbury.

Laurence
would not
be turned
for Wife
nor Chil-
dren.
Laurence
died a
Martyr.

Witness to
the story.

vant sometime to M. Latimer, who sojourning in the house of the said William Ruffel, heard him many times declare the same.

A Faithfull Woman burned.

A notable story of a faithful woman burned in Cheaping-Sadbury.

But amongst all the examples of God, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth. I cannot tell if ever were any Martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of Gods mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly Woman put to death in Cheaping-Sadbury, about the same time, under the Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

D. Whittington Chancellor a persecutor.

The constancy of which blessed Woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the Bishops Chancellor, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all Papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may, Amen. The name of the Town where she was Martyred, was, as is said, Cheaping-Sadbury. The name of the Woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chancellor, who condemned her, was called Doctor Whittington. The time of her burning was in the Reign and time of King Henry the Seventh, orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present History brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the foresaid Kings Reign: so that it may appear to them which behold the opportunity of things, not to be without Gods holy will and providence, that this foresaid example should not lye hid and unremembered, but come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

A faithful Christian woman and Martyr, burned at Cheaping-Sadbury.

After this godly woman, and manly Martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched Chancellor above named, Doctor Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the Papists then called Heresie, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her Martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the Town and Country about (as the manner is in such times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the foresaid Doctor Whittington the Chancellor, there present to see the Execution done. Thus this faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the Fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her Conscience clear and unreprieveable in the day of the Lord. The Sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed Martyr. It hapned in the mean time, that as the Catholick Executioners were busied in slaying this silly Lamb at the Towns side, a certain Butcher was as busie within the Town slaying of a Bull; which Bull he had fast bound in Ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the Butcher (belike not so skilful in his Art of killing Beasts, as the Papists be in murdering Christians) as he was lifting his Ax to strike the Bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smit, I know not: this was certain that the Bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the Ropes, and brake loose from the Butcher into the Street, the very same time as the people were coming in great preas from the burning. Who seeing the Bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild (as it was no other like) gave way for the Beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the Bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the Chancellor was. Against whom the Bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his Horns, and taking him upon the panch, gored him thorow and thorow, and so killed

A rare and special example of the just punishment of God upon a persecutor D. Whittington slain of a Bull.

him immediately, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his Horns all the Street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord; imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertain to Gods only praise and providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plain miracle of Gods mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched Chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty?

Now for the credit of this story lest I be said upon mine own head to commit to story things rashly, which I cannot justifie, therefore to stop such cavelling mouths, I will discharge my self with authority I trust sufficient, that is, with the witness of him which both was a Papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the Woman, whose name was Rowland Webb: which Rowland, dwelling then in Cheaping-Sadbury, had a son named Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who also induring with him in time of his trouble six years together, was himself imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Unto the which Richard Webb, being now aged, then young, the foresaid Rowland his Father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of Heresie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the story of the Bull aforesaid, which he himself did see and testify. This Richard Webb is yet living, a witness of his own Fathers words and testimony, which I trust may satisfie all indifferent Readers, except only such as think no truth to be believed, but that only which is in their Portues.

Witness to the story.

Verses touching the same Thomas Hatcherus.

Mira legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi
Exitus, ut pennis addita penna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicunque potentia nota est,
Ut delinquente ira severa premar.
Sæpe fit ut fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,
Sæpe fit ut penis obruat ira novis.
Omnia sunt Domini dextra subiecta patenti,
Qui ciet arbitria bruta, hominesque sua.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus.
Evitans, fracto fune repente fugit.
Forte viam qua turba frequens confluerat ante,
Feminea ut cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus iit, fertur qua confertissima turba.
Læsus at extanta solus & unus erat.
Solus & unus erat, rapidos qui misit in ignes,
Et misere parvum sparsit ovile Dei.
Et quasi consulto ferretur, præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,
Ille jacet, madido sedatur sanguine corpus.
Eruta perque vias viscera sparsa jacent,
Quis non a Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri, non repetendo tremas?
Ultio terribiles comitatur iusta procellas,
Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit.

And thus much concerning the state of the Church. Wherein isto be understood, what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within our selves, by the Bishop of Rome and his retinue. Where also it is to be noted in the days and Reign of this King Henry the Seventh, how mightily the working of Gods Gospel hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the same with us in England, as by these stories above past may be apparent.

Now these things declared, which to the Church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to intreat of the state likewise of the Commonwealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the Church. Where the Church is quietly and modestly governed,

The state of the Commonwealth commonly followeth the state of the Church.

KING vermed, and the flock of Christ defended by Godly Princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody Wolves; the success of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the Princes long continue through Gods preservation, in prosperous rest and tranquility. Contrariwise, where either the Church of Christ through the negligence of Princes, or through their setting on, the poor members of Christ be persecuted and devoured; shortly after ensueth some just recompence of the Lord upon those Princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the Commonwealth, which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other Countries far off, or else of our own Country near at home.

The duty of Princes to defend their Subjects from the slaughter of the Church of Rome.

And here not to wander in our story farther than to France only, let us a little behold the example of King Charles the eighth, who living in this Kings time, dyed also not long before him. This Charles is commended of *Philippus Comineus*, to be a moderate, valiant and victorious Prince, adorned with many special vertues to a Prince appertaining. And yet the same King, because he was slack and remiss in defence of Christs Church, neither did use his authority, nor took his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the estate of the Bishop and Clergy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himself punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appear. For so it is of him recorded, that being marvellously excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the Counsel of most of his Nobles) he took his journey into Italy, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lords doing, to the intent he would have the Church and Clergy of Rome reformed by the Princes Sword, which so vexed all Christendom at that time, we shall hear what is testified in the Commentaries of the said *Philip Comineus*, Lib. 3. *de bello Neapolit.* writing in this wise.

Ex commentariis Phil. Comineus. De bello Neapolitano, lib. 3.

There was (saith he) in the City of Florence the same time a Dominick Friar, named Hieronymus Savonarola (of whom mention was made before) a man of a right godly and approved life: Who in the said City of Florence preached and Propheſied long before, that the French King should come with an Army into Italy, being stirred up of God to suppress the Tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the City of Pisa and the state of Florence should be altered; all which happened true. He affirmed moreover to be signified to him of the Lord, that the Ecclesiastical state of the Church must be redressed Per vim armorum. i. by the Sword or force of Arms. Many things also be Propheſied of the Venetians, and of the French King, saying, that the King with some danger and difficulty should pass that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender; for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home again. But because he had not done his Office, in amending the state of the Church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to pass (saith he) and that shortly, that some incommodity or detriment should happen to the King: or if he should escape that danger of his sickness and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poor and miserable, God would shew mercy unto him, &c. And this the said Hieronymus declared before to Comineus, one of the Kings Counsellors, which was the writer of the story, and required him to signify the same unto the King; which so did, and he moreover, himself coming to the presence of the King declared no less.

Vide Phil. Comineus de bello Neapol. lib. 5.

All which things as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the King being but easily accompanied with a small power entered into Italy; where first he came to Asta, then to Genoa, and to Pisa, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there *Petrus Medicus* the Duke, who had used great Tyranny upon the Subjects. From thence he removed toward Rome, where a great part of the City Wall, at the coming of the French King fell down.

Afterward, when the King was entered into the City, and the Pope (who then took part with *Alphonſus* King of Neapolis against the French King) had immured himself within the mount of *Adrian*, the Wall of the Castle fell down of it self: whereby when the King was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his Captains to invade the Pope, and to depose him, and to reform the Church of Rome (which he might then easily have done, as it had pleased him) yet all these occasions offered so opportunely of God, moved not the King to do his duty, and to help the poor Church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Neapolis, either the same year, or the next year following, he was stricken with a sudden sickness at *Amboise*, as he was looking on them that played at Tennis, and that in the stinkingest place in all the Castle, where he fell down and died within 12 houres, according to the forewarning of *Hieronymus*, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his Sons death, and of his own, which was about the year of our Lord, 1498. *Ex Philip. Comineo, lib. 5.*

De bello Neapol. lib. 5.

Like examples we have many here also in this our Realm of England. So long as King *John* kept out of the Realm the Popes authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his Nobles: but so soon as he brought the Realm under tribute and subjection to that foreign Bishop, God stirred up his Nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and soon thereupon decayed.

Of all the Kings of England, from *William* the Conquerer to this King *Henry* the Seventh, were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than King *Henry* the Second, K. *Henry* the third, King *Edward* the first, King *Edward* the third, of whom the first how stout he was in withstanding *Thomas Becket* and Pope *Alexander* the Third, is sufficiently before comprehended.

Examples of Kings of England, which were blessed of God with long prosperity being enemies to the Bishops of Rome.

The second, which was Son of King *John*, albeit through the wretchedness of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the Popes usurped jurisdiction out of the Realm, yet his will was good: at last he so defended and provided for his Subjects, that they took no great wrong at the Popes hands; who Reigned one year longer than *Augustus Caesar*, which hath not commonly been seen in any Prince.

Augustus Reigned 55 years.

The third, which was King *Edward* the First, so vigilantly behaved himself for the publick commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all foreign power and hostility both of the Scots (then our enemies, now our friends) and also from the Bishop of Rome, taking part with them against us, as may appear above. Furthermore of the same King, and of his worthy Nobles and house of Parliament, how valiantly they stood in denial of the Popes Subsidies, and also how the said King secluded out of his protection the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop *Peckham*, for standing with the Pope, read before.

Vide supra.

Vide supra.

Now as touching King *Edward* the Third, how little he regarded, how Princely he with his Nobles likewise resisted the Popes reservations and provisions, how he bridled the Archbishop *John Stratford*, and rejected the vain authority of the Bishop of Rome, both in defence of his Subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the Realm of France, read before.

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, which we see rather to be given more often to the wicked sort: but speaking of the duty of Princes, I note and observe by examples of Histories, that such Princes as have most defended the Church of Christ committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the Bishop of Rome, have not lacked at Gods hand great blessing and felicity: whereas contrariwise, they which either themselves have been persecutors of Christs members, or have not shielded them by their protection from foreign Tyranny and injuries, have lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appear by King *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Third, King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, King *Henry* the Sixth, &c. who because either negligently they have suffered, or cruelly caused such persecuting laws to be made and so much Christian blood injuriously to be devoured; therefore have they been the less prospered of the Lord, so that either

Vide supra. What difference between moderate Princes, and them that were persecutors.

they were deposed, or if they flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not half the time of the other Kings before named.

And therefore, as the state of the Commonwealth doth commonly follow the state of the Church, as ye heard before; so it had been to be wished, that this King Henry 7th being otherwise a prudent and temperate Prince, had not permitted the untemperate rage of the Popes Clergy so much to have their wills over the poor flock of Christ, as then they had; according as by these persecutions above mentioned may appear. The which King Henry the Seventh, albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now Reigned 24 years, yet notwithstanding here cometh the same thing to be noted, whereof I spake before; That when the Church of Christ beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wrack through misorder and negligence, the State of the Commonwealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of Gods correction. But howsoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the story: that after the burning and vexing of these poor servants of Christ above recited, when the persecution began now in the Church to be hot, God calleth away the King, the same year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had Reigned the term of 24 years: Who if he had adjoyned a little more pitiful respect, in protecting Christs poor members from the fire of the Popes Tyranny, to his other great virtues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; so much had he been comparable with the best of those Princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord) by his posterity succeeding after him. Of whom in the next Volume following (Christ thereunto assisting us) we have to specify more at large.

Among many other things incident in the Reign of this King Henry the Seventh, I have overpassed the History of certain godly persons persecuted in the Diocels of Coventry and Litchfield, as we find them in the Registers of the Diocels recorded, here following.

The year of our Lord, 1485, March the 9th, amongst divers and sundry othe good men in Coventry, these nine here under named, were examined before John Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield in Saint Michaels Church, upon these Articles following in order.

J. Blomston.

The power of Peter sitteth not to his Successors.

Purgatory denied.

Images not to be worshipped.

Richard Hegham. Merits condemned.

Images serve rather to be burned than to be worshipped.

First, John Blomston was openly and publicly infamed, accused, reported and appeached, that he was a very Heretick, because he had preached, taught, holden and affirmed, that the power attributed to Saint Peter in the Church of God, by our Saviour Jesus Christ immediately, did not sit or pass from him, to remain with his successors.

Item, That there was as much vertue in an herb, as in the Image of the Virgin Mary.

Item, That Prayer and Alms avail not the dead; for incontinent after death, he goeth either to Heaven or Hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

Item, That it was foolishness to go on Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Dancafter, Walsingham, or of the Tower of the City of Coventry: for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire side in the Kitchen, as in the aforesaid places, and as well might a man worship the Blessed Virgin, when he seeth his Mother and Sister, as in visiting the Images, because they be no more but dead stocks and stones.

Item, That he said in English with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: a vengeance on all such Horson Priests, for they have great envy that a poor man should get his living among them.

Richard Hegham of the same City was accused, &c. to be a very Heretick, because he did hold that a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works good and ill, and submit him to the mercy of God.

Item, That it was fondness to worship the Images of our Lady of Tower in the foresaid City, or of other Saints, for they are but stocks and stones.

Item, That if the Image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Item, That it were better to deal money unto poor folks, than to offer to the Image of Christ and other Saints which are but dead stocks and stones.

Robert Crowther of the same City was accused, that he was an Heretick, because he did hold, that who-so receiveth the Sacrament of the Altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but Bread and Wine.

Item, That neither Bishop, nor Priests or Curates of Churches, have power in the Market of Penance to bind and loose.

Item, That Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Tower is foolishness; for it is but a stock or a stone.

John Smith was accused to be a very Heretick, because he did hold, that every man is bound to know the Lords Prayer, and the Creed in English, if he might for these false Priests.

Item, That who so believed as the Church men did believe, believe ill: and that a man had need to frequent the Schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right Faith.

Item, That no Priest hath power to absolve a man in the Market of Penance, from his sins.

Roger Brown of the same City, was also accused to be an Heretick, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the Image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Halies, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatsoever he would ask.

Item, That he held not up his hand, nor looked up, at the elevation of the Eucharist.

Item, That he promised one to shew him certain books of Heresie, if he would swear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

Item, That he did eat flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

Item, If any man were not shriven in his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confessed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he should pass to joy without Purgatory: And if he were confessed of any sin, and were enjoined only to say for Penance one Pater-Noster, if he thought he should have any punishment in Purgatory for that sin, he would never be confessed for any sin.

Item, Because he said all is lost that is given to Priests.

Item, That there was no Purgatory, that would pardon all sins, without confession and satisfaction.

Thomas Butler of the same City was likewise openly accused to be a very Heretick, because he did hold that there were but two ways, that is to say, to Heaven and to Hell.

Item, That no faithful man should abide any pain after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ dyed for our sins.

Item, That there was no Purgatory; for every man immediately after death passeth either to Heaven or Hell.

Item, That whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the Church, howsoever he hath lived, shall be saved.

Item, That Prayers and Pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchase Heaven.

John Falks was accused to be a very Heretick, because he did affirm, That it was a foolish thing to offer to the Image of our Lady, saying, Her head shall be hoar or I offer to her: What is it but a block? If it could speak to me, I would give it an half penny worth of Ale.

Item, That when the Priest carrieth to the sick the Body of Christ, why carrieth he not also the Blood of Christ?

Item, That he did eat Cow-milk upon the first Sunday of Lent.

Item, That as concerning the Sacrament of Penance and Absolution, no Priest hath power to assail any Man from his sins, when as he cannot make one Hair of his Head.

Item, That the Image of our Lady was but a Stone or a Block.

Richard Hilmin was accused that he was a very Heretick, because he did say and maintain, That it was better to part with Money to the Poor, than to give Tithes

KING
Hen. 7.
Robert Crowther.

Against Pilgrimage.

John Smith
The Lords Prayer to be in English.

Roger Brown
Against Pilgrimage.

Flesh eating in Lent.

Against Purgatory and confession Auricular.

Against confession and satisfaction.

Tho. Butler.

Against Purgatory.

Against Merits.

John Falks
Against Images.

It is Heresie to say a stone is a stone, and a block is a block.

R. Hilmin.

KING
Hen. 7.

Tithes to Priests, or to offer to the Images of our Lady; and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, than to the Images of God painted.

Item, That he had the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel and the Creed in *English*, and another Book did he see and had, which contained the Epistles and Gospels in *English*, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be saved.

Scripture
in *English*.

Item, That no Priest speaketh better in the Pulpit than that Book.

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is but Bread and that the Priests make it to blind the people.

Item, That a Priest while he is at Mass, is a Priest; and after one Mass done, till the beginning of another Mass, he is no more than a Lay-man, and hath no more power than a meer Lay-man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were spoiled and put to Penance.

Margery
Goyt.

Against the
Sacrament
of the
Altar.

IN the year of our Lord 1488, the third of April, Margery Goyt, Wife of James Goyt of Asburn, was brought before the foresaid John Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who was there accused that she said, That that which the Priests lift over their heads at Mass, was not the True and very Body of Christ: For if it were so, the Priests could not break it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do: for the Lords Body hath Flesh and Bones, so hath not that which the Priests receive.

Item, That Priests buying forty Cakes for a half penny, and shewing them to the people, and saying, That of every of them they make the Body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.

Item, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make Man, how can it be that Man should be able to make God?

¶ This Woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she spoiled and did Penance.

Thus much I thought good here to insert, touching these foresaid Men of Coventry, especially for this purpose, because our cavilling adversaries be wont to object against us the newness of Christs old and ancient Religion. To the intent therefore they may see this Doctrine, not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the

Time and Articles here objected against these foresaid persons, as is above-premised.

I should also in the same Reign of King Henry the Seventh, have induced that story of Johannes Picus Earl of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before. This Picus Earl of Mirandula, being but a young Man, was so excellently witted, and so singularly learned in all Sciences and in all Tongues, both Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Araby, that coming to Rome booted and spurred, he set up 90 Conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendom, whosoever would come against him. Of which Conclusions divers were touching the matter of the Sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, privily and in corners certain of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers and Friars, by the Pope appointed, consulted together to enquire upon his Conclusions, whereupon they did articulate against him for suspicion of Heresie. And thus the unlearned Clergy of Rome privily circumvented and entangled this learned Earl in their snares of Heresie, against whom they durst never openly dispute. He died being of the age of 32 years, of such wit and towardness, as is hard to say, whether ever Italy bred up a better. In his sickness Charles the Eighth, then French King, moved with the fame of his Learning, came to visit him. The Furniture of his Books cost him 7000 Florens. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a Coult, to go about and Preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His story, requireth a long tractation, which if place do serve, we will not peradventure forget. With two Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander the sixth he had much vexation.

Picus Mirandula
Earl.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this sixth Book contained.

| | | |
|----|------------------|----|
| 62 | John Stratford. | 8 |
| 63 | John Kempe. | 3 |
| 64 | Thomas Bouchier. | 33 |
| 65 | John Morton. | 14 |
| 66 | Thomas Langton. | |
| 67 | Henry Dene. | 2 |
| | Guliel. Warham. | 28 |

This Thomas
Langton
was Elected
Archbishop
but died
before he
was con-
firmed.

Here endeth the Sixth Book, and the First Tome.

A brief note of Ecclesiastical Laws Ordained by Ancient Kings in this Realm.

Ecclesiasti-
cal Laws or-
dained by
ancient
Kings of
this Realm.

FORASMUCH as it is, and hath been a persuasion long engendred in the heads of many, that the Bishops of Rome be the universal heads of the whole Militant Church of Christ in Earth, and have always so continued from the beginning of the Primitive time; and that no Prince, King nor Emperor in his own Realm hath any interest to intermeddle with matters and Laws Ecclesiastical, but only the said Bishops of Rome: to refel and remove that Opinion out of the heads of all English-men, as a thing most false, and contrary both to Histories of Time, and examples of ancient Kings and Governors of this Realm, I thought to fill up a little end of Paper here left, with some such brief rehearsal of Laws devised and appointed by Kings and Rulers of this Land, for the ordering of the Church, and causes Ecclesiastical, to the intent that all the World may see that the Government of Christs Church here in Earth under Christ hath not depended only of the Pope from ancient time, but hath been rather directed by such Kings and Princes as God here had placed under him to govern the people of this Realm of England, as followeth here in this present Table to be noted.

A brief recapitulation of Ancient Ecclesiastical Laws, by sundry Kings of this Realm Ordained, for Government of the Church, before the Conquest.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Inas, or Ina.

1. First, King Inas, who Reigned in this Land the year of our Lord 712, commanded the Ministers should frame their conversation of life according to the form in Laws prescribed.
2. That Infants should be Baptized within 30 days.
3. Item, That no Man Lay or Spiritual, Free or Bond, should labour on the Sunday.
4. Item, He established immunity of Churches, and Sanctuary. Also he took order for the true payment of the Church-duties, and of the first fruits of all that was sown to be paid at the day of St. Martin.

Ecclesiasti-
cal Laws of
King Inas.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Alured, or Alfred.

1. King Alured after he had ordained divers judicial punishments for violating the Holy Precepts of God commanded by Moses, he also confirmed and enlarged the privilege of Sanctuary; he laid double pain upon such as committed offences in the Solemnities of certain Feasts; Also against them that committed Sacrilege.
2. He made a Law against Priests committing Murther.
3. Also he made a Law against Whoredom, Adultery and Fornication.

King Alu-
red's Laws

4. He

4. He appointed days of Fasting and ceasing from Labour.
5. *Item*, He set order for making and keeping Vows.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edward the Elder, and Gythrum the Dane King.

King Edward's Laws

1. **F**irst, They agreed upon the Sanctuary; they forbade *Gentilism* and *Paganism*; they laid punishment upon the Clergy committing Theft, Perjury, or Murder, Fornication, or any capital crime.
2. They punished Priests, that pretermitted their Office in pronouncing Festival, or Fasting-days.
3. They made a Law against all Labour, Buying and Selling upon the Sabbath; also for keeping of Feasts. *Item*, For no Execution to be done on the Sunday. Also against Witches and Sorcerers, &c.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Ethelstane.

King Ethelstane's Laws

1. **K**ing *Ethelstane*, who Reigned the year of our Lord 924, commanded that every Village of his own should give a monthly Corody to a poor person.
2. That fifty *Psalms* should be sung daily in the Church, for the King, &c.
3. He also Ordained punishment for Witches and Sorcerers, &c.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edmund.

King Edmund's Laws

1. **A**fter King *Ethelstane* followed King *Edmund* about the year of our Lord 940, who established and provided Laws against the unchaste living of Churchmen.
2. *Item*, He made Laws concerning Tithes, with first Fruits of every Mans Crop, and Alms-mony duly to be paid.
3. *Item*, He Enacted, That Bishops of their own proper charges should repair Churches, and should also admonish the King for the furnishing of the same.
4. For Perjury also, and for Fighting within the Church, he set Laws and Pains.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edgar.

King Edgar's Laws

1. **K**ing *Edgar*, who began his Reign about the year of our Lord 959, amongst other Constitutions Ecclesiastical, Ordained, That the Sunday should be kept Holy from Saturday at noon till Monday in the morning.
2. *Item*, He Ordained and Decreed concerning Liberties and Freedoms of the Church; for Tithes also, and first Fruits of Corn, and paying of *Peter-pence*.
3. *Item*, For Holy-days and Fasting-days.
4. *Item*, That Assemblies or Synods should be kept twice every year, whereat as well the Bishop of the Dioceses should be present, as the Civil Magistrate.

When Kings of England came first under the Popes subjection.

And thus stood the Government of this Realm of England all the time before the Conquest, till Pope Hildebrand, through the setting on of the Saxons, began first to bring the Emperor (which was Henry 4th) under foot. Then followed the subduing of other Emperors, Kings, and Subjects after that; as namely here in England, when Lanfrancus, Anselmus, and Becket, went to complain of their Kings, and Governors, then brought they the Popes Judicial Authority first from Rome over this Land, both over Kings and Subjects; which ever since hath continued, till these later years. Albeit the said Kings of this Realm of England being prudent Princes, and seeing right well the ambitious presumption of those Romish Bishops, did what they could to shake off the yoke of their Supremacy, as appeareth by the Laws and Acts of their Parliaments, both in King Edward the Thirds time, King Richard the Second, and King Henry the Fourth, above in their Parliament Notes specified; yet for fear of other Foreign Princes, and the blind opinion of their Subjects, such was then the calamity of that time, that neither they could nor durst compass that which fain they would; till at last the time of their Inquiry being compleat, through the Lords wonderful working, their Pride had a fall, as in the Volume ensuing (the Lord so granting) shall by process of History be declared.

King Ethelrede, Anno 979.

KING
Ethelrede's Laws

King *Ethelrede* also, which succeeded after *Edgar* and *Edward*, appointed divers Laws for publick Regiment, whereof we find but few touching matters Ecclesiastical, for Tithes, Lights, Feasts and nothing else, and therefore we pass further to the Laws of *Canutus*.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Canutus.

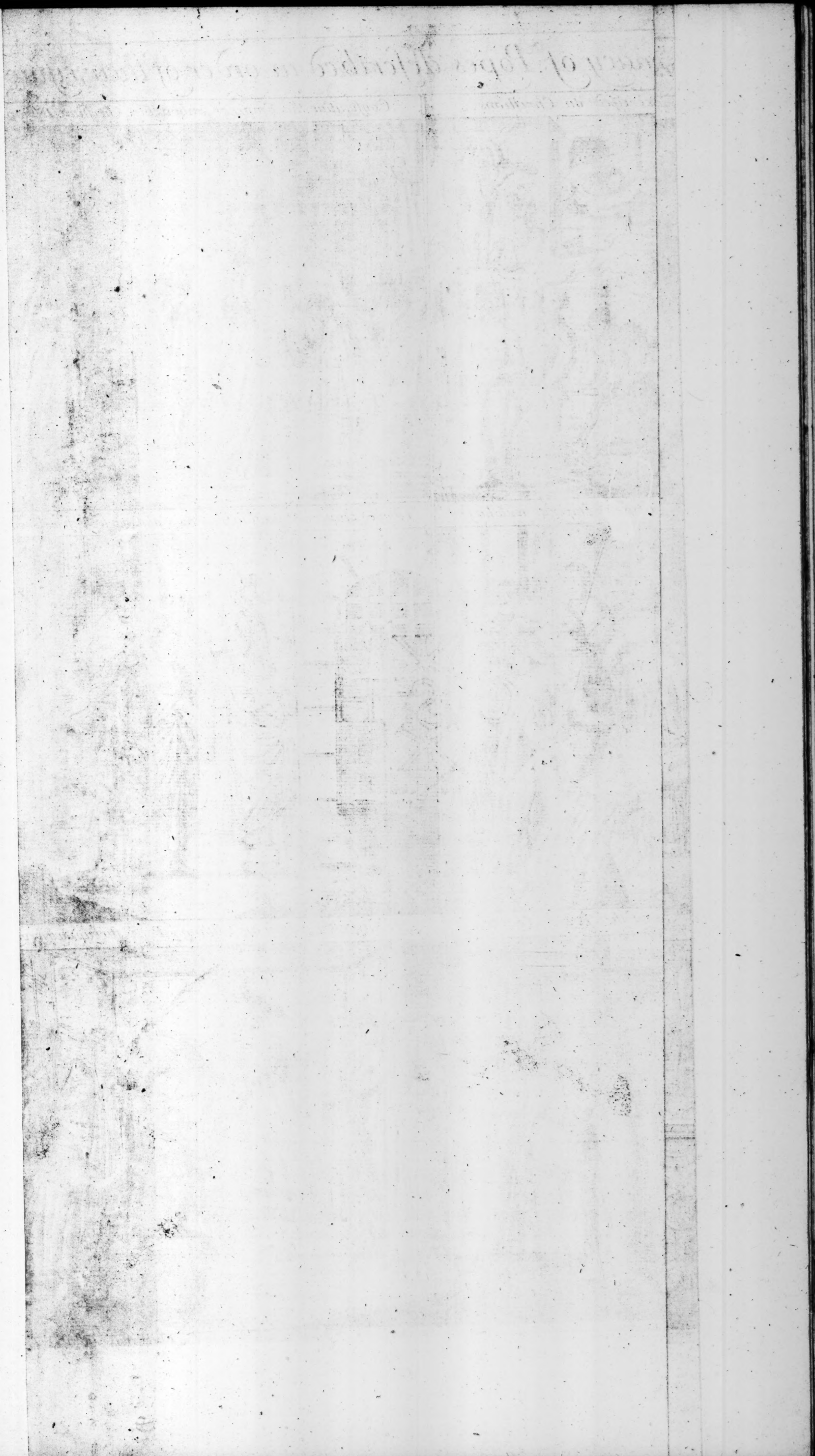
King Canutus's Laws

Canutus the Dane King began to Reign in this Land in the year of our Lord 1016. The said *Canutus* (as *Ethelrede* had done before) divided his Laws into Ecclesiastical and Temporal.

1. That Ecclesiastical persons being accused of Fighting, Murder, or any other offence, should purge themselves thereof.
2. That Priests should be degraded for Perjury, and put in Sureties of good behaviour.
3. He prayeth Priests, that they will live chaste, and commanded other Religious.
4. He limited the Degrees of Marriage.
5. *Item*, He command Celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noon till Monday morning, as *Edgar* had done before, forbidding Markets, Huntings, Labours, and Court-keepings during the said space.
6. He Ordained each Christian Man to come to the Houfel thrice yearly at the least; That they search and injure after Gods Law, and his Commandements.
7. That every Christian Man understand the points of his Faith, and that at least he learn perfectly the Lords Prayer and the Creed; and that whosoever cannot, the same shall be excluded from the Eucharist, and shall not be received to undertake for others in Baptism.
8. That Bishops and Priests should do their Duties; that they cry out and warn their Flocks when the Woolf cometh.
9. That at the Court of every Shire the Bishop of the Dioceses shall be present with the Sheriff, and that the one shall teach them Gods Law, and the other Mans Law, as ye heard in King *Edgar*'s Laws before.

Many other Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Temporal, besides these were enacted by these and other Kings here in England before the Conquest, but these be sufficient to give the understanding Reader to consider, how the Authority of the Bishops of Rome, all this while, extended not so far to prescribe Laws for Government of the Church, but that Kings and Princes of the Realm, as they be now, so were then full Governors here under Christ, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Temporal, both in directing Orders, instituting Laws, in calling of Synods, and also in conferring Bishopricks and Benefices, without any leave of the Romish Bishops. Thus *Odo*, *Dunstane*, *Osward*, *Ethelwold*, *Adelmus*, and *Lanfrancus*, although they set their Palls afterward from Rome, yet were they made Bishops and Archbishops by Kings only, not by Popes.

Kings of England before the Conquest Governors as well in Causes Ecclesiastical as Temporal



The Proud Primacy of Popes described in order of their

Variety of Tortures exercised on Christians.



Constantine the Emperor embracing Christianity.



Pope Celestine Crowning Henry 6. Emperor with his foot.



Henry 4. Emperor waiting 3 dayes & nights in frost & cold.



King Henry 2. kissing the knee of the Popes Legate.



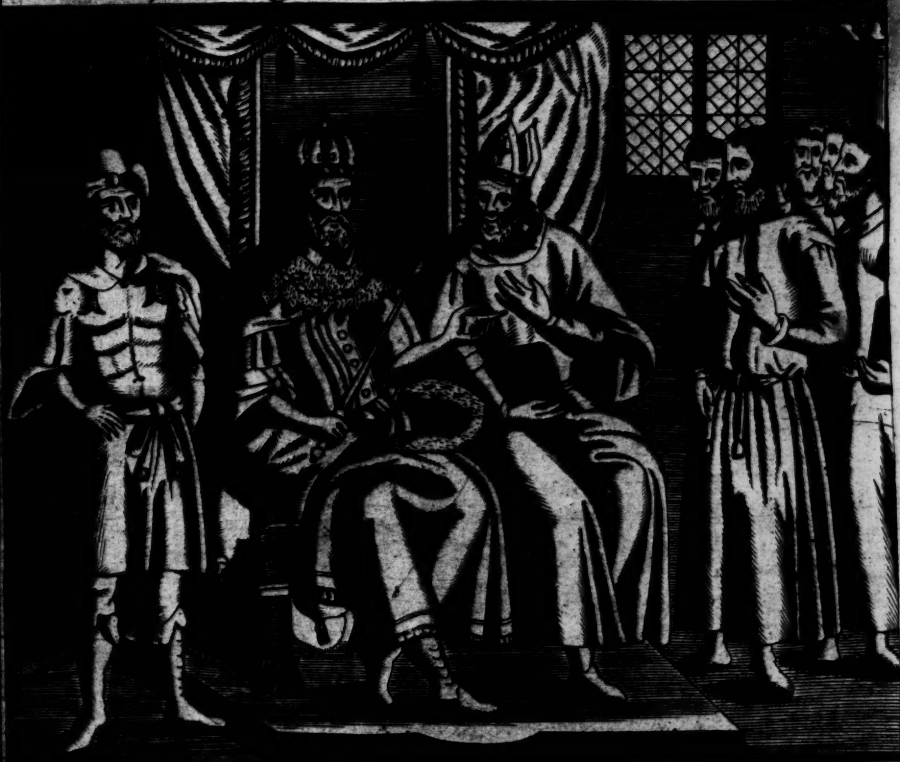
Frederick 1. Emperor, holding y^e Popes stirrup.



their rising up from faithfull Bishops & martyrs to be

Christian Bishops

Bishops of Rome advanced by Emperors ~



its in frost & snow for admittance

King John offering his Crown to Pandulphus the Popes Legate.



pes stirrup on a wrong side

The Pope riding, the Emperor holding his Bridle, Kings ^{before him} walking



place this in Vol. I. between page 884 and p. 885.

cribed in order of their rising up from faithfull

Constantine the Emperor embracing Christian Bishops

Bishops of Rome



4 Emperor waiting 3 dayes & nights in frost & snow for admittance ^{to Pope Gregory}

King Iohn offering his



Herick 1. Emperor, holding y^e Popes stirrup on y^e wrong side

The Pope riding, the



Place this in Vol. I. between page 884 and p.

*withfull Bishops & martyrs to become Lords & Governors over Kings & King
of Rome advanced by Emperors ~*



Offering his Crown to Pandulphus the Popes Legate.



An Emperor kissing the Popes feet.



holding the Emperor holding his Bridle, Kings walking before him



The Pope carried on mens shoulders & Emperors & Kings walking before





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{KING
H. 7.}

The proud Primacy of Popes described, in order of their rising up by little and little, from faithful Bishops and Martyrs, to become Lords and Governors over Kings and Kingdoms, exalting themselves in the Temple of God; above all that is called God, &c. 2 Thessal. 2.

The Martyrdom of good Bishops under wicked Emperors in the Primitive Church.

IN the Description of the Primitive Church hath been (gentle Reader) set forth and exhibited before thine eyes the grievous afflictions and sorrowful torments, which through Gods secret sufferance fell upon the True Saints and Members of Christs Church in that time, especially upon the good Bishops, Ministers and Teachers of the Flock, of whom some were Scourged, some Beheaded, some Crucified, some Burned, some had their Eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which days of woful calamity continued (as is foretold) near the space of Three hundred years. During which time the Dear Spouse and Elect Church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present World, but in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the Cross passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented and martyred every where, who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the Enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing Psalms and Hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers, and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate; but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound; and the farther off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude, to confirm and rejoyce their Souls. And though their Possessions and Riches in this World were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with Heavenly Gifts and Treasures from above an hundred fold. Then was True Religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance shewed, but in inward affection received, and in the True Image of the Church, not in outward shew pretended, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the Name and Fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, Zeal ardent, Prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no Pride in the Church, nor leisure to seek Riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the Devil, author of all Dissension. Briefly, the whole Church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this World, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of Gods favour and supportation.

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

After this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the Saints and Servants of his Son, to release their Captivity; to release their misery, and to bind up the old Dragon the Devil, which so long vexed them, whereby the Church began to aspire to some more liberty: and the Bishops which before were as abjects, utterly contemned of Emperors, through the Providence of God (which disposeth all things in his time after his own Will) began now of Emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperors grew more in Devotion, so the Bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, inasmuch that in short space they became not quarter Masters, but rather half Emperors with Emperors. After this, in process of time, as Riches and Worldly wealth crept into the Clergy, and that the Devil had poured his Venom into the Church (as the Voice was heard the same time over Constantinople) so true Humility began to

decay, and Pride to set in his foot; till at last they played as the Ivy doth with the Oak-tree, which first beginning with a goodly green shew, imbraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him; and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his Root fast in his Bark, till at last it both stiflcth the Stock, and killeth the Branches, and so cometh to be a Nest for Owls and all unclean Birds. Not untruly therefore it was said of *Augustine*, *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem*; that is, Religion begat Riches, and the Daughter hath devoured the Mother. The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all other in the Church of Rome, and the Bishops of the same. For after that the Church of Rome, through favour of Emperors was indued with Lands, Donations, Possessions and Patrimonies, so that the Bishops thereof feeling the smack of Wealth, Ease and Prosperity, began to swell in Pomp and Pride; the more they flourished in this World, the more Gods Holy Spirit forsook them, till at last the said Bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the Ground, and were persecuted a long time, every Man treading upon them in this World, now of persecuted people, began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of Emperors, and to bring the heads of Kings and Princes under their Girdle. And not only that, but furthermore through Pride and Riches, they were so far gone from all Religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God (whom we call Antichrist) prophesied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the Temple of God, &c. Of whom thus we read in the Epistle of Paul, 2 Thess. 2. where he saith, *We beseech you Brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition, that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God, &c.*

The Spiritual Riches of the Church turned to Worldly Riches. Ex lib. Serm. Discipuli. Look Tyndal in his Book of the practice of Prelates.

The great adversary called Antichrist, described by St. Paul, 2 Thess. 2.

By which words of St. Paul, we have divers things to understand: First, That the day of the Lords coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, The Apostle giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, To shew what adversary this shall be, he expresseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas, the High Priests and Pharisees, Tertullus, Alexander the Coppersmith, Elymas and Simon Magus, and Nero the Emperor, in Paul's time were great adversaries: yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest, not such a one as should be like to Priest, King or Emperor, but such as far exceeding the state of all Kings, Priests and Emperors, should be the Prince of Priests, should make Kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of Emperors, and make them to kiss his feet. Moreover, where the Apostle saith, That he shall sit in the Temple of God; thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the Pope in the City only of Rome, but the Authority and Jurisdiction of his See exalted in the whole Universal Church, equal with God himself. For let Men give to the Pope that which he in his Laws, Decrees, and in his Pontifical requireth, and what difference is there between God and the Pope? If God set Laws and Ordinances, so doth he. If God have his Creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of Gods

A declaration of St. Paul's words.

The Pope sitting in the Temple of God.

Commandments are punished, much more be his. God hath his Religion, the Pope also hath his, yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hundred. God hath set up an Advocate, he hath an hundred. God hath Instituted, but a few Holy-days; for Gods one, he hath Instituted forty. And if the Holy-day that God hath appointed be *simplex*, the Feast that the Pope appointeth, is *duplex & triplex*. Christ is the Head of the Church; so is the Pope. Christ giveth influence to his Body; so doth the Pope. Christ forgiveth sin; the Pope doth no less. Christ expelleth evil spirits by his Power; so pretendeth the Pope by his Holy Water. Furthermore, where Christ went bare-foot upon the bare Ground, he with his Golden Shooes is carried on Mens Shoulders. And where Christ was called *Sanctus Sanctorum*; he is called *Sanctorum Sanctissimus*. Christ never practised but only the Spiritual Sword; he claimeth both Spiritual and Temporal. Christ bought the Church; he both buyeth and selleth the Church. And if it be necessary to believe Christ to be the Saviour of the World; so it is necessary to believe the Pope to be the head of the Church. Christ paid Tribute unto *Cæsar*; he maketh *Cæsar* pay Tribute unto him. Finally, the Crown of Christ was of sharp Thorn; the Pope hath three Crowns of Gold upon his head, so far exceeding Christ the Son of God in glory of this World, as Christ exceedeth him in the Glory of Heaven. The image and patern of whose intolerable Pride and Exaltation, according as *St. Paul* doth describe him in his Epistle aforesaid, we have here set forth, not only in these Tables to be seen, and by his own Facts to be noted, but also in his own Words and Registers, Clementines, Extravagants, and Pontificals expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

The exaltation of Popes above Kings and Emperors, out of Histories.

John Patriarch of Constantinople subdued by the Bishop of Rome.

The Emperors Lieutenant of Ravenna subdued by the Lombards and Roman Bishops.

Boniface the Third obtained of Ptolemy to be called Universal Bishop. Pope Zachary put down Childericus the French King, and set Pipinus in his place. Pipinus and Carolus Magnus set up by Pope Zachary.

How the Bishops of Rome came first to be the head Bishops of the Church.

Donation of Constantine, a thing false and forged.

Pope Gregory the Fifth practised with the Germans to reduce the Empire to Germany, A.D. 1002.

First, after that *Italy* and the City of *Rome* were overrun by the *Goths* and *Vandales*, so that the Seat of the Empire was removed to *Constantinople*, then began *Joannes Patriarch of Constantinople* to put forth himself, and would needs be called Universal Bishop of the World; but the Bishop of *Rome* in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the Emperors Deputy, and Exarch of *Ravenna* to rule *Italy*, but the Bishop of *Rome* through aid of the King of *Lombards*, soon quailed him.

Not long after, about the year of our Lord 500, came *Ptolemy* the murderer, who slew the Emperor of *Constantinople*, his Master *Mauritius* and his Children. By which *Ptolemy* the Bishops of old *Rome* aspired first to their pre-eminence, to be counted the head Bishops over the whole Church, and so together with the *Lombards* began to rule the City of *Rome*. Afterwards when the *Lombards* would not yield unto him, in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needs require of the Bishop the said City of *Rome*; he stirred up *Pipinus*, but first deposed *Childericus* the King of *France*, and so thrusting him into an Abby, set up in his place *Pipinus* and his Son *Carolus Magnus* to put down the said King of *Lombards* called *Aistulphus*. And so he translated the Empire from *Constantinople* into *France*, dividing the spoil between him and them; so that the Kings of *France* had all the Possessions and Lands which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receive of them the quiet Possession of the City of *Rome*, with such Donations and Lordships, which now they challenge unto them under the name of *St. Peter's* Patrimony, which they falsely ascribe to that Donation of *Constantinus* the great.

It followeth then in process of time, after the days of *Pipinus*, *Carolus* and *Ludovicus* (who had induced these Bishops of *Rome*, called now Popes, with large Possessions) when the Kings of *France* were not so applicable to their beck, to aid and maintain them against the Princes of *Italy*, who began then to pinch the said Bishops for their wrongful usurped Goods, they practised with the *Germans* to reduce the Empire to *Ordo*, first of that name, Duke of *Spain*, referring the Election thereof to seven Princes Electors of *Germany*, which was about *A.D. 1002*. notwithstanding, reserving still in his hands the Negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietness and security, and so did for a good space.

At length, when some of these *German* Emperors also after *Ordo* began a little to spurn against the said Bishops and Popes of *Rome*, some of them they accursed, some they subdued and brought to the kissing of their feet, some they deposed, and placed other in their Possessions.

So was *Henry 4th* by these Bishops accursed, the Emperor himself forced with his Wife and Child to wait attendance upon the Popes pleasure three days and three nights in Winter, at the Gates of *Canossa*. Read before. Besides all this, the said Pope raised up *Rodolphus* to be Emperor against him; who being slain in War, then the said Pope *Gregory 7th*, not resting thus, stirred up his own Son *Henricus* the 5th, to Fight against his own natural Father, and to depose him, which *Henricus* the 5th was also himself afterward Accursed and Excommunicated, and the *Saxons* at last set up by the Bishops to Fight against him.

After this, the Emperors began to be somewhat calmed, and more quiet, suffering the Bishops to Reign as they listed, till *Frederick* the first, called *Barbarossa*, came and began to stir Coals against them. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his Son *Henry* in such sort, that they brought first the Neck of *Frederick*, in the Church of *Venice*, under their Feet to tread upon; and after the said Bishops, crowning *Henricus* his Son in the Church of *St. Peter*, set his Crown on his Head with their Feet, and with their Feet spurned it off again, to make him know that the Popes of *Rome* had power both to Crown Emperors, and Depose them again. Whereof read before.

Then followed *Philippus* Brother to *Henry* aforesaid, whom also the Popes Accursed, about the year of our Lord 1198, and set up *Ordo* Duke of *Saxony*. But when the said *Ordo* began to be so saucy, to dispossess the Bishops of their Cities and Lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him besides the Cushion. The like also fell upon *Ordo* the 4th, that followed after *Philip*, who was suffered no longer than four years to Reign, about the year of our Lord 1209.

At this time *Fredericus* the Second, the Son of *Fredericus Barbarossa* above-mentioned, was but young, whom the Bishops of *Rome* supposing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be Emperor after his Father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiving the immoderate Pomp and Pride of the *Roman* Bishops, which he could in no case abide, so nettled them and cut their Combs, and waxed so stout against them, intending to extirp their Tyranny, and to reduce their pompous Riches to the state and condition of the Primitive Church again, putting some of them to flight, and prisoning some of their Cardinals, that of three Popes, one after another, he was Accursed, circumvented by Treason, at last Deposed, and after that Poisoned, and at last forsaken and died.

After this *Frederick* followed his Son *Conradus*, whom War raised the aforesaid Bishops for his disobedience soon dispatched, exciting against him in mortal War the *Landgrave of Thuringia*, whereby he was at length driven into his Kingdom of *Naples*, and there deceased.

This *Conradus* had a Son called *Conradinus*, Duke and Prince of *Suevia*. When this *Conradinus*, after the decease of his Father came to enjoy his Kingdom of *Naples*, the said Bishops stirred up against him *Charles* the French Kings Brother, in such sort, that through crafty conveyance, both *Conradinus* which descended of the blood of so many Emperors, and also *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable indurance, unseemingly to their state, at length were both brought under the Axe by the Popes procurement, and so both beheaded. And thus ended the Imperial stock of *Frederick* the First, surnamed *Barbarossa*.

The like as hapned to *Frederick* the Emperor, had almost also fallen upon *Philip* the French King, by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, who, because he could not have his Commodities and Revenues out of *France* after his will, sent out his Bulls and Letters Patents to displace King *Philip* aforesaid, and to possess *Albertus* King of *Romans* in his room.

And thus hitherto in Foreign Stories. Now touching our Country Princes here in *England*, to speak somewhat likewise of them: did not Pope *Alexander* the Third presumptuously taking upon him where he had nothing to do,

KING
Hen 7.
O. 16. 6. R.
German
Emperor.

Emperors
brought to
kiss the
Popes feet.
Henricus the
Fourth, ac-
cursed,
waiteth at
the Popes
Gate Three
days.

Rodolphus,
and at last
his own Son
set up to
Fight a-
gainst him.
Read before
Pope Alex-
ander the
Third
treadeth
upon the
Neck of
Frederick,
the Empe-
ror.

Pope Cele-
stine
Crowneth
Henry the
Fifth, Em-
peror, with
his Foot,
and with
his Foot
spurneth
the Crown
from his
Head again.

Henricus 3.
Gregory 9.
Innocent 4.
against Fre-
dericus 2.
Emperor.

War raised
against Con-
radus, by
the Bishops
of Rome.

Ex. Aven-
tine.

The Infol-
lency of
Pope Bonif.
8. against
Philip the
French
King.

KING

Hen. 7.
The Tyrannous In-
juries of Bishops of
Rome against Kings of
England.
Pope Alexander the
Third, against King
Henry the Second.

Pope Innocent the
Third against K. John.

to intermeddle with the Kings Subjects, for the death of *Becket* the rebel, albeit the King sufficiently cleared himself thereof; yet notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring the said K. Henry the Second to such Penance as it pleased him to enjoyn, and also violently constrained him to Swear obedience to the See of *Rome*? The like also was shewed before in this story to happen to King *John* his Son. For when the said King like a valiant Prince had he'd out the tyranny of those Bishops seven years together, were not all the Churches in *England* barred up, and his Inheritance with all his Dominions given away by Pope *Innocent* the Third, to *Ludovicus* the French King, and he afterward compelled to submit both himself, and to make his whole Realm feudatory to the Bishops of *Rome*, and moreover the King himself driven also to surrender his Crown to *Pandolphus* the Popes Legate, and so continued as a private person five days, standing at the Popes courtserie, whether to receive it again at his hands or no? And when the Nobles of the Realm rose afterward against the King for the same, was not he then fain to seek and sue to the foresaid Pope for succour, as by his own Letter, taken out of the publick Rolls, may appear?

King John's Supplication to Pope Innocent the Third.

Ex Rotule patenti.
De an. Regni Reg.
Joannis 8.

King John's Suppli-
cation to Pope In-
nocent the Third.

Reverendis. Domino suo & Patri Sanctis. In-
nocentio Dei gratia, Joan. eadem gratia R.
Angliae, &c. Cum Comites & Barones Angliae nobis
devoti essent, antequam nos & nostram terram Do-
minio vestro subiacere curassemus, ex tunc in nos
specialiter ob hoc, sicut publice dicunt, violenter in-
surgunt. Nos vero prater Deum vos specialem do-
minum & patronum habentes, defensionem nostram
& totius Regni, quod vestrum esse credimus, vestre
paternitati commissam, & nos quantum in nobis est,
curam & sollicitudinem istam vestre resignamus
dominationi, devotius supplicantes quatenus in ne-
gotiis nostris, quae vestra sunt, consilium & auxili-
um efficacem apponatis, prout melius, videritis expe-
dire, latores praesentium, &c. Teste meipso apud
Dour. 18. Septem. 6.

William Caxton.

Thomas Gray's French
Chronicle in Meeter.
Ranulph. Cestrensis.
Thomas Rudburn.
Rich. Rede.
Eulogium.
Walterus Gislebertus.
Joan. Major.

Writers in English
and Latin without
name.

And yet all this notwithstanding that the said K.
John did so yield to the Pope, he was both pursued
by his Nobles, and also in the end was Poysoned by
a subject of the Popes own Religion, a Monk of
Swinsford; as I have sufficiently to prove, not only
by *William Caxton* above in my story alledged, Pag.
332, but also have testimony of the most part of
Chronicles for the same (a few only excepted) as of
Thomas Gray in his French Chronicle; also of an
other French Chronicle in Meeter; of *Ranulphus*
Cestrensis; *Thomas Rudburn* also doth witness the
same; so doth *Richard Rede*, in novo Chronico ad
tempora, Henr. 6. The like also doth the Chronicle
called *Eulogium Monachi Cant.* The words of
Walter Gislebertus an ancient Historiographer, be plain.
No less is to be found in *Joan. Major. de gestis*
Scotorum, Libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56. where he not on-
ly maketh mention of the Monk and of the Poy-
son, but also of the Abbot, of his absolution, and of
the Three Monks every day singing for the said
Monks Soul. To these I could also annex divers
other writers both English and Latin, without
name, which witness that King *John* was Poyson-
ed; one beginning thus, *Here beginneth a Book in*
the English Tongue, called Brute, &c. Another be-
ginneth, *Because this Book is made to tell what*
time anything notable, &c. The Third in English
beginneth, *The reign of Britain that now is called*
England, &c. Of Latin Books which have no name,
one beginneth thus: *Britannia, quae & Anglia di-*
citur, a Bruto nomen est sortita, &c. Another hath
this beginning: *Adam pater generis humani*, &c.
Besides this King *Henry* the Second, and K. *John*
his Son, what Kings have here Reigned in *England*

since their time, until the Reign of King *Henry* the
Eighth; who although they were prudent Princes,
and did what they could in providing against the
proud domination of these Bishops, yet were forced
at length fore against their wills, for fear, to subject
themselves, together with their subjects under usur-
ped Authority, in so much as some of them (as
Matth. Paris. writeth by King *Henry* the Third)
were fain to stoop and kiss their Legates Knees.

King Henry the Third
killing the Knees of
the Popes Legate.

*The Image of Antichrist, exalting himself in
the Temple of God, above all that is
named God, out of his own Decrees, De-
cretals, Extravagants, Pontificals, &c.
word for word, as it is out of the said
Books here alledged and quoted.*

Ex D. Pauli,
1. Thess. 2.

IFORASMUCH as it standeth upon necessity of Sal-
vation, for every human Creature to be sub-
ject unto me the Pope of *Rome*, it shall be there-
fore requisite and necessary for all Men that will be
saved, to learn and know the Dignity of my See
and Excellency of my Domination, as here is set
forth according to the truth and very words of
mine own Laws, in style as followeth: 2. First
my Institution began in the *Old Testament*, and
was consummate and finished in the *New*, in that
my Priesthood was prefigured by *Aaron*; And o-
ther Bishops under me were prefigured by the Sons
of *Aaron*, that were under him: 3. Neither is it
to be thought that my Church of *Rome* hath been
preferred by any General Council, but obtained
the Primacy only by the Voice of the Gospel, and
the mouth of the Saviour. 4. And hath in it nei-
ther spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing.
5. Wherefore as other Seats be all inferior to me,
and as they cannot Absolve me: so have they no
power to bind me or to stand against me, no more
than the Axe hath power to stand or presume a-
bove him that heweth with it, or the Saw to pre-
sume above him that ruleth it. 6. This is the Holy
and Apotlick Mother-Church of all other
Churches of Christ; 7. from whose Rules it is
not meet that any person or persons should de-
cline; but like as the Son of God came to do the
Will of his Father, so must you do the Will of
your Mother the Church, the head whereof is the
Church of *Rome*. 8. And if any other person or
persons shall err from the said Church, either let
them be admonished, or else their names taken, to
be known who they be that swerve from the Cu-
stoms of *Rome*. 9. Thus then forasmuch as the
holy Church of *Rome* whereof I am Governor, is
set up to the whole World for a gla's or example,
reason would what thing soever the said Church
determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of
all Men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever.
10. Whereupon we see it now verified in this
Church, that was fore-prophefied by *Jeremy*,
saying, *Behold, I have set thee up over Nations*
and Kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to
build and to plant, &c. 11. Whoso understandeth
not the Prerogative of this my Priesthood, let him
look up to the Firmament, where he may see two
great Lights, the Sun and the Moon, one ruling
over the day, the other over the night: So in the
Firmament of the Universal Church, 12. God hath
set two great Dignities, the Authority of the Pope,
and of the Emperor. Of the which two, this our
Dignity is so much more weightier, as we have the
greater charge to give account to God for Kings
of the Earth, and the Laws of Men. 13. Wherefore
it known to you Emperors, which know it also
right well, that you depend upon the judgment of
us; we must not be brought and reduced to your
will. 14. For (as I said) look what difference
there is betwixt the Sun and the Moon, so great is
the power of the Pope ruling over the day, that is,
over the Spirituality, above Emperors and Kings,
ruling

1. Pope Bonifacius 8.
Extravag. de Majori
& obed. c. Unam.

2. Diffinitio, 12. c.
Decretis.

3. Pope Palagius Di.
Synod. 21. c. Quamvis.

4. Pelagius, ibi.

5. Pope Nicolas, Di.
Synod. 21. c. Inferius.

6. Pope Lucius 24. q.
1. cap. 2. Regis.

7. Pope Calixtus Di.
12. cap. Non daret.

8. Pope Innocentius
11. cap. Quis.

9. Pope Stephen, Di.
Synod. 19. c. Enim videri.

10. Pope Bonifac. 8.
Extravag. cap. unam
sanctam. Item, Pope
Joannes 21. Extravag.
cap. Super gentes.

11. Pope Innocent. 3.
ori. de major. & obed.
cap. Solus.

12. Pope Gelasius
Di. 96. cap. Didi.

13. Ibidem.

14. Innocentius de
Major. & obed. cap.
Solus.

15. *Glossa. Ibidem.*16. *Ibidem.*17. *Innocentius. Ibid.*18. *Pope Clement.
5. Clement de jure
jurando, c. Romanus.*19. *Pope John. Diff.
96. c. Nunquam.*20. *Pope Clement.
5. Clement de Senent.
c. de rejudiciis per malis.*21. *Pope Innocent 3.
De judiciis. c. Novus.*22. *Ibidem.*23. *Pope Marcellus.
caus. 2. q. 6. c. ad Ro-
manum.*24. *Innocent. Novelle.*25. *Facius Mar-
tyr. lib. 40. c. Si Papa.*26. *Glossa Extr. de so-
de vacanti. Ad Aposto-
licum.*27. *Pope Leo. caus. 2.
q. 7. cap. Nos.*28. *Greg. 2. q. 7. c.
Iste.*

ruling over the night; that is, over the Laity. 15. Now seeing then the Earth is Seven times bigger than the Moon, and the Sun Eight times greater than the Earth; it followeth that the Popes Dignity fifty six times doth surmount the Estate of the Emperors. 16. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, That *Constantine* the Emperor did naught in setting the Patriarch of *Constantinople* at his feet on his left hand. 17. And although the said Emperor wrote to me, alledging the words of *St. Peter*, commanding us to submit our selves to every human Creature, as to Kings, Dukes, and other for the cause of God, &c. 1 *Pet. 2.* Yet in answering again in my Decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of *St. Peter* to pertain to his Subjects, and not his Successors, willing the said Emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of *Peter* had been there to debase the Order of Priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human Creature, then every *Jack* might have dominion over Prelates; which maketh against the example of *Christ*, setting up the Order of Priesthood to bear Dominion over Kings, according to the saying of *Jeremy*. Behold, I have set thee up over Kings and Nations, &c. 18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto *Constantine*, so now I say to all other Emperors. That they receiving of me their Approbation, Unction, Consecration, and Crown Imperial, must not disdain to submit their heads under me, and swear unto me their Allegiance. 19. For so you read in the Decree of *Pope John*, how that Princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto Bishops, and not to proceed in Judgment against the heads of Bishops. 20. If this reverence and submission was wont to be given to Bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me: being Superior, not only to Kings, but Emperors? and that for two causes: First, for my Title of Succession; that I Pope of *Rome* have to the Empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fullness of power that *Christ* the King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the person of *Peter*; 21. By reason whereof, seeing my power is not of Man, but of God, who by his Celestial Providence hath set me over his whole Universal Church, Master and Governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal sin of every Christian Man. 22. Whereby all criminal offences, as well of Kings as all other be subject to my censure, 23. in such sort, that in all manner of pleadings, if any manner of person at any time, either before the Sentence given, or after shall appeal to me, it shall be Lawful for him so to do. 24. Neither must Kings and Princes think it much to submit themselves to my Judgment; for so did *Valentinianus* the worthy Emperor, so did *Theodosius*, and also *Carolus*. 25. Thus you see all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I Pope of *Rome*, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable, or hurtful, either to my self or others; yea, if I should draw with me innumerable Souls by heaps to Hell, yet may no mortal Man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous to reprove me, 26. or to say to me, *Domine cur ita facis*; that is, Sir, why do you so? 27. For although you read that *Balaam* was rebuked of his Ass, by the which Ass our Subjects, by *Balaam* we Prelates are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. 28. And though we read in the Scripture, that *Peter*, who received power of the Kingdom, and being chief of the Apostles might by virtue of his Office controul all other, was content to come and give answer before his inferiours, objecting to him his going to the *Gentiles*; yet other inferiours must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their Prelates, because what *Peter* so took it at their hands, shewing

thereby rather a dispensation of Humility, than the power of his office; by the which power he might have said to them again in this wise, It becometh not Sheep, nor belongeth to their office to accuse their Shepherd; 29. For else why was *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* condemned and excommunicated at *Chalcedon*? Not for any cause of his Faith, but only for that he durst stand against *Pope Leo*, and durst Excommunicate the Bishop of *Rome*: for who is he that hath Authority to accuse the Seat of *St. Peter*? 30. Albeit I am not ignorant what *St. Jerome* writeth, that *Paul* would not have reprehended *Peter*, unless he had thought himself equal unto him. 31. Yet *Jerome* must thus be expounded by my Interpretation, that this equality betwixt *Peter* and *Paul* consisteth not in like Office of Dignity, but in pureness of Conversation. 32. For who gave *Paul* his license to preach but *Peter*, and that by the Authority of God, saying, *Separate to me Paul and Barnabas*, &c. 33. Wherefore be it known to all Men, that my Church of *Rome* is Prince and Head of all Nations, 34. the Mother of the Faith, 35. the Foundation Cardinal, whereupon all Churches do depend, as the Door doth depend by the Hinges, 36. the first of all other Seats, without all spot or blemish. 37. Lady, Mistress and Instructor of all Churches, 38. a glass and a spectacle unto all Men, to be followed in all whatsoever she observeth. 39. Which was never found yet to slide or decline from the path of Apostolick tradition, or to be intangled with any newness of Heresie; 40. Against which Church of *Rome* whosoever speaketh any evil, is forthwith an Heretick, 41. yea, a very Pagan, a Witch, and an Idolater or Infidel, 42. having fullness of power only in her own hands in ruling, 43. deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in. 44. Albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying. 45. To the which Church of *Rome* it is Lawful to Appeal for remedy, from all other Churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the General Council of *Millevirane*, that no Man should Appeal over the Sea under pain of Excommunication; yet my Gloss cometh in here with an exception, *Nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverint*, i. Except the Appeal be to the See of *Rome*, &c. 46. By the Authority of which Church of *Rome* all Synods and Decrees of Councils stand confirmed. 47. And hath always full Authority in her hands to make new Laws and Decretments; And to alter Statutes, Privileges, Rights or Documents of Churches; to separate things joyned, and to joyn things separated upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. 48. Of the which Church of *Rome* I am head as a King is over his Judges, 49. the Vicar of *St. Peter*, 50. yea, not the Vicar of *Peter* properly, but the Vicar of *Christ* properly, and successor of *Peter*, 51. Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, 52. Rector of the Universal Church, director of the Lords Universal flock, 53. Chief Magistrate of the whole World, 54. *Cephas*, i. caput, the head and chief of the Apostolick Church, 55. Universal Pope; and Diocefan in all places exempt, as well as every Bishop is in places not exempt; 56. most mighty Priest, 57. *Lex animata in terris*, i. 58. a living Law in the Earth judged to have all Laws in the chest of my Breast, 59. bearing the room of no pure Man, 60. being neither God nor Man, but the admiration of the World, and a middle thing betwixt both. 61. Having both Swords in my power, both of the spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction, 62. so far surmounting the Authority of the Emperor, that I of mine own power alone without a Council, have Authority to depose him, or to transfer his Kingdom, and to give a new Election, as I did to *Frederick* and divers other. 63. What power then or potestate in all the World is comparable to me, who have Authority to bind and loose both in Heaven and Earth? 64. That

KING
Hen 7.29. *Pope Niclaus,
Diff. c. 2. in continen-*30. *Jer. caus. 2. q. 7. c.
Paulus.*31. *Glossa Gratiani. lb.*32. *Glossa in Diff. 11.
cap. 2. in.*33. *Caus. 2. q. 7. cap.
Beati.*34. *Pope. Niclaus,
Diff. 22. Omnes.*35. *P. Anselm. Diff.
2. c. Sacrosancta.*36. *P. Pel. gius. Diff.
21. Quamvis.*37. *P. Niclaus, Diff.
21. c. Denique.*38. *P. Steph. Di. 29.
Enim vero.*39. *Pope Lucius, 24.
q. 1. Arc.*40. *P. Niclaus, Diff.
22. Omnes.*41. *P. Gregor. Diff. 8. c.
Si quis.*42. *P. Leo. caus. 2. q. 6. c.
Mistum.*43. *Diff. 20. Decretales.*44. *Pope Julius. caus.
2. q. 6. qui se.*45. *Causa. 2. q. 6. Ar-
guta. Item. c. Ad Ro-
manam. caus. 2. q. 6. c.
Placuit.*46. *Glossa.
Gratiani.
Nisi.*47. *Pope Gelasius. 25. q.
1. c. Confidimus.*48. *P. Urbanus, 25. q.
1. c. Sum. P. Pelagius,
25. q. 2. c. postequam.*49. *Bulla Denationis,
Diff. 96. c. Confirma.*50. *P. Paschalis, Diff.
63. c. Ego.*51. *P. Clement. 5.
Clement, c. Romani
Glossa.*52. *P. Bonif. 8. Sent.
Decr. 1. c. ubi.*53. *Ibidem.*54. *P. Bonif. problem.
Sent. Decret. 1. Sacro-
sancta.*55. *Anselmus. d. 2. c. e.
Sacrosancta.*56. *P. Bonif. 4. Sent.
Decret. de panis. & re-
miss. c. 5. Glossa.*57. *Item Alexand. 4.
Sent. decret. c. 4. in
Glossa.*58. *P. Hilarius,
25. q. 1. Nulli.*59. *Sim. Decret. cap.
Ab Arbitris. Glossa.*60. *P. Bonif. Sent. de
crem. de consil. cap.
Licet.*61. *Pope Innocentius
2. de trans. c. Quomo-
do. Problem. Clement.
Gloss. Papa Stupor
mundi, &c. Nec Deus
et nec homo, quasi neu-
ter et inter utrumque.*62. *P. Bonif. Extra-
vag. de Majori &
obed. cap. unum. Item
Diff. 22. cap. Omnes.*63. *Sent. Decr. de
sensu. & re. ca.
Ad apostoli. Item in
Glossa Ibid.*64. *Pope Niclaus,
Diff. 22. c. Omnes.*65. *Glossa. Ibid.*

{KING} is, who have power both of Heavenly things, and also of Temporal things, 65. To whom Emperors and Kings be more inferior, than Lead is inferior to Gold. 66. For do you not see the necks of great Kings and Princes bend under our knees, yea and think themselves happy and well defended, if they may kiss our hands? 67. Wherefore the fauciness of *Honorius* the Emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his laity would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal Order, but also with matters Ecclesiastical, and Election of the Pope. 68. But here perchance some will object the examples and words of Christ, saying, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, and where he being required to divide betwixt two Brethren their Heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power, 69. For if *Peter*, and I in *Peter*, if we I say, have Power to bind and loose in Heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have Power in Earth to loose and to take away Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what else soever mortal Men may have, and to give them where he will? 70. And if we have authority over Angels, which be the Governours of Princes, what then may we do upon their inferiors and servants? 71. And for that you shall not marvel that I say Angels be subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed Clerk *Antoninus* writeth of the matter, saying, That our power, of *Peter* and me is greater than the Angels in four things; 1. In jurisdiction, 2. In administration of Sacraments, 3. In knowledge, 4. and in reward, &c. 72. And again in *Bulla Clementis*, do I not there command in my Bull the Angels of Paradise, to absolve the soul of Man out of Purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of Paradise? 73. And now besides my Heavenly power, to speak of mine Earthly jurisdiction, who did first Translate the Empire from the *Greeks* to the *Almains*, but I? 74. And not only in the Empire am I Emperor, the place being empty, but in all Ecclesiastical Benefices have full right and power to give, to Translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement. 75. Did not I *Zacharias* put down *Childerick* the old King of *France*, and set up *Pipinus*? 76. Did not I *Gregorius* the Seventh set up *Robert Wyfard*, and make him King of *Sicilia* and Duke of *Capua*? &c. 77. Did not I the same *Gregorius* also set up *Rodulphus* against *Henry* the Fourth Emperor? 78. And though this *Henricus* was an Emperor of most stout courage, who stood 62 times in open field against his Enemies, 79. yet did not I *Gregorius* bring him *coram nobis*, and make him stand at my Gate three days and three nights bare-foot and bare-leg, with his Wife and Child, in the deep of Winter, both in Frost and Snow, intreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice Excommunicated in my days? 80. Again, did not I *Paschalis*, after *Gregory*, set up the Son of the said *Henricus* against his Father in War, to possess the Empire, and to put down his Father, and so he did? 81. Item, Did not I, Pope *Alexander*, bring under *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, for the death of *Thomas Becket*, and cause him to go bare-foot to his Tomb at *Canterbury* with bleeding feet? 82. Did not I *Innocentius* the Third, cause King *John* to kneel down at the feet of *Pandulphus* my Legate, and offer up his Crown to his hands; also to kiss the feet of *Stephen Langhton* Bishop of *Canterbury*, and besides merced him in a thousand Marks by year? 83. Did not I *Urbanus* the Second, put down *Hugo* Earl in *Italy*, discharging his Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to him? 84. Did not I *Paschalis* Excommunicate also his Son *Henry* the Fifth, and get out his of hands all his Right and Title of Elections and Donations of spiritual Promotions? Did not I *Gelasius* the 2d bring the Captain of *Cintius* under, unto the kissing of my feet?

65. Pope Gelasius
Dist. 96. cap. Dum.
66. Pope Gelasius
Ibidem.
67. di. 96. c. 11. ad.
68. En cunctis Hier.
Marit.
69. Pope Hildebrandus,
alias Gregorius 7.
En Platina, in vita
Gregorii.
70. Hildebrandus
Ibidem.
71. Antoninus in ser-
mo parte Summa
majoris.
72. Bulla Clementis.
73. Pope Innocentius de
electione c. Venera-
bilem.
74. Eutrop. de pre-
sent. & dig. c.
Excecrabilis.
75. Pope Zacharias,
Caus. 15. q. 6. c. Alim.
76. Pope Hildebrandus,
alias Gregorius 7. Cle-
ment. c. Paschalis.
77. En Gestis Hilde-
brandi.
78. Baptista Egenius.
79. Platina, Bono-
Nauclerus.
80. Platina, Egenius,
Bono.
81. Polydore Virgil,
Historia anglie de
nobis Anglorum.
82. Chronica vernacu-
la.
83. Pope Urbanus
Caus. 15. q. 6. cap.
Tertius.
84. Pope Paschalis
Caus. 15. q. 6. c. Alim.
Pascualis, Stella, An-
toninus, Mathieu,
Parisiensis, Pope.
Gelasius 2. Pope.

And after *Gelasius*, did not I *Calixtus* the 2d quail the foresaid Emperor *Henricus* the 5th, and also bring in subjection *Gregory*, whom the said Emperor had set up against me to be Pope, bringing him into *Rome* upon a Camel, his face to the Horse tail, making him to hold the Horse tail in his hand in stead of a Bridle? 85. Further, did not I *Innocentius* the 2d set up and make *Lotharius* to be Emperor for driving out Pope *Anacletus* out of *Rome*? 86. Did not I the said *Innocentius* take the Dukedom of *Sicile* from the Empire, and make *Roger* to be King thereof, whereby afterward the Kingdom became the patrimony of Saint *Peter*? 87. Did not I *Alexander* the 3d suspend all the Realm, and Churches of *England* for the Kings Marriage, Anno 1159? 88. But what do I speak of Kings? Did not the said *Alexander* bring the valiant Emperor *Frederick* the first to *Venice*, by reason of his Son *Orbo* there taken prisoner, and there in Saint *Marks* Church made him fall down flat upon the ground while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the Psalm, *Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis? &c.* 89. Did not I *Adrianus* Pope, an Englishman born, Excommunicate *W. King* of *Sicile*, and refuse his peace, which he offered? And had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have shaken him out of his Kingdom of *Sicile*, and Dukedom of *Apulia*. 90. Also did not I the said *Adrianus* Control and Correct the foresaid *Fredericus* Emperor, for holding the left Stirrup of my Horse, when he should have holden the right? 91. And afterward did not I Excommunicate and Curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? 92. And although a poor Fly afterward overcame and strangled me, yet I made Kings and Emperors to stoop. 93. Did not I *Innocentius* the 3d deject *Philippus*, Brother to *Fredericus*, from the Imperial Crown, being elected without my leave, and after set him up again? And also set up *Orbo* of *Brunswick*, and after did Excommunicate and also depose the same Four years, setting up the French King to War against him? 94. Then was *Fredericus* the 2d set up by me, and Reigned 37 years; and yet 5 years before he died. 95. Did not I *Honorius* interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? 96. Whom also *Gregorius* the 9th did Excommunicate twice together, and raised up the *Venetians* against him, 97. And at length *Innocentius* spoiled him of his Empire; after that he caused him to be poisoned, at length to be strangled by one *Manfredus*, and did Excommunicate his Son *Conradus* after him, not only depriving him of his right Inheritance, but also caused him with *Frederick* Duke of *Austria* to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I Excommunicate and depose all these Emperors in order? *Henry* the Fourth, *Henricus* the Fifth, *Fredericus* the First, *Philippus*, *Orbo* the Fourth, *Fredericus* the Second, and *Conradus* his Son? 99. Did not I interdict King *Henry* the Eighth? 100. And all his Kingdom of *England*? 101. And had not his Prudence and Power prevented my practise, I had displaced him from his Kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my Power and of my Seat? 102. For by me only general Councils take their force and confirmation, 103. and the interpretation of the said Councils, and of all other causes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. 104. By me the Works of all Writers, whatsoever they be, either be reprov'd or allowed. 105. Then how much more ought my Writings and Decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. Inasmuch that my Letters and Epistles Decretal be equivalent with the general Councils, 107. And where-

Calixtus 2. Plat. de
vitis pontificum.
85. Pope Innocentius
2.
86. Nauclerus.
87. Pope Alexander 3.
de suspens. & matr. c.
Non est.
88. Nauclerus ad
Rom. pontificum.
89. Pope Adrian. vita
Rom. pontificum.
90. En Aveninus.
91. Bulla Adriani
contra Cefarem.
92. Alfo Ra. pont.
93. Pope Innocentius
3. En viti & Alfo
Rom. pontificum.
En ab Urpurg.
94. En eodem.
95. Pope Honor. 3.
En Marit.
96. Pope Greg. 9.
En eodem.
97. Pope Innocent 4.
Hieronymus Maritus,
Petrus de Vincis.
98. En Chronic.
Carionis.
99. Hist. Anglor.
100. Ibidem.
101. Ibidem.
102. Pope Marcellus,
Dist. 17. c. Synodum.
103. Dist. 20. De
crisales.
104. Pope Nicolaus
Dist. 19. Si Romanus
sum.
105. Ibidem.
106. Dist. 20.
Decretales.
107. Symmachus Pope
3. q. 3. Aliorum.

- whereas God hath ordained all causes of Men to be judged by Men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the Pope of Rome, without all question of Men, unto his own judgment.
108. Pope Innocentius 6. q. 3. c. Nemo.
109. Ibidem.
110. Pope Gelasius, 9. q. 3. cap. Cunctis.
111. Ibidem.
112. Anastasius Patriarch. D. q. 3. cap. Antiquis.
113. Pope Greg. 8. q. 3. c. 2^a.
114. Pope Agobus Dist. 19. c. Sic omnes.
115. Pope Nicholas, 9. q. 3. Peter.
116. Pope Innocentius, 2. Art. 17. q. 4. Si quis.
117. Dist. 19. cap. In memoriam.
118. Sex. Decret. 7. De renunc. Quoniam Glossa.
119. Offic. lib. 1.
120. Glossa Extra. De verb. signif. c. Ad.
121. Pope Greg. Caus. 35. q. 9. Apostolica.
122. Pope Symmachus, Caus. 9. q. 3. Aliorum.
123. Ibidem.
124. Pope Greg. 6. p. 3. Scriptum est.
125. Caus. 17. q. 4. Sacrileg. Glossa.
126. 2. q. 7. cap. Plerumque Glossa Gratiani, Item.
127. Ibidem.
128. Ibidem.
- whereas God hath ordained all causes of Men to be judged by Men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the Pope of Rome, without all question of Men, unto his own judgment. 108. And therefore where all other creatures be under their Judge, only I, which in Earth am the Judge of all, can be judged of none, either of Emperor, nor the whole Clergy, nor of Kings, nor of the People. 109. For who hath power to judge upon his Judge? 110. This Judge am I, and that alone, without any other resistance of any Council joyned to me. For I have Power upon Councils; Councils have no Power upon me. But if the Council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I lust without any Council. 111. And all for the Preheminence of my Predecessor Blessed Saint Peter, which by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever shall retain. 112. Furthermore, and whereas all other Sentences and Judgments, both of Councils, Person or Persons, may and ought to be examined, 113. for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour, only my Sentence and judgment must stand, 114. as given out of Heaven by the mouth of Peter himself, which no Man must break, nor retract, 115. no Man must dispute or doubt of. 117. Yea, if my judgment, statute, or yoke seem scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of Saint Peter it must be humbly obeyed. 118. Yea and moreover Obedience is to be given, not only to such Decrees set forth by me in time of my Popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be Pope. 119. And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all Men to err, and to be deceived, 120. yet neither am I a pure Man. 121. And again, the Sentence of my Apostolick Seat is always conceived with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delivered out with such gravity and deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be altered or detracted. 122. Wherefor it is manifest, and testified by the voice of Holy Bishops, that the Dignity of this my Seat is to be revered through the whole World, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it as to the head of the whole body; 123. Whereof it is spoken to me by the Prophet, speaking of the Ark; If this be humbled, whither shall you run for succour, and where shall your glory become? Seeing then this is so, that so holy Bishops and Scriptures do witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require Homage and Tribute of me to whom all other are subject? 124. Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh, *Deut.* Thou oughtest not to put thy Sithe into another Mans Corn. Which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plain Sacrilege? 125. According to my Canonists, which thus define Sacrilege to consist in three things; either when a Man judgeth of his Princes judgment; or when the Holy-day is profaned; or when reverence is not given to Laws and Canons. 126. Against the second sort maketh the place of the Book of *Kings*, where we read the Ark of God was brought from *Gaba* to *Jerusalem*, and in the way the Ark inclining by reason of the unruly Oxen, *Ozias* the *Levite* put to his hand to help, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By this Ark is signified the Prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of Prelates, 127. which also be signified by the Angels that *Jacob* did see going up and coming down the Ladder: 128. Also by the Prophet where he saith, *He bowed down the Heavens and came down, &c.* By *Ozias*, and by the unruly Oxen are meant our subjects. 129. Then like as *Ozias* was stricken for putting his hand to the Ark inclining, no more must Subjects rebuke their Prelates going awry. 130. Albeit, here may be answered again, that all be not Prelates which so be called; for it is not the name that maketh a Bishop, but his life. 131. Against the third sort of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular Men, maketh the *New Testament*, where Peter was bid to give the Groat in the Fishes mouth, but not the head nor the body of the Fish; No more is the Head or Body of the Church subdued to Kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe things of the Church. And yet not they neither. 132. For so we read in the Book of *Genesis*, that *Pharaoh* in time of dearth subdued all the Land of the *Egyptians*, but yet he Ministered to the Priests, so that he took neither their possessions from them, nor their liberty. If then Prelates of the Church must be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same, 133. which am the Bishop of Bishops, and head of Prelates? 134. For it is not to be thought that the case betwixt me and other Prelates; betwixt my See and other Churches, be like; 135. Although the whole Catholick and Apostolick Church make one Bride-chamber of Christ; yet the Catholick and Apostolick Church of *Rome* had the Preheminence given over all other by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to Peter, *Thou art Peter, &c.* 136. Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the Church as it was betwixt *Aaron* and his Children; 137. Betwixt the Seventy two Disciples, and the Twelve Apostles; betwixt the other Apostles and Peter: 138. Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of Degrees in the Church betwixt Power, Superior and Inferior; without which order the Universality of the whole cannot consist. 139. For as amongst the Angelical Creatures above in Heaven there is set a difference and inequality of Powers and Orders, some be Angels, some Archangels, some Cherubins, and Seraphins: 140. So in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of the Church militant in the Earth, Priests must not be equal with Bishops, Bishops must not be like in Order with Archbishops, with Patriarchs or Primates, 141. who contain under them three Archbishops, as a King containeth three Dukes under him. In the which number of Patriarchs cometh in the state of 142. Cardinals or Principals, so called, because as the Door turneth by his hinges, so the Universal Church ought to be ruled by them. 143. The next and highest Order above these is mine, which am Pope, differing in Power and Majority, and Honor reverential, from these and all other degrees of Men. 144. For the better declaration whereof, my Canonists make three kinds of power in Earth; *Immediata*, which is mine immediately from God; *Derivata*, which belongeth to other Inferior Prelates from me; 145. *Ministralis*, belonging to Emperors and Princes to Minister for me. For the which cause the anointing of Princes, and my consecration doth differ; for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in the head, to signify the difference of Power betwixt Princes and me. 146. This Order therefore of Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs and other, as a thing most convenient, my Church of *Rome* hath set and instituted through all Churches, following therein, not only the example of the Angelical Army in Heaven, but also of the Apostles. 147. For amongst them also there was not an uniform equality or institution of one degree, 148. but a diversity or distinction of Authority and

{ KING }
Hen. 7.

129. Ibidem.

130. Ibidem. His iis.

131. Pope Urbanus

23. q. Tribunal.

132. Ibidem.

Quamvis.

133. Pope Bonifacius.

Extr. De aut. & usu.

palat. c. Sancti. 1.

134. Pope Stephanus.

Dist. 19. Enimvero.

135. Pope Pelagius.

Dist. 21. Quamvis.

136. Dist. 21.

Decretis.

137. Pope Anacletus.

Dist. 22. In voce.

138. Pope Bonifacius et

Greg. Dist. 89. Ad hoc.

139. Ibidem.

140. Dist. 29. c.

Singula.

141. Ex citatione Bul.

decret. 5. ser. 3.

142. De officio Archi.

presbyt. in Glossa.

143.

144. Ex 3. parte Sam.

me majoris b.

Antoni.

145. Pope Innocent

3. De sacra unctioe

qui vntificet.

146. P. Nicholas Dist.

23. c. Omnes.

147. P. Clementis dist.

80. c. In illis.

148. P. Anacletus dist.

22. c. Sacrosancta.

{ KING }
Hen 7.

149. Ibidem.
249. vero Petrus
non a Petro sed
ἀρχαὶ τῶν τῶν κα-
θ' αὐτὸν.
150. Diff. 21. c. In novo.

151. Ibidem.

152. Diff. 21. c. ca.
Decretis.

153. Pope Leo diff. 19.
c. In Dominus.
154. P. Nicolaus in
tantum, diff. 22.

155. P. Clemens in
Bulla Vienna in scri-
ptis privilegiorum.

156. Diff. 21. cap.
Decretis.

157. Pope Anacletus
diff. 21. c. Sacrosanctio.
Scripture well apply-
ed and like a Clerk.

158. Pope Damasus.
25. q. c. Omnia.
Item Pope Greg. Diff.
19. Null.

159. P. Nicolaus Diff.
22. c. Omnes.

160. Ibidem.

161. Ibidem.

162. Diff. 20.
Decretis.

163. Ibidem.

164. Ibidem.

165. Diff. 19. S.
Romanorum.

166. Gabriel Biel, lib.
4. Diff. 19.
167. Petrus de
Palude.

and Power. Albeit they were all Apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter (themselves also agreeing to the same) that he should bear Dominion and Superiority over all the other Apostles; 149. And therefore he had his name given him *Cephas*, that is, head or beginning of the Apostleship. 150. Whereupon the Order of Priesthood first in the *New Testament* began in Peter, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my Church, 151. And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; And thou being converted confirm thy Brethren, 152. I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail. Wherefore seeing such power is given to Peter, 153. and to me in Peter, being his successor, 154. who is he then in all the World that ought not to be subject to my Decrees which have such Power in Heaven, in Hell, in Earth, with the quick and also the dead? 155. Commanding and granting in my Bull of Lead sent to Vienna, unto all such as died in their Peregrination to Rome, that the pain of Hell should not touch them: And also that all such as took the holy Cross upon them should every one at his request, not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or four souls whomsoever he would, out of Purgatory: 156. Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not fail, who then will not believe my Doctrine? For did not Christ himself first pray for Peter that his faith should not fail? 157. Also have I not a sure promise of Paul's own mouth, writing to my Church by these words; *God is my witness whom I serve in my Spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my Prayers*? Rom. 1. 158. Wherefore as I condemn all such worthily which will not obey my Decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honour without restitution; 159. So all they that believe not my Doctrine, or stand against the privilege of the Church, especially the Church of Rome, I pronounce them Hereticks: 160. And as the other before is to be called unjust, so this Man is to be called an Heretick: 161. For why? he goeth against the faith, which goeth against her who is the Mother of Faith. 162. But here may rise percase a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continual Prayer of Saint Paul; whether is it true, or is it to be granted, that any other should excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture? 163. For look whose knowledge is grounded on most reason, his words should seem to be of more authority. 164. Whereunto I answer and grant, that many there be, and have been more abundantly indued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghost and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of *Augustine*, *Jerom* and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of divers Popes; yet I say in determination of causes, because they have not the virtue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they stand inferior to my authority. By virtue of which authority, 165. both they themselves be allowed for Doctors, and their Works approved, and also all other matters be ruled, through the Power of the Keys which is given to me immediately of Christ. Although I deny not but the same Keys be also committed to other Prelates, as they were to other Apostles besides Peter, 166. yet it is one thing to have the Keys, another thing to have the use of the Keys. 167. Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of Keys, after the mind of my school Doctors; one Key which is called *Clavis ordinis*, having authority to bind and loose, but not over the persons whom they bind and loose, and this authority they take not immediately of Christ, but mediate-

ly by me the Vicar of Christ. The other Key is called *Clavis jurisdictionis*, which I the Vicar of Christ take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and loose, but also Dominion over them on whom this Key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of which Key the fulness of my Power is so great, that whereas all other are Subjects; 168. yea and Emperors themselves ought to subdue their executions to me: Only I am subject to no Creature, 169. no not to my self, except I list, *In foro penitentia*, to my ghostly Father submitting my self as a sinner, but not as Pope. So that my papal Majesty ever remaineth unpunished; Superior to all Men, 170. whom all persons ought to obey, 171. and follow, 172. whom no Man must judge nor accuse of any Crime, either of Murder, Adultery, Simony, or such like; 173. No man depose, but I my self; 174. No man can Excommunicate me, yea though I Communicate with the Excommunicate, for no Canon bindeth me. Whom no Man must lie to, 175. For he that lieth to me is a Church Robber, 176. And who obeyeth not me is an Heretick, and an excommunicate Person. 177. For like as all the Jews were commanded to obey the High Priest of the Levitical Order, of what state or condition soever they were; so are all Christian men more and less bound to obey me Christ's Lieutenant in Earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom ye have in Deut. 17. 178. Where the common Gloss faith, That he who denieth to the High Priest *Obedientiam*, lieth under the Sentence and Condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his *Omnipotentiam*. Thus then it appeareth, that the greatness of my Priesthood, 179. began in *Melchisedech*, was solemnized in *Aaron*, continued in the Children of *Aaron*, perfectionated in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the Universal jurisdiction, and manifested in *Silvester*, &c. So that through this *Prebeminence* of my Priesthood, having all things subject to me, 180. it may seem well verified in me that was spoken of Christ, *Psalms* 8. *Omnia subieci tibi sub pedibus ejus, Ovibus & Bovibus, & Universa pecora campi; Volucres caeli & pisces maris, &c.* Thou hast subdued all things under his Feet, Sheep and Oxen, and all Cattel of the Field, the Birds of Heaven, and Fish of the Sea, &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by Oxen, Jews and Hereticks; by Cattel of the Field, Pagans be signified. For although as yet they be out of the use of my Keys of binding and loosing, yet they be not out of the jurisdiction of my Keys, but if they return I may absolve them. 182. By Sheep and all Cattel, are meant all Christian men both great and less, whether they be Emperors, Princes, Prelates, or other. By Birds of the Air you may understand the Angels and Potestates of Heaven, who be all subject to me, in that I am greater than the Angels; and that in four things, as is afore declared; and have power to bind and loose in Heaven, 183. and to give Heaven to them that fight in my Wars. 184. Lastly, by the Filhes of the Sea, are signified the souls departed in pain or in Purgatory, as *Gregory* by his Prayer delivered the soul of *Trajanus* out of Hell, and I have Power to deliver out of Purgatory whom I please. 185. Lastly, by the Filhes of the Sea are signified such as be in Purgatory; inasmuch that they stand in need and necessity of other Mens help, and yet be in their journey *Viatores*, & de foro Papae. i. Passengers and belonging to the Court of the Pope; therefore they may be relieved out of the Storehouse of the Church, by the participation of Indulgence. And forasmuch as some do object that my Pardons cannot extend to them

168. Diff. 95. cap.
Imperator.

169. Gabriel, lib. 4. J.
Diff. 19.

170. P. Nicolaus Diff.
c. Si Romanorum in
Glossa.

171. Item 24. q. 1.
Heresis.

172. Diff. 40. cap.
Si Papae.

173. 2. q. 7. Nos Si in
Glossa.

174. Extravag. de elec.
Instituit.

175. De penitentia,
diff. 1. c. Serpens in
Glossa.

176. Diff. 19. c. Nupti.

177. August. de Ancho.

178. Glossa Ordinar.

179. Antoninus.

180. Antoninus, Sum-
ma majoris 3. part.
Diff. 22.

181. Ibidem.

182. Ibidem.

183. 23. q. c. Omnia.

184. Idem Antoninus,
ibid.

185. Ibidem.

Antoninus August. de
Ancho Id. Part. 4.

that be departed, for that it was said to Peter, Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon Earth; and therefore seeing they are not upon Earth, they cannot be loosed of me: Here I answer again by my Doctors, that this word *Super terram*, &c. i. Upon the Earth, may be referred two manner of ways; First to him that is the Looser, so that he which shall loose shall be upon the Earth; and so I grant that the Pope being dead, can loose no Man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed must be upon the Earth, or about the Earth; And so the souls in Purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the Earth, yet they are about the Earth, at least they be not in Heaven. And because oftentimes one Question may rise upon another, and the heads of Men now adays are curious, a Man hearing now that I can deliver out of Purgatory, will ask here a question, Whether I be able also to empty all Purgatory at once, or not? To whom my Canonist *August. de Ancho.* doth answer by a triple distinction: *Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem.* First touching my absolute jurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all Purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only Infants unbaptized, *In Limbo*, and Men departed only, *Cum Baptismo flammis*, That is, with the Baptism of the Spirit, and such as have no Friends to do for them that wherefore pardons be given; these only excepted. For all other besides, the Pope (he saith) hath Power to release all Purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction. Albeit *Thomas Aquinas part 4.* denieth the same, forasmuch as Christ himself (he saith) when he came down, did not utterly at once release all Purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the Divine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every Creature, yea, and to the Pope himself.

And to the intent I would all Men to see and understand that I lack not witnesses moe besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall hear the whole Quire of my divine Clergy brought out, with a full voice testifying in my behalf in their Books, Tractations, Distinctions, Titles, Glosses, and Summaries, as by their own words here followeth. The Pope (say they) being the Vicar of Jesus Christ through the whole World, in the stead of the living God, hath that Dominion and Lordship which Christ here in Earth would not have, although he had it in *habitu*, but gave it to Peter in *Actu*, that is, the Universal jurisdiction both of Spiritual things, and also of Temporal, which double jurisdiction was signified by the two swords in the Gospel, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only Incense, but also Gold, to signify not only the spiritual Dominion, but also the Temporal to belong to Christ and to his Vicar. For as we read, *The Earth is the Lords and the fulness thereof*; as Christ saith, *All power is given to him both in Heaven and Earth*: So it is to be affirmed *Inclusive*, that the Vicar of Christ hath Power on things Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal. Which he took immediately of Christ; all other take it immediately by Peter and the Pope. Wherefore such as say that the Pope hath Dominion only on Spiritual things in the World, and not of Temporal, may be likened to the Counsellors of the Kings of Syria, 3 Reg. 20. which said, *That the Gods of the Mountains be their Gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let*

us fight against them in the low Meadows and in Vallies where they have no Power, and so we shall prevail over them. So evil Counsellors now adays, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive Kings and Princes of the Earth; saying, Popes and Prelates be Gods of Mountains, that is, of Spiritual things only, but they be not Gods of Vallies, That is, they have no Dominion over Temporal things, and therefore let us fight with them in the Vallies, that is, in the Power of the Temporal possessions; and so we shall prevail over them. But what faith the Sentence of God to them, let us hear. Because (saith he) the Syrians say that the God of Mountains is their God, and not the God of Vallies, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the Majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord; of the Lord, I say, and of no Man? For whereas *Constantine* the Emperor gave to *Silvester*, enduing him with this possession and patrimony; that is to be expounded and taken not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before. And again whereas I have given at sundry times to *Ludovicus* the other Emperors, of my Temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of Homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to Emperors no due Obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me as to their Superior. And therefore for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration they take the Unction on their Arm, I on the Head. And as I am Superior to them, so am I Superior to all Laws, and free from all constitutions. Which am able of my self, and by my interpretation to prefer equity not being written before the Law written; having all Laws within the chest of my Brest, as is afore-said. And whatsoever this my Sec shall enact, approve or disprove, all Men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting or retracting. Such is the privilege given of Christ, in the behalf of Peter, to the Church of Rome, 186. that what Country soever, Kingdom or Province, chusing to themselves Bishops and Ministers, although they agree with all other Christs faithful people in the name of Jesus, that is, in Faith and Charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ His true Son, and in the Holy Ghost, having also the same Creed; the same Evangelists and Scriptures of the Apostles: yet notwithstanding unless their Bishops and Ministers take their Origine and Ordination from this Apostolick Seat, they are to be counted not of the Church. So that succession of Faith only is not sufficient to make a Church, except the Ministers take their Ordination by them which have their succession from the Apostles. So their Faith, Supremacy, the Chair of Peter, Keys of Heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of Rome: so that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and Saint Peter helping the Bishoprick and Dioceses of Rome, it shall never fall from the Faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the Bishop of that Church is good and always Holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of Saint Peter, Predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity, 178. yea, though he fall into Homicide or Adultery, he may sin, but yet he

{ KING }
Hen. 7.

Joanne. Andrea.
Innocentius.
Joan. de Tervere Cre-
mata de ecclesia
summa.

L
Lanfrancus contra
Wicli.
Lilius Historicus
Anglus.
Lopur.
Laurentius.

M
Magister sententiarum.

N
Nicolaus.

O
Ockam in dialogo, parte
1. lib. 5.
Oyanus.

P
Petrus de Palude
Petrus de Thora
Petrus de Alia.
Panormitanus.
Alexander de Alex.

R
Raymundus in summa
de casibus
Richardus.
Rabanus Mart. cap. 16.
Rupertus Tuitiensis.

S
Scorus de Ser subtilis.

T
Thomas Aquin.

V
Vlricus.

W
Waldensis confession. &
de Sacramentis.

186. Joan Driedo. De
dogmatibus vtriusq. l. 4.

188. Hugo. in glossa
ad 1. 4. c. Non Nos.

August. de Ancho.
An Pope possit totum
purgatorium expellere.
Ibidem.

Absoluta jurisdictio.
Doctores agree in
Purgatory.
August. de Ancho.
Antoninus.

Ordinata executio
Divina acceptatio.

A
Antonin. in Sum-
mulis.
Augustinus de Ancho.
in Decretis. Affertur
Mideria.

B
Baptista de Salvinus.
Baptistman.
Bonaventura.
C
Campensis, lib.
Contra versum
Coclaus.

D
Dionand. in speculo.
Driedo de eccle. Scrip-
turis & dogmat.

E
Edwardus Pevellus.
Anglus contra Luthe.
Eckius in Enchir.

F
Franciscus Fulgo.

G
Gabriel. Biel. Spica.
Gospar.
Gratianus in Decretis.
Gerson de Ser illuminis-
simus ecclesiastica
postulata.

H
Hugo Cardinalis in
posilla.
Hostiensis.
Hothet.
Hofius.

KING } he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the
Hen. 7. } Murders of *Sampson*, the Thefts of the *He-*
 188. *Gloss. in caus. 12.* } brews, the Adultery of *Jacob*, 188. And like-
 9. 3. *cap. Absi.* }

189. *Gloss. in c. 11.*
 9. 3. *Si inimic.*

190. *Hofiensis in*
c. Quanto de transi.
prob.
 191. *Ex summa casu-*
um fratris Baptista.
 192. *Ex Citatione*
Hent. Bulling. de fine
Seculi, Orat. Prima.

Item, Ex citatione
Jacobi Andrea, ad-
versus Hofium, lib. 5.
Item, ex citatione Jer.
Marii in actis, 2. Divi.
 193. *Pope Nicolaus*
Dist. 96. c. Satis.
 194. *11. q. 11. Sa-*
cerdotibus.
 195. *13. q. 1. futuram.*
 196. *Decretal. De*
Transl. Episc. cap.
Quanto.

Thus you may see it
 verified, that *S. Paul*
 prophesieth of the
 Adversary sitting in
 the Temple as God,
 and boasting himself
 above all that is
 named God, &c.
 2 *Thess. 2.*

197. *Pope Nicolaus*
Causa 15. q. 6. c. Au-
thoritatem.

198. *Pope Martin*
Dist. 14. c. Lector.

199. *Pope Greg. Junior*
33. q. 7. c. Quid
proposuisti.

200. *Pope Inno. 4.*
Sent. Decret. de sen-
tentia encum. c. Dilecti.
 201. *Pope Alexander*
 3. *De decimis, c. En*
parte.

188. *Gloss. in caus. 12.* } 189. to take from one and to give
 9. 3. *cap. Absi.* } to another. And if I be an Enemy to any
 man, all men ought to eschew that person
 forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid
 them so to do. All the Earth is my Diocese,
 and I the Ordinary of all men, having the Au-
 thority of the King of all Kings upon Subjects.
 I am all in all, and above all, 190. so that
 God Himself and I the Vicar of God have both
 one Consistory, 191. and I am able to do al-
 most all that God can do, *Clave non errante.*
 192. *Item*, It is said of me, that I have an
 heavenly Arbitrement, and therefore am able to
 change the nature of things, *Substantialia unius*
applicando alteri, and of nothing to make things
 to be; and of a Sentence that is nothing to
 make it stand in effect; In all things that I
 list, my will to stand for reason. For I am
 able by the Law to dispense above the Law, and
 of Wrong to make Justice, in correcting Laws
 and changing them. You have heard hitherto
 sufficiently out of my Doctors. Now you shall
 hear greater things out of mine own Decrees,
 193. Read there *Dist. 96. Satis.* 194. Also
 12. *Caus. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus.* 195. Also
 12. *q. 1. cap. Futuram.* Do you not find there
 expressed, how *Constantinus* the Emperor, sit-
 ting in the General Council of *Nice*, called us
 Prelates of the Church, all gods? 196. Again,
 read my Canon, *Decretal. De transl. Episc. cap.*
Quanto. Do you not see there manifestly ex-
 pressed, how not Man, but God alone separ-
 ateth that which the Bishop of *Rome* doth
 dissolve and separate? Wherefore if those things
 that I do be said to be done not of man, but
 of God; What can you make me but God?
 Again, if Prelates of the Church be called and
 counted of *Constantinus* for gods, I then being
 above all Prelates seem by this reason to be
 above all gods. Wherefore no marvel, if it be
 in my power to change time and times, to
 alter and abrogate Laws, to dispense with all
 things, yea with the Precepts of Christ. For
 where Christ biddeth *Peter* put up his Sword,
 monished his Disciples not to use any outward
 force in revenging themselves, 197. Do not I
P. Nicolaus, writing to the Bishops of *France*,
 exhort them to draw out their material Swords
 in pursuing their Enemies, and recovering their
 Possessions, setting against the Precept of Christ,
 the Prophet saying, *Dissolve colligationes impie-*
tatis, &c. *Item*, where Christ was present him-
 self at the marriage in *Cana Galilea*, 198. Do
 not I *Pope Martinus* in my distinction inhibit
 the Spiritual Clergy to be present at Marriage-
 Feasts, and also to marry themselves? *Item*,
 where Matrimony by Christ cannot be loosed
 but only for Whoredom, 199. Do not I *Pope*
Gregorius Junior, writing *ad Bonifacium*, per-
 mit the same to be broken for impotency or in-
 firmity of body? 200. *Item*, against the express
 caution of the Gospel, doth not *Innocentius* the
 Fourth permit *vim vi repellere*? 201. Like-
 wise against the *Old Testament* I do dispense in

not giving Tythes. 202. *Item*, against the *New*
Testament in swearing, and that in these six causes,
 203. *Pax, fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni,*
Defectus veri, poscunt sibi magna carveri.

Wherein two kinds of Oaths are to be noted.
 Whereof some be *Promissoria*, some be *Affer-*
ria, &c. 204. *Item*, in Vows, and that *ex toto*
voto, whereas other Prelates cannot dispense *ex*
toto a voto, I can deliver *ex toto a voto*, like
 God himself. 205. *Item*, in perjury if I ab-
 solve, my Absolution standeth. 206. Where also
 note, that in all swearing always the authority
 of the Superior is excepted. 207. Moreover, where
 Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gain,
 do not I *Pope Martinus* give Dispensation for
 the same? and notwithstanding the Council of
Thuron enacted the contrary, yet with two Bulls
 I disannulled that decreement, 208. What
 should I speak of Murder, making it no Murder
 nor Homicide to slay them that be Excommu-
 nicate? 209. Likewise against the law of Nature,
 210. *Item*, against the Apostle. 211. Also
 against the Canons of the Apostles I can and
 do dispense. For where they in their Canon
 command a Priest for Fornication to be de-
 posed, I through the authority of *Silvester* do
 alter the rigour of that Constitution, 212. con-
 sidering the minds and bodies also of men now
 to be weaker than they were then. 213. Briefly,
 against the universal state of the Church I have
 dispensation, *scilicet quando status Ecclesie non*
decoloratur. And for Marriage in the second
 degree of Consanguinity and Affinity, *In colla-*
teralibus equali linea; that is, between the
 Brethrens Children, although not *inequali linea*,
 so that the Uncle may not marry his Niece,
 unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for
 all such Contracts betwixt party and party,
 where that Matrimony is not yet consummate
 by carnal Copulation, it is but a small matter
 for me to dispense withall. In *summa*, if ye
 list briefly to hear the whole number of all
 such cases as properly do appertain to my Papal
 Dispensation, which come to the number of one
 and fifty Points, that no man may meddle withall
 but only I myself alone, I will recite them first in
Latin, then in *English*, as they be set forth in my
 Canonical Doctors.

Casus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Astesa-
 num de *Asi.* Doctorem solemnem in
 summa confessionis. Item apud *Hofien-*
sem, De offic. legat. repeti & his ver-
 sibus comprehensi.

S I sit Catholicus, Papam non judicat ullus.
 Erigit & subdit Cathedras; Dividit, Unit,
 1. Votum terræ sanctæ, 1. degradatos, 1. Episcopos & alios.
 Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se
 Majores causas referuntur. Legitimatque,
 1. Insufficientes. 1. Intrantes religionem.
 Promovet, Appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
 1. Defectum Regi vacante Regno.
 Deponit, transfert, suppletque Renunciat illi,
 Symonia, juramentum Excommunicatio à Papa facta,
 Præsul, & exemptus. Simon, Furans, Anathema,
 tam Papa quam legati.
 Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex utriusque.
 1. Solvitur Papa.
 Tum neque participans: Et si quem sponte salutat,
 Quem Canon damnat, sibi soli quando reservat,
 qui irregularitatem incurrit.
 Solvitur a Papa nec non quem regula damnat.
 scilicet adda.
 Addas suspensum, Causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.
 1. Addas. 1. Pluralitatem beneficiorum.
 Rescriptum, fidei dubium: Confert bona plura.
 Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.
 1. Imperatorem
 Approbat Imperium, firmat, deponit, & ungit.
 canonizat;

Concilium

Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil de nihilo aliquid.
Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper.
Portat, Concedit, Legi non subjacet ulli.
1. Immediate.
Appellatur ad hunc medio sine, Judiciumque
De Monacho non Monachum facit.
Est pro lege suum. Monachum revocat renuentem.
1. Incessum, &c.
Majus adulterio solvit generaliter. Arctat
1. Impedimentum matrimoniale.
Et laxat quicquid sponsis nocet. Ordinatur extra
1. Extra 4. tempora.
Tempora dando sacrum promotum promovet idem.
Ordinat atque die qua consecratur & ipse.
1. Sacerdotium confert nondum vacans.
Veruntisue locum concedit, fureque privat.
Insignia Episcopalia concedit. 1. decimis. 1. Presbytero conce-
dit Infantes ungere.
Insignit. Laico sacro donat; Chrisma ministro.
Summa sede sedet, plenusque vicarius extat.
Si sit Catholicus Papam non judicat ullus.

Cases Papal, to the number of one and fifty,
wherein the Pope hath Power only to dis-
pende, and none else besides, except by
special Licence from him.

24. q. 1. Quæstio.

Entr. de trans. c. Inter.

3. q. 6. Quæstio,
 9. q. 3. Denique,
 16. q. 1. Frater.
 2. q. 6. Idem.

Entr. de rest. c. cum
 cons. 7. q. 1. temporis.
 16. q. 1. Felix.
 16. q. 1. Et Christi
 Entr. de voto, Et
 multa.
 Entr. de statu Monachi
 c. cum, ad.

Entr. de juramento
 c. Venientes.
 Entr. de judicio,
 c. Apsi clerici.
 Entr. de Bigamia,
 cap. nuper.
 Entr. de clerico non
 ord. ministrante.

Entr. de corpore viri-
 tis & di. 55.

Dist. 50. Miror.

Entr. de sententia &
 excom. c. cum illorum.

Ibidem.

Entr. de filiis Presby-
 t. c. Is qui.

Entr. de Preben. cap. de
 multa.

Entr. de elect. cap.
 Cum nobis.
 Entr. de etate & qua-
 lit. generalis.
 Dist. 5. per tot.
 9. q. 3. Per principale.
 De elect. cap. Venera-
 bilem.
 Entr. de officio legati,
 c. quæritur.
 9. q. 3. Aliorum.
 Entr. de Templo ordine
 cap. Cum in distrib.

First determination of doubts and questions be-
 longing to Faith.

Translation of a Bishop, elect or confirmed: Like-
 wise of Abbots exempted.

Deposition of Bishops.

The taking of resignation of Bishops.

Exemptions of Bishops, not to be under Arch-
 bishops.

Restitution of such as be depofed from their Or-
 der.

The judicial definition, or interpretation of his
 own Priviledges.

Changing of Bishopricks, or dimission of Covents,
 &c. New correction of Bishops Seats, or institu-
 tion of new Religions.

Subjection or division of one Bishoprick under an-
 other.

Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.

Dispensation for the vow of Chastity, or of Religi-
 on, or of holy Orders.

Dispensation against a lawful Oath, or vow
 made.

Dispensation against divers Irregularities, as in
 crimes greater than Adultery, and in such as be
 suspended for Simony.

Dispensation in receiving into Orders him that had
 two Wives.

Dispensing with such as being within Orders do
 that which is above their Order, as if a Deacon
 should say Mass, being not yet Priest.

To receive into Order such as be blemished or
 maimed in body.

Dispensation with murder, or with such as willing-
 ly cut off any member of mans body.

Dispensation to give Orders to such as have been
 under the sentence of the greater Curse or Ex-
 communication.

Dispensation with such as being suspended with
 the greater Curse do minister in any holy Or-
 der.

Dispensation with such as be unlawfully born to
 receive Orders or Benefices.

Dispensation for pluralities of Benefices.

Dispensation to make a man Bishop before he be
 thirty years old.

Dispensation to give Orders under age.

The Pope only hath Power to make and call a Ge-
 neral-Council.

The Pope only hath Power to deprive an Ecclesi-
 astical Person, and give away his Benefice being
 not vacant.

The Pope alone is able to absolve him that is ex-
 communicate by name.

The Pope only is able to absolve him whom his
 Legate doth excommunicate.

The Pope both judgeth in the causes of them that
 Appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none
 may Appeal from him. **{ KING }
 Hen. 7. }**

Only he hath Authority to make Deacon and
 Priest, whom he made Subdeacon, either upon
 Sundays, or upon other Feasts.

Only the Pope, and none else, at all times, and in
 all places, weareth the Pall. *Entr. de usu Pallii,
 cap. ad honorem.
 Entr. de elect. c. Dudum.*

The Pope only dispenseth with a man, either being
 not within Orders, or being unworthy to be
 made Bishop.

He only either confirmeth or deposeth the Emperor
 when he is chosen. *Entr. de elect. cap.
 Venerabilem.*

A man being Excommunicate, and his Absolution
 referred to the Pope, none may absolve that
 man but the Pope alone. *Tractatus de censuris.*

The same hath authority in any Election, before it
 be made, to pronounce it one, when it is made.
*Entr. de elect. cap.
 Invenit.*

He doth Canonize Saints, and none else but he.
 Dispensation to have many Dignities and Persona-
 ges in one Church, and without charge and
 cure of Soul, belongeth only to the Pope. *Entr. de religione &
 veneratione Sancti. c. 1.*

To make that effectual which is of no effect, and
 contrariwise, belongeth only to the Pope. *Entr. de Prebend. cap.
 de multa.*

To pluck a Monk out of his Cloyster both against
 his own will and the Abbots, pertaineth only to
 the Pope. *Entr. Qui si fuit. cap.
 Tanta.*

His Sentence maketh a Law. *9. q. 3. c. Ultimo.
 Entr. de sententia. &
 de judic. cap. in causis.
 Entr. de elect. cap.
 Quod sit.*

The same day in which the Pope is consecrate, he
 may give Orders. *Entr. de restit. spo.
 Literas.*

He dispenseth in degrees in Consanguinity and
 Affinity. *Entr. de prescript.
 cap. ult. & de judicio
 cap. Novit.*

He is able to abolish Laws, *quoad utrumque forum*;
 that is, both Civil and Canon, where danger is
 of the Soul.

It is in his Dispensation to give general Indulgences
 to certain places or persons. *Thomas.*

Item, To legitimate what persons soever he please,
 as touching Spiritualities; in all places, as touch-
 ing Temporalities, as Honors, Inheritance, &c. *Entr. Qui si sine legiti-
 c. per venerabilem.
 Petrus de Palude, lib. 4.*

To erect new Religions, to approve or reprove
 Rules or Ordinances, and Ceremonies in the
 Church.

He is able to dispense with all the Precepts and Sta-
 tutes of the Church. *Secundum Thomas in
 4. 7. q. 3. Per princi-
 palium. Dist. 40. Si
 Papa.*

Item, To dispense and to discharge any Subject
 from the bond of Allegiance, or Oath made to
 any manner of person.

No man may accuse him of any Crime, except of
 Herefie, and that neither, except he be incorri-
 gible. *Ibidem.*

The same is also free from all Laws, so that he
 cannot incur into any sentence of Excommuni-
 cation, Suspension, Irregularity, or into the pe-
 nalty of any crime, but in the note of crime he
 may well.

Finally, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a
 simple Priest, to minister the Sacrament of Con-
 firmation to Infants; also to give lower Orders,
 and to hallow Churches and Virgins, &c. *Dist. 32. præter hæc.
 Verum.*

These be the cases wherein I only have power to dis-
 pense, and no man else, neither Bishop, nor Me-
 tropolitan, nor Legate, without a licence from me.

After that I have now sufficiently declared my
 Power in Earth, in Heaven, and in Purgatory,
 how great it is, and what is the fulness thereof, in
 binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, elect-
 ing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and
 undoing, &c. I will entreat now a little of my
 Riches likewise, and great Possessions, that every
 man may see by my wealth and abundance of all
 things, Rents, Tythes, Tributes, my Silks, my
 purple Miters, Crowns, Gold, Silver, Pearls and
 Gems, Lands and Lordships, how God here
 prospereth and magnifieth his Vicar on the Earth.
 For to me pertaineth first the Imperial City of
 Rome; the Palace of Lateran, the Kingdom of
 Sicily is proper to me, Apulia and Capua be
 mine. Also the Kingdom of England and Ire-
 land, be they not, or ought they not to be
 Tributaries,

The riches and posses-
 sions of the Pope.

KING
Hen. 7.

224. Diff. 90. Con-
 stantinus.
 225. Ex Commentariis
 Theoderici Nemi, quem
 etiam Illyricus in Ca-
 talogo testium, fol. 228.

Tributaries to me? 214. To these I adjoyn also, besides other Provinces and Countries, both in the Occident and Orient, from the North to the South, these Dominions by name, 215. as *Surrianum, Montembordon, & Lunæ insulam, Corsicæ Regnum, Parvam Mantuam, Montemselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennæ, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatum, Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capiniæ seu Olympicum, Castrum exforii, Robin, Eugubin, Urbin, forum Sempronii, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Cosam, Ducatum Perusii, Urbenetam, & Tudertum, Castrum, Sini-anum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Selernum, Sorenti insulam, Cardinam insulam, Ancie insulam, Territorium Cutsan, Territorium prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram Fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianam, Terram Camisfinam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum, & Sufforariam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galicopolim, with divers other more, 216. which Constantinus the Emperor gave unto me, not that they were not*

226. Diff. 96. Con-
 stantinus.

mine before he did give them. 217. For in that I took them of him, I took them not as a gift (as is afore-mentioned) but as a restitution. And that I rendred them again to *Otbo*, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace sake. What should I speak here of my daily Revenues, of my First-fruits, Annats, Palls, Indulgences, Bulls, Confessionals, Indults and Rescripts, Testaments, Dispensations, Priviledges, Elections, Prebends, religious Houses, and such like, which come to no small mass of money? Inasmuch, that for one Pall to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, which was wont to be given for ten thousand 218. *Florens*, now it is grown to twenty seven thousand *Florens*, which I received of *Jacobus* the Archbishop, not long before *Basil* Council: Besides the Fruits of other Bishopricks in Germany, coming to the number of fifty, whereby what vantage cometh unto my Coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what should I speak of Germany, 219. when the whole World is my Diccess, as my Canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe, 220. except they will imagine (as the *Manichees* do) two beginnings, which is false and heretical? For *Moses* saith, *In the beginning God made heaven and earth*, and not in the beginnings. 221. Wherefore as I begun, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of Salvation, for every humane Creature to be subject to me.

217. Antoninus. In
 Summa major 3. par. 8

218. Ex lib. Gra. uni-
 versum nationis Ger-
 manicæ.
 Above fifty Bishop-
 ricks in Germany.
 Enns Sylvius.

219. Sent. decret. De
 penis cap. Felicitas
 Glossa.
 Item de privilegiis,
 c. Auctoritatem in
 Glossa.

220. Pope Bonifacius
 8. Extr. de Major. &
 obed. ca. Unam sanctam.

221. Ibidem.

The End of the First Volume of the Book of Martyrs.